EMPOWERING CHILDREN THROUGH CHILD CENTERED DISASTER RISK REDUCTION PROJECTS

An analysis of capacity building efforts in Metro Manila, the Philippines

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The fieldwork that I conducted in Manila has made a deep impact on me. Coming from a country where disaster risk is not really a big worry on the minds of the population, and is most certainly not of any concern for children, the situation I encountered in the Philippines really opened my eyes to a whole new world. The experience has taught me a lot, and has really fueled my interest in child protection, and in safeguarding children's rights. This thesis is the product of many hours of planning, researching, writing, contemplating and revising. It was not always an easy process, but I am pleased with how the final product turned out. I would like to thank my supervisor, Robert Coates, for encouraging me to keep going, for thinking along with me, and for pushing me to create a good and critical research.

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ABSTRACT

Children are among the most vulnerable to disaster. Child Centered Disaster Risk Reduction (CCDRR) recognizes this, and therefore the discipline focuses on the inclusion and participation of children in disaster risk reduction. This thesis looks at to what extent the capacities of children are built in CCDRR projects, and how this capacity building contributes to reducing disaster risks. With this, it is imperative to take a political ecological approach and look at the historical, political and economic processes, which can explain the wider societal structures that render children vulnerable to disasters. Additionally, capacities need to be considered, as they recognize opportunities for change in the system from a bottom-up perspective. This research is a qualitative case study of a project that was implemented in Metro Manila, the Philippines. Metro Manila is a large city, with many hazards, and risks that children are exposed to. Wider structures in Filipino society ensure that the political and economic power continues to be concentrated in the hands of a few powerful players, which renders urban poor communities very vulnerable. To try to address these vulnerabilities, the CCDRR project mainly focused on capacitating children and youth, and relevant government agencies as well. The emphasis with capacitating children and youth was on empowering them, encouraging their participation in matters that involve them, and letting their voices be heard. With the government agencies, they were made more prepared and aware, and they were encouraged to include children in their practices. This research finds that CCDRR is very politically focused, since many obstacles in children's development lie in the political sphere. Therefore, the movement has a broader focus than just disaster risk reduction, it takes into account all child protection issues. CCDRR contributes mostly indirectly to the reduction of disaster risks, by empowering children to claim their own rights. This research shows that children can play a role in the development of the resilience of their own communities, which can have real implications on the disaster risks in a community.

Key words: *Child Centered Disaster Risk Reduction, empowerment, child participation, capacity building, resilience, political ecology, the Philippines, Metro Manila*

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND FILIPINO WORDS

Barangay	Community
BCPC	Barangay Council for the Protection of Children
BDRRMC	Barangay Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council
BFP	Bureau of Fire Protection
BHW	Barangay Health Worker
CBDRR	Community Based Disaster Risk Reduction
CCA	Climate Change Adaptation
CCDRR	Child Centered Disaster Risk Reduction
CCUDRR	Child Centered Urban Disaster Risk Reduction
CDP	Center for Disaster Preparedness
CDRRMO	City Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Office
CPR	Cardiopulmonary Resuscitation
CSWD	City Social Welfare and Development Office
DepEd	Department of Education
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Australian government
DILG	Department of Interior and Local Government
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
DRRM	Disaster Risk Reduction and Management
EWS	Early Warning System
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HDI	Human Development Index
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRA	Internal Revenue Allotment
Kagawad	Councilor
LGU	Local Government Unit
NCR	National Capital Region
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PNP	Philippine National Police
RA	Republic Act
TWG	Technical Working Group
UNCRC	United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNISDR	United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction
VAWC	Committee on Violence against Women and Children
WCPD	Women and Children's Protection Desk

1. INTRODUCTION

The children I had talked to wanted to show me their houses, so I follow them along a sidewalk next to the highway. Cars are flying past and pollution is in the air, as it is everywhere in Metro Manila. A group of people are standing on the sidewalk next to a bridge, talking and laughing. Children are playing in the dirt next to them. I am about to pass them when I realize the children I was following went into a narrow, muddy path next to the bridge, right by the group of people. I would have easily missed the path if they had not pointed it out to me. I follow them, and greet the people standing at the entrance of the path. They smile at me, welcoming me into their neighborhood. The river bank that we are walking on is littered with trash, and a steep path tracks back underneath the bridge. The slope is so steep that I almost slide down, and I wonder how the people living here manage to climb up and down, especially when it rains. We are walking next to the river now, only a two meter high cement wall separating us from the water. The children are guiding me, onto wooden boards that are used as a walkway. We walk underneath the bridge, and little daylight is getting through. In the dark, I can see makeshift houses, plywood used as walls for a room, and tarpaulins hanging to serve as a roof. The cement wall is used as the back wall for the rooms. I can see that the walkway extends under the whole width of the bridge, which must be at least eight car lanes wide. I see that many families made their home in this dark space under the bridge. I look at the environment that these children live in every day, and wonder about the risks that they face. Typhoons, heavy rains and flooding are regular occurrences here in Metro Manila, how will these children cope when the river rises? Will they be able to get away in time when the wall proves to be insufficient protection? On top of that, there are multiple fault lines that cross the area of Metro Manila, will the wall and bridge survive when a big earthquake hits? Not to mention the fire hazard, and the hazard to the children's health by living among all the trash. I observe the situation that these children live in, and it is hard to believe that anyone can live like this. For the children, however, this is all they know, and they often do not have the ability to change their situation themselves.

Circumstances like the one described above are unfortunately a quite normal image in Metro Manila, the capital of the Philippines. Its inhabitants, including many children, are faced with numerous hazards and risks on an everyday basis. Aside from the 'natural hazards' such as flooding, typhoons and earthquakes, there are also many other risks, which include fire, crime, drugs, and health risks due to pollution (Center for Disaster Preparedness, 2016; Duijsens & Faling, 2014; Porio, 2011; Bankoff, 2003). Metro Manila is a metropolitan area comprised of 16 cities with a population of 11.5 people,

and is one of the most densely populated cities in the world (Ramirez et al., 2013). Urbanization has resulted in a lot of unofficial settlement, which is difficult for the city to regulate and creates extra risks for the population. This urban situation also creates many risks for children in particular. They "are especially vulnerable as they may not be able to physically and socially access 'the city' as adults do" (ARUP et al., 2016: 2). There are vulnerable children living in the streets, working, or living in informal settlements. Problems such as crime and absence of basic services can contribute to the aggravation of risks. Moreover, children "also risk exploitation in urban settings, violence, abuse and neglect, and long-term health problems arising from poor environmental conditions" (ARUP et al., 2016: 3). In the Philippines, projects are initiated aimed to improve this risky situation that children can find themselves in. Such projects and their impact are the object of this research.

1.1 RESEARCH AND RELEVANCE

This study revolves around the extent to which children's capacities are built upon in Child Centered Disaster Risk Reduction (CCDRR) projects in the Philippines. By investigating this, the research aims to shed more light onto the practice of these projects. Specifically, it will analyze how capacity building is done, which capacities are built upon and why. This information will give insight into the impact of CCDRR projects, and how building certain capacities contributes to reducing disaster risk in the Philippines. Moreover, researching how CCDRR projects are implemented provides more knowledge about whether the practice lines up with theoretical perspectives on CCDRR. This research thus investigates the practice of CCDRR, rather than only discussing theory or opportunities for including children in DRR. By doing this, it clarifies the way CCDRR is carried out in the Philippines.

Investigating CCDRR and capacity building is relevant for multiple reasons. Firstly, CCDRR as a field of study focuses on the capacities that children have to contribute to reducing disaster risks, and research projects have mostly focused on the possibilities and importance of including children in DRR. However, little research has been done about how CCDRR projects are actually implemented in practice, and the practice of how children are included in DRR. It is important that this is done, as it remains unclear what impact CCDRR projects actually have on DRR in the countries that they are implemented in. Especially the question on how the child centered focus helps in reducing disaster risk, is an important query to which there is no clear answer yet. In this respect, it is important to reflect upon what impact the building of children's capacities has upon the risks in their environment. This research provides insight into this question, by looking at how building children's capacities reduces the risks that they face.

Secondly, from a more practical perspective, this research can add to assessing the outcomes of CCDRR projects. As can be deduced from the introductory story shared above, the risks that children can face in urban settings are numerous. CCDRR projects aim to reduce these risks, and create a safer environment for these children. It is important to evaluate whether these projects actually achieve this objective. Moreover, examining how capacity building can help in reducing these risks can provide useful insights into how children can contribute to reducing disaster risks themselves. This research will contribute to this topic, by providing insight into the extent to which children's capacities are built and what this means for the reduction of disaster risks.

This thesis argues that in the Philippines, Child Centered DRR in an urban setting focuses more on child protection and child rights in general than specifically on reducing disaster risks. CCDRR is above all a political matter, aimed to empower the children and youth to deal with their government and participate in matters than involve them. The capacity building that is done mostly aims at providing children and youth with the tools to take charge in their own development. Reducing disaster risks is mainly done in a more indirect way rather than direct, by giving the children and youth the tools to stand up for what they think is important in their community and by trying to create a better structural environment for them to develop in. This argument will be supported by a case study of a Child Centered DRR project implemented in several communities in the area of Metro Manila.

1.2 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The main question guiding this research is as follows:

To what extent are children's capacities built upon in Child Centered Disaster Risk Reduction projects in Metro Manila, the Philippines, and how does building these capacities contribute to reducing disaster risks?

This main question is supported by several sub-questions, each treating a different component of the main research question. These questions reflect upon the context, the practice of implementation, the content and the impact of the CCDRR project:

- In what context are CCDRR projects implemented and what stakeholders are involved?
- How is CCDRR framed theoretically and how is it carried out in practice?
- Which capacities are built upon in the CCDRR project and how?
- How does building children's capacities contribute to reducing disaster risks in their environment?

1.3 DISASTER RISK REDUCTION, VULNERABILITY AND CAPACITY

To attempt to decrease the chances of disaster, the Philippine government has a very elaborate Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) structure in place, which includes many different government authorities, Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and civil society (Luna, 2001). Disaster Risk Reduction can be defined as "the concept and practice of reducing disaster risks through systematic efforts to analyze and reduce the causal factors of disasters" (UNISDR, 2017). Having a comprehensive DRR policy is crucial for a country as the Philippines, which is the third most disaster-prone country in the world (Garschagen et al., 2016). The Philippines lies within what is called the 'Pacific Ring of Fire', which means that it is situated in an area where many volcanos are and earthquakes occur. Moreover, typhoons and floods are also phenomena that regularly happen (Luna, 2001). Even more, climate change is expected to further increase the frequency and intensity of extreme weather events (Carcellar et al., 2011). Bankoff (2003: 97) says that "statistical trends suggest that floods have become more numerous and more devastating in recent years." Nowadays, it is acknowledged that the risk for disasters is something that can be managed, hazards are not just natural facts, but they are also dependent upon social, economic and political processes (Oliver-Smith, 2016). Disasters are thus created by an interplay of natural and human-induced factors. The risk for disasters can be managed by trying to "reduce socio-economic vulnerabilities to disaster as well as dealing with the environmental and other hazards that trigger them" (Twigg, 2007: 6; UNISDR, 2017). In the Philippines, "uncontrolled settlement in hazard-prone areas, high poverty rate, failure to implement building codes and construction standards, and degradation of forests and coastal resources" are among the conditions which create disaster risk (UNICEF, n.d.). Moreover, "human-related activities such as deforestation, overgrazing and urbanization aggravate environmental conditions, making communities more vulnerable" (Bankoff, 2003: 97).

The aim of DRR projects and policy is to build the resilience of the targeted group. Resilience is a key term in disaster literature and can be defined as: "the ability of a system, community or society exposed to hazards to resist, absorb, accommodate and recover from the effects of a hazard in a timely and efficient manner, including through the preservation and restoration of its essential basic structures and functions" (UNISDR, 2009: 24). To build resilience is to decrease people's vulnerabilities and to increase and build upon their capacities. People's vulnerability is influenced by many different factors which determine "the degree to which someone's life, livelihood, property, or assets are put at risk by the occurrence of a hazard event" (Collins, 2008: 25). O'Riordan and Timmerman argue that vulnerability "relates inevitably to power, the ability to exert control by right or threat. [It] can be interpreted as a loss of power in the creation of one's own future" (2001: 436). Vulnerability as a

concept thus also has to be seen within the context of disaster being created by an interplay of human-induced and natural factors. On the other hand, people are not just vulnerable, they also have certain capacities to deal with disaster and risk. Capacities are the "knowledge, skills, resources, abilities, coping strategies and strengths present in individuals, households, organizations and the community which enable them to prevent, mitigate, prepare for and cope with damaging effects of hazards or quickly recover from a disaster" (CBDRM Training and Learning Circle-Philippines, 2010: 31). For a project to have a positive effect and to be sustainable, these capacities should be kept in mind and built upon (Anderson and Woodrow, 1991). Every person, community and organization has its own specific capacities, shaped by the situation that they are in and the position they occupy in society.

1.4 CHILD CENTERED DISASTER RISK REDUCTION

Children are among the most vulnerable to disaster, they are considered one of the 'vulnerable groups' in society. Until recently, DRR policy and projects have mostly been targeted at adults, "who are assumed to be attuned to the needs of their families and the wider community" (Mitchell, Tanner & Haynes, 2009:3). A relatively new focus of DRR has emerged, which emphasizes the importance of children participating in disaster management. This focus, labeled 'Child Centered Disaster Risk Reduction' (CCDRR) takes children as the target group for DRR policies and projects, and emphasizes that children should not just be seen as vulnerable, but that they can also play a role in DRR (Tanner, 2010; Walker et al., 2012; Mort et al., 2016). CCDRR literature advocates that there needs to be a shift of focus from children being seen as passive victims in disaster to children being considered as actors who can actually contribute to disaster recovery and resilience (Mort et al., 2017). CCDRR critiques the view that in disaster, children are often only seen as in need of protection from adults rather than recognizing that they also have their own capacities to deal with disaster (Tanner, 2010). This notion corresponds with the children's right to participate in decision-making processes on matters that concern them (United Nations, 1989), which is considered one of the most important child rights to uphold (Lundy, McEvoy & Byrne, 2011). In line with this approach, many child focused international development organizations such as Plan International and UNICEF have initiated programs relating to Disaster Risk Reduction and children, putting the approach into practice. The research that has been done regarding CCDRR mainly discusses the potential of children's participation in DRR. Academics take various focuses, examining opportunities for children's participation in different aspects of disaster management, such as disaster awareness, preparedness and recovery (Mort et al., 2017; Wisner, 2006; Walker et al., 2012; Walker, et al., 2010). Significantly less research concerns the practice of CCDRR in government policy or organizational projects (e.g. Tanner, 2010).

1.5 STRUCTURE

The argument stated above will be set out and explained in several chapters. The second chapter is the theoretical framework, which provides an elaboration upon the political ecology of disaster, capacity theory, and the rights based approach central to CCDRR projects. The third chapter outlines the methodology of the research. The fourth chapter is a contextual chapter, and deals with the Philippine context in general. This chapter provides the context in which the CCDRR project is implemented. This information is crucial for understanding the vulnerability and risk in Philippine society. The sixth and seventh chapter elaborate upon the results of the research, and treat the capacities that are built for children and youth, and the government officials. The eighth chapter analyzes these results, and deals with the impacts of capacity building on the resilience of the children and the reduction of disaster risks. Different aspects are discussed; the wider focus on child protection, the political nature of DRR, and the emphasis on child's rights and empowerment. The last chapter is a conclusion and discussion of the research findings.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter deals with the theoretical framework upon which the research is based, and of which knowledge is necessary for understanding the research. The theories and concepts it explains are political ecological theory, capacity theory, and the child rights based perspective. This chapter argues that although political ecology is an essential theory to explain people's context and the societal structures, it is not sufficient to describe the entire situation, because it is not able to explain what can practically be done by stakeholders to make changes in people's environment. To get a more complete view, it is necessary to bear in mind capacity theory as well, which focuses on people's abilities to bring about possible change, instead of their inabilities (their vulnerabilities). Furthermore, to get insight into the ideological and legal underpinnings of the implementation of CCDRR projects, the rights based perspective needs to be explained.

2.1 POLITICAL ECOLOGY

2.1.1 FOUNDATION OF POLITICAL ECOLOGY

Adopting a political ecological approach can explain the foundations of people's vulnerability, capacities, and risk. Political ecology is a broad term, which can apply to a "set of concerns that revolve around societies' relationships with the nonhuman environment" (Perreault, Bridge & McCarthy, 2015: 3). Political ecologists hold that these relationships are not purely influenced by physical factors, but also by other social, economic and political factors in society (Schubert, 2005). They see "nature and society as dialectically constituted" (Watts, 2015: 32). Research that is being done in the name of political ecology can differ greatly, as there are various focus points for political ecology scholars. However, political ecological research shares the "common premise that environmental change and ecological conditions are the product of political process" (Robbins, 2012: 20). Schubert (2005: 31) states that: "central to political ecology is the in-depth examination of social structures in their global and historical contexts to explain environmental change and the analysis of the various involved actors, their interests, actions and discourses".

The discipline of political ecology emerged in the 1970s, when ecology was criticized for being apolitical. Political ecology scholars argued that human-environment relations should be seen within a wider societal and political context, and that ecological systems are "power-laden rather than politically inert" (Robbins, 2012: 13; Bryant & Bailey, 1997). Some of the foundational scholars of

political ecology are Blaikie and Brookfield, who, in their book *Land Degradation and Society* (1987), argue that the environmental phenomenon of land degradation is not only a physical phenomenon, but also a social problem. Their work contested the purely physical causes of land degradation, and by bringing social factors into it, politicized the relationship between humans and their environment. They see political ecology as a combination between political economy, which focuses solely on political and economic factors to explain phenomena, and ecology, which only focuses on the physical environment. Together these approaches "encompass the constantly shifting dialectic between society and land-based resources, and also within classes and groups within society itself" (Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987: 17). A political ecological approach thus recognizes that the human-environment relationship is not static and influenced by many factors.

2.1.2 POLITICAL ECOLOGY OF DISASTERS

INTERPLAY OF PROCESSES

Regarding hazards, political ecology maintains that people's relationship with the environment and thus with hazards (their vulnerability) is dependent upon social, economic, and political factors. It considers the environment not as a "pre-given context, but [as] an object that could be construed in different ways by different communities and classes. Political ecology problematizes what the environment means and to whom" (Watts, 2016: 258). Oliver-Smith argues that the mutual construction of human beings and their environments "provides a theoretical basis for asserting that we construct our own disasters insofar as disasters occur in the environments that we produce" (2004: 20). Disasters used to be considered as being just natural phenomena, as consequences of the natural hazards that exist. Interventions then focused on technical solutions like predicting hazards or modifying their impact. However, since the 1970s, disasters have more and more been seen as the outcome of natural and social processes together, in line with political ecological thinking (Bankoff & Hilhorst, 2004). Bankoff states that in the twentieth century the losses from disasters have increased, but the frequency of disasters has not risen significantly. That is why adopting a "wider societal and historical perspective" to look at disasters was necessary (2004: 26). Cannon (1994) argues that while there are natural hazards, natural disasters do not exist. As said, this is because disasters are caused by an interplay of natural and social factors. The existence of a hazard alone does not mean that a disaster will happen. For a disaster to occur, there needs to be an interaction between both the natural forces, and the social, economic and political forces that stem from society (Bankoff, 2007). These forces in society can leave some people more vulnerable and exposed to disasters than others. Moreover, it can also work the other way around, when societal factors actually induce the natural forces that lead to disaster. For example, landslides can occur through deforestation of slopes, and more extreme weather circumstances due to human induced global warming can lead to several kinds

of disaster as well (Wisner, 1993; Prabhakar, Srinivasan & Shaw, 2009). The impact that these events have, however, is always determined by the structures of vulnerability and risk that exist in a society.

Central to examining disasters is evaluating the way in which structures in society put people at risk "in relation to each other and to their environment" (Bankoff, 2007: 104). Bankoff emphasizes the necessity of also considering social, political and economic processes in history. According to him, vulnerability is determined by the interplay between history, nature and society (2003). Oliver-Smith (1999:29-30) agrees with this and argues that "the life-history of a disaster begins prior to the appearance of a specific event-focused agent". Disasters thus cannot be fully explained without taking into account the historical factors which have influenced the circumstances that produced the disaster. Blaikie et al. (1994) illustrate that there are many factors which influence the occurrence of a disaster. With their 'pressure and release' model, they explain that for a disaster to happen, the physical hazard on the one hand, and dynamic pressures and unsafe conditions in society on the other hand, have to come together. These dynamic pressures and unsafe conditions are political, social and economic processes and circumstances that were already present in society. Blaikie et al. show that people's vulnerability and the occurrence of a disaster is dependent on political, economic and social pressures upon the system, and that these pressures influence the power relations and distribution of resources within the system (Bankoff, 2004). In short, the environment thus cannot be seen in an apolitical way, but has to be considered within a political, economic and social context.

VULNERABILITY

With respect to hazards and disasters, political ecological work mainly focuses on the concept of vulnerability. Oliver Smith (2004) argues that vulnerability is inherently a political ecological term, because it concerns the relationship that people have with their environment. He sees vulnerability as "the conceptual nexus that links the relationship that people have with the environment to social forces and institutions and the cultural values that sustain or contest them" (2004: 10). The concept of vulnerability includes recognition of the multidimensionality of disasters (Oliver-Smith, 2004). Peoples' vulnerability is thus constructed through many different factors, both social and environmental. Bankoff (2007: 105) states: "vulnerability recognizes that certain people in the past may have been situated in more perilous settings than others as a result of a particular configuration of political, economic, social, ideological and environmental factors". People's vulnerability is not a static given, but it can also change due to changing economic, social or political conditions and processes in the environment. These processes can be on all different levels, ranging from local to global scale (Bankoff & Hilhorst, 2004).

POWER RELATIONS

Vulnerability of certain people can be created by the state, when political decisions that are made distribute risk unevenly among different groups in society (Bankoff, 2004; Wisner, 1993). Additionally, the socio-economic system produces "unequal access to opportunities and unequal exposures to risks" (Cannon, 1994: 14). The system determines the way the risk is divided among the population (Oliver-Smith, 2004). "Social systems generate unequal exposure to risk by making some people more prone to disaster than others and […] these inequalities in risk and opportunity are largely a function of the power relations operating in every society" (Bankoff, 2003: 96). Differences in power between people affects the access they have to resources, and their "entitlement and empowerment or their command over basic necessities and rights" (Bankoff, 2004: 25). Power relations within society are reinforced through practices in the environment such as construction, urban planning and transportation (Oliver-Smith, 2004).

Populations are thus not simply vulnerable because they are exposed to hazards, but because they are marginalized, due to the power relations present in society (Bankoff, 2004). Because of this marginalization, they become more vulnerable to hazards, and they do not have the power to deal with them. Marginalization can be seen in different aspects of households' lives (Chambers, 1983). Economically, they often have limited access to resources and are among the poorest of society. Furthermore, marginalized people are "spatially isolated [and] they have relatively little power in national political decision making" (Wisner, 1993: 130). They are often physically weak, and have no buffer against contingencies (Chambers, 1983). Moreover, because they generally have no choice but to live in high risk areas, they are even more vulnerable to fall victim to a disaster (Bankoff, 2007).

RELATING TO DISASTER RISK REDUCTION

When considering Disaster Risk Reduction from a political ecological view, this means that disaster risks can be reduced by looking at the root cause of what makes people vulnerable. As mentioned above, the social, political, and economic processes in society produce environmental change, determine people's relationship with the environment and can render them vulnerable to hazards. Reducing disaster risks should be done by focusing on tackling these processes. Just responding to the environmental or 'natural' factors of the hazard is thus not enough to reduce disaster risks, as the underlying processes causing the risks would still be present in society. Disaster Risk Reduction policy and practice should be focused on changing people's relation with the environment for the better, and respond to people's needs in relation to their vulnerability. This means dealing with the different political, social and economic processes that render people vulnerable in the first place. To really reduce disaster risks, DRR should include all aspects of people's vulnerability, and not just a part of it

(Cannon, 1994). It is important to recognize that DRR is inherently a political practice. What action is taken by the state to reduce disaster risks is also a political choice. Relating to this, Swyngedouw argues that political acts create certain "socio-ecological arrangements and milieus", and by doing this "foreclose the possibility of others emerging. An intervention enables the formation of certain socio-ecological assemblages while closing down others" (Swyngedouw, 2015: 616). Moreover, the state and other powerful players in society could have different interests than the vulnerable groups in society. Cannon (1994: 18) argues that this influences the way that disaster risk is dealt with: "the level of scientific knowledge of both hazards themselves and their impact, and the allocation of the resulting technologies as means for intervening to reduce their intensity or impact, are normally determined by the power of private companies and government agencies. These are driven by their own criteria for success, which need not correspond to the needs of people". Political choices made thus do not always benefit the vulnerable people.

A clear shortcoming of political ecological theory is that it underestimates the role that people's capacities can play. It is strong in explaining foundations of vulnerabilities, but it does not pay sufficient attention to opportunities to reduce disaster risks. Since a political ecological perspective considers the root of people's vulnerability to stem from wider historical, political, and societal processes, it does not consider the possibilities that people have to change their vulnerabilities themselves. Moreover, it does not provide a framework to act. That is why elaborating upon capacity theory and the rights based perspective in the two following sections of the chapter is crucial for providing a complete view of the situation.

2.2 CAPACITIES

2.2.1 DEFINING 'CAPACITY'

As explained in the previous sections, people's relationship with their environment is dependent on social, economic and political processes at work in society. Depending on their geographical, social and economic position in society, people have different weaknesses and strengths (Anderson and Woodrow, 1991). Often, certain groups of people are labelled as 'vulnerable groups', for example the poor, disabled people, senior citizens and children. However, people should not just be seen as 'vulnerable', since all people also have different capacities to cope with risk and disaster. In relation to disaster, capacities can be defined as the "knowledge, skills, resources, abilities, coping strategies and strengths present in individuals, households, organizations and the community which enable them to prevent, mitigate, prepare for and cope with damaging effects of hazards or quickly recover from a disaster" (CBDRM Training and Learning Circle-Philippines, 2010: 31). It is especially important to have

a clear view of the term 'capacity'. As mentioned, the term capacity can refer to different strengths that people, communities or organizations have. People's capacities depend on the situation that they are in, on the area they live in and the social, economic, and political circumstances. The concept of capacity emphasizes that "those affected by disasters should not be considered as helpless victims whose risk perception should be changed from the outside. Instead, development policy should use people's capacities to help the people themselves to rebuild and to reduce future disaster risk" (Gaillard, 2010: 222). Anderson and Woodrow (1991) define three types of capacities: material capacities, social and organizational capacities and attitudinal and motivational capacities. The material capacities relate to people's "skills and knowledge with which to produce" (47). The social and organizational capacities include factors such as "leadership, governance and decision-making systems" (47). Attitudinal and motivational capacities include shared belief systems. For a project to have a positive effect and to be sustainable, these capacities should be kept in mind and built upon (Anderson and Woodrow, 1991). Every person, community and organization has its own specific capacities, shaped by the situation that they are in and the position they occupy in society.

Some more concrete examples of capacities include:

- "Ownership of land and safe location and construction of home
- Adequate income
- Savings
- Adequate food sources
- Family and community support in times of crises
- Responsive local government
- Enabling legislation
- Strong community organizations
- Local knowledge" (CBDRM Training and Learning Circle-Philippines, 2010: 31).

2.2.2 BUILDING CAPACITIES

Now that it is clear what capacities are, it is also important to consider how these capacities can be built. Capacity building can be defined as the "process whereby individuals, groups and organizations enhance their abilities to mobilize and use resources in order to achieve their objectives on a sustainable basis" (ADB, 2004, in DFID, 2008: 3). Several ways of developing capacities can be identified. Firstly, there is human skills development, which means the enhancement of personal strengths or knowledge of individuals. A second way of capacity building is to transform organizations and networks. This means that changes are made within the institutional structures of organizations.

Thirdly, capacity development can happen through changes in governance or the institutional context. This refers to development of wider governance structures in the benefit of the target group (Morgan, 2016). Capacity building is thus not only human skills development, even though it is often understood in that way (Morgan, 2016). For human skills development to be sustainable and for individuals to be able to use their capacities in an effective way, there also needs to be development in organizational structures and the institutional context (Morgan, 2016).

When connecting political ecology with capacity theory, it becomes clear that capacities that are built should respond to people's vulnerabilities, and should aid in reducing disaster risk. This means that when building these capacities, people should be more equipped to deal with the processes in society that render them vulnerable. Capacity building needs to be done at all levels, since the processes that marginalize people are also present in all levels of society, from the local to the national or even global level. "Preparedness should aim at reducing the impact of a hazard by improving protection in ways that center on people and reducing their vulnerability" (Cannon, 1994: 21). This can be done in different ways, and as said, on different levels. For example, people can capacitate themselves, so that they are more prepared when a disaster strikes (self-protection). Moreover, it can be done at a higher level, through the state or NGOs (social protection). However, social protection by the state can be tricky, as the state is often also "a party to the economic and social processes that lead people to be unable to protect themselves in the first place" (Cannon, 1994: 21).

This begs the question of whose responsibility it is to bring about capacity development in the context of CCDRR. To give a complete explanation of the context of society, DRR and ways to reduce disaster risks, it is crucial to include the theoretical underpinnings of CCDRR projects, and reflect on them. This will be done in the following section.

2.3 CHILD'S RIGHTS BASED PERSPECTIVE

Assuming a rights based perspective with respect to Child Centered DRR means that the children's rights are central when considering issues that concern them. Taking this perspective means that the main consideration when implementing CCDRR policy and practice is to uphold and safeguard children's rights. From a rights based perspective, it is the children's right to be kept safe from disasters, abuse, violence and other harmful influences (United Nations, 1989), and this should be the motivation behind all CCDRR initiatives.

2.3.1 LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Adopting a child's rights perspective means to focus on the legal documents and frameworks that are in place regarding the protection of children's rights. The United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) is the most important document concerning children's rights, and it "provides a statement of international consensus that children are indeed persons, legally and morally, and that the state should ensure that they are treated with dignity" (Melton, 1991: 343). There is a recognition of limited self-determination for children, which means that it is recognized that children have the capacity to exercise their rights on their own, and are able to participate in the upholding of their own rights. However, this does not "absolve the community of responsibility for offering entitlements necessary for children to develop fully" (Melton, 1991: 344). In spite of this, state institutions thus still have the duty to take actions to help children's development as well. The UNCRC entered into force in 1990, and was ratified by all member states of the United Nations, with the exception of the United States (UNICEF, 2017). The UNCRC puts the main responsibility of safeguarding Children's rights in the hands of the state. It includes 54 articles concerning specific child rights for all dimensions of their lives which should be upheld at all times. There are four articles that are considered the most fundamental, known as 'General Principles'. These four are the principle of non-discrimination (article 2), the priority of ensuring the best interest of the child (article 3), the right to life, survival and development (article 6), and the right to be heard (article 12) (Lundy, McEvoy & Byrne, 2011; United Nations, 1989). These four articles are the basis of interpretation for the whole Convention. With regard to disasters, especially article 6, stating that every child has the right to life, survival and development is relevant. This article obliges states to "ensure to the maximum extent possible the survival and development of the child" (United Nations, 1989: 3). This article thus requires states to protect children from all harmful and dangerous situations, among which disasters, to secure their survival. Moreover, article 12, the right to be heard, is also very important in this respect, giving children the right to be involved in all matters that concern them, and their views to be given due weight (United Nations, 1989; Lundy, 2007). This means that it is the children's right to participate and be heard in DRR projects that concern them.

2.3.2 RIGHTS HOLDERS AND DUTY BEARERS

The rights based perspective comes with a couple of important connected terms. Firstly, there is the term 'rights holders', which refers to the people that have certain rights to be upheld. In this case, the rights holders are the children, who are entitled to have their rights upheld, as specified in the UNCRC. Rights holders are the target group of policies and projects aimed to safeguard their rights. Secondly, there are the 'duty bearers', these are the people and agencies responsible for ensuring that the rights of the rights holders are upheld. Under international law, states are the principal entities responsible

for safeguarding the human rights of their citizens. The international community and other global actors can be considered as monitoring institutions with respect to upholding universal human rights (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004). When considering upholding children's rights specifically, states are also the principal duty bearers. Within the state, there can be many organizations and agencies responsible for realizing these rights. The rights based perspective raises questions about power dynamics and accountability. Who has the duty to uphold rights, and how can they be held accountable? The power dynamics between the state government and organizations trying to hold it accountable for safeguarding children's rights are very important in this respect, as it determines the effect that the organizations have over the governments. It can be argued that Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) implementing CCDRR projects are actually carrying out the work that the government should be doing, thereby de facto taking over the role of 'duty bearer'.

2.3.3 NGO IMPLEMENTATION

Many NGOs are working in the field of child protection and child's rights, to try and improve children's situation in society. Through projects these NGOs are doing interventions, for the purpose of upholding child's rights in the state that they are working in. Through the rights based approach, rights can be seen in different ways, as identified by Cornwall and Nyamu-Musembi (2004). They argue that in this respect, there are four different ways in which rights can be used: firstly, "as a set of normative principles to guide the way in which development is done", secondly, "as set of instruments with which to develop assessments", thirdly "as a component to be integrated into programming", and lastly "as the underlying justification for interventions" (1431). For development organizations, adopting a rights based perspective means a shift in focus from "identifying and meeting needs" to "enabling people to recognize and exercise rights" (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004: 1430). Organizations working with a rights based approach often have two components to their strategy. The first one is building up the capacity of the duty bearers, so that they have increased capabilities to meet the rights holders' needs and to safeguard their rights. The second component is building the capacity of the rights holders, so that they are able to claim their rights (Cornwall & Nyamu-Musembi, 2004). This strategy thus brings them into contact with both the rights holders and the duty bearers, and aims at building each of their capacities.

2.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has shown that to be able to fully understand and explain CCDRR and its context, taking a political ecological perspective is not sufficient. Although political ecology is imperative to explain the roots of vulnerability in society by looking at historical, political, and economic processes, it is not

sufficiently able to offer solutions or explain changes to the existing nature-society relationship on a more local or individual level. That is why it is argued that an additional focus on capacities is necessary. Capacity theory can offer insight into possibilities for people to act and to change their situation, rather than just focusing on their vulnerabilities. Moreover, it provides a more practical insight into disaster risk reduction and how it can be carried out. Lastly, this chapter has argued that to complete the picture, it is also necessary to look at the actors involved in DRR, and their roles and accountability in the implementation of such projects.

3. METHODOLOGY

The issue of this research revolves around the buildup of children's capacities in the implementation of DRR projects, and therefore it is important to get a good understanding of what these projects entail, what they are based on, and the situation they are implemented in. This understanding can be acquired through qualitative data gathering methods. To get an as complete picture of the situation as possible, data triangulation was used. This means that several methods were used to gather data, which increases the validity of the research. Using data from multiple sources provides the opportunity to check and evaluate the data that was gathered (Fletcher, 2016). The data has been collected in a period of three months, from March until May 2017, in the area of Metro Manila, the Philippines.

Firstly, literature research and report analysis has been done. Secondly, participant observation was used to gather data. Thirdly, interviews have been conducted, and lastly, Focus Group Discussions (FGDs) were carried out. These methods are elaborated upon below. After elaborating on the methods used, considerations and limitations of the methodology are discussed.

3.1 METHODS USED

3.1.1 LITERATURE RESEARCH AND REPORT ANALYSIS

Literature research has been done to get data for different sections of the thesis. Firstly, to get insight into the theoretical field, and the debate regarding Disaster Risk Reduction and political ecology, journal articles and books were consulted. Moreover, research on child rights was necessary to be able to describe the theoretical basis of Child Centered Disaster Risk Reduction. Secondly, for the context analysis journal articles, books, and law texts were necessary to gain knowledge about the historical, economic, and political circumstances in which CCDRR projects are being implemented. Moreover, an analysis of the previous project reports has also been done. This has shed light on project activities during previous years of the project, and was useful to determine what kind of capacities were built during these activities, and which groups were targeted. Furthermore, report analysis has given insight into the objectives and contemplations of the implementers.

3.1.2 PARTICIPANT OBSERVATION

Participant observation served as a method to get insight into the activities done for the project, the stakeholders involved, and the relationships and dynamics between these stakeholders. Furthermore, data gathered by participant observation helped to get an understanding of how children's capacities

are built in practice. Participant observation involves gathering data by observing people and their practices. This observation can provide a better understanding of the context and the phenomena that are being researched (Bernard, 2011). The bulk of the data gathering for this research was done through this method. The researcher was able to attend many project activities and project meetings, observing the relationships and dynamics between the different actors involved. Moreover, through participant observation, it was possible to see the outcome of the projects, and how the target group responded to the activities offered to them. Because the researcher was involved in the project, assisting the project staff, the researcher was an observing participant in this research (Bernard, 2011). This enabled the researcher to get a good understanding of the work that was being done by the implementers of the project.

3.1.3 INTERVIEWS

Eleven formal, semi-structured interviews were conducted with different stakeholders in the project. These interviews were semi-structured, because it provided a direction in which the interview would go, but did not prevent the interviewees from saying what they consider (additional) important information on the topic (Bernard, 2011). Interviewees were selected on the basis of their activities for the CCDRR project, and on their knowledge on the DRR context in the Philippines, the way the sector is structured and how it functions. Respondents for the interviews were selected after talking to NGO employees involved in the CCDRR project team. Contact with them was also made through these NGO employees. Moreover, during some of the project activities, other connections with respondents were made. Most (6) of the interviewees were NGO employees. The other interviewees were government officials (5), and worked in different government offices in different cities and communities. In addition to formal interviews, around twenty informal interviews have also been conducted with government officials, NGO employees, and project participants. These informal interviews were done during meetings and activities that were held in the context of the CCDRR project. The data from these interviews was recorded in a field diary.

The data gathered through these interviews has provided a better understanding of the political and social context that the actors are operating in, and has shed light on what work the stakeholders carry out regarding CCDRR. Additionally, stakeholders' views with respect to the project, and the capacities that they think are built through the project also became clear through interviewing.

3.1.4 FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

Three Focus Group Discussions have been done with NGO workers, government officials and community workers, and children respectively. These group discussions served to get a good insight

into what these actors have been doing in regard to CCDRR and what their views on the project are. The session with the children focused more on what they considered to be the risks in their environment and what capacities they thought they had to deal with these risks. For this, twelve children in the age group of 10 to 15, living in a high risk area in one of the project communities, were selected. This selection was done by a *barangay* (community) official who was involved in the project. The session with government officials and community workers included twelve participants from different agencies in one of the project cities. They were all members of the Technical Working Group (TWG) created through the project, and represented different agencies who concern themselves with child protection issues, Disaster Risk Reduction, or both. The data gathered there provided a good overview of the risks in the city and the different perspectives and work that is done by the different agencies. The FGD with NGO workers included four employees of the main implementing organization, who were involved in the project. This discussion gathered important data about capacities built due to the project, challenges faced during the implementation phase and limitations of the project.

3.2 METHODOLOGICAL CONSIDERATIONS

3.2.1 ACCESS

Access to the participants was gained through Center for Disaster Preparedness (CDP), a Filipino Non-Governmental Organization based in Quezon City, Metro Manila. This organization is focused on Community Based Disaster Risk Reduction (CBDRR) and is doing numerous projects in communities in the Philippines. One of the projects that they are currently working on focuses on CCDRR, and is carried out together with Plan International, a large international NGO focused on child development. This project emphasizes the importance of putting children at the center of Disaster Risk Reduction, educating and empowering them, and was the object of this research. The researcher interned at CDP, and was able to participate in the project activities in the period of March through May 2017. Also, because of this internship, the researcher was able to access the network of CDP and gain access to informants for the interviews and FGDs. This way of gaining access has both positive and negative consequences. On the one hand, CDP gave the researcher access to its wide network of stakeholders. These stakeholders might not have been accessible if not for the relations that CDP maintained with them. Moreover, because the researcher was affiliated with an organization such as CDP, people were more willing to talk about CCDRR and issues in the field. This might have been different if the researcher came to the field without affiliations. On the other hand, being seen as part of an organization could also have had negative impacts on the research. Being linked to an NGO most likely influenced the kind of data that was gathered, and what the informants did or did not share. None of the interviewees not affiliated with CDP had any critical remarks on the work that they were doing

with CDP, and multiple expressed the wish to prolong their cooperation with CDP if it was possible. Because of the researcher's association with CDP, the informants possibly would not have told the researcher if they did see shortcomings in the project or had any remarks for improvement. Only trusting on this information would have been problematic for the research, since it provided a skewed picture of the results of the project. However, by supplementing this data with interviews with CDP employees, who were all very able to critically reflect upon their efforts, and by doing participant observation and report analysis, this skewed picture was limited at much as possible.

3.2.2 POSITIONALITY

Positionality is important to consider when doing research, and refers to "the way in which others position the individual identity and affiliations he/she may have" (Sanghera and Thapar-Bjorkert, 2008: 553). This positionality can influence the access that the researcher gets, and also the kind of data that is gathered. As stated above, being part of an organization such as CDP influenced the data collection. Because the researcher was considered a part of the organization, informants did not express critical thoughts towards the project. Apart from circumstantial factors such as being affiliated with an organization, there were other, set factors that could have influenced the data that was gathered or the access granted. Such aspects include the fact that the researcher is a white, European female. Moreover, the researcher is also a young student. These factors both helped and hindered access to certain people, and it is important to consider how informants saw the researcher and how this influenced the data. Most of the informants were very positive towards the researcher being part of the activities and meetings of the project, and were more than willing to share their stories and experiences. However, sometimes this enthusiasm turned into a very informal and joking conversation, which hampered an open, serious lesson sharing atmosphere. Moreover, the position of the researcher influenced the way project activities were conducted, and the way informants presented themselves as well. For example, during a group meeting for the project, one of the government officials insisted moving the meeting to an air-conditioned room, instead of the scheduled not air-conditioned room, upon learning that the researcher was joining the visit. This is an explicit example that shows that the government official wanted to show another picture of the situation because of the researcher being present. The researcher thus got a different view of the project activities and stakeholders' commitment to the project than the situation would have been without her presence. This is an example of an explicit instance of this happening, but there is no way to tell whether such influences occurred more often without the researcher's knowledge.

3.2.3 LANGUAGE

Another issue with gathering data was the language barrier. Even though English is one of the official languages in the Philippines, in Metro Manila most people prefer to speak in the other official language, namely Tagalog. Project activities and meetings were conducted in Tagalog, which made it difficult for the researcher to follow what was happening and what was being said. The researcher had a basic understanding of Tagalog, but not comprehensive enough to follow extensive conversations on DRR. During participant observation, a translator was available most of the time, to translate the main things that were being said. However, translation was often not very precise, which led to the researcher missing out on important details. Some of these details were recovered by discussing the conversation in further detail with the translator at a later time. The interviews were all conducted in English, since most of the informants were comfortable enough to speak in English. For some of the interviews, an employee of CDP was present, to be able to translate if the interviewee could not express herself or himself in English. Again, interpretation was an issue here, since what the translator says is already an interpretation of what the informant is saying. However, because the interviewees were proficient in the English language, they could understand the translation of the translator, and change or add to the translation if they deemed necessary. Another issue with the translation was that the translator for the interviews was a CDP employee. The translator was already familiar with all the interviewees, which influenced the interview data both positively and negatively. On the positive side, since the interviewee already knew the translator, the interviewees felt very comfortable sharing their stories. On the negative side, because the interviewees knew, and worked with the translator, this might have caused them to hold back on criticism of the project, or caused them to say something they think CDP would like to hear. The researcher tried to limit this bias by conducting some of the interviews by herself, without a translator present. Moreover, several informal interviews were conducted with multiple respondents at events after the initial interview was conducted.

3.2.4 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Informed consent was obtained from all the informants involved in the study, they were all aware of the intentions of the researcher and the objectives of the research. Before each interview the researcher took the time to explain the research objectives to ascertain that the informants were aware of what their answers would be used for. In the case of the FGD with the children, it was made sure that they knew what the research was done for as well, and the purpose and their contribution to the research was explained to them by both the government official that knew them, and the CDP project staff. Moreover, to protect the informants, anonymity of all the informants has been insured by not using names in the report.

3.3 CASE DESCRIPTION

The project that was studied for this research was titled “Strengthening Resilience to Disasters among Vulnerable Urban Poor Communities in Manila, Philippines”. The project was funded by the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of the Australian government (DFAT), and jointly implemented by Plan International and Center for Disaster Preparedness.

Natural hazards that are particularly high risk in Metro Manila are typhoons and floods (Duijsens & Faling, 2014; Porio, 2011; Bankoff, 2003). The area of Metro Manila is a plain in which multiple large rivers flow, for example the Meycauayan and Mallabon-Tullahan rivers in the north, and the Marikina river in the east (Bankoff, 2003). The area forms a kind of urbanized “large drainage basin” for these rivers, and therefore it is very prone to flooding (Ramirez et al., 2013: 212). Moreover, there are several fault lines that run through the city, making earthquakes a regular occurrence. At the moment, preparations are being done in anticipation of ‘the Big One’, a 7.2 magnitude earthquake that is projected to strike Metro Manila (Center for Disaster Preparedness, 2016). Lastly, fire is also an important hazard in Metro Manila. The area is very urbanized, which has led to a lot of unofficial and unregulated settlement. Houses of these informal settlers are often made out of light materials, increasing the risk of fire occurring. Moreover, illegal wiretapping for electricity increases the fire hazard. As said, these many informal settler families often live in risky areas, which increases their vulnerability to disaster even further (Porio, 2011). When floods occur, their houses are often the first to be affected. Also, since their houses are mostly made out of light materials, they will most likely not remain unaffected during an earthquake. The project was implemented in 3 cities in the area of Metro Manila, in a total of 10 targeted barangays. The three cities that participated in the project were Quezon City, San Juan City and Valenzuela City. Figure 1 shows these cities and their location in the

Figure 1: Map of the National Capital Region (source: Adkranz, 2014, stars added)

National Capital Region (NCR). Most of the covered barangays are flood and earthquake prone. Moreover, multiple barangays are also prone to fire (Center for Disaster Preparedness, 2016).

The CCDRR project was a three year engagement, and activities were conducted in three different phases. The project started in October 2014, and ended in October 2017. Phase one of the project was the inception phase, for which Quezon City served as the pilot city. In this phase, activities were only planned for Quezon City and the four targeted barangays. During the second and third phase of the project, San Juan city and Valenzuela city and its barangays were also involved in the project activities.

The project had three different objectives, which are set out below:

- "Increase awareness and capacity of community, youth and children and relevant agencies to reduce and manage disaster and climate risks in targeted communities in Metro Manila."
- "Contribute and support to national Disaster Risk Reduction and Management mechanism focusing on Cities and Barangay Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (DRRM) planning and implementation which considers specific needs and rights of children and other vulnerable groups."
- "The identification and Implementation of small-scale climate smart disaster risk mitigation activities identified through risk assessment and planning at barangays with the support from relevant local government units and other stakeholders to build community experience and evidence for community resiliency" (Center for Disaster Preparedness and Plan-Philippines, 2016a).

The first objective is mostly focused on awareness raising of the community, but also of agencies involved in DRR. There is a special focus on raising the awareness of children and youth. The second objective relates to increasing the capacities of duty bearers, especially in the field of children's rights and needs in disaster preparedness. The third objective emphasizes ownership and participation of the targeted stakeholders. The main group targeted by the project activities were children and youth.

3.3.1 STAKEHOLDERS

In the context of Metro Manila, there are many stakeholders that are involved in Child Centered Urban Disaster Risk Reduction (CCUDRR) projects. These stakeholders do not only concern themselves with DRR practices, but also with issues regarding child protection. That is why there can be a great number of stakeholders involved in CCUDRR projects. In the project of this research, numerous stakeholders from barangay and city level were involved as well. These stakeholders were selected because they were all involved with DRR or child protection issues. On the barangay level, there was close cooperation between CDP and the barangay council to organize activities. The barangay council is the

leadership of the barangay, and is composed of different *kagawads* (councilors) who are each assigned a different portfolio with a specific focus (e.g. livelihood, health, or DRR) (Boquet, 2017). Participants for many of the activities of the projects were invited through these barangay councils. Other stakeholders that were involved at the barangay level included Barangay Health Workers (BHW), the committee on Violence against Women and Children (VAWC), the Barangay Council for the Protection of Children (BCPC), and the Barangay Disaster Risk Reduction Management Council (BDRRMC). The VAWC and the BCPC mainly focus on child protection issues, whereas the BHWs and the BDRRMC are more involved in disaster preparedness and response. On the city level, there were also numerous stakeholders. Focusing mostly on disaster management, the City Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Office (CDRRMO) and the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) were involved. Other stakeholders, such as the Philippine National Police (PNP), the Women and Children's Protection Desk (WCPD), the Department of Education (DepEd), the City Social Welfare and Development office (CSWD), and the City Health Office, focused on both child protection issues and DRR. Employees of all of these agencies were either interviewed formally, interviewed informally, or were part of one of the FGDs conducted. For a list of formal interviews and FGDs conducted, see Annex 1.

3.3.2 PROJECT ACTIVITIES

Several types of activities were implemented by CDP and Plan International. Firstly, there were awareness raising activities, as indicated in objective one. These activities were mostly aimed at raising the awareness of the whole community or more specifically raising the awareness of children. Moreover, awareness raising activities for government officials were also organized. These awareness raising activities included public forums, different kinds of seminars, trainings and workshops. There were also awareness raising activities organized on the national scale, for example the National DRR Forum that was organized in June of 2017 in Quezon City. For this forum, youth shared their experiences with the project, and many stakeholders, including those from the national level, were invited. Secondly, there were skill building or capacity building activities. These activities can be divided into two categories. Firstly, there were capacity building activities for the duty bearers. These included contingency planning for the barangays, and the development or improvement of the Barangay DRRM plans. Moreover, activities were conducted to increase preparedness of duty bearers, for example a fire drill was held in barangay West Crame in San Juan city. This fire drill helped the Barangay Council in identifying their roles during a disaster situation, and made them more aware of what is all needed during a calamity. Secondly, there were capacity building activities for the rights holders. These capacities were mostly built up during the small scale projects mentioned under objective three. These projects were identified, developed and implemented by youth core groups in the participating

barangays. The activities were identified as needed in the barangay by these core groups, and included for example a seminar on family preparedness, basic life support training for youth, and youth leadership trainings. Another development that the project has contributed to is the establishment of Technical Working Groups in each of the three cities. These TWGs consist of all the relevant stakeholders in Child Protection and DRR in the cities. They include both barangay level and city level stakeholders that were involved in the project. The TWGs aim to meet every month to discuss project activities and other opportunities. In several cities stakeholders have expressed the intention to sustain the group after the project has ended.

The project activities will be further elaborated upon and analyzed in the chapters that follow.

4.FILIPINO SOCIETY: STRUCTURES OF VULNERABILITY

To understand the impact of DRR projects on reducing disaster risks and vulnerability, it is essential to pay attention to the political, social and economic processes that are going on in society. This chapter goes into these processes, and so it provides a crucial understanding of the circumstances in the country which produce vulnerability.

To understand the dynamics of DRR in the Philippines, it is important to know the underlying situation in the country. The Philippines is a developing country situated in South East Asia. It ranks number 116 out of 188 on the Human Development Index (HDI), and thereby it ranks as having 'medium human development' (United Nations Development Programme, 2015). The HDI uses indicators such as health, education and standard of living, so this ranking shows that the Philippines has some progress to make in terms of development. The country has a population of around 100 million people (Boquet, 2017). Demographically, the Philippines is a very young country, with 34 percent of the population under 15 years old (Boquet, 2017: 120). Culturally, the Filipinos attach great value to community and family. Catholicism is the dominant religion in the Philippines, about 80 percent of Filipinos is Catholic, and for many people religion plays an important role in every aspect of their lives (Bankoff, 2001). Moreover, family and the community is of very important significance as well. Many Filipinos live with their large extended families in close-knit community networks (Davis, 1987).

Figure 2: Map of the Philippines (source: Lonely Planet, 2017)

4.1 HISTORY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The Philippines has a long history of being colonized. In the sixteenth century until the end of the nineteenth century, the Philippines was in Spanish hands (Davis, 1987). Towards the end of the Spanish

colonial period, Filipinos started to battle for independence. However, during this time, the Spanish-American war broke out, which was lost by Spain. As a consequence, the Philippines was handed over to the United States, and became an American colony. This lasted until 1946, when the US granted independence to the Philippines, and the Philippine republic was declared (Boquet, 2017). In the years after independence, different presidents followed each other rapidly, until 1965, when Marcos was elected president. He was re-elected in 1969. Following protests and conflicts in the country, Marcos declared martial law in 1972 (Boquet, 2017). Under his rule, the economy declined rapidly, and there was widespread poverty. Loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) were taken out, and the focus was put on the export sector, which was focused on the export of coconuts, bananas, pineapples and sugar (Davis, 1987; Boquet, 2017). However, the focus on an export driven economy did not strengthen the Philippine economy and only increased import dependence, and caused even more debt and poverty (Davis, 1987). As a result of the lagging economy and widespread poverty, people protested more, but these protests slammed down and people were repressed (Davis, 1987). Marcos ruled the country under martial law for fourteen years, until a revolution ultimately ousted him from power in 1986 (Montiel, 2010; Boquet, 2017). Since then, the Philippines has functioned as a democratic state. However, the economy has not been able to grow significantly. This mediocre economic growth of the country is often attributed to the high levels of corruption and the vast bureaucracy (Boquet, 2017: 183).

The majority of the Philippine GDP today comes from the service industry, namely 57.3 percent (Philippine Statistics Authority, 2017). This sector is steadily growing, and mainly consists of "telecommunications, call centers and financial services" (Boquet, 2017: 354). The industrial sector is 33.9 percent, consists mostly of garments, and the automotive industry. However, industry has never been a very important sector in the Philippines, and is losing ground to the services sector (Boquet, 2017). The agricultural sector is in decline as well, falling from a share of 24 percent in the period of 1985-1990, to 8.7 percent of the GDP in 2016 (Boquet, 2017; Philippine Statistics Authority, 2017). The main source of wealth in the Philippines comes from land holdings and the consumption industry. Because the Philippines has never had a strong industrial base, the wealthiest people accumulate wealth through land holdings and shares in the consumer society, such as large shopping malls (Boquet, 2017).

Even though the agricultural share in the GDP is currently relatively small, in the rural areas agriculture is still the most important source of income (Boquet, 2017). Because the agricultural sector is declining, families find it increasingly difficult to provide a livelihood for their family, which is one of the drivers of rural-urban migration (see section 4.2). The agricultural and export sectors are historically riddled

with inequality, and keep economic power in the hands of a few wealthy players, who also have considerable political power (Boquet, 2017). For example, the sugar industry is controlled by a few large land owners (Boquet, 2017). Filipino farmers who work the land, do not own it, and often have large debt (Boquet, 2017). The widespread rural poverty in the agricultural sector exists partly because historically no significant land reforms have been carried out. The problem with this was that the land lords who controlled most of the land, also had power in local and national government. Moreover, the US, who still had considerable influence over the Philippines, and had military bases situated in the country, was more interested in maintaining order in the country than in addressing economic and political issues in Philippine society. Because of this, "opportunities to introduce real land reform, reform the economy, and to broaden the political system to include voices 'from below' were always avoided to keep elites happy" (Boquet, 2017: 107). The influence of powerful landlords is still there in the present society, and therefore they have always been able to continue to block land reform policies (Boquet, 2017). The Philippine economy thus knows a lot of inequality. This keeps the poor from gaining wealth, and keeps the economic resources in the hands of wealthy economic and political players.

4.2 URBANIZATION

The Philippines consists of eighteen regions, which are divided up into 81 provinces (Boquet, 2017). These provinces each consist of multiple cities and municipalities. The only region that is not divided up into provinces is the NCR, which is comprised of 16 cities and one municipality, and is often also called Metro Manila (Ramirez et al., 2013). This is the capital of the Philippines, and also the largest city of the country. It has an estimated population of 11.5 million people, and is one of the most densely populated cities in the world (Ramirez et al., 2013). This population is still growing, as the city attracts many migrants, and population growth is high. This is mostly because the city can offer "higher incomes and greater livelihood opportunities" than the rural areas (Bankoff, 2003). This is partly due to a "lack of an effective land reform program in the country", as stated in the previous section. This leads farmers who have lost their lands, or who could not provide a livelihood for their family from their agricultural income, to the city to try and provide a livelihood for their family there (Boquet, 2017: 435). Moreover, job opportunities are higher in the city because the Philippine agricultural sector is diminishing, while the service providing sector is growing (Boquet, 2017). Companies providing services are mostly found in the urban areas, which causes rural-urban migration, as stated previously. The urban growth causes the border of the urban area to expand outwards. Because of the vast amount of inhabitants, resources of the city are put under pressure, which has consequences for the environment and the risks in the city (Bankoff, 2003). In Metro Manila there have been increased

investments in infrastructure and the provision of basic services in the city, but this has not been able to keep up with the growing population (Porio, 2011).

Urbanization and the steep increase in land prices over the years has resulted in a lot of informal settlement, which is difficult for the city to regulate (Bankoff, 2003). In 2010, it was estimated that 37 percent of the population of Metro Manila live in slums, this comes down to more than 4 million people (Ballesteros, 2010). Moreover, the population living in informal settlements and slums is increasing by 8 percent per year (Ballesteros, 2010). Land prices have drastically risen in the NCR in the past decades. Between 1940 and 1969, "land values throughout de country increased 12 to 15 times […] but 27 times in the NCR" (Bankoff, 2003: 103). In the 1980s the increase in land prices was even higher in the NCR, ranging from 40 times in Quezon City to 2,000 times in Escolta (Bankoff, 2003). Because of these high land prices, people migrating to Metro Manila were not able to purchase land for their accommodation, and most of them have ended up in the informal housing sector. Informal settlement neighborhoods are often located on the edges of the urban area, or in "wastelands that proliferate in Third World cities, especially near to areas that provide work and along major transport hubs and links" (Bankoff, 2003: 103). Attempts to provide housing to these migrants have often not reached their target because many of these "social housing projects and slum upgrading measures" have benefitted the middle class (Berner, 2000: 555). The reason for this is that the poor were unable to afford these houses because of the high land prices.

Because informal settlement is largely unregulated, there has been a lot of settlement in unsafe areas, such as along river banks, under bridges, by a flood zone, or on dump sites (Porio, 2011, Bankoff, 2003; Davis, 1987). This poses a big threat to the safety of these people in terms of disaster risk, but it is also a huge risk to their health. Bankoff (2003) argues that government actions have not sufficiently dealt with this issue. He claims that governments mainly favor technical solutions, which only have "limited outcomes and may actually aggravate conditions usually to the disadvantage of the most vulnerable poor" (107). Most of the informal settlers do not have sufficient access to water or electricity, and no "security of tenure in their housing, jobs and livelihood sources" (Porio, 2011: 429). It is estimated that in Metro Manila, about 40 percent of the households does not have adequate access to basic services (Porio, 2011). Because so many do not have a stable income, they live on a day-to-day basis, often facing debt, and are unable to build up savings to improve their situations (Boquet, 2017).

4.3 POLITICS

The Philippine political system has many problems, and is generally seen to be characterized by “corruption, fraud and violence, and political power lies in the hands of a small number of families which often control an entire region” (Boquet, 2017: 103). This corruption is visible throughout the entire political apparatus. Moreover, the political system reinforces the divide between the poor and the wealthy in the country, by keeping power in the hands of a few powerful players.

4.3.1 CLIENTELISM AND PATRONAGE POLITICS

An important characteristic of Filipino society is the presence of patronage politics and clientelism. There is a party system in place, but political affiliations are mainly determined by "calculations of personal gain and regional advantage" (Yilmaz and Venugopal, 2013; 232). Political parties and local level political positions are mostly occupied by people from a couple leading political families. Elections are mostly contests between members of different powerful families (Porio, 2012). Campaigns often focus on very local issues and emphasize personal relationships. Votes are gained by "using a combination of family ties, utang na loob [debts of gratitude], loyalty, and promises of jobs, payments, or other material benefits" (Timberman, 1991: 38). Furthermore, the president has far reaching powers of appointment, meaning that many high level political positions are appointed by the president. This is problematic for the establishment of strong government organizations and a competitive political system because there is “no incentive to establish strong political parties, to formulate and implement programmatic policies, or to promote contending political philosophies” (Hodder, 2014: 14). Moreover, it contributes to keeping the power in the system between a small number of political players. The patronage system prevents an effective and efficient distribution of political and economic state resources, because this distribution is not based upon qualifications but on personal relationships (Villanueva and Salazar, 2015). In addition, because the power is kept within a small number of players, it is nearly impossible for new players to enter the political field. Although the majority of the Philippine population lives in poverty, political power lies with the wealthiest part of society (Boquet, 2017). The political leaders and the position they have in society are thus not representative of the majority of the population (Boquet, 2017: 110). In turn, the majority of the population do not have adequate representation in the political system.

4.3.2 DECENTRALIZATION

In the past decades the Philippine political system has gone through some organizational changes, to attempt to curb the corruption, and to try to prevent the possibility for another authoritarian regime such as Marcos' to emerge again in the future (Porio, 2012). In 1991 the Local Government Code initiated the process of decentralization, which diffused the power from the central government, and

shifted many responsibilities from national level to the level of the local government units (LGUs) (Porio, 2012). For instance, the delivery of basic services in areas such as health, agriculture and social welfare became the responsibility of the LGUs. To be able to deliver these services, resources are transferred from the national government to the LGUs (Turner, 2006). This is done through the Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA). Because local tax systems are often not functioning well, and LGUs have not been able to create sustainable new sources of income, local governments are often very reliant upon the national government for the IRA (Turner, 2006). Porio argues that this system of allotment is not effective, as “subsidies are given to LGUs based on political patronage” (2012: 12).

Moreover, through the process of decentralization LGUs gained power to make their own regulations, and it also "expanded opportunities for participation in local governance" (Turner, 2006: 256). These opportunities for participation were introduced to ensure that "the diverse voices in the community are heard" and to restrict the power of political elites (Turner, 2006: 256). In practice, however, these mechanisms for participation do not work. As stated before, political power in the Philippines is very much concentrated in the hands of a few wealthy political players. As stated, these political players are often also important economic players, and therefore have control over vast amounts of resources. Mechanisms which have been designed to increase social accountability, such as referendum provisions and local development councils are paralyzed by practices of patronage and clientelism in the political system. Yilmaz and Venugopal argue that "Non-Government Organizations seem to have fared better in mobilizing citizens to hold local governments accountable" (2013: 233). However, because of these patronage politics, it is difficult for NGOs to exercise influence on the national political level. Instead, they are “constrained to influence the substance of the policy process”, and mostly operate on a more local, grassroots level (Eaton, 2003, in Villanueva & Salazar, 2015: 175).

Because of the decentralized political system of the Philippines, more executive, legislative and judicial power is given to local leaders, which permits powerful political families to maintain political leadership positions (Porio, 2012). Hodder (2014: 14) argues that “while administrations come and go, families hand down their skills, contacts, and capital from one generation to the next”. Because these local leaders have great autonomy and control, the system is very vulnerable to corruption practices, which has sometimes resulted in inadequate delivery of basic services to the population (Porio, 2012). This elite dominance shows that the division of power in urban areas is very unequal. This unequal power relationship creates “real structural constraints to increasing the access of resources to marginalized groups” (Porio, 2012: 17). Elites do not only claim their power in the political field, but also in the social and economic environment (Porio, 2012). This shows in the rate of economic growth in the country. Even though the Philippine economy has been growing since the mid-2000s, the

poverty rate has not gone down (Boquet, 2017). According to figures of the World Bank, about 25 percent of the population lives under the poverty line (World Bank, 2012). The economic growth has thus not benefitted the poorest of society. The elite has created a society in which they are able to accumulate wealth and power, which in turn enables them to "perpetuate a system that serves their interests" (McCoy 2007, in Hodder, 2014: 14).

In short, patronage in the political system of the Philippines ensures that the political power and the control over resources stays with the elite. The unequal power relationship and lack of connections between this elite and the poor, marginalized and vulnerable groups of the population limits the latter in claiming accountability and in receiving basic services and protection that they need (Yilmaz & Venugopal, 2013: 232).

4.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has shown that certain structures in Filipino society create vulnerability for poor and marginalized people. The political system is very corrupt and based on patronage, which has resulted in a small elite which holds both economic and political power. These resources and political power enables them to maintain a beneficial status quo in the economy and in the political system. As a consequence, political interests of less powerful groups are not considered, they do not have any power and are not able to participate in the political system. Moreover, urbanization has reinforced the poor's vulnerable situation, and makes it difficult for them to get out of their vulnerability. This is because they are often forced to live in informal settlements along the edges of the urban areas, do not have sufficient access to basic services, and have no stable livelihood opportunities.

These structures of vulnerability have huge implications for the position and prospects of Filipino children from urban poor communities. This chapter has shown that economic and political structures limit the opportunities that the marginalized have in the system, and maintain the power and resources in the hands of the elite. The CCDRR project, which will be analyzed in the following chapters, works within these structures, and the confining environment. Therefore it needs to address these issues and it needs to try to identify opportunities for change in the system, which can improve the situation of children from vulnerable and marginalized communities.

5. RIGHTS HOLDERS: CHILDREN AND YOUTH

"What issues do you think are important to address in your barangay?", one of the NGO employees asks the five girls that are sitting at the table. They think for a minute, then start listing problems that they see in their community. Within the hour a list is up on the wall, identifying issues such as pollution, disasters, bullying, and teenage pregnancy. The girls then consider what actions they could take to address these issues. With the help and encouragement of the NGO employees and the councilor that is present the girls develop a list of activities, including initiatives that are already made in their community and initiatives in other communities that they like. At the end of the session, they have settled on an idea of a project that they want to develop: a mural painting and poster making contest for children and youth, focused on DRR and child protection themes. The girls are tasked with developing a project proposal for the activity, and eventually with organizing and implementing this proposed project.

This story is one of the examples of how the CCDRR project involves and encourages youth, and capacitates them to speak up about the issues that they consider important in their community. This chapter elaborates upon the activities that were done and the capacities that have been built among the target group of the project: the children and youth in the targeted poor urban communities. It describes the different capacities that have been built through the project activities. The rights holders have been divided into two different groups: the children and the youth. This is done because there was often a clear division visible in activities that mainly benefitted children and activities that mainly benefitted the youth in the communities. In this case, children are considered people under the age of 15, and youth are those aged 15 to 24 (Interview 7, 2017). In terms of capacity building, it can be seen that the project included more activities specifically for youth than for children, focusing particularly on building their leadership skills and empowering them to raise their voices.

An important consideration that was taken into account in the implementation of the project is that children and youth have specific roles that they can fulfil in disaster preparedness and response. However, when considering these capacities and the roles that they can play, their rights as children also need to be taken into account. Because they are children, there are also certain limitations to their role in DRR that need to be recognized (FGD 1, 2017). For example, after a fire has happened, children often go back to their houses with their parents to look for possessions that can be saved. However, this is often done before the area has been deemed safe by fire personnel and barangay officials. In

this case, children should not be allowed to participate in the disaster response, because it is their right to be protected in dangerous situations (FGD 1, 2017).

5.1 CHILDREN

5.1.1 AWARENESS RAISING

Project activities that benefitted children specifically were mainly of an awareness raising nature, rather than explicitly capacity building. Awareness relates to "knowledge about disaster risks, the factors that lead to disasters and the actions that can be taken, individually and collectively, to reduce exposure and vulnerability to hazards" (IFRC, 2011: 5). Activities greatly increased children's knowledge on what kind of risks exist in their environment, how to prepare for disasters and how to act during a disaster. By increasing people's knowledge about the importance of preparing for a disaster, and about what to do when a disaster strikes, their material capacities are built (Woodrow and Anderson, 1991). By giving children information about what they are able to do to prepare, their human skills are developed (Morgan, 2016). Awareness raising was done through activities such as public forums, seminars on family preparedness, an Early Warning System (EWS) for children workshop, fire drills, and more. For example, a public forum in San Juan was held, which was attended by more than 200 children (Interview 7, 2017). The project manager of Plan International believes that "these kinds of activities help the children appreciate DRR, increase their knowledge, and affirm and reinforce some important concepts related to DRR. Public forums and other activities make the children understand the real meaning of what is being taught in school about DRR and climate change, and include them directly in preparedness exercises such as fire or earthquake drills" (Interview 7, 2017).

Another example of how children's knowledge on what to do when a disaster strikes was boosted, was through a fire drill and a workshop conducted beforehand. Prior to the fire drill in San Juan that was conducted as a project activity, the CDP implementing team organized a workshop with children of the barangay, designed to teach them an EWS for fire. An Early Warning System for a community provides information about a possible oncoming disaster to communities, and tells them what actions to take to reduce the risks of becoming a victim to it (Basher, 2006). The EWS that was developed by CDP includes a lot of pictures and different colors to indicate the different phases and levels of warning, as can be seen in figure 3. The EWS includes less words, to keep it as comprehensible as possible for the children. Often this is a problem, EWSs can contain a lot of words, which makes them difficult to understand for children. Moreover, they are not targeted at children, and can include a lot of technical information which is not relevant for children to know (Personal communication, 18 March 2017). By

developing a simple, understandable system for children, the children that were trained in this barangay will know what to do in case of a fire. This knowledge renders them less vulnerable to getting hurt when a disaster like this strikes.

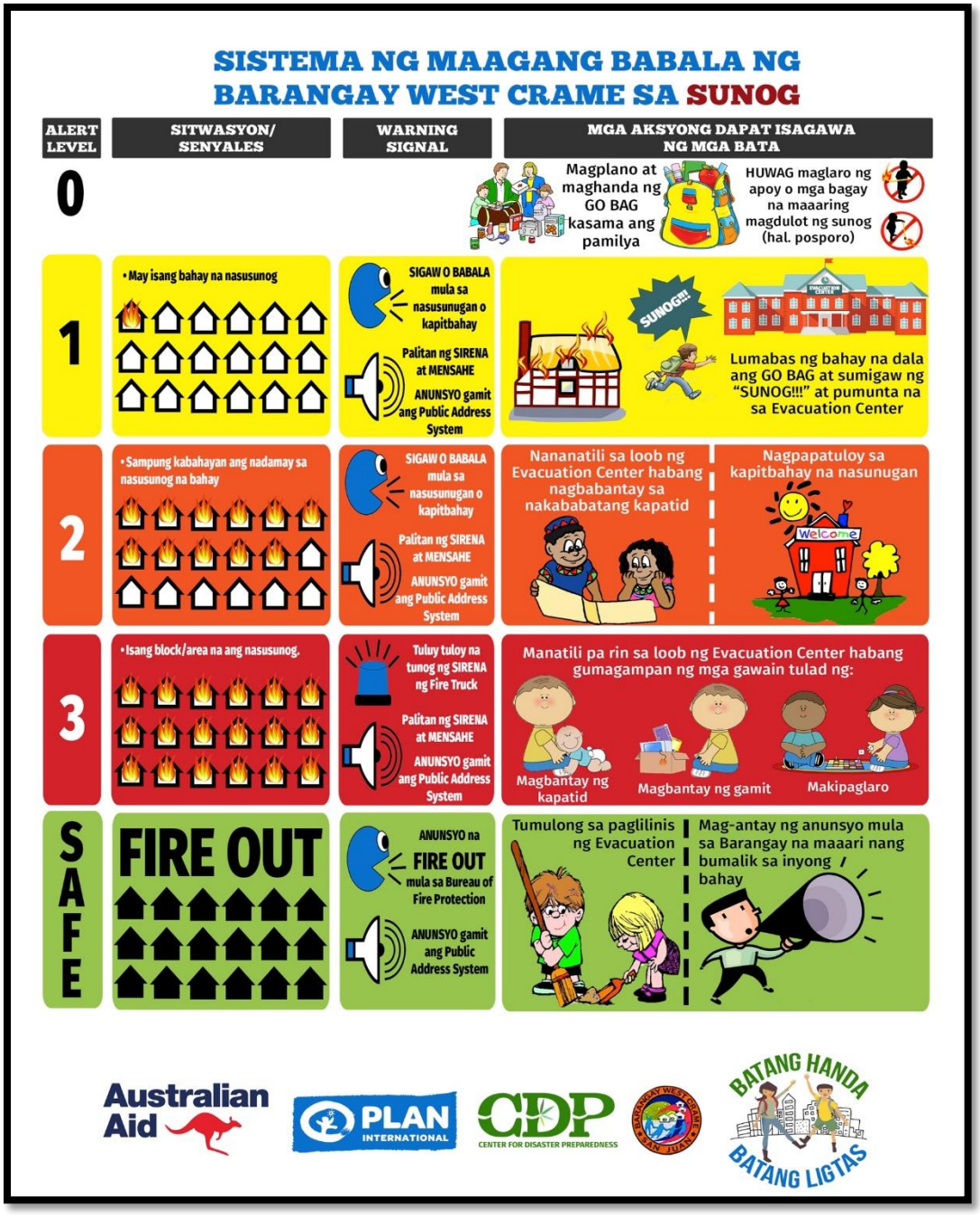

Figure 3: Early Warning System for children in the case of fire (source: Center for Disaster Preparedness and Plan International, 2017)

Moreover, children were informed about what emergency services do during a disaster. For example during the public forums, and some of the small scale projects, different actors related to disaster

management were present to explain what their role is before, during and after disasters. These actors included the DRRMO of the city, the Bureau of Fire Protection (BFP) and the Red Cross. This gave the children more knowledge and awareness about the different parties involved in disaster management, and the process and system that is in place when a disaster happens.

After many of the project activities, the children also received items to bring home. For example, after one activity, the children all received a handbook on disaster preparedness and climate change. The handbook is helpful in educating the children on disaster, explaining in a simple way how the children can prepare, and what they should do in case of a disaster. The whistle and flashlight are items that are useful when a disaster strikes. What the children were also taught was the importance of having a go bag prepared for an earthquake, or an e-balde for a flood situation. Go bags are bags which include objects that could be helpful during an earthquake, and which can be easily taken along in case of evacuation. An e-balde is an emergency bucket, and should be taken along in case of flooding. Both the go bag and e-balde include things such as water, a first aid kit, blanket, non-perishable food, batteries, a cell phone, flashlight and whistle (personal communication, 25 March, 2017). By educating the children on this, they can prepare themselves better for disasters. By providing children with these materials, the project has thus increased the children's preparedness for a disaster and has built their capacities to deal with it when it strikes.

5.1.2 INCREASING AWARENESS ON CHILDREN'S RIGHTS AND GIVING CHILDREN A VOICE

Furthermore, something that was identified by multiple stakeholders in the project is that the project activities have really increased children's awareness of their own rights (FGD 1, 2017; Interview 11, 2017). They identified this as important, because they felt that rights holders must also know their own rights, and what they are entitled to. Because of the project, they are more aware of this. A member of the CDP project team added to this that it is important that children "also know which agencies are specifically accountable for them to be able to realize their rights to their fullest potential" (FGD 1, 2017). Also, through the project, children have become more involved in DRR at the local level, and project activities have also helped in raising the voices of children. An employee of the DILG of Quezon City said that this was really apparent: "their views and insights and suggestions are considered in the planning process and program design of the government units" (Interview 8, 2017). Community risk assessments were also done in the barangays, which included the assessments of children. This gave children a voice, they got a chance to participate and talk about their needs and problems. They could express their opinions, and give their own suggestions and recommendations (Interview 11, 2017). This has led to the inclusion of a children's perspective in the barangays' DRRM plans. In some cases

the community risk assessments done by the children led to direct changes made by the barangay council. For example in barangay West Crame, in San Juan city, children expressed feelings of fear and unsafety because some streets lacked street lights. In response, the barangay council considered this issue, and made sure that street lights were installed in the streets in question (FGD 1, 2017).

A BCPC employee of one of the barangays in Quezon City expressed how children and youth became more vocal about their issues (Interview 11, 2017). She explained that some of the children in conflict with the law (CICL) had become advocates for an anti-bullying program that was set up, and that teenage mothers also became advocates and are sharing their experiences in schools to raise awareness on child protection issues. Moreover, she said that before the project, only adults could address issues and let their voice be heard, children were not able to do this. Now, it is possible for children and youth to propose their own projects to the barangay council, and the council is open to it (Interview 11, 2017). The project thus increased their participation and voice in their community. A CDP Project Team member agrees with this and said:

> "I think one of the contributions of the project was to impart the concept that the children and youth are not just beneficiaries but also as active participants and stakeholders as well. That not only they are entitled to receive the social welfare projects, but they are also entitled to participate in the planning, to be able to give their opinions on what should be, to give their opinions in order to improve or develop the plans that will be implemented for their needs" (FGD 1, 2017).

This can be seen as one of the essential outcomes of the project. Rather than just informing the children about the disaster risks in their community, the project taught them that they have a right to participate, and to be heard.

5.1.3 INVOLVING CHILDREN IN MAKING A CHANGE

Not only did the project teach them that they had a right to participate, there were also activities that showed them that they could be involved to make a change in their community, and contribute to solving societal issues. For example, during one of the small scale projects, the children were taught about Climate Change Adaptation (CCA), and urban gardening. They each got their own plant to put into a plastic container, and had to take a pledge to commit to keep the environment clean. Through this activity, and the discussion about it afterwards, they learned how to do this container gardening, and became more aware about the importance of keeping their environment clean, and the things they could do to contribute to it. This activity both strengthened their material capacities through increasing their knowledge of the topic, and also their attitudinal capacities, by showing them a way to contribute to creating a better environment. When asked about how they could help make their

community a better place, children themselves also saw their contribution in this field, by cleaning up and recycling waste, and growing their own plants and vegetables (FGD 2, 2017). Activities like urban gardening engaged children's creativity, and showed them that they are able to contribute to a solution for bigger societal problems. Urban container gardening is a fun and playful way to demonstrate the importance of taking care of the environment, and the actions that children can take to contribute. Moreover, making them commit to get involved to keep the environment clean also encourages the children to contribute and shows them their value in doing something for their environment.

5.2 YOUTH

Many of the before mentioned awareness raising activities also included the participation of youth, and youth were also involved in other activities such as the community risk assessments. However, for the youth, there was an extra, clearer focus on capacity building. The main way through which this was done was through small scale projects that were implemented in each barangay. These small scale projects were mainly implemented in phase two and three of the project. The projects were developed by a core group composed of youth. These youth were mainly between 17 and 24, and most of them were already active in the community through the Task Force Youth Development (TFYD) in their barangay. The TFYD is a part of the barangay structure, and assigned to do activities targeting youth development, such as leadership and skills training (RA10632, 2013). Youth from youth organizations were mainly targeted in the hope to strengthen the organization and youth participation. Most core groups consisted of around ten members, of which a couple of them were really active (personal communication, 30 April, 2017). At the start of the process, consultations were held with the core group, letting the youth define the issues in their barangay, and the activities and programs that were already done to try to address these issues. They were then asked to come up with an activity to implement in their barangay, which would address one of the issues, but that had not been done before. The core group then had to write a proposal for this small scale project, and together with CDP facilitators, they organized the project. Organizing these small scale projects developed several capacities for the youth that took part in the core group.

5.2.1 ORGANIZING AND IMPLEMENTING

Firstly, by developing a project, the youth's organizing, implementing and proposal writing skills were increased. Project team members of CDP indicated that one of the goals of the small scale projects is to capacitate the youth in how to implement a project, and how to coordinate with other agencies, and arrange resource speakers for an activity. With this knowledge and this experience, they are able to facilitate meetings and trainings (FGD 1, 2017). They also indicted that since the core group

members were part of the TFYD they should know how to write a proposal, set up a project and do the budgeting, but this was often not the case. Writing the proposal and organizing the project was often a tedious process for them, and the first time for them to do such an activity. Furthermore, the process of assessing the activities is something that the youth learned as well. After the small scale projects, ample time was taken to reflect on the lessons learned from the implementation process. Good points and points for improvement were written down, as well as ideas to sustain the efforts that were made. Some members of one of the core groups indicated that organizing and implementing the project was a very valuable experience to them, and also gave them the confidence to know that they could organize such an activity again, and provided them with more skills and knowledge on how to go about the implementation (personal communication, May 14, 2017). This experience thus gave the youth new capacities to set up and organize projects and activities in the future.

5.2.2 LEADERSHIP SKILLS

Secondly, by making the youth take charge in their own project, their leadership skills were built. As said, they were involved in every part of the project: the conceptualization, the planning, and the execution. The CDP project team was there to guide them in these stages, but it was up to the youth to take charge and really develop their own ideas. Since most of the youth were already active in their community through the TFYD, they already had a degree of confidence and leadership. However, these leadership skills and their confidence have grown throughout the project. One of the youth involved in the project indicated that she considered this the added value of the project for the youth: the activities have built their confidence, their self-esteem and their skills (personal communication, April 5, 2017). Moreover, being part of the small scale project also encouraged the youth to get more involved as youth leaders in their communities. The project team actively encouraged the core group to sustain their efforts after the project implementation, which has stimulated the youth to organize more activities (FGD 1, 2017).

5.2.3 LEARNING THROUGH THE SMALL SCALE PROJECTS

A third way in which the small scale projects built up the capacities of the youth, was through the nature of the activities that were organized. Some of the projects of a more awareness raising nature, such as a “Disaster Risk Reduction Mini Fest”, or a seminar on disaster and family preparedness, but other projects really aimed at building capacities of the participants. For instance, some core groups organized trainings in Basic Life Support (BLS), or leadership trainings. Basic Life Support trainings were organized by several core groups in different cities, and aimed at teaching participants the foundations of first aid, and how to act in emergency situations. Part of this was bandaging, lifting injured people, and CPR. In Valenzuela City, for example, the core group managed to organize two three day trainings,

which were attended by youth aged 15-24. CDP facilitated some basic lectures during the training, on disaster preparedness and family preparedness, but most of the training was facilitated by resource speakers from the Valenzuela CDRRMO. The participants had to take an exam on the last day of the training, and if they passed they became part of the Emergency Medical Services team of the city, and were able to help during emergency situations. This way, the capacities that they built have a greater chance to be sustained in the long term. Leadership trainings that were conducted aimed to increase leadership skills of the participants. Participants were members of youth organizations who were aspiring youth leaders. During these trainings, lectures and workshops were given by resource speakers from different government agencies, which were arranged through their involvement in the project. One of the participants of a leadership training expressed that it had tremendously helped her in expressing herself, to the extent that she was now able to "participate and give some of her inputs during the risk assessments and barangay disaster risk reduction and management planning workshops conducted" in her barangay (Center for Disaster Preparedness and Plan-Philippines, 2016b). Moreover, the leadership training gave her the idea to set up a youth organization aimed to raise awareness about disaster preparedness among the children in her barangay (Center for Disaster Preparedness and Plan-Philippines, 2016b). This shows that the project activities have more a more far reaching impact than just teaching leadership strategies or BLS. The activities have also inspired and encouraged youth to start their own initiatives.

5.2.4 EMPOWERING YOUTH AND ENCOURAGING PARTICIPATION

Fourthly, because of the leadership trainings mentioned, the participants also became more aware of their rights, and the opportunities that they had for activities and projects within their barangay. They learned about the governmental structure of the barangay and the funds that were available for the TFYD for youth development activities. Often, members were not aware of these opportunities, and funds were mostly utilized for sports activities, such as basketball competitions (Interview 7, 2017; Interview 11, 2017; FGD 1, 2017). By informing the youth about the possibility to use these funds for other proposed activities, their capacity to deal with issues such as disasters and the capacity to boost their skills further, increased. Youth in San Juan expressed that after their leadership training, where they learned about the funds that were available to them, they felt more equipped and encouraged to deal with the barangay council to see how these funds would be utilized (Interview 7, 2017). In the future, the youth members of the TFYD thus know that there are funds available for them to call upon when they want to organize activities. The funds can then be utilized for a meaningful, capacity building activity, like training on disaster risk reduction, BLS, climate change mitigation, or child protection, instead of only sports related activities. Through the project, youth were able to realize the importance of such activities for the disaster awareness and development of children and their families in their

barangays. For example, after the small scale project implementation in one of the barangays in Quezon City, which was a Basic Life Support training, some of the youth organized a re-echo of the activity, to reach more youth in their community. This time, however, the funding did not come from the CCDRR project funds, but from government funds that they were entitled to through the TFYD (FGD 1, 2017). Something similar happened in San Juan, where the youth organized a training on disaster preparedness, from their own budget (FGD 1, 2017). This shows that giving the youth knowledge on the procedures and opportunities of government agencies, and encouraging them to sustain their efforts, can and has worked in capacitating the youth to organize activities themselves.

Lastly, letting the youth participate in project activities and DRR policy is also a way to build their capacities. It involved them directly in policy that affects them, and their participation made sure that their voices were heard. They were given a voice, and had an opportunity to be involved in development for their own benefit. Moreover, by bringing the youth into contact with other government agencies to be able to organize their activity, their network grew, and it gave them the knowledge and confidence to deal with these agencies in the future. Also, youth was included in the different Technical Working Groups in the cities. This way, they were even more immersed in the network of DRR and child protection agencies in their cities and barangays. This participation is also beneficial to their leadership skills, and their comprehension of their rights and the government structures and procedures that affect them in their community.

Overall, in every step of the project, the youth involved has been encouraged to speak up, has been involved in many of the activities, and has been given responsibility and trust to implement their own activities. Doing this has shown them that they have a voice and that they can make a difference, and has empowered them to raise their voice.

5.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has shown that the activities of the CCDRR project have mainly focused on building the material capacities of the children and youth. Specifically, there was an emphasis on encouraging their participation in political processes in the barangay, and raising their awareness on their rights. The project has mostly been focused on building the capacities of the youth, rather than children. Specific capacity building activities have been organized for them, mostly focusing on building their leadership skills and empowering them to raise their voices. Children's activities were shown to have been mostly of an awareness raising nature, but the increased knowledge that they gained from these activities has also increased their capacities to deal with disaster and to defend their rights. A key word in this

examining the main outcome of the project activities is ‘participation’. Throughout all activities the emphasis on the importance of participation and inclusion of children and youth was prevalent.

6. DUTY BEARERS: GOVERNMENT AGENCIES

The fire drill starts very early in the morning. I am stationed at the community DRR office, from which the small barangay fire truck leaves as soon as the drill has officially started. I try and follow it by foot, but I soon lose sight of it in the maze of streets. As I run through the small streets of barangay West Crame, I can hear the fire truck in the distance. I pass a string of people on their way to evacuation sites. Following the sound, I arrive at the scene of the fire. Lots of people stand around, we have to squeeze to the side of the narrow street to let the large fire truck from the city pass. Many firemen from the barangay and from the city of San Juan are working together to try and extinguish the fire. Many liters of water are used, and many people, including myself, stand by to watch what is going on and take pictures. Others are carrying clip boards and are taking notes of what is happening at the scene. Eventually the smoke has evaporated and the firetrucks leave again. The crowd disperses, and I follow the barangay officials and NGO staff into a room to evaluate the drill. The conclusion seems to be that although some things went okay, there was still a lot to improve in terms of disaster preparedness for fire in barangay West Crame. The streets are too narrow for the big fire truck, with an added problem of double parked cars. Moreover, some evacuation sites are not placed strategically and create crowds on the street, and the barangay council has not clearly divided roles and responsibilities during a calamity among each other. Thanks to this activity of the CCDRR project, these and other gaps in knowledge and preparedness are identified, and it is up to the barangay council and other involved authorities to do something with the newfound information and make improvements in their systems.

The story above shows that activities of the CCDRR project have uncovered points for improvement on the part of government agencies when it comes to disaster risk reduction and disaster preparedness. Doing this, the project has assisted these duty bearers in carrying out their tasks. This chapter sets out and analyzes in what way the duty bearers were included in the project, and how the activities of the project have helped to capacitate them regarding DRR and child protection. It is important to include the activities aimed at capacitating the duty bearers as well as the activities that capacitated the children and youth, because increased capacities of duty bearers can have an effect on the children's situation and their capacities as well.

The project has built up the capacities of duty bearers in a couple of different ways. Firstly, their material capacities were increased by building their knowledge on child protection issues and DRR. Secondly, the social and organizational capacities of the barangays were built in two different ways,

namely by building their capacity to deal with disaster preparedness issues and to deal with potential disasters in the future, through activities such as risk assessments and contingency planning, and also by building and strengthening a network of stakeholders involved in DRR and child protection. Thirdly, the project has attempted to strengthen the duty bearers' attitudinal and motivational capacities, by reminding them continuously about the importance of including children in their decision-making, and by educating them on children's rights. The next sections of this chapter elaborate upon the role of the duty bearers in the project, and deal with these different ways of building capacities.

6.1 ROLE OF THE DUTY BEARERS

Duty bearers played a very big role in the project. The second objective of the project focused on improving DRRM plans of the government agencies and to help them in their focus on children and youth. Moreover, the project activities were always carried out with the help of one or more of these agencies. The barangay council was almost always involved in or in charge of selecting and inviting the participants, and many other government officials served as resource speakers at events, seminars or trainings. Working so closely with duty bearers had positive and negative implications for the implementation of the project. Keeping an eye on the scope and the resources available of this project, it needs to be mentioned that it was necessary to involve these barangay officials for the selection of participants for the different activities. Barangay officials have the network in the barangays needed to do this, as opposed to the CDP project team. Nevertheless, working so closely with the barangay council influenced the effectiveness of the project in some instances, since it was mentioned by one of the project team members that these barangay officials did not always invite the right people for the activities (FGD 1, 2017). Consequently not all of the activities reached the right target group.

On the other hand, involving the barangay officials is very important with an eye to the sustainability of the project. Since the government agencies are ultimately responsible for DRR and child protection, it is crucial to involve them to be able to effect lasting change in the system (Interview 2, 2017). Capacitating them and influencing them to see the importance of DRR and child rights can ensure that the efforts made through the project will be sustained and built upon. However, the sustainability of the project can also be questioned. The involved stakeholders were often very reliant on CDP to take initiative, facilitate and provide resources. It is to be questioned whether they would take such action on their own. Many of the government officials seemed to be relying on an NGO such as CDP to act as the duty bearer, or at least to help them in carrying out their responsibilities as duty bearers (Interview 9, 2017; FGD 3, 2017; personal communication, 5 April, 2017).

Big differences could be observed in the target areas between the barangay and city structures in place to deal with DRR and child protection issues. Some of the government authorities have elaborate structures dealing with DRR and child protection, others do not see it as a priority. CDP helped the barangays which already had a lot of systems in place for child protection and DRR in realizing their aspirations even further, focusing especially on DRR. Other barangays did not consider their barangay as being disaster prone, one barangay official said they do not experience disaster in their barangay, only "small, small flooding" (FGD 3, 2017). The challenge for CDP in working with these barangays was a different one, and focused even more on trying to influence and educate these duty bearers to prioritize child protection and DRR.

6.2 AWARENESS RAISING

The first kind of capacities that were built among the duty bearers were material capacities. These capacities were built through awareness raising activities. These activities aimed to increase knowledge about the importance of disaster preparedness and the importance of taking into account children and children's rights in the government officials' work.

For example, seminars and trainings for government officials were organized, mostly aimed at increasing their knowledge on child protection issues and on how to include children in DRR. So called 'child protection strategy workshops' were organized, which were attended by different government officials, ranging from BCPC employees, VAWC members and youth representatives, to the Philippine City Police and CDRRMO employees. These workshops educated the duty bearers on existing child protection policies, protocols, laws and ordinances, and greatly increased the awareness of the stakeholders present on child protection, its importance and the mechanisms in existence to enforce it (personal communication, 19 May, 2017). Also, during the course of the project different seminars were organized for duty bearers, dealing with educating them about different relevant laws for their agencies. A seminar was held dealing with the DRRM law, RA10121, and a public forum elaborating upon the RA 10821, the Children's Emergency Relief and Protection Act of 2016, was also organized. These seminars increased the government officials' skills and specialized knowledge on to deal with children in DRR and child protection issues (Center for Disaster Preparedness and Plan-Philippines, 2016a).

6.3 PREPAREDNESS: RISK ASSESSMENTS AND CONTINGENCY PLANNING

The second type of capacities that were built revolved around disaster preparedness. Different activities were conducted to increase the disaster preparedness of the duty bearers, with a special

focus on including children. These activities were done in the hope to effect change in how DRR policies were carried out by the duty bearers, so a better environment is created for children in the community. The activities included community risk assessments, DRRM planning workshops, and contingency planning workshops.

Community risk assessments were done in every barangay, along with vulnerability and capacity assessments. These different assessments built up the material capacities of the duty bearers. Inputs for the assessments were given by different people of the community, including children and youth (Interview 11, 2017). Through these assessments duty bearers gained more knowledge on the risks in their barangay, their strong points and points for improvement. As a result, they can anticipate and prepare for disasters in a more focused manner. In San Juan for example, the results from the barangay's community risk assessment were used to draft their EWS, Evacuation Plan, Communication Protocol and BDRRMC structure (Center for Disaster Preparedness and Plan-Philippines, 2017). Participants were able to make their own choices as well, and express the needs that they had in respect to disaster preparedness. They expressed that due to a lack of preventive measures for fire, they needed more practical trainings. This led to the conduct of a fire drill in the barangay, as described in the opening paragraph of this chapter. The drill taught the barangay council and relevant authorities how to deal with a disaster, and what improvements to their systems could be made. CDP was in charge of the drill, and the relevant barangay and city agencies had to react as well as they could to the scenarios planned by CDP. These scenarios were mindful of including vulnerable groups, mostly children and people with disabilities. Scenarios involving injured children were created, and a group of child actors was involved in the drill. The drill resulted in the barangay council and the other involved agencies to know more about what should be done during an emergency situation, in this case a fire. It made the council realize that they needed to identify their roles better, since there was only one councilor left in the command center to direct the emergency services and deal with the different scenarios during the drill (personal communication, 5 April, 2017).

CDP also assisted the barangay council in enhancing their Barangay Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (BDRRM) Plans. The workshops that were conducted worked on identifying activities that could or should be done to enhance DRRM programs in the barangays, for example trainings on family preparedness or organizing group or street leaders. Furthermore, another activity that was done to capacitate the duty bearers was contingency planning. Contingency plans are DRR plans that include the worst possible scenario that could happen to a barangay in an emergency situation, and map out what needs to be done in such a situation (IFRC, 2012). By giving contingency planning workshops, the disaster preparedness of barangays was increased, and the government officials involved in drafting

the plans learned how to do contingency planning and what to do in times of disaster. Moreover, children were involved and considered in the process. The youth representatives from the Technical Working Groups assisted in the mobilization and contributed to the conduct of the workshops (Center for Disaster Preparedness and Plan-Philippines, 2017). In short, these different activities built up material capacities of the duty bearers in terms of increased knowledge, which results in increased their preparedness to disasters. Since children were able to participate, and were actively considered in the process, this increased disaster preparedness benefits the situation of children in the targeted communities directly.

6.4 INVOLVING, NETWORKING AND INFLUENCING

An important part of the CCDRR project concerned attempting to influence the duty bearers in the target areas and involving them as much as possible in the project. By bringing different duty bearers together, their social and organizational capacities increased, and they built relationships with each other. Influencing duty bearers to pay more attention to children's rights in their work was aimed to ultimately create a more enabling environment for children to thrive in.

Involvement of duty bearers was done from the initial stages of the project. Many different duty bearers were involved in the activity identification phase of the project, to make sure that the activities of the project matched the needs in the barangays (Center for Disaster Preparedness and Plan-Philippines, 2016a). For example, a public forum about RA10821 was held in Quezon City because it was identified as helpful by the Technical Working Group of that city (Center for Disaster Preparedness and Plan-Philippines, 2017). As mentioned before, in each of the three cities, such Technical Working groups were set up as part of the project. They consist of different government agency representatives and organization representatives that are involved with either DRR or child protection. Practically, the TWGs bring the actors that are involved in the project together, and make sure that the actors that work in the same field know each other and communicate with each other. This way, they can respond to situations more effectively, and create a better environment for children in their communities. Coming together in a TWG for the project thus increased the social and organizational capacities of the barangays and cities involved. However, even though the TWGs brought together the different stakeholders in the project, CDP as an NGO was still in the lead, and the agencies also depended upon CDP for the activities. Multiple members of the TWGs have expressed a desire to continue with the TWGs after the project finished, but it still remains to be seen to what extent this really happens and what the results of these groups will be (Interview 8, 2017; interview 9, 2017; FGD 1, 2017).

By involving the duty bearers, the attempt was made to influence them to make improvements within their agency. The project manager of Plan International expressed that by involving the duty bearers, his hope was to influence them into seeing the importance of focusing on children in their work. He expressed that often in urban areas, a lack of budget in general is not necessarily the problem that causes the lack of implementation of DRR laws and regulations. Rather the problem is political, and about what issues are prioritized. DRR is often not among the issues that are prioritized (Interview 7, 2017). One of the CDP project team members also expressed this concern, saying: "we have to admit that DRR in the Philippines is not as prioritized as health, or livelihood, or infrastructure, or the war on drugs. So DRR is a little far away from limelight" (FGD 1, 2017). By involving the duty bearers as much as possible in the project, it was thus attempted to influence them to prioritize child protection and DRR. These attempts to influence were aimed to build their motivational capacities, and create shared belief systems to operate from.

6.5 CONCLUDING REMARKS

Most of the capacity building activities for the duty bearers have not exclusively been focused on children, but have been about more broadly improving the disaster preparedness of the target areas. Efforts have also been focused on trying to improve upon the barangay and city systems in place, to create a better structure for children's rights to be upheld. Moreover, it has led to the start of the creation of a more enabling environment for children to thrive in and to be empowered in. The impact on the children specifically has thus been more indirect rather than direct.

7. THE REDUCTION OF DISASTER RISKS

A 24 year old woman sits across from us, the proud founder of youth organization 'LIPS' (Ladies in Public Service). This organization helps out their community in times of disaster by handing out relief goods and disseminating used clothes. She is also part of the core group organizing a small scale project in her barangay. She tells us that the greatest challenges that they face are the political dynamics. Since there are different political parties in power in their barangay and in the city of which it is part, it is difficult to get access to funds for development, for projects that they want to do. She mentions that their barangay sees nothing or barely anything from the investments that the city does, as was the case with the many ambulances that the city purchased recently. She remembers that when the youth consultations were done at the start of the CCDRR project, it was the first time that all the barangays in the city were invited, and she emphasizes that she sees this as proof that it is possible to bridge political differences.

This example shows one of the difficulties that is faced in the Philippines when considering development of the DRR field: political hurdles that impede progress. This chapter will elaborate on these issues, and will set out if and how the CCDRR project has contributed to reducing overall disaster risks in the target areas. It is crucial to take this next step of analysis, since the overall goal of CCDRR is to make children less vulnerable to disasters, and reduce the risks that they are exposed to. This chapter discusses the implications of capacity building for the reduction of disaster risks in the targeted communities in Metro Manila. It argues that reducing disaster risks is mainly done in a more indirect way rather than a direct way, by giving the children and youth the tools to stand up for what they think is important in their community and by trying to create a better structural environment for them to develop in. The chapter shows that because DRR is very politicized in the Philippines, CCDRR projects try to pick up on this and attempt to influence the political structures both through direct cooperation with government officials and through the empowerment of the children and youth.

7.1 GREATER FOCUS THAN DRR

When analyzing the CCDRR project and its activities, it can be seen that it was not solely focused on reducing disaster risks for children. CCDRR takes a greater focus, also including child protection issues in general. When discussing the risks that children face in their environment, there are many other risks than just natural hazards (Interview 4, 2017; Interview 10, 2017). These risks often affect children more on an everyday basis than natural hazards, and are therefore called 'everyday risks'. These

everyday risks include drug issues, crime, abuse and bullying (Interview 4, 2017; FGD 2, 2017). Because of the urban context that children in Metro Manila are in, many factors that could harm them exist in their lives. NGO workers identified the urban setting to be a challenge to work in, because there are so many different factors which should be taken into account when considering people's relationship with their environment (FGD 1, 2017; Interview 7, 2017; Interview 6, 2017). This relationship is often very problematic, there is a lot of poverty, crime, and many people live in high risk areas (Interview 3, 2017). A CDP staff member explains: "it's a challenge how to mainstream the advocacies of the project, especially in the urban areas, where most people are very busy. They don't have time to participate in this and that, because they have work, they have to be able to obtain income for their big expenses, for their subsistence" (FGD 1, 2017).

Taking a greater focus than DRR and including child protection enables CCDRR to address more risks in the children's environment than just risks produced by natural hazards. Moreover, capacitating children and youth to deal with more than just natural hazards also enables them to manage more issues than just risks for flooding and earthquakes for instance. As shown in previous chapters, children and youth's capacities that were built were more broadly oriented on empowerment in general, teaching them what their rights are and how to stand up for them. Furthermore, project activities have shown them the impact that they can have in their community, and the opportunities that they have to continue to play a role in the development of their community, and in their *own* development. In this sense, CCDRR can be seen as a bigger movement to protect children's rights and empower children and youth. Because of the wide range of risks identified, it is impossible to identify one way to reduce these risks directly. The project has dealt with these many risks by focusing more on building up capacities geared towards empowerment in general. This way, children and youth are given a voice, and they are made aware of their capacities and the possibilities they have in the system to deal with issues that are important to them. CCDRR really integrates the children's right to participate and have their voice heard, and takes this as a starting point for reducing risks and making attempts to improve the environment.

7.2 POLITICAL NATURE OF DRR

The societal structures that are present in the Philippines render people vulnerable to natural disasters, and their endurance prevents this from changing. The political environment poses many restraints to the practice of DRR and child protection, which multiple NGO workers and government officials interviewed did not believe to be a priority on the government's political agenda (FGD 1, 2017; FGD 3, 2017; Interview 1, 2017). Therefore it is difficult for government agencies to create the desired

policies and obtain the desired funds to work on reducing disaster risks. Moreover, there can be an additional barrier of intra-city politics, of which an example was given in the introduction to this chapter, which can also make it difficult to realize projects and implement policies. Some barangay government agencies which do consider DRR and child protection a priority, circumvent these issues by partnering up with NGOs, to increase their budget, knowledge and capacity (Interview 11, 2017). Since DRR policy and practice in the Philippines is so dependent upon the political structure enacting it, the CCDRR project that was researched focused very much on involving and influencing the political system. CCDRR recognizes that DRR is inherently political, and that vulnerability is created by political choices. By building up children's capacities to lead and to speak up, an attempt is made to change these political choices and political structures. Similarly, by assisting and building up capacities of duty bearers, and attempt is made to shift their focus to prioritizing children and DRR, hereby also ultimately changing political structures. By making changes in these structures, people's position in the community can be altered, and their vulnerability to disaster risk can decrease.

7.2.1 TRANSFORMATION OF THE SYSTEM

This research has found that the CCDRR project researched has made an attempt to start changing the political dynamics and structures present. As stated before, two ways of capacity building and influencing were used: capacitating the children, and capacitating the government officials. Both of these strategies ultimately aim at changing the way DRR is carried out in the target areas of the project. Because DRR is so political, the capacities that the children have gained through the project have focused mostly on gaining a voice, knowing their rights and speaking up for themselves. This, in itself is not something that directly reduces disaster risks for these children. However, if these children use these gained capacities to stand up for DRR in their community, try to exert influence on their barangay officials or become a youth leader, they can contribute to reducing disaster risks themselves. By giving the targeted children these capacities, they are empowered to work on DRR in their community themselves. The capacities that government officials have gained have made a start to increase the general level of disaster preparedness in the barangays. These activities have created a better environment for children to develop in and to build their capacities in. Furthermore, by engaging with duty bearers in the project activities, and teaching them about the importance of child protection and DRR, attempts were made to influence them to prioritize children's rights in their work. Surely, DRR and child protection has been higher on the agenda for most barangays since they were involved in organizing and participating in the project activities. However, the real question is whether this focus was sustained after the project ended.

The way that DRR is carried out in the political environment of the Philippines has a great influence on how disaster risks can actually be reduced through NGO projects. Since an underlying cause of vulnerabilities in the environment is the way the political system is structured, and which decisions are made, to really reduce disaster risks at their core, it is imperative to deal with the political system. CCDRR in the Philippines recognizes that DRR is inherently political. That is why CCDRR attempts to do reduce risks and address political barriers by focusing on children, by educating them about DRR and disaster preparedness, but most importantly about their rights and the role they can play in their community. Children have a great capacity to influence their peers and their family, and are therefore a great way to spread the message on DRR and its importance. More importantly, by teaching children about the importance of DRR and about the possibility that they have to do something about it themselves, they are empowered to become youth leaders, and the hope is that as they grow up, they will become politically active in their community and change the way DRR is done within the political system of the Philippines today. This is in line with Heijmans' (2009) description of CBDRM in the Philippines, who argues that disasters are seen "as an opportunity to mobilize and empower grassroots communities to not only address people's immediate survival and recovery needs, but to also address the root causes of people's vulnerability by contributing to transforming Philippine society" (2009: 9; Heijmans and Victoria, 2001).

In short, the CCDRR project has included and empowered children with the aim to influence the political system, and transform the system in this way. Because there are so many political hurdles and constraints in the Philippines, this CCDRR project has focused on empowering the next generation, in the hope that change is brought about this way.

7.2.2 WHO ARE THE DUTY BEARERS?

As stated before, the issue of political barriers which impede upon development in the DRR field is often circumvented by barangays by teaming up with NGOs to implement projects. Moreover, NGOs frequently initiate projects themselves, and then often involve the duty bearers. What becomes clear from this dynamic is that the term 'duty bearer' is problematic in the Philippines. Official duty bearers do not bear their duty to safeguard children's rights, or only do this partly (Interview 3, 2017). This can either be because they do not see it as a priority, or because they are not able to do it because of barriers in the system (FGD 1, 2017; interview 7, 2017). Instead, NGOs take over a large part of the duty bearer activities and responsibilities. NGOs and civil society are very much involved in the DRR practice, an engagement which is rooted in Philippine history. When, in the time of martial law, citizens felt that government response to disasters was insufficient, they started their own movements and organizations to organize disaster response (Heijmans, 2009). This so called Community Based DRR

notion is still very present in Philippine society. Currently, there are about 60,000 registered NGOs at the community level working on increasing resilience and development (Ramirez et al., 2013).

The CCDRR project attempt to address this issue by involving the duty bearers in the political system and trying to improve it. By encouraging children to play a part in their community, the project is trying to improve the system by strengthening the position of government agencies. Children are encouraged to hold duty bearers accountable, and to initiate change themselves. Ultimately, the project tries to initiate a change in the relationship between duty bearers and rights holders by empowering children and youth to make changes in the system, however small they may be. It is a bottom up process, in which children youth influence the duty bearers to make changes in their barangay, and to start new developments themselves too. Moreover, the hope is that youth leaders might eventually become political leaders in their barangay as well. This entire process is a slow one, and certainly not a sure one. It is a huge ambition, and the impact of one of these CCDRR projects is bound to be limited. The political system in the Philippines is filled with corruption, and ultimately power is still in the hands of a few wealthy players. It remains to be seen whether change in the community level politics will also effect change on a higher level.

7.3 DIRECT AND INDIRECT CONTRIBUTION TO REDUCING RISKS

Partly, the CCDRR project has directly reduced some of the risks that the children in the target areas were exposed to by making sure that they are better prepared when a disaster strikes. This renders them less vulnerable to a disaster, and reduces the risk that they become victims. However, this is only a small portion of the project, and more importantly, this does not transform the situation of the vulnerability of these children on a higher level. By raising awareness among children in the barangays in Metro Manila, their risk of being affected by a disaster might reduce slightly, but the way DRR is handled in their city and barangay is still the same. Mostly, the project has contributed to reducing disaster risks for children in a more indirect way, by also trying to effect a change in the system of how DRR is handled politically. This is more indirect because it does not create a reduction in disaster risks immediately. Rather, it capacitates both the duty bearers and the rights holders to try to create change in the system, which will result in a better and safer environment for children.

There are two ways of indirect reducing of disaster risks for children which can be identified. Firstly, capacitating the duty bearers in the barangays and cities has made them better prepared to deal with disaster. The networks that have been formed to facilitate cooperation among them, and the inclusion of children in these networks has led to the start of the creation of a safer and more enabling

environment for children to be empowered in. The CCDRR project has tried to create change in the context in which DRR is carried out, to ultimately be able to change children's relationship with their environment. Secondly, empowering the vulnerable children and youth themselves to take charge and claim their own rights also indirectly leads to the reduction of disaster risks. This can happen when the children and youth actually claim their rights and engage with their barangay to change the way DRR is carried out. The leadership skills that they have gained through the project and the knowledge that they have acquired about the way funds are allocated in their barangay and the role they can play in youth organizations can ultimately lead to a change in the system. Moreover, as stated before, children are the future leaders in their community, so empowering them and teaching them how to lead can ultimately in the future lead to good leadership in the political structures of the Philippines, and a better organized system of disaster preparedness and DRR, which contributes to the reduction of disaster risks.

Thus, indirect reduction of disaster risks for children as a result of the CCDRR efforts has happened by capacitating duty bearers to create a safer and more enabling environment for children to be empowered in on the one hand, and by capacitating children to claim their rights and demand changes to their environment on the other hand. This political environment can then change to be more enabling for children to thrive in an build up their capacities in.

7.4 CONCLUDING REMARKS

This chapter has shown that CCDRR in the Philippines has a wider focus than the 'traditional' DRR topics, and includes issues around child protection in general as well. Disaster risk reduction is a very political issue in the Philippines, and many political barriers to development of this field exist. This project has addressed this issue by focusing on building children's capacities to deal with these political issues. Reducing disaster risks is mainly done in a more indirect way rather than direct, by giving the children and youth the tools to stand up for what they think is important in their community and by trying to create a better structural environment for them to develop in. This empowerment can effect change in the system and can contribute to the reduction of disaster risks.

8. CONCLUSION

This thesis has researched to what extent children's capacities are built upon in CCDRR projects in Metro Manila, and has looked at how the building of these capacities contributes to reducing disaster risks. In this respect, taking a political ecological approach, and look at the political, economic and historical structures in society which determine people's relationship with their environment, and thus determine their vulnerability, is imperative. However, it has been shown that this is not sufficient when considering CCDRR projects, since it does not pay any attention to capacities that people have to deal with these vulnerabilities and to reduce the disaster risks they face. It is crucial to include capacity theory to be able to examine practical actions that can be taken to change vulnerabilities and people's relationship with the environment.

This research has found that capacity building activities that have been done during the CCDRR project that was researched focused on building capacities for both the children and youth and the relevant duty bearers. Capacity building activities that were done for the children and youth mainly aimed to provide them with knowledge about their own rights, and to give them the tools to stand up and claim these rights. Through activities such as leadership training, and youth-led small scale projects, the CCDRR project has capacitated the children and youth by empowering them, letting their voices be heard, and giving them the confidence to take charge in their own development. Activities that were aimed to build duty bearers' capacities were more broadly targeted at increasing disaster preparedness in the communities in general, but mostly on trying to influence the government agencies in realizing the importance of considering child rights in their actions, and by encouraging them to let children participate in matters that affect them.

The main findings of the research with regard to CCDRR's contribution to reducing disaster risks are threefold. Firstly, CCDRR seems to focus more broadly on children, their rights, and child protection, rather than just on reducing disaster risk to natural hazards. Secondly, CCDRR in the Philippines is a very political matter, and therefore the focus has been on capacitating children and youth to deal with the political barriers that are present. Thirdly, as a result, reducing disaster risks is done in a more indirect way rather than direct, by giving the children and youth the tools for what they think is important in their community and by trying to create a better structural environment for them to develop in. The research shows how important contextual dynamics and societal structures are for determining the strategy of CCDRR projects. Political, economic and historical structures determine the way society is shaped, and determine the relationship between society and the environment. To

change this relationship, these structures need to be addressed and changed as well. The CCDRR project researched has made a start at doing this, by trying to address the political barriers which impede upon structural change to reduce disaster risk. This has thus mainly been done through capacitating rights holders to address these barriers.

This research has shown that building up people's capacities can be a way to empower them and to effect political change in the system through a localized, bottom-up approach. These political changes can have an immediate effect on their vulnerability. This shows that when considering the reduction of disaster risks, it is not sufficient to focus solely on the wider structures of vulnerability that exist in society, but it is imperative to take a look at the opportunities of more grass roots capacity building as well. The notions of resilience, capacity and vulnerability are therefore undeniably interlinked. Authors which concern themselves with the political ecology of disasters, such as Bankoff and Oliver-Smith, focus too much on the wider societal structures, and overlook the more local, individual opportunities for change that can be brought about by capacitating communities.

There are also a few limitations to this research which are important to consider. Firstly, this research was based upon findings from only one CCDRR project. Moreover, this project was implemented only in the urban setting of Metro Manila. This means that it is not possible to draw generalizable conclusions about CCDRR projects in the Philippines in both rural and urban areas. To be able to draw wider conclusions, more research should be done on CCDRR projects. It would be very relevant to look more into other projects in urban areas to compare whether the findings of this research are similar. Research on projects in rural areas is also important, to examine whether there is a similar implementation of CCDRR projects there. To really be able to draw generalizable conclusions, similar researches should be done on CCDRR projects in other parts of the world as well.

This research has shown that CCDRR in the Philippines is a very political issue. More research should be done taking a political ecological perspective in combination with a capacity theory perspective. This way, more knowledge can be gathered on the possibilities of rights holders to build their capacities and bring about change in the system that way.

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ANNEX 1: INTERVIEWS AND FGDS

	Date	Position
FGD 1	26/04/2017	CDP Project team • Project coordinator • Area coordinators (3)
FGD 2	05/05/2017	Children (12) • Age group: 10-15 • 7 boys, 5 girls
FGD 3	12/05/2017	Government officials/community (12) • CDRRMO staff members (4) • City Health Office staff member • DepEd staff member • DepEd safety staff member • PWD Federation members (2) • Kagawad DRRM committee • Youth Volunteer (TFYD) • BDRRMC member
Interview 1	13/03/2017	CDP staff, advocacy team
Interview 2	14/03/2017	CDP staff, advocacy team
Interview 3	15/03/2017	CDP staff, research team
Interview 4	15/03/2017	CDP staff, research team
Interview 5	14/03/2017	CDP, member of board of directors
Interview 6	28/03/2017	CSWD staff member CDRRMO chief
Interview 7	25/04/2017	Plan Philippines project coordinator
Interview 8	09/05/2017	DILG staff member
Interview 9	26/04/2017	WCPD staff member
Interview 10	09/05/2017	DepEd staff member
Interview 11	15/05/2017	BCPC staff member

ANNEX 2: GUIDE QUESTIONS

GOVERNMENT AGENCY OFFICIALS

Work

1. *What does your job entail?*
2. *How does your job connect to DRR and child protection?*

DRR (general)

3. *What are some of the barangay's/city's main disaster risks?*
4. *What is the barangay/city doing with respect to Disaster Risk Reduction?*
5. *What does 'being resilient' to disasters mean according to you?*
6. *What are the main challenges you encounter in Disaster Risk Reduction?*

Child Protection

7. *What risks are the children and youth most vulnerable to?*
    - *In general in the Philippines*
    - *in your city/barangay*
8. *What are the activities that you do to help children?*
9. *What capacities do children have to deal with risks?*
10. *How do you think these capacities can be built upon?*

Plan Project/CCUDRR

11. *Why is it important to focus on children as a target group in DRR?*
12. *In what way have you been involved in the activities of the project?*
13. *Do you see a change in resilience because of the project?*
    - *If so, which changes? (Positive/negative)*
14. *Does the project build upon existing capacities of the children?*
    - *If yes, how and which capacities?*
    - *If no, why do you think this is the case?*
15. *What else do you think could be done to improve the situation of children?*
    - *In general*
    - *relating to disaster risk*

NGO PROJECT STAFF

Work

1. *What does your job entail?*
2. *What do you consider to be your main goal in your job?*
3. *What are the principal challenges that you encounter in your work?*
4. *What do you think is the most important aspect to keep in mind when implementing DRR projects?*
5. *How many different stakeholders do you deal with in your work and what kind of stakeholders?*

CCDRR/Plan project

6. *Why do you think it is important to focus DRR efforts especially on children?*
7. *What risks are the children and youth most vulnerable to in the project areas?*
8. *What kind of activities have you done for the project?*
    - *and which will you still do?*
9. *How did you decide what activities to do for the project?*
10. *How did you determine the children's capacities and needs in the different communities?*
11. *What capacities do children have to deal with risks?*
12. *How do you think these capacities can be built upon?*
13. *What structures were already present in the communities for children to deal with disaster risks?*
14. *How have you involved children's specific capacities within the project?*
15. *Do you see any improvements in community resilience/disaster preparedness because of the project?*
    - *if yes, what kind of improvements?*
    - *If no, why do you think this is?*
16. *What are the main challenges that you encountered?*
    - *In general*
    - *in focusing on children as a target group?*
17. *What else do you think could be done to improve the situation of children (relating to disaster risk?)*