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Social Capital and Resilience in Times of Disaster:

A Case of Leyte Province in the Philippines

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A Case of Leyte Province in the Philippines

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Abstract

Social capital and its elements such as trust, reciprocity, and collective action have always been linked to a community's resilience during and after natural disasters. Using a qualitative approach, I explore the role social capital played in the recovery of communities in the province of Leyte in the Philippines after Typhoon Haiyan in 2013. I also examine whether trust was a key element in the role social capital played. Through surveys and interviews, I explore the ways in which trust and perceptions of it could be the materialization of certain values and practices in local Filipino culture which contributed to the resilience of a community. Results show that residents of Leyte province often associate the elements of social capital with values and practices characteristic of Filipino culture such as *bayanihan*, *pakikisama*, *pakikipagkapwa*, *utang na loob*, etc. It was these that offered opportunities for strengthened resilience and community interdependence. Findings show that a combination of social capital and its elements such as trust, along with local knowledge and Filipino cultural norms and values contribute to a higher level of resilience.

Introduction

Events such as earthquakes, typhoons, floods, etc. that occur naturally are typically called natural hazards. However, these events become disasters when the lives of people and their livelihoods are affected. Because of climate change, the intensity and frequency of these events have changed and have significantly increased their negative effects on developing countries. This means that those that have been lagging in development have a much harder time to recover and these disasters could provide an additional burden. Even one large-scale disaster could affect the well-being of countries for years and some might not even recover fully.

Such is the case of the Philippines which is one of the most disaster-prone countries in the world. The United Nations' 2017 World Risk Index ranked the Philippines as the third most at risk of natural disasters among 171 countries. It estimates that about 74% of its population is vulnerable to natural hazards. Its location and archipelagic nature make it more susceptible to natural weather events that could lead to disasters. With more than 7,000 islands, its coastal areas bear the brunt of the twenty typhoons it experiences on average each year. It is estimated that typhoons cost the Philippines 0.5% of its gross domestic product (GDP) annually in direct damages. Continuous natural disasters make Filipinos, particularly those living in densely populated and more impoverished areas, more vulnerable.

In November 2013, Typhoon Haiyan (locally called Typhoon Yolanda), made landfall in the Eastern Visayas region of the Philippines. At that time, it was the "most powerful storm to make landfall in recorded history (Oxfam, 2014)." It reached the country at more than 300 kilometers per hour and created storm surges of up to five meters high. It

affected an estimated fourteen million people (14% of the Philippine population), displaced 4.1 million people, killed more than 6,300 people, and left 1,800 missing. The islands of Samar and Leyte, where some of the poorest provinces in the country are located, were considered to be the worst affected. The United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (UN-OCHA) estimated that Tacloban City in the province of Leyte, which is the capital and hub for transportation, commerce, and governance in the region, had majority of its infrastructure damaged.

Immediately after Haiyan, narratives frequently referenced the role of social capital, resilience, and trust in relation to the Philippines' post-disaster recovery. One example would be President Barack Obama's statement on November 2013 – "Michelle and I are deeply saddened by the loss of life and extensive damage done by Super Typhoon Yolanda. But I know the incredible resiliency of the Philippine people, and I am confident that the spirit of Bayanihan will see you through this tragedy."

Literature identifies the concept of social capital as important for the resilience and recovery of communities after disasters. This refers to the trust, social norms, and networks present in communities, high levels of which positively affect its activities for development. Coleman (1988) states that "social capital is defined by its function. It is not a single entity but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspects of social structures, and they facilitate certain actions of actors – whether persons or corporate actors – within the structure." These are the social connections within a community that contribute to collective action. While there are different ways in measuring social capital, one that is used often is the degree of societal trust. The rate of recovery of a community has been linked to increased levels of trust which

is believed to lead to better recovery and higher rates of resilience. The ability of a community to adapt relies on its members' connections to other people, with trust as an important component of those connections. It is assumed that communities with higher levels of social capital also have an increased level of trust which contributes to a higher level of resilience.

Social capital and trust play an important role in how well a community manages, adapts to, and recovers from disasters. There is much research regarding the relationship between natural disasters and social capital which support the idea that higher levels of trust, even perceptions of it, increase instances of cooperation and resilience. It is seen to be one of the elements of social capital that impact resilience and the recovery of communities the most. Continuous exposure to natural disasters if linked to a higher level of social cohesion, resilience, and trust among communities.

Though it is widely accepted that efforts should be geared towards disaster preparedness and mitigation in order to reduce its impact on people, past cases have shown that the Philippines mostly focuses its attention on disaster response and recovery. This is likely due to the lack of resources and the seeming disconnect among different provinces in the country. As such, Filipinos experience naturally occurring weather events such as Typhoon Haiyan as disasters rather than typical hazards whose effects could have been mitigated. Because of the regular occurrence of these disasters, Filipinos have become so used to responding with resilience. This is assumed to be the result of improved relationship and strong trust within members of an affected community. Trust improves their ability to cope when a disaster like Typhoon Haiyan happens. For example, because of either lack of resources or lack of support from the national government, communities often have to rely

on each other and trust that its members would be able to give the support it needs to be more resilient.

Literature on the Typhoon Haiyan experience particularly focus on Filipinos' resilience due to a strengthened level of social interaction and trust during times of disaster (Veuthey, 2015). Bartolucci & Magni (2017) state that "survivors' behavior in the aftermath of a disaster is mostly characterized by solidarity and collaboration within groups (pre-existing and emergent) instead of anti-social behavior and self-preservation."

Local knowledge, practices, and values common in Filipino culture are seldom mentioned as contributing factors in their resilience. There is a widespread view that the people of Leyte decided to work together as a result of a higher level of trust which was the main reason for the community's ability to cope. It is used to explain the difference in relationships among community members which contributed to the recovery effort. While it is important to note that a certain level of trust in these types of situations do contribute to resilience, it is also necessary to examine other ways to explain this occurrence. While acknowledging that social capital and trust do positively impact resilience, this thesis explores whether Filipino cultural traits independent of trust contributed to the resilience of communities during and after Typhoon Haiyan.

Resilience is often talked about as a noble trait in communities that experience natural disasters. Those who provide aid are often based in more developed countries where these are seen as out of the ordinary and something that should be lauded. However, it is also important to note that these disasters occur often in countries like the Philippines. For most people, these are "frequent life experiences" that are accepted as a regular part of their

lives (Bankoff, 2003). It has become such a frequent occurrence that resilience becomes a natural response rather than a commendable one.

This research aims to understand the role social capital played in the recovery of communities in Leyte province after Typhoon Haiyan. Was it a key factor in the disaster recovery experience? Was trust a constitutive element in the role social capital played? It is my hypothesis that social capital and its element of trust do play a significant role, however, these are supported by local knowledge and certain cultural practices and values characteristic of Filipino culture as well.

I examine these questions in the province of Leyte in the Eastern Visayas region of the Philippines, an area that experienced high levels of damage during Typhoon Haiyan. I found that there are certain aspects of Filipino culture that complemented the presence of trust and strengthened the level of social capital after the disaster. A combination of these was what contributed the most to resilience and helped residents of Leyte to cope. Any sort of interdependence or collective action that emerged from the disaster was not solely a result of increased levels of trust but also an innate urge for Filipinos to embody a certain set of traits and values which will be explored further in this thesis.

Trust was often equated immediately as the main contributor to people's resilience but this thesis aims to dig deeper into what else positively affected a community's level of resilience. While trust is an important factor in creating social cohesion, which in turn promotes a higher level of resilience in communities, it is also important to note that it is not the only one. This research touches on how residents of Leyte perceived trust and how it actually became a representation of their own social values.

The goal of this thesis is to explore the experiences of Filipinos during Typhoon Haiyan and during the recovery process afterwards. The first section will provide a brief overview of social capital literature and its relevance in the Philippines. This will also include key terms and concepts that relate to the thesis. The second section will explain why Leyte was chosen as the place of study and show the methods used in gathering data. This will include data from surveys and interviews of residents from one city and two municipalities in Leyte: Tacloban, Palo, and Tolosa. The third section will analyze the data on the experiences of people and their perspectives on trust in their community and study how this contributed to resilience. As a conclusion, I will show how resilience would be incomplete without considering local realities and cultural practices and values that influence a community's response to disasters.

Literature Review

Natural disasters

The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) (2015) defines disasters as uncontrollable, random, and unavoidable events that affect a society and cause destruction. Natural disasters are naturally occurring events or hazards, such as typhoons, earthquakes, tsunamis, etc. whose aftermaths cause a devastating level of destruction. This term is seen as an oxymoron because disasters are not actually natural; the hazards which cause destruction are the ones that ultimately lead to disasters (2013). Natural hazards are “a dangerous phenomenon, substance, human activity or condition that may cause loss of life, injury or other health impacts, property damage, loss of livelihoods and services, social

and economic disruption, or environmental damage” (2009). There are several factors that contribute to the formation of disasters such as social inequalities, geography, and the political and economic situations of places (Gaillard, et al., 2007). These make the people of the community more vulnerable which increases risk that can lead to the formation of disasters. In this context, a hazard can only turn into a disaster if a naturally occurring event extremely impacts a vulnerable population. Disasters are a result of the degree of destruction of the hazard and on the level of vulnerability and distress it has caused on affected communities (GTZ, 2004). This study would use the definition of natural disasters as “a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society involving widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses and impacts, which exceeds the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources” provided by the UNISDR (2009).

Social Capital

Recovery efforts after natural disasters typically focus on damages to physical infrastructure and less on “social infrastructure” or the connections among community members and the social resources that emerge from them that might impact the capacity of their community to rebuild.

Social capital refers to the relationships and norms that determine the quality and quantity of interactions within society. Its main premise is that the relationships people have with each other and with their community have value. Evidence suggests that social resources (not just physical, financial, or infrastructure) are more vital to successful rebuilding and that communities with high levels of social capital recover more quickly than communities with low levels of it (Aldrich, 2008). While it’s true that affected

communities with greater financial resources will recover quickly (Dacy & Kunreuther, 1969), these resources are finite. Thus, it is beneficial to be able to leverage some other factors such as social capital and its components such as relationships, trust, and collective action in disaster recovery. The amount of aid received by a community does not necessarily mean a better outcome in the recovery experience. This is supported by the idea that communities with a higher level of interaction and cohesion are better able to deal with adversity which then gives them the ability to recover more quickly from disasters (Nakagawa & Shaw, 2004).

Social capital is a term used to explain the value of resources found in social networks that can contribute to fostering collective action. Coleman (1990) defines social capital by its functions as an aspect of social structure and as a facilitator of action of individuals who are within that structure. It is a combination of obligations, expectations, trust, and information flows. He identifies three forms of social capital: reciprocity (including trust), information channels and flow of information, and norms enforced by sanction. As it is fundamentally social, it is developed through the combined actions of community members. According to Coleman, social capital is a public good as it exists in the relations among people. These relations disappear if they are not maintained, reciprocity declines over time, and norms depend on regular communications (1990). This implies that a community's investment in its relationships strengthens and reinforces social capital while the inverse can lead to its decline.

Robert Putnam (1993) defines social capital as: “features of social organization, such as trust, norms, and networks that can improve the efficiency of society by facilitating coordinated actions.” It refers to connections among individuals – social networks and the

norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them (Putnam, 2000). For him, social networks have value and social contacts affect the productivity of individuals and groups. Social capital is closely related to “civic virtue” and the number of civic associations and degree of participation in those associations indicate the richness of social capital in a society. In that sense, he views social capital as closely related to civic engagement, participation in voluntary organizations, and social connections, which fosters norms of reciprocity and trust. Because of its collective nature, it cannot be transformed into a private good. He believes that stocks of social capital (i.e. trust, norms, and networks) accumulate in use and diminish if they are not used (2000).

Robinson et al. (2002) define social capital as: “a person’s or group’s sympathy toward another person or group that may produce a potential benefit, advantage, and preferential treatment for another person or group of persons beyond that expected in an exchange relationship.” They argue that this definition separates “what it is” (sympathy) from “what it does” (potential benefits) and focus on the transformative capacity of social capital embodied in human relationships.

The Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (2001) defined it as “networks together with shared norms, values, and understandings that facilitate cooperation within or among groups” whereas the World Bank (2007) takes a broader view and defines social capital as: “the institutions, relationships, and norms that shape the quality and quantity of a society’s social interactions. Social capital is not just the sum of the institutions which underpin a society—it is the glue that holds them together.”

Social capital can be classified into different groups: structural and cognitive social capital; bonding, bridging, and linking social capital; strong and weak ties; horizontal and

vertical ties, etc. Structural social capital is related to the pattern of social networks such as associations, groups, and institutions supplemented by the rules, procedures, and precedents that govern them. Uphoff (2000) defines it as “roles, rules, precedents and procedures as well as a wide variety of networks that contribute to cooperation, and specifically, to mutually beneficial collective action.” Cognitive social capital consists primarily of a set of shared norms, values, attitudes, and beliefs of individuals relating to trust, reciprocity, and cooperation (Uphoff & Wijayaratna, 2000). Uphoff (2000) further defines cognitive social capital as “mental processes and resulting ideas, reinforced by culture and ideology, specifically norms, values, attitudes, and beliefs that contribute to cooperative behavior and mutually beneficial collective action.” The structural and cognitive forms of social capital are seen to be often interconnected and reinforcing (Paxton, 2002; Van Oorschot et al., 2006).

Social capital can also be categorized as either bonding, bridging, or linking. Bonding social capital refers to horizontal associations or ties among people with somewhat homogenous characteristics such as family members, friends, and people within their immediate circle. These people often share similar characteristics such as ethnicity, class, religion, etc. (Putnam, 2000; Woolcock, 2001). This type of solidarity creates strong ties but tends to exclude people whom they consider different and outside their social circle. Bridging social capital refers to weaker connections among people such as neighbors, workmates, and other community members. Oftentimes, people in bridging networks differ on key personal characteristics. It is more outward-looking as opposed to bonding social capital. However, it narrows the gap between different communities, and is believed to be crucial in organizing solidarity and pursuing common goals (Van Oorschot et al., 2006). It

is vital for solving community problems through helping people to know each other, building relationships, sharing information, and mobilizing community resources. It is an integral part of social capital because it fosters social inclusion. It enables a community to bring together different groups and get them to cooperate with and trust each other in times of disaster when they normally wouldn't.

Communities with higher levels of social capital are viewed as better equipped to deal with adversity and overcome obstacles than those with lower levels of social capital but with better infrastructures and more financial resources. The connections within a community can lead to improved outcomes and better use of resources (Aldrich, 2008). Nakagawa and Shaw (2004) summarized the importance of understanding social capital in the context of disaster situations: "Social capital, in general, refers to the trust, social norms, and networks which affect social and economic activities. Although it is not a new idea that trust and networks help reduce transaction costs and make things easier, the recent argument concerning trust is quite sensational. Supporters of this new concept believe that the level of trust, social norms and networks can be measured and a high accumulation of such capital contributes significantly to social, political and even economic performance."

In examining how social capital can be leveraged, Aldrich (2012) presented three ways in which it can shape potential outcomes in the disaster-recovery process: (1) it serves to provide informal insurance and promotes mutual assistance after disasters; (2) it helps communities solve problems by enhancing the effectiveness of collective action; (3) it strengthens the voice of the community and helps maintain healthy population levels. Community members are often the first responders in disaster situations. They are a critical component in the sharing of resources and information that are necessary for some people's

survival. The communities that took ownership of the rebuilding efforts and sought to obtain resources from their own social networks struggled less and recovered more quickly (2012). Having a collective voice and a common purpose aids in the recovery process because cohesive communities are often more resilient and have the capacity to overcome adversity and challenges effectively.

While different forms of capital such as physical capital and human capital are tangible and easy to measure, social capital is something that is embedded in human social relations which makes it very difficult to measure (Dynes, 2005). One way to overcome this is to link it directly to the interpretations of the concept itself. Doing so shows that social capital is (1) a multidimensional concept comprising social networks, norms of trust, norms of reciprocity; (2) a resource for action; (3) should be distinguished from its perceived outcomes (Stone, 2001).

Communities can provide a different perspective and have access to networks and resources that otherwise may not be available to outsiders. Even though they may do a great deal in the recovery efforts, the most effective contributions still come from the enhanced trust and relationships that are developed during these times (Aldrich, 2012). Communities with higher social capital and levels of interaction have an advantage of providing more opportunities to build and sustain relationships among its members. Several studies have considered the importance of social capital during disasters and believe that social capital is the basis of community response. When physical infrastructure, technology, and information channels fail during disasters, social capital is the only resource that remains intact (Dynes, 2005). Ranada (2014) states that in situations where speed, coordination, efficiency and cohesion spell the difference between life and

death, “social capital is a lifeline.” However, this isn’t to say that the government does not play a key role in disaster recovery. When communities are slow to recover after a disaster, the government’s responsibility is to facilitate community members to effectively access both bonding and bridging social capital and leverage their shared knowledge and perspectives (Grube & Storr, 2014).

Trust

Defining social capital in terms of trust was brought about by Francis Fukuyama in 1995. He defines it as the existence of a certain set of informal values or norms shared among members of a group that permit cooperation among them. Interpersonal trust is important for social relationships to thrive and its mutual nature improves cooperation among individuals and reduces cost. One of his most significant contributions to the theory of social capital is that he provided a means to measure it: the proportion of people who think that “most people can be trusted.” According to him, mutual trust, which he calls “spontaneous sociability,” gives members of a community a “prior moral consensus” that makes extensive regulation of their social relations unnecessary.

This view supports an important feature of all relations built on trust: it is reciprocal and usually self-reinforcing in nature (Jung et al., 2013; Dussailant & Guzman, 2014). “Trust tends to evoke trust, distrust to evoke distrust” (Schuller et al., 2000). As with conventional forms of capital (i.e. physical, financial, human), those who have social capital tend to accumulate more – it is a “resource supply which increases rather than decreases through use and which (unlike physical capital) becomes depleted if not used” (Putnam, 1993).

Trust is an important element of social capital that contributes to a community's resilience and ability to recover after disasters (Morrone, Tontoranelli, & Ranuzzi, 2009). Cassar, Healy, and von Kessler (2011) provide different conditions in which the level of trust within a community increases after natural disasters. These include people having more kinship with each other because of the view that working together is necessary to recover from the damages their community experienced, having more solidarity with each other, realizing that disasters are inevitable and the support they show each other is necessary in recovery, and the equalizing effect of disasters.

Fukuyama (1995) states that it is the "expectation that arises within a community of regular, honest, and cooperative behavior, based on commonly shared norms, on the part of other members of the community." This mutual expectation decreases instances of conflict among community members and promotes a sense of goodwill. He argues that communities that exhibit trust beyond their immediate circle have better chances of development than those who don't.

Trust is seen to be multidimensional and dynamic (Morrone et al., 2009). A community's trust of non-community members (such as aid providers, volunteers, etc.) may increase after disasters but trust among their own members may not necessarily do so (Cassar et al., 2011).

Resilience

Regardless of how social capital is conceptualized in terms of resilience, it is evident that trust is a key element. It is based on the expectation that people will act in ways that take into account the interest of others. There is some debate as to whether trust is a consequence or an indicator of social capital itself. There is some truth to both – trust can

be a consequence, but at the same time, it is also an investment in relationships and is a vital resource which contributes to the resilience of people in times of disaster.

Communities which are “a group of people in a shared geographical space, with diverse characteristics and priorities, linked by social ties, interactions shaping local life, shared identity, collective action and providing a means for accessing external resources (Murphy, 2007)” and its resilience are linked to their ability to interact with different factors that contribute to recovery. Adger (2000) defines community resilience as the ability to withstand external shocks to their social infrastructure and views it necessary to invest in the social infrastructure of communities to improve their resilience to disasters.

Social Capital and Trust in the Philippines

Trust is one of the most important components of social capital and it is vital in the management of disasters; however, the Philippines is considered to be a society of limited social trust (Porio, 2014). According to a 2008 World Values Survey, only 10% of Filipinos believe they can trust other people in their community. This is especially interesting when compared to countries of similar characteristics with a higher level of trust within their own society.

While Filipinos are rich in bonding social capital, they tend to have limited bridging social capital (Abad, 2008). In the Philippines, research shows that while there are strong relationships among family and friends, connections with people from the same community who are quite different (in terms of class, religion, etc.) are virtually non-existent. This is especially true for poorer populations which majority of communities affected by Typhoon Haiyan are. Trust among members of a community is important before, during, and after

disasters because oftentimes, they have no choice but to turn to each other to meet immediate needs that authorities are usually unable to readily provide. Resources that are intended to provide aid are limited and the informal sources of support that people get from their connections within the community usually bear the responsibility of recovery in the short-term.

Methodology

This research employed a qualitative approach through surveys and semi-structured interviews. These were conducted in July-August 2018 and residents of the province of Leyte who experience Typhoon Haiyan firsthand were asked to participate. There were some limitations in time so participants were recruited based on their availability and willingness to participate. There was a mixed method of people completing the survey questionnaire on their own along with some conversations that were not considered as part of the semi-structured interview portion of this study. By conducting these surveys, I was able to identify common trends in how people viewed social capital, trust, and their effect within their communities. Interviews included questions on their own personal experiences and their views on their community's resilience. These were asked to provide information on how the recovery of people in Leyte has progressed over the last five years. Participants were given the choice of participating in both the survey and interview or simply just the survey.

Study Site

This research took place from late July to August 2018 and was conducted in the province of Leyte in the Philippines. It drew input from residents in one city and two municipalities in Leyte: Tacloban, Palo, and Tolosa. Leyte is the largest province in the administrative region of Eastern Visayas located in the central-eastern part of the Philippines. It is a coastal province with a land area of 6,313 square kilometers. It is made up of 2 cities, 40 municipalities, and 1,503 barangays. Its population is 1.7 million who speak English, Tagalog, Waray, and Cebuano.

The main sources of livelihood in Leyte are agriculture (rice and coconut) and fishing. Rice is farmed in the lowland plains areas specifically those around Tacloban, while coconut farming, is the main crop in upland and mountainous areas. Fishing is also a major source of livelihood among residents in coastal areas.

This province was chosen because it was considered to be the most devastated area and became the center of relief efforts in the aftermath of Typhoon Haiyan. Narratives on resilience and the role of social capital also often referenced Leyte more than any other province that was also affected. I chose one city and two municipalities located along the coastline of the same province that suffered a similar degree of damage from Haiyan and received similar amounts of aid.



Figure 2: Location map of Leyte in the Philippines

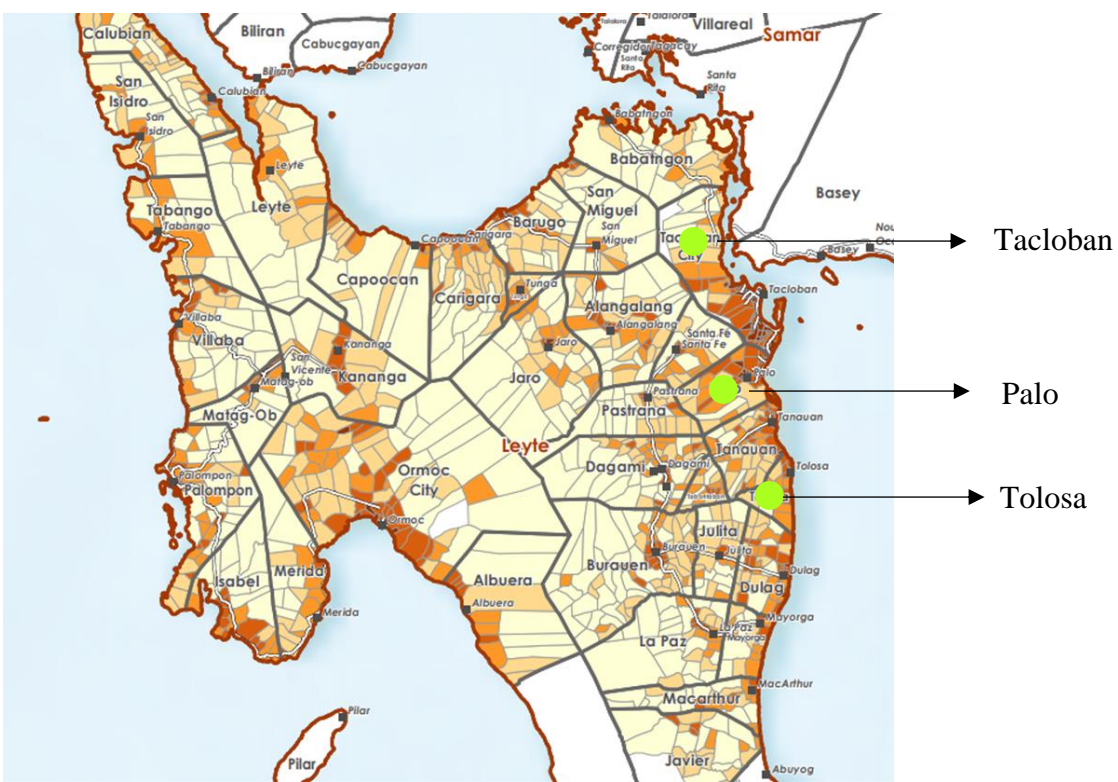


Figure 3: Map of Leyte that shows Tacloban, Palo, and Tolosa

Methods

Data collection was done in the province of Leyte in the Philippines five years after Typhoon Haiyan struck the region. Primary data was collected through semi-structured interviews and questionnaire surveys. Three coastal municipalities were selected: the city of Tacloban and the towns of Palo and Tolosa. These were selected for the following reasons:

1. They have similar geographic features (coastal) and had experienced similar levels of destruction which were relatively higher when compared to other provinces in the region.
2. These were communities within a larger area that had been studied extensively before, particularly Tacloban. Because it was one of the most documented during the disaster, more information is readily available in these areas

Prior to conducting the surveys and interviews with residents of Leyte, I interviewed key informants who were familiar with the recovery of Leyte after Haiyan. These included local government officials and representatives of non-government organizations. These discussions were very useful in helping to identify possible participants for the survey and actual interviews. Random sampling was used because there was no available official data for those who were confirmed to be present during Haiyan in 2013. Data from the interviews and surveys were used to determine whether or not social capital played a significant role in their community's recovery. These included questions about their post-disaster experiences including interactions with members of their community, personal perceptions of trust, etc.

Survey

Several factors determined the selection of participants for this study. First, participants were required to be 18+ years old, Filipino, and were present in Leyte in 2013 during Typhoon Haiyan. They were chosen at random for their availability and willingness to participate without compensation. In some circumstances, people who belonged in the same household were interviewed to see if they would have different perceptions on what they had experienced. But a strong effort was made to include a wide variety of individuals of different social classes, age, sex, etc.

I conducted surveys among 120 residents of Tacloban, Palo, and Tolosa, Leyte. The content of the questionnaire was based on the *World Bank Working Paper No. 18, Measuring Social Capital*. These included twenty questions on their experiences during Haiyan and their perceptions on trust and some demographic information. Questions included their perceptions of trust within their community, their views on instances of collective action, and whether certain differences affected the way they interacted with each other.

The questionnaires were administered in English with an option for a Tagalog version. Each participant was provided with basic information on what the study is about and asked for verbal consent prior to participating. They were also informed that participation is voluntary and that there would not be any penalty for deciding not to proceed or finish the survey. I did not collect any identifying data from the participants.

Table: Profile of Participants

		Tacloban	Palo	Tolosa	Total
Sex	Male	17	19	16	53
	Female	23	21	24	67
Age	18-19	1	1	1	3
	20-29	6	16	15	37
	30-39	16	10	13	39
	40-49	11	6	4	21
	50-59	5	5	5	15
	60+	1	2	2	5

Semi-structured interviews

I conducted semi-structured interviews guided by six questions to gather qualitative data about the experiences of residents in Leyte during and after Typhoon Haiyan. These were done in conjunction with the surveys. Eighteen interviews were conducted in a mix of Tagalog and English. Participants were given the choice of participating in both the survey and short interview or simply just the survey. These interviews were done after willing participants had already answered the survey.

Key informant interviews

I interviewed thirteen people involved in the Haiyan response in Tacloban City, Palo, and Tolosa, Leyte. Interviewees included those from the City Government of Tacloban; Municipal Government of Palo; Municipal Government of Tolosa; National

Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council, Leyte Center for Development, Inc.; Tzu Chi Foundation; People Surge, and the An Waray Party List.

These interviews were conducted in a mix of English and Tagalog which are the official languages of the Philippines. They were conducted in the respective offices of the participants and averaged about an hour per interview. Participants were asked if they would like to have their names and positions included in the study and were given an option to refuse. If these were asked to be withheld, only the name of their organization was used in this study.

Findings

Trust and Accountability

Among those surveyed, majority cited the national government as the people they least trusted during Typhoon Haiyan.

“We really can’t expect the local government employees to help cause everybody was a victim. They were victims too, just like us. The national government should have taken charge and be in command. They were so slow, until now it’s still international NGOs and it’s been five years.” (female, 48)

“We knew we couldn’t rely on the government to help us. One unique thing the Mayor did was to assign one person to do nothing except make proposals for all our needs for rehabilitation. So whenever an NGO or some government unit comes and asks us what we need, we already have a ready

proposal on hand. We're not given a lot of lead time so if someone asks, right then and there we would be the first priority. We can't sit around waiting if or when someone offers to help." (female, 29)

"It's something others can copy from Palo. Always be ready with documents and proposals for following up requests for help to NGOs and the government. That's the Philippines for you. Even if people are already dying, they still need paperwork to prove why you need help." (female, 33)

Ranking which set of people they trusted from most trusted to least trusted showed that participants had a higher level of trust for people who lived in the same community and for its local government officials while they trusted those from the national government the least. 74% of the participants trust local government officials to a very great extent compared to only 3% saying that they trust the national government at all.

How much do you trust the people in the following categories in their ability and willingness to help after disasters?

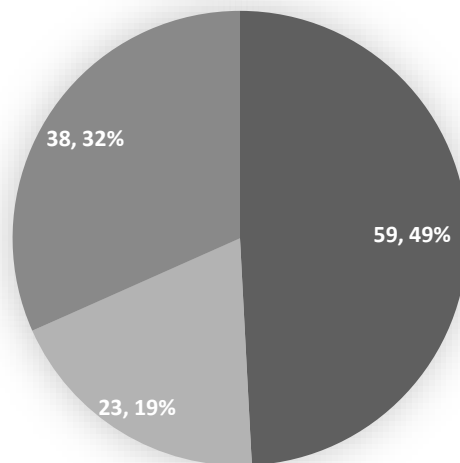
	People who live in the same barangay	People from Leyte	People from other provinces	Local government officials	National government officials	Outside help/ strangers (NGOs, volunteers)
To a very great extent	12	32	12	89	0	34
To a great extent	72	67	64	29	4	78
Neither small nor great extent	36	19	42	2	32	6
To a small extent	0	1	2	0	49	1
To a very small extent	0	1	0	0	35	1

Interdependence ≠ Trust

Based on the survey, 100% of the 120 respondents say that they and other people were willing and able to help during and after Haiyan. When asked whether or not they agree that most people are willing to help if one asks for it, 95% agree and 82.5% agree when asked if people were willing to provide help when one needs it. Responses to questions on whether trust was formed during and after Typhoon Haiyan show that it did but it was not sustained. Only 32% of the 120 participants say that the level of trust within the community has gotten better in the five years since Haiyan, 19% actually say that it has gotten worse, while 49% say that nothing has changed since the disaster. It is also worth noting that a quarter of respondents say that people can't be too careful in dealing with other people.

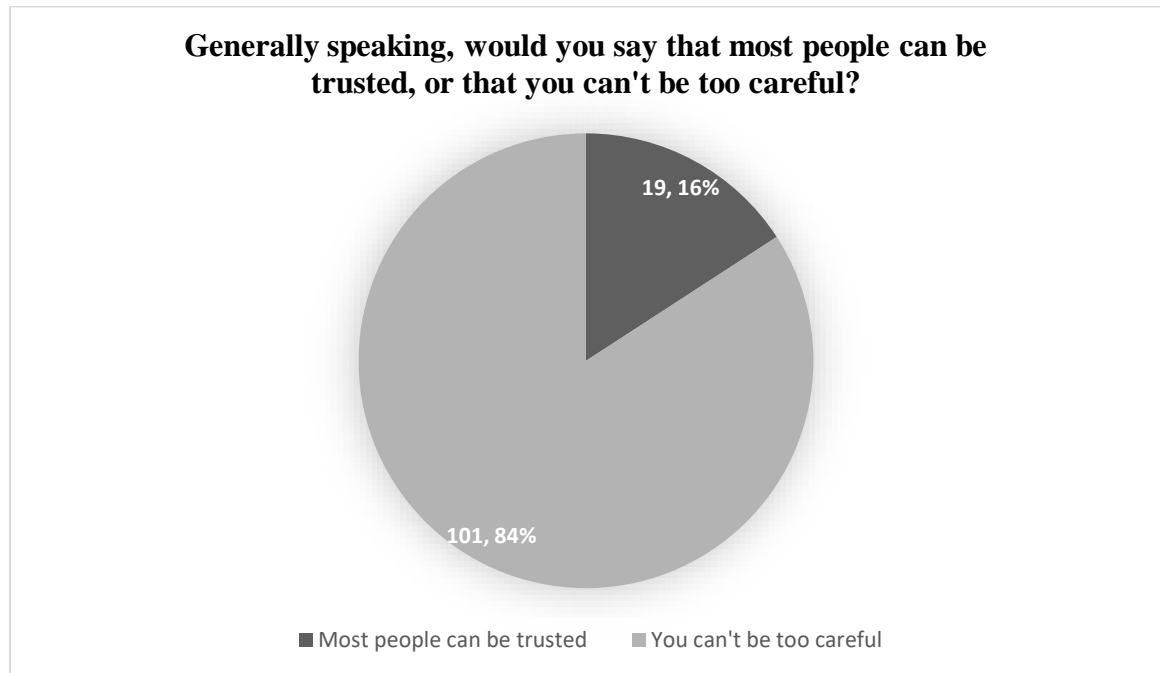
	Agree strongly	Agree somewhat	Neither agree nor disagree	Disagree somewhat	Disagree strongly
Most people are willing to help if you need it	61	38	21	0	0
Most people are willing to help if you ask for it	89	25	6	0	0

Perception of the level of trust within the community five years after Typhoon Haiyan



■ Gotten better ■ Gotten worse ■ Stayed about the same

At the same time, 101 out of 120 respondents say that you can't be too careful in dealing with other people while only 19 say that people can be trusted.



In addition, the interactions among people who were experiencing the disaster do not necessarily show a positive representation of trust.

“There was this one neighbor, for some reason, he had access to water. He probably had a pump or a well or something. Almost everyone I knew came up to him asking for some and he said no. You know what, these old guys from our neighborhood, I didn't know who they were; old guys, my age. Because apparently in times like this, you become close to people, you know, you have some kind of bond even if you don't know each other. They cut the hose of that neighbor so

everyone can just come and get his water. That was kind of like a revenge thing for these guys. I mean, it was so petty but hey, at least we all got water.” (male, 61)

Even if there was reciprocity among members of the community, it was not necessarily voluntary or without expectations.

“Poulties and piggeries had no choice but to donate what they have because they have no feeds to give to their livestock. I think they believed in karma. They’d rather give them away than have them die because of starvation... That’s funny isn’t it? It was a choice between their fellow men and animals. As if the choice was difficult.” (female, 57)

The collective action shown by people in sharing information or promoting solidarity was not always based on trusting each other. For example, one respondent shares an experience wherein he felt a sense of camaraderie with the people around him but it was for something negative that he was doing. He states that he felt a strong connection with people who were going through the same thing as him but did not necessarily feel a sense of trust.

“Yes, I admit there was looting. I felt bad because I knew that I was stealing. So we were going to these places trying to get what we can but deep down you know everyone was thinking the same thing. You can just feel it. But someone I didn’t know but was raiding the same place as me said to everyone there that we were doing this to survive. We were in the grocery of Robinsons mall getting as

much as we could, de lata (canned goods), anything easy to cook over a fire because we didn't have a stove. There was no electricity, no food, no water. It was so bad that we went to the plant of San Miguel for beer because there was no water. The nearest one was 20 kilometers away. That's how desperate we were. But there were these people that I'm sure you saw on TV. They were taking TVs, laptops, refs, everything. That's just stealing. Where are you gonna put it?" (male, 61)

Representations of Trust

Throughout conversations and interviews with various people, it became apparent that there were certain aspects in Filipino culture that were often brought up in discussions. It was common for people to mention certain values in their culture which they claim to have experienced even in the midst of the disaster.

"I was talking to someone, this was right after Yolanda happened. I told her that I cannot cry while I am out in the field but she told me that it was an important part of grieving. It's a way to relieve stress. She told me to think of something positive that happened out of all this negativity. So I said to her, I think it's nice to know that I am not going through this alone. I don't think I can handle it by myself. And you know what, at least people here help each other. I cannot imagine if it all becomes chaos and free for all." (female, 48)

"Have you heard of *"pintakasi"*? That's the Waray word for *bayanihan*. You can see it everywhere then. When bodies were lined up on the road and were being readied for the mass grave, people came and helped even if it smelled so bad,

they didn't know who the dead people were, and what they were doing. When someone asked them to help, they helped.” (male, 52)

Analysis/Discussion

The effects of Typhoon Haiyan were felt all over the eastern part of the Philippines but Leyte was one of the provinces that bore the brunt of the devastation it brought. This disaster became a shared experience for residents in the community which served as some form of equalizer. And as studies show, there is a higher level of trust with people who are on the same social level (i.e. bonding and bridging capital).

Interdependence and reciprocity do not automatically equate to trust but in the disaster context, the shared experience of the disaster led people (non-family connections) to collectively see themselves as a single unit. The people who experienced the typhoon stopped being individual victims who just happened to live in Leyte and turned into the “people of Leyte” who were victims of Typhoon Haiyan. Members of the community treated each other as an extension of their personal networks whom they shared the disaster experience with. This, however, contradicts some of the residents' notion of self-reliance. Cooperation in the community was at its best immediately after the disaster but it was only temporary. Eventually, people went back to their own personal networks and the depth of relationships formed during the disaster slowly diminished.

When asked whether the level of trust in the community improved after the disaster, half of the respondents answered positively. However, when asked whether they believe that most people in their community can be trusted, many of the same people said not

really. It is true that there was improved cooperation and a sense of collectivism but these were not actually representations of trust among community members. The activities that showed reciprocity which some perceived to be a result of a heightened level of trust among members could be viewed as representations of something else entirely.

People also made a connection between trust and accountability. The national government was deemed most untrustworthy because they were viewed as responsible for people's well-being and that they somehow failed to protect or help them. Trust was connected to the provision of resources such as aid, shelter, etc. that most viewed the government was unable to provide. People trusted those whoever it was that could provide them relief. The perception of accountability and responsibility affected their judgment regarding trust. Residents of Leyte viewed outsiders as more trustworthy than the national government who is supposed to be the one people turn to during times of disaster. These were mostly emergency workers for aid agencies and foreigners who were seen as neutral and altruistic third parties. They trusted whoever extended them help. Trusting someone became a result of being "saved" from their situation rather than a result of improved relations or a shared experience.

One of the key findings in this research is the materialization of traditional Filipino values during natural disasters. Throughout my interviews with respondents and just simple conversations with people from Leyte, the word *bayanihan* kept being brought up. *Bayanihan* is a concept that refers to cooperation people exhibit in times of need. It soon became evident that what appeared to be trust among community members could actually be people living out values ingrained in Filipino culture and society that just became more evident during the disaster. Values such as *bayanihan* (community spirit), *malasakit*

(compassion), *pakikisama* (avoidance of open disagreement or conflict), *pakikipagkapwa* (togetherness), and *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude) were actually representations of some elements of social capital (i.e. trust, reciprocity, collective action) in the Filipino context.

It is worth noting that Filipino values are seen as coping mechanisms in what Bankoff (2003) refers to as cultures of disaster. These coping mechanisms are “strategies adopted by communities to reduce the impact of hazard or avoid the occurrence of disasters... and are based on the assumption that what has happened in the past is likely to repeat itself following a familiar pattern (2003). Because resources are so limited and the delivery of services so difficult, Filipino communities often have to rely on one another to get through disasters.

Conclusion

It is often assumed that people tend to become more individualistic during times of disaster and that the human nature of putting oneself before others is the automatic response. However, research has shown that people actually become more social and that people tend to come together during these times.

The findings from this study support the argument that social capital and trust, supported by local culture, are important contributors to a community’s resilience. Even though the Philippines has a rich tradition of cultivating relationships and community associations, this does not necessarily mean that these associations automatically equate to a higher and sustained level of trust among community members. The unspoken

commitment to improving the lot of one another during times of disaster can also be attributed to values characteristic of Filipino culture.

It also became evident that resilience means having the ability to adjust to certain situations and be flexible enough to work them into our everyday lives. Especially for the people of the Philippines who are so used to recurring disasters with limited resources, communities seldom rely on extraordinary measures but rather rely on each other and their own personal experiences.

With this research, I tried to explore the ways in which social capital, particularly trust, contributed to a community's resilience during natural disasters. The aim of this thesis was to investigate how social capital contributed to a community's resilience. Even though Filipinos are unable to totally eradicate the devastating effects of disasters, why are narratives about their resilience so prevalent in disaster literature? Because of the complexity and broadness of the issue, I decided to focus my study on one element of social capital which is trust. Trust and the values identified are seen as both resources and outcomes in the disaster experience. Putnam et al. (1993) argue that social capital can be inherited through generations if the engagement of people persists but trust does not necessarily do so and this is one of the things that was meant to be addressed in this study.

The main hypothesis then of this thesis is that while some level of trust is formed, it is the values ingrained in Filipino society that are actually established and sustained during and after natural disasters. While trust plays a role in the interdependence of communities, it is actually a representation of the Filipino values such as *bayanihan* (community spirit), *pakikipagkapwa* (togetherness), and *utang na loob* (debt of gratitude).

What can be misinterpreted as trust are actually norms, practices, and values characteristic of Filipino culture that just became more evident during and after Typhoon Haiyan.

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Appendices

Interview Questions (English)

1. How long have you lived in the area?
2. Can you tell me about your experience during Typhoon Yolanda?
3. Who were the most important providers of support during this time?
4. Were you able to help other people in your community during and after the typhoon?
5. Did other people in your community help you during and after the typhoon?
6. How would you describe the current state of relationships among those who have gone through Typhoon Yolanda together as opposed to prior to the typhoon?

Interview Questions (Tagalog)

1. Gaano ka na katagal naninirahan dito sa Leyte?
2. Maaari mo bang ibahagi sa akin ang iyong karanasan noong Bagyong Yolanda?
3. Sa iyong palagay, sino ang naging pinakamahalagang tagapagkaloob ng suporta noong panahong ito?
4. Nagawa mo bang tumulong sa ibang tao sa iyong komunidad noong Bagyong Yolanda?
5. Natulungan ka ba ng ibang tao sa iyong komunidad noong Bagyong Yolanda?
6. Paano mo ilalarawan ang kasalukuyang kalagayan ng relasyon ng mga taong nakaranas ng Bagyong Yolanda kumpara sa bago nangyari ito?

Key Informant Interview Questions

1. Can you describe the people you serve in the community?
2. How has the recovery process been since Typhoon Yolanda?
3. Do you think the cooperation among the government (national and local), aid organizations, and the community has been effective?
4. Were there any gaps in the provision of aid or assistance? If yes, who stepped in to fill these?
5. How did community efforts align with existing disaster relief coordination mechanisms within the local and national government?
6. How important was community cooperation during and after Typhoon Yolanda?
7. What are some of the best practices you have seen since then?
8. How would you characterize the relationships now among people who have gone through Typhoon Yolanda together as opposed to prior to the typhoon?

Survey (English)

1. Were you able to help other people in your community during and after the typhoon?
 - Yes
 - No

2. Did other people in your community help you during and after the typhoon?
 - Yes
 - No

3. Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted, or that you can't be too careful in your dealings with other people?
 - Most people can be trusted
 - You can't be too careful

4. Most people in this community are willing to help if you need it.
 - Agree strongly
 - Agree somewhat
 - Neither agree nor disagree
 - Disagree somewhat
 - Disagree strongly

5. Most people in this community are willing to help if you ask for it.
 - Agree strongly
 - Agree somewhat
 - Neither agree nor disagree
 - Disagree somewhat

Disagree strongly

For the following question, please respond with one of the following:

1 – To a very small extent

2 – To a small extent

3 – Neither small nor great extent

4 – To a great extent

5 – To a very great extent

6. How much do you trust the people in the following categories in their ability and willingness to help during natural disasters?

a. People who live in the same barangay _____

b. People from Leyte _____

c. People from other provinces _____

d. Local government officials _____

e. National government officials _____

f. Outside help/strangers/foreigners (NGOs, volunteers, etc.) _____

7. Over the last five years since Typhoon Yolanda, has the level of trust in this community gotten better, worse, or stayed about the same?

Gotten better

Gotten worse

Stayed about the same

8. How well do people in your community help each other out post-Yolanda?

- Always helping
- Helping most of the time
- Helping sometimes
- Rarely helping
- Never helping

9. If a community project does not directly benefit you but has benefits for many others in the community, would you participate or contribute time to the project?

- Will contribute
- Will not contribute

10. What proportion of people in this community would participate in activities toward common development goals? (e.g. post-disaster recovery projects, property repair, etc.)

- Everyone
- More than half
- About half
- Less than half
- No one

11. How likely is it that people in this community will cooperate to try to solve problems brought about by Typhoon Yolanda?

- Very likely
- Somewhat likely
- Neither likely nor unlikely
- Somewhat unlikely

Very unlikely

12. Suppose something unfortunate happened to someone in the community, such as a serious illness or death in the family. How likely is it that some people in the community would get together to help them?

Very likely

Somewhat likely

Neither likely nor unlikely

Somewhat unlikely

Very unlikely

13. How strong is the feeling of togetherness or closeness in your community?

Very distant

Somewhat distant

Neither distant nor close

Somewhat close

Very close

14. There are often differences in characteristics among people living in the same community. For example, differences in wealth, income, social status, ethnic background, race, etc. There can also be differences in religious or political beliefs, or there can be differences due to age or sex. To what extent do any such differences characterize your community?

To a very great extent

To a great extent

Neither great nor small extent

- To a small extent
- To a very small extent

15. Of the following, which 3 differences most often cause problems?

- Educational attainment
- Wealth/material possessions
- Social status
- Sex (men and women)
- Age (younger and older generations)
- Long-term and recent residents
- Political beliefs and affiliations
- Religious beliefs
- Ethnic background/race
- Others

16. Age _____

17. Sex

- Male
- Female

Survey (Tagalog)

1. Nagawa mo bang makatulong sa ibang tao sa iyong komunidad noong panahong iyon?
 - Oo
 - Hindi

2. Natulungan ka ba ng mga tao sa iyong komunidad noon panahong iyon?
 - Oo
 - Hindi

3. Sa pangkalahatan, masasabi mo ba na ang karamihan sa mga tao ay mapagkakatiwalaan o dapat maging maingat sa iyong pakikitungo sa ibang tao?
 - Karamihan sa mga tao ay mapagkakatiwalaan
 - Dapat maging mas maingat

4. Karamihan sa mga tao sa komunidad na ito ay handang tumulong kung kinakailangan mo.
 - Lubos na sumasang-ayon
 - Sumasang-ayon
 - Ni sumasang-ayon o hindi sumasang-ayon
 - Hindi sumasang-ayon
 - Lubos na hindi sumasang-ayon

5. Karamihan sa mga tao sa komunidad na ito ay handang tumulong kung hiniling mo ito.
 - Lubos na sumasang-ayon
 - Sumasang-ayon

- Ni sumasang-ayon o hindi sumasang-ayon
- Hindi sumasang-ayon
- Lubos na hindi sumasang-ayon

Para sa sumusunod na katanungan, mangyaring tumugon sa isa sa mga sumusunod:

1 – Halos hindi kailanman

2 – Bihira lang

3 – Minsan

4 – Madalas

5 – Halos sa lahat ng oras

6. Gaano mo pinagkakatiwalaan ang mga tao sa mga sumusunod na kategorya sa kanilang kakayahan at motibong tumulong sa panahon ng kalamidad?

- a. Mga taong naninirahan sa parehong barangay _____
- b. Mga taong mula sa Leyte _____
- c. Mga taong mula sa ibang probinsya _____
- d. Mga opisyal ng lokal na pamahalaan _____
- e. Mga opisyal ng pambansang pamahalaan _____
- f. Mga estranghero/dayuhan (NGOs, volunteers, atbp.) _____

7. Malipas ang limang taon mula Yolanda, ang antas ba ng pagtitiwala sa komunidad na ito ay naging mas matatag, mas masahol, o nanatiling pareho lamang?

- Mas matatag
- Mas masahol

Nanatiling pareho lamang

8. Gaano kadalas ang pagtulong ng mga miyembro ng iyong komunidad sa isa't isa matapos ang Yolanda?

Palaging tumutulong

Madalas tumutulong

Minsan tumutulong

Bhirang tumutulong

Hindi kailanman tumutulong

9. Kung ang isang proyekto ng komunidad ay hindi direktang makikinabang sa iyo, ngunit may mga benepisyo para sa pangkalahatan, makikilahok ka ba o mag-aambag ng oras sa proyekto?

Makikilahok

Hindi makikilahok

10. Anong bahagi ng mga tao sa komunidad na ito ang lalahok sa mga gawaing patungo sa pag-unlad ng komunidad (hal. post-disaster recovery projects, property repair, atbp.)

Lahat

Higit sa kalahati

Medyo kalahati

Mas mababa sa kalahati

Walang sinuman

11. Gaano kadalas na ang mga tao sa komunidad na ito ay magtutulungan upang subukang malutasan ang mga problemang dulot ng Yolanda?

Halos sa lahat ng oras

Madalas

Minsan

Halos hindi kailanman

Hindi kailanman

12. Ipagpalagay mo na may isang kapus-palad na nangyari sa isang tao sa komunidad, tulad ng malubhang sakit o pagkamatay sa pamilya. Gaano kadalas magsasama ang mga tao sa komunidad upang matulungan sila?

Halos sa lahat ng oras

Madalas

Minsan

Halos hindi kailanman

Hindi kailanman

13. Gaano kalakas ang damdamin ng pagkakaisa o pagiging malapit sa iyong komunidad?

Napakalayo

Medyo malayo

Hindi malayo o malapit

Medyo malapit

Malapit

14. Mayroong madalas na mga pagkakaiba sa mga katangian sa pagitan ng mga taong naninirahan sa parehong komunidad. Halimbawa, may mga pagkakaiba sa kayamanan, kita, katayuan sa lipunan, etniko, lahi, atbp. Mayroon din pagkakaiba sa relihiyon o pulitika, o maaari ding pagkakaiba dahil sa edad o kasarian. Gaano kadalas na ang mga pagkakaibang ito ay naglalarawan sa iyong komunidad?

- Halos hindi kailanman
- Bihira lang
- Minsan
- Madalas
- Halos sa lahat ng oras

15. Sa mga sumusunod, alin ang tatlong pagkakaiba na kadalasang nagdudulot ng mga problema?

- Antas ng edukasyon
- Yaman at ari-arian
- Katayuan sa lipunan
- Kasarian (lalaki at babae)
- Edad (bata at nakakatandang henerasyon)
- Pangmatagalan at baguhang mga residente
- Paniniwala sa pulitika at mga kaakibat
- Relihiyon
- Lahi

Iba pa

16. Edad _____

17. Kasarian

Male

Female