



How can community-driven reconstruction in post-conflict and peace-transitioning societies address sources of division? A Ground Theory Case study of reconstruction projects and activities in Yemen

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4 **How can community-driven reconstruction in post-conflict and peace-transitioning**
5 **societies address sources of division? A Ground Theory Case study of reconstruction**
6 **projects and activities in Yemen**
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14 **Abstract**
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18 Recent literature highlights the role of community participation in reconstruction for
19 sustainable peacebuilding, yet studies show limited integration of community empowerment
20 into theoretical frameworks. This study examines community-driven reconstruction (CDR) in
21 Aden and Marib, Yemen, during liminal periods before stable peace. Using a grounded theory
22 (GT) approach, this study analyses data from 40 semi-structured interviews across two post-
23 conflict contexts, rural and urban communities- to address the research question: How are local
24 communities empowered to drive reconstruction in post-conflict settings? Four conceptual
25 categories emerged: indigenous knowledge, local governance, social acceptance and aligning
26 personal and community interests as key drivers of empowerment. This model offers a
27 framework for understanding how community-led physical reconstruction fosters social
28 cohesion and sustainable recovery in post-conflict settings, offering strategies for
29 empowerment in similar contexts.
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39 **WHAT IS ALREADY KNOWN ON THIS TOPIC?**

40 Community participation is vital for sustainable peacebuilding, but its integration into
41 theoretical frameworks remains limited.
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45 **WHAT THIS STUDY ADDS?**

46 I present a novel social model identifying factors promoting or hindering community
47 empowerment to violence drive reconstruction after a conflict.
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50 Four key factors were identified—indigenous knowledge, local governance, social
51 acceptance, and aligned interests—that empower communities to lead reconstruction
52 efforts in post-conflict Yemen.
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HOW THIS STUDY MIGHT AFFECT RESEARCH, PRACTICE, OR POLICY?

It offers a framework to guide research and inform policies on empowering communities for cohesive and sustainable recovery in post-conflict settings.

Keywords: Reconstruction, Yemen, Conflict, Empowerment, Social cohesion

Introduction

Despite extensive scholarship on peacebuilding and its links to community empowerment, decentralised governance, and post-conflict reconstruction (Bajon, 2022), significant gaps remain in understanding how local communities drive reconstruction efforts. The conflation of empowerment and participation in existing literature highlights this oversight (Kamruzzaman and White, 2018). Top-down approaches, shaped by international security priorities (Menocal, 2011) or technocratic state-building agendas (Smith et al., 2020), often neglect the complexity of post conflict environment (Piccolino, 2015). For example, in Iraq and Afghanistan have prioritise external strategic objectives over the needs of local communities and context-specific solutions (Evans and Barakat, 2012). The emergence of illiberal actors in reconstruction has produced exclusionary and fragility outcomes that diverge from liberal peacebuilding (Abboud, 2021). Ethnographic studies reveal how localised inequities and reconstruction challenges are frequently ignored by abstracted system-level frameworks (Baines and Gauvin, 2014). These findings underscores the need for reconstruction efforts grounded in the lived experiences and aspirations of affected communities. The counter-narrative for autonomous recovery without international assistance highlights the resilience and agency of local communities, emphasising indigenous knowledge and existing social structures (Weinstein, 2005). Accordingly, this study addresses the critical question: How are local communities empowered to drive reconstruction in post-conflict settings? It pursues two objectives: first, to examine how various local practices in a post-conflict context enable communities-driven reconstruction, and second, to develop a grounded model based on rural and urban case studies that explores empowerment dynamics and provides theoretical insights. Using constructivist grounded theory, the study identifies community empowerment emitting from self-efficacy, social identity and collective action, offering practical model for sustainable recovery in similar contexts. The article proceeds as follows: Section 2 provides background

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3 on Yemen's conflict. Section 3 outlines the research design and methodology, while Sections
4 4 and 5 present the case studies contexts and findings. Section 6 synthesises findings from both
5 cases, and Section 7 details the model development process, proposing a theoretical framework
6 of empowerment. Section 8 concludes with the study's findings, limitations, assessing its
7 generalisability and directions for future research.
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10 Conflict in Yemen

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16 Yemen's history of instability predates the 1990 unification of North and South of
17 Yemen. Despite financial and political challenges, the two regions form The Republic of
18 Yemen, aiming for regional stability and cohesion. However, unification was fraught with
19 economic and political crises, pushing Yemen to brink of collapse by 1991 and culminating in
20 1994 civil (Stephen, 2012). Grievances grew in the south over land confiscations and dismissed
21 southern official fuelled the Southern Movement, Al-Hirak. The Sa'adah conflict (2004–2010)
22 caused widespread displacement, infrastructure damage, and social disruption (Boucek, 2010).
23 The 2011 "Revolution of Change," inspired by regional uprisings, was led by youth, the Joint
24 Meeting Parties (JMP) coalition, and the Houthis (Iriani et al., 2020). However, rather than
25 uniting the nation, the revolution deepened divisions. Both Al-Hirak and the Houthis
26 participated in the National Dialogue Conference (NDC) to address grievances, but elite self-
27 interest undermined the process. President Hadi's six-state federal proposal was rejected due
28 to inadequate consultation (Forster, 2017). In 2015, the Houthis and Saleh's loyalists seized
29 Sana'a, forcing Hadi to flee to Saudi Arabia, which launched a military coalition to counter
30 Houthi advances amid fears of Iranian influence (Jones, 2021). The coalition imposed a
31 blockade and initiated an aerial campaign. A fragile truce brokered by the UN in April 2022
32 suspended military actions, facilitated humanitarian aid, and reopened limited flights
33 (International Crisis Group, 2022). While Yemen as a whole remains in conflict, Aden and
34 Marib—key areas of this research—can be considered in a post-conflict phase under the
35 ceasefire. In this context, local communities have begun reconstruction efforts, including
36 rehabilitating roads, schools, health centres, and utilities. While international responses
37 emphasise top-down reconstruction, community-led initiatives may foster more sustainable
38 recovery and social cohesion.
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55 Research design

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57 This study uses GT to develop a substantive theory of empowerment in post-conflict
58 Yemen, addressing gaps in existing frameworks. GT has evolved into three main versions
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3 due to conceptual disputes among its founders: the Glaserian version (Åge, 2011), the
4 Straussian version (Heath and Cowley, 2004) and the constructivist version by Chamzen
5 version (2016). This study adapts Chamzen version for two key reasons. First, it emphasises a
6 deductive, comparative, emergent and open-ended approach rooted in symbolic
7 interactionism and pragmatism. Second, it priorities participants' perspectives, embracing
8 flexibility and subjectivity in data.
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13 However, the constant comparison method from Glaserian version was used as the
14 primary analytical tool to support theory building strictly from data.
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16 GT, combined with case study, explores complex social issues, enhances knowledge, and
17 supports theory development (Woodside and Wilson, 2003). This combination helps create
18 theoretical frameworks applicable to new settings (Lauckner et al., 2012). Using open-ended
19 questions, this study adopts a relativist framework, recognising empowerment as shaped by
20 unique backgrounds and post-conflict challenges. The research design employs theoretical
21 sampling to refine the emerging model, targeting data sources that fill gaps, clarify
22 categories, and explore relationships between concepts (Kolb, 2012). This process continued
23 until-theoretical saturation- no new patterns or insights emerged (Glaser, 2001). Consistent
24 themes across rural and urban data enhanced reliability, with findings from the first case
25 study enriching the analysis of the second.
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35 Coventry University approved the ethical application for remote fieldwork on June 30,
36 2021 (reference number P114707) due to COVID-19 and security concerns. Participant
37 selection combined purposeful sampling to target individuals with relevant experiences and
38 snowball sampling to broaden reach, capturing diverse perspectives from youth, men,
39 women, leaders, and internally displaced persons (IDPs). Semi-structured interviews were
40 conducted in Aden over eight months (October 2021–May 2022) and in Marib over a year
41 (October 2022–September 2023). Two pilot interviews—one male and one female—assessed
42 the interview guide and practical aspects. Interviews, lasting 30–40 minutes, were digitally
43 recorded with participant consent. Ethical protocols were explained at the start, with consent
44 given verbally or in writing. Participants had ten days to raise concerns, with no response
45 taken as consent. Confidentiality and anonymity were upheld. Interviews were conducted in
46 Arabic and translated into English, prioritising meaning over literal phrasing, with a portion
47 of transcripts reviewed by an Arabic-speaking PhD student for accuracy. The analysis draws
48 on 40 interviews (21 from Aden 20 from Marib), using memo writing and coding to identify
49 themes in community empowerment. This study follows the memo process in three stages, as
50 outlined by Adu (2019): (1) initial memos captured reflections and preliminary codes; (2)
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3 analytical memos identified themes and data gaps; and (3) integrated memos consolidated
4 codes and refined the emerging model. This iterative process enable constant comparison of
5 data, codes, and categories, ensuring alignment with participant perspectives and guiding the
6 transition from analysis to manuscript drafting (Charmaz, 2014)
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10 Case Study One: The Aden Governorate

11 Background

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19 The Aden Governorate, located on the northern coast of the Gulf of Aden, includes eight
20 districts surrounding AlTawahi Harbour. It is characterised by secular and egalitarian identities,
21 organised around villages or urban centres rather than tribes (Bonneyoy and Poirier, 2009).
22 Aden's identity reflects its colonial and postcolonial evolution, maintaining a unique collective
23 memory influenced by diverse cultures (Suvorov, 2021). Fishing communities further anchor
24 Aden's social and economic fabric, with cooperatives contributing to local routines and
25 markets. Civic associations, established as early as the 1920s, grew significantly post-1990
26 alongside civil society organisations (CSOs), enhancing community welfare and activism.
27 However, recent conflicts have disrupted community structures, intensified competition, and
28 strained Aden's resources, especially after the 2015 influx of 3,600 IDPs, which worsened
29 access to water, sanitation, and essential services (Elayah et al., 2024). The 2020 flood
30 exacerbated these challenges, causing extensive damage in an already resource-limited
31 environment (UNOCHA, 2020). By 2022, humanitarian needs rose sharply, with 66% of the
32 population in severe need. COVID-19 added further strain, worsening food insecurity and
33 disease outbreaks (OHCH, 2022). Following the 2022 ceasefire and the beginning of the post-
34 conflict period, local communities, CSOs, and INGOs launched reconstruction efforts focusing
35 on resilience and livelihood recovery (International Crisis Group, 2022). Collaborations,
36 including the Saudi Development and Reconstruction Programme, have rehabilitated housing
37 and revitalised infrastructure to support IDPs, returnees, and host communities (SDRPY,
38 2021). Local community led efforts include road repairs and school rebuilding, indicating
39 active community engagement in recovery (Sana'a Centre, 2019).
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Initial Coding

For the Aden case study, I began initial coding by analysing the transcribed interview line by line. It was an essential step in grounded theory allowing detailed data comparison and open analytical inquiry (Charmas, 2014). The analysis was guided by Charmaz's (2014) questions like, how processes developed, how participants engaged, and what changes occurred. Using a Word document, I manually created initial codes by categorising text segments into nodes and maintain open to various meanings and labelled codes. Codes were developed by comparing data fragments, which fostered an open approach to emergent patterns (Charmaz, 2014). This method deepened understanding of participants' experiences in CDR. As coding progressed, I refined codes, reaching theoretical saturation when new insights ceased, and data supported robust theoretical codes (Charmaz, 2014). The second column in Table 1 lists 71 initial codes, while the third and fourth columns show the frequency of data sources per code and the number of references for each code.

Table 1: Initial codes generated from Aden case study

NO	Initial codes	Sources	Ref
1.	Representative of community	20	148
2.	Urgent needs	20	144
1.	Solidarity strong sense of connection	9	23
2.	Unity among individuals	3	3
3.	Ownership leads to participation	18	62
4.	Community leaders as coordinator	13	27
5.	Maintaining community works	9	9
6.	Positive effects of CDR	12	12
7.	Trust and the relationship with other	11	22
8.	Elite capture	17	17
9.	Inclusion led to cohesion	8	12
10.	Shared identity helps work together	18	134
11.	Collaborative problem solving	16	33
12.	Criticism of top down	11	28
13.	Gender inequalities	21	56
14.	Diaspora support	5	5
15.	Collective memory	3	5
16.	Negative behaviour change	5	28
17.	Sense of belonging	15	73
18.	Relationships with outgroup	13	29
19.	Culture change towards inclusivity	11	44
20.	Culture as part of sense of community	7	16
21.	Common aim toward collective action	21	65
22.	Supporting from vertical capital	19	65
23.	Values and principles drive people	11	26
24.	Top down for capacity building	11	62
25.	Mutual support	17	47
26.	Shared experience	8	14
27.	People motivated by transparency	8	15
28.	Rely on strong family bonds	9	15

29.	Reward as motivated for participation	9	14
30.	Self-interested	10	28
31.	Peer learning	7	12
32.	Community committees as key factor	8	12
33.	Leaders in the middle of a hierarchy	8	8
34.	Inclusive lead to collective work	20	168
35.	Lack of skills and knowledge	8	8
36.	Damage in physical infrastructure	17	27
37.	Quota for women participation	7	7
38.	Motivated by the difficult situation	16	39
39.	Restoring what was before	19	51
40.	Abandon responsibilities	10	16
41.	IDPs move where they have relatives	13	66
42.	Collective work mitigate capture	15	32
43.	Inclusive decision making	15	37
44.	Division due to selection	4	5
45.	Negotiation skills	2	3
46.	Gender equality rebuilds cohesion	4	5
47.	Combat corruption linked with reconstruction	2	3
48.	Communities issue regulatory	15	27
49.	Improves wellbeing	9	12
50.	Excluded from decision-making	3	3
51.	CDR undermined the state legitimacy	3	11
52.	Integrating IDPs	3	3
53.	Lack of security	12	18
54.	Security and safety group	6	8
55.	Bringing the community together	21	318
56.	Co-finance	7	18
57.	Excluded due to identity	2	2
58.	Community self-reliance	8	8
59.	Reconstruct trust	12	36
60.	Duality of community committee	2	2
61.	Commitment to community	19	67
62.	Local authority was obstacle on CDR	7	7
63.	Local initiative	12	36
64.	Information flow	6	11
65.	Reintegrate youth into community	8	8
66.	Reconstructing existing schools	8	23
67.	Local assets used in CDR	6	10
68.	Personal interest	5	5
69.	Opportunities for dialogue	9	13
70.	In-group cooperation	14	29
71.	Access to local market	7	7

Focus Coding

Focused coding, the second major phase of data analysis, involves a more selective and conceptual approach than initial line by line coding, organises initial codes into broader categories (Charmaz 2014). After establishing analytical directions, initial codes were refined and regrouped to capture more conceptual insights. Throughout this process, I compared codes with data and codes with codes to ensure consistency (Charmaz, 2014). Guided by Charmaz's (2014) questions like, what do I observe, what patterns emerge from initial codes,

what is the data's central idea, what relationships exist between concepts and are there any gaps in the data. This analysis identified four focus codes: security and stability, capacity building, power and resource sharing arrangements, and managing intergroup tensions. These code were then linked to main category of collective efficacy, which refers to a community's shared capacity to work together to address common challenges (Ntontis et al., 2020a). Additionally, two focus codes were identified: sense of belonging and responsibility. These code were then linked to main category of shared identity, which refers to individuals perceive themselves as part of a group united by shared experiences, particularly during crises or disasters (Drury, 2018). Finally, two more focused code were identified: horizontal and vertical connections. These code were then linked to main category of collective action, which refers to small groups can effectively self-organise and manage collective resources (Ostrom, 2015). These categories are detailed in Table 2, which provides a detailed classification from the focused coding process.

Table 2: List of theoretical categories emerged from the initial code analysis of Aden case study

Theoretical code	Focus code	Initial code
Collective efficacy	Security and stability	Representative of community, urgent needs, solidarity strong sense of connection, unity among individuals, ownership leads to participation, community leaders as coordinator, maintaining community works, positive effects of CDR, trust and the relationship with other, elite capture, inclusion led to cohesion, shared identity helps work together, collaborative problem, solving, criticism of top down, gender inequalities, diaspora support, collective memory, negative behaviour change, sense of belong,
	Capacity building	relationships with outgroup, culture change towards inclusive, culture as part of sense of community, common aim toward collective action, supporting from vertical capital, values and principles drive people, top down for capacity building, mutual support, share experience, people motivated by transparency, rely on strong family bonds, reward as motivated for participation, self-interested, peer
	Power and resource sharing agreements	
	Managing intergroup tensions	

Shared identity	Sense of belonging	learning, community committees as key factor, leaders in the middle of a hierarchy, inclusive lead to collective work, lack of skills and knowledge, damage in physical infrastructure, quota for women participation, motivated by the difficult situation, restoring what was before, abandon responsibilities, IDPs move where they have relatives, collective work mitigate capture, inclusive decision making, division due to selection, negotiation skills, gender equality
	Sense of responsibility	
Collective action	Vertical relationships	rebuild cohesion, combat corruption link with reconstruction, communities issue regulatory, improves wellbeing, Excludes from decision-making, CDR undermined the state legitimate, integrating IDPs, lack of security, security and safety group,
	Horizontal relationships	bringing the community together, co finance, excluded due to identity, community self-reliance, reconstruct trust, duality of community committee, commitment to community, local authority was obstacle on CDR, local initiative, information flow, reintegrate youth into community, reconstructing existing school, local assets used in CDR, personal interest, opportunities for dialogue, in-group cooperation, access to local market

The constant comparison method requires analysing the code patterns from the Aden case study alongside those from the Marib case study to advance the analysis. Therefore, the next section details Marib case study and the processes of initial and focus coding.

Case Study Two: The Marib Governorate

Background

Marib, located in Yemen's rural north, around 173 kilometres northeast of Sana'a, contrasts with urban Aden's in south of Yemen. This region is home to the Bakil tribes, whose communities are unified by shared ancestry, traditions, and geographic affiliations. Tribal leaders play roles in emphasising shared accountability and mutual support, particularly during times of conflict (Al-Dawsari, 2012). Its economy mainly relies on livestock and agriculture.

In 2015, the conflict transformed Marib into a haven for IDPs from northern and western Yemen, primarily due to unwelcoming receptions in Aden (Al-Salsalehi, 2021). In Marib, IDPs constituting 70% of a population increased from 40,000 to over 1.5 million (IOM Yemen, 2020). Many IDPs lack social networks, instead depending on tribal connections for support, underscoring the need to strengthen social capital. CSOs grew from 90 to 160 to meet heightened demands for services, unlike restricted areas under Houthi control (Balghaith, 2022). Conflict has severely damaged infrastructure, worsening humanitarian conditions and limiting access to healthcare, further exacerbated by COVID-19 (UNOCHA, 2019). Since the 2022 ceasefire marked the beginning of the post-conflict period, reconstruction efforts have focused on restoring infrastructure to improve education, healthcare, and economic opportunities, particularly for women and youth (UN-Habitat, 2021)

Initial Coding

Following a similar approach to the Aden case study, the analysis of Marib case involved reviewed of 19 remotely semi structured interviews. A line by line analysis of the transcripts to identify emerging concepts. During initial coding, I intentionally approached Marib's data without constraining it to the codes identified in the Aden case study, allowing new insights to emerge freely. This process resulted in the identification of 77 initial codes capturing the unique dimensions of the Marib context while maintaining analytical rigour. The second column in Table 3 details the initial codes. The third and fourth columns specify the data sources associated with each code and the frequency of references within the data set.

Table 3: Initial codes generated from Marib case study

No	Initial coding	Resources	Frequency
1.	Knowledge sharing	19	36
2.	Volunteerism	13	21
3.	Innovation and creativity	8	18
4.	Common experiences	16	26
5.	Female headed households	12	23
6.	High unemployment	11	11
7.	Personal interests/ Financial strain	10	14
8.	People with low income	6	8
9.	Pre-existing social networks	19	78
10.	Revenge issues	1	3
11.	Conflict over available resources	10	23
12.	Mutual support and collaboration	10	26
13.	Smuggling activities	1	1
14.	Legal uncertainties	2	5
15.	Aggressive behaviour	4	7
16.	Sense of responsibility toward other	16	26
17.	Sense of happiness to work for others	12	14

18.	Financial compensation	9	15
19.	Elite capture	2	5
20.	Nepotism effecting trust	2	6
21.	Self-funding/fundraising and financing	10	19
22.	Food rations	10	15
23.	Common aim/goal	15	37
24.	Concern over landmines and safety	2	5
25.	Community interest	11	24
26.	Social cohesion and trust	19	47
27.	Engagement of diaspora	3	3
28.	Long-term stability	10	23
29.	Recognition of IDPs value	14	38
30.	IDPs cultural adaptation	7	16
31.	IDPs seek job opportunities	11	34
32.	Access to local assets/innovation and creativity	10	25
33.	Culture influences the kind of work for women	19	26
34.	Local authority sought legitimacy	12	23
35.	Local authority abandons its responsibilities	4	9
36.	Committees seek influence and authority	5	6
37.	Community committee as a key for CDR	8	16
38.	NGO provide support	5	9
39.	People self-reliance	13	21
40.	Work opportunities	19	33
41.	Culture change	8	18
42.	Top down policies	6	15
43.	Peer learning	8	24
44.	Influence and authorities	10	22
45.	Dominant idea/view	8	11
46.	Conflict mediation	10	12
47.	Negotiation and dialogue	12	32
48.	Sense of community	11	22
49.	Tribal system/traditional practices	11	21
50.	Local ownership	6	6
51.	Sharing information	10	16
52.	Division due to selection	3	8
53.	Participation to enhance skills	7	7
54.	Need for top down intervention	12	27
55.	Security is pre condition	16	42
56.	Collective problem-solving	16	33
57.	Enacting law and regulations	11	28
58.	Favouritism linked to lack of trust	3	9
59.	Leader control for community interest	15	30
60.	Lack of institutionalisation	2	6
61.	Fragile local authorities	7	11
62.	People exclude themselves	5	5
63.	Access to service and resources	6	13
64.	Acknowledge the role of local authorities in CDR	6	14
65.	Lack of skills and knowledge	6	6
66.	Dispute around water resources	9	28
67.	Corruption with top down interventions	1	2
68.	Sense of belonging	11	11
69.	Solidarity with other	10	13
70.	Unity among people	11	22
71.	Women led mediation	11	17
72.	Local initiative	6	6
73.	Constructing new infrastructures	5	11
74.	Capture learning opportunity	5	6

75.	Reconstructing local market	9	42
76.	People rely to their family bonds	5	5
77.	Local access to information	7	16

Focus Coding

The theoretical saturation of initial codes marked the beginning of focused coding process. This involved a two-step approach: first, identifying Marib's unique focus codes without confining the analysis to predefined categories, and second, constant comparison to refine thematic insights. This led to core categories consistent with Aden's case study: collective efficacy, shared identity, and collective action. The collective efficacy category includes four focus codes: social catalysts, social barriers, economic catalysts, and economic barriers. The shared identity category encompasses two essential focus codes a sense of belonging and sense of responsibility. The collective action category encompasses both personal and community interests, highlighting how individuals are empowered through vertical and horizontal relationships that support meeting these interests collectively. These categories are detailed in Table 4, which outlines the classifications that originated directly from this focused coding process.

Table 4: List of theoretical categories emerged from the initial code analysis of Marib case study

Theoretical code	Focus code	Initial code
Collective efficacy	Social catalysts to engaging with others	Knowledge sharing, innovation and creativity, volunteerism, peer learning, sense of others, community interest, people self-reliance, engagement of diaspora, fundraising, access to services and resources, work opportunities, long term stability, IDPs seek job opportunities, collective problem solving, sense of happiness to work for others, leader control for community interest, financial strain, income generation, sense of connected, sense of community, solidarity with others, unity among people, common experiences, common aim/goal, cultural adaptation , mutual
	Social barriers to engaging with others	
	Economic catalysts to engaging with others	

	Economic barriers to engaging with others	support and collaboration, recognition of IDPs value, women led mediation. conflict mediation, negotiation and dialogue, sense of happiness, long term stability, pre-existing social networks, social cohesion, trust, financial compensation, legal uncertainties, people rely on family bonds, low income, high unemployment, personal interests, food rations, lack of skills and knowledge, top down policies driven inclusion, committees seek influence and authority, lack of institutionalisation, corruption on top down policies, Fragile local authorities, division due to selection. elite capture, nepotism effect on trust, need for top down intervention, need to enact laws and regulations, concern about landmines and safety, acknowledge the role of local authorities
Shared identity	Sense of belonging	
	Sense of responsibility	
Collective action	Personal interest	
	Community interest	

In this phase, the constant comparison method was expanded to Marib's data to refine core categories across both case studies. By comparing Marib's focus codes with those from Aden, common theoretical categories were identified. Charmaz (2014) and Glaser and Strauss (1967) highlight that the constant comparison method allows researchers to clarify and enrich each category's properties. Initially, it appeared that the codes from Aden and Marib were organised under different labels, suggesting distinct coding systems. However, further examination indicated these differences were semantic rather than conceptual. For example, in Aden, collective efficacy is grouped into four focus codes: security and stability, capacity building, power and resource sharing, and managing intergroup tensions. Marib's codes, however, organises all related codes under focus areas: social catalysts and barriers, economic catalysts and barriers to engagement. The constant comparison indicated that security, stability, and capacity building are dimensions embedded within the focus codes of social catalysts and barriers in the Marib. Similarly, intergroup tensions act as a dimension of social barriers that can impact collaborative efforts. Additionally, a lack of capacity building links directly to economic catalysts and barriers, showing that economic challenges and opportunities both were shaped by capacity-building efforts.

As another example, In the Marib, the collective action defined as the interaction among individuals supporting both personal and community goals, was organised through horizontal and vertical relationships. The use of relationships aligns with findings from the Aden case

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3 study, where both horizontal and vertical relationships were similarly identified as critical for
4 mobilising collective action and meeting diverse community needs. These theoretical
5 connections between focus codes across both case studies suggest the need for further
6 refinement to capture the interrelations accurately. Although the codes were labelled
7 differently, the research objectives for both studies are aligned, using common core categories
8 supports the integrity of the data analysis. Thus, both case studies ultimately centred on the
9 same four main categories- peer learning, local governance, social acceptance, and aligning
10 personal and community interests. The following subsections explore these categories that
11 emerged within each theme and examine the variations in code patterns and their intensities
12 across the case studies.
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20 Discussion Emerged Categories

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Indigenous knowledge emerged as a crucial factor in empowering post-conflict communities, with participants frequently use local practices and cultural knowledge to address challenges. Hiwasaki et al. (2014) highlight the role of indigenous knowledge in enhancing resilience and Raeburn-Gibson (2022) observation its role in self-recovery in Syria. In contrast, the liberal peacebuilding model, often marginalised local communities despite their valuable knowledge (Dardel et al. 2006). Communities with strong indigenous knowledge and self-efficacy transitioned more effectively than external aid dependency. The application of local knowledge not only addressed immediate recovery needs but also built long-term community investment. For example, in Marib, women's roles in mediating conflicts were acknowledged, unlike in rural Aden, where their contributions were less visible. This recognition helped overcome barriers such as resource conflicts and symbolic inclusion of women, fostering greater social acceptance. Barakat (2003) asserts that labour needed for CDR activities can range from unskilled to skilled labour. However, unskilled workers were often reluctant to involve in CDR. Eight participants from Aden and six from Marib were excluded due to insufficient skills, highlights how abilities influence inclusion or exclusion, as noted by Fallov (2010). This lack of skills negatively impact social acceptance and undermine inclusive local governance efforts, echoing McNerney's (2010) observation that a lack of knowledge and skills is common in post-conflict situations, particularly among vulnerable groups. Nevertheless,

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3 peer learning emerged as a solution, with skilled individuals teaching others. This aligns with
4 Hara's (2008) "communities of practice" concept, illustrates how informal of knowledge-
5 sharing promote engagement and adaptation. Pre-existing skills, knowledge and experiences
6 varied across the case studies because different social norms and practices. For instance, in
7 Marib, disputes over water resources were resolved through open dialogue facilitated by tribal
8 leaders, while such dispute resolution was absent in Aden, as communities relied on the central
9 water tank funded by external aid. The variation aligns with Dasgupta and Beard (2007)
10 emphasis on culturally rooted local knowledge. However, while indigenous approaches offer
11 benefits, they also carry risks, particularly in divided societies. Mac Ginty and Hamieh (2010)
12 caution against idealising these methods, as reconstruction—especially in urban settings—
13 often demands professional expertise, limiting community involvement in technical decisions.
14 Employing indigenous knowledge and actors foster participatory processes due to their cultural
15 proximity, yet, it also risks elite capture. Establishing inclusive local governance that ensures
16 the acceptance and inclusion of vulnerable groups, as explained in the following sections.

Local Governance System

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32 In both cases, communities addressed social fragmentation by establishing
33 governance systems for CDR, included written agreements, defined responsibilities, and
34 fundraising protocols. Community committees were central to these efforts, formed through
35 traditional methods in Marib—where there prior governance experience was limited—and
36 more democratic processes in Aden. This highlights the important of indigenous skills in
37 strengthening local governance systems, recognising traditional practices in empowerment
38 (Themnér and Utas, 2016). In Marib, the inclusion of IDP in local governance was facilitated
39 through a signed agreement, ensuring respect, dignity, and participation in CDR efforts.
40 Conversely, in Aden, collective integration of IDPs was avoided, as the Southern
41 Transitional Council (STC) excluded northerners (Forster, 2017). In Marib, strong tribal
42 structures have filled gaps left by state institutions, facilitating cooperation and conflict
43 resolution. These mechanisms were adapted in reconstruction to establish rule for working
44 together and ensure local security. As a result, interviewees did not mention communities
45 establish specific groups or committees for security purposes. This aligns with Somalia,
46 where tribal systems adapted to ensure security in the absence of formal governance
47 (McRobbie, 2010). In Aden, lacking both tribal system and collapse of security institutions
48 led communities to form security committees to fill the governance vacuum, similar to
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3 Kenya, where “vigilante groups” that managed micro-level security in the absence of state
4 presence (Ayiera, 2017). However, Bowles (2006) indicate that group membership
5 significantly influences interactions, with conflict often strengthening bonds within groups
6 while weakening connections with inter-group. In Marib, the tribal system fosters security but
7 may not represent all community interests equally, aligning with concerns raised by Casey et
8 al. (2011) call for equitable legal frameworks to empower communities. Therefore, this
9 article argues that communities must address inward-focused group bonds by promoting
10 social acceptance and inclusion, as illustrated in the next section.
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18 Social Acceptance and Inclusion

21 Acceptance and inclusion are essential for fostering social cohesion in post-conflict
22 recovery. Both case studies revealed that women, previously symbolically involved, became
23 active participants in reconstruction when their skills and contributions were valued.
24 Traditional gender roles shifted due to men’s injuries or casualties that enabled women in
25 Marib to assume roles in conflict resolution and, in Aden, to work in public roles like policing
26 and healthcare. Mehmet Gurses et al. (2020) argue that post-civil war dynamics provide
27 opportunities for women to engage in society opportunities. This study supports that
28 perspective, showing how educated IDP women introduced new cultural norms, fostering
29 greater acceptance of women's roles in reconstruction. Local men increasingly recognised
30 women’s contributions, with women in IDP camps often mediating access to essential services
31 and addressing community educational needs. Economic change emerged as a key motivator
32 for women’s participation, with five women in Aden and four in Marib citing employment
33 opportunities as their primary driver. Women were particularly active in reconstructing schools
34 and health centres, where they secured jobs, while showing less interest in projects like roads.
35 World Bank (2017) similarly notes that women’s engagement in community development is
36 often linked to clear economic benefits, but this study adds to the economic benefits of building
37 shared identity and social cohesion, which could further strengthen women's
38 engagement. Despite increased participation women's participation, half of the participants in
39 both cases stressed the need for central government support through legal frameworks to
40 sustain women’s involvement. This concern stems from the tendency of post-war societies to
41 revert to pre-war values (Demeritt et al., 2014). Initiatives like women's quotas in Aden and
42 designated roles for women in Marib often primarily aimed at securing NGO funding,
43 reflecting concern about tokenism in local governance (Bakonyi et al., 2015). Exclusion of
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3 groups such as ex-combatants or those displaying conflict-related behavioural changes, like
4 distrust and aggression, disrupted trust and cooperation in local governance system. Similar
5 challenges in Guatemala and Timor highlight how post-conflict trauma undermines public trust
6 (Kaltenborn-Stachau, 2008). Addressing these issues, identity-based approaches have proven
7 effective in fostering unity and collaboration (Ratanakosol et al., 2016). For instance,
8 communities used shared symbols like “Aden Beautiful” to build a common identity,
9 incorporating those with behavioural shifts into the local governance system. This aligning
10 with Ntontis et al. (2020a) findings on shared identity's role in enhancing cooperation and social
11 support.
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20 **Aligning personal preferences with community goals**

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23 This study found that economic pressures in Aden and Marib influenced individual
24 decisions, as high poverty levels led people to prioritise personal needs over community
25 goals. Watkins (2005) suggests that effective local participation requires addressing
26 underlying inequalities and barriers within target communities. In Marib, resource conflicts,
27 like land disputes, emerged as primary reconstruction challenge, while in Aden, war economy
28 dynamics -smuggling and armed recruitment- posed the greatest obstacles. Collier's (2009)
29 observation that war created opportunities for smuggled goods aligns with the study's
30 findings. Economic strain in Aden, exacerbated by population density and disrupted state
31 salaries, contrasted with Marib's dependence on agriculture, underscoring region-specific
32 economic challenges. Some participants, particularly the unemployed, sought tangible
33 benefits from reconstruction activities. Hoffman and High-Pippert (2010) argue that aligning
34 individual goals with collective action is crucial. For instance, in both cases, communities
35 organised fundraising for food distribution to address immediate needs. Similarly, in
36 Nicaragua, women's organisations established food distribution networks to support their
37 communities (Demeritt et al., 2014). In contrast to those driven by personal interests,
38 communities in Aden and Marib demonstrated a heightened sense of cooperation and
39 solidarity after experience conflict. This reflects “post-traumatic growth” (Henson et al.,
40 2021), where shared hardships strengthened communal bonds and fostered a commitment to
41 rebuilding. Calvo et al. (2020) noted increased cooperation within in-groups post-war, though
42 they diverge from Hager et al.'s (2019) found reduced cooperation with both in-group and
43 out-group members post-conflict. Langer et al. (2017) argue that economic factors like
44 quality of life are important for social cohesion, but they are not as fundamental as trust,
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cooperation, and identity. Therefore, the study highlights the need to balance personal and community interests to foster social acceptance and inclusive local governance.

Empowerment in a Post-conflict Communities

The previous analysis compared categories from both case studies, highlighting variations in focus codes and concepts, which provided preliminary insights into the emerging model. The next analytical phase will use theoretical coding to explore relationships between focus categories and establish how these relate to main concepts. Fig 1 brings these relationships together to clarify the model that have emerged.

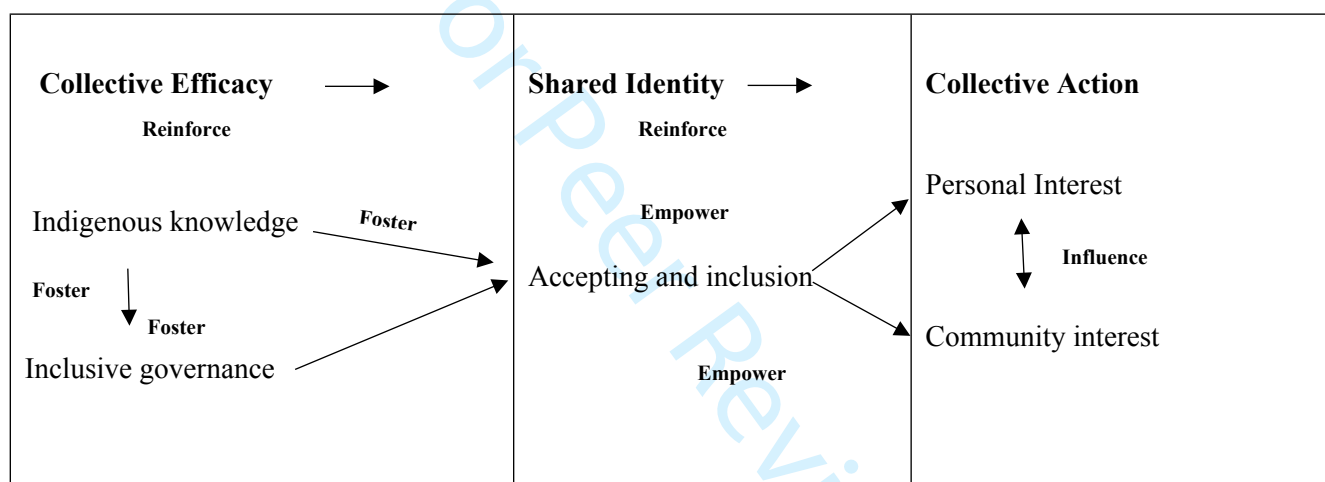


Fig. 1. Model of Empowerment in a Post-conflict communities

The proposed relationships among the four focus categories- indigenous - knowledge, local governance, social accepting and inclusion, and aligning personal and community interest - form a foundational framework for empowering community in post-conflict settings. According to Urquhart (2013), integrative diagrams illustrates the connections between concepts in emerging model. In this study, Fig 1 shows a theoretical connection between indigenous knowledge and inclusive governance, and the main concepts of “collective efficacy”. Indigenous knowledge enhance knowledge sharing through cohesive networks and fosters inclusive governance by empowering members through shared skills and collaborative. Second, it shows how “indigenous knowledge” and “inclusive governance” foster “acceptance and inclusion” in CDR. Thus, relationship of “fostering” between

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3 governance and acceptance was evident as inclusive practices encourage individuals to
4 participate in decision-making, fostering shared identity. Third, it highlights that fostering
5 “acceptance and inclusion” align “personal and community interests”. Mansuri and Rao
6 (2004) indicate that community cohesion strengthened when personal motivations intersect
7 with collective goals.
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11 On the other hand, Fig. 1 highlights the interplay of collective efficacy, shared identity,
12 and collective action for empowerment. It illustrates how collective efficacy, built on
13 indigenous knowledge and inclusive local governance, reinforces a shared identity. Johnston
14 and Taylor (2018) link collective efficacy to enhance social identity. Participants in this study
15 emphasised how inclusive governance fostered acceptance and inclusivity, even for
16 individuals exhibiting survival-driven behaviours, promoting collaboration based on a shared
17 identity. Ohmer (2016) links collective efficacy with social capital and cohesion. Further
18 supporting this perspective, Somasundaram et al. (2023) demonstrated that collective efficacy
19 among IDPs in Sri Lanka reduced post-traumatic stress, while Barceló (2020) observed that
20 war experiences can strengthen civic engagement and collective action through psychological
21 growth. Moreover, participants highlighted that development a shared identity not only
22 strengthened social bonds but also facilitated collective action, as individuals felt empowered
23 to contribute to recovery efforts. Henson et al. (2021) argue shared identity foster motivates
24 individuals to engage in community activities. This shared understanding creates a collective
25 mind-set that is crucial for collective action. These findings highlight the need to empower
26 communities to lead recovery efforts through shared goals, values, and actions. The link
27 between collective efficacy, shared identity, and collective action is vital for fostering
28 collaboration and driving reconstruction. However, fostering a shared may also raise
29 concerns about identity-based violence (Desrosiers, 2015). Thus, empowering communities
30 must consider their diversity and sensitivities to ensure sustainable cohesion and resilience.
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47 Conclusions

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50 I developed an empirical grounded model identifying factors that motivate and hinder
51 empowerment in CDR in Aden and Marib governorates, Yemen. Key themes emerged,
52 including indigenous knowledge, local governance, social acceptance, and alignment
53 personal and community interests. Rather than adhering a single explanation, it integrates
54 multiple theoretical paradigms. For instance, indigenous knowledge aligns with local and
55 indigenous knowledge for community resilience (Hiwasaki et al., 2014), while local
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governance corresponded to decentralisation and local governance after conflict (Jackson, 2016). Social acceptance agreed with changing attitudes and behaviours essential for stability after conflict (Wilke and Chivvis, 2011). The alignment of personal and community interest reflect incentive-based theories of participation (Gram et al., 2019). These factors are synthesised into the empowerment model, highlighting interplay between collective efficacy, shared identity, and collective action that can serve as foundational mechanisms for empowering communities.

Expanding community-drive development (Barron, 2011), this model provides structured guidance on key factors that empower local communities. To enhance generalisability, the model has been abstracted to address broader post-conflict contexts, as Cathy Urquhart (2013) suggests. This abstraction moves beyond micro-phenomena offering applicability to settings like Ukraine and Gaza. Using Walsham's (1995) four analytical generalisations—concept development, model generation, actionable implications, and rich insight— help evaluate its broader relevance. Therefore, the study introduced main concepts: collective efficacy, shared identity, and collective action, as crucial in post-conflict recovery. In Syria, fostering shared identity through inclusive governance could help rebuild fractured communities. In Lebanon, collective efficacy may empower marginalised groups and encourage collaboration across sectarian divides. In Gaza and Ukraine, these findings provide actionable insights for recovery efforts, helping strengthen social cohesion, resilience, and local ownership of reconstruction.

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Statements and Declarations

The study, part of the author's PhD work, was approved by Coventry University's Centre for Peace and Security on 30 June 2021 (ref: P114707) for remote fieldwork. Participants provided informed consent verbally and in writing. Data was securely stored on a password-protected Coventry University computer, accessible only to the main researcher.

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