STORIES OF RECOVERY
CARE PHILIPPINES
POST HAIYAN/YOLANDA SHELTER RESPONSE
Acknowledgements

The authors of this report would like to express our gratitude to the staff of CARE Philippines and their implementing partners. At every turn we were supported and advised with patience and good humour. Thank you.

A full list of people interviewed is available, and our thanks to all of them. Our gratitude also goes to the UK shelter team for their formative and critical feedback. There are many people we could mention but a handful deserve special recognition: Rochel Orit, Antonette Barlisan, and Macy Sally Daproza for being constant companions and translators, providing us with insights and advice; and our drivers Arnel Roca and Fernando Ortiz.
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Note on Acronyms and shorthand

As far as possible acronyms and jargon have been avoided in this report, but inevitably a few will creep in. One or two shorthands need clarification:

**CARE Philippines and implementing partners.** Where the word ‘CARE’ is used it should be understood that this always includes ‘CARE Philippines and implementing partners’. The crucial role of the implementing partners in the success of this shelter programme cannot be over-emphasised.

**Haiyan/Yolanda.** The international name for the Typhoon is Haiyan; in the Philippines it is known as Yolanda. We have generally preferred to use the local name - Yolanda.

**Women, girls, men and boys.** For the sake of brevity and fluidity, we have generally avoided this term. CARE has an international mandate to empower women and girls and to include gender sensitivity in all its work.

**Acronyms and glossary**

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Acronym</th>
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<tr>
<td>ACCORD</td>
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<tr>
<td>Amacan</td>
<td>Matting made from woven split bamboo</td>
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<td>Barangay</td>
<td>A village; subdivided into purok or sitio</td>
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<td>Bayanihan</td>
<td>A Filipino word without adequate English translation meaning a spirit of community cooperation and cohesion</td>
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<tr>
<td>BBS</td>
<td>Build Back Safer</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CO</td>
<td>(CARE) country office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DRR</td>
<td>Disaster Risk Reduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EPP</td>
<td>Emergency preparedness plan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GIDA</td>
<td>Geographically isolated and disadvantaged area</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nipa</td>
<td>A palm that grows in mangrove swamps used for roofing</td>
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<td>PVDCI</td>
<td>Pontevedra Vendors Development Cooperative. An implementing partner</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sari-sari store</td>
<td>A small household store</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SRK</td>
<td>Shelter repair kit</td>
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1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY & INTRODUCTION

CARE Philippines responded to the devastation of the November 2013 Haiyan/Yolanda typhoon with extensive shelter and livelihoods programmes. Using a self-recovery approach, almost 16,000 families received cash, materials and tools coupled with relevant technical assistance. This supported them in the rebuilding of their homes stronger and better than before. Many of the barangays that received shelter support were also recipients of the CARE livelihoods programme – two cash grants that were utilised by the families in projects as wide-ranging as piggeries to rice-mills.

The programme targeted remote communities (known as GIDA, Geographically Isolated and Disadvantaged Areas) predominantly inland, across the islands of Leyte and Panay. All had been very severely affected by the typhoon, with a high percentage of totally destroyed houses. Frequently CARE was the only international agency working in the barangays we visited.

The overwhelming conclusion of this evaluation is positive. This was a large shelter response with an explicit focus on self-recovery. At best, we saw homes that were a significant improvement on the pre-Yolanda houses: better built, stronger, often bigger and with the families expressing an evident sense of pride, satisfaction and ‘ownership’ in their achievements. The study team was told that the CARE approach was better than the contractor-built ‘whole-house’ approach of other agencies, because it allowed for flexibility and choice as well as leaving a legacy of learning around the build-back-safer techniques. Despite having to invest their own time and resources into the houses, families recognised that their homes, once finished, were tailored to their needs and resources. There are some delightful houses as a result.

In general, the Filipino system of bayanihan (community cohesion and mutual support) ensured that no one was left out. The community supported the construction of the homes for the elderly, the widows, single parents and other disadvantaged people.

It is important that this overall very positive impact is not overshadowed by the more critical observations of this report. Some of these include: houses that have not been
finished; communities where bayanihan was not functioning; poor technical quality; occasional scant compliance with build-back-safer techniques; inconsistent partner and CARE community-level accompaniment and complaints about the selection process. Important though these points are, they should not be allowed to detract from the very positive impact that this project has had on the well-being and general recovery of the communities. Almost all of the project’s houses are now stronger, bigger and healthier than before the typhoon. The constructive criticisms are valuable lessons for future improvements in self-recovery shelter programming and are framed in this report as points for discussion.

This evaluation is part of a continuing commitment to study the impact of self-recovery programmes, and was preceded by a quantitative survey and evaluation one year after Typhoon Haiyan/Yolanda (September 2014)1. This first report has significantly more detail and should be read as a companion document. The objective of this second evaluation is to assess how CARE’s response meets the needs of the population, to evaluate recovery two years from the disaster and to accumulate learning for the benefit of CARE Philippines and CARE shelter work around the world, in particular where a self-recovery approach is adopted. This evaluation seeks to complement, verify and challenge some of the findings of the earlier report. It assesses the level of recovery after a further year and particularly analyses the relationship between shelter and livelihood programmes.

1 reliefweb.int/report/philippines/care-philippines-typhoon-haiyan-shelter-recovery-project-evaluation

Judita and Diosdado Maballo
BARANGAY BACAGAY EAST, LA PAZ

Judita is a 45-year-old mother of twelve with a strong youthful appearance and energy. Diosdado, her husband, is a carpenter. When Yolanda hit, their bamboo and nipa house was fully destroyed. They spent two weeks sheltering in the local school before making a makeshift shack out of bamboo, which is still in their backyard.

Diosdado has built their new house to a beautiful level of detail, with bamboo and coco lumber features. They used the materials and financial assistance received from CARE-ACCORD to build the core part of the home, which houses the main living room (doubling up as a sleeping area) and front porch. They have since incrementally extended the dwelling, building additional rooms off the main house to use for sleeping, dining and cooking, and verandas for outdoor sitting and eating. Some of these extensions are still covered in tarpaulins or pieces of old CGI sheets, but when funds allow they will continue to upgrade their home and replace the temporary solutions with more permanent materials.

Diosdado says that he learnt a great deal from the BBS training, and believes their new house to be much stronger than the one they had before.
1.1 The Care Shelter Programme

On December 19th 2013, CARE began distribution of CGI metal roofing sheets, tools, a few materials such as nails, wire and strapping and a cash grant of PHP 3,000 (about £43). This package was known as Shelter Repair Kit 1, or SRK1. This was followed several months later by SRK2 a further cash grant of PHP 5,000 (£70), also widely referred to as the top-up. A second assessment was done to determine eligibility for SRK2, and not all SRK1 recipients qualified. The entire process was accompanied by an awareness training for all beneficiaries and further training for carpenters. In each community a roving team was established, typically two carpenters and a social mobiliser, who accompanied the families with encouragement and technical advice.

The barangays generally organised into groups of ten or more families, often one group per sitio or purok, a subdivision of the barangay. To differing degrees the community would employ the bayanihan approach of collective community support, sharing the burden of construction between them and ensuring that the homes of vulnerable families were given priority.

In the inland barangays where CARE was working, share-cropping, back-yard vegetable plots and very small-scale livestock (pigs, ducks, chickens) were the main sources of income. Pre-Yolanda houses were mainly timber or bamboo frames with bamboo or amacan (woven bamboo matting) walls and nipa roofs, with occasional CGI roofing sheets. The new houses were considered by the beneficiaries to be a substantial improvement – the CGI roofing, in particular, was said to be much, much better as it lasted longer and did not leak.
1.2 Summaries of key findings and recommendations

Many of the findings of this evaluation are framed as discussion points. Shelter programming is so context-specific that what was found to be pertinent to Leyte and Panay may not be valid in another part of the Philippines, let alone another country with an entirely different building typology and social structure. Moreover, self-recovery shelter programming is a relatively recent and developing approach that demands discussion, reflection and learning. The intention is that this report adds to that process.

The findings are discussed in depth in the next section. They are very briefly summarised below.

1 Recovery and completion
   Communities are well on their way to recovery; the houses show a high level of completion and 'ownership'.

2 Quality and build-back-safer
   Construction quality is generally very high and there is strong compliance with the four key Build Back Safer messages. Recommendations are made to further improve compliance.

3 Sector integration
   There is scope for more learning around shelter and livelihoods integration. The evaluation is critical of the omission of the WASH sector and argues that its inclusion should always be considered in a shelter response. The concept of 'WASH-lite' is introduced. The combination of small-scale livelihoods interventions was considered to be very positive. The lessons of collective purchasing learned in the Yolanda response were transferred to the shelter response in the subsequent Hagupit/Ruby response one year later.

4 Beneficiary selection process
   This is the one area where there was beneficiary dissatisfaction. The case is made for a more nuanced and harmonised process.

5 Supporting self-recovery
   The support to families self-building was very effective and appropriate. It is recommended that consideration should be given to support of the entire community in self-recovery programmes.

6 Quantity vs quality, the size of the package and 'smart conditions'
   The most resourceful who rebuild immediately are often penalised by being excluded from the selection process in shelter programmes. The concept of 'smart-conditions' starts to address this and other challenges.

7 Rural land tenure
   The majority of beneficiaries are tenants without more than verbal agreement to build on the land; however most feel secure and able to rebuild.

8 Context - variation between barangays and between leyte and panay
   As in all shelter responses the context is crucial. We found significant variations in construction and design quality between barangays and between those communities that did and did not adhere to bayanihan.

9 Community accompaniment and working with partners
   The involvement of partners was pivotal to the success of this project. However, it is critical that CARE accompanies and supports its implementing partners throughout the programme.

10 Participation of women
   The participation of women in contributing to the evaluation and more generally in the life of the barangay was very evident and noteworthy. They played an active role in the decision-making and management of the project. Practical participation in construction was very low.
The first evaluation carried out in September 2014 employed a considerable element of quantitative survey work. The current evaluation did not consider it a priority to repeat much of this work, especially as there was access to subsequent surveys carried out for donor reporting. The evaluation used focus group discussion, informant interviews (a mix of key personnel and community members) and direct observation. Fourteen barangays were visited in both Leyte and Panay. A randomised selection process was employed, while ensuring that all possible combinations were included: with and without livelihood programming; included, and not included in the previous evaluation. The evaluation team was accompanied by a CARE Philippines staff member at all times, who also translated. The informant interviews included: CARE staff, partner staff, roving team members, and a cross section of community members, both beneficiary and non-beneficiary.

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3. FINDINGS & DISCUSSION: STORIES OF RECOVERY

3.1 Recovery and completion

Two years on and the areas devastated by Typhoon Yolanda are well on their way to recovery. Despite the passing of Typhoon Hagupit/Ruby and the current lack of rainfall associated with El Niño, life in the towns and barangays has returned to a degree of normality: the men and women are once again working the fields and the small sari-sari stores are stocked and busy.

Although most of the people would say that they are not yet back to pre-Yolanda days, they do express gratitude to CARE for the livelihoods support. The evidence of this support is everywhere in the piggeries, egg production, stores; even motorbike taxis and rice mills.

This recovery is also reflected in the level of completion of houses. Although the results are not uniform, it is clear that nearly everyone has completed their houses to an adequate level – where ‘adequate’ is defined as being substantially finished with secure roof and walls as well as complying with the Build-Back-Safer messages. The one year evaluation report gave a 52% completion rate, while a recently conducted survey by CARE Philippines shows 92%. The community perception of ‘completion’ does not tally with this observation: almost everyone says that their houses are not complete, explaining that they don’t yet have an adequate kitchen or toilet, or pointing out that their walls are made of light-weight split bamboo or a portion of their roofs of nipa (a palm found in mangrove swamps). This discrepancy is an inevitable consequence of support to self-recovery as the completion of the house is an incremental process, constantly being improved, up-graded and extended. Many families still have their kitchens roofed or clad in tarpaulin, a demonstration of the versatility of the tarp, distributed primarily as an emergency solution. However, our observations made it quite clear that a majority now had homes that were as good as, or better, than their pre-Yolanda houses. By saying that their houses were not complete, the families were expressing an aspiration to continue to improve them by up-grading the walls.
from bamboo to plywood, or to buy enough CGI to fully cover their kitchen extensions.

Nearly all mentioned a “lack of budget” as a reason for incompletion, but also expressed an intention to do more once funds were available.

A small minority of houses were clearly not complete, their owners still living with family members. These sometimes had no more than corner posts and a roof (see photo p.29) and had an abandoned appearance with no sign of on-going work. Communities with a strong bayanihan spirit were most unlikely to have unfinished homes as vulnerable families, with a lower ability to rebuild, got support from their neighbours.

In the majority of communities there is a strong sense of ‘ownership’: there are signs everywhere that the families have put their heart into their homes and they expressed a great deal of pride in what they have accomplished. Pots of plants fill their front yards, a few houses are painted, the windows and lavabos (projecting windows that drain to the outside for washing dishes) are made with intricate split bamboo screens. Every family had spent extra money on their houses – it was recognised that the grant from the first round (SRK1) was an injection of cash sufficient only, for instance, to pay for the purchase and milling of coco-lumber – and this additional investment in their own cash and labour ensured an evident pride and sense of ownership.

**Milagros**

*BARANGAY CATOOGAN, SANTA FE*

Milagros is a widow and mother of twelve who lives with her son. When we visited her house, she emotionally recounted how, the night Yolanda arrived, the storm picked up force at around 3am, was strongest at 5am, and lasted until 8am. Milagros and the rest of the community had taken refuge in the local school building the evening before. When the roof of the classroom began to be ripped off by the strong wind, they all formed a long human chain and moved from classroom to classroom holding tightly onto each other for safety. Many were injured by the flying glass and debris, but fortunately all wounds were superficial.

When Milagros walked back to her house after leaving the school, it was no longer there. She found the bamboo wreckage blown across the street. She temporarily moved into a makeshift shelter constructed by her son and neighbours, that had no walls until an agency came and distributed tarpaulins. When the CARE-ACCORD shelter programme began in March 2014, the community decided to adopt a bayanihan approach to reconstruction – helping one another to build their homes. As a senior citizen, Milagros was prioritised by her bayanihan group, and her house was built first. The group built the timber frame and roof with the help of Milagros’ son. For the rest, she hired a carpenter.

During the while we spent talking to Milagros and her neighbours, they pointed out that they do not think the community would have been able to organise themselves so well without the support of CARE-ACCORD. It is however also apparent that the programme could never have worked so well in this barangay without their strong community spirit and culture of bayanihan. They believe that “the spirit of being united came back with the typhoon response”.
## LEYTE

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<th>Community org.</th>
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<th>House owner satisfaction</th>
<th>Obsrv. on rate of completion</th>
<th>Obsrv. on level of ownership</th>
<th>Obsrv. on quality of construction</th>
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**FIELD NOTES COMPARISON**

The matrix below is a very summarised version of the field notes. It has been scored (green high, pink low) to show the correlation between good programme outcomes and a strong community spirit of mutual support and cooperation – known in the Philippines as *bayanihan*.
3.2. Quality and Build-Back-Safer

Technical quality, in this evaluation, falls into two categories: general construction quality and compliance with the Build-Back-Safer (BBS) messages. The shelter cluster guidelines included 8 messages but CARE chose to emphasise the four deemed most important for ensuring safer construction: good foundations; strong connections; diagonal bracing; adequate nailing of the roof. The carpenters in the roving teams had all received training (according to informants, somewhere between a few hours and a whole day) so that they were all conversant with the key messages. This seems to have been adequate in most instances, and there was ample evidence of the messages being followed. However, as evidenced by the previous 2014 report, the structural layout was sometimes poor. It is likely that further follow-up training and accompaniment for the carpenters would have further increased quality and compliance with BBS principles. Certainly including more top-up training as part of future DRR programming would be an excellent way of encouraging the continuing legacy of good construction practice.

- **Foundations:** this is hard to assess visually as they are out of sight, but carpenters and owners indicated that most posts are buried at least 1m below ground level. Generally a good quality hardwood is used, sometimes as a stub-post, sometimes continuing to eaves level.

- **Strong connections:** the initial CARE shelter kit (SRK1) included a quantity of metal cyclone strapping (in fact, CARE supplied an alternative metal packing strap being more readily available). This was generally used to connect purlins to rafters, and rafters to the top of the wall. It was also used to connect the elements of roof trusses. More rarely was it seen in wall construction although it was frequently used to connect the frame to foundation posts. The packing strap that was chosen by CARE was not galvanised and was corroding badly in many instances. In some barangays where the quality of construction was low, the strap had not been used and was
sometimes seen discarded outside. However, these were exceptions to the general rule and the correct use of strapping was the norm. Galvanised tie wire, and in one instance rebar, was used to make strong bamboo connections.

- **Diagonal bracing:** this is frequently seen in roofs, but often omitted in the walls. Walls were sometimes sheathed in plywood but so extremely thin (3mm or ¼”) and of such a low quality that it would have provided negligible racking strength. Several houses used “hardieflex” – a cement fibre board – and this would be much more durable as well as giving some strength to the wall.

- **Proper nailing of the roof:** generally this was done adequately with extra nails along the eaves and verges. It is not practical to nail CGI sheeting to bamboo and an ingenious method was employed for bamboo roofs comprising tie-wire and cut-up pieces of flip-flop sandal.

In all *barangays* each allocated family was given tools, some nails, wire and cyclone strapping with the exception of communities in Pontevedra and Sigma, Panay island, where they were only given CGI roofing sheets. This was done after careful consideration of availability of materials in local markets and with the intent of pump-priming the local economy. However the implication of this decision was that fewer families in these municipalities used cyclone strapping, suggesting that high-value, hard to acquire items need to be included or they may not be used at all. It also points to the need to demonstrate ‘homemade’ alternatives, such as snipping strapping off the edge of scrap pieces of CGI, if the technique is to be in any way sustainable. Alternative methods such as using timber blocks, or cleats, were used but inconsistently.

The general construction quality was on the whole high, and occasionally showed a delightful attention to detail.
3.3 Sector integration

CARE has four core humanitarian sectors: shelter, WASH, livelihoods and sexual & reproduction health. A strategic decision was made to only respond in shelter and livelihoods despite the severity of the disaster (Yolanda was given the highest CARE category of 4). There was no WASH programme.

This evaluation went to some lengths to consider the merits of different sector integration with particular attention to shelter and livelihoods and shelter and WASH.

3.3.1 Shelter and livelihoods

CARE Philippines carried out a substantial livelihoods programme post-Yolanda. This was in two phases, an initial grant of PHP 3,000 (£43) and a second of PHP 5,000 (£72). Typically, families used this money to buy livestock (pigs, chickens and ducks), seeds, etc. Sometimes a number of families would club together to buy a water-buffalo that could be rented-out to neighbours for farmwork. The most ambitious example of communal organising that we saw was the case of 170 families contributing towards a rice mill (see box page opposite). It is running successfully with enough surplus to buy extra land and to distribute income amongst the members.

The timing of the evaluation two years after Yolanda meant that both livelihood grants had been invested and some returns were clearly evident. The families had also all received the government’s Emergency Shelter Assistance (ESA). This was either PHP 10,000 or 30,000 depending on partial of total damage. Although generally delivered long after housing recovery was underway, it was an unconditional cash grant. Many families said they used it to repay debts, buy building materials or other household goods. It was hard to see a correlation between receipt of a livelihood grant and a higher standard of housing as there were many variables, but there was a clear relationship between livelihood support and general level of recovery. Most families now saw the development of livelihood as a priority over further shelter support. In these barangays very few families received remittances from families working abroad.

While most houses were substantially finished, the majority of families maintained that they were not, saying that they still lacked a kitchen, some walling, a better roof. Universally people said that they could not continue for lack of disposable income.

As in the case of Brenda’s pigs (see right), there is a fairly evident way in which a successful livelihood project supports shelter recovery: the profit from the sale of the piglets is used to buy hollow blocks. However this is just the most apparent benefit. There are other aspects of integration between livelihoods and shelter that are explored on the following page.

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Brenda

BARANGAY SUBLANGON, PONTEVEDRA

Brenda is a single mother who works as a teacher in a local school. She was not selected to receive shelter assistance despite losing her house in the storm, but she did receive the livelihoods cash grant, which she has used to start a small-scale piggery business. She initially bought a sow, which gave birth to 9 piglets. She fattened the piglets and sold them at 3 months at PHP 2,500 a pig, keeping one female sow in order to double her piglet turnover. With money that she makes from selling pigs, she employs a mason to build her new house one bit at a time.
SHELTER AND LIVELIHOODS INTEGRATION - THE POWER OF COLLABORATION

If there is a clear advantage in families joining together to collectively buy something that would be beyond their reach individually (a water-buffalo or a rice mill) then the advantages of collective purchasing of building materials is also apparent. CARE Philippines learnt this lesson from Yolanda and applied it to the Typhoon Hagupit/Ruby response. The second tranche of shelter cash was conditional on the group producing a purchasing plan. They were able to take advantage of discounted prices and delivery to the barangay. In this respect shelter has much to learn from livelihood process.

In CARE’s post-Yolanda programming, both shelter and livelihoods were considered to be part of a self-recovery approach. The process of rebuilding homes is incremental; similarly the process of recovering livelihood is also incremental. The two processes, particularly if considered together, are mutually supportive: an adequate home allows a family to concentrate on economic improvement; an increase in family income allows them to continue to improve their homes.

This is also an argument for combining livelihoods with shelter when it is known that the support from the INGO is not enough, on its own, to rebuild a house (as was the case here). The income from a livelihood goes some way to filling the gap. This counters the argument that a family that receives shelter support should not receive livelihood support and vice versa; or that community A should get shelter, and community B livelihoods in order to spread the available funds wider. However this does raise serious equity issues and this is further discussed in the section on selection process.

Finally, by supporting each other, the combination of shelter and livelihoods should be greater than the sum of its parts. It is likely to result in quicker recovery and more united, organised and resilient communities.

Rice Mill Association
BARANGAY MERCADUY, LA PAZ

In Mercaduy, 170 households who received livelihoods assistance decided to get together and form a rice farmers’ association. Each household contributed PHP 3,000 of the PHP 5,000 second livelihoods cash instalment to a common fund, which they put towards building a rice mill in the neighbourhood. This has enabled them to mill their own rice locally (avoiding the high transportation cost of milling it elsewhere) as well as to mill the rice of farmers from neighbouring barangays.

The mill is managed jointly by all members following a strict schedule of rotating duties. It has been running for 9 months so far and has already brought the community some income – part of which has been shared amongst members, and part of which has been put aside for savings.

This is an inspiring example of a group of beneficiaries who saw the money they received not as a short-term relief measure, but as a rare opportunity to organise themselves and invest in their collective future. Consequently, their sense of ownership and pride is visibly high.
3.3.2 Shelter and WASH

Adequate latrines and toilets were notably missing from many beneficiaries’ houses. Some deemed toilets to be “more important than a kitchen”.

Support for sanitation is evidently complementary to a shelter programme and could have contributed to a nationwide campaign by the DoH to declare rural barangays free of open defecation.

The decision not to focus on WASH may have been a missed opportunity.

It is not difficult to see the advantages of integrating shelter and WASH, and there is good reason to argue that they should always be considered as natural partners. Is a house complete without a toilet? Is there anything more important to health than the provision of clean water in adequate quantity close to the home?

In contrast to the previous evaluation, the water supply was said to be inadequate in each of the barangays visited. People universally said that support for latrines or toilets would have been most welcome.

The coverage of latrines was varied. Some barangays have been awarded the municipality ‘zero open defecation’ status as part of a campaign to eliminate open defecation; in others, some families would go to the fields, river banks and seashores. Reportedly there is more open defecation in rural areas away from main roads. Typhoon Yolanda destroyed a huge number of toilets. A few NGOs were engaged in WASH programmes but this was sometimes limited to just the provision of a toilet bowl. A simple pour-flush system with a septic tank was usual pre-Yolanda, but this had often been replaced by a temporary pit latrine.

We encountered deep wells with hand-pumps, spring-fed systems and metered piped supply, but commonly people said the water was in short supply. Metered water was normally beyond the means of poor families. In each barangay where we asked the question, there would be one or two respondents who said they caught rainwater in buckets. Many thought rainwater harvesting would be good idea for washing and bathing, but all agreed that they could not afford a plastic drum for storage. Small scale rainwater harvesting is a natural addition to the provision of CGI sheets.

INTEGRATION OF SHELTER AND WASH

Integration does not imply a full-blown WASH programme; it does not include, for instance, the repair of water systems or the drilling of wells. However latrines and rainwater harvesting are examples of relatively simple additions to a shelter programme, included sometimes in other INGO programmes. They would be very appreciated by the community and have significant health benefits. This could be dubbed ‘Shelter + WASH-lite’, or even SHWASH. From CARE’s perspective it need not be considered as a distinct sectoral activity, although the involvement of the WASH team and inclusion of WASH expertise is essential to ensure quality. A recent CARE India study showed that the inclusion of toilets alone did not result in a change of practice. It is vital that training and campaigns in public health and hygiene go alongside any WASH intervention especially if introducing new practice.
3.4 Beneficiary selection process

More than with any other issue, communities expressed dissatisfaction with the selection process often saying that it was unfair. It was a contentious topic in particular in the barangays aroundOrmoc City and on Panay island.

This is not entirely surprising considering the complexity of setting clear criteria, and explaining them to implementing partners and families affected by Yolanda – almost all of whom could, in one way or another, be classified as vulnerable.

Here are some typical comments:
- **My son was away at the time of assessment and so was not considered.**
- **I went to live with my daughter and so they didn’t consider that I was homeless.**
- **Although my home was considered to be partially damaged, when I rebuilt, I had to start from scratch.**
- **I borrowed money so that I could rebuild quickly, so my home was no longer totally damaged when the assessment was made.**
- **The assessment team didn’t even go to look at my house (for SRK2).**
- **They said that if I had four columns and a roof, then I did not qualify for the top-up (SRK2).**

We found apparent discrepancies in the application of criteria across the various partners and in different localities. For example in some barangays almost 100% of the families with totally damaged homes received the initial SRK1; in others it was considerably lower and in one barangay only 25% of families with destroyed houses received SRK1.

A COORDINATED SELECTION PROCESS

Responding in both livelihoods and shelter further complicates the process. Initially the decision has to be taken to either respond with both sectors in the same community, or spread the benefits more widely by splitting them between barangays. So barangay A might receive shelter, while B gets livelihoods; or alternatively A gets both and B gets nothing. Many factors can influence the decision, not least the available funds and the saturation of INGOs working in the area. There has to be consideration of fairness and equity, and this was taken into account when considering who would receive the ‘top-up’ and/or livelihood grants. It is argued above, in the section on sector integration, that as the shelter programme is an inevitable incremental process aimed at supporting self-recovery, then the inclusion of livelihoods is a logically preferred option. An integrated approach within one barangay, particularly with shelter and livelihoods, requires a harmonised selection process. If each sector does its own selection process, and if, as seems likely, the criteria are similar, then it is probable that many beneficiaries will receive both. Not only will many families get a ‘double-dip’, but a significant number will get nothing. This could be a serious equity issue. By combining and harmonising the process this can be mitigated so that, as far as possible, the entire community benefits.

Moreover, because this is a self-recovery programme there is a case for considering blanket support across the entire community. Everyone, to a greater or lesser extent, is involved in the process of self-recovery. This does not have to imply a uniform package across the entire community; there can be a safety-net for the most vulnerable, the package can be bespoke (tailored), there can be ‘smart conditions’, and the well-off can be excluded. This is discussed further below.
Corazon Villagracia
SUBLANGON, PONTEVEDR

“Our house was totally destroyed by Yolanda. In the aftermath of the storm, my husband and brother-in-law quickly built a temporary shelter using salvaged CGI sheets from our old house and bamboo donated by relatives. We were excluded from the shelter programme because my husband had a job as a construction labourer – so we were deemed to have greater capacity to rebuild than others in the community. However, his salary is no more than PHP 200 (4.2 USD) per day, and after we cover our family’s basic needs there is not enough money left to build a house. For this reason, I decided to write to CARE-PVDCI using the suggestions box, and highlight our precarious situation to them. Our case was reconsidered and we were finally named shelter beneficiaries. I am happy because the feedback mechanism worked.

We are currently halfway to completing our new home, which will be bigger than the one we had before. So far we have put up the concrete frame, built a hollow concrete block base for the walls, and secured the CGI roofing sheets. We are slowly cladding the walls with hardieflex [fibre cement sheeting], which will make the house strong. Construction has paused temporarily and will resume when we have enough funds to buy additional hardieflex.”

Ever Bagares (non-beneficiary)
SUBLANGON, PONTEVEDRA

Ever Bagares lives with her husband Louie and their two daughters (12 and 4 years old) in Sublangon. At the time of the typhoon, Louie was away working in the construction industry in Manila. Ever and the two girls went to Louie’s mum’s house when they heard the storm was coming, as they feared their house may not be safe. When Yolanda passed, their house, made of bamboo, had been totally destroyed.

Ever set to work almost immediately with her older daughter – her husband still in Manila - to construct a temporary shelter on the site using some salvaged materials from the destroyed house. She believes that as a result, she was excluded from CARE-PVDCI’s early assessments for shelter needs, as she did not pass the criteria of ‘not having a house’. Although the selection criteria had been explained to them and they had been told that not everybody would make the list, she feels that the process was not carried out justly and transparently, as some families, that she believes to be better off than hers, were selected for assistance while she was not. According to Ever, barangay officials were reluctant to contribute to the task of identifying beneficiaries, as they did not want any responsibility or blame to fall on them.

When Louie returned from Manila they both built their present house together. They were able to attend the orientation meeting given by CARE-PVDCI on BBS principles, although by then they had already rebuilt their house. They have not been able to retro-fit any BBS measures because of the high cost of doing so. However, they are happy with their house, and proud of what they have achieved.
Many of the people interviewed during the course of the field work felt that the selection process could have been fairer. This was despite the fact that CARE Philippines had a very well-considered process as illustrated in the diagram above. This suggests that it is very important to explain carefully the rationale behind the selection strategy and ensure close monitoring, and effective feedback, throughout the process. Almost inevitably a targeted selection process is going to attract some level of beneficiary dissatisfaction. It is important to have mitigation mechanisms in place. Section 4.4.2 and 5.2.2 of the previous report go into more detail on the rationale behind the selection process and the difficulties encountered.
3.5 Supporting Self-Recovery: universal selection & ‘smart conditions’

An example will help to illustrate the argument for blanket support. The Philippines very quickly demonstrated an exceptional ability to bounce back from Yolanda and begin the process of recovery. Houses were being rebuilt immediately – some of them ramshackle, makeshift and clearly temporary, but others were the beginnings of permanent homes. The latter, and even sometimes the former, were excluded from the shelter repair programme as their houses were not deemed totally destroyed. This leaves open a number of questions: did the household have to incur debts in order to rebuild so quickly? Is their new house adequate? Should their initiative mean they cannot avail themselves of the Build-Back-Safer techniques? Are they equally vulnerable and deserving but being penalised for their resourcefulness?

One NGO commentator pointed out that, far from being excluded, the resourcefulness of these community members may in itself be a very good reason for ensuring that they are included as part of the recovery process.

“Some families who built temporary shelters soon after Yolanda were missed out from the shelter assessments. This is unfair because those makeshift shelters couldn’t have been mistaken for anything other than temporary – so how could those families be excluded from being considered for shelter assistance on the basis that they had already ‘recovered’?”

- thought shared by Juaneza roving team member
SELF-RECOVERY INCLUDES THE ENTIRE COMMUNITY

Inclusion of the entire community, or at least everyone who has been affected, should be at the heart of a shelter self-recovery programme. Anyone whose house has been partially or totally destroyed should be involved in training and have access to the technical support of the roving team. If the intention is to support the inevitable self-recovery process at the same time as increasing the overall resilience of the community, then it does not make sense to have a selection process that excludes families “because they have the capacity to recover”. They may have a roof over their heads, but their house is unlikely to be stronger or better than before the disaster.

Within the framework of all-community support, a series of modifications can be made to cater for the different needs and vulnerabilities of the population. The CARE Philippines programme provided a standard package that included 10 sheets of CGI roof sheets for each qualifying family, but adjusting the number of sheets to the size of the family is a possible consideration.

THE CASE FOR ‘SMART CONDITIONS’

Receiving the cash grant could be determined by ‘smart-conditions’. A family that has already built their house could build a latrine, put in a concrete floor, or extend their home to reach Sphere standard for the size of their family. They could also retrofit it with bracing and strapping to improve its strength. All these conditions could qualify them for inclusion in the CARE programme. A family with teenage daughters could put in partitions for extra privacy. The inclusion of WASH items such as latrines and rainwater harvesting broadens the scope of smart-conditions, and introduces an element of sector integration. The resourceful family that rebuilds immediately is no longer penalised but rewarded with a stronger, healthier home.

Determining the size of the shelter package requires analysis and makes the case for very careful initial assessment of need and capacity. CARE’s programme was described as a Shelter Repair Kit, when in fact, as identified in the first evaluation report, there was very little repair and almost universal rebuild. The initial cash tranche was for PHP 3,000 (£45) but subsequent monitoring made it clear that this was insufficient for the majority of families and was topped-up with a further PHP 5,000 (£75). This was somewhat fortuitous as more funds became available, but in the event was a very effective approach: now almost everyone has managed to rebuild their homes to an acceptable standard.

Adopting an all-community blanket approach demands a nuanced methodology for determining the size and bespoke nature of the package. The resourceful family perhaps receiving remittances from overseas may only get technical training and advice from the roving team; a large family with a low income might get the full package. With the widespread practice of bayanihan in the Philippines, a larger package for the most vulnerable may not be applicable: the elderly widow living on her own does not need extra money for labour if the community is going to do the work free of charge.

The shelter sector – in many recent disasters – has been handicapped by failing to address the varying needs of women, men, girls and boys and diverse families and communities. A one-size-fits-all approach is rarely appropriate. A more nuanced and bespoke approach is needed, despite taking more time and resource.
In Macaalang, shelter beneficiaries employed the *bayanihan* system to carry out the building work, clustering themselves in smaller groups where all members would help one another to build their homes. In the *bayanihan* process, priority was given to vulnerable people such as senior citizens.

Before the different *bayanihan* groups started building, the roving team carpenters built a “model house” to physically demonstrate to all other carpenters in the community the best BBS building practice. This house was built for an elderly widow who urgently needed a home.

This community were very supportive of one another, so the shelter assistance provided by CARE-ACCORD was able to go a long way, shown by the construction of well-built, strong homes that reached all vulnerable members of the community. This highlights the need for self-recovery support packages to be accompanied by strong community action.
3.6 Rural land tenure

On both Leyte and Panay islands there is a semi-feudal system, despite some progress on national agrarian reform. In every barangay visited the majority are tenants, with just a few saying that they owned their land. Most pay no rent, some pay a small nominal amount each year (typically about PHP 500 - £7), and a few pay in kind with a sack of rice. Sharecropping was the normal agricultural practice supplemented with agricultural labouring and backyard vegetables and livestock.

There is rarely more than a verbal agreement between landowner and tenant. This situation has persisted for decades with respondents saying that they were born in the barangay, their parents lived and died there. However the perception of security of tenure is varied, some saying they felt secure and others less certain. Reasons for feeling insecure include uncertainty about what might happen if the landowner were to die and if his or her children take a different attitude. Families’ houses are sometimes in very unsuitable sites, prone to flooding and in peripheral spaces surrounded by agricultural land. This is particularly evident away from roads.

Two reasons for only building in lightweight materials were cited by families that do not own their land: not wishing to invest too much given insecurity of tenure; and the landowner’s reluctance to allow concrete construction on their land.

We were informed that agencies that adopted a contractor-built ‘full house’ approach had insisted on a minimum of five years written agreement from the landowner. CARE’s approach of support to self-recovery quite correctly did not see this as a pre-requisite, allowing individual families to make their own decisions. This demonstrates another advantage of this flexible approach to shelter recovery: families are at liberty to decide for themselves the degree to which they invest in their homes, bearing in mind the level of tenure security.
3.7 Context – variations between barangays and between the islands of Leyte and Panay

All shelter programming is context specific and we found this to be true even between barangays in close geographic proximity. The communities of Juaneza and Bato are within sight of each other and had apparently identical programmes run by the same partner. Nonetheless, the results were markedly different. Our observations point to a possible correlation between quality and community cohesion: communities that practice bayanihan had a high level of construction quality. A characteristic of this cohesion can be seen in the concepts of ‘ownership’ and ‘agency’: communities exercising bayanihan demonstrated a high level of pride, with houses painted and adorned with pot plants; families clearly appreciated the choice – or agency – that allowed them to take control of the decision-making process.

Variation was also noted between CARE partners although the number of barangays visited was too few to be able to draw any conclusions about the relative strengths of the different partners. Our discussions with two partners and some comments from CARE staff did however suggest that the level of experience of the partners was a very significant factor in the relative success of the programme in different barangays. The previous evaluation, conducted one year after the storm, pointed to weaknesses in the partnerships while fully recognising that “much of the success of the programme is due to CARE’s partners”.

Another striking difference was between the islands of Leyte and Panay, though it could also be claimed that our sample was too small to be conclusive. Although suffering similar levels of destruction, Leyte had a much higher concentration of international NGOs and donor money – due, perhaps, to the so-called ‘Tacloban effect’. This was immediately apparent in the saturation of tarpaulins on the houses lining the main roads of Leyte, and the almost complete absence of tarps in Panay. Many of the barangays in Leyte had received support from a few INGOs, whereas those we visited in Panay were only assisted by CARE and its implementing partners.
**Wilma Demandante**  
BATO, SARA, ILOILO, PANAY

Wilma is 63 years old. She manages a local rice field and teaches catechism at the elementary school in Juaneza. She took us to see her house, which is a 20 minute walk from the centre of the barangay. Her old house was totally destroyed by Yolanda.

Wilma received the SRK1 package from CARE. She used the PHP 3,000 to hire a builder to cast four concrete posts and cut the wood for the roof. Today, her house is still composed of just the four posts and the roof. She has not been able to complete anything else because of lack of funds. She thinks she was not selected to receive SRK2 assistance because she was staying with her daughter, who lives next door – so she was deemed to have a roof over her head. This highlights a difference between this community of Bato and other communities visited. Generally, we were told that the SRK2 money was always given if the beneficiary’s house did not have walls.

Wilma’s CGI sheets are secured well to the roof, but hurricane strapping has not been used anywhere but in the four corners of the roof. We saw the big roll of strapping – given to her with the SRK1 package - rusting in one corner of the garden. When asked why she hadn’t use it to strengthen all of the roof connections, Wilma was unable to give us an answer. This was an exception to the majority of barangays and suggests that different implementing partners had more or less capacity to successfully implement and provide the necessary community accompaniment.

> Wilma’s house (above) remains unfinished, whereas the elder man (left) was helped by the strong culture of bayanihan in his village
3.8 CARE oversight, working with partners and caseload

As mentioned above, the experience, expertise and capacity of partners may well have had a very significant impact on the relative success of the self-recovery shelter programme. One experienced partner told us that the shelter programme was “a headache, exhausting”. We were also told of shortcuts taken by assessment teams. This all seems to suggest that the partners may have been overburdened with a heavy caseload and that there was not enough support from CARE to ensure that the programmes were harmonised and of equal quality.

PARTNER SUPPORT

Some of the partners had no shelter technical capacity. New staff were recruited to be able to fulfil the roles of assessment, monitoring and technical advice. While working with partners was a clear strength and an essential element in the success of this programme, it is also clear that they need to be supported and accompanied in order to close any gaps in capacity and expertise.

Leaving a long-term legacy of improved building practice should be one measure of the success of a self-recovery programme. This ensures that DRR and recovery are closely integrated. Many respondents, especially the carpenters we spoke to, said how much they had learned and how this knowledge would be transmitted to the next generation. There is an opportunity to strengthen DRR and preparedness through continuing and sustainable engagement with the roving teams and communities.
3.9 Participation and empowerment of women

We were very struck by the participation of the Filipina women. Invariably the focus group discussions consisted almost entirely of women. Many of the men were working but even the few men present generally kept in the background and were less participative. Our discussions were always wide-ranging and vocal, with some very strong voices emerging from the women. An NGO worker (male) commented that the women are often the ones who control the household economy and are most engaged in the livelihood activities most associated with the home – small-scale livestock, back-yard vegetables and fruit and the running of the small sari-sari stores.

By contrast, there were very few women who became involved in construction work or showed much inclination to learn carpentry or building skills. Nearly all the women said that they would pass materials and prepare food for the workers. Only a very small handful of women said they hammered nails or were more directly involved. There was one woman who did do a lot of building work and the community seemed proud of her achievements - but she was an exception. One barangay said they would welcome a construction training workshop for women, but again it was an exception. This finding differs slightly from the previous report that found that women would have welcomed technical training specifically for them. In contrast, this evaluation found that the question often provoked some laughter and the recommendation that a workshop on animal husbandry would be more appropriate. However, it is certainly the case that most women were familiar with the build-back-safer messages showing a high degree of engagement in the programme as a whole. Further opportunities for women-only training would have encouraged greater participation in decision making, supervision and quality control as well as the confidence to participate in the more hands-on aspects of construction.

In barangays with a strong commitment to bayanihan women-headed households and widows were well considered and often given priority. This is illustrated by the stories of Milagros p13 and the widow p26. However this was not universal as shown by Wilma’s story on p28.

The roving teams generally consisted of a social mobiliser (a woman) and two technical advisors (men). Redressing this balance in future programmes would be one way to counter the traditional role of women and increase the confidence of women to engage in technical issues. A more integrated approach to programming would also encourage more equitable involvement of women. Back-yard farming, water-collection, sanitation and the primary health of children all tend to be the domain of women. More active involvement with the traditionally male-dominated construction of houses would open doors for increased empowerment and more participation in non-traditional roles.

How can women’s further participation be encouraged in future programmes?
4.1 Recommendations for self recovery programmes

These recommendations are points of reflection and discussion. The intention is to learn from the experience of the Yolanda response in a way that will contribute to an improvement in shelter programming in general and self-recovery in particular. Some recommendations are directed towards future work in the Philippines; others are for wider consideration. The recommendations expressed here are unlikely to be universal; as always, each situation has to be treated on its own merits.

Technical quality and Build Back Safer

In any self-recovery programme there is an inevitable tension between technical quality and the choice offered to the beneficiary. This becomes more pronounced if there is a cash response. By keeping the number of BBS messages limited and simple, then there is an increased chance of a high rate of compliance, an understanding of the principles behind each message and a long-term adoption of the good practice.

Hard-to-acquire, or possibly expensive, materials should be provided in-kind as part of the package. Good quality fixings and cyclone strapping are unlikely to be a top priority for a family whose budget is stretched. To ensure compliance with BBS, these items are best supplied.

Sector integration

CARE’s humanitarian strategy includes WASH, livelihoods and sexual and reproductive health as core sectors, along with shelter. All shelter responses should consider the inclusion of an element of WASH. If WASH is not included then there should be a clear strategic justification. Adequate sanitation and rainwater harvesting are two clear areas of integration and opportunities to improve hygiene practice and the health and well-being of the community should not be missed. WASH interventions should always include a programme of public health awareness and training. This is
particularly important if new practices are being introduced. Trained WASH personnel must be an integral part of the programme.

Similarly, the integration of livelihood support will complement the incremental progress towards recovery; improved shelter supports livelihood; improved livelihood encourages expenditure on shelter. An understanding of livelihoods will ensure that houses reflect the needs of the family. An appropriate shelter programme has to be understood as part of both emergency shelter needs and sustainable and resilient long-term recovery; the inclusion of livelihood support helps merge the distinction between the emergency and recovery phases in a manner that is efficient, appropriate and effective.

**Beneficiary selection**
Self-recovery is about support to the majority who recover using mainly their own resources. It therefore follows that the *entire affected community should be considered as recipients*. Within a community there may be variation in the degree and type of support – from just training, to materials and even construction for the most vulnerable – but in principle everyone should benefit if there is to be an impact across the population. This aligns with the principle of multiplying impact and strengthening DRR. *Selection should be coordinated* with other sectors to ensure that beneficiaries’ needs are identified across the sectors to avoid families being excluded while others might receive support from more than one sector.

**Empowerment of women and girls and gender-sensitive programming**
CARE International has a commitment to gender equity and the *empowerment of women and girls*. Self-recovery shelter programmes must reflect this with strong gender-responsive strategies based on context-specific gender analysis. The participation in consultation and decision-making of women and girls is essential, both alongside men and boys as well as in separate groups. Opportunities for training for women and girls must be available especially in non-traditional roles such as construction, if there is an expressed desire. Moreover the traditional role of women in the household, and home-based economic activities, accentuates the importance of women’s voices being heard.

All assessment and monitoring teams should be *gender-balanced*. Serious attempts should be made to avoid the stereotypical division of the roving teams with men occupying the technical roles and women the roles of social mobilisers.

Gender analysis is central to all CARE programming and every staff member must be trained in gender sensitivity. To guarantee that women can fully participate and exercise choice, CARE and its partners must include personnel with particular responsibility for ensuring that gender-equity is always given priority.

**Smart-conditions**
Cash and shelter programming is appropriately gaining popularity as a modality. It is often conditional on reaching certain levels of completion and technical quality. This brings its own problems. For example, a very vulnerable or poor family may not be able to meet the conditions with the small amount of cash; or, on the other hand, a resourceful family that has already rebuilt may not disqualify. *Consideration should be given to ‘smart-conditions’* that allow for much more flexibility and integration. So a cash grant could be conditional on, for instance, retrofitting, improving or enlarging an already rebuilt house, building a latrine, putting down a concrete floor, and so on.
Land tenure
Rural land tenure in the Philippines is not secure; the majority of families are land-tenants, owning the fabric of their houses but not the land. For many traditional forms of shelter assistance, for instance a ‘whole house’ solution, this poses a significant barrier. Support to self-recovery side-steps this issue by placing the decision to rebuild in the hands of the house-holder. This does not, however, remove all responsibility from the implementing agency as there remains a duty to discuss the issues and risks so that families can make informed decisions. In regions of insecure land-tenure, consider support to self-recovery as an empowering approach that puts decision-making in the hands of the affected population.

Working with partners
Working with local implementing partners is to be strongly encouraged. Established partners provide a strong backbone to work in the community; new partners may need considerable support. In both cases, partners may be new to the sector and also new to humanitarian work; they are likely to have to scale-up significantly to take on a very substantial amount of extra work. It is essential that adequate resources are invested in partners to increase their capacity and share this burden. Beneficiary selection, monitoring and evaluation, as well as implementation are areas that particularly need assistance.

Resilient development and disaster risk reduction
A self-recovery programme is an opportunity to embed good building messages into the long-term construction practice. Every opportunity should be taken to ensure that this learning is not lost. Further DRR training and community accompaniment will ensure that the lessons of recovery become a long-term legacy of good building practice. Further training invested in the roving teams and their retention as BBS ambassadors within the barangays would support the long-term adoption of more resilient and durable construction practice. The self-recovery programme feeds directly into preparedness and risk reduction.

STORIES OF RECOVERY CONCLUSION
The Filipino people, and their Filipino spirit, were the first and foremost responders after Yolanda. Self-recovery was apparent from the first days after the typhoon. CARE, along with other INGO actors, were quick to recognise this and to acknowledge that support to self-recovery was going to be an essential ingredient in the post-disaster shelter response.

The remarkable success of this project – 15,859 families with dignified recovery in shelter and livelihoods – is a positive demonstration of the sector’s move towards a more holistic and integrated approach to shelter recovery. A few years ago, ‘self-recovery’ was an unused term; now it is common-place.

It may be common-place, but the theory and practice of self-recovery are still little understood. This report explores some of the issues after the unique context of Typhoon Yolanda. It draws some recommendations and conclusions. However these will not be universal; and we expect them to be challenged and adapted as time goes by and further self-recovery programmes add to our knowledge and understanding. Nevertheless, we hope the experience of CARE Philippines and its partners post-Yolanda, as documented in this and previous reports, will add significantly to the sector’s understanding of self-recovery.
CARE’s emergency shelter team is hosted by CARE International UK in London and provides technical support and expertise around emergency shelter to the entire CARE International Confederation. The emergency shelter team can be contacted on emergencyshelter@careinternational.org.