Program on Crisis Leadership

The Typhoon Haiyan Response:

Strengthening Coordination among Philippine Government, Civil Society, and International Actors

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About the Authors

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Typhoon Haiyan devastated the central Philippines in November 2013, claiming more than 6,300 lives, displacing more than 4 million people, and disrupting the economy and livelihoods in some of the country's poorest regions for years to come.

Given its unprecedented scale, Haiyan was designated as a humanitarian system-wide emergency response. This was the first system-wide response on the part of the international humanitarian community (also known as a Level-3 activation) for a sudden onset natural disaster, and it resulted in extraordinary resources and international surge personnel flowing into the affected region. In this challenging and unfamiliar context, the Philippine government and international community intended to work together as cluster system co-leads to respond and provide relief.

The Haiyan response has been held up as a largely effective humanitarian operation, and the transition from response to recovery phases was swift. However, evaluations have also found that the international operation failed to adequately join with national systems and overlooked civil society coordination opportunities.

With these coordination gaps and potential opportunities in mind, this discussion paper examines *factors that affected the Philippine government's ability to coordinate the Haiyan response and the international community's ability to participate*. To explore this subject, we have drawn upon plans, reports, and evaluations from the national government and international actors and conducted dozens of field interviews with local civil society, Philippine government officials from the national to municipal levels, academics, and both United Nations (UN)- and non-UN-affiliated humanitarian organizations. We aim to identify what governments and humanitarian actors can learn from the Haiyan response to improve coordination in subsequent Philippine disaster operations.

FINDINGS

Coordination challenges during the Haiyan response can be explained in three ways:

1. **While the Philippines has institutionalized approaches for disaster management in laws and policies, government at all levels has varying capacity for implementation.**
   - There was an absence of national government entry and exit protocols in the Haiyan response. A response gap emerged when local governments – themselves survivors – were overwhelmed in carrying out first responder functions.
   - The field offices of national line agencies struggled to provide technical assistance to municipal governments and could have been more active in advising the humanitarian cluster system in its coordination hubs.
   - Although every town in the Philippines should have a local disaster management council and management officer, disaster councils were often inactive. Due to

resource constraints, disaster officers often had dual appointments. In some communities, the positions were unfilled or occupied by temporary political appointees.

- Local governments often lacked essential skills for response, such as damage and needs assessment.
- Provincial governments were largely bypassed in the Haiyan response, although they have potential for coordinating humanitarian assistance, addressing gaps, and serving as intermediaries between national and municipal governments.
- Local government staff were mostly unfamiliar with international agencies' differing mandates and structures.
- Although the cluster system had been adopted at the national level in the Philippines, lower levels of government had not yet learned about it or incorporated it into their operations. Instead, some local governments developed creative arrangements to suit their needs in the moment and then meshed those systems with the international clusters.

2. **Both government and the international community failed to adequately partner with civil society, resulting in missed collaboration opportunities.**
   - Most civil society organizations did not have formal partnerships with local governments. They tended to view government as out of touch with civil society needs and not visible enough in the early response. They expressed concern that some civil society initiatives and government assistance programs worked at cross-purposes.
   - Some local groups disagreed with the approach of international organizations or felt intimidated by how they operated. A lack of trust on both sides hindered cooperation.
   - There were, however, positive examples of engagement with civil society. At the national and regional levels, some international organizations brought local advocacy networks to the policy making table. On the ground, organizations that relied heavily on pre-existing relationships with communities or that embedded staff in affected areas saw benefits.

3. **The Philippine government's operational logic clashed with that of the international system in four domains, inhibiting effective coordination.**
   - *Locus of control:* The national government wanted to exercise its sovereignty by being in control of the response from the start. The international response was implementing a Level-3 (L3) response activation, which brought a surge of staff and resources and required speed in developing plans. As a result, the government and the international organizations pursued parallel coordination approaches in the early response.
   - *Accountability and pressure to deliver:* The Haiyan response attracted global attention, and the government wanted to be seen as successful in responding to the disaster. International organizations were under scrutiny to follow the L3 protocols. Both the government and the international actors were responding to

pressure from their institutions, which led them to prioritize their own goals and intra-institution coordination over Philippine-international coordination efforts in the early response.

- *Timelines for relief and recovery:* The government, particularly at the local level, wanted the relief phase to be as short as possible to manage expectations among survivors and ensure integration with longer-term development efforts. In contrast, humanitarian principles compelled internationals to provide assistance as long as the need persisted. Many resources followed the L3 activation and it took time to use these; however, the government and civil society wanted to transition into the recovery phase ahead of the international response's schedule. As a result, the government and international community timelines for the transition to recovery were out of sync.

- *Coordination processes:* The Philippine government expected international organizations to coordinate through its established structures. The international system had a stake in seeing the cluster system operate well, based on the assumption that government structures had been overwhelmed. It was thus easier on the part of the internationals to work with their own structures rather than navigate government structures with uneven capacities. Both sides viewed each other as disengaged from each other's processes.

RECOMMENDATIONS

To address each of these coordination issues, this report makes recommendations in three categories. We highlight here the high-priority recommendations under each.

1. **Strengthening Philippine disaster risk reduction and management institutions and increasing international organizations' awareness about these institutions:**
   - At the municipal level, disaster management officers should be permanent staff rather than political appointees. From the provincial level upwards, it is worth considering whether disaster management officials should be solely focused on disaster management tasks, rather than have dual designations.
   - Local governments should determine the size of their calamity fund based on their respective risks, rather than defaulting to the minimum five percent of local government revenues. The national government could provide technical assistance (i.e. vulnerability assessment training) to local governments in determining calamity fund allocations that are proportional to their risks.
   - Local disaster management bodies require additional training to build essential disaster response skills, such as damage assessment, and understand how international humanitarian structures operate.
   - Developing a cross-government mutual aid surge system, where national government agencies and unaffected local governments with high capacity can

support affected local governments in times of crisis, can mitigate uneven capacities.

- An expanded role for provincial disaster management bodies should be discussed and governors should be encouraged to work with international organizations.
- International organizations should develop guidelines for engaging various levels of government that are tailored to the Philippine context and its institutional arrangements for disaster management.
- The national government and the international humanitarian system should discuss the extent to which the cluster system and co-lead approach will be replicated at lower levels of government.
- Both parties should continue sharing coordination lessons learned and build a knowledge bank on working in Philippine disaster contexts.

2. **Engaging local civil society before, during, and after disaster response:**
    - To better involve civil society organizations in disaster preparedness and response, government should ensure their participation in local disaster management councils and promote creative mechanisms for community participation.
    - The international community should continue to build a more inclusive and sensitive environment for local participation in cluster meetings.
    - Government should provide opportunities for local Haiyan responders to use their knowledge and skills in succeeding disasters.
    - Humanitarian organizations that also focus on recovery work can partner with civil society to ensure that recovery programs are linked to longer-term development priorities.
    - Both the government and international humanitarian organizations would benefit from a mapping of operational civil society in disaster-prone areas.
    - Humanitarian actors and government can promote more appropriate response by better funding local civil society initiatives across the disaster management cycle, from preparedness to recovery.

3. **Minimizing the clash of logics between the Philippine government and international community and synchronizing disaster response operations:**
    - The Philippine government should clarify its expectations for the extent of international involvement in disaster response.
    - For the international community, calibration of the L3 activation – based on governments' varying capacities for disaster management – should be discussed. Part of this requires more opportunities for locals to take the lead, even in the early days of a response.
    - Local government can involve more staff in cluster meetings to tap broader local expertise and avoid burnout.
    - Jointly, government and the international community can better synchronize relief and recovery planning to guide their combined efforts.

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ACRONYMS

AAP   Accountability to Affected Populations
AFP   Armed Forces of the Philippines
ALNAP   Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action
CERF   Central Emergency Response Fund
CSO   Civil Society Organization
CwC   Communications with Communities
DepEd   Department of Education
DILG   Department of the Interior and Local Government
DND   Department of National Defense
DOH   Department of Health
DOST   Department of Science and Technology
DSWD   Department of Social Welfare and Development
FAO   Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
HCT   Humanitarian Country Team
IAHE   Inter-Agency Humanitarian Evaluation
IASC   Inter-Agency Standing Committee
IRR   Implementing Rules and Regulations
L3   Level-3
LDRRMC Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council
LDRRMF Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Fund
LDRRMP Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan
LDRRMO Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Office
MIRA   Multi Cluster/Sector Initial Rapid Assessment
MOU   Memorandum of Understanding
NDRP   National Disaster Response Plan
NDRRMC National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council
NDRRMP National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan
NEDA   National Economic Development Authority
NGO   Non-governmental Organization
OCD   Office of Civil Defense
PDRRM   Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (Act of 2010)
OPARR   Office of the Presidential Assistant for Rehabilitation and Recovery
RAY   Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda
SOP   Standard Operating Procedure
SRP   Strategic Response Plan
TA   Transformative Agenda
UN-OCHA United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
USG/ERC UN-OCHA's Under-Secretary-General and Emergency Relief Coordinator
WASH   Water Sanitation and Hygiene
WHO   World Health Organization

I. INTRODUCTION

Research Questions

This discussion paper examines coordination between Philippine national and local governments, civil society, and the international community in the humanitarian response to Typhoon Haiyan. In particular, the paper pursues the following research questions:

In the Typhoon Haiyan response, what were the factors that affected the Philippine governments' ability to coordinate the response and the international community's ability to participate? What can governments and humanitarian actors learn from this to improve the coordination of subsequent disaster operations?

This research was conducted with guidance from the Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action (ALNAP) and with support from the Harvard Kennedy School Ash Center for Democratic Governance and Innovation, the Harvard Kennedy School Shorenstein Center for Media, Politics, and Public Policy, the Harvard Kennedy School Program on Crisis Leadership, and the Harvard University Asia Center.

The coordination situation and its corresponding challenges will be unique in each emergency and country context. The primary intention of this paper is to highlight useful response coordination lessons for government actors in the Philippines and the humanitarian community operating there.
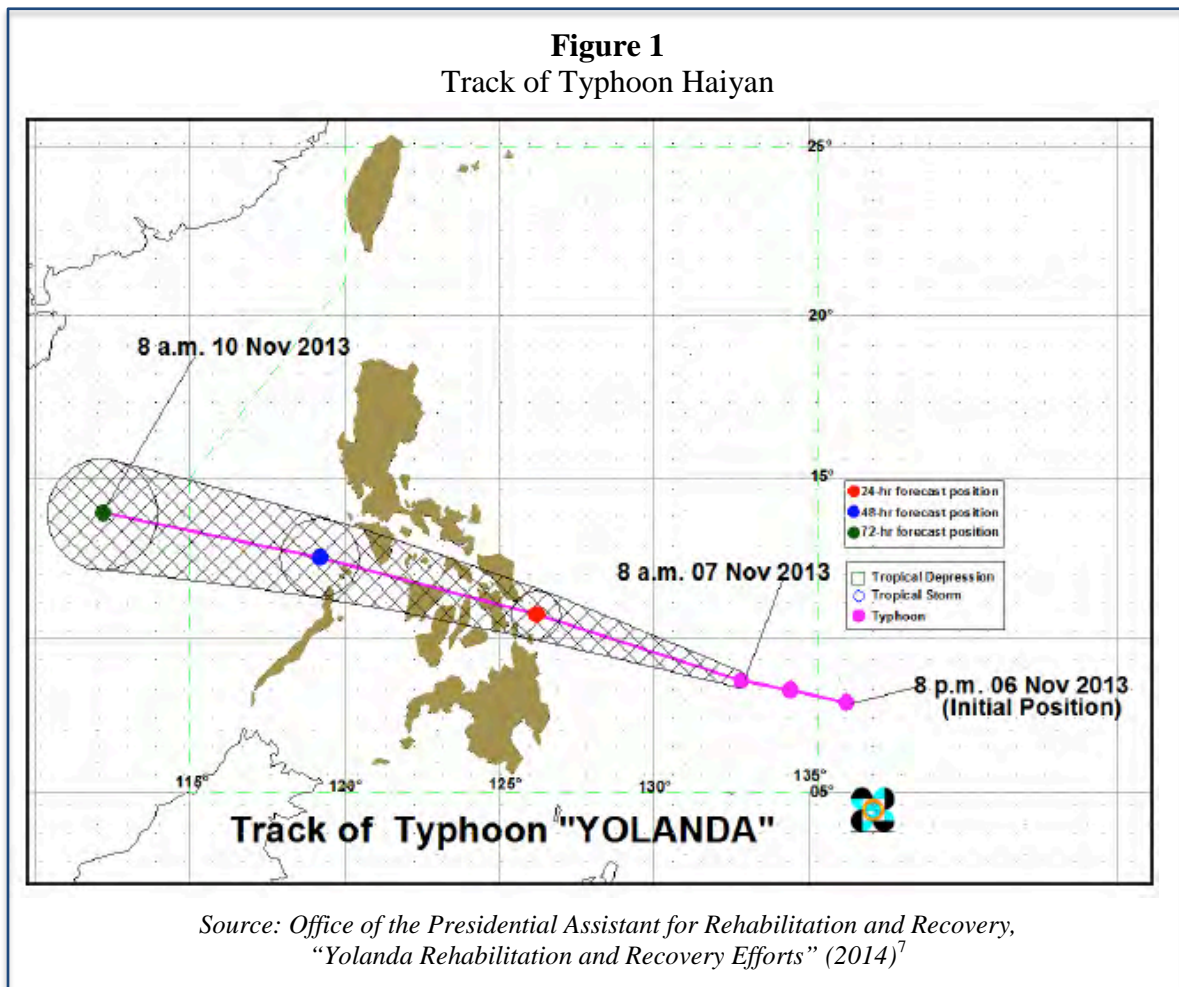
Problem Description and Rationale

Humanitarian coordination is a high stakes policy realm, as getting coordination right can meet critical needs in emergencies and set the trajectory for long-term recovery. While there is a substantial body of research on humanitarian coordination, there are new lessons to be gleaned from the Philippine experience in Typhoon Haiyan. Emergencies like the aftermath of Haiyan will continue to affect the Philippines and the broader region, making it imperative that lessons are learned and poor practices are not repeated. International organizations want to better understand intra-governmental responsibility sharing within the Philippines, and local governments likewise want to better understand how the international humanitarian system works. Finally, there is growing interest on the part of implementing agencies in local-international coordination. Events such as the October 2014 Disaster Response Dialogue conference in Manila on the topic of "improving trust and cooperation for more effective humanitarian responses,"[1] demonstrate the topic's relevance to humanitarian practitioners.

Context

The 2014 World Risk Report ranked the Philippines second among countries "most at risk worldwide" and third among countries "most exposed worldwide" when it comes to disasters.[2] It is estimated that "74 percent of the population is vulnerable to natural hazards."[3] More than 20 typhoons enter the country's area of responsibility every year,[4] and it is estimated that typhoons cost the Philippines 0.5 percent of its Gross Domestic Product annually in direct damages.[5]

On the morning of November 8, 2013, Typhoon Haiyan (locally referred to as Typhoon Yolanda) made landfall in the Eastern Visayas region of the Philippines. At that time, Typhoon Haiyan was "the most powerful storm to make landfall in recorded history with speeds of more than 300 kilometers per hour and storm surges of over four meters."[6]

Figure 1
Track of Typhoon Haiyan

Source: Office of the Presidential Assistant for Rehabilitation and Recovery,
"Yolanda Rehabilitation and Recovery Efforts" (2014)[7]

Haiyan devastated the central portion of the country, claiming more than 6,300 lives and affecting an estimated 14 million people (14 percent of the Philippine population).[8] Four million people (920,000 families) were displaced and more than 1.1 million homes were damaged.[9]

The storm's most severe damage was in Region VIII on the islands of Samar and Leyte, which are home to some of the poorest provinces in the country. The regional capital, Tacloban City – which was the hub for transportation, commerce, and governance – bore some of the most concentrated effects of the storm surge, with 90 percent of its infrastructure damaged.[10]

Haiyan's economic effects have also been severe, with an estimated Php 12.1 billion (around USD 275 million) in combined infrastructure damage and losses as of April 2014. Nearly 60 percent of farmers and 30 percent of fisherfolk in Haiyan's path were affected, resulting in 2.85 million metric tons of lost crops and 24,000 metric tons of lost fisheries stocks. The Asian Development Bank estimated a 1.9 percentage point increase in poverty following the storm.[11] Based on data from the National Development Authority, the actual increase was 1.2 percentage points by the first semester of 2014 following Haiyan, compared to the same period in 2013. The agency attributed the increase not only to the "lingering effects" of the Typhoon but also the rise in food prices.[12]

Roadmap for the Report

Section II of this paper discusses both its methodology and its limitations. Section III presents background information on Philippine institutional arrangements for disaster risk reduction and management. Section IV features the case of Typhoon Haiyan, outlining the response's key events and describing the coordination processes employed. This is followed by a presentation of key findings and recommendations (Section V in detail and Section VI in summary). The final section, Section VII, concludes with implications for future disasters in the Philippines and areas for future research.

II. METHODOLOGY AND LIMITATIONS

A case analysis of the Haiyan response was the main method used to collect information on this research question. To develop the case analysis, the research team reviewed secondary information sources and conducted dozens of primary interviews.

Secondary sources were comprised of reports on the Haiyan response from both the Philippine government and the international humanitarian community, including after action reviews and evaluations. These included recent reports and reviews conducted by agencies such as ALNAP, the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-OCHA), and the Disaster Response Dialogue (DRD). Written resources were identified through humanitarian databases, such as the ALNAP Humanitarian Evaluation and Learning Portal (HELP) and ReliefWeb, and through Philippine government agency websites, based on relevance to the first nine months of the Haiyan response.

From January 7 to 21, 2015, the research team also interviewed 49 persons involved in the Haiyan response in the provinces of Eastern Samar (in the municipalities of Guiuan, Salcedo, and Borongan), Samar (in the municipality of Basey), and Leyte (in Tacloban City and the municipalities of Dulag and Palo), as well as Metro Manila. Interviewees (see Appendix A for the list of organizations) included:

- *National and Regional Government Representatives:* Government agencies involved in coordination of the response as well as day-to-day operations on the ground. Examples include the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (NDRRMC), the Office of Civil Defense (OCD), the Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG), and the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD).
- *Local Government Representatives:* Representatives from provincial, city, and municipal governments in the affected areas of Region VIII.
- *International Non-Governmental Organizations:* International organizations affiliated with the United Nations (UN) and its cluster system, as well as those that operated more autonomously.
- *Local Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs):* Organizations that contributed to the response, in partnership with international organizations and/or with government agencies, or on their own. This spans both formally registered organizations, such as the Guiuan Development Foundation Inc., and voluntary associations, such as ONE Tacloban.
- *Others:* Actors knowledgeable about the response and local government context, such as academics.

Government interviewees were selected to reflect a variety of coordination experiences, both in terms of proximity to coordination hubs, available resources and capacity during

the response, and executive leadership style. In selecting international organizations, we aimed to speak with a range of organizations, including those with long-established relationships in the country and those who were new to the Philippine context. We also selected some organizations that were more invested in the cluster coordination concept, as well as those that preferred bilateral coordination with governments or communities.
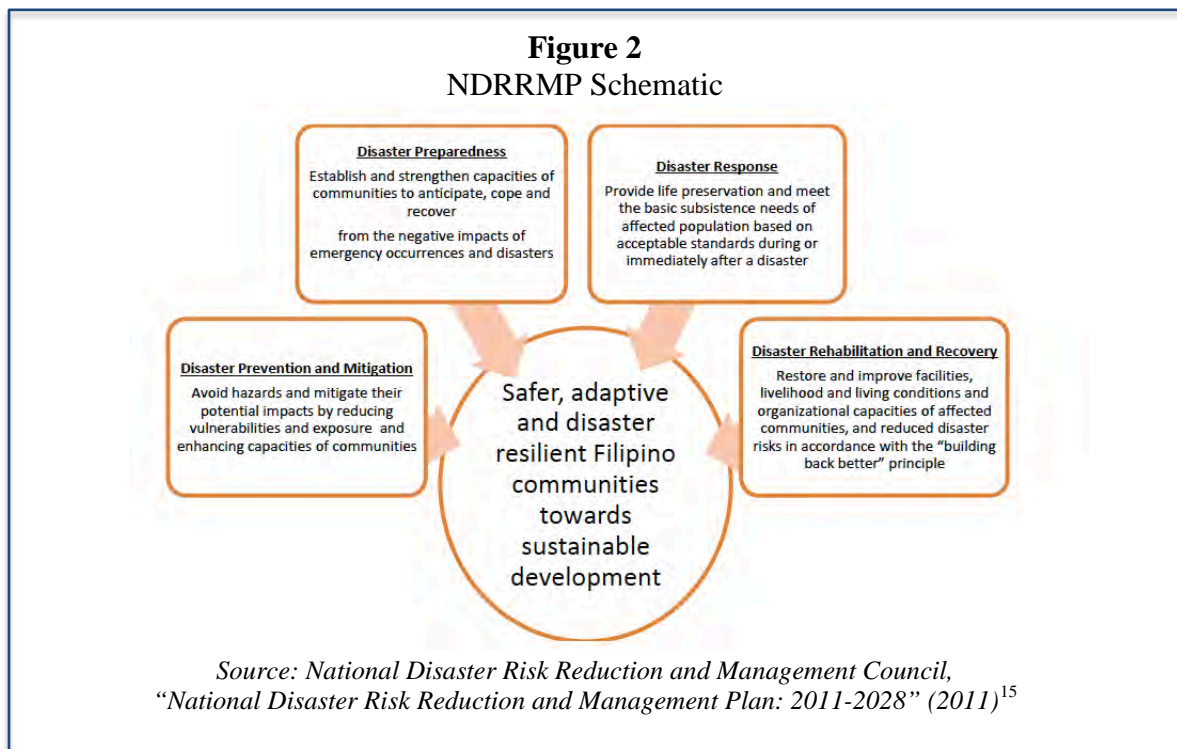
A limitation of this approach is the frequent turnover of agency staff, which made it challenging to find representatives who, one year later, had been present on the ground from day one. Almost everyone we spoke with, however, had participated in the response within the first three to six months. Conducting interviews one year later provides more time for reflection on coordination challenges, but some details of the experience may not have been captured entirely. Local civil society groups were more challenging to contact before conducting field research. As such, we relied on pre-existing relationships in-country to speak with academics and community organizers.

While the research team aimed to select a representative and balanced pool of resource persons to capture the coordination picture, the material presented is necessarily limited to the experience of our interviewees. This research is an attempt to reconcile what are, at times, conflicting perspectives, and we have included views that emerged as common threads throughout the interview process.

III. BACKGROUND ON PHILIPPINE INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS FOR DISASTER RISK REDUCTION AND MANAGEMENT

International humanitarian actors and academics have applauded the Philippines for its progress in disaster management.[13] However, the details of the system remain unclear for many of its response partners. Throughout our field interviews, international actors noted that they wanted to better understand the Philippine disaster framework and corresponding government responsibilities. A better understanding of these unique Philippine institutional arrangements can aid in strengthening coordination between the government and international actors.

The current institutional arrangement governing disaster response in the Philippines is spelled out in the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010 (PDRRM Act of 2010), its Implementing Rules and Regulations, and the accompanying National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan for 2011 to 2028 (NDRRMP). These policies adopt a coordinated four-fold focus on disaster prevention and mitigation, preparedness, response, and rehabilitation and recovery. The following agencies are the designated government leads for each of these four areas: the Department of Science and Technology (DOST) for prevention and mitigation; the Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG) for preparedness; the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) for response; and the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) for rehabilitation and recovery.[14]

Figure 2
NDRRMP Schematic

Disaster Preparedness
Establish and strengthen capacities of communities to anticipate, cope and recover
from the negative impacts of emergency occurrences and disasters

Disaster Response
Provide life preservation and meet the basic subsistence needs of affected population based on acceptable standards during or immediately after a disaster

Disaster Prevention and Mitigation
Avoid hazards and mitigate their potential impacts by reducing vulnerabilities and exposure and enhancing capacities of communities

Disaster Rehabilitation and Recovery
Restore and improve facilities, livelihood and living conditions and organizational capacities of affected communities, and reduced disaster risks in accordance with the "building back better" principle

Safer, adaptive and disaster resilient Filipino communities towards sustainable development

Source: National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council,
"National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan: 2011-2028" (2011)[15]

The strategic objective is to integrate disaster risk reduction and management as well as climate change adaptation at all levels of government.[16] This is operationalized through the establishment of disaster management councils and offices (called disaster risk reduction management councils or DRRMCs and disaster risk reduction management offices or DRRMOs, respectively) from the national to the *barangay* level (the lowest political unit in the Philippines, akin to the "village" level).[17] The disaster management council at the national level (called the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council or NDRRMC), is the highest policy making body advising the President on disaster matters and is chaired by the Secretary of Defense. Secretaries from the lead agencies in each of the four areas identified above serve as Vice Chairs. The Office of Civil Defense (OCD), under the Department of National Defense (DND), acts as the secretariat for the national disaster management council.

Each of the 18 regions[18] in the Philippines has its own regional disaster management council (called Regional Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Councils or RDRMMCs), chaired by the OCD Director for the region. The Regional Directors for DOST, DILG, DSWD and NEDA serve as Vice Chairs for their designated thematic areas. The main responsibility of the regional disaster management council is to supervise and monitor operations of the disaster management councils at the provincial, city, municipal, and *barangay* levels. For their part, the main responsibility of these local disaster management councils – chaired by either the governor, mayor or *barangay* captain depending on the level – is to approve and monitor implementation of the Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan (LDRRMP). The Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Offices (LDRRMOs) act as the operational arm for preparing the plan and the details of its implementation.[19]

Based on the Local Government Code of 1991, local governments, as designated first responders, "are expected to be at the frontline of emergency measures in the aftermath of disasters."[20] Most local governments also take the initiative to coordinate directly with international organizations involved in disaster response. To support this first responder role as well as implement the requirements of the PDRRM Act of 2010, local governments are mandated to set aside at least five percent of their regularly generated revenue to serve as their Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Fund (LDRRMF). Per the law, 30 percent of this fund must be "allocated as Quick Response Fund or stand-by fund for relief and recovery programs." The remaining 70 percent should be dedicated to prevention and mitigation as well as preparedness initiatives.[21]

The Philippines has been praised as a model for institutionalizing the humanitarian cluster approach, as it has adopted clusters similar to those adopted by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee (to be discussed in Section IV), in coordinating response. The response clusters were first introduced through a 2007 National Disaster Coordinating Council (precursor to the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council) memorandum circular.[22] National government agencies chair these clusters and

international organizations participate as co-leads. The current iteration of the response cluster arrangement features the following clusters and government leads:

Table 1: Philippine Government Response Clusters and Leaders[23]

Cluster	Government Lead
Food and Non-food Items	Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD)
Protection, Camp Coordination and Management	DSWD
WASH, Health, Nutrition and Psychosocial Services	Department of Health (DOH)
Logistics	Office of Civil Defense (OCD)
Emergency Telecommunications	OCD
Education	Department of Education (DepEd)
Search, Rescue and Retrieval	Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP)
Management of the Dead and Missing	Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG)

This current iteration is presented in the National Disaster Response Plan (NDRP), a document that the Philippine government prepared after Typhoon Haiyan in June 2014. The NDRP is "the first of a 'per hazard type' response plan on the national level" and the June 2014 version is specific to responding to hydro-meteorological hazards, including typhoons.[24]

It is important to note that this current iteration of clusters is not fully aligned with the cluster structure adopted by the Inter-Agency Standing Committee. The NDRP introduced the following key innovations after the Haiyan experience "to make the NDRP responsive to the needs of the National Government Agencies during response operations"[25]:

- Moving of the Shelter, Livelihood, and Early Recovery clusters from response to recovery and rehabilitation;
- Establishment of Logistics and Emergency Telecommunications as separate clusters; and
- Creation of clusters for Search, Rescue and Retrieval and Management of the Dead and Missing.

Local governments are expected to develop their respective response plans as designated first responders, following the lead of the national government in crafting the NDRP.[26] The NDRP clarifies national-local interaction during humanitarian responses by making a distinction between "augmentation" and "assumption" approaches. These approaches take into consideration the local governments' capacity to respond. In an "augmentation" approach, the national government will provide support in response to requests made from the local disaster management councils. In an "assumption" approach, the national

government gets involved directly if "there is no information coming from and going through the affected areas within 6-12 hours after landfall."[27]

IV. THE HAIYAN RESPONSE

Major Events

Haiyan made landfall in Guiuan, Eastern Samar at 4:40 AM on November 8, 2013.[28] By the afternoon of November 9, it exited the Philippine Area of Responsibility[29] after six landfalls.[30] In response, the President declared a State of National Calamity on November 11. The declaration triggered the onset of the relief and response phase of the humanitarian intervention, led by the Department of Social Welfare and Development.[31] Initially, the government activated seven taskforces to oversee critical aspects of the response, instead of utilizing the institutionalized response clusters. The taskforces included food and water distribution led by DSWD, debris clearing led by the Metro Manila Development Authority, and law and order led by the Philippine National Police. [32] A day after the declaration, the international humanitarian community announced a "Level 3 system-wide humanitarian response" (the implications of which are discussed in detail below). Six coordination hubs were set-up in Roxas City, Cebu City, Ormoc, Tacloban City, Borongan, and Guiuan.[33] For a more detailed chronology, see Appendix B.

Coordination Events – International System

Prior to Haiyan, the UN already had an established Humanitarian Country Team (HCT)[34] on the ground in the Philippines to serve as the decision making forum for international humanitarian efforts in the country. The international response was therefore quickly activated after the President's invitation for international assistance. Due to the immense scale of the storm, however, the global humanitarian system determined that Haiyan required its highest level of response – known as "L3 activation."

Transformative Agenda and Level 3 Activation

The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC)[35] has been working to improve predictability, accountability, responsibility, and partnership through its Humanitarian Reform process since 2005. To address ongoing concerns about adequate coordination mechanisms and leadership in humanitarian crises, the IASC principals decided on a set of actions in 2011 that "collectively represent a substantive improvement to the current humanitarian response model" that are known as the Transformative Agenda (TA).

Figure 3
International Humanitarian Architecture
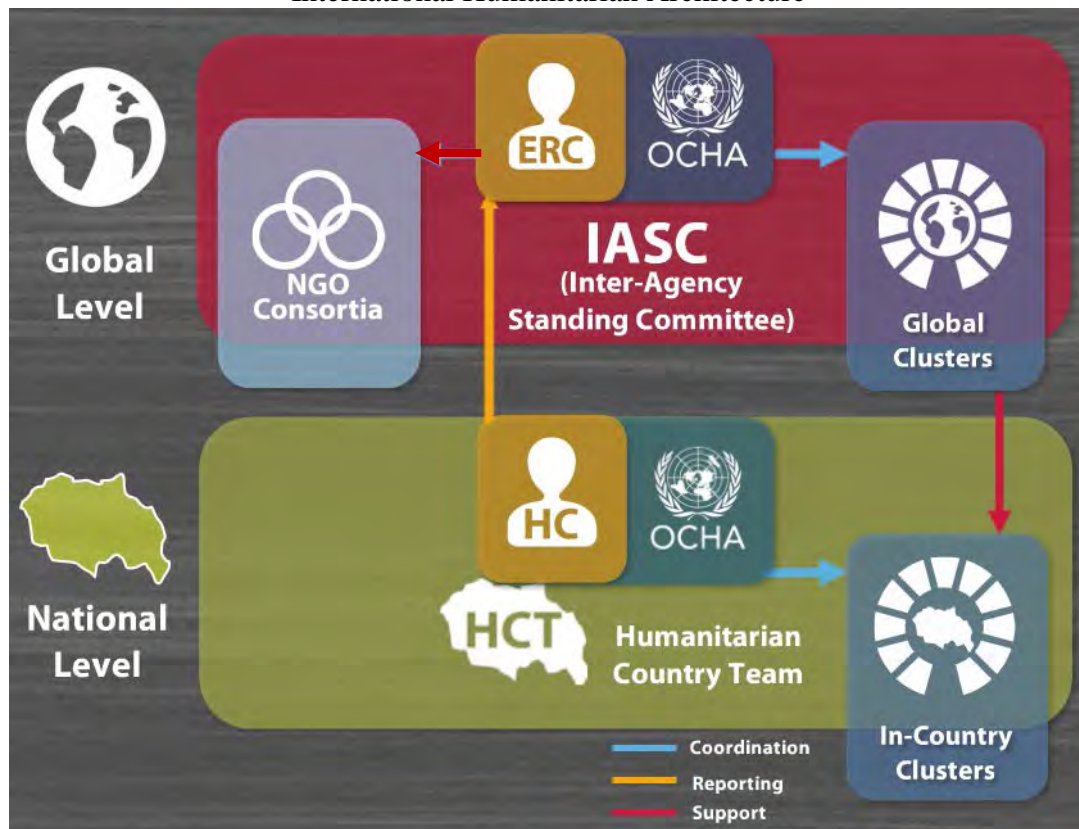
Adapted from: Harvard Humanitarian Academy, "Building a Better Response" Training (2014)[36]

One of the TA protocols is the *Humanitarian System-Wide Emergency Activation*, also known as *Level 3 or "L3" activation*. L3 activation is designed to respond to major, sudden-onset humanitarian crises that meet a certain threshold along five criteria: scale, complexity, urgency, capacity, and reputational risk.

An L3 designation activates particular mechanisms to engage IASC member organizations in a coordinated response and establish "adequate capacity and tools for enhanced leadership and coordination of the humanitarian system."[37] It authorizes use of significant additional resources from across the UN system, including enhanced decision making authority and surge staff. Certain provisions are also automatically triggered in an L3, including immediate implementation of a Multi Cluster/Sector Initial Rapid Assessment (MIRA) and a Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) allocation of between $10-20 million, which is issued by the ERC on a "no regrets"[38] basis.[39]

The Haiyan case is particularly important to examine in light of the L3 activation, because it was the first large-scale sudden onset natural disaster since the TA was adopted.[40] The Emergency Directors met on November 10 to determine if an L3

activation was warranted. They rated the Haiyan scenario in the following ways along the L3 criteria:

Scale	**Very high/catastrophic**
Urgency	**Very high**
Complexity	**High**
Capacity	**Medium**
Reputational risk	**High**

Although the Philippines is known for having strong domestic capacity for disaster response, the government's capacity to respond was rated "medium" due to the government's own assessment of the disaster's scale, as well as simultaneous emergencies in the country. The government had officially accepted international assistance on November 9, "requesting all possible support from the UN and its partners, particularly with regard to logistics."[41] It was also managing ongoing displacement challenges in its southern region and the response to an earthquake on the island of Bohol just one month before Haiyan. As such, the Emergency Directors recommended L3 activation, "pending confirmation that the government would be receptive to such a declaration."[42]

In the end, the L3 declaration resulted in deployment of more than 450 international surge personnel from the UN inter-agency over a three-week period and a CERF allotment of $25 million.[43]

Implementation of the Cluster Approach

In 2006, the IASC developed its "cluster approach" which provides functional divisions of labor and defines responsibilities in different sectors, known as clusters, to promote more "predictable and accountable international response to humanitarian emergencies."[44] The IASC's guidance on cluster implementation makes clear that the cluster system is only one way of approaching coordination, and each country's Humanitarian Country Team (HCT) must adapt its implementation to the local context. The UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-OCHA) provides support in the field and works with cluster lead organizations to promote inter-cluster coordination.[45]

Following Haiyan, the Humanitarian Country Team established field hubs throughout the affected area, including in Guiuan, Eastern Samar; Tacloban City, Leyte; Ormoc City, Leyte; and Roxas City, Iloilo. It provided support in the immediate response through twelve clusters: health, logistics, emergency telecommunications, WASH (water, sanitation, and hygiene), nutrition, education, protection, emergency shelter, camp coordination/management, early recovery, livelihoods, and agriculture.

The Philippines is unique in terms of disaster coordination because it has adopted its own interpretation of the cluster approach. While this approach was adopted at the national level as early as 2007, it had not been implemented at lower levels (within the regional, provincial, or municipal governments) in significant ways when Haiyan struck. The findings in this report touch on the challenges in merging these two cluster systems, but this is also a prime topic for future research.

Planning Processes: the MIRA and SRP

Following the L3 activation, the inter-agency system completed its Multi-Cluster/Sector Initial Rapid Assessment (MIRA). The MIRA, widely released on December 7, identified priority needs, the impact of the crisis, and initial observations on national and international response capacity to provide a big picture overview of the Haiyan crisis for the international community. However, the IASC's Inter-Agency Humanitarian Evaluation (IAHE) of the response[46] found that the MIRA was developed "without significant [Philippine national] government involvement." The IAHE review notes that "the government was invited but declined to participate, taking the position that the existing approximate needs assessment was sufficient, and that their energy needed to focus upon immediate service delivery."[47]

On December 27, the Humanitarian Country Team released its Strategic Response Plan (SRP), which outlined the $788 million response budget for funders. Like the MIRA, the IAHE found that the "SRP was developed, approved, and released, also without significant Government involvement." This was despite its stated aim to complement the government's recovery and rehabilitation plan, the Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY), which the National Economic Development Authority published on December 16. The SRP's twelve-month timeline was amended to end on July 4, 2014 due to the swift (and initially unanticipated) transition to recovery activities. The Philippine government's RAY was eventually folded into its Comprehensive Recovery and Reconstruction Plan, which covers activities through 2017.

Coordination Events – Philippine Government

National Level

In preparation for Typhoon Haiyan's expected landfall on November 8, the Executive Secretary convened an emergency meeting of the Philippine government's national disaster management council member agencies on November 6. The main agenda was updates on the various agencies' preparations. By November 7, the Chairperson of the national disaster management council, together with the Secretary of the Interior and Local Government, established a command post in Tacloban City for Region VIII, whose priority was pre-emptive evacuation. The Secretary of Social Welfare and Development, together with the Executive Director of the national disaster management council, arrived on November 9, bringing additional relief goods to augment those prepositioned. After

the President's declaration of a State of National Calamity on November 11, the pouring in of assistance from within and outside the country picked up speed. In response, the national disaster management council set up a One-Stop-Shop for handling donations. To accelerate response operations on the ground, taskforces responding to immediate needs were activated.[48] At that point, the national disaster management council felt the taskforces were needed to better respond because the pre-established response clusters were not set up for immediate tasks such as clearing debris and collecting cadavers. Once the situation had normalized and immediate needs were addressed, the taskforces were deactivated. In December 2013, the national government established the Office of the Presidential Assistant for Rehabilitation and Recovery (OPARR) to oversee Haiyan-specific recovery efforts (see Appendix C for a brief discussion).

Provincial Level

At the provincial level, coordination unfolded in very different contexts. In the Province of Leyte, the seat of the provincial government (Tacloban City) was devastated by Haiyan. This was not the case for the Eastern Samar capital of Borongan.

The Provincial Government of Leyte saw its primary roles as normalization, including managing trauma, and attending to immediate operational tasks, such as clearing roads of debris. Provincial government staff conducted an inventory of the province's heavy equipment, mapped routes for this equipment, and gave clearance for immediate deployment after the typhoon, since interruption of communications was anticipated. At the same time, the provincial government was in contact with select international organizations to coordinate the delivery of the goods these organizations had prepositioned. When other international organizations started setting up in Tacloban City during the emergency relief phase, the provincial government's first engagement with these organizations was to ask them about their resources and the help they could provide.

There were at least three parallel coordination mechanisms at work in Leyte, especially in the beginning. The provincial government initially organized its response effort into committees, irrespective of how the national government coordinated its response according to taskforces and of how the international actors organized their response as clusters. The provincial government established committees focused on areas such as debris clearing, livelihood, and housing.

For the provincial government, having parallel coordination mechanisms was not an issue at the start because the destruction was so massive that "everyone had a place to go"[49] to help. The provincial government eventually decided to reorganize its operations to align with both the national government taskforces and the international clusters to better facilitate coordination. The provincial government also took the initiative to prepare its own rehabilitation plan, patterned after the taskforces and clusters, so it had a ready

response to repeated questions from the national government and international organizations regarding the province's needs.

The Provincial Government of Eastern Samar preferred that international organizations coordinate all aid delivery with the province. However, distance from the affected communities hampered the provincial government's ability to play this coordinating role, and Guiuan remained the main hub for coordination. While the UN system made an effort to hold coordination meetings in Borongan, it was impractical for representatives of the local governments and international organizations to attend these meetings, given that it could take as long as four hours to travel to the provincial capital from the affected municipalities. The badly damaged communications infrastructure also hindered the provincial government in maintaining contact with the affected municipalities. Nevertheless, the provincial government asserted that it possessed the critical vantage point for ensuring that none of the affected municipalities was over- or under-served.

City / Municipal Level

At the municipal level, local governments prepared for Haiyan's landfall by establishing command centers, prepositioning food packs, and holding local disaster management council meetings. Once the local governments realized the massive scale of the disaster, they tended to reorganize their operations in novel ways that made sense for each municipality's individual situation and available human resources. In the Municipality of Salcedo, the mayor established a coordinating committee, organized into functionally-defined "pillars," according to the needs the local government officials identified. In the Municipality of Guiuan, the municipal disaster management council, which consisted of heads of local government offices such as Social Welfare and Development, Engineering, General Services, and Planning and Development, decided to create a new body known as the Guiuan Recovery and Sustainable Development Group. In Tacloban, the City Administrator formed taskforces for functional areas such as debris clearing. In all of these examples, the local government developed response structures in the moment and largely bypassed the legally-established disaster management councils. They found the committee and taskforce structures more flexible and responsive to their unique needs.

Mayors differed significantly in how they were involved with these committees and taskforces. In some local governments, the mayor was less visible and decisive and local government employees instead took the more prominent roles. In other municipalities, the mayor established a strong, commanding presence, which town officials say inspired a culture of hard work and perseverance.

In most of the local governments we interviewed, the mayor appointed a liaison to attend general coordination meetings and interact with the international community. Most of the time, this person was not the designated Municipal Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Officer. Local governments cited several reasons for bypassing the disaster management designee, including his or her absence during the time of the storm, lack of

capacity for fulfilling the duties, or the lack of an official designee for this position at all. In some cases, the Municipal Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council continued to function without an active disaster management officer presence, but in most scenarios, the local government created an alternate structure that met immediate response needs.

As international organizations flooded into these communities, they took different approaches in coordinating with the municipal governments. Some preferred to start with the *barangay* level leadership to identify beneficiaries and coverage areas. Others started with the city or municipal government for identifying needs. Still others said they sometimes coordinated directly with *barangay* residents, rather than official government structures, to select beneficiaries. This made it challenging for local governments to know which organizations were operating in their jurisdiction. Although many local governments wanted to exercise more oversight over the operations of international organizations, their resources were stretched thin and they focused instead on their own core services. Reporting by international organizations to the local government was uneven, and local mayors had varying interests and capacities for enforcing reporting.

When the UN-OCHA-led general coordination meetings began in the coordination hubs, local government officials were invited and did attend as they were able. This largely depended on their proximity to the meetings and the availability of staff. As the response progressed, both local governments and international organizations noted that local government participation in the international general coordination meetings began to drop off. This was both due to progressive burnout of the limited staff appointed to coordinate with the international community and, in a place like Guiuan, due to the local government's emerging effort to convene its own coordination meetings with external actors. The Municipal Government of Guiuan organized a series of meetings with international organizations, in addition to participating in the general coordination meetings, but they were under-attended and lacked direction. The Municipal Government of Dulag held their own weekly coordination meetings, which seemed to have stronger attendance from international organizations – likely because it was further from a UN-OCHA hub.

At the same time, each local government held internal coordination meetings, employing its committee or taskforce structure. The municipalities conducted rapid needs assessments and responded to Post-Disaster Needs Assessment requests from the national level, and the international organizations carried out their own assessments of needs down to the *barangay* level. Local governments continued to operate in their taskforce structures, while the international community worked in their clusters. Some locals noted that this complicated reporting because the taskforces and clusters did not align and they did not always have the data that the clusters required. As such, some municipalities tried to adjust their taskforces to fit more neatly with the clusters to facilitate easier reporting.

As in all crisis contexts, it is the survivors themselves who provide the most immediate and crucial relief to their neighbors. Community-based efforts were also springing up in the early response, but they had difficulty connecting to other actors and often operated with direct assistance from Filipino diaspora networks. The presence of both registered civil society organizations and non-registered, informal community-based groups varied, depending on the municipality. Local governments and international organizations generally struggled to identify and partner with them in the early response.

V. KEY FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Coordination in disaster response is all about relationships, with the government, local civil society, and international organizations as the main players. Our key findings are contextualized within the triangular relationship in Figure 4, looking at each separately: government structures for coordination within the Philippines at various levels (theme 1); the relationship between civil society with both the Philippine government and the international organizations (theme 2); and the relationship between the Philippine government and international organizations (theme 3).

Figure 4
Triangular Relationships in Disaster Response

Theme 1 → **Philippine Government**

Theme 2

Theme 3

Civil Society

International Organizations
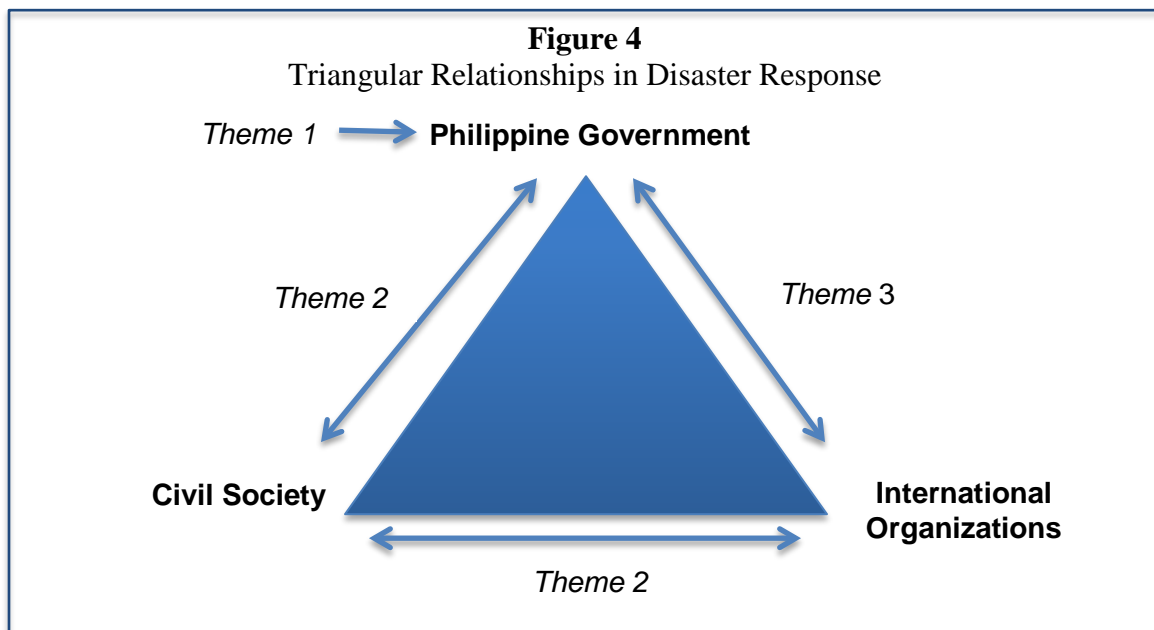
Theme 2

Theme 1:
STATE STRUCTURES

As discussed in Part III, the Philippines has existing structures for disaster risk reduction and management. These structures are very much dependent on the capacity of local governments to act as first responders. Local governments are expected to have Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plans (LDRRMPs), which should operationalize a local

> *The Philippines has institutionalized disaster risk reduction and management approaches in existing laws and policies. However, governments at all levels have varying knowledge of and capacities for implementing these approaches. To improve coordination, it is important for international organizations to understand these institutionalized approaches, the challenges confronted, and variations in capacity within each level of sub-national government.*

government's response during disasters. These LDRRMPs are approved by the local

disaster management council (called Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Councils or LDRRMCs) and implemented by local disaster management offices (called Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Offices or LDRRMOs). The role of the national government, particularly through the regional offices of its relevant agencies, is to provide resources and technical assistance to local governments in performing these responsibilities as first responders. Decentralizing the responsibility to coordinate response in this way makes sense in an archipelago covering a large geographic area that is vulnerable to differentiated and localized risks. As far as coordinating with international organizations is concerned, the cluster approach is adopted at the national and regional levels. At the local level, local governments may work directly with international organizations, with or without the cluster approach.

The Typhoon Haiyan experience exposed challenges in these existing structures – both in terms of the internal workings of the Philippine government as well as its external interaction with international organizations.

Absence of clear protocols for the entry and exit of national government intervention

As the Haiyan response showed, there were no clear protocols for when the national government should take over the first responder role from local governments. While in principle the national government should automatically take the lead if two or more regions are affected by a disaster,[50] this principle was not clearly put into practice. This is now being addressed in the distinction between the "augmentation" and "assumption" models in the National Disaster Response Plan of June 2014.

There have been attempts among local governments to provide surge capacity through mutual assistance to affected local governments throughout all four thematic areas (i.e. prevention and mitigation, preparedness, response and recovery), with or without national government assistance. There were examples of this organically taking place during the Haiyan response, where some local governments reported assistance from non-affected local governments (sometimes in the same province and sometimes from more distant regions). However, this approach has not been formally systematized. To the extent it may become institutionalized in the future, the availability of mutual aid could create an additional ambiguity about when action by the national government should occur.

This lack of clarity on when to draw the line between respecting local government autonomy and asserting national authority was particularly salient because the local governments were themselves survivors and overwhelmed by the magnitude of the typhoon. As a result, there was a window of time in some areas where government was virtually absent. To illustrate, the regional agencies in Region VIII, the Provincial Government of Leyte, and the City Government of Tacloban were all crippled by the typhoon. Out of 2,250 employees in the City Government of Tacloban, only 60 reported to work after the storm. Even with well-laid plans to roll out five debris clearing teams

throughout Leyte province after the storm, only two were able to work immediately after, as the other three team leaders were attending to losses in their families. The same story played out in smaller municipalities, where affected police personnel, for example, struggled to perform their role of preventing disturbances, including protecting local businesses from threats such as looting. Local government officials said the lack of protections and insurance policies for frontline providers and their families complicated the matter. They asserted that incentives for fulfilling duties were not sufficient. For example, they frequently commented that government employees, even casual employees, were disadvantaged in the relief effort because their government employee status disqualified them from receiving certain types of aid, such as housing assistance. There were also no clear protocols for determining when the local government could retake control of its functions after the national government had intervened.

The lack of protocols for managing the national-local dynamic during response efforts at either end (i.e. when to intervene and when to disengage) was further exacerbated by politics. There were reports that local governments politically unaligned with the national government did not receive assistance or were not engaged as intensely. As one local government official put it: "It is unfortunate that this natural disaster triggered a political disaster. The disaster is not over because we continue to suffer from the consequences of the resulting political disaster."[51]

Untapped technical assistance and resources from the national government

In general, the expertise and resources of national government agencies present on the ground were not effectively tapped by local governments and international organizations during the Haiyan response. For example, the Department of Agriculture, particularly its Bureau of Fisheries and Aquatic Resources, and the Philippine Coconut Authority could have played a bigger role in crafting livelihood interventions in the affected areas, where livelihoods were largely dependent on coconut farming and fishing. While there are examples of some collaboration with national government agencies, such as an international NGO partnering with the Technical Education and Skills Development Authority to provide skills training for carpentry, these national government agencies were not fully utilized for supporting local governments or working with international organizations during the response and early recovery phases. Because these agencies do not necessarily see disaster response as a key part of their missions, they were neither prepared for nor motivated strongly enough to act in the face of Haiyan's impacts.

Furthermore, local governments found it difficult to access critical resources under the control of national agencies. Some local governments cited the insistence of the National Food Authority, which manages stockpiles of rice in the affected area, to follow its usual bureaucratic procedures before releasing rice for distribution to the typhoon victims. During the early days, such lack of flexibility to expedite release of resources managed by national agencies delayed relief assistance to victims.

Inactive and ineffective local disaster management councils and offices

Some local governments didn't have operational local disaster management councils (Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Councils or LDRRMCs, with a policy making mandate) and local disaster management offices (Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Offices or LDRMMOs, with a policy execution mandate). Even for local governments that did, these bodies played a limited coordinating role in two respects.

First, most management councils and officers did not possess the requisite resources and capacities to carry out their mandate. Council meetings were often attended by representatives from different local government departments, who did not have the authority to make decisions on the discussed matters. Most officers put in charge of LDRRMOs did not have the qualifications needed for disaster management work. In some communities, the positions were unfilled or occupied by political appointees, who may prioritize short-term political considerations over long-term disaster management needs. The law also prescribes that three staff should assist the officer,[52] but this was not the case in most of the local governments interviewed.

Council and office operations were constrained by limited budget allocations, oftentimes not investing what is proportional to the risks they face. Per the law, at least five percent of government revenues must be allocated for the Local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Fund (LDRRMF). While theoretically governments can invest more than five percent, in practice most default to this figure instead of determining the percentage that works in their context. Additionally, most local governments did not have approved funding for hiring qualified personnel to staff the LDRRMO. These budget constraints were all the more pronounced for poorer municipalities with less ability to generate revenue.

In terms of capacities, LDRRMCs and LDRRMOs lacked training in both hard and soft skills for disaster management. Interviewees said training was needed on hazard and risk mapping, needs assessment, damage estimation, project management, data management, knowledge management and effective communications (i.e., report writing and presentation). At the same time, capacity building on soft skills, including crisis leadership and familiarization with how the international humanitarian community works (i.e., which agencies are involved, what their mandates are, the cluster approach, etc.), was equally wanting.

Second, the local governments themselves bypassed LDRRMCs and LDRRMOs during the response phase, even if they were operational. According to the law, it is the LDRRMO's function to "respond to and manage the adverse effects of emergencies and carry out recovery activities in the affected area, ensuring there is an efficient mechanism for immediate delivery of food, shelter and medical supplies" as well as to "develop, strengthen and operationalize mechanisms for partnerships."[53] However, most local

governments designated another person to serve as the liaison and/or coordinator for the response, together with superimposing an entirely new coordination structure on top of the LDRRMC or LDRRMO. For some local governments, this created a way around problematic internal political dynamics.

More critically, for some local governments, it was more important to respond to the disaster through a coordination structure that made sense to them and that was viable given their constraints, instead of following the structure prescribed by the law. For some local governments, this was the first time they had to confront a humanitarian emergency at all, much less at this scale. Most local governments thus developed a variety of creative ad hoc arrangements to meet their specific needs in the moment. At the operational level, these arrangements enabled local governments to organize themselves and quickly perform the urgent tasks at hand, including debris-clearing, cadaver extraction, and preparation of mass graves. However, the potential drawback of this practice is that the arrangements become dependent on the leader and on his/her preferences and capacities. Furthermore, without a formal structure, institutional knowledge on disaster risk reduction is not built and needed professional functions are not honed.

Given all of the above, it is important to note that local disaster management councils and offices are a relatively new addition in Philippine governance and in many areas they had not yet faced a major test until Haiyan. In short, the issue with the LDRRMCs and LDRRMOs is their implementation, rather than whether they are the correct institutional arrangements for coordinating response. Some resource persons noted that local officials of the Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG) could play an important role in encouraging local governments to activate LDRRMCs and institutionalize LDRRMOs according to the law. Most officials we spoke with agreed that the design of these offices and councils is sound, and there has been evidence of them responding well in certain regions throughout the country in the face of smaller-scale disasters. Even in the Haiyan response, there were several well-prepared local governments – notably in the Camotes Islands – that have been applauded for their well-organized response that saved many lives, despite widespread destruction.[54] However, disaster management capacity throughout the country remains very uneven, and high functioning councils and offices remain the exception to the rule.

Underutilized provincial government level

The provincial government operates at a scale that may be most strategic for coordinating humanitarian assistance. The regional vantage point is too broad given the variation among provinces, while the city / municipal vantage point is too limited. Affected local governments at this level tend to exclusively focus on their own needs. The provincial vantage point provides a large enough yet manageable picture of response efforts within its jurisdiction that could help avoid duplication of initiatives, facilitate complementation of efforts, and reduce gaps in services. Provincial governments are also in a position to

serve as an intermediary between the local governments under their jurisdiction and the national government since most national government agency regional offices are based in provincial capitals. Moreover, staff from UN-OCHA, being tasked with overall coordination for international organizations, have stated their preference for provincial-level coordination.

However, the law does not distinguish between the roles and responsibilities of provincial disaster management councils and city/municipal ones. As a result, the coordinating role that the province can play, both upward (with national government agencies and international organizations) and downward (with cities, municipalities, and villages under its jurisdiction), is constrained. Provincial disaster management councils do not have distinct functions and extra resources to capitalize on their scale. As an illustration, the current law does not provide for clear provincial government involvement in coordinating where aid goes within their jurisdiction and monitoring response efforts. It is important to note that direct distribution of aid to municipalities can co-exist with a larger coordinating role for the provincial government. As was the case in Leyte, while officials appreciated receiving updates to construct the big picture on where aid was going, they also encouraged international organizations and national government agencies to coordinate directly with municipal governments for aid distribution.

Additionally, city / municipal governments did not have clear immediate incentives to coordinate with the province because the provincial governments didn't have resources for supporting relief work on the ground. While the provincial government could have taken a more substantial leadership role during the transition to recovery (because national government resources for rehabilitation were intended to be channeled through the provinces), even that did not materialize. As one international organization noted: "When we asked if the provincial government will now take the lead in the recovery, we were told that it's still being discussed. Then we didn't hear from them again."[55]

A consideration, however, in expanding the provincial governments' role is the potential to exacerbate political tensions among provinces, cities, municipalities and *barangays*. Given the often intense partisanship in Philippine politics, cities, municipalities, and *barangays* may face difficulties getting support and assistance distributed through provinces if they are not politically aligned with provincial leadership.

Local government faced a learning curve in working with international organizations

An important gap in the early response was the local governments' lack of knowledge about the international humanitarian system and how it worked, including its cluster approach. At the time of Haiyan, the cluster system has been institutionalized at the national and regional government levels, but the system had not been replicated successfully at the local levels. Local governments said they were generally unfamiliar with the cluster designations and functions. Most had never heard of the UN Office for

the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-OCHA), and it took time to understand its central function for coordination.

As a result, the affected local governments adopted coordination mechanisms with less regard for sector-based structures, while the more specialized international organizations and national government agencies coordinated through the cluster approach. The local governments coped with the massive and urgent response by improvising methods that they believed would best deliver relief to their citizens. To a certain extent, the more effective alignment at the national and regional levels is unsurprising because clusters are organized according to sector, and this is similar to how the national government is set up. However, local governments attend to the total needs of affected constituents as families, as opposed to providing relief function by function. The sector-based cluster approach may be much less relevant to how most local governments perceive their mission and specific relief tasks.

Local governments also consistently noted that they were unfamiliar with international organizations' missions, particularly the differences among various UN agencies and between UN and non-UN affiliated organizations. Provincial officials in Leyte thought they could tap the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) for food packs. After learning about the FAO's actual mandate, a partnership was developed to source seeds for the start of the planting season in December. It was also important for local governments to know that there were international organizations that did not operate within the cluster system. These international organizations typically dealt with local governments directly or went straight to the communities.

When international organizations and national government agencies started interacting with local governments and requesting information, the local governments were not set up to process and give information in ways that aligned with how both the international organizations and national government agencies operated. This caused confusion in the beginning. Nevertheless, some local governments were able to pivot appropriately to take advantage of these sector-based resource channels. Able local governments adjusted operations to fit both the requirements of the international organizations and national government agencies.

Some local governments were more effective in securing support from these channels and attributed this to the clear articulation of their needs and priorities in data-driven recovery plans. Given that there were varying capacities among local governments, this meant that some local governments proceeded more quickly in accessing support from international organizations and national government agencies. Other local governments with less capacity were left behind because they were not able to articulate their needs or assert themselves.

A familiar issue in humanitarian coordination, local governments also said language was a barrier, particularly in the general coordination meetings. While the designated local

government representative to cluster meetings would have preferred more participation from other local government staff at cluster meetings, heavily accented and rapid English precluded most local government staff from understanding discussions and communicating their perspectives. This resulted in unequal work burdens among local government department heads.

Foreign work styles required adjustment, as local governments found some international organization staff having unrealistic expectations of what could be reliably produced in a given timeframe. Several local governments mentioned that it was crucial to have a liaison officer (sometimes referred to as spokesperson), who could work well with international personalities, but this was a scarce human resource. As one local government interviewee noted, "it's what's discussed over beers that's implemented"[56] and having someone with the confidence and comfort to engage with international organizations was key.

One of the local governments interviewed noted that a primary goal of the local government was to maintain its own vision of needs and priorities. While they appreciated the international support and saw its great benefits, they were concerned that international organizations might dictate the local government's direction. This can be a positive attitude of self-determination but must be coupled with capacity to respond.

Finally, local governments and international organizations reported that supplementing local government staff capacity with longer-term, outside technical expertise for technology transfer and mentoring contributed to improved local government response. For example, UN-Habitat posted staff members within the local government of Guiuan to provide geographic information system (GIS) services and produce updated maps for the municipality. These arrangements were viewed as more useful for capacity building than typical training events.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ADDRESSING THE CHALLENGES OF PHILIPPINE DISASTER MANAGEMENT INSTITUTIONS

To address these challenges and minimize their adverse effects on coordination, the Philippine government has opportunities to strengthen its disaster institutions in a number of ways. The international organizations, for their part, should invest time and resources to become familiar with these disaster institutions, help government address its weaknesses, and orient personnel, especially international surge staff, accordingly. The following are specific recommendations for addressing each of the weaknesses discussed above.

Clarifying protocols for the entry and exit of national government intervention:

The "assumption" and "augmentation" guidelines in the current National Disaster Response Plan (NDRP) should be communicated widely to both national government agencies and local governments so that entry protocols will be clear when disaster strikes. At the same time, protocols and criteria for determining whether affected local governments are ready to resume normal government functions should be developed and institutionalized. Beyond these guidelines and protocols, information sharing among levels of government should be established and improved, with a particular focus on understanding localized needs and requests for assistance during disasters instead of imposing Manila-centric modes of operating.

Accessing technical assistance and resources from the national government:

At the local level, more can be done to facilitate local governments' access to the expertise and resources of national government agency field offices (such as the Department of Agriculture). An inventory of national government field offices' expertise and resources in disaster-prone areas should be conducted. Furthermore, clear procedures should be established for how local governments can quickly tap expertise and resources when disasters strike.

To build the professional capacity of the national government to handle disaster management, the national disaster management council should be staffed with experienced disaster management personnel. Part of this is eliminating the dual roles of national government representatives to the council and assigning senior-level staff in each agency to focus solely on disaster functions in all four domains (i.e. prevention and mitigation, preparedness, response, and rehabilitation and recovery).

Strengthening local disaster management councils and offices:

In the short-term, the government should develop, support, and institutionalize a system for municipalities to assist each other in disaster risk reduction and management throughout the entire spectrum of prevention and mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery. By developing a cross-government mutual aid surge system along these lines, national government agencies and high-capacity / unaffected local governments can assist low-capacity / affected local governments in times of crisis to help perform both response duties and usual government functions (such as procurement, accounting, etc.). Partnerships of this nature emerged organically during the Haiyan response where "twinning programs" among local governments (and sometimes in partnership with national government agencies) were initiated. These twinning programs should be expanded to systematize support from non-affected to affected areas during disasters.

The long-term priority is to equip all local disaster management councils and offices with the needed resources and skills, according to the requirements of the law. Having

dedicated local disaster management officers in permanent rather than politically appointed positions is advantageous. While designating disaster management officers with dual assignments may be an efficient strategy for resource-constrained municipalities, the ongoing disaster management needs of the Philippines warrant specialized disaster management functions at the national, regional, and provincial levels. It is worth considering whether disaster management officials from the provincial level upwards should be solely focused on disaster management tasks.

In terms of resources for disaster management, local governments should determine the size of their calamity fund based on their respective risks, rather than defaulting to the minimum five percent of local government revenues. To do this, the national government could provide technical assistance (i.e. vulnerability assessment training) to local governments to determine calamity fund allocations that are proportional to their risks.

Additionally, training should be provided in hard and soft skills for disaster risk reduction and management for national government personnel, especially at the regional level, and for local disaster management councils and offices. The initiative of the Department of the Interior and Local Government to roll-out an accreditation system for functioning local disaster management councils and offices should be supported, as the system can act as an incentive for improving capacity. Training at the local level (province and city/municipality) should focus on skill-building for needs and damage assessment, information and project management, and knowledge of international organizations and humanitarian structures, as well as the clusters established in the National Disaster Response Plan. These capacity-building activities can be supported by local civil society organizations and international organizations. Supporting such efforts can help lay the foundation for long-term relationships that can be leveraged during moments of disaster.

Finally, the government should invest in building a knowledge bank on disaster management that documents lessons learned and best practices in each disaster response. This can be linked to existing international humanitarian databases for specific disaster contexts, such as the one maintained by the Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action (ALNAP). Local disaster management councils can learn from the experiences of other municipalities, and international organizations can access information to orient international staff before deployment.

Shaping a clearer role for the provincial government level:

The distinctive and strategic role that provincial governments can play during disaster response should be the subject of careful consideration. While there is interest on the part of both local and international players to differentiate the role that provincial governments play during disaster responses, the details of what this entails are largely unspecified. In the current law, provincial disaster management councils and offices are mandated to fulfill exactly the same roles and responsibilities as city or municipal disaster management bodies and councils. But the provincial level could do more and

different things, particularly with respect to ensuring complementation of aid efforts, guaranteeing that affected areas are equally served, and serving as an intermediary between city / municipal governments under its jurisdiction and the national government agencies and international organizations. There should be more discussion on how the responsibilities of provincial disaster management bodies and offices can be expanded, together with determining the resources and capacities needed to perform an expanded coordinating role. If provincial governments are given more responsibility, then more accountability could also be demanded from them.

Promoting the latest Philippine DRRM strategies:

The government should convene dialogues with international organizations to discuss its latest National Disaster Response Plan (NDRP) and how to harmonize its approach with the global cluster arrangements. International organizations should spend time understanding the NDRP and engaging the Philippine government constructively on clarifying and/or improving its content. The NDRP should be communicated to international organizations' personnel, and orientation for international surge staff on the NDRP and other disaster-related laws and institutions in the Philippines should be required before deployment. With the NDRP and Philippine disaster-related laws and institutions in mind, international organizations should develop clear guidelines for engaging various levels of Philippine government.

Examining appropriate level(s) for the cluster approach:

Jointly, the national government and international organizations should determine the extent to which the Philippine-specific cluster approach should be replicated at the local government level. This is a critical pending issue. On the one hand, adopting the cluster approach at the city / municipal level can greatly facilitate access to resources from both national government agencies and international organizations because both entities operate on a sectoral basis. On the other hand, as discussed above, the cluster approach does not necessarily align with how most local governments actually operate, focusing on the total needs of the areas they cover. One possibility that could be explored is replicating the cluster approach only until the provincial level, while allowing city and municipal governments to organize their own coordination approaches. This could be another rationale for shaping a distinctive role for the provincial government: they can serve as a bridge between local governments, national government agencies, and international organizations, given the differences in how these players are organized.

Theme 2:
ROLE OF CIVIL SOCIETY

While there were established avenues for civil society to engage with both the international community and the Philippine government during the Haiyan response, both parties failed to adequately partner with the sector. Local organizations and informal community-based associations largely worked independently of formal coordination mechanisms and instead pursued bilateral relationships directly with local governments, other community-based associations, and/or the church.

For international organizations that lacked knowledge of the local area, local players like this were challenging to identify. In many communities there were no formal, registered civil society organizations to connect with, but there were less visible informal and faith-based groups. In Tacloban, for

Both Philippine government and international actors failed to adequately engage civil society in the Haiyan response. This resulted from the substantial pressures of the L3 activation, the scale of the disaster, and a lack of pre-existing mechanisms to coordinate with civil society. More connections with civil society groups – formal and informal organizations, the private sector, and the church – could have enhanced both the response and the transition to recovery and longer-term development initiatives. Organizations that relied more heavily on pre-existing relationships saw benefits. The Philippine state is responsive enough that international organizations do not need to be an intermediary between civil society and government, although more space is needed for civil society participation in the activities of both actors.

example, a group of outdoor enthusiasts organized themselves informally as "ONE Tacloban" to communicate with the international community and seek resources for neighbors they believed were most vulnerable, such as special needs children and indigenous groups. These informal response groups were largely off the radar for both the international community and the government during the early response.

There is, admittedly, inefficiency in working more intensely with local partners; working in partnership takes time and resources, and many local organizations do not have adequate scale to reach large numbers of beneficiaries in need, which is the goal of early humanitarian response. However, as highlighted by a consortium of international organizations in the "Missed Again: Making Space for Humanitarian Partnership in the Typhoon Haiyan Response" report,[57] partnership with local organizations "enhances the relevance and appropriateness of humanitarian responses, particularly because the understanding of context enables national and local actors to shape programmes accordingly." Local partners are crucial for ensuring accountability to affected populations and are best situated to identify particularly vulnerable groups. Local organizations' cultural and contextual knowledge likewise link response to longer-term recovery. While examining response in financial terms may not always favor local

partnerships, the growing emphasis on accountability and long-term linkages to development in humanitarian assistance requires it.

With its active and longstanding tradition of civil society involvement, strong faith-based networks, and cultural ethic of self-help, the Philippines is a prime setting for strengthening these kinds of partnerships between the humanitarian community and local actors; yet both the IASC evaluation[58] of the response and "Missed Again"[59] have noted this gap in the response, and our research supports these findings. Here we examine the details of this gap, including the existing arrangements, flawed engagement strategies, and missed opportunities for civil society coordination. We also highlight examples of positive civil society partnerships in the Region VIII response.

Existing Avenues for Civil Society to Participate in the Response

Within the Philippine government, one of the Department of Social Welfare and Development's core functions is accrediting non-governmental organizations and maintaining connections with civil society. In addition, the composition of the national disaster management council should include four representatives from Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and one representative from the private sector. The same composition is mandated at the local level. Within the international response, many national NGOs were hired as subcontractors for international organizations, particularly for distribution of relief goods in the early response phase. Furthermore, the Communications with Communities (CwC) and Accountability to Affected Populations (AAP) initiatives of the international humanitarian community gained momentum in the Haiyan response, creating new focal points for community feedback and validation. Although these initiatives are still being developed, Philippine government officials who were aware of the approaches had positive impressions. Analysis of these initiatives is broader than the scope of this paper and has been the subject of its own research project.[60]

Flawed Engagement

While these coordination mechanisms were in place, they did not result in robust participation by civil society. The prevailing sense from all parties (local NGOs, international NGOs, the UN, and Philippine government) is that opportunities for community involvement were overlooked or underutilized.

Civil Society and Government
On the government side, only the most sophisticated national NGOs had formalized relationships with local governments through Memoranda of Understanding (MOUs). Otherwise, these relationships tended to be informal and civil society actors expressed disappointment that their government was not looking for them in the response. They felt the government was out of touch with their needs and not standing up for survivors' rights. They also expressed concern that some civil society initiatives and government

assistance programs worked at cross purposes, rather than complementing each other. In some instances, government assistance programs, such as the Emergency Shelter Assistance, dissuaded communities from working with national NGOs, because it was not clear whether receiving NGO assistance would disqualify a household from receiving government aid. Other NGO leaders called for more accountability from their government for its actions, noting that the government was not visible or assertive enough in the early days of the response. Concerns over political favoritism in the relief process were likewise persistent in many areas. In the longer term, civil society wanted clearer and faster decision-making on contentious policy issues such as land tenure (which was similar to the opinions expressed by the international organizations).

Civil Society and International Organizations
Due to the perceived absence of strong government leadership, some local organizations recognized that it was necessary to work with international organizations. While they appreciated assistance from the international community, there was a sense among civil society organizations that the international community expected local NGOs to make the approach. While various international organizations admitted that their processes for engaging local civil society were undeveloped, they also said this was a two-way street – where both parties should have taken steps to identify each other in the response.

For most local organizations in Leyte and Samar, the Haiyan response was their first encounter with international humanitarians, and the process for engaging with them was unspecified. Although the cluster system and information about international humanitarian operations had been embedded at the national level, the concept had not filtered down to the most local levels. Similarly, international organizations found local civil society organizations and informal groups challenging to identify. Civil society leaders admitted there were few organizations in the area with the needed response capacity and scale. The massive scope of the disaster and lack of communications hindered establishment of early connections, and the L3 activation added extreme time pressures from the international side to move quickly. Most of the organizations that came into the Leyte/Samar area had no prior relationships in the region. As a result, both sides struggled to identify each other and coordinate under pressure.

Local organizations, in many cases, had a speed and communications advantage over external groups, activating their in-country networks and pulling resources from across Luzon and Mindanao. There were examples of civil society groups that capitalized on the broad Filipino diaspora assistance networks to provide their own trainings and services ahead of UN agencies, which required more time to get up and running. For example, one local organization discussed how they utilized the network of Filipino expats to bring in physicians to host psychosocial care trainings for special needs educators in Tacloban and how they voiced this need before UNICEF. Given these advantages, more connections with civil society groups – including formal and informal organizations, the private sector, and the church – could have enhanced both the response and transition to recovery and longer-term development.

Some local NGOs felt intimidated by the general coordination process and cluster system and were not certain how to fit in or assert their views. Others pursued a deliberate strategy of not working with international organizations. They mentioned that they were put off by the competition among international organizations for beneficiaries and the clash in frameworks between relief and longer-term development work. Local organizations believed civil society was underutilized in beneficiary selection, and some organizations felt they could have been better tapped to triangulate data.

There were also accountability hurdles for providing direct support to active but unregistered organizations. Without formal registration they could not receive materials or funds from UN agencies or the larger international organizations, although they had the connections and were ready to act. Smaller international NGOs with less strict accountability protocols were more likely to support these efforts.

When the international community did actively partner with local civil society, there were obstacles in the relationship and an absence of trust on both sides. Humanitarian organizations were concerned about accountability for funds dispersed to local intermediaries. When local organizations attended general coordination meetings, international actors often wanted to utilize them as resources; however, the expectations for such interactions and the roles of both groups were not clearly defined. Some local organizations bristled at what they saw as the UN's attempt to dictate (rather than just coordinate) the response. Others felt they were being asked to provide assistance to the international community's operations when instead they should be the beneficiaries of assistance. Local organizations felt the general coordination system was not sensitive to the resource constraints of service providers who were also disaster survivors. Coordination meeting outputs and important updates continued to be dispatched electronically, despite local providers' lack of electricity and equipment. One local organization shared that they were tasked at a coordination meeting with driving around and finding other local organizations and volunteers throughout Tacloban, but they did not have fuel for their vehicles.

While there is greater discussion in humanitarian policy circles on the need to better link development and humanitarian response, this appreciation was less evident in the international organizations' operations on the ground after Haiyan. Humanitarian response and development initiatives were still viewed as distinct, sequential phases. Local organizations struggled to accept a "purely" humanitarian response after the immediate lifesaving work of search and rescue had ended. Much like the Philippine government, they wanted to see a faster transition into recovery work, and they wanted to know how projects connected with long-term development. In some instances there was also friction as local organizations felt that international organizations were taking beneficiaries away from longstanding programs. One organization had been working in Leyte on poverty reduction and housing assistance for nearly a decade and had built a network of beneficiaries in a long-term community development program. After Haiyan,

some families left this program, opting instead for a cash transfer from an international organization. The organization pointed out that its projects may take longer, but they build more durable housing solutions, while the international partner was only building temporary housing. The local organization recognized the need for a quick injection of aid, but worried about the long-term implications of international involvement.

On the most extreme side, some community-based development organizations expressed concerns that the international humanitarian response not only interrupted but had negative impacts on community development and the strength of community ties. They expressed particular concern that programs such as Cash for Work undermined the Filipino ethic of self-help and would have long-term effects on their organizing. International organizations, on the other hand, understood local organizations' desire to participate but questioned their actual capacity to meet humanitarian needs on such a large scale.

Another concern, raised by the think tank community, was that there was no effective way to capture the knowledge that flowed into affected communities after the disaster for the longer-term. Many locals were hired by international organizations and learned critical skills for disaster response, but there was no discussion of how to tap this potential after the international organizations completed their missions.

Both local organizations and international organizations have noted that their relationship in the Haiyan response could have been improved, and some organizations have acted on these lessons learned. The ONE Tacloban community-based organization has designed training for local youth on how to work with international organizations, and Catholic Relief Services has described plans to train local churches and Diocese Social Action Centers on how to engage better with the cluster system.

Positive Engagement Strategies

Notwithstanding the overall under-achievement of civil society/international organization linkages, there were many international organizations that recognized these assets and had successful civil society engagements. Organizations that utilized pre-existing relationships in the community or strong ties to institutions such as the church (through Social Action Centers run by the local diocese) or that employed community-organizing models (with staff embedded in communities at the *barangay* level) built trust more easily and bridged the divide between civil society and international organizations. This tangibly helped resolve tensions such as validating beneficiary lists. Working directly with organizations such as irrigators and fisherfolk associations was a prime strategy for some international organizations in their livelihoods interventions. Involving beneficiaries in aid intervention design was a common approach for organizations that aimed to dovetail humanitarian response with longer-term development programming. Local organizations also acted as intermediaries between the international response and particularly vulnerable and less visible populations, such as indigenous groups.

Some international organizations also served as intermediaries, advocating for and bringing local civil society organizations to the policy making table at the national level. This not only provided a forum for locals to voice their feedback, but expedited relief planning. While many international organizations were still establishing contacts to conduct their assessments in the early days of the response, one well-established international organization was able to draw on long-standing relationships and draft some of the first policy papers for coconut and fisheries interventions.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR IMPROVING COORDINATION WITH LOCAL CIVIL SOCIETY

Civil society plays a crucial role in disaster response, as most relief is provided by survivors themselves. Both the Philippine government and the international humanitarian response can improve the targeting, implementation, and evaluation of their efforts by strengthening coordination with these actors. In many ways, however, this is easier said than done, as there are substantial limitations to engaging Philippine civil society. As international organizations have pointed out, it is challenging in practice to identify these groups. In Region VIII, larger-scale, registered national NGOs with capacity to respond were few. Civil society in this part of the country is largely organized through livelihood associations and through the church. Working with these kinds of organizations or unregistered, homegrown initiatives such as "ONE Tacloban" – an active community-based association created after the storm – was challenging for international organizations.

With this caveat in mind, there are still several promising ways for government and international organizations to reach out to civil society and include them in disaster response in more significant ways.

Developing opportunities for civil society participation in disaster planning and response:

Within the Philippine government's local Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Councils (DRRMCs), there are already seats intended for civil society representation. Each community – at the municipal, city, or provincial level – should ensure that these seats are filled by representatives from active local organizations. DRRMCs should capitalize on the reform momentum following Haiyan and engage new stakeholders in this policy-making body. Government can also go beyond the DRRMCs to develop other mechanisms for involving more local community members in the disaster response. Some communities, for example, incorporated local doctors and medical students as volunteers into the health cluster's activities and the health response activities of the local

government. The government should develop plans for utilizing this local capacity and weaving it into both the government and international cluster responses.

As for longer-term disaster management operations, after Haiyan there is now a large cadre of community members who have worked for international organizations and have accumulated a great deal of knowledge concerning humanitarian response. The government should consider how to capture this new knowledge and provide opportunities for community members who participated in the Haiyan response to use their skills in a longer-term disaster management capacity. This may include hiring these skilled individuals as local government "casual" employees in the executive and planning offices or including them in local DRRMC meetings. Utilizing such experience-based knowledge and skills is critical for responding better in succeeding disasters.

Relationship building and joint training:

Investing in working relationships with civil society organizations prior to disasters will be key so these relationships can be more easily tapped during disasters. Local governments should collaborate more closely with civil society organizations to implement capacity-building initiatives on disaster risk reduction and management for national and local government personnel. Government staff (through the Department of Interior and Local Government) should likewise provide trainings for local communities on the "softer" side of disaster response, including decision-making, the international humanitarian structure, and connecting and working with international organizations. Local governments and civil society should also consider conducting joint disaster response drills and shared planning on how they will work together during future responses.

Inclusive coordination meetings and context-sensitive communications:

During the response period, international organizations should aim to create more participation opportunities for local civil society in cluster meetings, beyond information sharing. Progress was made in this area during the Haiyan response, but still requires improvement. Local NGO partners should have designated time to speak and raise concerns at coordination meetings, rather than absorb information alone.

UN and international organization representatives should continually strive to improve sensitivity in communications with local responders and service providers during general coordination or cluster meetings. Even in a country like the Philippines, crowded rooms and accented English serve as barriers for understanding, and local language interpreters should be the norm. (While the humanitarian community aspires to this, it is still rarely practiced). This also includes acknowledging local responders' physical and resource constraints, (for example, providing meeting outputs or important information in hard copy and, where possible, providing assistance for meeting transportation until local transportation and/or fuel sources are restored). Local governments and civil society

representatives should be integrated into the response as soon as possible – both at general coordination and cluster meetings – in the interest of developing joint ownership over planning and implementation.

Connections to longer-term community development:

In a context like the Philippines, where the government and affected communities want to focus on recovery from the onset of the response, the international humanitarian community has a prime opportunity to connect relief and early recovery activities with longer-term development initiatives. As international organizations conduct their assessments and draft proposals for activities throughout the early recovery period, they should be consulting existing development plans and engaging community-based development organizations, if they are present. The need to link development and humanitarian assistance is a common refrain in humanitarian policy circles, and the Philippines is a prime setting for putting this into practice. Philippine government and civil society are eager to see greater cohesion and longer-term thinking. International organizations should continue to facilitate conversations within their organizations, clusters, and among clusters on the interplay between development and humanitarian assistance. This is particularly true in the early recovery phase and for interventions concerning livelihoods. There is a strong sense among local NGOs that they will have to sustain (or deal with) the long-term effects of the humanitarian response, long after the international organizations leave. Early emphasis on this kind of integration would reduce tension with local development NGOs and provide more opportunities for their participation in the response and early recovery activities.

Civil society consultations and accountability initiatives:

International organizations should be convening discussions with civil society before, during, and after disasters. They will be most effective when they have built relationships, coordination arrangements, and trust with civil society over a long period, well before the disaster occurs. The Communications with Communities (CwC) and Accountability to Affected Populations (AAP) initiatives of the international humanitarian community are still in their early iterations and should continue to be developed, incorporating learning from the Haiyan case, to provide more robust processes for early and ongoing feedback from civil society. These initiatives could benefit from more consultation with non-registered, yet organized community-based groups (and local groups that are working closely with diaspora networks). Following disasters, there should be ongoing follow up with civil society groups as evaluations are prepared and lessons are captured for future disasters. Key points to be discussed include: processes for verification of beneficiaries, sharing knowledge on local context and longer-term development considerations, and potential tie-up with existing community programs.

Promoting innovative collaboration models and building trust:

International organizations should share and build on information about successful models for tapping civil society organizations in their work, such as employing community organizers (embedding staff in communities) and engaging local parishes. As seen in the Haiyan case, these strategies are helpful for triangulating beneficiary selection and improving aid distribution.

International organizations should consider experimenting with new models for building trust with civil society. One idea would be to pilot small, unconditional cash transfers to informal service providers – groups such as the ONE Tacloban association. Unconditional transfers to households were once controversial in the humanitarian community but are now becoming the norm. In this response, there seemed to be untapped potential for providing quick cash to local, non-politically affiliated service providers. While there are relevant accountability concerns, it is worthwhile to identify some of these groups in the earliest phase of response, remove as many administrative barriers to releasing funds as possible, and resourcing them to act as rapid responders.

Another strategy is to support more innovative programs that promote collaboration and trust. For example, one international organization working in Leyte and Eastern Samar piloted a mobile tools lending program during the Haiyan response, distributing construction equipment with very little administrative process. It had great success with this project, estimating that 98 percent of their tools were returned. Rather than going through lengthy MOU and procurement processes with community-based groups, there may be room in the Philippines for creative service delivery models like this. Local civil society in the Philippines saw lack of trust as a barrier for cooperation. Extending high trust programs like these may help overcome that perception and build a sense that "we're all in this together."

Identifying active civil society organizations:

To more easily identify civil society groups during emergencies, the government and international organizations should jointly conduct a mapping of operational civil society organizations in disaster-prone areas. This could be an initiative of the local Disaster Risk Reduction Management Councils with technical support, as needed, from international organizations. The mapping should inventory these organizations' capacities, resources, and consider broader networks of civil society groups that can be utilized across regions.

Conducting market assessments from a coordination perspective:

Government, civil society, and international humanitarians should enhance cooperation in the areas where their triangular relationship can have the most impact. For instance, several actors we spoke with noted the ongoing issue of labor market disturbance during the response. Even when the humanitarian system tries to avoid market disturbances, it

seems labor still flows to international projects, to the detriment of community self-help. Would-be volunteers for community-based projects are likewise snapped up for international organization programming. This is a prime area for enhanced cooperation, because no single group can see the big picture on this. All actors should work together to conduct bigger picture market assessments to flag labor and resource supply disturbances, including draining local markets and crowding out self-help initiatives.

Supporting local initiatives:

Both international organizations and the government should provide more support to local community-based disaster preparedness and response initiatives through small grants. This strategy should be pursued in addition to international organizations' own larger-scale programming to ensure that response coverage is achieved and those with the greatest needs receive attention. There is value in supplementing larger scale projects with smaller, community-based initiatives, because community-based organizations have a different perspective and often can reach beneficiaries who are less visible to or less understood by outsiders. These direct partnerships between local and international service providers and government can inform ongoing needs assessment and program evaluation, and keep policies attuned to shifting community realities.

In our field research we met several organizations that were trying to implement programs from the ground up but faced resource constraints. For example, ONE Tacloban has developed a proposal to hold trainings for youth on working with international organizations, and former city government officials in Tacloban are hoping to capture their lessons learned in a knowledge management project. Government and international organizations should be soliciting proposals from groups like these and providing support. Lack of registration status is currently a roadblock, and both actors should consider providing small grants to individual local leaders for these kinds of projects.

Theme 3:
INTERNATIONAL - NATIONAL LOGICS

There were clear differences in the logics and interests of the Philippine government and international organizations during the Haiyan response, and these inhibited effective coordination. The Philippine government needed and appreciated help from the international community, but prioritized a short response phase with the aim of exercising its leadership as soon as possible. The international system was operating under the pressure of the new L3 mechanism and was balancing

Both the international humanitarian actors and the Philippine government had good intentions to coordinate but, in practice, did so on their own terms. Planning and early implementation of the response diverged, and the international and national responses operated in an unintended, parallel manner. This divergence arose because both parties were operating from distinct logics. These conflicting logics can be examined along four domains: locus of control, pressure to deliver, timelines for relief and recovery, and coordination processes.

responsibility to act under the humanitarian imperative with respecting the state's desire to assert leadership. The big picture result of this, as highlighted in the IASC evaluation of the response,[61] was a parallel approach in the response phase – where the Philippine government and the international community largely implemented their own response efforts. This was seen by some as a backward step in Philippines-international disaster cooperation, which had been growing stronger through joint planning and implementation processes in recent disasters.

This paper now turns to explaining why that parallel approach emerged in the Haiyan response. Based on our analysis of the data collected, there were *clashes in logics and interests along four dimensions: locus of control, accountability and pressure to deliver, timelines for relief and recovery, and coordination processes*. This section explores the differing logics in each area, the tensions that resulted, and what that meant for coordination.

Both the government and the international system are not monolithic parties. Even within the UN system, we cannot speak of "one UN,"[62] and coordinating interests is a perennial challenge. International organizations cannot be easily lumped together, as they comprise everything from groups that have been in the Philippines for decades to those that first arrived after Haiyan. Similarly, there are significant differences among the views of Philippine government actors/institutions at the municipal, provincial, regional, and national levels. Even with these limitations, several themes emerged after discussions with a wide range of interviewees.

Locus of Control

Despite the unprecedented scale of Haiyan and the overwhelmed government structures at the regional, provincial, and municipal levels, the Philippine national government aimed to exercise its sovereignty and establish control over the direction of the response from the start. The Philippines is recognized among developing and middle income countries for its ability to respond to more routine disaster events, and although the government invited assistance from the outside, its perception of its own capability did not waver at the national level. Government officials did not see themselves as first stepping back and then "reasserting"[63] themselves, as many outsiders have observed. As the Philippine government embarked on its own planning process, developing the "Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda" (RAY) document to guide its response, it expected international organizations to respect and support its operational structures for coordination (including its decision to initially implement taskforces, its organization of clusters, etc.) as they had done in prior emergency responses.

From the international organization perspective, however, the L3 response had a momentum of its own, as it automatically bypassed some staff in their routine functions, even within the UN system. International agencies were interested in supporting government leadership, but only if the government was actually prepared to lead. Working with a government with relatively high capacity for disaster management was not necessarily the "normal" operating procedure, wherein developing country governments are either uncooperative or lack the capacity to respond. Many of the humanitarian responders were coming from conflict or post-conflict settings and noted that working in the Philippine context was a break for them, as they were accustomed to working with less cooperative or capacitated governments. This was particularly true for surge staff, who came into the Philippines on a short-term basis and were unfamiliar with the national context.

As the IASC thoroughly documented in its evaluation of the Haiyan response, the main result of these differing perspectives was that the Philippine national government and the inter-agency pursued "parallel" coordination approaches during the response period.[64] Interviewees noted that only after the momentum of the L3 surge began to ease did the systems begin to merge. As surge staff left the country, Filipino national staff took more prominent coordination and leadership roles. It is important to note, however, that from the Philippine government perspective, the coordination was never "parallel" – it was the UN system and the L3 mechanism that diverged from the government's intended course of action. The government developed its RAY plan, and the UN system developed the Strategic Response Plan (SRP) and the Multi-Cluster/Sector Initial Rapid Assessment (MIRA). Although the government is not required to sign off on the SRP, one UN official noted that this was a misstep and that it was hard to later expect ownership of response interventions under the SRP when the government was not initially involved in creating it.

Although the national government asserted that it wanted to maintain a leading role, the reality at lower levels was mixed. Local governments and their mayors expressed varying levels of interest in taking the lead during the response and early recovery. Some international organizations and civil society representatives suggested that these government representatives could have "pushed more" for their desired standards. Some local officials were overwhelmed by the challenges of the response and deferred instead to technical experts from the outside. Other mayors were more adamant that all international organizations must first go through them. As a result, international organizations received mixed messages and were sometimes unclear on the local governments' actual desire to receive reports and oversee the results of the work being done by international organizations. In some municipalities, there was also a gap between the role the mayor and local government staff wanted to fulfill and the capacities they actually possessed.

Accountability and Pressure to Deliver

The Haiyan response had attracted global attention and the Philippine government felt the pressure to be seen as successful in responding to this disaster. From its perspective, it was only accountable for resources channeled directly through government; yet, it was still criticized for the overall response – particularly on issues of speed and equitable distribution – when much of the response was coursed through the UN system or the international organizations. If it was going to bear the criticism, it wanted to have more say in the operations. Some agencies, particularly the Department of Social Welfare and Development, were singled out due to their large mandate for response – yet they felt they were often scapegoated for the actions of other agencies or international organizations that were acting independently, beyond the established coordination schemes. Politicians and agency heads also mentioned that they were attuned to personal, organizational, and political risks and wanted to minimize blame where possible.

For international organizations operating under the L3 activation, there was a massive influx of funding and surge personnel. Agents in the field were under intense scrutiny by their principals. Some officials noted that they ended up focusing more on "checking the boxes"[65] for L3 protocols instead of reading the broader context. Additionally, as in every disaster context, international organizations were under pressure to deliver on promises, be seen as effective by their donors, and ultimately be accountable to them. Both the government and the international actors were responding to pressure from their own institutions, which led them to prioritize their own goals and intra-institution coordination over Philippine-international coordination efforts in the early response.

The pressure to deliver manifested in concrete ways in the competition among the many international organizations responding to Haiyan. Both international organizations and government representatives noted that international organizations were in a rush to "reserve" project sites for future implementation and they wanted to secure early

commitments from local governments. There was often snap signing of MOUs that were not fulfilled in the longer-term, after actual funding levels came in from headquarters. This was a particular problem in school rehabilitation and reconstruction. In response, MOUs became less important to the local governments, as they expected they would not always be fulfilled. Instead, MOUs were seen by local government as non-binding and they worked with the organization that could actually deliver first.

There were also differing views on accountability and trust. International agencies were wary of political partisanship at the local level, arguing that it threatened identification of the most vulnerable, as well as equitable distribution of relief. They questioned the accuracy and completeness of information from some local governments. Creating, validating, and synchronizing beneficiary lists between international organizations and government was a persistent issue raised by both sets of actors. As a result, some international organizations preferred to bypass government structures and work directly with community members at the *barangay* level. Local governments acknowledged that there was some truth to this perception and that they lacked both human resources and skills in needs assessment. However, from their perspective, the international organizations were not necessarily providing assistance to those most in need. They wanted international actors to respect government authority and allow local executives to provide a big picture view.

Timelines for Relief and Recovery

The government and international community timelines for the transition to recovery were out of sync. The IASC evaluation report notes that the Philippine government and international response each emphasized a different part of the relief-recovery spectrum. The international community and its Strategic Response Plan envisioned a longer emergency response phase, which extended up to six months, whereas the Philippine government's plan classified "disaster response ending at the moment that immediate life-saving threats are stabilized."[66] After the response phase, the international Strategic Response Plan included an early recovery phase, while the Philippine government did not recognize early recovery as a distinct period.[67]

A telling illustration of the lack of synchronization was the separate response and recovery planning documents from the national government and the international organizations. The Philippine government outlined its response strategy and timelines in the RAY (the Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda document from the National Economic Development Authority), while international organizations developed the SRP. While the international organizations tried to involve the national government in the planning process for the SRP, no substantial exchange took place.

The Philippine government wanted the humanitarian relief phase to be as short as possible. Its priority was to shift to recovery, ensure integration with longer-term development efforts, and consolidate control after the disaster as quickly as possible. As

far as the government was concerned, international actors helping in the humanitarian phase would come and go, but the government would be responsible for the longer-term work. The government, especially at the local level, was wary of raising aid recipient expectations for service delivery. They viewed this as a potential risk with a prolonged humanitarian relief phase.

In contrast, the humanitarian imperative compelled international humanitarians to provide assistance as long as the need persisted, even if the government deemed those needs resolved. The line between disaster and chronic needs is oftentimes blurry, and this complicated the situation. At the same time, the role of the international community is less clear in recovery than in response. It takes time to get operations up and running and the "early recovery" period is where the international response seems to gain its momentum. UN-OCHA does not have a mandate for recovery activities, so an early recovery phase allows it to extend its involvement and transition out of the response. As such, both the magnitude of L3 funding and lack of clear international community role in recovery provided an incentive for international organizations to operate in response and early recovery mode, even after the government was transitioning to recovery. Moreover, given the twelve-month timeframe in the Strategic Response Plan (SRP), shortening the relief timeline would have required international organizations to acknowledge that they had made planning miscalculations.

The government's earlier than anticipated shift to recovery caught most of the international organizations by surprise. Many international organizations focusing on the response phase were not prepared for its wrap up and lacked clear exit strategies. When the national government tasked an ad hoc body to coordinate the recovery phase, there was no clear coordination framework. As such, the international organizations were unsure on how they would participate in the recovery phase. As mentioned, UN-OCHA does not have a mandate for coordinating recovery and was thus not in a position to facilitate this.

Furthermore, international organizations and government bodies viewed the necessity for connections to long-term development work in different ways. Local governments generally preferred to connect humanitarian work with development goals as soon as life threatening concerns were addressed. Some international organizations with pre-existing development programs in the country shared this preference, while others viewed development work as beyond their mandate and focused solely on addressing humanitarian needs.

Coordination Processes

The Philippine government insisted on its coordination processes in the form of the multi-agency national disaster management council, the taskforces the national council initially activated, and its own response clusters. The national government expected international organizations to coordinate with them through these structures. Most local

governments considered bilateral engagement with international organizations more productive than attending the general coordination meetings. The general coordination meetings were valuable for keeping track of what international organizations were doing, identifying gaps, and directing assistance. However, direct local government-international organization interactions on specific issues and interventions were better-suited for pushing the implementation of relief activities, dealing with operational challenges, and getting to the real issues. These bilateral engagements became even more productive when the local government assigned officials to each international organization partner and facilitated links between these officials and counterparts at the international organizations.

On the other hand, the international system had a stake in seeing the cluster system, with the support of UN-OCHA, operate well and perform better relative to previous disasters. It was also important for the international organizations to engage each level of Philippine government, as they saw different values in each level. National and regional levels provided technical and policy guidance, while provincial and municipal governments could identify the best areas in which to work. However, in activating the cluster system (and providing international assistance in general), the underlying bias was that government structures had been overwhelmed, and it was challenging to identify and assess partial capacities. It was thus easier for the international organizations to work within their own structures than navigate those of the unevenly capacitated government.

Tensions resulted from these clashing expectations. In general, each side viewed the other as disengaged from its processes. Some international organizations viewed the Philippine government as largely absent from the international response. Some international actors ascribed this to the government being overwhelmed by the scope of the disaster, while others believed it was more intentional, as the government developed its own plans and coordination structures. The Inter-Agency Humanitarian Evaluation acknowledged that the international response could have engaged the government more throughout the planning process.[68]

One manifestation of the tension was that the national government and the international organizations had different views on how different levels of government should be engaged. International organizations on the ground felt there was limited connection between the national government and the field operations. With the provincial governments not having much power for oversight, some UN actors had to act as an "intermediary"[69] between different levels of the Philippine government, which these UN actors felt was not the best use of their time. This became messier when national-local politics were involved. One interviewee noted that discussions in Manila between national government agencies and the head offices of international organizations influenced operations at the local level. As a result, politics played a role in either encouraging or discouraging working relations between international organizations and local governments. This observation was sharply felt in Tacloban City, where the city

government was not politically aligned with both the national and provincial governments.

To complicate the engagement further, international organizations had varying approaches for engaging the government. Some believed it was essential to start with the regional or provincial government and then work with government officials down to the *barangay* level, while others started at the municipal level. Others did not engage with government institutions at all, preferring to work through community-based groups or the church. These varied engagement strategies by international organizations frustrated the levels of government that were effectively bypassed.

Another manifestation of the engagement tension was direct, bilateral agreements between local governments and international organizations, as opposed to going through UN-OCHA-led coordination mechanisms. As mentioned above, local governments generally preferred bilateral agreements. Unsurprisingly, some international organizations preferred bilateral agreements as well. This preference became even stronger, and sometimes the only feasible option, in municipalities that were far from the UN coordination hubs. As a result, some local governments initiated their own coordination meetings concurrently with cluster meetings. One local government reported instituting regular weekly meetings with its international partners. International organizations found this redundant, but noted that cluster meetings were primarily focused on information sharing, while the project commitments were actually made in the meetings with local governments.

Under these bilateral agreements, certain local governments had more productive relationships with the international organizations because of greater capacity for engaging international actors. While some international organizations sought to assist the populations most in need, the willingness and capacity that local governments displayed did play a role in determining who got assistance. Local governments that demonstrated a willingness to engage, presented data to back up their needs, and provided assurance of support and accountability attracted more international partners. This resulted in international organizations gravitating toward helping areas with more engaged and/or capable local governments.

The following table summarizes how the logics of the Philippine government and the international organizations clashed and resulted in tensions that hindered effective coordination.

Table 2: Clash in Logics and Resulting Tensions

Logic Regarding	Philippine Government Perspectives	International Community Perspectives	Resulting Tensions
Locus of control	"exercise our sovereignty" "we were in control from the very start" "our operational structures should be followed and we expect international organizations to respect and support these"	"L3 activation had a momentum of its own" "we're all for supporting government leadership as long as they are able and prepared" "working with a highly functioning government is not our norm"	parallel coordination approaches local governments initiated their own coordination meetings international organizations confronted varying capacities of and mixed signals from government, especially at the local level
Accountability and pressure to deliver	"everyone is watching us and we want to succeed" "we are only accountable for government resources but we get all the blame"	"we are under intense scrutiny by our principals, due to the massive influx of L3 money and personnel" "we want to be seen as committed and effective by donors"	intra-institution coordination over national-international coordination differing views on accountability and trust competition between international organizations and snap signing of MOUs with local governments
Timelines for relief, transition, and recovery	"relief phase as short as possible" "recovery right away and integration with longer-term development efforts" "manage expectations	"provide assistance as long as the need persisted" "it takes time to utilize massive inflow of L3 money" "our Strategic	separate response and recovery planning documents different preferences and approaches for connecting disaster needs with chronic needs lack of clear exit

	for service delivery among disaster survivors"	Response Plan is for 12 months and we want to complete it"	strategies absence of coordination framework for recovery
Coordination Processes	"we engage using our own structures" "bilateral engagement is more productive than general coordination meetings"	"cluster approach should be applied and operate well" "all levels of Philippine government have value" "Philippine structures seemed overwhelmed so we engage using our structures instead"	perception of general disengagement from both sides different views on how different levels of government should be engaged bilateral agreements and meetings outside cluster meetings international organizations gravitated toward more capable local governments

The Promise of the Cluster Co-lead Approach

Despite these setbacks, the cluster co-lead approach – in which Philippine government agencies lead certain clusters and international agencies act as co-leads – continued to be regarded positively by both parties. The effectiveness of the co-lead arrangement varied by cluster, but the particularly strong co-lead partnership between the Department of Health (DOH) and the World Health Organization (WHO) provided a positive example. DOH and WHO were able to leverage their partnership, for instance, in registering foreign medical teams and strategically deploying them to the affected areas.

Having a clear, single co-lead counterpart seemed to have been the key, especially because national agencies had multiple co-lead counterparts in some clusters. Furthermore, co-lead counterparts were not designated from the province level downward. A revised circular from the national disaster management council is in the works to identify national, regional, provincial, and municipal clusters and the co-leads for each. However, finalizing the circular should consider the broader discussions on replicating the cluster approach at lower levels of government. With clearly established counterparts that have designated responsibilities, this remains a promising arrangement for national-international coordination.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR MINIMIZING LOGIC DIFFERENCES AND NATIONAL-INTERNATIONAL TENSIONS

The Philippine government and the international humanitarian community have a strong historical foundation of cooperation, which can support ongoing efforts to improve their relationship. While the Typhoon Haiyan response has received largely positive evaluations in terms of outputs, both the government and the international community identified coordination tensions that hindered their working relationship. Moving forward, both parties would be well-served to consider the roots of these tensions – which we believe result from four differences in logic – and adopt the strategies outlined below.

Minimizing differences in locus of control:

Given its experience in the Haiyan response, the Philippine government should clarify and communicate its expectations and preferences for international humanitarian involvement more clearly and prior to disaster. These dialogues should include reflection on indicators of government capacity and thresholds for when the government is both incapacitated and ready to reassert the lead. This is a fine line and challenging conversation, but discussing sovereignty issues at the Humanitarian Country Team level is an important first step. The national government should encourage lead agencies to coordinate more fully with international organizations and increase pre-disaster engagements to build positive working relationships and outline coordination arrangements. Reviewing this coordination relationship should be part of the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council's regular agenda.

In the international response, particularly in general coordination meetings, facilitators should create opportunities for host country members (government and civil society) to lead. As the international humanitarian community has widely recognized, it is essential that local voices are not drowned out. This must remain true from the earliest days of a response and even in the midst of an L3 staffing surge.

Minimizing differences in accountability and pressure to deliver:

Building on the Haiyan response and the first full activation of the L3 mechanism for a sudden onset natural disaster, the IASC principals should consider if L3 activation can be calibrated in some way, based on governments' varying capacities. The concept of a system-wide response is an important innovation, but it requires more nuance so that one-size-does-not-fit-all. In particular, funding and staffing should have built-in flexibility to adapt to changing scenarios on the ground (which, in this case, included a surprising early transition to recovery activities). Processes for more rapid draw-down should be in place, as needed, acknowledging that initial estimates may need to be refined due to shifting events. International actors should not face undue pressure to persist in a strategy that is outdated, particularly if it causes friction with a host government.

The government and international organizations should commit to common response and recovery goals in the context of a specific disaster, and these common goals should be the basis for shared accountability. Evaluation of joint government–international community efforts during disaster response and recovery should be continued against these common goals to highlight strengths and weaknesses of coordination and chart recommendations for the future.

Minimizing differences in timelines for relief, transition, and recovery:

In future disasters, the Philippine government and the international response should aim to synchronize relief planning. The government should play the central role in developing the overarching strategy that will guide the combined efforts of the Philippine government and the international organizations. Joint consultations in the immediate aftermath of the disaster are needed to better align the government planning documents and the Strategic Response Plan of the humanitarian community. These must be complementary, rather than parallel, approaches.

Both parties must work to establish clearer exit timelines and strategies for international humanitarian organizations. This includes an assessment of when the government is ready to reassert control and what that looks like. The government and international actors should also work toward a clearer understanding of how to distinguish disaster damage from chronic needs. Clearer descriptions of baseline indicators and context before the disaster are key. If international organizations plan to remain and work on longer-term development projects, that should also be communicated and aligned with national and local development priorities.

International organizations should design their surge teams' operations with recovery connections in mind. More linkages between long-term country program teams and disaster surge teams within the same international organization should be encouraged when implementing responses. The international community should also be working to develop a coordination framework for recovery and connect it to long-term planning. While this is beyond the mandate of UN-OCHA, there are many international organizations that have dual humanitarian and development missions who can lead this conversation.

Minimizing differences in coordination processes:

The Philippine government must determine clearer roles for each level of government in how they coordinate with the international community, with differentiated roles for provincial and municipal governments. The province can and should absorb more significant, wider-scope coordination functions, and governors must be empowered to work with the UN system. Provincial involvement can reduce the drawback of bilateral engagement, which results in some local governments falling through the cracks.

Each local government unit should designate a contact point for field inquiries from international organizations. Ideally, this involves a staff member other than the local chief executive. In addition, more staff from various local government departments should participate in the coordination effort. For example, Municipal Agricultural Services staff should be attending the food security and livelihoods cluster meetings. While it is a challenge in some local governments to identify a number of staff with the needed confidence and baseline language skills to participate in meetings with international actors, their attendance at cluster meetings would add technical expertise, increase local knowledge, and avoid burnout of designated local government liaisons.

Overall, local governments should develop clearer standard operating procedures (SOPs) for their desired coordination and reporting strategy as they request assistance from international organizations. These SOPs can be developed through the disaster management councils. Local governments should not assume that international organizations understand their organizational structure at the local level. They should outline their expectations for interaction: Will the local government assist in targeting only? Will it provide staff for more technical assessments? Once partnerships are established, local governments should make the reporting procedures plain: will international organizations submit regular reports to the local government and if so, how often and to whom?

International organizations should coordinate with all levels of Philippine government, including the regional and provincial levels. While this can feel cumbersome, it is essential to recognize host government organizational structure and political authority. An important starting point is a courtesy call at the provincial level, with the governor or his/her representative. A second point of contact should be the regional or provincial level line agency that oversees the particular sector an international organization is involved in (for example, the Department of Health for the health cluster). From there, discussions with the mayor can take place in the intended target municipality. Resources and networks are available at each level, and international organizations would be well-served to identify their appropriate counterparts. International organizations should also expand their coordination contact points beyond local chief executives to include the other members of the local disaster management council and the key players in the bureaucracy. This way, broader local government resources are tapped and working relations are established at an institutional level, not just personally with mayors.

International organizations should consider creating more in-depth partnerships with local governments, including embedding staff within local government units. This worked well in Guiuan, Eastern Samar, for example, when UN Habitat staff joined the Municipal Planning and Development team for an extended period throughout the response to provide mapping expertise. This promotes relationship building, potentially enhances local skills building, and provides opportunities to relay specific feedback from the ground response to the parent international organization.

Strengthening the co-lead approach:

The cluster co-lead approach is a best practice for coordination in the Philippines and both parties should focus on strengthening it. Cluster co-leads should engage in joint strategy and planning sessions to operationalize their working relationship. Both parties should be investing in meetings between the counterparts prior to disasters to establish working relationships and anticipate coordination concerns. In particular, any confusion about the co-lead arrangement must be eliminated, with clear counterparts established for each.

VI. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The schematic below summarizes the key findings of this report.

Figure 5
Schematic Representation of Key Findings
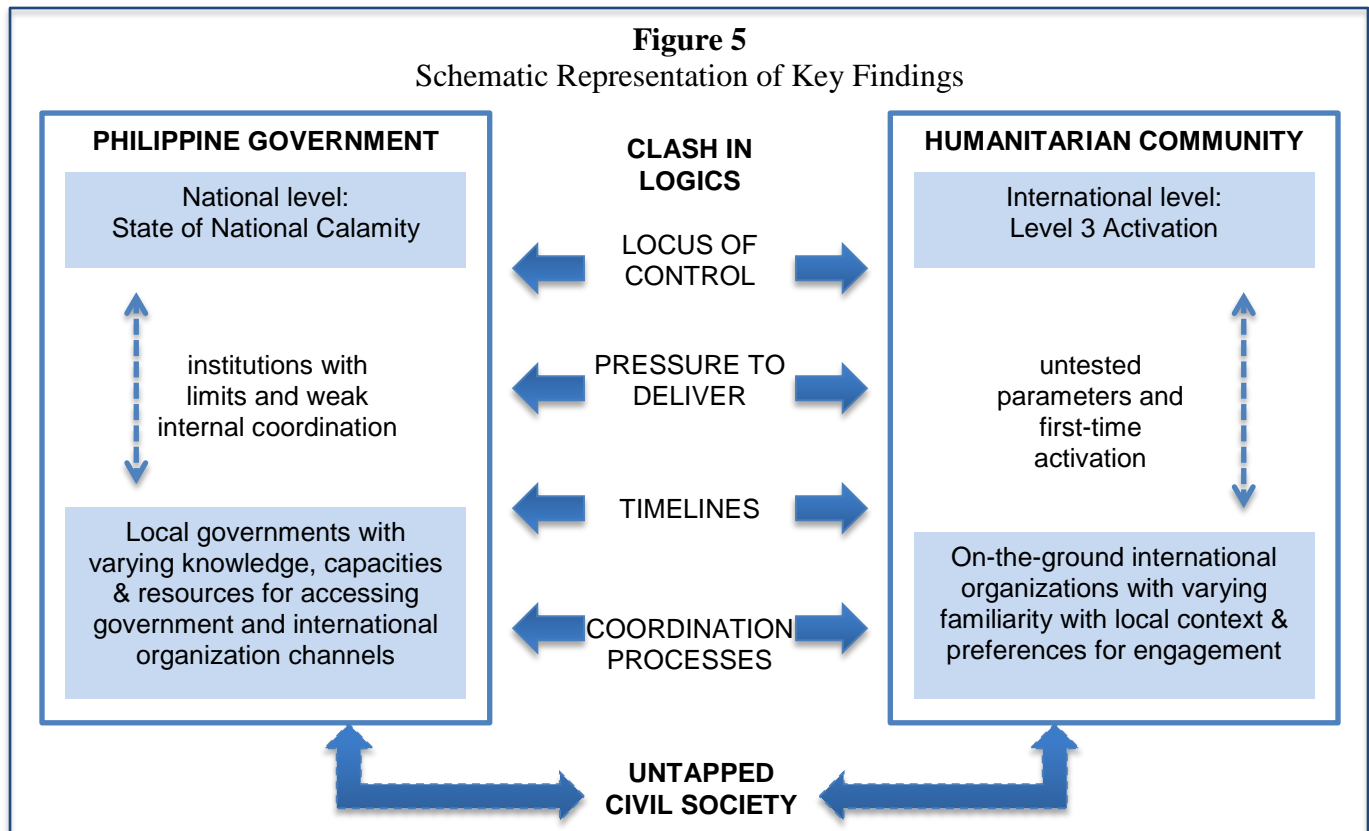
Coordination between the Philippine government and the international humanitarian community during the Typhoon Haiyan response was impeded by the following key factors:

- The international humanitarian community lacked understanding of the nature, strengths, and limitations of established Philippine institutions for disaster risk reduction and management.
- Local governments had varying knowledge, capacities, and resources, which affected their ability to engage effectively with both the national government and international organizations.
- International organizations and surge personnel that operated in the Philippines in response to Haiyan, within the backdrop of activating the L3 parameters, had varying familiarity with local context and preferences for engagement.

- The role that civil society can play in augmenting government and international organization operations, and possibly serving as a bridge to minimize tension between the two, was largely untapped.
- The government response logic clashed with that of the humanitarian community on issues relating to locus of control, pressure to deliver, timelines for relief and recovery, and coordination processes.

In light of these findings, this report makes recommendations in three themes as summarized in the following table:

Table 3: Summary of Recommendations

Finding	Specific Recommendations
Theme 1: Recommendations for addressing the weaknesses of Philippine disaster risk reduction and management institutions and increasing awareness about these institutions on the part of international organizations	
Absence of clear protocols for entry and exit of national government	• Communicate "assumption" and "augmentation" guidelines to local governments • Develop protocols and criteria for determining whether local governments are ready to resume government functions • Improve information flows between national and local government
Untapped technical assistance and resources from the national government	• Staff national disaster management council with qualified personnel who only have disaster-related functions • Inventory expertise and resources of national government field offices in disaster-prone areas • Establish clear procedures for local governments to quickly access expertise and resources when disasters strike
Inactive and ineffective local disaster management councils and offices	• Institutionalize cross-government mutual aid surge system where national government agencies and high-capacity local governments can assist affected local governments during disasters • Ensure that disaster management officers at the municipal level are permanent rather than politically appointed employees • Explore making disaster management officials from the provincial level upwards solely focused on disaster management tasks • Provide local governments with technical assistance to determine the appropriate size of their calamity funds • Provide training to government disaster management personnel at all levels on hard skills like damage assessment and soft skills like working with the international humanitarian community • Develop and share a knowledge bank on responding to disasters in the Philippines, featuring lessons learned and best practices from each disaster, and link this to existing international databases

Underutilized provincial government level	▪ Discuss the details of an expanded role for provincial disaster management bodies ▪ Encourage governors to work with the international organizations
Local government faced a learning curve in working with international organizations	▪ Convene dialogues on the National Disaster Response Plan ▪ Communicate the National Disaster Response Plan to the personnel of international organizations ▪ Make orientation on the National Disaster Response Plan and other Philippine-specific disaster management policies required for international surge staff ▪ Develop clear international organization guidelines for engaging all levels of Philippine government ▪ Determine the extent to which it is effective to replicate the cluster approach at the lower levels of government

Theme 2: Recommendations to better engage local civil society on the part of both the Philippine government and international organizations	
Weak coordination between government and civil society	▪ Create opportunities for community members who participated in the Haiyan response to use their skills and knowledge for building disaster management capacity ▪ Ensure civil society participation in local disaster management councils ▪ Promote creative mechanisms for involving community members in disaster response ▪ Encourage government-civil society collaboration in providing capacity-building training on disaster risk reduction and management to government personnel
Weak coordination between international organizations and civil society	▪ Encourage civil society participation in cluster meetings ▪ Improve sensitivity among international organizations in communications with local responders during general coordination and cluster meetings ▪ Connect relief and early recovery activities with longer-term development initiatives and plans ▪ Build working relationships both prior to and after disasters and discuss procedures for beneficiary selection, capturing of lessons learned, etc. ▪ Share successful and creative models among international organizations for tapping civil society organizations
Weak coordination among	▪ Conduct joint mapping of operational civil society organizations in disaster-prone areas ▪ Enhance cooperation on cross-cutting issues such as mitigating

government, international organizations and civil society	labor market disturbances during disasters ▪ Find and fund local and community-based disaster preparedness and response initiatives

Theme 3: Recommendations for minimizing the clash of logics between the Philippine government and international community and better synchronizing disaster response operations	
Differences in locus of control	▪ Clarify government expectations on the nature and extent of international community involvement in disasters ▪ Encourage government lead agencies to coordinate with international organizations and increase pre-disaster engagement to build relationships and arrangements ▪ Provide more opportunities for host country nationals to lead in coordination and cluster meetings
Differences in accountability and pressure to deliver	▪ Calibrate L3 activation based on assessment of government's capacity ▪ Adapt funding and staffing of L3 responses to changing scenarios on the ground ▪ Commit to common response and recovery goals, making these the basis for the evaluation of government-international efforts
Differences in timelines for relief, transition, and recovery	▪ Develop one overarching response strategy with government playing the central role ▪ Conduct joint consultations to align government planning documents and the Strategic Response Plan ▪ Establish clearer timelines and exit strategies for international organizations ▪ Design response strategies that are adaptable to recovery ▪ Encourage more connection between relief interventions and development programs of international organizations' country and surge teams ▪ Develop a coordination framework for recovery
Differences in coordination processes	▪ Determine clearer roles for each level of government in coordinating with the international humanitarian community ▪ Designate contact point for international organizations within local governments ▪ Involve broader set of local government staff in the coordination effort ▪ Develop standard operating procedures reflecting the local governments' preferences for how international organizations should coordinate with them

	▪ Coordinate with all levels of Philippine government ▪ Foster creative partnerships between international organizations and local governments, such as embedding international organization staff within local government units
Promise of cluster co-lead approach	▪ Strengthen cluster co-lead approach between a government agency and an international organization through joint strategy and planning sessions and clear designation of counterparts for each cluster

IMPLEMENTATION CONSIDERATIONS

To facilitate implementation of this report's recommendations, we categorize them in three ways: a) recommendations that can be included in the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010 sunset review; b) recommendations that face relatively few obstacles and can be implemented in the near term; and c) recommendations that require additional conditions and/or face obstacles before they can be implemented. For this third category, we consider political dynamics, resource constraints, and conceptual debates as obstacles for implementation.

Recommendations that can be part of the sunset review:

The Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010 is mandated to undergo a sunset review. This presents a window of opportunity to push for some of the recommendations presented in this report, based on learning from the major disasters in the Philippines since the law's passage in 2010, including Haiyan. In particular, revising the law would help actualize the following recommendations:

1. The "augmentation" and "assumption" protocols in the National Disaster Response Plan – which guide when the national government assumes the lead role in disaster response – can be included in the law's revisions. Protocols for determining when local governments are ready to resume normal government functions after a major response effort should also be developed and included.

2. Shaping a more distinctive role for provincial disaster management councils in disaster coordination can also be done in revising this law. However, as emphasized earlier, this concept requires more discussion among the stakeholders. It is important to consider how partisanship might undermine the strategic role the provincial level can play during the response phase, as a provincial government may be less inclined to provide support to some cities / municipalities under its jurisdiction for political reasons.

3. In the current law, the government's approach to the cluster system is not mentioned. The government should first determine how far the cluster approach will be replicated in lower levels of government and consider outlining this in the law's review. This requires clearer roles for each level of government in coordinating with the international humanitarian community. Any inclusion of the cluster approach in the law should also provide room for innovations in future responses.

Congress and the Office of Civil Defense will be holding discussions around this law as part of the sunset review. These recommendations could be raised as part of that process and subjected to public dialogue, along with other proposed revisions.

Recommendations for near-term implementation:

Short-term strategies for the Philippine government

Beyond the recommendations that can be included in the sunset review, there are other recommendations the Philippine government could pursue with relatively few obstacles. For most of these, all that is required is that the Philippine national government issue the directive.

This includes ordering an inventory of the expertise and resources of national government field offices in disaster-prone areas. Such information is readily available, and effort needs to be exerted to collect and organize the information. Once the inventory is completed, the national government can circulate it to local governments, together with guidance on how these field offices can be approached for help before a disaster strikes and during a response.

The national government can develop a communication initiative directed to local governments on the guidelines pertaining to "assumption" and "augmentation" with relative ease. Another campaign, directed to local governments and international organizations, should discuss the new arrangements under the National Disaster Response Plan. The designated government cluster leads should be encouraged to lead communications with their international organization counterparts on this topic to build relationships pre-disaster. The policy guidance for these matters has already been set with the publication of the National Disaster Response Plan, so undertaking a communication campaign around it should be relatively straightforward.

At the same time, training programs could be rolled out for government disaster management personnel on all levels on hard skills like damage assessment and soft skills like working with the international humanitarian community. Support from both local civil society groups and international organizations can be leveraged to implement these programs, and existing local government training programs, such as those provided by the Department of Interior and Local Government, can be augmented to include this material.

It is also within the national government's capability to gather existing information and reports on disaster response in the Philippines (lessons learned and best practices from each disaster) and organize these into a knowledge bank that will be regularly maintained. The Office of Civil Defense can be tasked to oversee this effort.

Most local governments have information about active civil society organizations in their area, and these groups can be invited to participate in local disaster management councils. It is important to note that this is easier said than done for some local governments, as not all areas have operational civil society organizations. Nevertheless, creative mechanisms for involving community members in disaster response efforts, even in the absence of more formal civil society organizations, can be promoted.

Short-term strategies for international organizations

Several of these recommendations can be incorporated in future Philippine disaster scenarios without significant shifts in policy or resources. These are initiatives that have already been accepted by the international humanitarian community but must continue to be strengthened in practice. This includes encouraging civil society participation and local leadership in cluster meetings, improving translation services, and promoting sensitivity in communications during these meetings. Implementation of these recommendations requires a strong leadership commitment and clear statements from the beginning of a response that makes inclusive coordination the norm.

Reflection on the successful models and lessons learned from Haiyan is another easily implementable next step. International organizations have already recognized the need for stronger relationships with Philippine civil society and government, prior to disasters, and now must devote the personnel time and provide forums to make this happen. Local governments in the Philippines are receptive to longer-term partnerships, and international agencies can embed staff with technical expertise in these local governments for a designated period. This is a prime area for promoting skills transfer and capacity building in disaster risk reduction and management.

Finally, the National Disaster Response Plan is a key resource for the international community. International organizations can easily share the plan with their personnel, require knowledge of its contents for any staff being deployed to the Philippines, and use the document to guide coordination strategy with all levels of government.

Short-term strategies for joint action

Before Haiyan, the Philippine government and international community practiced synchronized planning. Interviewees noted this was the case, for example, in the Typhoon Bopha response. Returning to this joint planning model and subscribing to an overarching response strategy with the government taking the lead can be done without

significant policy shifts. The Philippine government and the Humanitarian Country Team must communicate more clearly to ensure that the international community's Strategic Response Plan aligns with the government's planning documents. This will be more challenging in large-scale events (particularly L3) and both parties should discuss the desired planning arrangement before a disaster occurs.

Also at this strategic level, both parties can strengthen the cluster co-lead system through joint strategy and planning in non-disaster settings. These arrangements have already been developed and should face little opposition, given the positive impressions of the co-lead relationships highlighted in the Haiyan response. The most challenging aspect of this is designating new counterparts in clusters that have had unclear or less productive co-lead relationships in the past, as well as delineating further the relationship between UN-OCHA and the Office of Civil Defense.

Some international organizations plan to have a longer-term presence in the Haiyan-affected areas, with the aim of strengthening disaster preparedness initiatives. Given that we met with several community-based organizations that are trying to get innovative, bottom-up initiatives off the ground, we believe there is an opportunity to fund more local disaster preparedness and response initiatives. The implementation challenge, however, is that international organizations often struggle to identify the active civil society groups, particularly in less densely populated areas. Our recommendation to conduct joint mapping of operational civil society organizations in disaster-prone areas would aid in this. This mapping could be a joint project of the Department of Social Welfare and Development and international organizations.

Recommendations for longer-term implementation:

The recommendations outlined above are those that can be implemented in the shorter-term, because they generally have the support of the implementers. However, we acknowledge that some of these recommendations face obstacles in the realms of politics, resources, and conceptual debate. Although these recommendations will be more challenging to realize, they are nonetheless important longer-term aims for enhancing disaster coordination in the Philippines.

Political dynamics

Political tensions among national, regional, provincial, and municipal governments are a persistent challenge for disaster coordination in the Philippines. With the devolution of power to the most local levels through the Philippine Local Government Code, governors and mayors have significant autonomy. Rivalries between the provincial and municipal levels can impede and distort information flows coming from the national government. Improving these information flows requires greater disaster professionalization of local disaster management offices at the sub-mayoral level. Ensuring that disaster management officers are more than political appointees is an important first step. Our recommendation

for a cross-government mutual aid surge system must be viewed in light of these tensions. Any mutual aid agreements would need to be designed to survive political turnover and should not be dependent on political alliances alone. The Department of the Interior and Local Government could oversee the establishment of a surge system, in coordination with the League of Provinces, Cities and Municipalities.

Resource constraints

There are clear funding obstacles for our recommendations concerning government personnel (which include agency staff with expertise in disaster management on the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council; municipal disaster management officers that are permanent, rather than politically-appointed, employees; and disaster management officers from the provincial level upwards with only disaster management tasks). However, for a country so vulnerable to natural disaster, a more professionalized disaster management response is needed and would be a worthwhile area for significant resource investment. Providing technical assistance to local governments to determine how much to allocate for their calamity fund, including some appropriations for personnel, could assist with this. Community members who participated in the Haiyan response are an experienced cohort who could be hired as support staff to local disaster management officers, but this will also require additional funds. Nonetheless, in the long-term, greater funding for local disaster management capacity will need to become a priority at the national level. The national government may consider subsidizing positions in less-resourced municipalities (according to the Philippines "class" of municipalities system). The national government could also roll this out first in the most disaster-prone municipalities.

Conceptual differences

Some of the recommendations in this report highlight ongoing discussions within the humanitarian community – in particular, how can humanitarian work, disaster recovery, and long-term development initiatives be better linked? When is the appropriate time for humanitarians to exit, and how do they know when they have reached that point? The humanitarian community must determine how much it wants to wade into recovery work – when does early recovery start and end – before it can develop a coordination framework for recovery, for example. There is interest on the part of some humanitarian agencies to link response, recovery, and development more strategically. Emphasizing information sharing and joint planning between surge personnel and longer-term development staff is one way to bolster this.

Mitigating labor market disturbances (particularly in the supply of construction labor) during response also requires longer-term analysis. Humanitarians, local civil society, and government are bought into the concept and the international community is striving to minimize harm in this area; however, a bigger picture economic analysis has not quite materialized in a concerted way. In the longer term, all parties should be discussing who

can best develop that big picture view of labor flows, as well as if and how response programs might impede self-help in the longer-term. This is an ongoing conversation that will be informed by future disaster programming innovations.

Significant efforts have already been invested in developing the L3 protocols, and further reform will require additional analysis and debate across disaster contexts. However, the Haiyan experience highlights some of the challenges of implementing an L3 response in coordination with a government that has strong disaster management capabilities. More conversations will be needed over the longer-term in the IASC on how system-wide responses can be adapted in a variety of contexts.

These conversations must continue to play out in the literature and in the field, and we hope that this case helps illustrate some of the dilemmas and opportunities in a rapidly developing country with relatively high disaster management capacity.

VII. CONCLUSION: THE FUTURE OF DISASTER RESPONSE IN THE PHILIPPINES AND AREAS OF FUTURE RESEARCH

The experience of both Philippine government and international organizations during the Haiyan response surfaced key issues regarding effective coordination. This report attempts to isolate some of these critical issues and present recommendations for addressing them. There are other areas that require further study, including: the implications of the Haiyan-specific recovery body (OPARR) and whether the same approach should be adopted in succeeding disasters; whether the national disaster management council model is appropriate for the Philippines or if the country context requires a more dedicated and professionalized disaster management agency; the effectiveness of the L3 parameters and options for calibration, based on governments' varying capacities; examining the coordinating role of the provincial government; and assessing the levels of government that are best for cluster co-lead arrangements. All are interesting issues that warrant further in-depth study.

But beyond these issues, it is important to note that initiatives have already been launched and changes have been instituted as a result of the Haiyan experience.

Learning Initiatives

While the scale of Typhoon Haiyan was unprecedented, the Philippines will continue to face some of the strongest storms on earth. It is crucial moving forward that lessons from the Haiyan experience are integrated into disaster risk reduction planning and coordination design. In our research, we found several examples of new efforts to consolidate learning from Haiyan. At the local level, actors from Tacloban attempted to assemble the "Haiyan Disaster Governance Initiative" to document lessons learned and recommend policy changes at the city level. In Manila, the Resiliency Lab, a think tank project of Civika ("a social venture developed by students of Harvard and MIT at MIT's D-Lab"[70]), advocated for the creation of a "Yolanda Guild." This Guild would gather mayors from the Haiyan response and document their perspectives about relief operations on the ground. Supporting these kinds of learning initiatives is an important next step.

Coordination Adaptations

At the institutional level, the Philippine government continues to adapt its disaster response structures to suit its distinctive needs, as embodied by the new National Disaster Response Plan (NDRP). The Humanitarian Country Team has held meetings with the national government to ensure future "meshing" of the two parallel systems that emerged in Haiyan, with the aim of building greater trust and partnership. UN-OCHA has worked with the Office of Civil Defense, as the secretariat of the national disaster management council, on preparedness measures and to support policy making under the new NDRP.

The national government sees this kind of adaptation as an important right and maintains that the international system must provide flexibility for countries to adapt the cluster system to suit their needs. Integration of this new model with the international system is still to be tested in a large scale way. It is possible that there will be tensions as the international system continues to determine how to best partner with a government that is making these kinds of modifications to response structures.

Asserting Leadership

The massive scale of the international Haiyan response both surprised the Philippine government and prompted careful reflection on its role in crisis leadership. On December 6, 2014, its leadership was once again required as Typhoon Hagupit (locally referred to as Typhoon Ruby) struck Region VIII and threatened much of the same area devastated by Typhoon Haiyan.

While the scale of this typhoon was nowhere near that of Haiyan, actors knowledgeable about the Haiyan response noted that there were distinct differences in how the Philippine government responded.

Building on its experiences from Haiyan, the government took an assertive role. It was prepared with public messaging and executed the largest pre-emptive evacuation in recent history – of an estimated 1 million people (227,000 families)[71] – which likely saved many lives. National agency staff had a commanding presence in the provincial capital of the affected area, and coordination among national government agencies was strong. They assessed the scope of the disaster and did not make a request for international assistance. National government agencies turned away international organizations that began streaming into the affected area and, after assessing the needs, determined that organizations that did not already have programming in the affected area would be more of a hindrance than a help. The Department of Social Welfare and Development took a firmer stance on the registration of international organizations and required that anyone working in the response must first be registered with them.

This is the kind of government leadership that many wanted to see in the Haiyan response, and it should have been celebrated as a sign of forward evolution in the Philippine government's disaster response development. Communities, carrying with them lessons from Haiyan and having learned the importance of preparedness, took pre-emptive evacuation seriously. National government staff worked effectively with provincial government to direct operations.

The legacy of Haiyan, however, also complicated how national-international decision-making unfolded in Hagupit. With so many international actors operating in that area of the Philippines since Haiyan, their inclination was to step in. UN-OCHA quietly prepositioned assistance in the event that the government requested it, although ultimately it was not needed. Smaller organizations, working outside the UN inter-agency

system, did not need the formal assistance declaration and wanted to move into the area and help. They found the government's resistance to outside assistance to be somewhat standoffish and wanted more clarity on the rationale behind the desired level of engagement. For them, help was already there wrapping up the Haiyan response, and should be maximized. As such, some observers saw international actors struggling to trust government capacity and release control after more than a year of intense work in the region. From the government's perspective, however, this was an opportunity to demonstrate their response capability.

While the Hagupit response was seen as successful by all sides, it raises an interesting question for ongoing exploration: if the international humanitarian community's aim is to support government leadership during disasters, to what extent does it leave determinations of government capacity up to the government itself? Typhoons Haiyan and Hagupit were extremely different; and while the government did possess the ability to respond effectively in Hagupit, there will likely (and unfortunately) be future disasters of much greater magnitude that will stretch government's abilities. Nonetheless, the Philippine government still wants to assess those abilities itself. This can be seen in the legacy of Haiyan, as the government is asserting itself in new ways after the L3 experience and is actively adapting international response structures to suit its own needs. The international community has also learned more about the Philippine disaster management environment and will be better prepared for cooperative engagements. Finding the right balance of intervention and support will be an ongoing determination, but the Haiyan experience will inform and affect any engagement approach moving forward.

APPENDIX A
List of Interviewed Organizations

	Organization	Date of Interview
1	Disaster Response Dialogue	October 30, 2014
2	IOM Philippines	January 7, 2015
3	Salcedo Municipal Government	January 7
4	Oxfam – Guiuan	January 7
5	People in Need	January 7
6	Guiuan Municipal Government	January 7
7	Eastern Samar Provincial Government	January 8
8	Department of the Interior and Local Government – Guiuan	January 8
9	Tacloban City Government	January 9
10	UN-OCHA Tacloban Office	January 9
11	Leyte Provincial Government	January 9
12	One Tacloban	January 10
13	Relief International Tacloban Office	January 12 and January 14
14	ACT (Action by Churches Together) Alliance / National Council of Churches in the Philippines	January 12
15	Basey Municipal Government	January 12
16	Communitere	January 12
17	Dulag Municipal Government	January 13
18	Palo Municipal Government	January 13
19	Guiuan Development Foundation & University of the Philippines Visayas Tacloban Campus	January 13
20	Plan International Tacloban Office	January 13
21	Catholic Relief Services Tacloban Office	January 14
22	World Health Organization Tacloban Office	January 14
23	Department of Social Welfare and Development Region VIII	January 14
24	All Hands	January 14
25	Save the Children Tacloban Office	January 14
26	Catholic Relief Services National Office	January 15
27	UN-OCHA National Office	January 15
28	UN Resident Coordinator's Office	January 15 and January 21
29	Plan International National Office	January 19
30	Resiliency Lab	January 19
31	Department of the Interior and Local Government	January 20
32	National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council	January 20
33	Department of Social Welfare and Development	January 21
34	Gawad Kalinga	January 21
35	Oxfam	January 21

APPENDIX B
Chronology of Major Events

1. November 2, 2013: A low pressure area (LPA) developed near Micronesia, to the east of the Philippines.[72]
2. November 4: The LPA intensified into a tropical storm and was assigned the international codename Haiyan.[73]
3. November 5 to 6: The tropical storm intensified further and was re-categorized as a super-typhoon and was forecast to make landfall in the Philippines.[74]
4. November 7: The super-typhoon entered the Philippine area of responsibility and preemptive evacuations were conducted.[75] A total of 125,604 people were preemptively evacuated to 109 evacuation centers spanning 22 provinces.[76]
5. November 8: Haiyan made landfall in Guiuan, Eastern Samar at 4:40 AM.[77] The landfall in Guiuan is the first of the six landfalls the super-typhoon made.[78]
6. November 9: Haiyan exited the Philippine area of responsibility by the afternoon.[79]
7. November 11: The President declared a State of National Calamity through Proclamation No. 682 (series of 2013). The declaration triggered the onset of relief and response phase of the humanitarian intervention, led by the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD).[80] Initially, the following seven taskforces were activated to oversee critical aspects of the response, instead of utilizing the usual response clusters.[81]
   a. Food and water distribution, led by DSWD;
   b. Debris clearing and cleaning, led by the Metro Manila Development Authority (MMDA);
   c. Cadaver collection, led by the Regional Bureau of Fire Protection (BFP);
   d. Logistics, led by the Armed Forces of the Philippines (AFP);
   e. Health, led by the Department of Health (DOH);
   f. Law and order, led by the Philippine National Police (PNP); and
   g. Normalization, led by the local government units.
8. November 12: The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) Principals declared "an IASC Level 3 (L3) system-wide humanitarian response" at the same time as the relevant United Nations (UN) agencies and other international and local non-government organizations activated the response clusters. Six coordination hubs were set-up in the following areas: Roxas City, Cebu City, Ormoc, Tacloban City, Borongan, and Guiuan.[82]
9. November 13 to 18: The government's provision of relief assistance was criticized for being slow by both international and local media, the humanitarian community, and the survivors.[83] The Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG) acknowledged and clarified that many of affected local governments were not able to respond as effectively, especially during the first few days, due to massive destruction.[84]
10. November 19: Distribution of relief goods began to pick up, with the milestone of being able to reach all 40 towns in Leyte, one of the most devastated provinces.[85]

11. End of November: The Multi-Cluster/Sector Initial Rapid Assessment (MIRA) from the international humanitarian community is completed.
12. December 6: The President appointed a Presidential Assistant for Rehabilitation and Recovery (PARR) through Memorandum Order No. 62. The PARR was tasked to "unify all efforts for the rehabilitation and recovery of areas devastated by the super typhoon."[86]
13. December 16: The National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) released the "Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda: Build Back Better" document, serving as the guide for the preparation of the recovery and rehabilitation plans in the affected areas.[87]
14. December 27: The Humanitarian Country Team (HCT) issued its Strategic Response Plan.[88] The Strategic Response Plan was followed by Periodic Monitoring Reports that covered the following periods: November 2013 to January 2014, February to April 2014, and the final one covering until August 2014.
15. April 28, 2014: The Office of Civil Defense (OCD) released its Post-Disaster Needs Assessment.[89]
16. July: The HCT decided to end the interventions under its Strategic Response Plan by August instead of November, as originally intended, in response "to the government's decision to end the relief phase and shift fully to rehabilitation and recovery."[90] This was decided in the 6th and final Inter-Cluster Coordination Meeting between the government of the Philippines and the HCT on July 4.[91]
17. August 1: OPARR submitted the Comprehensive Rehabilitation and Recovery Plan (CRRP) to the Office of the President for approval.[92]
18. September: NEDA released a follow-up to its "Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda: Build Back Better" document entitled "Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda: Implementation for Results," which focused on monitoring the implementation of identified reconstruction projects, plans, and activities.
19. October 28: The Office of the President approved the CRRP.[93]
20. December 6: Typhoon Hagupit made first landfall in Dolores, Eastern Samar.[94]
21. December 21: Secretary Panfilo Lacson of OPARR announced his resignation by February 2015, allowing time for OPARR to hand over its responsibilities to the NDRRMC.[95]

APPENDIX C
The Establishment of a Haiyan-specific Recovery Body

On December 6, 2013, the President of the Philippines created the ad hoc position of a Presidential Assistant for Rehabilitation and Recovery (PARR) through a Memorandum Order. The PARR and his office were tasked to "unify all efforts for the rehabilitation and recovery of areas devastated by"[96] Typhoon Haiyan in particular. OPARR organized its work according to five clusters: infrastructure (headed by the Department of Public Works and Highways), resettlement (headed by the Housing and Urban Development Coordinating Council), social services (headed by the Department of Social Welfare and Development), livelihood (headed by the Department of Trade and Industry), and support (headed by the National Economic Development Authority and the Department of Budget and Management).[97]

One of OPARR's main deliverables was coordinating preparation of a comprehensive rehabilitation plan, involving the concerned national government agencies and local governments. The Yolanda Comprehensive Rehabilitation and Recovery Plan (CRRP), approved by the Office of the President on October 28, 2014, presented the projects, programs, and activities that the government would pursue for the rehabilitation and recovery of Haiyan-affected areas.

As OPARR carried out its responsibilities, it created confusion on the ground and drew criticisms, including the following:
1. It did not have the requisite personnel, resources, and capacities to provide assistance to the local governments, especially in crafting the rehabilitation plans. While the OPARR sent some of its personnel to assist the local governments, support was limited.
2. The added value of introducing a new structure instead of using existing ones was not clear to government officials and international organizaitons alike. Per pre-existing law, the National Economic Development Authority should have been the lead for recovery.
3. OPARR eventually introduced its own *recovery* clusters to replace the *response* clusters. For some, this was counterproductive because it did not build on the momentum of operational response clusters. The clusters OPARR introduced were broader in scope and lumped some response clusters together. Additionally, the international organizations did not understand how to engage with the OPARR clusters and reported continuing to implement their own cluster meetings (although no longer called "clusters") after OPARR was officially in the lead.
4. Turnover of information from government agencies involved in response to OPARR was lacking. INGOs felt time was wasted in re-introducing themselves to OPARR and OPARR lacked information about the activities of international organizations.

One important role that OPARR did perform effectively was encouraging greater private sector participation in the rebuilding efforts. OPARR was instrumental in giving corporations clear assignments on areas where they can channel resources for rebuilding.

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HCTs and UN Country Teams co-exist in an emergency and are responsible for the complementarity of their work. HCTs are intended to operate in support of national efforts, with the affected State having the primary assistance role. (From the 2009 "Inter-Agency Standing Committee Guidance for Humanitarian Country Teams," retrieved from https://docs.unocha.org/sites/dms/ROWCA/Coordination/GuidanceHCT_IASC_Nov09.pdf).

[35] The Inter-Agency Standing Committee (IASC) is a decision-making forum whose aim is to improve humanitarian assistance through global, regional, and country level humanitarian decision-making, coordination, and policy development (from OCHA on Message, retrieved from http://www.humanitarianinfo.org/iasc/pageloader.aspx?page=content-about-default). Its membership is comprised of both UN-family agencies and non-UN humanitarian organizations. UN agencies are permanent members and others, including the World Bank, International Organization for Migration (IOM), International Committee of the Red Cross, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and NGO consortia, have standing invitations to participate. Led by UN-OCHA's Under-Secretary-General and Emergency Relief Coordinator (USG/ERC) at the global level, this forum monitors response gaps around the world and advocates for implementation of humanitarian principles.

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