

Literature Review for the State of the World's Volunteerism Report 2018

BUILDING RESILIENT COMMUNITIES IN A TURBULENT WORLD

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Building resilient communities in a turbulent world

1. Introduction

The 2015 SWVR *Transforming Governance* highlighted the role of volunteerism in building strong governance through participatory engagement. It recognised the core values of volunteerism in strengthening solidarity, reciprocity, and mutual trust between people, in addition to its ability to promote social inclusion and empowerment of vulnerable people (Leigh et al., 2011). The literature review for the 2018 report builds off this premise, showcasing how the combined efforts of volunteers across the world enhance or inhibit community resilience—particularly in instances where the institutions of the state are weak or dysfunctional. Recognizing the volunteerism is not a panacea, however, it aims to highlight circumstances where volunteerism can be both usefully employed and potentially exploited among vulnerable groups.

The following pages provide a review of the topic of building community resilience, with a specific focus on the characteristics of volunteerism that may help or hinder this process. A key purpose of this literature review is to set out a conceptual framework to inform the primary research methodology and protocol for 2018 State of the World's Volunteerism Report *Building Resilient Communities in a Turbulent World*, and to identify gaps that can be filled through primary research with communities. This review analyses the relationship among different publications that touch on volunteerism and resilience, providing a synthesis of prior studies in order to inform various sections of the proposed SWVR outline.

Although volunteerism likely contributes in many ways to building community resilience, this review and related research has two primary areas of focus: (1) identify the distinctive characteristics of volunteerism that help or hinder community capacity to cope and adapt during adverse events, and (2) identify policies and norms that have supported or discouraged volunteerism for community resilience. While the literature review includes academic research studies (i.e. journal articles), it also draws heavily on research from the practice community.

1.1 Volunteerism as a People-Centred Resilience Strategy

For much of the past half-century, efforts to manage risk in conflict or crisis have largely followed a centralised or hierarchical model for mitigating hazards and risk. This model emphasises the technical expertise and coordination of activities by humanitarian agencies, which carry the bulk of responsibility for risk management (Scolobig, Prior, Schröter, Jörin, & Patt, 2015). This “deficit model” largely views the public as passive recipient of technical expertise and capacities (Leiss, 1996).

Although this model has many advantages, research and evaluation of this approach have also revealed a number of significant limitations including frequent misunderstandings between centralised authorities and vulnerable communities (Eiser et al., 2012), culturally-incongruous directives that fail to account for local social dynamics (Martineau, 2016), poor political will or capacity in some countries to implement centralised coordination and response (Olu et al., 2016), and overall poor public reception of centralised activities, services, and directives (Ayeb-Karlsson, van der Geest, Ahmed, Huq, & Warner, 2016; Eiser et al., 2012).

A bureaucratic command-and-control structure of crisis and conflict management assumes that ordinary people are primarily recipients of services, rather than key drivers and participants during emergencies. Over the last two decades, development, peacebuilding and humanitarian efforts to strengthen resilience have made a noticeable shift away from a top-down, centralised, and hierarchical “command and control” style of risk reduction toward a “people-centred” or participatory style (Scolobig et al., 2015). A people-centred approach involves participation by a range of traditionally-disempowered stakeholders, with a perceptible shift of responsibility for risk management from government to civil society. This movement recognises that people are not only vulnerable and at-risk but are capable and able to self-organise and lead efforts to strengthen their own resilience (Maly, 2014). This more democratic approach draws upon local expertise and skills, community assets and resources, and recognises human agency as a key vehicle for building resilience in people’s own communities (De Weijer, 2013). It recognises that involving people in managing risk allows for participation, which encourages greater ownership and empowers people with greater responsibility.

Although the trend towards people-centred strategies is increasing, and supported by a number of recent global reports and policy frameworks (UNDP, 2011; UNISDR, 2015), it is not without critics. Some question whether citizens have the desire or capacity to voluntarily take on this responsibility, or wonder whether power will truly be devolved to citizen groups—doubting questions of legitimacy and representativeness that inevitably arise from power differences in communities (Scolobig et al., 2015). Others question whether the people participating in people-centred processes will be adequately supported during crises with needed resources. Additional concerns acknowledge the constraints of the already-stretched time and resources of vulnerable people, which are further exacerbated during crises and conflict (Scolobig et al., 2015).

Although some worry that this movement abdicates responsibility from governments to manage risks, the intent of people-centred strategies are to share greater responsibility between governments and citizens through the co-generation of knowledge and action during crises and conflict (Scolobig et al., 2015). This shared responsibility emerges from a systemic perspective that respects and values the complex and overlapping role and responsibilities of civil society, governments, NGOs and other stakeholders in coping with change and transforming vulnerable communities (Simonsen et al., 2014).

Although people-centred strategies are wider than volunteerism, there is a growing recognition that these resilience strategies cannot be accomplished without the active engagement of millions of volunteers (UNGA, 2013). Volunteerism represents a distinctive, people-centred approach to resilience. Volunteerism forms the backbone of citizen engagement and action during conflict and crises. Volunteers are typically the first to respond in the aftermath of disasters and are critical resources in risk mitigation, disaster recovery, and ongoing efforts to sustain peace. They are integrated into a diverse array of implementation plans to build community resilience, and share many of the characteristics of resilient communities (Oxley, 2013).

Following their Global Review on Volunteering, IFRC emphasised that, “we need to focus on people-centred approaches and solutions in addition to the requisite focus on technical and financial means” (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015, p. 89). Although survival strategies may be necessary for resilience, they are not sufficient without additional changes to social processes and norms. This may be particularly relevant for resolving situations of conflict, which is critical to strengthening resilience. As a study by the US Institute of Peace emphasised: “peacebuilding needs to happen at least as much in people’s minds as in their outer reality (USIP, 2012, p. 2). Although it would be very difficult to attribute prevention of conflict or the reduction of violent extremism to a specific volunteerism programme, intermediary impacts on community trust, social cohesion, gender equality etc. serve as important and necessary contributions to the environment for prevention. Other under-recognised but important people-centred contributions relevant to volunteerism include rituals that help people re-create meaning, collectively recognise and validate shared suffering and trauma, and better integrate interpersonal methods of healing (USIP, 2012). These social processes require the engagement of social groups voluntarily sharing resources, stories, services, and their own time.

This review situates volunteerism for resilience as a valuable people-centred approach to complement top-down command-and-control mechanisms operating in communities in conflict and crisis. It draws upon other studies to illustrate examples of distinctive impacts of volunteerism to various social processes such as strengthening social cohesion, enhancing trust, facilitating connectivity and networking, representing neutrality, and promoting inclusivity—and on the flipside occasionally exacerbating exclusivity and exploitation or advancing personal interests. In reviewing the literature, this overview aims to inform the question: In which situations and circumstances does volunteerism offer a distinctive and alternative solution to complement the strengths of otherwise top-down technocratic approaches to resilience building (De Weijer, 2013).

The review begins with a section on the definition of terms, considering differences in the way key terms are defined (i.e. vulnerability, resilience, volunteerism, etc.). It prioritises definitions used in prior UNDP reports or manuscripts from other transnational organisations. It then provides a critical analysis of reviewed articles, along with strengths and weaknesses of prior research on

the topic. It aims to identify recent trends on the subject of resilience, and to generalise relationships that emerge across prior studies. Finally, the review will suggest directions for future research—including those that can be filled with the primary research undertaken for the purpose of the SWVR.

2. Definitions

This section begins with a description of the problem (i.e. community vulnerability, hazards, and risk), which are consistently reflected in previous literature as key concepts to understand the need for community resilience. It then describes the potential solution (i.e. resilience), and how this concept has been defined within the context of community development.

2.1 Vulnerability

As emphasised in the Dead Sea Resilience Agenda, “The primary objective of any resilience agenda is to address the vulnerability of individuals” (UNDP, 2015). Indeed, it is difficult to discuss and understand the importance of the concept of resilience without first understanding the problem of risk and vulnerability. Vulnerability is based in the field and study of natural and human-made hazards, and is closely tied to understanding risks and hazards. It is important to discuss vulnerability in this context because multiple risk factors such as poverty, poor health, and low education can greatly impact how people respond when faced with shocks and stress. Resilience is a critical construct because it compels stakeholders to directly confront the underlying causes to people’s vulnerability.

With a counterweight in vulnerability, resilience requires development and humanitarian aid to confront a critical question: why do adverse events such as conflicts, economic shocks, and climate change affect certain people more than others? “Resilience thinking is increasingly emphasises the importance of power relations between for example, men and women, rich and poor, young and old....resilience aims to change the unequal power structures that are keeping people vulnerable to shocks and stresses.” (Singh, Faleiro, & Hartog, 2016). These groups are the most vulnerable because they have less power, fewer assets, low access to resources, and consequently less flexible coping strategies to help them deal with adverse events. Indeed, poor households and marginalised groups are the most susceptible to acute negative consequences during shocks and stresses. Inequality in society is also closely linked with conflict and political crises, which greatly enhances economic and social risk and instability.

A few examples demonstrate these disparities. Women and girls are disproportionately vulnerable to natural disasters and climate change, and typically experience higher death rates when natural disasters occur (Arnold & de Cosmo, 2015; Neumayer & Plümper, 2007). Indigenous peoples have identities and cultures that are highly dependent on lands and natural resources, and are severely affected when these resources are destroyed (Arnold & de Cosmo, 2015). People with disabilities

have fewer employment opportunities to diversify their livelihood options and, having limited transportation, are more likely to be left behind during crises (Battle, 2015). They are also more likely to experience discrimination on the basis of their disability when resources are scarce (Alexander & Sagramola, 2014). Children experience increased risk of child labour, forced marriages, child trafficking, and other methods of exploitation, abuse and abduction during crises (Masten, 2014). They are likely to be orphaned or separated from their families during disasters and conflict. For older adults with limited mobility, disasters can be particularly damaging and can aggravate underlying health conditions—increasing their risk of illness and death (Arnold & de Cosmo, 2015).

2.2 Resilience

There is a direct relationship between vulnerability and resilience—both concepts determine how likely people are to be harmed by external shocks and stresses (UNDP et al., 2011). Resilience is often equated with strategies of “vulnerability reduction”, but is based in a move toward a more positive or strengths-perspective perspective—recognizing the many things that communities can do for themselves to adapt to adverse circumstances (De Weijer, 2013; Schipper & Langston, 2015). Thus, a key difference between vulnerability-reduction strategies and resilience strategies is a focus on recognizing and developing a community’s strengths rather than focusing on overcoming deficits (Berkes & Ross, 2013).

The definition of resilience has been widely discussed and debated for many years, with no consensus on a common definition (Meerow, Newell, & Stults, 2016; Norris, Stevens, Pfefferbaum, Wyche, & Pfefferbaum, 2008). Resilience is a relative term, and is specific to a range of diverse hazards or threats. As Schipper and Langston (2015) illustrate, people can become resilient to droughts but through the same intervention, they can become more vulnerable to floods. Researchers and scholars have used so many different definitions of resilience, that a number of scholars have unpacked these differences as a key subject of their study (Quinlan, Berbés-Blázquez, Haider, & Peterson, 2016; Stein, 2013; Winderl, 2014). More circumscribed papers have specifically focused on deconstructing the concept of “community resilience”. A shortened summary of these various definitions in different contexts is provided in Appendix 1, largely adapted from Quinlan et al (2016).

Across all of these definitions and descriptions, the definition of resilience by the National Research Council is perhaps the most cited (according to a Google Scholar search). This definition is comparatively short but quite succinct in the different phases of resilience programming. This definition, used by the National Research Council is: “resilience is the ability to prepare and plan for, absorb, recover from, and more successfully adapt to adverse events” (2012, p. 1). In their review of various definitions of resilience Sharifi and Yamagata (2016) extensively describe the benefits of this definition for its direct application to practical conceptual frameworks based in

resilience planning. These benefits as articulated by these authors and others are summarised below:

Ability This definition begins with a focus on people's ability to cope and adapt to adverse events. While dominant political structure and social processes certainly have power to affect people's livelihoods, this definition recognises the importance of people's ability to determinably affect those same structures through collective action before, during, and after adverse events.

Preparation and planning are critical for process-based activities aimed to enhance community resilience (for e.g. conflict-prevention activities or pre-disaster mitigation and preparation). A key assumption is that shocks and stresses cannot always be easily avoided, thus communities should plan for conflict and disruption and prepare to cushion the blow by proactively planning for change (Sharifi & Yamagata, 2016b). In order to prepare, community resources and assets need to be identified to prepare for a range of possible future scenarios. Schipper and Langston (2015) describe this as the "learning" entry point for community resilience, which encompasses a variety of different interventions including situational awareness of strengths and the range of options available in a community to deal with conflict and crisis.

Absorption is needed when an individual, community, and the larger ecological systems are unable to fully withstand the adverse event (see Caputo, Caserio, Coles, Jankovic, & Gaterell, 2015). Absorption activities such as immediate financial or resource expenditures take place immediately following a stress or shock (e.g. during the immediate aftermath of disasters). They are typically short-term and are an outgrowth of resilience planning activities. Communities that can absorb large amounts of pressure have high resilience and faster recovery times, while those that cave-in to pressure would have comparatively low resilience and may or may not recover well over a longer-time frame.

Recovery refers to a community's ability to bounce back from an adverse event, and to return to equilibrium or the initial level of system functioning (Berkes & Ross, 2013; Horney, Dwyer, Aminto, Berke, & Smith, 2017). For instance, despite persistent violence and danger, community members may continue to exchange of goods and information with minimal interruption; it is not uncommon in resilient communities for women returning to the markets to sell their goods the day after a disaster. A variety of different reconstruction and rehabilitation efforts following a crisis are used to help a community recover. When community resilience is high, the speed and efficiency of recovery is higher. It is critical to note, however, that survival strategies can also become maladaptive.

Adaptation refers to continual efforts to improve communities so that future events are less adverse (Schipper & Langston, 2015). Because communities are dynamic and continually changing in response to circumstances, highly resilient communities are able to adapt rapidly and easily.

Adaptation requires innovation, continual capacity building, and participatory self-organisation when responding to changes (Quinlan et al., 2016). In this sense, resilient communities are not sufficient with mere recovery (or maintaining the status quo) but are constantly improving; they are moving from surviving to thriving (Schipper & Langston, 2015). Others have described this as a process of enhancing a community’s “transformative capacity”—arguing that resilience limited to absorptive or adaptive capacities is wholly insufficient (Mercy Corps, 2015; Singh et al., 2016).

Adverse events refer to both shocks and stresses that disrupt a normally smooth system. Shocks refer to sudden and unexpected events that are potentially dangerous. They include both natural and human-made activities or conditions that often cause “loss of life, injury or other health impacts, property damage, loss of livelihoods and services, social and economic disruption or environmental damage” (Frankenberger et al., 2012; Pasteur, 2011). Stresses have lower impact and may include expected seasonal or price fluctuations, periods of unemployment or poor health, incremental change in climate, small-scale conflicts, and other events that negatively impact people’s livelihoods (Pasteur 2011). Only some shocks and stresses result in disasters or serious disruptions in a system beyond a community’s adaptive capacity, which can result in widespread loss when the community is not resilient (Pasteur, 2011).

This literature review will use the NRC definition of resilience and the subsequent definitions of its subparts because of its parsimony and consistent and common use in both academic and practice literature. This definition also helps to describe the various strategies that volunteerism and volunteer-involving organisations engage in to strengthen community resilience. The definition ultimately used in the SWVR may draw on this NRC definition or may be drawn from prior UNDP reports or others listed in Appendix 1.

2.3 Volunteerism

Consistent with prior UNV working reports, the understanding of volunteering used in this report includes “activities undertaken of free will, for the general public good and where monetary reward is not the principal motivating factor” (Leigh et al., 2011, p. 4; UNGA, 2002). This definition of volunteerism is inclusive—spanning formal and informal voluntary citizen engagement activities. An inclusive definition is important because understanding the role of volunteerism in building community resilience extends beyond formal volunteerism but also includes the impact of informal forms of voluntary citizen engagement such as mutual aid and self-help, unpaid campaigning and advocacy work, and other forms of civic participation (Leigh et al., 2011).

2.4 Community Resilience

For the SWVR, we are concerned with understanding volunteerism’s contributions to *community resilience*, which is a specific context and unit of analysis under the wider notion of resilience. The definition of community resilience is clearly dependent on a common understanding of

community. For the purposes of this report, we will work with IFRC's definition of community within the context of resilience:

A community is a group of people who may or may not live within the same area, village or neighbourhood, share a similar culture, habits and resources. Communities are groups of people also exposed to the same threats and risks such as disease, political and economic issues and natural disasters. (Winderl et al., 2014)

Communities are composed of individuals, groups, and organisations, and are part of larger social-ecological systems that have their own risks, vulnerabilities, fractures, and tensions (Joseph, 2002; Quinlan et al., 2016). Thus, community-level resilience lies at the intersection of individual psychological conceptions of resilience and more macro understandings of resilience in the social-ecological system (Berkes & Ross, 2013). Although many of the interventions needed to build community resilience will happen at the individual, household, and community level, community resilience also depends on macro social protections that ensure people's access to basic services, and regulatory policies. Although individual people and organisations within a community need technical capacities to prepare for and respond appropriately to shocks, community resilience ultimately relies on systemic capacity to deal with macro-level shocks and socio-economic structural conditions (UNDP et al., 2011). In reality, because resilience interventions often occur simultaneously, they are nested within each other, interacting across different levels of the ecological system (Berkes & Ross, 2013). As Berkes and Ross note, "The resilience of individuals and households is linked to that of the community. A community with individuals who are personally resilient in the face of physical disasters is likely to be resilient as a community as well." (2013, para. 15). Likewise, community resilience is the building block of national resilience.

On the other hand, community resilience involves dynamic interactions between people and their environments; power and relational dynamics between individuals also produce tensions and trade-offs that affect community resilience. Resilience discussions often fail to deal with political economy and the impact of politics on critical issues of inclusion, power and human rights. Different levels of vulnerability between groups in any given community highlight the fact that efforts to strengthen resilience are not political neutral. The local political economy can produce glaring inequalities that challenge efforts to equitably promote volunteerism (Oxley, 2013). Multiple studies suggest that, to be effective, poor and marginalised people with greater vulnerabilities must be empowered to act together, and given opportunities to influence key decisions through power-sharing arrangements (Arnold & de Cosmo, 2015; Le Masson, Norton, & Wilkinson, 2015). We know, however, that empowerment of vulnerable groups is not always taken lightly by those in power—threats to the status quo are predictably opposed by groups with greater influence. Because vulnerability threatens human development, it must be addressed systematically. Thus, actions at the macro-level must be acknowledged as part of the social, economic, and political ecosystems that enhance community resilience by reducing chronic poverty and enduring inequality (Simonsen et al., 2014).

Enhancing community resilience in a peace and development context relies on strategies that weaken drivers of vulnerability among those who are at greatest risk, while also building coping mechanisms at the individual, organisational, and institutional levels to help anticipate and mitigate shocks and stresses (UNDP et al., 2011). This strategy reflects the renewed global commitment to ‘leave no one behind’—a key message of the 2030 SDG agenda. Enhancing community resilience for those at greatest risk will help ensure that ‘no goal should be met unless it is met for everyone’. This often means involving people in the process of building resilience in their own communities. Brown and Kulig convincingly argued that “the concept of resiliency in the context of communities needs to be grounded in a notion of human agency, understood in the sense of the capacity for meaningful, intentional action...” (1996, p. 30). This report takes this argument to heart, recognizing that long-term community resilience cannot be achieved without people acting together to improve the conditions of their lives.

The agency of vulnerable people is a key point emphasising what is different about resilience thinking in comparison with other forms of peace and development interventions. Resilient communities are conceptualised as the opposite of fragile communities. Thus, resilience cannot be developed without acknowledging the fragility of vulnerable people and their critical role in the process of building and sustaining resilience. Resilience thinking is rooted in “complex adaptive systems thinking” that explicitly includes vulnerable groups and people-centred processes as key actors of systems alongside other stakeholders (Schipper & Langston, 2015; Simonsen et al., 2014). Failure to engage and empower vulnerable people will ultimately prevent a system from being resilient during crises (De Weijer, 2013). In addition, engaging vulnerable groups opens space for creative and localised solutions to coping with crises and transforming communities.

One of the advantages of resilience thinking in times of crisis is that adverse events can stimulate and prepare communities for change, which can be a positive force if channelled correctly. For instance, transformation requires a break in disequilibrium (see Mezirow, 1997). Adverse events can act as a catalyst—providing a window of opportunity to confront gender inequality and other inequitable social norms. Crises may open doors for the empowerment of youth, women and other marginalised groups to become more actively engaged in voluntary initiatives as they work to build resilience in their communities.

The following sections revisit descriptive categories of community resilience—recognizing that categories such as building community assets and strengthening livelihood strategies are key aspects of community resilience but focusing on the larger people-centred structures and processes that help communities cope with shocks and stresses (see UNDP, 2014b). It aims to illustrate how various characteristics of volunteerism influence the resilience of communities as people exercise their human agency to influence people-centred structures and processes.

3. Strengthening Resilience in Diverse Contexts

Recent years have seen a growing frequency and intensity of instability and fragility in many countries. Such fragility is a result of global issues ranging from irreversible climate change and natural disasters, to conflict and the dislocation of people – creating multiple vulnerabilities even in countries that have been considered financially and politically stable. Demographic trends and growing inequities effected by current economic models are also contributing to national and global instabilities. These are happening at the same time as we see in the sustainable peace and development goals a vision to reverse some of the impacts of such instability and create a new path for new development gains that can be more equitably experienced and enjoyed.

Although the contributions of volunteerism to building resilience in the modern world are abundant, their contributions have remained understudied. As such there is a need to understand how to maximise and sustain the contribution of volunteerism to response and resilience-building efforts from other actors, and to prioritise areas for volunteerism policy, practice and investment, as part of a wider resilience agenda that underpins achievement of the global peace and development agendas (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). The need to understand document the contribution of volunteerism to peace and development underlies a concern that the enabling environment for volunteerism is at risk – from the deterioration of local resources and capacities affected by crisis, to limited spaces for effective external support.

Because volunteerism is operative in highly diverse contexts that affect people's resilience, the following section briefly relates volunteerism' contributions and challenges across three diverse but interrelated contexts: sustainable development, peace and conflict, and humanitarian aid.

3.1 Sustainable Development

Because we live in an uncertain world, it is nearly impossible to avoid unexpected and eventual crises and shocks. The problems of vulnerability, risk, and resilience are reflected in the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and draw on many of the topics and themes discussed in the UN 2014 Human Development Report *Sustaining Human Progress: Reducing Vulnerabilities and Building Resilience*. Ongoing research over the past decade has investigated and documented the importance of community resilience and related interventions for mitigating the effects of shocks and stresses to strengthen human development.

Experience show that vulnerable people pay the highest price as shocks and stresses affect these groups to a far greater extent than others (UNDP et al., 2011). Financial and economic shocks, environmental changes, personal insecurity, and food and energy crises all have more substantial and long-lasting effects on the livelihoods and adaptive capacity of vulnerable populations (Hughes & Bushell, 2013; Martin-Breen & Anderies, 2011; UNDP et al., 2011). When communities lack assets and livelihoods strategies that can buffer adverse events, comparatively

small shocks and stresses can lead to more substantial crisis. For instance, environmental catastrophes can result from small changes in climate and the subsequent emergence and spread of infectious disease. Likewise, sudden changes in livelihoods can result in the collapse of entire industries or chronic civil unrest (UNDP et al., 2011).

Closely connected to livelihoods, responding to changing climate is a critical priority of the post-2015 development agenda. The effects of climate change impact people's equity and access to critical natural resources such as water, land and forests. Many vulnerable households suffer losses due to small-scale but recurrent disasters often resulting from weather-related hazards. Many of these vulnerable communities are in a near perpetual state of fragility. Being in a state of continual risk, their well-being depends on developing protective factors to counterbalance this ever-present risk. Although these small but persistent disasters are often the most common risks faced by people in poverty, they go widely under-reported, and are consistently overlooked by governments (Oxley, 2013).

In order to help the most vulnerable, the impact of shocks and stresses depends on how governments invest their limited resources, including how much they expend to protect the poor during and after crisis. Because some people are much more vulnerable than others, such as women, children, and those in poverty, it is not adequate to focus exclusively on crisis mitigation and preparation; effective resilience-building interventions aim to increase investments in human capital and social safety nets; particularly for LICs that are often unable to invest the necessary resources. Public investments in measures to achieve the SDGs, including strategies to combat low education and poor health early-on, can lead to greater resilience in the future (UNDP et al., 2011).

While supportive governmental response is critical, efforts to build resilience often emphasise the role of state institutions without recognizing the critical importance of civil society. Because poor communities often bear the heaviest burden of coping and rebuilding, they often have little choice but to take primary responsibility and help each other restore their lost livelihoods and resources (Oxley, 2013). When vulnerable people are consistently exposed to shocks and stresses they adapt by self-organizing, embracing self-help, and participating in mutual assistance. While governmental support is critical to building and sustaining resilient communities, this report will highlight the role of volunteerism as key sources of resilience outside of the State. UNDP Administrator, Helen Clark, emphasised that “Engaged citizens, armed with an understanding of the costs of climate change, can press leaders to act.” (Clark, 2012, para. 46). This decentralised approach showcases the strengths of people and local institutional capacities. It places person-centred approaches as the starting point—highlighting the critical role of volunteerism in community resilience as a valuable person-centred process.

Volunteerism has helped promote community resilience as it is increasingly integrated into diverse national and global post-2015 agenda implementation strategies designed to promote and

strengthen achievements in education, health, governance, poverty eradication, sustainable livelihoods, security and peace, and gender and social inclusion (Leigh et al., 2011). Volunteer also have important roles to play in strengthening environmental protection and climate change mitigation and adaptation efforts (Simonsen et al., 2014). There is increasing evidence and awareness that effective development can only be achieved through the common efforts of all parts of society and individual citizens. In addition, people themselves want and need to be seen as both agents and beneficiaries of sustainable development and poverty eradication. Therefore, volunteerism has much to contribute when harnessing the power and participation of individuals and communities to address human vulnerability and to build community resilience. Moreover, volunteerism has excellent potential to address the social exclusion that exists within the development process as a result of poverty, gender, disability, ethnicity and other causes of inequality. Volunteerism can complement the efforts of governments to strengthen people's assets, building livelihoods and changes processes and structures to inclusion more marginalised people and groups in development processes.

3.2 Peace and Conflict

Fragility and instability increasingly results in vulnerable communities whose survival relies on the resilience of its people. Long-term development challenges such as inequality, exclusion, climate change and their subsequent symptoms such as migration and displacement leave people in fragile contexts where conflict is more likely to erupt. Internal conflicts are frequently associated with exclusion based on unequal access to resources. Likewise, armed conflict continues across the globe and the greatest development deficits are evident in countries engaged in conflict and in post-conflict situations. Thus, development and people's livelihoods are closely linked to conflict and violence (USAID, 2006). Positive gains made to social and economic development can be quickly reversed when a crisis strikes—particularly for vulnerable communities that live in persistent deprivation. Women are often hit particularly hard, as economic impacts can debilitate the informal economy where women often sustain their livelihoods.

Despite the close link between development and conflict, the contributions of volunteerism to community resilience in fragile states and post-conflict environments has been discussed and documented with less frequency than volunteerism with climate change, disaster risk reduction, and other development contexts. Although often less conspicuous in fragile contexts, volunteerism may be particularly effective at preventing conflict and maintaining social cohesion (Leigh et al., 2011; UNGA, 2015a). The Dead Sea Resilience Agenda emphasises that local civil society and community organisations provide the most cost-effective and sustainable responses (UNDP, 2015). This agenda asserts that building the capacity of civil society and local abilities to respond during conflict or crises should be a key intervention.

Volunteers also provide essential support in protecting the rights and well-being of refugees and internally displaced persons. Volunteers assist with the registration and resettlement of displaced

people, provide various forms of livelihood trainings, and help in the daily management and running of refugee camps (Mercy Corps, 2015). Volunteerism, both local and non-local, can help to ease the burden of refugee resettlement and social integration (Lee, 2015).

In addition, volunteerism and the radicalisation of young people share a number of similarities—both tapping their motivations and desires to contribute to wider causes. Understanding how and why people volunteer in fragile contexts may help steer young people toward positive, rather than destructive volunteerism agendas (UNV, 2017). The distinction between violent conflict, which is detrimental, and constructive conflict, which can be highly productive has not yet been explored in relation to volunteerism. Resilience scholarship has consistently underestimated the dynamic capacity of conflict to transform people and systems—triggering changes in formal rules and laws, as well as social norms.

Analysing resilience through a gender lens is particularly useful in this context. In fragile states where conflict is often widespread, violence is a significant threat to women’s safety and wellbeing. Multiple assessments by the International Rescue Committee (IRC) indicate that rape and sexual violence is one of the most pressing problems for women and girls during conflict and emergencies (IRC, 2015). The Inter-agency Standing Committee (IASC) asserted that “all humanitarian actors must take action, from the earliest stages of an emergency, to prevent sexual violence and provide appropriate assistance to survivors/victims.” (2005, p. 1). However, traditional humanitarian actors do not always have knowledge of cultural dynamics influencing sexual violence, and may find it difficult to access to women and girls affected by violence. As a people-centred process, volunteerism has the potential to influence gender norms and provide locally-based and culturally-relevant assistance to survivors—as articulated later in this review.

In addition to confronting gender norms, resilience-building under the sustaining peace agenda also includes a significant role for volunteerism to influence social and governance institutions. Effectively building legitimate institutions requires local ownership and buy-in by the people that these institutions are designed to serve (Wallace et al., 2015). This people-centred approach to sustaining peace emphasises various ways that volunteerism can enhance social cohesion and build ownership via people’s participation in civic and governance processes (Ilitchev, 2015; Wallace et al., 2015).

All told, the consequences of resilience in fragile contexts should involve more than merely bouncing back from adverse events. Indeed, “violence transforms as much as it destroys” (USIP, 2012, p. 1). In order innovate, adapt and evolve, people and systems often need to experience stress or triggers as catalysts to reflection and adjustment (De Coning, 2016). Such events can be the essential stimulus that sparks necessary and transformative changes (Mezirow, 1997). This concept is useful because resilience is not necessarily based on the stability of a system but rather on its capacity to cope when confronted with stresses. Volunteerism can be a beneficial moderating force

during the critical moments when people, communities and systems are particularly fragile and prepped for change.

3.3 Humanitarian Aid

The vulnerability of communities located in countries with chronic or acute conflict can be significantly compounded by natural disasters. Likewise, countries that lack inclusive development policies can be disabled when disaster or conflict strikes. Throughout the world, we see changes in natural disasters coinciding with global warming, in addition to human-made disasters. In the aftermath of disasters, the assets, livelihoods, and lives of vulnerable people—including people living in poverty, those who are isolated, and vulnerable women and children are threatened in far greater measure than others.

Research has consistently documented that women outnumber men among people dying from disasters, often linked to cultural and/or behavioural limitations on their mobility in combination with socially prescribed norms, roles and obligations such as taking care of children, older adults, or sick family member (Pournik, Chung, & Miller, 2012). When social norms change toward greater gender equity, however, the risk of death by women during disasters and other adverse events can decrease significantly (World Bank, 2011).

People in rural areas are also more vulnerable to certain forms of risk, such as weather and environmental changes. Disaster risk reduction and efforts to strengthen the environment are closely linked. Small or rural communities are often hit hard by disasters and climate change, and are often the least able to manage and cope with their impact. On the other hand, rural communities with access to land and agricultural resources may be more resilient during economic crises. Among other implications for rural communities, this suggests that activities designed to build resilience will be most effective when they are context-specific and tailored to local risks and capacities (OCHA, 2014).

While disasters may be unavoidable, mitigating and preparing for the effects of disaster can be anticipated, planned for, and acted upon. The effectiveness of community preparedness and response to incidents when shocks occur can significantly prevent or mitigate threats to people's livelihoods. Activities designed to build community resilience ideally include a mix of short term interventions to meet basic needs of people during acute shocks and stresses, and longer term capacity-building interventions designed to address the structural causes of vulnerability and to strengthen the coping capacity of people and communities (OCHA, 2014). Humanitarian aid and the work of external volunteers can be particularly effective when designed in the short-term to help vulnerable people maintain their assets and livelihoods during acute periods of adversity. However, humanitarian aid also has the potential to undermine resilience, ownership, and domestic development when it is no longer needed.

Although resilience is largely about avoiding the need for external or humanitarian assistance (OCHA, 2014), when national capacity is very weak, or when problems are highly complex, external volunteerism may need to temporarily lead the coordination and financing of resilience activities. Non-local volunteers can provide a number of added values such as specialised skills during disaster response and applying this knowledge during preparatory or recovery periods to build local capacity. External volunteers can use advanced technology and technological skills for monitoring disasters and conflict; they can draw upon global relationships and networks to lengthen people's support systems; they can use their affiliation with humanitarian agencies to mobilise and distribute needed resources. As they few examples illustrate, there are many potential "added value" contributions from external volunteers engaged in crisis and conflict mediation and recovery.

External stakeholders, including non-local volunteers, can certainly support community-based processes. However, for truly transformational changes in communities, social values and norms need to co-evolve together with wider changes in the institutional architecture that impact these communities. Indeed, there is danger that non-local volunteers could undermine local participation, self-help, and self-organizing if they interfere too heavily or for too long. Some have expressed concerns that over-reliance on external volunteerism could weaken governmental responsibilities and divert needed changes to domestic policies that could enhance the resilience of communities. Lasting changes to these values and norms is only possible when local people acting together are the key drivers of change (Oxley, 2013).

Recognizing the value of local action, some stakeholders suggest that non-local volunteers and other external stakeholders "focus their efforts on safeguarding, stimulating, facilitating and creating the space for societies to develop resilient capacities for self-organisation" (De Coning, 2016). Multiple UN Resolutions have emphasised the critical role of local actors during crises to strengthen of the coordination of emergency humanitarian assistance—encouraging member states to devote efforts to increasing capacity for local action (ECOSOC, 2011, 2013). A community's resilience is partially reliant on their capacity for effective self-organisation and collective action. Volunteerism as a process provides opportunities for people to act collaboratively and to self-organise for common good, thereby changing and reinforcing shared values.

The Hyogo Framework for Action explicitly recognises volunteerism' contributions to disaster risk management, and towards strengthening the community capacity to prevent and effectively respond to disasters (Malik, 2014, p. 7). As stressed in this framework, "States and other actors are also encouraged to promote the strengthening or establishment of national, regional and international volunteer corps, which can be made available to countries and to the international community to contribute to addressing vulnerability and reducing disaster risk (United Nations, 2005, p. 13). Congruent with the Hyogo Framework, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction also asserts that, "There has to be a broader and a more people-centred preventive

approach to disaster risk” (UNISDR, 2015, p. 10). Towards this end, the Sendai Framework asserts that:

States should encourage...Civil society, volunteers, organized voluntary work organisations and community-based organisations to participate, in collaboration with public institutions, to, inter alia, provide specific knowledge and pragmatic guidance in the context of the development and implementation of normative frameworks, standards and plans for disaster risk reduction; engage in the implementation of local, national, regional and global plans and strategies; contribute to and support public awareness, a culture of prevention and education on disaster risk; and advocate for resilient communities and an inclusive and all-of-society disaster risk management that strengthen synergies across groups, as appropriate. (UNISDR, 2015, p. 23).

As subtly emphasised in these frameworks and more clearly evident in practice, volunteers are key interlocutors in humanitarian crises at local, national and global levels (UNGA, 2015a). Research on volunteerism in disaster settings have revealed that 80-90 percent of survivors were rescued by volunteers—most of whom were local and fellow citizens of those in need (Whittaker, Handmer, & McLennan, 2014). Local volunteers, in particular have advantages of quick response, with more real-time views and on-the-ground knowledge of problems. They can quickly respond during emergencies—often meeting local needs and solving problems in innovative ways that are unconstrained by formal institutions (Fernandez, Barbera, & van Dorp, 2006). Action by volunteers in crisis situations is most likely to arise when response from formal organisations is lacking or delayed. Because local volunteers are the first line of response in the event of destabilisation and disasters, global actors have increasingly been calling for a broader and more people-centred approach to disaster risk reduction (Oxley, 2013; UNDP, 2011).

Discussions and debates about the efficacy of “spontaneous volunteers” is highly relevant to issues of humanitarian aid. Spontaneous volunteers are “those who seek to contribute on impulse – people who offer assistance following a disaster and who are not previously affiliated with recognised volunteer agencies and may or may not have relevant training, skills or experience” (Cottrell, 2012, p. 3). Also called “unofficial”, “unaffiliated” and “informal” volunteers, spontaneous volunteers self-deploy to assist during emergencies; however, they often do so without full coordination of their activities (Whittaker et al., 2014). In other situations, volunteers not affiliated with official response and recovery organisations may be coordinated in other ways, such as through faith-based or community-based organisations. As one example among many, volunteers coordinated with the help of IFRC helped protect more than two million people from polio in DRC during the critical years of 2013 and 2014—potentially saving millions of lives (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015).

Although local and spontaneous volunteers are increasingly recognised as an indispensable resource during disasters, some forms of volunteerism can also inhibit community resilience when they exclude or exploit certain groups, or when humanitarian organisations prioritise support for

international volunteers over local systems and structures (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). In addition, they often are viewed as unconnected to the “bigger picture” or overall map of activities that may be occurring through formal response mechanisms (Whittaker et al., 2014). Prior experience with volunteers have reported them distracting organised response, complicating the work of emergency services, and blocking or delaying the delivery of resources to affected areas—not to mention injury or death of untrained volunteers working in crisis situations (Sauer, Catlett, Tosatto, & Kirsch, 2014; Whittaker et al., 2014). All told, although volunteers are rarely the core method of services provided during humanitarian response, they can augment the response capacity of organisations in valuable ways – though this largely depend on volunteers receiving effective logistic support and having reliable communication with other humanitarian actors (Scolobig et al., 2015).

A key question this research aims to document is how diverse forms of volunteerism enhance or inhibit community resilient in different ways across the development, peace, and humanitarian contexts. The research should also help to direct policy and practice decisions about what periods during the disaster cycle (i.e. from preparation and early response to recovery and reconstruction) that different types of volunteers can most effectively engage.

4. Review of Conceptual Framework and Methods

Over the last decade, there has been a proliferation in frameworks assessing community resilience, with a specific methodology of Community Resilience Assessments (CRA) rising to the fore. CRAs aim to collect and analyse data from diverse communities in order to assess their resilience and define specific interventions that can strengthen their resilience (Leykin, Lahad, Cohen, Goldberg, & Aharonson-Daniel, 2013). Despite the high prevalence of CRA frameworks, the role of volunteerism in building community resilience has not been clearly articulated in these conceptual frameworks. This section places volunteerism as the point of departure to understand its contributions and challenges to community resilience. Within a system-wide framework of resilience, it unpacks the contribution of volunteerism to structures and processes that protect or impair communities during adverse events.

4.1 Influencing the Structures and Processes of Resilient Communities

In order to make sense of a growing variety of CRA frameworks and instruments, the Overseas Development Institute (ODI) reviewed 17 of the most prominent CRA frameworks—recognizing that these diverse frameworks are each heavily influenced by their conceptual entry point and have their own justification for continued use (Schipper & Langston, 2015). A short-time later, Cutter (2016) provided a more detailed overview of 27 CRA assessment tools and associated indicators. Around the same time, Sharifi and Yamagata (Sharifi & Yamagata, 2016a) further broadened the assessment of CRA tools by reviewing 36 of the most commonly used frameworks. Critical academic reviews indicated the UNDP-developed *Community Based Resilience Analysis (CoBRA)* assessment framework and methodology (see UNDP, 2014b; Way & UNDP, 2014) as among the

most rigorous and comprehensive frameworks among the many versions available (Sharifi, 2016; Sharifi & Yamagata, 2016a).¹

The CoBRA, along with many of the other CRA frameworks reviewed, uses a Sustainable Livelihoods Framework, which conceptualises community resilience around categories of (1) assets, (2) livelihoods, and (3) larger structures and processes on the adaptive capacities of communities or their “ability to cope with and adapt to shocks or stresses” (Frankenberger et al., 2012; Frankenberger, Constan, Neson, & Starr, 2014). Although volunteerism likely influences the adaptive capacity of communities in many ways, including strengthening people’s assets and livelihood strategies, this research and analysis will focus on the third component: structures and processes that help communities to better cope with shocks and stresses during times of conflict and crisis.

The research focus on adaptive structures and processes enables us to showcase distinctive features of volunteerism that inhibit or enhance diverse attributes of resilient communities. We start with the assumption that volunteerism can impact the quality of the design and implementation of structures and processes that impact community resilience—and will design primary research to test this assumption. This approach allows researchers to assess and showcase how volunteerism challenges or contributes to adaptive strategies practiced by resilient communities including participatory governance, changing gender norms, equitable distribution of resources, building social cohesion, and other attributes (Burden, 2000; Leigh et al., 2011; Oxley, 2013; UNDP et al., 2011; Winderl et al., 2014; Woolley, 1998).

The potential ways that volunteerism impacts structures and processes are wide and diverse. In the public sector, the impact of volunteerism on structures and processes may include advocating for policies that provide basic services, security, social protection and safety nets (Wallace et al., 2015). Volunteerism may help empower women through changed gender norms or greater inclusion in participatory processes (Le Masson et al., 2015). It may strengthen community governance structures to promote better awareness of risk reduction strategies or early warning systems (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). It may change governance processes, promote the resolution of conflicts, enhance peacebuilding, and strengthen social cohesion (Frankenberger et al., 2012; Wallace et al., 2015). It may mediate ethnic and religious tensions and conflict by questioning the values and assumptions that underlie religious and cultural mores and stereotypes (Mercy Corps, 2015; Singh et al., 2016). Evidence suggests that volunteers can also be effective connectors and communicators in this process—helping citizens and governmental official to communicate more effectively, to understand their complementary and reciprocal expectations and responsibilities (Lough, 2012; Wallace et al., 2015; Winderl et al., 2014).

¹ An adapted summary of Sharifi and Yamagata’s (Sharifi & Yamagata, 2016a) critical analysis, with the addition of select frameworks from ODI’s analysis, is provided in Appendix 3.

Primary research will likely unveil many additional ways that volunteerism contributes to resilience through its influence on adaptive structures and processes. Because the potential contributions and challenges of volunteerism to these structures and processes can be extensive, the conceptual framework set boundaries for assessment around a set of categories or attributes commonly associated with resilient communities.

4.2 Attributes of Resilient Communities

Many different studies over the past decade have sought to identify characteristics or core principles of diverse communities or systems. Depending on the study, these qualities range from 4 to 11 characteristics present in resilient communities. Some of these studies, such as UNDP's CoBRA (2014b), focus largely on the assets and livelihood dimensions of community resilience (e.g. predictable income, food security, assets, social safety nets, livelihood strategies), while others focus more on the adaptive structures and process dimensions of community resilience (e.g. Kulig, Edge, & Joyce, 2008; Oxley, 2013; Simonsen et al., 2014). A brief summary of the diverse principles and attributes of resilient communities and their associated studies is included in Appendix 2.

Taken together, studies that focus on the resilience characteristics of communities influenced by adaptive structures and processes highlight six common attributes comparable across many of the diverse systems studied. Although the language used to describe these attributes and principles are different, a handful of common characteristics are repeated across studies. Collating the specific language used in these multiple studies, the six most prominent attributes of resilient communities include:

1. Connectivity, social networks, social capital, partnerships
2. Diversity, diversification and redundancy
3. Social cohesion, community togetherness, getting along
4. Participation, taking action, empowerment, self-organisation, collective efficacy
5. Inclusion, embracing differences, ability to cope with divisions
6. Information and communication, learning and regulatory feedback

These categories encompass 6 of the 9 characteristics identified by Marcus Oxley (2013) from the Global Network of Civil Society Organisations for Disaster in his editorial entitled: *A "People-centred principles-based" post-Hyogo framework to strengthen the resilience of nations and communities*. For the sake of simplicity, this review uses the language of the six terms chosen by Oxley to describe the common concepts covered by these multiple studies. The additional three terms identified by Oxley (i.e. preparedness, responsiveness, and thresholds) are also applicable – though not as commonly recognised across other studies and are partially subsumed under the other six principles.

Six common principles of resilient communities:

1. Connectivity	2. Self-organisation
3. Social cohesion	4. Inclusion
5. Learning	6. Diversity

Consistent with this framework, the primary research planned for the SWVR will gather data about how distinctive attributes of volunteerism influence community-based structures and processes before, during, and after conflict and crisis—which consequently reflect core principles of community resilience. We recognise these six common principles as a starting point, and will assess how volunteerism influences these different areas. However, because previous studies have not yet identified or investigated how distinctive characteristics of volunteerism influence community resilience, the primary research also aims to uncover and identify additional resilience principles influenced by volunteers.

4.2.1 Connectivity

The attribute of connectivity recognises that people are embedded in a web of diverse networks, which strengthens system resilience. This principle emphasises the power of relationships and alliances, collaborations across boundaries, multi-stakeholder partnerships, holistic and coherent coordination mechanisms and policies, and the power of integrated plans and approaches. It is closely associated with the community asset of “social capita” or the possession of a durable network of social relationships (Bourdieu, 1985). Understanding the power of connectivity is important because a focus on individual activities without greater insight into their social context is unable to portray the true value of people-centred responses. To understand resilience, we must consider how relationships and connections form new capacities and responses that do not exist with people acting alone (De Coning, 2016).

Connectivity can affect issues as straightforward as people receiving knowledge of danger, as well as their willingness and capacity to flee when risk is high. People with more social connections are more likely to hear information during crises, and are more likely to act on this information (Norris et al., 2008). For instance, research investigating community responses to Hurricanes Hugo and Andrew found that people with strong social support networks were more than twice as likely to evacuate as those with weaker social supports (Riad, Norris, & Ruback, 1999 as cited in Norris et al., 2008). Understanding the power of connectivity, some resilience scholars have concluded that a greater proportion of development and humanitarian resilience interventions should focus on efforts to strengthen social networks that people rely on during times of shock and stress (Kurtz & McMahon, 2015).

Higher levels of connectivity also influence peoples’ “sense of community” and “attachment to place”, which are both seen as important dimensions of community resilience. Place attachment and sense of community are both bonding attitudes associated with trust and belonging to a

community, which ultimately influence how people respond to risks and threats (Perkins, Hughey, & Speer, 2002). A well-developed sense of community is also associated with greater mutual concern between people, and a higher likelihood that communities will come together to respond and rebuild after disasters strikes (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). In this sense, sense of community is associated with enhanced mutual help and reciprocal assistance during adverse times—including help with child care, emotional support, seeking shelter, obtaining medical help and asking for information (Aldrich & Meyer, 2014; Dynes, 2005).

Although the principle of connectivity is clearly associated with higher levels of community resilience in multiple studies, it can also spread risk, fear and other forms of disturbance at faster rates than less connected communities (Simonsen et al., 2014). Therefore, connectivity is not an entirely neutral or helpful attribute. In this study, we are concerned with ways that volunteerism may enhance or inhibit connectivity within their communities—recognizing that heightened connectivity could have both positive or negative outcomes on community resilience.

4.2.2 Self-organisation

The principle of self-organisation refers to a process of “making order” spontaneously within a cooperative community—i.e. not relying on, or being controlled by, agents outside the community (Berkes & Ross, 2013). Self-organisation reflects activities such as freedom of association and assembly, democratic or participatory engagement, self-governance through autonomous action and the decentralisation/devolution of authority to autonomous groups. It has also been described as the capacity for citizens to freely participate meaningfully in decisions that affect their lives (Norris et al., 2008). Because self-organising processes are decentralised, and many actors across the system are responsible for taking action, it is considered more robust and self-sustaining than more centralised approaches.

Self-organisation is such an important attribute for resilient communities that some scholars have defined the concept of fragility as having insufficient or limited capacity to self-organise, and the concept of resilience as “the internal complexity that enables them to self-organise...to cope with the shocks and challenges” (De Coning, 2016, p. 173). Indeed, when shocks and stresses hit, fragile communities are often unable to come together spontaneously to address the problems. Although some fragile communities may have the freedom and capacity to self-organize, they may lack the belief that self-organization will make a difference. Research indicates that such “collective efficacy” or people’s belief that they can make a difference is a key distinguishing feature between communities that are able to spontaneously organise and those that fail to act (Norris et al., 2008).

Although self-organisation is a distinguishing attribute of resilient communities, the principle does not discount the complementary value of centralised control. Jobidon et al. (2016) performed research in crisis management comparing traditional functional teams (i.e. those with top-down command and clearly defined roles) with self-organised teams. The researchers found that self-organizing teams generally performed and coordinated better than functional teams. However, they

also found that overreliance on self-organisation was associated with “role ambiguity”, which inhibited the team’s ability to achieve its goals (Jobidon et al., 2016). A number of other studies also support this conclusion with other forms of evidence—recognizing the influence of power differences, conflicting interests and other challenges on self-organisation (Dyckman, 2016; T. Hahn & Nykvist, 2017). Thus, it may be difficult for self-organizing communities to be optimally resilient without complementary support and direction from centralized forces and/or external stakeholders.

4.2.3 Social cohesion

Socially cohesive communities have developed mechanisms to share risk and resolve conflict through social interaction. They may have shared beliefs, value systems or identities that unify their community during adverse times (Vinson, 2004). Socially cohesive communities have just and equitable social norms that support values of tolerance and social harmony, as well as equitable rules and high-levels of reciprocity in social relations (Rolfe, 2006). Social cohesion is closely linked with the “connections” attribute described in Section 4.2.1, as it is difficult to obtain social cohesion without connections. It is enhanced when people are well-situated with a “web of social relationships perceived to be loving, caring, and readily available in times of need” (Barrera, 1986 as cited in Norris et al., 2008). Social cohesion also relates to the concept *solidarity* or ‘power with others’ through citizen alliances, organisational partnerships, social networks, and other informal and formal coalitions. Research suggests that solidarity with others enhances people’s base of support, which makes them less vulnerable to conflict and crisis (Singh et al., 2016).

The attribute of social cohesion is particularly important for reducing and overcoming conflict, and for reaching less tangible dimensions of sustaining peace. Conflict within a community clearly disrupts social cohesion and the relationships of mutual trust between members. Encouraging social interaction is one way to recreate this trust, helping people to renegotiating relationships, rules, and social contracts with others—thereby allowing them to address past wounds. Through positive social interactions, people can relearn to coexist peacefully with former antagonists. Because the important but often intangible qualities of mutual trust and forgiveness are socially and culturally constructed, they are encouraged by social interaction and interpersonal engagement (USIP, 2012).

As with the other attributes of resilience, social cohesion may not always positively impact communities. In reality, communities are composed of multiple cohesive groups with us-and-them, insider-outsider dynamics. Research with tribes in the Horn of Africa found that intra-ethnic social cohesion was associated with greater peace and security as well as increased cooperation within communities during times of stress. However, inter-ethnic relationships between did not appear to have an noticeable impact on resilience measures (Kurtz & McMahon, 2015). Even in communities that are relatively homogenous, strong social cohesion may actually reduce their receptivity to external stakeholder assistance and humanitarian support in times of need. Therefore,

the moderating factor of social and group affiliation need to be taken into careful consideration in assessments about the influence of social cohesion on community resilience.

4.2.4 Inclusion

The attribute of inclusion applied to community resilience refers to the participatory and pluralistic representation of diverse groups in decision-making. At the most basic level, this includes the engagement of civil society as a partner with co-productive responsibility to manage risk. Because many people face discrimination and the denial of fundamental human rights based on their religion, race or ethnicity, caste or class, gender or age, inclusion is extended as marginalised people are incorporated in decision-making processes. Exclusion makes vulnerable people more likely to be negatively affected during disasters and conflict, while inclusive approaches respect their deep knowledge of vulnerability, and value how this applies to managing risks and hazards (GFDRR, 2015; Singh et al., 2016). The social norms that sustain discrimination of underprivileged groups are often reinforced by policies that further prevent social exclusion and limit people's participation.

The attribute of inclusion has been a key focus of many studies on community resilience. It is often measured by assessing the degree of access that diverse groups have to community resources, the level of participation that diverse and marginalised people have in planning and leadership, the ultimate effect of such participation on community decisions, and the degree of sharing and distribution of resources and knowledge that occurs in adverse times (Berkes & Ross, 2013). A key principle behind an inclusive approach is that collective action will be more effective when people from diverse groups are able to trust each other and work together—particularly in times of crisis when the need for cooperation is high.

The principle of inclusion is tied to the principle of connectivity. Both connective and inclusive communities ensure that information and resources can be distributed to even the most marginalised people. This decreases the risk that vulnerable people will suffer the greatest during crises. Many studies have documented situations where people who are isolated, ethnically-marginalised, women, elderly, etc. are the most likely to suffer or die during disasters (Klinenberg, 2015; Winderl et al., 2014). However, this pattern can be reversed in inclusive communities with high levels of inclusion and participation by vulnerable groups.

4.2.5 Learning

Learning refers to a community's capacity for consistent regulatory feedback to determine what is or is not working. It involves the iterative process of gathering and sharing information and knowledge about the best ways to deal with crisis or conflict. Learning recognises the importance and relevance of both indigenous and scientific knowledge. However, there is also an assumption that, during times of crisis, local and closer sources of information are likely more reliable than unfamiliar or distant sources (Longstaff, 2005). In this sense, the concept of learning is associated with other attributes of resilient communities such as reliance on local connections, self-organised

mechanisms for feedback, and the disaggregation of information from inclusive community-based approaches. A community's capacity to collect and analyse data can provide useful regulatory feedback in collaboration with volunteers and other humanitarian actors to enhance their overall resilience before, during, and after crises.

4.2.6 Diversity

The principle of diversity recognises that all people and groups operate with a complex system with many players—each with different strengths and perspectives. Because diverse actors each have different sources of knowledge and norms, they can bring their unique perspectives to the table, which can ostensibly lead to more effective and sustainable solutions. In many ways, the principle of diversity is closely connected to the principle of inclusion in its valuing of different perspectives. However, diversity in a community resilience context focuses more directly on the value of “redundancies” that occurs in diverse systems (Arnold, Mearns, Oshima, & Prasad, 2014; De Weijer, 2013). Redundancies in a system provide back-up or inter-changeability when one source (e.g. government) is weak or inept. This has also been referred to as having “institutional multiplicity” (Oxley, 2013). It follows the idea of “nested institutions”, which enable social engagement and collective action by different sets of actors that can each fit the problem at the appropriate level (Simonsen et al., 2014). For instance, volunteers and civil society may be able to effectively tackle problems at a level where higher-order stakeholders may not have the correct knowledge or adequate access.

When diverse communities have built-in redundancies, they may have a higher tolerance for failure and a greater willingness to take risks and experiment (Simonsen et al., 2014). Likewise, different actors in a community sharing overlapping functions may improve problem solving, innovation alternatives, and optional strategies to deal with adverse events. On the other hand, diversity will almost inevitably result in conflicting agendas that can inhibit effective and inclusive problem-solving. Thus, the principle of diversity must be balanced with community attributes of inclusion and social cohesion.

4.3 Volunteerism for Resilience

The attributes of resilient communities discussed above recognise that resilient communities tap a diverse and inclusive set of stakeholders to enhance the resources, knowledge, connections, and expertise that communities often need to cope during times of shock or stress. Volunteers are a distinct group among other stakeholders with the power to contribute to (and potentially inhibit) community resilience. Volunteerism is considered a powerful and cross-cutting means of implementation of the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development (UNGA, 2015b). It is a people-centred approach, which aims to engage people, to support communities to self-mobilise as they work to reduce their vulnerabilities and risks while also strengthening access to external supports and networks (Winderl et al., 2014). In this way, volunteerism can strengthen people's ownership

of efforts to strengthen community resilience as they take decisions and actions that affect their lives (UNGA, 2013).

Understanding the role of volunteerism in building community resilience extends beyond formal volunteering and volunteering-involving organisations but also includes the influence of informal forms of voluntary citizen engagement such as mutual aid and self-help, unpaid campaigning and advocacy work, and other forms of civic participation (Leigh et al., 2011). Across these diverse forms of volunteerism and engagement, spaces are shrinking in many countries and contexts—particularly volunteerism for advocacy and social activism and the promotion of human rights. Shrinking civic spaces are accompanied by decreasing investments in volunteerism and increasing concerns about volunteer security and protection, especially in fragile communities and post-conflict environments.

The 2030 development agenda creates urgency to accelerate progress in the recognition, promotion and integration of volunteer action to build and strengthen communities. While many stakeholders acknowledge that volunteerism is valuable, there is a need to better evidence the contributions and challenges of volunteerism for community resilience. To the degree that evidence supports the value of volunteerism, it can be positioned as a viable and sustainable mechanism to enhance resilience in contexts where its distinctive contributions are most needed and helpful. As a general approach to development, stakeholders have integrated volunteerism into a diverse array of implementation plans. Nonetheless, while volunteerism represent a distinctive, people-centred and holistic approach to building an inclusive and resilient society, its contributions and challenges have not been brought together under a common framework. The SWVR will help to fill this gap.

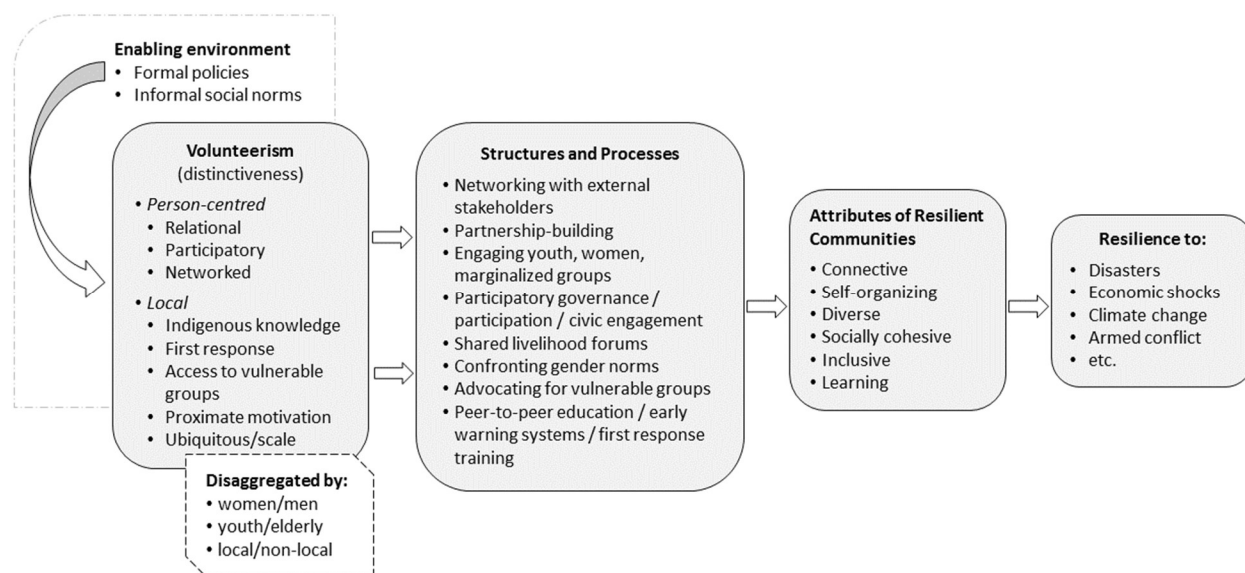
4.4 Working Conceptual Framework

Volunteerism consists of a diverse set of activities that have dissimilar impacts depending on the context where these activities take place. When different types of volunteerism are disaggregated, and analysed separately, they can tell very different stories. Diverse forms of volunteerism will also need different kinds of supports. Likewise, socially and politically vulnerable groups may face discrimination and exploitation as they volunteer, while less vulnerable groups could actually benefit under similar conditions. In order to paint an accurate picture of the impacts of volunteerism on community resilience, research and analyses need to consider the needs and characteristics of different groups. Thus, narratives need to be disaggregated by types of volunteerism such as degree of localisation (local, national, international volunteers), nature of volunteerism (formal, informal/spontaneous, self-help, voluntary citizen engagement, unpaid campaigning and advocacy work, other forms of civic participation), skill level of volunteers (trained/professional vs. untrained/amateur), or supports (stipend vs. non-stipend volunteering, etc.). In addition, research analyses and narratives should consider the differential impacts of volunteerism on vulnerable groups (women, children, older adults, indigenous peoples or other marginalised ethnic groups, disability status, etc.).

Beyond disaggregating analyses by diverse volunteer types and groups, investigating the distinctive attributes of volunteerism includes assessing its influence on the functionality, operation, and capabilities of both formal and informal institutions. This follows contemporary theory on resilience strengthening, which recognise the critical importance of complex systems and diverse actors working together in times of conflict and crises (Berkes & Ross, 2013; De Coning, 2016). A conceptual framework must include a wide picture about how volunteerism intersects with governments, civil society and the private sector to change system structures or processes. To truly enhance resilience, volunteerism must work across diverse areas of an ecological system to address underlying causes beyond immediate stresses and shocks (Simonsen et al., 2014).

The working conceptual framework below aims to illustrate how a distinctive person-centred volunteerism approach can affect adaptive structures and processes, thereby creating value beyond other resilience approaches that focus more exclusively on strengthening people's assets and livelihood strategies (see UNDP, 2014b).

Figure 1: Working Conceptual Framework of Volunteerism for Resilience



The conceptual framework is a work in progress; the final framework included in the report will be refined through participatory research in the field, discussions with the research teams and experts, and other empirical and theoretical justifications. The following section provides examples of how volunteerism has influenced the diverse attributes of resilient communities presented in this conceptual framework.

5. Distinctive Attributes of Volunteerism for Community Resilience

This section aims to recognise the contributions of volunteer action to community resilience as evidenced in prior studies. It draws upon case studies and empirical research to provide an overview of whether volunteerism, as a distinctive people-centred approach, can create value beyond traditional aid or other resilience approaches. The studies and examples are categorised according to resilience attributes outlined in the conceptual framework (i.e. connectivity, self-organisation, social cohesion, inclusion, learning, and diversity). Recognizing the principle of diversity and inclusion as key characteristics of resilient communities, this overview will also disaggregate case examples, whenever possible, by different types of volunteer groups (e.g. local vs. non-local, women and men, young and old, etc.)—emphasizing how these different groups contribute in different ways (both positive and negative) to changes in adaptive structures and processes.

5.1 Connectivity

A few empirical studies have highlighted that volunteerism is able to occupy a distinctive space in development, peacebuilding, and humanitarian efforts—linking local to non-local actors (Devereux, 2010; Lough, 2014, 2016a), as well as connecting civil society groups to larger social and political institutions (Allen, 2006; Shieh & Deng, 2011). Community-based volunteerism is viewed as particularly important for improving cooperation and coordination between governmental institutions and local civil society groups. As one example among many, in the aftermath of the tsunami that struck Indonesia in 2014, the Indonesian government provided block grants to volunteer groups to lead recovery efforts in their communities. As a result of these efforts, the government was able to tap into local community networks while also enhancing mutual trust between the government and community groups (World Bank, 2012 as cited in GFDRR, 2015).

Beyond the general value of connectivity influenced by volunteer action, a number of specific distinctive attributes related to connection are evident in previous research with volunteers. Among these, local volunteers are typically the first line of response during disasters. Because volunteers are relatively ubiquitous, they are able to reach the vulnerable quickly—and to reach them first. Volunteerism also offers value through human connection and critical social support during and after crises. In addition, new technologies offer new and innovative ways for volunteers to connect with social networking and social media channels to enhance community resilience. On the other hand, volunteers that fall outside of formal institutions are often disconnected from coordinated efforts and are less effective during emergencies—sometimes even getting in the way of effective operational responses. Further, non-local volunteers may undermine resilience and create dependencies if they are too heavily embedded in humanitarian efforts over time. These specific areas of are each covered in brief below

5.1.1 Speed and first response

A key distinctive benefit of local volunteerism as a people-centred response to disasters is their ability to respond quickly as first responders during emergencies. These volunteers fill a critical function in the immediate response following disasters and other crises. Research on volunteerism in disaster settings indicate that 80-90 percent of survivors were rescued by volunteer citizens rather than professional rescue workers, including local firefighters and trained responders (Aldrich & Meyer, 2014; Whittaker et al., 2014). The benefit of response speed also extends beyond the local. Volunteers working with national and transnational NGOs can also be rapidly deployed in large numbers. As one example, the White Helmets Commission of Argentina has developed a system to rapidly deploy civilian volunteers to crisis, disasters, and diverse emergencies around the globe.

5.1.2 Access to the vulnerable

Not only are volunteers typically the first front-line providers in emergencies but they also often work off the beaten path – and frequently in dangerous places. For instance, research with volunteers in conflict situations found that formal humanitarian structures, including aid and medical care organisations are often unwilling to provide services to vulnerable groups in high conflict areas. In situations where international humanitarian organisations providing professional services have withdrawn, volunteers are the only people left to provide critical services. As one Red Cross aid worker serving in the Central African Republic reflected, “When the conflict was at its height, you only saw the UN, the rebels and Red Cross volunteers on the streets” (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015, p. 75). Because of their local knowledge and proximity to affected communities, local volunteers are also typically better positioned than non-local responders to understand the particular struggles and needs of the most vulnerable and hidden groups within a community (UNV, 2015).

5.1.3 Bridging ties with external actors

Local volunteers can also provide complementary value by connecting non-local stakeholders with national and transnational NGOs. In countries where conflict is chronic—often disabling public services for decades—international aid agencies tend to provide basic and essential services in lieu of state support; however, these agencies often find it difficult to access the most vulnerable groups within a community (Sanderson & Sharma, 2016). In situations where global actors are unable to access people in greatest need during crises and conflicts, local volunteers have become indispensable partners. Much of the international relief provided by large global organisations is facilitated through local volunteer groups (Sanderson & Sharma, 2016). As intermediaries, volunteers can help to build bridges of trust between local organisations and international partners (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). These volunteers act as connectors helping to negotiate local politics and gate-keepers, thereby allowing transnational actors to gain access to more vulnerable communities (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015).

5.1.4 Digital connections, technology and social media

The 2011 SWVR recognised that “technological developments are opening up spaces for people to volunteer in ways that have no parallel in history” (Leigh et al., 2011, p. 26). Digital, cyber, online and virtual volunteerism have opened up spaces for volunteerism—freeing it from being anchored to specific times and locations. These new forms of volunteerism are a key trend in the networked age of humanitarian aid (Chandran & Thow, 2013).

People-centred strategies to disaster mitigation and response are partly an outgrowth of technological innovation and the new impacts of social media and modern information and communication technologies. Volunteers are indispensable resources for social media-based disaster interventions. For instance, the power of digital volunteerism using open source software was clearly evident in the 2010 Haiti earthquake (Meier, 2012; Zook, Graham, Shelton, & Gorman, 2010). In other contexts volunteers have contributed to skilled data mining and crisis mapping pre- and post-disasters (Meier, 2013). Digital volunteerism can have additional benefits of promoting global citizenship and international connections—despite often being otherwise distant from disaster-affected areas. While advances in global citizenship may not seem directly relevant to resilience, this attribute is increasingly important to sustaining peace in a World with global migration and growing multiculturalism.

Although digital volunteerism has many potential benefits, reports from the field also indicate a number of potential problems and complications that may arise from free-flowing information provided by volunteers. For instance, a report on the Tasmanian bushfires of 2013 found that volunteers using social media during disasters were highly useful in some areas but also provided unreliable or incorrect information, mobilised unneeded services, encouraged unsubstantiated risk-taking, and created unrealistic expectations for some populations (Tasmanian Government, 2013, p. 172). Other criticisms of digital volunteerism admire that it can be done quickly and in small chunks of time; however, they question whether it is truly able to engage people in a way that is connective and inspiring of genuine engagement and participation (Gladwell, 2010).

5.1.5 Human connection and social support

The final distinctive contribution supporting the connective attribute of volunteerism is its ability to reduce feelings of alienation and isolation as people work with others to solve problems of mutual concern. This connective capacity can be particularly useful during stressful events as people join together with other others experiencing similar problems (Zimmerman, 1990). Many studies have documented the mental and public health benefits of volunteerism (Jenkinson et al., 2013; Lum & Lightfoot, 2005). Although not all of these benefits can be attributed to the connective and associative nature of volunteer action, many of the mental health benefits have been associated with its connection to social support and its ability to reduce isolation during personal and collective crises (Cattan, White, Bond, & Learmouth, 2005; Kumar, Calvo, Avendano, Sivaramakrishnan, & Berkman, 2012). On the other hand, many volunteers serving in

disasters and emergencies report new mental health problems emerging during and after their service (Thormar et al., 2014). These concerns need to be better understood and balanced along with the potential protective functions of volunteerism.

5.2 Self-organisation

The 2015 SWVR focused heavily on volunteers' contributions to self-organisation—including people's freedom of association and assembly, democratic or participatory engagement, self-governance, and the devolution of authority to autonomous groups (Oxley, 2013; UNDP, 2014b). Following disasters and conflict, there is often a long delay before formal systems and institutions can again begin to function normally. In these periods of institutional dysfunction, the self-organizing capacity of volunteers is highly evident. The importance of volunteers as first responders is common enough that governments increasingly expect communities to be self-reliant, with community-based volunteerism as a base strategy for response during adverse events (McLennan, Whittaker, & Handmer, 2016).

While local volunteerism may enhance self-organisation, volunteerism from outside a community could inhibit self-organisation. Although external volunteers can improve stability and provide short-term relief, their involvement during emergencies can be a two-edged sword. Non-local volunteers can serve as valuable connectors to other external stakeholders, can provide critical support during acute crises, and can import valuable outside perspectives and ideas to inform local issues. As external sources of support, however, they may reduce incentives for local populations to self-organise and act collectively to solve problems that affect their communities.

5.2.1 Empowerment and ownership

As a people-centred process, volunteerism provides a pathway for the types of self-organised citizen action that can lead to long-term community resilience. Self-organised volunteer participation represents ownerships of community-based decisions and solutions, which is required for effective community resilience. In this sense, volunteerism may be particularly helpful at mobilizing and building the capacity of young people, women and other vulnerable groups to strengthen community resilience, thereby giving vulnerable people a concrete way to organise and contribute to their communities and society. As one example, networks of indigenous women in Latin America self-organised to help secure land and housing for people that were displaced during civil war. These volunteers felt more empowered as they took ownership of creating solutions to the problems faced in their community (Silliman & Schilen, 2008).

People can often better deal with trauma as they act to change their circumstances. Feelings of deep powerlessness are an underlying feature of trauma. Therefore, building resilience must include efforts to strengthen people's empowerment by mobilizing their capacities to self-organise, accentuating their strengths, and helping them to become self-sufficient (Norris et al., 2008). Through volunteering, feelings of trauma can be reduced as vulnerable members of a community

help others who are hurting. Research supports the claim that empowerment through self-organised action can contribute to the process of healing (Carlile, Mauseth, Clark, Cruz, & Thoburn, 2014).

5.2.2 Scale

One of the clear benefits of volunteerism is its capacity to engage thousands of people in spontaneous efforts to improve their communities. This benefit is particularly evident in disaster response. Media sources and countless reports provide examples of emergencies where thousands of volunteers self-mobilised in response (McEntire, 2014). The capacity and scale of spontaneous volunteerism far exceeds the mobilizing capacity of command-and-control centres. Scale is enhanced even further when accounting for the thousands of spontaneous online and cyber volunteerism that occurs before, during, and after disasters (Meier, 2012).

5.2.3 Cost-effective

Few resources are typically required to coordinate and incentivise participation by volunteers in self-organizing groups. While this may certainly be an advantage, the assumption that self-organised does not need support from larger institutions is a poor and unsustainable assumption in the long-run. Local volunteers often bear the brunt of on-the-ground labour during emergencies. As front-line responders, governments and other institutions often take it for granted that volunteers will respond and participate—even when not supported with resources and other means of assistance. While volunteers can certainly accomplish much through self-organisation, the expectation that volunteers will respond and engage has been criticised as a way for governments to shift costs without committing additional resources and/or devolving power to volunteer groups (Cretney, 2014; McLennan et al., 2016; Oppenheimer, 2014). Reliance on volunteers as “cheap and proximate labour” without investing resources to support their efforts has also been critiqued for weakening the values of volunteering (Oppenheimer, 2014). The beneficial attributes of self-organisation are the same attributes that can set volunteerism up to be exploitative, particularly for women, youth and other marginalised groups that would benefit from resource investments.

5.2.4 Local and informal

Although the self-organisation of volunteer groups can ostensibly occur at any level, it is more likely and evident at the local level. Local volunteerism has the advantages of quick response, real-time views and on-the-ground knowledge of problems. They are able to meet local needs and solve problems in innovative ways that are less-constrained by formal institutions (Fernandez et al., 2006). Despite the advantages of spontaneous and self-organised volunteerism, their safety and liability is rarely addressed—particularly in comparison with non-local volunteers and professional workers formalised within organizations. Although local volunteers are common enough to predictably engage during emergencies, they typically lack experience and knowledge with emergency response. Likewise, few agencies plan for their participation, prepare to provide training or perform background checks on these volunteers (Sauer et al., 2014). This is partly because local volunteers are often quickly mobilised based on urgent need, and may not have time

to be appropriately prepared or trained. Nonetheless, their roles during emergencies often expose them to similar levels of difficulty and risk exposure as professional workers (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015; Thormar et al., 2010). A further disadvantage is that many of the people targeted during conflicts are local volunteers. The IFRC global study reported a worldwide increase in attacks on aid workers leading to injury, kidnapping, or death—noting that a significant portion of these attacks are on local volunteers (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015).

5.3 Social cohesion

The connection between volunteerism and social cohesion has long been touted as one of the key advantages of volunteer action. Related to the concept of “connection”, volunteerism tends to strengthen bonding social capital or social networks between homogenous groups (Woolcock & Narayan, 2000). Bonding from volunteerism can be particularly valuable for marginalised groups as they band together to support their collective needs (Arai, 2000). In addition to bonding social capital, volunteerism is a people-centred process with the potential to build trust, strengthen community-based identities, promote inclusion and equality, prevent internal conflict, and initiate intercultural and interethnic dialogue (Collins, 2009; Jeannotte, 2003; UNV, 2015).

In comparison with “normal” times, social cohesion may be particularly enhanced during emergencies. Research has found that volunteer groups are generally more cohesive in crises than similar groups in normal times as they come together to help people in crises overcome their trials (Scanlon, Helsloot, & Groenendaal, 2014; Whittaker et al., 2014). Volunteers groups may also add distinctive value during and after conflict. Governments often partner with volunteers to create safe spaces for exchanging views and addressing concerns as part of healing fractures (SWVR, 2015). For example, truth and reconciliation commissions are largely made up of volunteers, often young people, which have some degree of independence from government (Mollica, 2017; Moran, 2016).

On the other hand, volunteerism is not always associated with greater social cohesion. It can also lead to divisions and isolation. In a pluralistic and multi-cultural society, self-organised action can be socially divisive as people choose to bond and connect only with those that share similar views, identities, blood or history. In this sense, volunteerism can lead to exclusive action by groups resulting in competition and conflict. Research with volunteer participation in violent extremism has found that people damaged by conflict will often voluntarily join in fighting with the shared goal of seeking revenge or restitution for what they have lost (UNV, 2017).

As another counterexample, volunteerism during crises can also lead to social isolation. Research has documented high mental health problems among volunteers that participate in disaster settings (Benedek, Fullerton, & Ursano, 2007; Berah, Jones, & Valent, 1984; Bills et al., 2008). In a review of studies that compared volunteers with professional workers engaged across a wide variety of disaster settings, volunteers consistently indicated higher levels of post-traumatic stress, more

mental health complaints, and poorer coping behaviours. These effects were particularly high for volunteers that identified victims as friends, had higher levels of exposure to gruesome events (e.g. witnessing or removing dead bodies), and lacked social support (Thormar et al., 2010).

Despite these counterexamples and important nuances, a number of distinctive attributes of volunteerism have been linked to greater social cohesion in communities—particularly in moments of crisis and conflict. The following sub-sections will expand on these attributes with a focus on linkages between volunteerism and trust, proximity, place-based identity, reciprocity, and neutrality.

5.3.1 Trust

Volunteerism has been associated with increased dialogue and heightened feelings of trust between people cooperating to address problems before, during, and after crisis and conflict (Malik, 2014, p. 8). For instance, Mercy Corps volunteers led workshops to foster inter-ethnic cooperation in Kosovo by strengthening shared livelihood development between Serb and Albanian farmers. (USAID, 2006). These volunteers used shared livelihoods as an entry point for strengthening trust between combatants, which helped to sustain peace between these diverse groups in a virtuous cycle. Effective peacebuilding requires trust to ensure open dialogue between stakeholders, which can further enhance trust. Building trust is particularly important for resilience post-conflict because conflict inevitably weakens trust between people; efforts to strengthen collaboration between polarised groups can only be achieved when basic elements of trust are restored (USAID, 2006).

Volunteering can also build networks, which strengthen mechanisms and opportunities for people to engage in repeat interaction. Trust is a fundamental ingredient for collective action, which is enhanced through repeat interaction as people labour together to accomplish shared goals (Mosoetsa, 2005; Ostrom, 2003). Frequent interaction between well-connected networks of social groups can strengthen the sharing of information, which can help build trust. For instance, mutual trust is linked to people voluntarily taking collective responsibilities for disaster preparedness (Hausman, Hanlon, & Seals, 2007), as well as collective decision-making and disaster response and recovery (Adger, 2003; Aldrich & Meyer, 2014; Brunie, 2010).

5.3.2 Community-identification

Volunteerism has the capacity to enhance people's sense of community ownership—building their sense of shared belonging as they engage in community-rebuilding processes. Ownership has also been linked to community cohesion and trust, which are important mechanisms for resolving conflict and building consensus (Malik, 2014, p. 8). Similar to community ownership, volunteerism is also linked to developing a stronger attachment to place. For instance, volunteer participation in strengthening cultural heritage has been conceptualised as a means for building more resilient communities. In one study, volunteer participation in promoting or reproducing

traditional cultural practices had a strong influence on place identity and community-identification, which were tied directly to community resilience (Beel et al., 2017).

5.3.3 Proximate

When people identify with a particular place and have even weak relationships with others in their geographic proximity, they will be more likely to volunteer and help those around them (Sin, 2010; Yeung, 2004). Local volunteers are usually members of the community and are often suffering in similar ways as others they have developed relationships with in the community. This proximity gives the volunteers intimate knowledge of challenges, as well as high motivations to relieve others' suffering. When people find themselves in proximity to others who are suffering, they often experience a fundamental human impulse to help. This may be a key reason why volunteers are the first to respond during disasters—often motivated by the thought, “If we don't do it who will?”. Volunteers will step forward to help in their own communities when most others cannot or will not. A quote from an IFRC report on volunteerism during crisis summarised this rationale well:

Local volunteers were the only ones putting their hands up.... A lot [of volunteers] didn't want to be part of that. But there were a lot too who said, ‘no-one else will do this, it has to be us, this is our community. (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015, p. 74).

Many examples demonstrate this principle in practice. In Western Africa, volunteers risked their lives to help immunise and care for people taken with Ebola—even though many were afraid and knew they would likely be stigmatised by others in their community (Winderl et al., 2014). As another example, across the World, volunteers were often the only people willing to welcome and help refugees from Syria when governments were unwilling or unable (3RP, 2017).

5.3.4 Reciprocal

Volunteerism as mutual aid represents two-way support with a better balance between giving and receiving. Social cohesion is difficult to achieve with reciprocity (Forrest & Kearns, 2001). Being constantly on the receiving or giving end of support can be harmful to both parties and can lead to feelings of disempowerment, entitlement and alienation—all of which run counter to social cohesion (Lough, 2016b; Norris et al., 2008). Although many forms of volunteerism beyond mutual aid represent a unidirectional transfer of skills, labour and resources, they typically embody a more reciprocal form of giving than traditional humanitarian aid transfers.

5.3.5 Neutral

Volunteerism is often perceived as a neutral force for positive change—initiated by people motivated by comparatively altruistic reasons. Assuming volunteerism is a neutral force, it can help unite people who are divided, improve cooperation and dialogue and animate participation among fractious groups (UNV, 2011). This is one reason why volunteers are often involved as credible and objective intermediaries in the conduct of elections and in preparation for potential stresses during political transitions. On the other hand, while volunteers may be neutral in some

contexts, they also emerge from the affected communities. As members of their community, they may have their own interests and affiliations and may be viewed as equally partisan (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015).

5.4 Inclusive

As described in Section 4, the attribute of inclusion applied to community resilience refers to the participatory and pluralistic representation of diverse groups in decision-making. Volunteers' contributions to inclusive governance processes has been covered extensively in the previous 2015 SWVR. As described in the SWVR, volunteers may be able to forge alliances across clans, religions and nations, and claim spaces within exclusionary and restrictive socio-political systems to get their voices heard.

The inclusion of marginalised groups can help to overcome “learned helplessness” or fatalism that is common among groups that have been chronically disempowered. Linking inclusion to vulnerability Malik asserted that, “persistent vulnerability is rooted in historic exclusions—women in patriarchal societies, Black people in South Africa and the United States, and Dalits in India encounter discrimination and exclusion due to longstanding cultural practices and social norms” (Malik, 2014, p. 7). When these longstanding cultural practices are deeply embedded in communities and society, excluded groups learn a sense of fatalism that discourages them from acting to promote change. Changing social and cultural norms towards more inclusive participation and empowerment is a critical step towards reducing vulnerability among excluded groups.

Involving vulnerable groups in decision-making can also help develop locally-relevant solutions to more quickly overcome problems experienced during crises. In addition, it can prevent future problems. In contrast to “learned helplessness”, Zimmerman described how participation through volunteerism and community involvement can help establish “learned hopefulness” as volunteers enhance personal perceptions of control through active engagement with the institutions during crises (Zimmerman, 1990). During crises, people often feel compelled to act in response to crises despite longstanding cultural and social exclusions. As they act and witness change, it strengthens their ability to cope with future crises and empowers them with confidence to solve other personal and collective problems. The remainder of this section focuses on the resilience of women and youth as two sub-populations that may benefit more substantially from volunteerism.

5.4.1 Women

A number of studies have sought to understand and document gendered dimensions of risk during times of crisis, along with the benefits of greater gender inclusion in decision-making (Akintola, 2004; Carlile et al., 2014; GFDRR, 2015; Pournik et al., 2012). Research suggests that women participating in crisis mitigation and recovery efforts can strengthen their leadership capacity, change perceptions of women's roles, and can challenge men's decision-making and planning functions in disasters (Pournik et al., 2012). On the other hand, benefits must be balanced

with the many potential risks to women volunteers in conflict and crisis, which have been covered earlier in this review.

Despite the potential risks and benefits to women, men are often more available to volunteer during and after large-scale disasters—particularly in formal volunteer programs, as women often take on the challenge of managing household affairs. As one example, in a 2014 study of local Haitian volunteers trained to assist in a recovery program, less than 10 of the more than 400 volunteers were women (Carlile et al., 2014). On one hand, this illustrates the gendered burden of care for family and household that often falls on women during crisis. It also illustrates that women may be less represented in formal volunteerism but highly active in more informal modes of volunteer caregiving.

Many volunteers are also involved in organisations that actively seek to combat gender inequality, promote women’s empowerment, and drive attitudinal change towards traditional gender roles in pursuit of greater community resilience (GFDRR, 2015). These efforts are likely most relevant to non-local volunteers that come from outside of a community system, and deserve attention as a distinct value that volunteer “outsiders” can have on change to system norms (Lough, 2012). Involving non-local volunteers is important because altering gendered attitudes and norms is difficult to achieve without having a catalyst from outside the system.

5.4.2 Youth

Involving youth in resilience initiatives has the potential to benefit the young people and their communities in often untold ways. When young people participate in community resilience initiatives, they report feeling empowered as they work to correct injustices and help others overcome suffering (Mercy Corps, 2015). This may be particularly beneficial in efforts to sustain peace. Youth are often among the first to offer the hand of reconciliation, and overcome territorial and behavioural barriers in post-conflict regions (SWVR, 2015).

The dangers of not involving youth can be quite severe in some regions. For instance, extremism often comes out of frustration through the “loss of personal significance”, not being understood, and economic disempowerment (Dandurand, 2014; Jasko, LaFree, & Kruglanski, 2016). Volunteerism has added advantage of being a gateway to future employment, which can diminish feelings of economic disempowerment (Spera, Ghertner, Nerino, & DiTommaso, 2013). Providing marginalised youth with alternative mechanisms to influence structures that affect their livelihoods may help prevent the dangers of extremism that exacerbate conflict in many parts of the world.

5.5 Learning

In the context of community resilience, the learning concept refers to volunteers’ efforts to enhance or inhibit regulatory feedback to determine what is or is not working. At the most fundamental level, volunteers can be mobilised to gather data as a participatory approach to manage risk.

Community resilience requires adequate knowledge of system strengths and weaknesses, and local volunteers often understand the system better than outsiders. This section focuses on the value of volunteers' indigenous knowledge and their contributions to feedback and information-gathering using technology. It also emphasises many of the challenges with using volunteers for feedback and learning, such as instances when volunteers respond with the wrong (or low) knowledge or expertise -- or when volunteers help beyond their competencies, get in the way or otherwise cause harm (Whittaker et al., 2014). Along with advantages of local knowledge, volunteers may have comparatively poor access to important information sources during crises. This is particularly true for informal volunteers not well-connected to formal institutions.

5.5.1 Indigenous knowledge

Local volunteers have a wealth of indigenous knowledge that can be used to enhance community resilience. External organisations that engage local volunteers can improve the legitimacy and validity of their interventions and programming decision. Local knowledge from these volunteers can give context to the issues and multiple vulnerabilities experienced by different communities. Engaging local volunteers can also enhance the interpretation and comprehension of information gathered by others, and can inform how it will be used by local populations. Their knowledge of local mores and practices can provide reliable on-the-ground information needed to react appropriately during crisis. This is one distinctive advantage over other external actors. As one respondent from IFRC research remarked, "They (the local volunteers) often know what is going on, not always, but they certainly know better than the foreigners." (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015).

Local volunteers can also share their information with each other to enhance community resilience. When volunteers share a similar culture and history with a community, they can more easily understand social and cultural norms of vulnerable communities. Exercising their role as connectors, volunteers can also tap into local knowledge networks to stretch the depth of information and feedback provided to other stakeholders. Arnold and de Cosmo (2015) described how volunteer women's groups in Central America used their knowledge to mobilise grassroots organisations and inform governmental policy and programming on community resilience to disasters. These women helped develop a methodology to teach mayors and other local authorities how to implement the Hyogo Framework. Other studies have documented how peer trainings in disaster risk reduction practices, which are often directed by women's groups and volunteer networks, have been critical to sharing grassroots knowledge with to each other, and transferring this shared knowledge to local authorities (Fordham, Gupta, Akerkar, & Scharf, 2011).

5.5.2 Digital learning, technology and social media

Volunteer participation in learning and regulatory feedback mechanisms facilitated by new technologies offers many opportunities to enhance resilience. Mobile phones, crowdsourcing, open-source software (OSS), information dissemination through social media, participatory geographic information systems (PGIS), volunteered geographic information (VGI), and online

volunteerism all provide new opportunities for enhanced communication through voluntary information sharing before, during and after emergencies and disasters. A few limited case studies described below illustrate how volunteers have used technologies to enhance or unwittingly inhibit resilience.

Ushahidi, a website and open-source software has been a useful platform for voluntary participation for over a decade. Ushahidi was originally launched in 2007 to track reports of post-election violence in Kenya (Roberts, 2011). Since then, volunteers have continued to refine the software—expanding it to other uses and contexts. For instance, during the 2010 earthquake in Haiti thousands of volunteers—many who were Haitian diaspora—translated more than 10,000 text messages and social media posts from people who needed help (Meier, 2013). Volunteers were able to geo-locate these messages, tag their location, and communicate this mapped information back to responders on-the-ground (Chen et al., 2013). Similar accounts documents how OSS has helped communities cope and recover during the 2011 Somali Crisis, 2013 Mali Crisis, the 2014-2016 Ebola outbreak in West Africa, and other crises (E. Hahn, Blazes, & Lewis, 2016; Haworth & Bruce, 2015; Meier, 2013).

Volunteer participation has played a critical role in participatory geographic information systems (PGIS) and volunteered geographic information (VGI) by crowdsourcing geographic data provided during crisis. This type of information is able to provide up-to-date information to on-the-ground responders, including the locations of those who are suffering. Following the 2010 Haiti earthquake, open-license aerial imagery enabled more than 1,000 volunteers to update the map of disaster stricken areas to link small bits of data using a wiki-platform (Chen et al., 2013). Similar results were reported after a category 5 storm hit the islands that compose Vanuatu. Hundreds of digital volunteers organised by the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) Digital Humanitarian Network's Standby Task Force created a database of information for humanitarian aid workers in Vanuatu. These volunteers examined photographs of damaged property and created maps that enabled aid workers to address the most seriously damaged communities (Proctor, 2015).

These examples demonstrate how shared learning through volunteer contributors, such as crowdsourcing, can be highly powerful when disaster strikes. Although some people have expressed concerns about the quality of data produced by volunteers that work outside of formalised institutions, research by Goodchild and Glennon found that “the quality of VGI can approach and even exceed that of authoritative sources” (2010, p. 235). Other research from the Haiti example also confirmed that the crowdsourced maps were “extremely effective”, producing “the most complete digital map of Haiti's [services]” compared to other forms of mapping (Chen et al., 2013). Much of this success can be attributed to the local knowledge of volunteers being leveraged through partnerships with technically savvy volunteers in other areas. The comparatively short and focused time commitment and relatively low technical capacity required

to help enhance these maps, also allowed many volunteers with local knowledge to participate. Nonetheless, when information is coming from voluntary sources, it is often only dependably relied on as supplementary information by governments and humanitarian agencies working. Likewise, because engagement and benefits depend on people being aware of emergencies, less notable events often go unnoticed by digital volunteers who may depend on social media to learn about problems and needs (Whittaker et al., 2014).

5.5.3 Capacity building

Capacity building is a third area of learning that deserves attention. This area has been covered extensively in international volunteerism literature (Burns et al., 2015; Howard & Burns, 2015), as well as in training non-local volunteers (Jacquet, Obi, Chang, & Bayram, 2014). As a few examples: volunteers have helped transfer skills and learning to vulnerable communities, encouraging people to change their patterns of consumption and production or to adopt new health and livelihood practices (UNISDR, 2007). They have worked with communities to improve the uptake of ecosystem management practices and more sustainable farming techniques (Winderl et al., 2014). Specialist volunteers have helped to set up real-time and train local systems for measuring and monitoring environmental indicators and aggregating data to inform policy and train community volunteerism to monitor and report (UNGA, 2015a). As a few examples, more than 500 volunteers supported *Escuelas Vivas* (Living Schools) in Brazil and El Salvador, and helped to develop and train for a disaster preparedness plan for schools in these countries (UNV, 2014). Over the past few years, the European Union Aid Volunteers initiative deployed trained European citizens to build community capacity and assist humanitarian projects worldwide (de Milliano & Jurriens, 2016). Likewise, the ASEAN Young Professionals Volunteer Corps, has prepared and sent young professional volunteers to build capacity in needy communities (UNGA, 2015a).

Capacity building has also been used to build and sustain peace in post-conflict environments. In 2009, the UN Secretary-General's Report on Peacebuilding in the Immediate Aftermath of Conflict called upon the support of the United Nations Volunteers (UNV) to identify civilian capacities in post-conflict environments, and establish a Programme for deploying UN Volunteers with relevant expertise as "peacebuilding volunteers." As a testament these efforts, an independent review on civilian capacity in the aftermath of conflict, submitted to the UNGA in 2011, recommended more effective use of volunteers for strengthening civilian capacities for peacebuilding (UNGA, 2011).

5.6 Diversity

The principle of diversity in a community resilience context focuses on the value of multiple actors and processes that create "redundancies" in a system—enhancing the system's ability to respond and cope during emergencies. Within a resilient system, governments, NGOs, community groups, faith-based organisations, corporations, local non-profit aid agencies, and volunteers all have

important, and sometimes overlapping, roles in crisis and emergency management (Simonsen et al., 2014). This section focuses on the complementary value of different types of volunteers working alone or in multi-stakeholder partnerships.

5.6.1 Diversity of volunteer groups

Different forms and groups of volunteers may contribute in distinctive ways to community resilience. As one example among many, Fitzpatrick and Molloy (2014) described the “Step Up” Natural Disaster Resilience Program led by Volunteering QLD, one of Australia’s largest non-governmental community resilience building programme. This initiative involved volunteers from multiple types of organisations: businesses, aboriginal populations, young people, and women’s groups—each of these groups provided different but important contributions. While diverse groups of volunteers can contribute in different ways, they also have different needs. A diverse system recognises that not all volunteers and volunteer groups have similar needs and capacities. For instance, women, youth and volunteers living in poverty have been exploited as cheap or free labour in some contexts, while they are systematically excluded in other contexts. Likewise, older adults and volunteers of diverse ethnic groups may need different incentives and supports to participate. In still a different arena, research suggests that local volunteers often lack voice and have fewer supports in comparison with non-local volunteers (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). Diversity within and among volunteer groups can certainly contribute to the breadth and variety of resilience approaches. However, social norms and policies that support these volunteers require flexibility and tailoring to engage them fairly and effectively.

5.6.2 Volunteers in multi-stakeholder partnerships

The SWVR 2015 provided many examples of how volunteers assisted communities to support peace and development efforts alongside other stakeholders. Volunteers and civil society fill a particularly essential form of diversity and redundancy in systems where governments are weak and formal risk systems are disorganised. For example, volunteer community health volunteers (CHWs) or voluntary village health teams (VHTs) have filled essential gaps in health-care systems in countries where formal health care systems are less operable and fewer professional health-care services are available. Volunteers also serve as replacement for government services in some cases. Although this may not a particularly optimal outcome in most cases, they can provide essential services in situations where governments refuse to act or discourage intervening. For instance, during the refugee crisis some governments were opposed to supporting refugees fearing that they would become social and economically comfortable and would not want to return to their home countries. In many instances, volunteers provided services to refugees when their governments were unwilling (USAID, 2006).

5.6.3 Balancing temporary assistance with long-term local capacity

Volunteers serving with transnational NGOs such as IFRC fill an important role in disaster relief activities (Chen et al., 2013). Although community resilience is largely focused on avoiding the

need for external or humanitarian assistance (OCHA, 2014), when emergencies are complex or national capacity is very weak, international volunteer organisations and their volunteers may play a leading role in temporarily coordinating and financing resilience initiatives. As a USAID report emphasised: “Resilience does have its limits. It is necessary to provide relief when people have exhausted their ability to manage the disruption caused by conflict, or when conflict overwhelms their ability to cope and causes total livelihood breakdown.” (USAID, 2006). However, relief assistance is rarely the only type of intervention needed. Strengthening national and local capacity is critical for the independent provision of services during times of stress. Effective diversity approaches aim to balance short term needs with longer term concerns (OCHA, 2014). A key principle for strengthening community resilience is involving national governments and supporting local structures, and mobilising the participation of local communities. Thus, volunteers working alongside international partners often aim to build national capacity to deal with shocks and stresses. The diversity principle is not only important from a capacity-development perspective but also because many international organisations are bound by rules and limitations that may oblige these organisations to leave the community after the immediate emergency is over. Diversity of actors is important in this context because volunteers and other local community groups are sometimes the only actors remaining to address needs and longer-term solutions after others have left (UNV, 2015).

5. Creating an Enabling Environment for Volunteerism and Resilience

The second key objective of the SWVR research is to identify policies and norms that have supported or discouraged volunteerism for community resilience. How can we better recognise, value, and support participation in people-centred efforts to build and maintain resilient communities? In order to engage the voluntary work of citizens, an enabling environment is needed to open spaces for more and better volunteerism, particularly for women and marginalised groups to contribute. Policies and social norms create an enabling environment that can help enhance community capacity, and empower people and communities to organise proactively during adverse events. Within this environment, power dynamics in communities are a real issue; the political economy of a community can have tangible and lasting effects on who benefits most from volunteerism. When these dynamics are not taken into account, volunteerism can have detrimental effects on communities. For instance, experience shows that participation in decision-making that is not inclusive can lead to serious capacity deficits in organisations and communities responsible for crisis management (UNDP et al., 2011).

A key challenge with resilience programming is how to convert national policy into local action; and on the flipside, how to obtain national support for local action. Resolutions in 2011 and 2013 by the UN Economic and Social Council:

Encourages Member States to create and strengthen an enabling environment for the capacity-building of their national and local authorities, national societies of the

International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement, and national and local non-governmental and community-based organisations in providing timely humanitarian assistance... reinforce national and local response capacities and support existing national and local institutions. (2011, p. 4)

Community, national, and global institutions need policies that will both empower and protect people to volunteer and engage in critical decision-making during adverse events (Malik, 2014, p. 5). This is particularly relevant to local volunteerism, which is abundant during small scale and chronic disasters common in vulnerable communities but often goes underreported and unnoticed (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). Because volunteerism in these less-severe but chronic situations typically flies under the radar, it receives insufficient supports and protections despite its critical importance to community resilience.

Prior research suggests a number of helpful policies and social norms that have helped to create enabling environment for volunteerism to enhance resilience. These include among others, valuing and supporting civic spaces; inclusive policies to support local volunteerism—with a special focus on vulnerable groups; building incentives for participation; providing protections and safety guarantees for volunteerism; engaging volunteers in learning, evaluation and reporting; delivering specialised trainings to enhance the effectiveness or participation of volunteers; partnering with civil society, faith-based and corporate organisations to coordinate volunteer efforts; and supporting diverse person-centred solutions that influence social norms and community expectations (see Hazeldine & Smith, 2015; Thormar et al., 2014; UNGA, 2015a; USAID, 2006).

6.1 Value and support civic spaces

Civic spaces are extensions of communities where people can meet together and interact with each other and the public institutions that influence their lives. When civic spaces are lacking, people are less connected and members of communities become segregated and isolated. Recognizing connectivity as a key attribute of resilient communities, governments can foster conditions for socializing, networking, and coordinating by opening civic spaces for people to meet and coordinate participation. Indeed, it is difficult for volunteerism to thrive without free civic spaces for people to communicate their shared challenges and coordinate volunteer action to tackle these problems.

6.2 Designate focal points for volunteerism

One way to support civic spaces is to designate focal points for volunteerism at the community level. As governments designate spaces for volunteerism and commit to establishing regular and long-term dialogue with volunteer-involving organisation, they demonstrate confidence that civil society can solve many of society's challenges. This follows a people-centred approach by acknowledging that participation by volunteers embedded in civil society have solutions to many of the problems impacting their communities. Although volunteering can be a way for people to

claim their right to participate and demand their seat at the table, it is difficult to accomplish this vision without the presence of local institutions that provide access for people to volunteer (Hong, Morrow-Howell, Tang, & Hinterlong, 2009). Local volunteer organisations are more likely to provide diverse opportunities that can respond to different segments of the population to participate in different ways—thereby enhancing inclusive participation. In addition, because the local level is where deployment of volunteers after disasters occurs, establishing a clear focal point to coordinate local volunteer action is critical to quick and effective response (UNV, 2015).

6.3 Inclusive policies for volunteer participation

Supportive policies are particularly important for engaging vulnerable populations that often have competing livelihood concerns. Although formal volunteering is often considered a privilege for leisure classes, people living in poverty, women responsible for household affairs, and others engaged in day-to-day livelihood activities need additional supports if they are reasonably expected to volunteer. In order to explicitly reach and encourage marginalised people to volunteer, governments need to create enabling conditions designed to reach and provide access to these groups. Encouraging effective and inclusive participation requires capacity building, and structures and processes to confront power issues and conflicts within communities. Research is clear that volunteer-based initiatives in humanitarian situations often fail due to insufficient or inadequate training and capacity-building, as well as poor understanding of local power issues and the rules of participation in decision-making (Simonsen et al., 2014).

6.4 Supportive norms and policies for women

Women need special consideration to enable effective participation as they are often negatively affected by normative and political power structures that often privilege men. Women also experience significant vulnerability and risk as volunteers and first responders, and require specific policies and supports to enhance their safety and security (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). Because women typically assume responsibilities for care in their households and shoulder much of the burden of such care, disasters can greatly increase the intensity of this work (Krutikova, 2009). Issues such as intra-household role expectations, decision-making in and out of the home, inequity of household workloads and differences in employment and income all influence women's resilience during times of stress or shock. Supportive norms and policies can provide necessary protections and supports for women, and greatly enhance their opportunities and incentives to participate in volunteerism. Promoting women's representation on community action committees and engaging communities and community leaders to change discriminatory gender norms can go a long way to improving the resilience of women (Le Masson et al., 2015). The experience of Bangladesh in 1991 with Cyclone Gorky provides a good example of how engaging women in disaster planning can make significant change to their risk and mortality. Of the 140,000 people who died from this cyclone, women outnumbered men by 14:1. Over the next sixteen years, community-based disaster preparedness plans—many led by women, along with enhanced early warning and evacuation plans resulted in a much lower gender mortality of 5:1. Although this mortality difference is still inexcusable, much progress was made during these 16 years due largely

to training women as community mobilisers, explicitly working with women to communicate early warning messages, and creating women-only spaces for discussion and action (Arnold & de Cosmo, 2015).

6.5 Voice and inclusion

As described earlier in this review, volunteers often do the heavy lifting in crises. Given their near-universal engagement, emergency management systems often take for granted that volunteers will always be there—assuming that volunteers will be the first to respond, and also assuming that they can rely on volunteers in the aftermath of crises to continue supporting recovery. While this may be true historically, it is also true that volunteers are often not well-supported, heard, or integrated into management planning. This concern is exacerbated for women, youth and other vulnerable groups whose voice is more likely to be marginalised. Given these concerns, the development, peace and humanitarian architectures need a fundamental shift in their recognition of volunteers' importance, distinctive complementarities, and indispensability during times of conflict and crisis. Although some countries, such as the Dominican Republic, has legislation that calls for the inclusion of volunteerism in the design of all development plans (UNGA, 2015a), this is a comparative rare practice globally. Volunteers' voices need to be recognised by governments and other actors, and included in their planning and executing of resilience planning.

6.6 Supportive policies

As described in Section 5, self-organisation is one of the key attributes of resilient communities. While the self-organisation of volunteers frequently occurs spontaneously, decision-makers often underestimate the costs, time, and expertise needed to effectively encourage and sustain participation over the longer-term. Research with volunteers in emergency situations has found that volunteers are often asked to do and deliver more than their capacity allows (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). With reductions in government services, these volunteers are often asked to perform more complex and technically demanding roles. Although volunteers are expected to play a significant role during emergencies, and they do complete a large share of essential work, this places a heavy burden on the volunteer role. Without supportive policies and additional inputs, volunteers can easily become frustrated and their safety can be compromised. In addition, volunteers may be exploited if they consistently deliver needed services without appropriate compensation and support.

6.7 Incentives and public recognition

Offering appropriate volunteer incentives, including remuneration is one way that volunteerism can be supported. Although remuneration for volunteers is often debated, it often shapes who can ultimately volunteer—either entrenching existing inequalities for people with competing livelihood activities or providing opportunity for people in poverty to participate (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). Remuneration does not always need to come in the form of cash support. Time banking, community currency and other community-based systems can provide incentives or rewards for volunteers in exchange for their time (Aldrich & Meyer, 2014). A further incentive that can support and encourage volunteer participation is public recognition of their efforts.

Incentivising volunteerism is not specific to resilience-building efforts; however, public recognition can be used to reward, recognise, and motivate people to volunteer and serve their community, which can strengthen community resilience (UNV, 2015). Such recognition could be as small community-based events or as large as regular public recognition by media partners.

6.8 Protections and Safety

Many people assume that local volunteers are safer in high-conflict environments because they are viewed as more neutral, and can draw upon local networks and knowledge. However, research with local volunteers operating in conflict and emergency situations indicates that this assumption is not supported by evidence; local volunteers, in particular, are not always seen as completely neutral parties (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). Therefore, volunteers are often positioned in situations of conflict and crisis where they are more likely to experience the threat of danger than other non-local actors. Therefore, protection of volunteer safety is particularly important for volunteers working in high-conflict areas and on disaster zones, with more and more volunteer deaths being reported as a result of conflict-related incidents (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015).

Less dramatic protections are also needed. In some instances, people can lose public allowances or social rights when they volunteer. In other instances, volunteers face stigma and personal attacks (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). Governments and volunteer involving organisations must invest more resources to ensure the social and physical protection of volunteers, including guaranteeing adequate death, disability and medical benefits—as well as health and safety standards for volunteer assignments. In some countries, a culture of litigation actively prevents volunteers from participating during crises (Fitzpatrick & Molloy, 2014). In other countries (e.g. Columbia), all volunteers participating in disaster response teams are required by legislation to be insured against accidents—though this is a rare practice globally (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015; UNGA, 2015a). Agencies such as the IFRC also offer global volunteer accident insurance to protect volunteers working in their national societies.

We also know comparatively little about the mental health of volunteers in conflict and post-disaster settings (Thormar et al., 2014). Many volunteers report experiencing psychological distress as they work with traumatised populations. Unlike professional networks intervening during adverse events, such as police and fire workers, volunteers often do not have structured support networks that they can draw on to process and support their experiences. This lack of structured support network can have considerable negative effects on their overall mental health and well-being (Thormar et al., 2010). This is important because having social support is a strong predictor of recovery from trauma post-disasters (Cook & Bickman, 1990; Ozer, Best, Lipsey, & Weiss, 2003). In fact, research suggests that when volunteers are well supported, the act of volunteering can actually increase psychological resilience and expedite recovery. As volunteers connect with others experiencing similar hardships—sharing coping skills and contributing to the well-being of others, this can strengthen their sense of belonging and overall resilience (Carlile et

al., 2014; King & MacGregor, 2000). Thus, protections should also include pathways for social support and self-help for volunteers assisting during conflict and crisis.

6.9 Specialised training

In order to develop effective disaster recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction systems, the Sendai Framework asserts the need: “To train the existing workforce and voluntary workers in disaster response and strengthen technical and logistical capacities to ensure better response in emergencies” (UNISDR, 2015, p. 21). Although volunteers are not typically seasoned with experience, they also need not be amateurs. Specialised training can provide volunteers with the skills and capacities needed to intervene during conflict and crises. Many governments and global agencies already offer training to volunteers. For example, the White Helmets Commission in Argentina offers courses on humanitarian volunteerism and the Italian Red Cross provides training on rescue operations for nurses (Hazeldine & Smith, 2015). While these efforts are promising, in an environment where volunteers are expected to engage as first responders, these types of trainings are the exception rather than the rule.

6.10 Planning for Spontaneous Volunteerism

In addition to specialised training, generalised training for spontaneous volunteers is one way to enhance the effectiveness of resilience efforts. Spontaneous volunteers are common enough to be predictable during emergencies, and authorities need to recognise that they will show up. Although rates of participation by spontaneous volunteers may vary by location and type of emergency, response systems better can plan for their participation and integration into response efforts (Sauer et al., 2014; Whittaker et al., 2014). Training can result in the more effective use of spontaneous volunteers during emergencies. In addition, preparing and training spontaneous volunteers is important because “role confusion” is reported to be a significant stressor for volunteers during emergencies, an a key purported difference between volunteers and professional workers (Thormar et al., 2010). This is important because role confusion is directly associated with poorer mental health outcomes for volunteers (ibid).

A number of governmental and non-governmental organisations have made efforts to integrate spontaneous volunteers by developing “spontaneous volunteer strategy documents” and “spontaneous volunteer resource kits”. These kits have helped organisations plan for, support, and enhance the effectiveness of spontaneous volunteers that self-mobilise during disasters (McLennan et al., 2016). Other organisations have developed registers to record people’s willingness to volunteer and provide tools and opportunities for training that can lead to credentials and licensure, and can facilitate rapid deployment during humanitarian crises (Merchant, Leigh, & Lurie, 2010). As one example, McLennan and colleagues (2016) described the Emergency Volunteering-Community Response to Extreme Weather service (EV-CREW)—a system in Queensland Australia that helps facilitate volunteering during large-scale hazards. This system registers and matches volunteers to the needs of humanitarian organizations. During the 2010-2011 floods, a

“Brisbane Mud Army” of over 23,000 volunteers were mobilised under this system, which fielded over 120,000 requests to help. When spontaneous volunteers are planned for and coordinated, they can contribute in essential ways to community resilience. On the other hand, failed planning can result in wasted effort, misinformation and poor results (Tasmanian Government, 2013).

6.11 Involve volunteers in learning, evaluation and reporting

As described in Section 5.5, volunteers often have useful and contextually-relevant knowledge of systems that is difficult to obtain without their input. The Stockholm Centre suggest multiple ways that organisations and governments can involve volunteers in learning and feedback processes. Some of these ways include using volunteers to monitor outcomes; confront power dynamics that obstruct how effective feedback learning can take place; engage inclusive forms of volunteerism with people from marginalised and hidden groups as a means to enhance interaction; network and create diverse communities of practice to share knowledge, and extended engagement and communication between people (Simonsen et al., 2014). By creating opportunities for volunteers to monitor and feed into community data collection and analysis processes, they can also participate meaningfully in risk assessment and planning. These plans can be designed to feed into national statistics and reporting, which can greatly extend professional services and may be more likely to reach marginalised groups.

6.12 Civil society and faith-based partnerships

In situations where the state has poor legitimacy, resilience building strategies may be better facilitated by non-state actors. Even when states have high legitimacy, community resilience may be better facilitated by organisations that rely heavily on volunteerism such as faith-based organisations, women’s associations, grass-roots community development groups, local cooperatives and NGOs or other institutions of civil society (USAID, 2006). When governments enter into multi-sector partnerships, they can considerably enhance the scale of resilience building efforts. However, they must do so in a way that is truly “co-productive” rather than shifting responsibility. When these partnerships are functional, the solutions and efforts are complementary rather than substitutive, thereby not replacing the work and responsibility of governments to provide support (Ostrom, 1996). Case studies provide many examples of multi-sector partnerships that have been institutionalised through policies and legislative frameworks at the local, regional and national levels (Scolobig et al., 2015). Other examples illustrate how governmental or commercial businesses can provide resources to communities in crisis, while volunteers within these communities complement physical resources by donating their labour to help others in their community cope and rebuild (Airriess, Li, Leong, Chen, & Keith, 2008; Chen et al., 2013).

Conditions of conflict and poverty that leave communities desperate and vulnerable are the same conditions that allow opportunistic or extremist groups to enter and offer enticing alternatives (USAID, 2006). When the conditions are right, volunteering can be another potential alternative

but must be promoted and supported as an additional means to enhance people's livelihoods. As with extreme forms of participation, volunteering roles are also often provided through faith-based organisations as a means of engaging people who are frustrated or need temporary livelihood supports. Co-productive partnerships with governmental organisations could provide the types of supports needed to make volunteering an appealing and viable alternative to more negative and destructive forms of engagement.

6.13 Corporate volunteering partnerships

Private sector support for volunteering is focused largely on company efforts to engage employees in spontaneous skills-based pro-bono volunteering -- often for rebuilding in post-disaster circumstances. As part of corporate social responsibility (CSR) initiatives, business are increasing their commitment to emergency and disaster volunteering (Chong, 2009). As one example, the American Red Cross developed a corporate volunteer program in 2001 called "Ready When the Time Comes", which partners with corporations to train employees for mobilisation as community-based volunteers during disasters. More than 14,000 volunteers from more than 460 businesses have been trained in this program since this program launched in 2001 (American Red Cross, 2017). Another growing area of private sector support involves companies that specialise in information and technology encouraging their employees to volunteer in projects that require skills in database management (McLennan et al., 2016). There are still wide opportunities for growth in corporate sector volunteering partnerships. Involving community-based corporations and corporate volunteers to enrich stakeholder diversity has significant potential to enhance resilience-building efforts.

6. Conclusion

Theories and conceptual frameworks of resilience are plentiful and highly varied. Because of the variety of frameworks, this review could have taken many directions. Because people and active participation lie at the heart of volunteerism, we chose to focus this review on frameworks that emphasise people-centred resilience approaches, which stress the importance of normative interactions that structure people's lives. One clear drawback of this approach is that the contributions of volunteerism to community resilience aspects in areas such as people's assets, livelihoods strategies, and technical expertise are under-emphasised. Although volunteer interventions undoubtedly influence people's assets and livelihoods, and many technically-savvy volunteers are engaged in capacity-building efforts, case studies that highlight these more physical and technical attributes are not covered in much detail. On the other hand, a clear advantage of focusing on a people-centred framework is the ability to highlight distinctive attributes of volunteerism that influence the social structures and processes that shape people's interactions as they work to enhance resilience in their own communities. A people-centred conceptual framework highlights situations and circumstances where volunteerism offers distinctive and alternative solutions to complement the strengths of top-down technocratic approaches to resilience building (De Weijer, 2013).

Most of the resilience research reviewed in this paper recognises the importance of self-organisation and people's participation and engagement in their communities and wider civil society. It also recognises the value of personal ownership, empowerment, and the inclusion of marginalised people in the decisions that affects their lives. Although researchers and practitioners have prepared a fair amount of empirical and conceptual work in these areas, there is sparse reference to the explicit role of volunteers or the concept of volunteerism as a people-centred strategy. This is a conceptual gap that needs to be filled. The 2018 SWVR provides an opportunity to fill this gap—if merely by articulating how volunteerism is different than, or complementary to, other participatory strategies for building resilience.

This review has clarified one potential challenge for the Report: sufficiently articulating the nuances associated with the breadth of volunteer forms. Within this review, the concept and examples of volunteerism extended from informal and unorganised mutual help to formal, organised remunerated volunteer service. However, the advantages created by local volunteerism correlate in many ways with disadvantages created by non-local volunteerism. While this clearly creates a conceptual challenge for the report, it also provides opportunities to highlight the comparative advantages of different forms, and consequent circumstances when stakeholders may want to engage certain types of volunteers. It also creates an opportunity to research and understand how different kinds of supports may be required by diverse types of volunteers. For instance, it appears that local volunteers do much of the heavy lifting during emergencies but receive a gnat's share of the resources in comparison with non-local volunteers and professional aid workers. The primary research planned for the SWVR will likely uncover many additional implications to inform policies designed to create a better enabling environment for diverse types of volunteers.

One of the messages already emerging through a review of literature is the value of localism during conflict and crisis, and the critical role that local volunteers play in community resilience. When volunteers come from local communities, they offer many potential advantages (and possible disadvantages) to resilience-related efforts. Local volunteers possess indigenous knowledge of local customs, and local geographies. Local volunteers typically know about real issues and potential solutions at the ground level. Given the critical importance of immediate response, these volunteers can bring significant value to crisis response interventions as first responders. With their knowledge of local affairs and geographies, they can also benefit disaster risk planning and preparation measures, and help contain damage following disasters and crises. Additional distinctive characteristics of local volunteer participation include the value of self-organisation, their abilities to access vulnerable, hidden, and at-risk populations, and to reach these populations during crises. Local volunteers are ubiquitous, comparatively spontaneous, and can build significant scale in a short-time, are low-cost, and have internal motivations to proximate persons and communities. On the other hand, local volunteerism can be potentially corrosive to community and national resilience if volunteers' responses and interests favour locality over need. As local actors, they may promote local interests. With local networking capacity, they can draw upon

large-scale participation to exert exclusive interests and influence. Local volunteers also often lack skills and training, are often perceived as amateurs, and may be exploited as a consequence of their qualities and complementarities.

The value of localism in resilience and its intersection with volunteerism is only one example of possible messaging. Other examples could include the added-value of more technically-skilled non-local volunteers as complementary actors together with other stakeholders -- building capacity and sharing learning to sustain development and peace agendas. Some of the attributes of resilient communities highlighted here may be more suited to local volunteerism, such as self-organisation and social cohesion, while other attributes may be better achieved by non-local volunteerism in humanitarian situations, such as connectivity and learning. Ultimately, different forms of volunteerism have different advantages to offer—each contributing to a greater diversity of actors working together to enhance community resilience. Future research for the SWVR can help to articulate specific situations and circumstances where volunteerism is best suited to complement approaches from other stakeholders.

Successfully articulating the distinctive value of volunteerism may open up space for greater support to volunteers. Volunteerism in its most basic and spontaneous form represents a highly informal approach to resilience building. A key question is how formal and technical processes can support volunteerism as an informal people-centred approach. Although volunteerism is not a panacea, it has clear benefits and potential for promoting and sustaining peace, delivering aid, and reaching the most vulnerable segments of societies. Greater portions of national and global budgets could certainly be dedicated to support and promote sustainable volunteer engagement. Likewise, governments, NGOs and other stakeholders that rely on volunteer action could plan for and implement better training and more safety and security measures to support volunteers—particularly in high conflict and crisis settings.

In conclusion, the SDGs emphasise that more collaborative and strategic partnerships with a diverse set of stakeholders are needed to achieve the SDGs. Although the peace and development architecture is composed of a diffuse system of interdependent actors, volunteers are an often unseen but critical group of stakeholders quietly operating within this system. Although volunteers may be serving comparatively unnoticed in the background, they are indispensable to achieving sustainable peace and development goals—particularly in local conflict and crisis settings. An enabling environment that supports and strengthens volunteerism can substantially empower people to engage proactively in efforts to fortify the resilience of their local and global communities.

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Appendix 1: Definitions of Resilience Used in Various Domains

Table 1: Definitions of Resilience Used in Various Domains

Context	Definition	Reference
Resilience	A transformative process of strengthening the capacity of people, communities and countries to anticipate, manage, recover and transform from shocks	(UNDP, 2014a)
Resilience	An inherent as well as acquired condition achieved by managing risks over time at individual, household, community and societal levels in ways that minimize costs, build capacity to manage and sustain development momentum, and maximize transformative potential	(UNDP, 2013)
Resilience	The ability of individuals, communities, organisations or countries exposed to disasters, crises and underlying vulnerabilities to anticipate, prepare for, reduce the impact of, cope with and recover from the effects of shocks and stresses without compromising their long-term prospects.	(Winderl et al., 2014)
Resilience	A system's capacity to absorb and recover from the occurrence of a hazardous event; reflective of a society's ability to cope and to continue to cope in the future	(Timmerman, 1981)
Resilience	The capacity to adapt existing resources and skills to new systems and operating conditions	(Comfort, 1999)
Resilience	The return or recovery time of a social-ecological system, determined by (1) that system's capacity for renewal in a dynamic environment and (2) people's ability to learn and partially determined by the institutional context for knowledge sharing, learning, and management, and partially by the social capital among people)	(Gunderson & Folke, 2005)
Resilience	The ability of the system to withstand either market or environmental shocks without losing the capacity to allocate resources efficiently	(Perrings, 2006)
Resilience	The capability to retain similar structures and functioning after disturbances for continuous development	(Liu et al., 2007)

Resilience (community context)	<u>The ability to prepare and plan for, absorb, recover from, and more successfully adapt to adverse events</u>	(National Research Council, 2012)
Community resilience	The ability to withstand an extreme event without suffering devastating losses, damage, diminished productivity, or quality of life without a large amount of assistance from outside the community	(Mileti, 1999)
Community resilience	The ability of social units to mitigate hazards, contain the effects of disasters when they occur, and carry out recovery activities in ways that minimize social disruption and mitigate the effects of future earthquakes	(Bruneau et al., 2003)
Community resilience	A sustainable network of physical systems and human communities, capable of managing extreme events; during disaster, both must be able to survive and function under extreme stress	(Godschalk, 2003)
Community resilience	The capacity to cope with unanticipated dangers after they have become manifest, learning to bounce back	(Wildavsky, 1988)
Community resilience	The ability to recover from or adjust easily to misfortune or sustained life stress	(Brown & Kulig, 1996)
Community resilience	The process through which mediating structures (schools, peer groups, family) and activity settings moderate the impact of oppressive systems	(Sonn & Fisher, 1998)
Community resilience	The capability to bounce back and to use physical and economic resources effectively to aid recovery following exposure to hazards	(Paton & Johnston, 2001)
Community resilience	The ability to respond to crises in ways that strengthen community bonds, resources, and the community's capacity to cope	(Chenoweth & Stehlik, 2001)
Community resilience	The ability of individuals and communities to deal with a state of continuous long term stress; the ability to find unknown inner strengths and resources in order to cope effectively; the measure of adaptation and flexibility	(Ganor & Ben-Lavy, 2003)
Community resilience	Resilience consists of (1) the amount of change a system can undergo and still retain essentially the same structure, function, identity, and feedbacks on function and structure, (2) the degree to which a system is capable of self-organisation (and re-organize after disturbance), and (3) the degree to	(Quinlan, 2003)

	which a system expresses capacity for learning and adaptation	
Community resilience	The development of material, physical, socio-political, socio-cultural, and psychological resources that promote safety of residents and buffer adversity	(Ahmed, Seedat, Van Niekerk, & Bulbulia, 2004)
Community resilience	Individuals' sense of the ability of their own community to deal successfully with the ongoing political violence	(Kimhi & Shamai, 2004)
Community resilience	A community's capacities, skills, and knowledge that allow it to participate fully in recovery from disasters	(Coles & Buckle, 2004)
Community resilience	The ability of community members to take meaningful, deliberate, collective action to remedy the impact of a problem, including the ability to interpret the environment, intervene, and move on	(Norris et al., 2008)
Development resilience	Capacity of a person, household or other aggregate unit to avoid poverty in the face of various stressors and in the wake of myriad shocks over time	(Barrett & Conostas, 2014; Pasteur, 2011)
Disaster resilience	The ability of countries, communities and households to manage change, by maintaining or transforming living standards in the face of shocks or stresses... without compromising their long-term prospects.	(Department for International Development, 2011)
Social resilience	Ability of groups or communities to cope with external stresses and disturbances as a result of social, political and environmental change	(Adger, 2000)
Social-ecological resilience	(i) Amount of disturbance a system can absorb and remain within a domain of attraction; (ii) capacity for learning and adaptation (iii) degree to which the system is capable of self-organizing	(Carpenter, Walker, Anderies, & Abel, 2001)
Ecological resilience	Ability of a system to withstand shock and maintain critical relationships and functions	(Holling, 1996)
Socioeconomic resilience	Socioeconomic resilience refers to the policy-induced ability of an economy to recover from or adjust to the negative impacts of adverse exogenous shocks and to benefit from positive shocks	(Mancini, Salvati, Sateriano, Mancino, & Ferrara, 2012)
Engineering resilience	System's speed of return to equilibrium following a shock	(Pimm, 1984)
Psychological resilience	An individual's ability to adapt to stress and adversity. Resilience is a process and can be learned by anyone using positive emotions	(Tugade, Fredrickson, & Feldman Barrett, 2004)

Adapted from Quinlan, A. E., Berbés-Blázquez, M., Haider, L. J., & Peterson, G. D. (2016). Measuring and assessing resilience: broadening understanding through multiple disciplinary perspectives. *Journal of Applied Ecology*, 53, 677–687; CARRI. (2013). *Definitions of community resilience: An analysis*. Washington D.C. See also: Norris, F. H., Stevens, S. P., Pfefferbaum, B., Wyche, K. F., & Pfefferbaum, R. L. (2008). Community resilience as a metaphor, theory, set of capacities, and strategy for disaster readiness. *American Journal of Community Psychology*, 41(1–2), 127–150, p. 129.

Appendix 2: Attributes of Resilient Communities Identified in Previous Studies

Table 2: Various attributes of resilient communities in previous studies

Attributes of Resilient Communities	Reference
1. Social networks and support	(Buikstra et al., 2011; Hegney, Ross, & Baker, 2008)
2. Positive outlook	
3. Learning	
4. Early experience	
5. Environment and lifestyle	
6. Infrastructure and support services	
7. Sense of purpose	
8. Diverse and innovative economy	
9. Embracing differences	
10. Beliefs	
11. Leadership	
1. Diversity and redundancy	(Simonsen et al., 2014)
2. Connectivity	
3. Manage slow variables and feedbacks	
4. Complex adaptive systems thinking	
5. Learning	
6. Participation	
7. Polycentric governance systems	
1. People–place connections	(Ross, Cuthill, Maclean, Jansen, & Witt, 2010)
2. Knowledge, skills, and learning	
3. Community networks	
4. Engaged governance	
5. Diverse and innovative economy	
6. Community infrastructure	
1. Leadership	(Kulig, 2000; Kulig et al., 2008; Kulig, Hegney, & Edge, 2010)
2. Community problem solving	
3. Sense of belonging	
4. Community togetherness	
5. Mentality, outlook	
6. Ability to cope with divisions	
7. Getting along	
8. Networks	
9. Ability to cope with change	
7. Social capital (including linkages)	(Norris et al., 2008)
8. Economic development (including level	

and diversity of economic resources and fairness of distribution)	
9. Information and communication	
10. Community competence: taking action, critical reflection, collective efficacy and empowerment, and political partnerships.	
1. Social capital	(De Weijer, 2013)
2. Self-organisation	
3. High interaction between public, private and voluntary sectors	
4. Redundancy and diversity	
5. Learning / storage of knowledge and experience	
1. Predictable income	(UNDP, 2014b)
2. Food security	
3. Assets	
4. Access to basic services	
5. Social safety nets	
6. Ecosystem health	
7. Livelihood strategies	
8. Adaptive capacity	
9. Good governance	
10. Economic and political stability	
1. Modularity (bottom-up networks)	(Arnold et al., 2014)
2. Social learning, responsive, regulatory feedback	
3. Diversity, diversification and redundancy	
4. Women's empowerment	
1. Preparedness	(Oxley, 2013)
2. Responsiveness/Reflexivity	
3. Connectivity	
4. Learning	
5. Self-organisation	
6. Diversity	
7. Inclusion	
8. Social cohesion	
9. Thresholds	

The basic foundation of this table was adapted from Berkes, F., & Ross, H. (2013). Community resilience: toward an integrated approach. *Society & Natural Resources*, 26(1), 5–20, with additional sources added.

Appendix 3: Summary of Community Resilience Assessment (CRA) Tools and Frameworks

Table 3: Summary of CRA Frameworks

Tool	Year	Primary developer(s)	Focus	Target audience	Reference
ARCAB	2012	Action Research for Community Based Adaptation	Bangladesh	Community/local authorities	(Christensen et al., 2012)
BCRD	2011	RAND corporation	US	Community leaders/governmental/NGOs	(Chandra, Acosta, Stern, Uscher-Pines, & Williams, 2011)
BRIC	2010	Academia, Cutter et al.	US	Local authorities	(Cutter, Ash, & Emrich, 2014; Cutter, Burton, & Emrich, 2010)
CARRI	2008	Community and Regional Resilience Institute	US	CBOs	(Cutter et al., 2008)
CART	2011	TDC/University of Oklahoma	US	CBOs	(Pfefferbaum, Pfefferbaum, & Van Horn, 2011)
CDR	2015	Academia, Yoon et al.	Korea	Local authorities and public	(Yoon, Kang, & Brody, 2016)
CDRI	2010	Coastal Services Center And The National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration	US	Community leaders	(Peacock et al., 2010)
CDRI2	2010	Academia, Shaw et al.	South/South East Asia	Community leaders/local authorities	(Shaw, Takeuchi, Joerin, & Fernandez, 2010)

CDRST	2012	Torrens Resilience Institute	AU	Planners, local authorities, community members	(Arbon et al., 2016)
CERI	2010	AWM (Advantage West Midlands) Strategy Team	UK	Local authorities	(Team, 2010)
CoBRA	2014	UNDP, Drylands Development Center	Horn of Africa	Community leaders/governmental and NGOs	(UNDP, 2014b; Way & UNDP, 2014)
CRDSA	2015	Academia, Alshehri et al.	Saudi Arabia	Local authorities	(Alshehri, Rezgui, & Li, 2014)
CRF	2014	The Rockefeller Foundation, Arup	Global	Local authorities	(TRF, 2014)
CR	2010	MS-AL Sea Grant/National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration (NOAA)	US	Planners, policy makers, emergency service providers	(Sempier, Swann, Emmer, Sempier, & Schneider, 2010)
CRI2	2010	Academia, Sherrieb et al.	US	Local authorities	(Sherrieb, Norris, & Galea, 2010)
CRM	2000	Canadian center for Community renewal	Canada	Local authorities, community members	(Lewis, Rowcliffe, & Colussi, 2000)
CRS	2013	CARRI; Meridian Institute; Oak Ridge National Laboratory	US	Community leaders	(CARRI, 2013; White, Edwards, Farrar, & Plodinec, 2014)
CRT	2009	Bay Localize project of the Earth Island Institute	US	Planners, community organisations, individuals, training centers	(Localize, 2009)
DFID	2009	Department for International Development and other agencies	UK	Academia, government and civil society organisations	(Twigg, 2009)

DRI	2015	Earthquakes and Megacities Initiative (EMI)	Global	Local, regional and national government agencies	(Khazai et al., 2015)
FCR	2014	International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC)	Global	IFRC programs and national societies (of IFRC)	(Winderl et al., 2014)
Grosvenor	2014	Grosvenor, real estate investor (industry)	Global	Company officials, city authorities, aid agencies	(Barkham et al., 2014)
Hyogo	2008	UN/OCHA and UN/ISDR	Global	Local and national authorities, CBOs, NGOs	(UNISDR, 2008)
ICBRR	2012	Palang Merah Indonesia (PMI) and Canadian Red Cross (CRC)	Indonesia	Local authorities and public	(Kafle, 2010, 2012)
ICLEI	2014	ACCCRN, Rockefeller Foundation, ICLEI	Global	Local authorities	(Gawler & Tiwari, 2014)
LDRI	2013	Academia, Orencio and Fujii	The Philippines	Local authorities	(Orencio & Fujii, 2013)
NIST	2015	National Institute of Standards and Technology	US	Local authorities	(NIST, 2015)
PEOPLES	2010	National Institute of Standards and Technology (NIST)	US	Planners and local authorities	(Renschler et al., 2010)
RELi	2015	American National Standards Institute (ANSI)	US	Developers	(C3LD, 2015)
ResilUS	2011	Resilience Institute, Huxley College of the Environment	US, Japan	Local authorities	(Miles & Chang, 2011)

SPUR	2009	San Francisco Planning; Urban Research Association	US	Local authorities, builders and developers	(Poland, 2009)
TCRI	2015	Australia Netherlands Water Challenge	AU	Local, state and national government, international organisations	(Perfrement & Lloyd, 2015)
THRIVE	2004	Prevention Institute	US	Local government, NGOs	(THRIVE, 2004)
UNISDR	2014	IBM and AECOM	Global	Local authorities, insurance companies, private industry	(UNISDR, 2014)
USAID	2013	USAID	Global	Government and NGOs, donors	(Frankenberger, Mueller, Spangler, & Alexander, 2013)
USIOTWT	2007	U.S. Indian Ocean Tsunami Warning System Program	South/South East Asia	Governmental and NGOs; International aid agencies, banks, and donors.	(U.S. IOTWSP, 2007)

Adapted from: Sharifi, A., & Yamagata, Y. (2016). On the suitability of assessment tools for guiding communities towards disaster resilience. *International Journal of Disaster Risk Reduction*, 18, 115–124; Sharifi, A. (2016). A critical review of selected tools for assessing community resilience. *Ecological Indicators*, 69, 629–647; and Schipper, E. L. F., & Langston, L. (2015). *A comparative overview of resilience measurement frameworks*. London: Overseas Development Institute.