Disability Inclusive-Disaster Risk Reduction

Practices of participation in Albay province, the Philippines

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Photo cover

Simon of Cyrene

Acknowledgement

Philippine people frequently asked me what kind of disasters happen in my country, to which I had to respond with a sense of inconvenience: 'none'. People astonishingly gazed at me, and universally agreed that I came from paradise.

This research made me realize that they are right indeed. I have learned thousands of lessons by doing research abroad, but foremost to appreciate the things at home more. It made me recognize how privileged I am to be able to travel to natural hazards prone areas, and come back to a safe place whenever I like. Therefore I want to express my admiration and appreciation for the Philippine population, who always seem to remain positive despite the many disaster they face.

Doing fieldwork in the Philippines was especially made successful with the help of the Simon of Cyrene family. I am thankful for their willingness to introduce me to their great network of beneficiaries, without their logistical support I could never have reached so many participants. I also want to thank all people with disabilities and their families from Albay province, who shared their thoughts and experiences. I admire their openness, optimism, and ability to live within such difficult circumstances. I hope to give these people a voice, and the attention they deserve. To all those who gave me interviews and information on Disability Inclusive- Disaster Risk Reduction (DI-DRR), I am thankful for helping me unruffle the complex web of DI-DRR policy and practices within the Philippines, and Albay specifically. Hopefully this research provides a good insight in the realities on the ground.

Furthermore, I want to thank my thesis supervisors for supporting my learning process: Jeroen Warner for helping me bringing this research to a higher academic level, and giving me confidence in my own research skills. Hilde van Dijkhorst for her great involvement during fieldwork, especially when a major typhoon hit my research locations during Christmas. Lastly, I also want express my love and appreciation for my family, who always believe in me and provide support wherever I go.

To all who are about to read this thesis: I hope you will enjoy reading as much as I enjoyed the research process!

Summary

It is generally acknowledged that people with disabilities (PWDs) are disproportionately affected by natural hazards: they are more likely to be left behind/abandoned or excluded/ignored from emergency response. But at the same time, PWDs are capable to live in disaster contexts and deal with various risk elements. Disability Inclusive-Disaster Risk Reduction (DI-DRR) programs aim to minimize the impact of natural hazards by increasing their coping capacities, while decreasing their vulnerabilities. One of the core principles of DI-DRR is participation. However, participation is a contested concept that takes various forms and can be used to different degrees. Little is known about how inclusive policies are converted into practice, and to what extent participation embodies inclusivity. DI-DRR is specifically relevant in the Philippines, as it is one of the most disaster prone countries in the world. However, information is limited as there is a general lack of data on PWDs.

The overall aim of this study is to analyze how inclusive polices are brought into practice in DI-DRR activities within the Philippines, captured from the insiders perspective of PWDs and various other actors involved. This study will specifically look into the Albay province, known as 'the disaster capital of the country'. To satisfy this objective, this research addresses the following question: *How is the participation of people with disabilities in DI-DRR operationalized within the Philippines, notably Albay province, and what are its wider implications on the inclusion of people with disabilities in general?* PWDs are defined as people with either physical, mental and/or social impairments. The theoretical framework of this study is based on theory around participation, which states that different approaches to participation determine the degree to which one is involved. Pretty's typology of participation is used to enhance understanding of how participation comes about in practice. It builds on the premise that participation is essentially a social act that springs from social interactions, embedded in power. The Foucauldian notion of governmentality is used to expand and deepen the understanding of participation and power in DI-DRR. Interviews, focus group discussions and observations were used to collect data between November 2016 and February 2017 in the Philippines, mainly Albay province.

The findings of this study suggest a considerable gap between DI-DRR policy and practice. Although there is a shift towards inclusive approaches within international and national policy frameworks, the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR within Albay province remains limited. This is the result of the generally poor and disaster prone environment of the Philippines, where PWDs continuously face challenges of participation due to persisting barriers. But above all, these limited outcomes may be due to the different rationales behind participation of various actors involved: DI-DRR policy makers, practitioners and beneficiaries regard participation either as a mean to an end or as an end in itself. Moreover, it seems like it is in the interest of all actors that participation of PWDs remains limited, as it legitimizes their position in society. This is illustrated by a case study of Sagip Kapamilya resettlement village, specifically designed for PWDs, where a dialectical process of inclusion and exclusion in relation to DI-DRR was observed. It implies that inclusive policies do not automatically lead to more participation of PWDs, nor do participation practices automatically lead to a more inclusive society. This study emphasizes to close this gap through increased engagement with realities on the ground and take different interests into account.

Abbreviations and Translations

Abbreviations

APSEMO	Albay Public Safety and Emergency Management Office
BC	Barangay Captain
BDRRM	Barangay Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Officer
CBR	Community Based Rehabilitation
CBDRM	Community Based Disaster Risk Reduction Management
CSO	Civil Society Organizations
CVA	Capacity and Vulnerability assessment
DI-DRR	Disability Inclusive-Disaster Risk Reduction
DILG	Department of Internal Local Government
DPO	Disabled Peoples' Organization
DSWD	Department of Social Welfare and Development
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
DRRMP	Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan
DRRO	Disaster Risk Reduction Officer
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
HI	Handicap International
IEC	Information, Education and Communication
IRA	Internal Revenue Allotment
LGU	Local Government Unit
NCDA	National Council on Disability Affairs
NDRRC	National Disaster Risk Reduction Council
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
PAGASA	Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration
PAR	Philippine Area of Responsibility
PDAO	Persons with Disabilities Affairs Officer
PWDs	People with Disabilities
QRF	Quick Response Fund
SoC	Simon of Cyrene
UNCRPD	Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights and Dignity of Persons with Disabilities

Translations

Barangay	Smallest administrative unit in the Philippines
Bayanihan	Neighboring support
Jeepney	Main means of public transportation
Lahar	Flows of ash and boulders from Mayon volcano
Sari Sari	Small grocery shop
Tricycle	Motorized tricycle

Table of contents

Annexes

Figures and Tables

1. Introduction

The severe tropical storm Meranti threatened the Philippines on 11 September 2016, and intensified into a typhoon several days later when making landfall at Batanes islands. Meranti brought heavy rainfall and very strong winds, leaving a trail of devastation affecting almost 17 thousand people (NDRRMC, 2016). OCHA (2016) reports that in Batanes alone, more than 292 houses were destroyed and 932 houses partially damaged. Meranti was the biggest storm since Haiyan hit the country in 2013: the strongest typhoon on record that caused many deaths and injuries (Cobley, 2015). Natural hazards such as these, are not an unique occurrence within the Philippines. According to the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (2016), the Philippines is one of the five countries affected by the highest number of weather-related calamities in the world. Therefore the former president of the Philippines describes the country as a 'laboratory of major disasters' (NDCC, 2009, p.i).

While the proportion of people with disabilities (PWDs) affected by Meranti remains unknown, it is widely acknowledged that they are disproportionately affected by natural hazards (eg. Huong Lalitha & Mahmood, 2015; Smith, Jolley, & Schmidt, 2012; Wisner, Blaikie, Cannon, & Davis, 2003). Evidence reveals that in emergency situations, PWDs are more likely to be left behind or abandoned from emergency response. Besides, natural hazards can result in injuries and permanent impairments, creating a new generation of people with special needs (Lalitha & Mahmood, 2015). This is particularly the case in low-income settings such as in the Philippines, where a combination of high levels of poverty, limited resources and lack of welfare reinforces the vulnerabilities of PWDs (Cobley, 2015). Together these social, cultural, economic and environmental elements interact and produce a negative outcome. But at the same time, PWDs have experience and capacities to live in disaster contexts and deal with various risk elements. As local inhabitants of disaster prone areas, they are often the first to respond. PWDs have developed own resources and survival techniques, derived from first hand experiences on the ground (UNISDR, 2015a).

International policy frameworks on Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) stating to acknowledge these coping capacities: they undergone a shift towards more inclusive approaches (Stough & Kang, 2015). As well, there is increased recognition of equal rights and opportunities of PWDs in national and international laws (Bolte, Marr & Sitompul, 2014). The recently developed Sendai framework and the Charter on Inclusion of Persons with Disabilities, embodies this shift. Although both emphasize the need for including PWDs, they do not give a clearly articulated framework on what inclusion constitutes and how it can be operationalized, making it difficult to bring in practice (Magasi et al., 2009). This is confirmed by various studies that reveal that PWDs are still not significantly participating within DRR planning and decision-making processes (HI, 2011, 2014; UNISDR, 2014, 2015b). Although PWDs slowly starting to be considered as important actors in times of crisis, their voices remain largely unheard and few are directly participating in DRR activities (Bolte et al., 2014).

1.1 Problem statement

NGO's such as Handicap International and CBM, sought to put these inclusive frameworks into action through Disability Inclusive-Disaster Risk Reduction (DI-DRR) programs. DI-DRR programs aim to minimize the impact of natural hazards by increasing their coping capacities, while decreasing their vulnerabilities. It acknowledges the different needs of PWDs to be considered for effective (DI-)DRR, as well as the importance of building upon PWDs' existing knowledge and capacities (UNISDR, 2015a).

One of the core principles of DI-DRR is participation. However, participation is a contested concept that takes various forms and can be used to different degrees. Little is known about how inclusive policies are converted into practice, and to what extent participation embodies inclusivity (Hammel et al., 2008). This information is specifically limited in the Philippines, where there is a general lack of data on PWDs (Pante, 2012; Smith et al., 2012; Suprobo, 2011). Moreover, since the emergence of inclusive policies and frameworks are quite recent, a lot remains uninvestigated. Therefore this research aims to gain in-depth understanding about how the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR is operationalized, and how it relates to the inclusion of PWDs in general.

1.2 Research objectives

This research makes an empirical contribution to the limited body of literature on the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR. The overall aim of this research is to analyze how inclusive polices are brought into practice in DI-DRR activities within the Philippines, Albay province specifically, captured from the insiders perspective of PWDs and various other actors involved. This approach will help "(…) to understand and give voice to local conceptions of reality through local people's own analysis of challenges and capacities" (Pelling, 2007, p. 380). Specific focus is put on Albay province, since it is known as 'the disaster capital of the country' due to its geographical location. This research is concerned with the interplay between practices and discourses of DI-DRR activities in relation to participation perceptions. This objective is formulated in twofold: First, it analyzes what inclusion and participation entails in DI-DRR**:** how are they conceptualized, operationalized and implemented by various actors on different levels? This reveals how policies on macro level relate to practical outcomes on micro level. Second, it aims to identify the issues and problems of participation related to DI-DRR. It will unpack the lived experiences of participation from the perspective of various actors involved: what discourses prevail among them? Investigating potential barriers and facilitating factors of participation will help to determine what is needed to make DRR disability inclusive. These two objectives coincide into a scientific contribution to theory on the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR, informed by the perceptions of PWDs themselves.

1.3 Research questions

To satisfy the above objectives, this research addresses the following questions:

How is the participation of people with disabilities in DI-DRR operationalized within the Philippines, notably Albay province, and what are its wider implications on the inclusion of people with disabilities in general?

- What is the social- cultural context in which the participation of people with disabilities in DI-DRR takes place?
- What does the multi- level institutional policy framework on DI-DRR look like, and how does its political dynamics influence DI-DRR practices?
- What DI-DRR activities can be found, and to what extent do they foster the inclusion of people with disabilities?
- What personal and environmental factors facilitate or hinder the participation of people with disabilities in DI-DRR?

1.4 Research outline

The next chapter presents the theoretical framework and the major concepts used for this research. In chapter 3 the research setting and methods will be clarified and possible ethical issues discussed. Chapter 4 sketches the context in which this research took place: it presents information on natural hazards and its influence on PWDs' socio-economic position within the Philippines. Also, evolving state-society relations within the country will be described. Chapter 5 gives an overview of the social-cultural setting in which the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR takes place. It provides insights in the social construction of natural hazards and the general attitudes towards PWDs. Chapter 6 explains the (inter-)national policy frameworks on DI-DRR, and the various actors involved on different institutional levels. It will be elaborated upon how the relationships between these actors are embedded in political dynamics, shaping DI-DRR's practical outcomes.

These first few chapters described the general context on DI-DRM of the Philippines, the chapters that follow will go more into the specific context of Albay province. Chapter 7 describes the concrete DI-DRR activities of Albay, and whether and how they foster the inclusion of PWDs. This will be illustrated by a case study of Sagip Kapamilya Simon of Cyrene resettlement village. Chapter 8 goes into environmental and personal factors that foster or hinder the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR. Environmental factors include attitudes and knowledge, natural and build environment, and rules and regulations. Personal factors include resources (time and money), self-esteem, and social capital. Within chapter 9, theory on participation will be applied, complimented by a discussion on Foucault's governmentality. Chapter 10 presents the main findings of the research, and chapter 11 gives a reflection on the research methods and the researchers own positionality.

2. Theoretical framework

This chapter describes the theory around Disability Inclusive-Disaster Risk Reduction (DI-DRR), by first explaining the concepts disability, inclusion and DRR. It will be clarified that, for DI-DRR to be effective, participation of people with disabilities (PWDs) needs to be enabled. Therefore, the second part of this theoretical framework will dive into the concept of participation and what it entails in the context of this research.

2.1 (Disability Inclusive-)Disaster Risk Reduction

2.1.1 Disability

The concept disability has various meanings within and between different societies of the world. Probably the most common understanding comes from the World Health Organization (2011), which views disability as a complex, dynamic and multidimensional concept that refers to features of the human body and the society. This definition results from the transition of an individual, medical perspective towards a structural, social perspective on disability (WHO, 2011). These apparent dichotomous models are not prevalent anymore, instead a more balanced approach is dominant that integrates both medical and social aspects of disability. The International Classification of Functioning, Disability and Health has promoted this as the 'bio-psycho-social model' (WHO, 2002). This model defines disability as a combination of impairments, activity limitations and participation restrictions. These are the negative outcomes of the interaction between an individual (health conditions) and its context (environmental and personal factors). For the purpose of this research, this 'bio-psycho-social model' will be used to define disability as persons that experience impairments on personal (biological and psychological) or environment (social) levels. The term 'people with disabilities' (PWDs) rather than 'disabled people' will be used, because it puts the emphasis on the person instead of the disability.

2.1.2 Inclusion

The term inclusion has gained increased interest among countries and international institutions that incorporated it in development strategies. Gupta and Vegelin (2015) explain that inclusive development is built upon social, ecological and political elements. For the purpose of this research, especially social inclusiveness is relevant, because social inclusion is about including knowledge of marginalized groups (such as PWDs) in establishing policies and target capacity building to enable effective participation (Gupta & Vegelin, 2015). Social inclusion can be regarded as a bottom- up perspective, aiming to make the voices of PWDs heard (Hästbacka, Nygård, & Nyqvist, 2016). Participatory approaches try to increase this visibility, and offer a leverage for inclusive policies (Pelling, 2007). As this brief explanation already indicates, references to participation is often made in relation to inclusion (Few, Brown, & Tompkins, 2011). In the field of disability, inclusion is often associated with full and fair access to community-based resources, greater participation in community-based activities and having relationships and a sense of belonging to a group (Abbott & McConkey, 2006; Cobigo, et al., 2012). A sense of belonging is related to the notion of social capital, which enables people to act in a group to pursue a shared objective (Putnam, 2000). Social inclusion thus reflects social dynamics between personal and environmental factors, which in turn influences the degree to which one can participate (Gupta & Vegelin, 2016)**.** Investigating the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR, these complex interactions of inclusion have to be taken into account. Moreover, social inclusion "represents more

than the mere physical presence, but the participation and engagement in the mainstream society" (Cobigo et al., 2012, p. 76). However, the degree of engagement is likely to differ, as it is based on personal and environmental preferences and needs (ibid). This emphasizes that inclusiveness is closely related to mainstreaming, "a strategy for making PWD's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes (…)", with the ultimate goal of achieving disability equality (Albert, Dube, & Riis-Hansen, 2005, p.6). Disability Inclusive-Disaster Risk Reduction (DI-DRR) tries to effectuate. Increased visibility and integration into mainstream society are major aspects of inclusiveness and important facilitators for PWD's participation (Hästbacka et al., 2016). Therefore, inclusion constitutes a central concept in this research.

2.1.3 Disaster Risk Reduction

United Nation Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR, 2009, pp. 10-11) defines DRR as "the concept and practice of reducing disaster risks through systematic efforts to analyze and manage the causal factors of disasters, including through reduced exposure to hazards, lessened vulnerability of people and property, wise management of land and the environment, and improved preparedness for adverse events". The overall aim of DRR is to reduce the damage caused by natural hazards – such as earthquakes, floods and droughts – by decreasing people's vulnerabilities and increasing their coping capacities (UNISDR, n.d.). Vulnerabilities in this regard refer to the characteristics and circumstances of an individual or group that make them susceptible to the impact of a natural disaster. Coping capacities describe the manner in which people act during or in the aftermath of a disaster, within the limits of available skills and resources (van Niekerk, 2011; Wisner, et al., 2003). This is conventionally expressed by the following notation: Disaster Risk = Hazard x Vulnerability: Capacity (van Niekerk, 2011, p. 15). This means that the greater the hazard plus people's vulnerability and the fewer peoples coping capacities, the greater the risk of a disaster. Thus, not all hazards will automatically become a disaster, they can simply remain a natural occurrence (de Jong & da SIlva, 2015). DRR programs try to effectuate this in practice. Within the Philippines the most common used term is not DRR, but Disaster Risk Management (DRM). There is no practical difference between DRR and DRM, therefore the international recognized term DRR will be used within this research.

A commonly referred approach to DRR is expressed within the so called Expand-Contract Model (Figure 1). This encompasses the following phases: (1) Prevention & Mitigation; (2) Preparedness; (3) Relief & Response; (4) Recovery & Rehabilitation. In this model, DRR is a continuous process in which various activities occur side by side, expand and contract. For example, directly after a disaster, the 'Relief & Response strand' will expand. These activities are likely to decrease over time, and the 'Recovery & Rehabilitation strand' will expand instead (ADCP, 2008). This reconstruction phase ideally contains development measures, under the common motto 'building back better'. This idea is in line with the overall discourse of 'linking relief, rehabilitation and development', which emphasizes to link short-term humanitarian aid with medium and long-term development actions. This is also referred to as the humanitarian-development nexus, in which the question is raised where emergency response ends and development starts (Ramet, 2012).

Figure 1: Expand-Contract Model
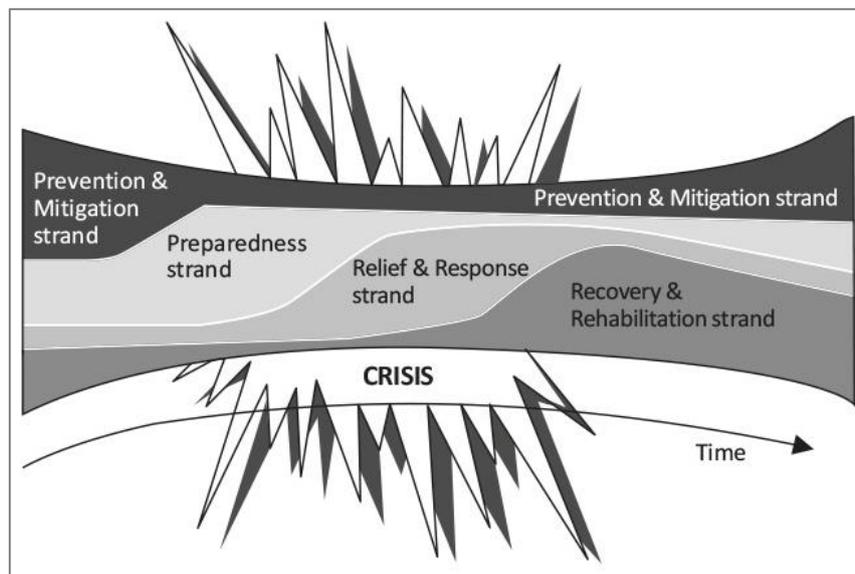
Source: Asian Disaster Preparedness Center, 2008.

In this research DRR is understood as being part of development or humanitarian action, of which the latter can be defined as: "Assistance, protection and advocacy actions undertaken on an impartial basis in response to human needs resulting from complex political emergencies and natural hazards" (Salgado, 2013, p. 49). Humanitarian action thus encompasses actions related to among others DRR (ibid). Therefore literature on both, humanitarian action and DRR will be used in this research. Disability Inclusive- Disaster Risk Reduction (DI-DRR) is the international policy framework on DRR specifically used for PWDs in humanitarian context. It follows a similar definition as the conventional DRR approach (as described above), but with the emphasis on including PWDs as actors in DRR. Details on DI-DRR will be further elaborated upon in chapter 6.

2.2 Theory on participation

Participation is a major principle of Disability Inclusive- Disaster Risk Reduction (DI-DRR). In what follows this concept will be further defined and explained in relation to participation of PWDs in humanitarian action. General literature on participation refers to this concept as the involvement of 'beneficiaries' or the engagement of the 'affected population'. Assuming that PWDs are part of these groups, this literature applies to them as well. Within this section the main approaches to participation as described by ALNAP (2003), and Pretty's typology of participation (1994) will be elaborated upon.

2.2.1 Defining participation

The origins of 'participation' lies in the development sector, where it has been interpreted by various actors in many different ways (Brown, 2014). Participation is therefore regarded as a contested concept of which "an agreed standard definition remains elusive" (Barry & Barham, 2012). Looking into participation in humanitarian context, an often cited definition comes from a report of the European Union: "Participation is establishing and maintaining a relevant representative dialogue with crisis affected populations and key stakeholders at every opportunity throughout the humanitarian programme to enable those affected populations to play an active role in the decision making

processes that affect them" (Barry & Barham, 2012, pp.10–11). This definition suggests that participation requires beneficiaries to have a role in decision making processes. This role is often qualified as 'active' or 'meaningful' participation, indicating that affected people have some power or influence (Brown, 2014).

Focusing on PWDs in an humanitarian context, the 'Charter on Inclusion of Persons with Disabilities in Humanitarian Action' (2016) provides a contemporary definition. It describes participation as the involvement of PWDs and representative organizations throughout the process of planning, implementation and evaluation of humanitarian programs. It emphasizes to "draw from their [PWDs] leadership, skills, experience and other capabilities to ensure their active participation in decision making and planning processes (…)" (Humanitarian Disability Charter, 2016, p.3). Capabilities are thus a central element of participation, in fact they determine to a certain degree if someone is able to participate or not. In literature the concept of capabilities is often described according to Amartya Sen's capability approach. Sen clarifies capabilities as a combination of functioning's (beings and doings) that a person has access to. It refers to the freedom of a person to choose between different things one can value (Sen, 1999). This approach is a helpful theoretical underpinning to understand the added value of PWDs in DI-DRR (WHO, 2011). It emphasizes that PWDs (and their representatives) are seen as key experts in inclusive humanitarian action. Participation in this regard means that they are subjects rather than objects of humanitarian interventions (Pfeifer et al., 2013). The adaptation of the Charter reflects the acknowledgement of PWDs' capabilities, and the importance to use this as a resource in disaster times.

2.2.2 Approaches to participation

There are different approaches of the purpose of participation, determining the degree to which one is involved in humanitarian action (URD, 2009). Generally there are three main approaches to participation: instrumental, collaborative and supportive. The 'Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action' (ALNAP, 2003) describes these as follows:

- Instrumental approach: Participation of beneficiaries is a means to achieve program goals. It is applied to all phases of the project cycle, from design to implementation, with respect to the capacities of the people. Although it is not an end in itself, this approach can lead to strengthening of these capacities.
- Collaborative approach: Participation takes form of exchanging resources between different stakeholders. The resources of each stakeholder are pooled in order to achieve a common goal. Organizations acknowledge local capacities, uses them and learn from it. Collaboration can take various forms, as formal and informal partnerships.
- Supportive approach: This approach recognizes existing or potential capacities of beneficiaries. Aid organizations give material, financial or technical support to the affected population to strengthen old or initiate new projects. Collaboration with beneficiaries is established to strengthen their capacities to undertake projects themselves.

Humanitarian action can move between these different approaches (ALNAP, 2003). It reflects that there are many different views on how participation can be perceived. Pelling (2007) emphasizes that implementers and beneficiaries of participatory approaches need to be clear about how participation is constructed, only then its benefits can be realized. A lack of common understanding creates space

to misplaced or exaggerated claims of participation. Therefore, these different approaches on participation are explored within this research.

2.2.3 Typology of participation

The participation of affected people in humanitarian action can take a variety of forms. The ladder of participation is one of the commonly used tools to distinguish different forms of participation. The ladder is originally developed by Arnstein (1969) to investigate citizens involvement in planning processes in the United States. Based on this ladder, Pretty (1994) created another typology of participation, specifically focused on the interaction between development organizations and their beneficiaries. This typology is regarded as helpful to investigate the extent of participation and the role of beneficiaries in (DI-)DRR (Anderson & Holcombe, 2013). Pretty (1994, p.40) states that "'participation' should not be accepted without appropriate qualification". This can be done by using the 'typology of participation' as an assessment tool. It distinguishes seven types of participation: (1) Passive participation; (2) Participation in information giving; (3) Participation by consultation; (4) Participation for material incentives; (5) Functional participation; (6) Interactive participation; (7) Self-mobilization. An overview of this typology and its exact meaning can be found as Annex III.

These different types can be regarded as normative, going from 'bad' forms of participation towards 'better' forms of participation (Cornwall, 2008). For example, in passive participation people are subordinated to already made decisions, while in the case of participation by self-mobilizing the beneficiaries are in full control of their own decisions. Note that this normative view is considered from the perspective of participants, because 'better' forms of participation can still produce 'bad' outcomes in the form of for example unsustainable decisions. The most frequently used type of participation in development is according to Cornwall (2008) functional participation, because beneficiaries' participation reduces costs and fosters the efficiency of projects to achieve its objectives. Self-mobilization remains often the ultimate goal of participation, although Pretty (1994, p. 41) notes that it "may or may not challenge existing inequitable distributions of wealth and power". Besides these underlying power structures one can argue whether this is indeed the ultimate goal of participation, as 'self-mobilization' possibly undermines the creation of social support systems under the heading of 'fostering full autonomy'.

2.2.4 Participation and power

Although participation is viewed as an instrument that can lead to more effective and efficient humanitarian action (Pretty, 1994; Warner, Waalewijn & Hilhorst, 2002), it becomes somewhat ambiguous when bringing it into practice. Participation can legitimize the implementation of certain projects or policies that promise participatory involvement of the public. Functional participation for example can be used to only meet certain project objectives, meanwhile limiting more active engagement of the people. Warner, Waalewijn & Hilhorst (2002) conclude that powerful actors can easily shape participation processes to their own benefits. Pelling (2007) identified this as the major critique on participation from development literature. He states that dominant participation practices tend to be exploitative: participation can be interpreted as a mechanism to reduce cost or prolong projects through the promotion of local ownership (Pelling, 2007). There thus might be a tension between efficiency and increased participation. This challenge arises because "participation is a social act that springs from a pre-existing set of social relations (...)" (Laderichi, 2001, p. 13). Indeed, various authors have shown that different types of participation are embedded in existing power relations

between project beneficiaries and practitioners (e.g. Cooke & Kothari, Davos & Lajano, Owens et al., as cited in Few et al., 2011), making it hard to distinguish voices of marginalized from pre-existing power structures (Pelling, 2007). The adaptation of participatory approaches can even reinforce persisting power relations, ensuring that final outcomes are little better than top-down decision making (Few et al., 2011).

One can go a step further by looking at Foucault's concept of governmentality. It refers to a radical and complex form of power over populations, also referred to as biopolitics. This theory is used by Grove (2014) in his paper on 'Immunological politics of disaster resilience'. He states that participation is said to be a mechanism to justify social engineering, in which we all, including the marginalized, are thought to be self-sufficient and manage their own vulnerabilities. Participatory techniques in this regard, try to influence the relation between participants and their socio-ecological environment in order to create "an artificial and depoliticized form of adaptive capacity that does not threaten [the] neoliberal order" (Grove, 2014, p. 240). Following Foucault's theory on biopolitics, participation thus aims to create vulnerable subjects, making them objects of disaster management. This raises the question who wants who to participate, for which goal and with what kind of intention? This emphasizes that participation takes place within a political arena, where social and political interactions shape its practical outcomes. Politics in this regard is defined according Lasswell (1936), who states that politics is about 'who gets what, when and how?'. In this sense, politics is about balancing interest and about the power to decide which interest matters most, or to put it in a Foucauldian way: which lives are made to live and who are left to die? It is therefore crucial to recognize complexities inherent to engaging people in decision making processes (Few et al., 2011).

2.3 Concluding remarks

This chapter first clarified the concepts 'disability' and 'inclusion' in relation to this research. The bio-psycho-social model is used to define disability according to personal characteristics, environmental processes and the interaction between them. Inclusion is explained as social inclusiveness that include both, personal as well as environmental factors. Both concepts are thus inherently social. Theory on DRR explained the social character of disasters and the complex relationship between peoples' vulnerabilities and their interaction with nature. In light of this research, this social paradigm of disaster research will be used to describe the personal and environmental vulnerabilities and capabilities of PWDs. It helps to investigate their social position in the disaster prone context of the Philippines, and their role in DI-DRR programs. Secondly, having outlined what participation constitutes in theory, it will be further explored how participation relates to DI-DRR in practice: What is its purpose and to which degree do PWDs participate? The typology of participation helps to explore the experiences of PWDs' participation in DI-DRR activities: What does PWDs' participation look like on the ground and what are perceptions on this? What are facilitating factors for participation and what impediments can be identified? Besides examining personal factors, attention will be paid towards the social and political dimension of participation (environmental factors), as power relations are inherently attached to inclusive approaches.

3. Methodology

This chapter outlines how research data was obtained and analysed. First, it sketches the context in which this research took place. The host organisations are introduced, the research location described and the various participants explained. The second part will motivate the different research methods used: interviews, observation, focus group discussions and secondary data collection. It will also explain how the data was coded and analysed. The last part of this chapter is a reflection on the research limitations and ethical issues.

3.1 Research context

3.1.1 Host organisation(s)

This research took place in the Philippines (Southeast Asia), mainly Albay province. This province is situated in Luzon, the largest island of the country on which the capital Manila is located. The research location was selected in collaboration with Handicap International (HI), a NGO working with PWDs and other vulnerable groups. Their focus is "on responding to their essential needs, improving their living conditions and promoting respect for their dignity and their fundamental rights" (HI, n.d.). HI was founded in 1982 and situated in the Philippines since 1985 where it acts in both, emergency and development situations (ibid). The research location Albay province, was suggested by HI because of their experience with Simon of Cyrene (SoC). This local NGO, also established in 1982, works according to the Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) strategy on greater participation of PWDs in development. One of their CBR components is Disability Inclusive-Disaster Risk Reduction (DI-DRR). They partner with Local Government Units (LGUs), Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) and other stakeholders in the area (SoC, 2016). Their target group, working approach and great network made SoC very useful to collaborate with. The research in Albay was mainly facilitated by SoC in terms of accommodation, transportation and the provision of contact details for possible participants. Data collection took place between November 2016 and February 2017, and covers a total period of 11 weeks. In order to retrieve information on the broader context of DI-DRR in the Philippines, the start and completion of the research took place in Manila, at the office of HI.

3.1.2 Research location

Within Albay, located in the Bicol region, there are 16 municipalities that received a CBR introduction of SoC. This means that the barangay captain accepted the CBR program, and allocated funding for disability inclusive programs. However, not all municipalities received the complete CBR training, and are thus not yet familiar with DI-DRR. Due to time constraints, 10 out of the 16 municipalities were visited during this research. Some of them received only the CBR introduction, others attended the full CBR training. The selection of these municipalities is based on accessibility and the availability of participants in the area. Figure 2 shows Albay province, the dark green areas are the research locations.

Figure 2: Research location

Source: Wikipedia, 2017. Modified by author.

3.1.3 Participants

Participants from different administrative levels in Albay were identified, as a wide range of participants ensures a complete view on the research topic. They include the following:

- Barangay Captain (BC)
- Simon of Cyrene (SoC)
- Handicap International (HI)
- Disabled People Organizations (DPOs)
- Persons with Disabilities Affairs Offers (PDAO)
- People with disabilities and/ or their parents (PWDs)
- Municipal Social Welfare and Development Officers (DSWD)
- Municipal, Provincial and Barangay Disaster Risk Reduction Officers (DRRO)

These groups are randomly selected based on their experience and involvement in DRR and/or Disability Sector, and available data from the host organizations. Also snowball sampling through the acquaintances of these participants, helped to recruit new participants. A total of 37 participants where involved during this research, of which Annex I presents an overview. The above-mentioned abbreviations are used to refer to the participants in this research.

In this research, the term PWDs not only refers to people with disabilities, but also to their representatives like first line family members. Family often represent the interest of PWDs, for example when this person is still a child or is severely disabled. Furthermore, no distinction is made between different types of disabilities. So the participants are not selected based on their disability type. There are several underling reasons for this: First of all, from a practical point of view it enlarges the group of PWDs as possible participants for this research. Secondly, it is believed that a disability is not merely determined by ones impairment. This is theoretically underpinned by the bio-psycho-social model that sees disability as the interaction of physical, mental and social features (see chapter 2). Thirdly, the type of disability can influence ones perceptions and experiences on DI-DRR. Focusing on a specific impairment would possibly leave out other relevant information. So making a distinction in type of disability, would rather limit the research than foster it.

3.2 Data collection and analysis

3.2.1 Data collection methods

Semi- structured interviews were used to gain in-depth information on participants' perceptions and experiences regarding DI-DRR and the participation of PWDs. It helped to gain insights in people's thoughts, and the reasons behind ones opinions and behaviour (Boeije, 2005). This type of interviewing required an interview guide in which predetermined issues were listed, covering all the research questions. This guide (topic list) can be found in Annex II. The guide helped to remain flexible during interviews and follow the direction of the conversation naturally, meanwhile redirecting the discussion to relevant issues. This method was very suitable in contact with PWDs, since it empowers the ones providing the data: their story will be valued and treated with respect (Hay, 2010). The pitfall of face-to-face interaction according to Hay (2010) is to overlook the less localized interactions that remain off stage. Therefore several (DI-)DRR activities were observed during this research: the release of the Freedom Vehicle (tricycle especially designed for PWDs), a fire-earthquake drill and relief distribution after typhoon Nina. In addition several house-to-house visits were conducted at PWDs homes. Observation techniques helped to get a better contextual understanding of the research, and provide valuable complementary evidence on other research methods (Hay, 2010). Data was collected through photos and field notes about things observed during these activities, for example on the degree and type of PWDs' participation.

In addition, two focus group discussions (FGD) were held with PWDs and/or their parents. During the FGD the research topic was discussed in small groups of five people. The emphasize was on the interaction between participants, room was created to respond to each other's story. According to Hay (2010) this can help the informants to explore different experiences and construct their own viewpoint. During these sessions 'sensitizing concepts' were used to let people define concepts like participation (Boeije, 2005, p. 42). This helped to understand what participation means for PWDs. Secondary data collection was used to retrieve additional information on aforementioned research methods. Several training manuals created by NGOs like HI, reports of international organisation like the UN, and contingency plans of various DRR officers were analysed regarding the participation of PWD in DI-DRR activities in the context of the Philippines. This data can be seen as valuable source of information that complemented and sometimes verified the data obtained through other sources.

3.2.2 Data coding and analysis

Because the interviews mostly took place within a formal setting (mainly office) – that generally can be regarded as a safe place – all information was written down on the computer during the interviews. As well, the participants did not speak very fast, as they had to search for the right words in a foreign language (English). This allowed to type and listen to the participants at the same time. Interviews were all recorded, so information could be reviewed another time. The adequacy of this methods, demised transcribing the interviews. For quotations of course, the original voice records are used. For data coding, a structure was developed through Excel. The coding process started by making descriptive codes, reducing data to several themes (e.g. DRR preparedness activities; type of participation). The second phase included another coding round, in which descriptive codes were refined into multiple codes (e.g. fire- earthquake drill; passive participation). After patterns were identified, a third coding round added interpretive codes (e.g. Difference DRR and preparedness;

Participation as being present). Multiple codes were analysed, connections were made with the theoretical framework, and each code received a sufficient number of quotations (Hay, 2010).

As this research concerns the interplay between practices and discourses, the truth as constructed by the participants will be presented as clearly as possible. While reading the research, one thus needs to take into account that participants can reveal a certain version of the truth based on (conscious or unconscious) strategical considerations and normative worldviews. Therefore, if required by the objective of the research, these personal perceptions are theoretically underpinned and compared with general discourses.

3.3 Ethical concerns

Several ethical concerns stem from doing research on the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR. They are mainly related to issue of self-presentation, or in other words: impression management. Robben & Sluka (2012, p.162) write that the impression of the researcher "will determine the kinds and validity of data to which he [the researcher] will be able to gain access, and hence the degree of success of his work". Being a white, 26 years old, non-disabled, European female, probably influenced the way in which participants approached me. As I have noticed from previous experiences within developing countries, foreigners are often regarded as honourable guests and treated with respect. Being an outsiders, sometimes makes people feel invited to share their knowledge and experiences. Although I have also noticed that a European nationality can raise certain expectations in the form of (monetary) compensations. I prepared myself by determining beforehand what to possibly give participants. During the research however, I was never expected to give something in return. This not only relates to my background or appearance, I discovered that it is also within the Philippine culture to receive guests unconditionally. Moreover I think people's willingness to talk about their DI-DRR experiences, reflects the importance of the research topic. Besides my positionality as being something that enables access, I realized that it can also negatively influence the "kinds and validity of the data" (ibid). During the interviews the pressure can evolve within the participant to create a different image about the situation. This includes according to Hay (2010, p. 158) that people do not want to share information, or only give selective details of their story (under disclose). The other way around can also happen (over disclose). Being an outsider, unable to speak the local language, it is hard to tell whether this indeed happened or not.

Another ethical issue raised by this research, relates to the target population: PWDs. Doing research in collaboration with generally vulnerable people such as PWDs, bears the risk of negatively influencing the wellbeing of participants. Goodhand (2000) emphasizes to 'do no harm', as primarily principle of research. In this regard, I think my own background has been helpful: I have considerable work experience in the mental health sector, where I have worked with PWDs for several years. Moreover I have a disabled brother myself, which provides me with valuable personal experiences. My professional and personal background ensured that I was cautious about the research topic throughout the whole research process. As well, it helped me to communicate with and about PWDs. This ensured I did not 'do harm' to the participants, and (although this is not the main goal of this research) maybe even 'do good' instead: countering stereotypes by giving marginalized groups such as PWDs a voice (Goodhand, 2000).

4. Contextual account

This chapter provides a brief overview on the social- economic position of PWDs within the Philippines, as well as the political-historical context in which DI-DRR takes place. First, it gives an overview of the natural hazards that plagued the country during previous decades. Some facts and figures will be presented to give a clear view on the disaster vulnerability of the Philippines, and Albay in specific. Second, the influence of disasters on the economic situation of PWDs will be explained, which clarifies the clear relationship between poverty and disasters. The last part of this chapter will go into state-society relations and how this evolved under constant disaster threats.

4.1 The influence of natural hazards

4.1.1 Natural hazards: types and impacts

The Philippines is one of the most hazard prone countries of the world. It is situated in the 'Pacific Ring of Fire' where two tectonic plates meet, making the country subject to frequent earthquakes and volcanic eruptions. Tropical storms and typhoons, accompanied by heavy rainfall and strong winds (causing floods and landslides), are the major natural hazards in the Philippines. An average of twenty typhoons a year enter the Philippine Area of Responsibility (PAR) (NDRRMC, 2011). Figure 3 shows an overview of the total losses caused by natural hazards in the country between 1990 and 2014. During this period there were 522 events (earthquakes, floods, landslides, storms and volcanic eruptions), causing over 66 thousand fatalities, and more than 166 million affected people (EMDAT, 2016).

Figure 3: Losses Philippines 1990-2014
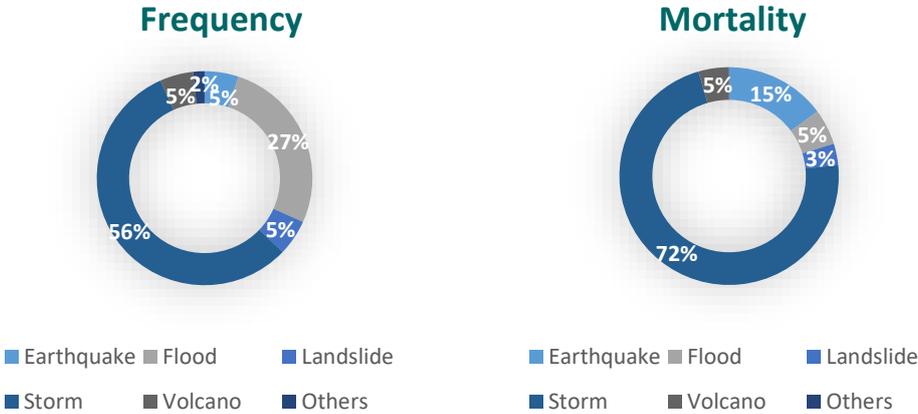
Source: EMDAT, 2016. Modified by auhor.

Nevertheless, it is evident that natural hazards are not an unique occurrence within the Philippines. The same can be said about Albay province, well known for its 2462 meter high and beautiful Mayon volcano. This active volcano has the most recorded eruptions of all volcanos within the Philippines: since the first recorded eruption of 1616, Mayon erupted about 50 times, most recently in 2013 (Volcano Discovery, 2017). Eight municipalities surround the volcano, with over 60 percent of the total population of Albay living at its slopes (Bankoff & Hilhorst, 2009). Despite its beauty, the volcano can cause severe secondary hazards such as *lahar flows* (combination of ash and boulders). After heavy rainfall these *lahar flows* run down the slopes of Mayon, causing floods and destruction downstream.

In addition, Albay is very much known for other natural hazards. Being situated in the 'typhoon belt', Albay usually experiences a lot of weather related calamities that enter or cross the Philippines. Typhoons hit Albay from September onwards, and can be experienced up to December. During this period, heavy rainfall can lead to (flash-)floods, landslides and soil erosion, resulting in major devastation (Mascariñas, 2013). The wide range of natural hazards and the high frequency of their occurrences, makes Albay known as "the disaster capital of the country" (Interview DRRO7).

4.1.2 The relationship between poverty and disasters

As a matter of course, the Philippine economy is drained by the recurrent damage caused by natural hazards and the magnitude of their devastation. The costs for the society are immense, and usually heaviest for the less fortunate: "Poverty tends to aggravate the difficulties caused by natural disasters and accentuate the plight of the poorest and most disadvantaged" (Bankoff, 1999, p. 399). This stresses the relationship between poverty and disasters: the poor are more vulnerable to disastrous events among others because they are without financial safeguards to cope with its impact (ibid). Livelihoods and income opportunities are often firstly affected by disasters, as labor markets are disrupted and job opportunities limited. When people do not have alternative income sources or savings to absorb these cost, they are likely to experience severe problems to overcome the impact of disasters (O'Meara, 2012). This is especially the case for PWDs, who belong to the less fortunate groups in society and whose economic positions are generally poor. This is among others because PWDs are less likely to be employed, and in case they do have a job, they often earn less than others. Employment and income rates are moreover lower when the severity of the disability gets worse. PWDs can also experience additional financial burdens associated with their disability, such as discrimination in employment (WHO, 2011). Therefore they sometimes engage in the informal sector such as self-employment activities, where labor protection is limited and employment opportunities uncertain (UN, 2007).

This does not seem to be much different in case of the Philippines. PWDs participating in this research state that the economic position of these PWDs generally remains poor. They are sometimes employed as, for example, government officials (working as PDAO), or as self-employed workers engaging in small-scale income-generating activities (mostly informal shops). Nevertheless most participants relied merely on family support, meanwhile taking care of their children or households. They represent the overall situation of PWDs in the Philippines, who often remain unemployed and designated to a poor existence (Cobley, 2015). PWDs' deprived economic situation creates hardship in both preparing and recovering from natural hazards, as they lack financial means to do so. Moreover, disasters destroy opportunities for employment meanwhile undermining the basis for future livelihoods. In this way PWDs can enter a 'vicious cycle' in which both, poverty and disasters reinforce each other (Cobley, 2015; Heijmans, 2009).

About 1.57 percent of the Philippine population are PWDs, and are likely to find themselves in this situation. In the Bicol region, where this research project took place, the proportion of PWDs lies a bit higher: 1.85 percent (PSA, 2013). However, this amount still falls well below the worldwide prevalence rate of 15 percent, as estimated by the World Health Organization (2011). Unfortunately more recent data is not available, showing that accurate information on PWDs in the Philippines is missing. This can be regarded as a major concern since low estimates have serious implications for the budget allocation and the provision of services for PWDs.

4.1.3 Disasters' influence on state- society relations

As the preceding section clarified, poverty in the Philippines is deeply rooted in the socio-economic and environmental context of the country, that – combined with its geographical location – increases people's vulnerability to natural hazards. Disasters tend to exacerbate differences in power and wealth among the Philippine population: while the poor are the most affected, the rich can sometimes even benefit (Heijmans, 2009; Luna, 2001). Bankoff (1999, p. 408) states that elites can profit from crisis situations by deriving relief and rehabilitation funds that enhance their financial and political positions. Because of these inequalities, disasters have challenged state- society relations within the Philippine society for centuries (ibid).

This can be traced back to colonial times, when the Philippines was under Spanish (1521-1898) and American (1902-1946) rule. During the Spanish colonial period, the Catholic Church pioneered the provision of welfare services and encouraged people to take care of each other. The American colonial government, created boundaries between these kind of religious philanthropies and state's provision of public goods. People obtained the right to create private nonprofit organizations, sometimes subsidized by the government (ADB, 2013). Charity activities were carried out by NGOs such as the American Red cross, meanwhile more political motivated groups like peasant organizations were growing. However, the declaration of the Martial Law by President Marcos in 1972 announced the end of these democratic freedoms, and human rights were increasingly violated. Organizations emerged to protest against the corruption and abuses of the regime, supported by the Catholic Church (Luna, 2001). Also *ad hoc* citizens' initiatives emerged that criticized the disaster management of the government. It was believed that Marcos's "relief was used to further political agendas and to foster recipients' dependence on a patronage-political system" (Heijmans, n.d., p. 11). Relief goods were labeled as a gift from the President while they were in fact foreign donations. The responses of the government were regarded by the citizens as "insufficient, inappropriate, [and] driven by favoritism in selecting beneficiaries" (Heijmans, 2009, p.11). Moreover, there was an overall lack of coordination that resulted in confusion of targeted areas: some were duplicated, others forgotten (Ibid).

The gaps in disaster management of the Marcos regime, gave rise to the first community- based disaster management (CBDM) initiative of the Philippines in 1987: the Citizens' Disaster Response Network (CDRN). The CDRN adapted a grassroots-based approach in which vulnerable people were regarded as main actors in disaster management. Emphasis was on participatory processes, capacity building and the removal of root causes of disaster vulnerability (Bankoff & Hilhorst, 2009). These kind community participation initiatives formed the cornerstone in overthrowing the Marcos regime. It embraces a process of change that created space for democratic reforms and the institutionalization of people's participation in the new constitution (Hermoso & Luca, 2006). Thus with the establishment of CDRN, the institutionalization of community efforts became a fact. However, they did not operate separately from the government, instead they started to engage in collaborative arrangements with state agencies (although this relationship was hostile and critical). National and international NGO's adapted their approach and nowadays they also fulfill an important role in disaster management. Both, state and NGO's started to share a common interest in decentralization and CBDM, and mutually coordinate these activities (Bankoff & Hilhorst, 2009).

Although this common lexicon emerged around the turn of century, it is only recent that CBDM has become a recognized approach within the Philippine disaster framework. The Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010 reflects significant advancement in involving communities in

disaster management (see chapter 6). It adapts a multi-stakeholder approach that supports the participation of among other Civil Society Organizations (CSOs), and aims to give voice to the most vulnerable people in society. The Act is part of the government's decentralization reform, which increased the role of Local Government Unit (LGU), CSOs and NGO's in disaster management. The creation of Local Disaster Risk Reduction Offices was first pioneered in Albay, thereafter it was replicated in other provinces around the Philippines (Polack, Luna, & Dator-Bercilla, 2010). With the establishment of a local office, the government aimed to increase their accountability trough "building confidence and empowering the community, enhancing local bureaucracy, facilitating learning, enhancing multi-stakeholder cooperation and promoting excellence in public service" (Oxfam, 2008). A similar development pattern can be witnessed within the disability community.

In recent years more attention is being paid towards the development of disability- inclusive CBDM in the Philippines. This approach aims to incorporate PWDs in disaster management, and can be defined as "activities, measures, projects and programs that aim to reduce disaster risks and are primarily designed by vulnerable groups and people living in high-risk communities, and are based on their urgent needs and capacities" (UNDP, 2006, p. 92). In this definition, 'community based' thus refers to the involvement of PWDs. However, while investigating how the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR comes about in Albay, it became apparent that their involvement is mainly limited within organizational structures as created by the government. No DPOs or other organizations for PWDs are found that operated independently from these state agencies. This conveys the impression that voices are only being heard within a certain political framework, which possibly steers the direction of their involvement. From a governmental point of view, the participation of PWDs can be used to increase public accountability (Polack et al., 2010). This was also reflected in the answers of PWDs in Albay: they pointed at the government as the main actor responsible for improving their situation (FGD1). This is remarkable because the state-society relationship within the Philippines is known for widespread mistrust in the government's ability to protect their citizens (Bankoff, 2004; Polack et al., 2010). One of the reasons why the public does believe in the government, can possibly be attributed to the fact that Albay was the first province to establish a permanent Local DRR Office. With their achievements they have won several national and international awards which might have increased the trust among the local population in government actions.

4.2 Concluding remarks

This chapter explained the context of the Philippines, in which DI-DRR takes place. It clarified that the amount of natural hazards occurring within the country, and Albay specifically, are of major influence on the economic position of PWDs. In fact, the generally deprived economic situation of PWDs makes it almost impossible to break out of the 'vicious cycle' that characterizes the relationship between poverty and disasters. Throughout history powerful politicians took advantage of the crisis within the country, to enhance their own position and oppress the public. However the lack of government interference in among others hazard situations, gave rise to community- based initiatives that evolved in a strong Civil Society Organization. These efforts seems to be institutionalized in relation to PWDs, whose presence in society increasingly became formalized. Within the following chapters the implications of these developments on DI-DRR will be further elaborated upon.

5. Social-cultural setting of DI-DRR

Before going into the institutional context, this chapter sketches a picture of the social- cultural setting in which DI-DRR takes place. The first part describes how the Philippine population has learned to live under constant threat of natural hazards. They developed various coping strategies, which shows how the natural environment, and disasters in particular, shapes society. The second part will discuss the general attitudes towards PWDs within the country. As well, it will go into the cultural and religious features that possibly influences this.

5.1 Social construction of hazards

5.1.1 Frequent life experiences

In a period of merely three months during which this research took place, one Super Typhoon hit the Philippines – causing among others floods and landslides – and several slight earthquakes struck the country. However, no one seemed to be worried too much, and most people continued their normal routines: "When there is a typhoon, I stay at home. I will be in my room and sleep until it is over. I am used to it, so I am not scared" (Interview DPO4). This shows that disasters are a part of daily life in the Philippines, and it seems like the population has learned how to live with its constant threat (Bankoff & Hilhorst, 2009). This is nicely explained by a DRR officer (Interview DRRO7):

> We have already past resilience. Albay has been resilient way back, because of the frequency of disasters. It has become a way of life for us, that typhoons come and the volcano [Mayon] erupts is normal. (…) People that are not from Albay, they are afraid of volcanic eruptions, it is like the end of the world for them. But for us it is natural occurrence, we have learned to live with the danger.

Therefore disaster can be regarded as a 'frequent life experience', often deeply embedded in people's memories (Bankoff, 2003, pp. 179–183). Various participants shared their way of dealing with natural hazards (coping strategies), often based on previous disaster experiences. They were taught by their parents how to prepare and respond to for example typhoons. They in turn informed their own children how to act. Especially in the case of PWDs, parents are major sources of information and great example (FGD1). One DRR officer explained that people have a sort of collective memory of experiences, which is passed on to the next generation. This creates hazard awareness, which in turn increases coping capacities. In Albay province, water marks can be found on the river embankments from a previous flood, used to compare rising water levels and warn the public for a subsequent flood. Disaster experiences are thus stored and meanings and interpretations can be passed on from generation to generation. This so called 'cultural memory' can help to develop adaptive strategies to deal with the various disaster threats. In this regard it can be said that: 'Disasters shape people's sense of history and in doing so shape culture' (de Jong & da SIlva, 2015, p. 45).

The common experience of disasters thus influences the development of the Philippine culture, which is evident in various ways. For example the development of resettlement sites in Albay for people in high risk areas, to find a safer place to live (Interviews DRRO6/7). This is in itself – whether or not initiated by the community or the Local Government Unit (LGU) – a coping strategy to live in a hazard prone area, and mitigate the effects of a disaster. These strategies are based on the assumption that what happened in the past is likely to happen again, following a similar pattern. Previous actions, stored in peoples cultural memory, will guide actions during similar events (Bankoff, 2004). The

relocation sites in Albay, can be regarded as a preventative coping strategy that attempts to prevent a disaster from reoccurring. Coping strategies can also be defined as "cognitive or behavioral responses designed to reduce or eliminate psychological distress or stressful situations" (Fleishman, as cited in Bankoff, 2004, p. 102). In accordance with this definition, there are additional cultural coping strategies among the Philippine population that are likely to be related with disaster threats.

5.1.2 Cultural coping strategies

In a country where the majority of the population is Christian, there exists a close relationship between forces of nature and God. This gives rise to one of the principal coping strategies of the Philippine population: Fatalism. This concept describes a situation in which people subscribe their position to faith. According to a definition of Gaillard & Texier (2010, p. 82), natural hazards are considered as "acts of God and the punishment of deities", and the deserved outcome of people's guild or sinfulness. Some people in the Philippines also considered their lives to be in God's hands: "I survived because the Lord gave me the chance to live, and saved my soul. (…) But if you commit a sin, you will be dropped in hell" (Interview DPO3). Such a discourse of fatalism is often associated with low risk perceptions, as disasters are predetermined events attributed to external forces (de Jong & da SIlva, 2015; Gaillard & Texier, 2010).

According to Bankoff (2004, p. 103) one can also speak of 'calculated risk-taking'. This recognizes the courage and daring of potential affected population, and their sense of potential costs and benefits assessment. This could also be observed among the population living within the danger zone around Mayon. Although they are under constant threat of *lahar flows* from the volcano during typhoon season, they continue to live where they are. This has partially to do with their fatalistic beliefs, but is also born out of necessity: people want to secure their livelihood by staying on the fertile grounds of Mayons' slopes. "Evacuation means they have to leave behind their livelihood or livestock" (Interview DRRO2). Participants stated that leaving their homes and surrounding farmlands during natural hazards, can attract looters and bears the risk of losing their main source of income (Interview DRRO7). It seems like they consider the risk of being affected by *lahar flows* as low, but when fate strikes, the perceived risk of looting is high. The outcome of this calculation makes them decide to leave or to stay their initial homes. This example shows fatalism is not merely about passive sense of acceptance of one's faith, but also implies active decision making, based on a risk assessment (Bankoff, 2004).

Another coping strategy inherently tied to the Philippine culture, is called *bayanihan*, which refers to being part of a group. The concept stems from an old Philippine rural tradition, wherein people helped each other to move. The *bayanihan* spirit shows a concept of helping each other without expecting something in return (Yumul, 2013). Although there are some circumstances making the practice of helping each other difficult. For example, after a disaster, when most community members are victims themselves: "We couldn't ask for help because most of us were affected" (Interview PWD2). There are many other Philippine words that express a similar meaning, and can be used interchangeably. All refer to a community that guarantee neighboring support, especially during times of disasters (Bankoff, 2004). The community spirit enriches the social capital of the Philippine population. This is especially evident within families, where parents are accountable for their children in nourishing and protection, and children in turn pay respect to their parents and fulfill household responsibilities (Polack et al., 2010). This is widely evident in the case of PWDs, where the direct family members (often parents or siblings), are the main caretakers. PWDs are, in conformity with their abilities, expected to pay respect

to the elderly and make a valid contribution within the house (Interview SoC1, FGD1). What is striking however is that the social capital of PWDs are not as far reaching as of 'normal people'. The notion of *bayanihan* for PWDs seems to be limited within the boundaries of the household, and community members are less voluntary engaged. The reason for this can be related to how disability is generally regarded within the Philippines, as will be explained in the following section.

5.2 The disability picture of the Philippines

5.2.1 Local definition of PWDs

During the research it became clear that the term PWDs refers to a variety of impairments, of which the following classification is generally used:

- Physical impairment (orthopedically impaired);
- Visual impairment (eye problem);
- Hearing impairment (ear problem);
- Speech impairment (cleft lip);
- Intellectual impairment (learning disabilities);
- Psychiatric impairment/mentally ill (stress coping).

People with one or more of these impairments can apply for a special identification card (ID), allowing a twenty percent discount on various services and products like public transportation and grocery items. People with for example a cleft lip are also entitled to receive this ID. They are regarded as PWDs, because their speech impairment hinders their full and equal participation in society. So it is the interaction with the social environment that creates their disability, as explained by HI as follows: "[PWDs are] people with different impairments that encounter different barriers in society, the interaction with these barriers cause this disability" (Interview HI3).

This clarifies that the 'bio-psycho-social model', as described within the theoretical framework, is very much present within the Philippines. Disability is thus embedded in social processes of the society, in which disability arises from treatable or preventable factors such as conflict, natural hazards or diseases (Cobley, 2015; Singal, 2010). This is widely apparent in Albay, as various government officials explained that people with physical impairments forms the majority among PWDs (Interview DPO1). Most disabled participants experienced physical impairments due to for example polio. They did not have the means to prevent or treat the diseases, that paralyzed their limbs and causes physical impairments. Also various others where paralyzed due to strokes, caused by among others an unhealthy lifestyle, such as limited movement's meanwhile consuming greasy food. This image is in line with the general situation of the Philippines: According to the WHO (2014), heart diseases and strokes are the number one causes of death within the country. Moreover, typhoon affected areas like the Philippines, are prone to disease outbreaks that can further worsen the situation of PWDs. Also typhoons in themselves can cause physical impairments of its affected population, creating a new generation of PWDs. This shows a clear link between disability and poverty, as people experience a lack of opportunities to achieve a healthy standard of living. This is further complicated by "the physical, attitudinal and systemic barriers which limit their participation in society" (WHO as cited in Cobley, 2015, p. 688). More information on these barriers, will follow in chapter 8.

5.2.2 Changing attitudes towards PWDs

It seems like the general attitude towards PWDs in the Philippines is slowly changing from a Charity model towards a Right-based approach. The Charity model regards PWDs as dependent people that need to be taken care off (Trainor & Subbio, 2014). This attitude does not recognize the capabilities of PWDs, instead they see them as passive victims or even as a burden to the family: "Even family members consider that they [PWDs] are a burden to them. Because they do not gain something from helping PWDs" (Interview SoC3). This attitude is especially prevalent among poor families that do not have sufficient financial resources to take care of them. They regard PWDs as a financial burden because they regard them as unproductive, unable to have a proper job: "People still not realize that PWDs don't have to be a burden. They assume that PWDs are not that productive as physical normal people. They think PWDs are in need for help, and cannot do something themselves" (Interview DSWD3).

The Charity model is enforced by people that use their disability as a tool for begging and demanding attention. By doing so, they (unintentionally) strengthening their overall image of being a vulnerable group, incapable of normal income generating activities. It is therefore not surprising that most participants state that PWDs have a low self-esteem. In the case of people whose impairment are not congenital, they need to learn how to live with their impairment, as explained by a PWDs that suffered a stroke on latter age: "I found it hard to accept the situation that happened to me. I find it difficult doing things what I did before I got a stroke. My temper changed, I can easily get angered" (Interview PWD6). These people try to find a new balance in their life, and figure out what they can and cannot do without outside help. However due to this stigmatization, outsiders as well as PWDs themselves are often unaware of their capabilities. This is explained by a DPO president (Interview DPO4):

> People think about people with disabilities as if they don't have the capabilities in doing some things, that they are useless. They are judging them as if they have nothing to offer. It affects PWDs, they lose confidence to speak in public and don't have the feeling that they can actually do something. It makes them insecure about their own capacities.

As this citation indicates, PWDs thus sometimes "fail to recognize their own potential" (Interview HI3). Multiple participants mention that PWDs therefore sometimes hide themselves out of shame, or are hidden by their own family members. For example, a PDAO states the following: "They are hiding because they are ashamed of their disability. There are still some parents that don't accept that their relatives or children have disabilities. They are not aware, or they don't want them to be exposed" (Interview PDAO3). It is striking that almost all participants with disabilities experience a form of discrimination in for example finding a job: "Sometimes a normal person gets priority. They don't give me the job because I am different" (Interview PWD4). Even a government official with a communication impairment, shared a similar experiences: "Since I started as a PDAO coordinator, I go every day to work at the Department of Social Welfare and Development. Other colleagues, when I speak they are going to speak like me, they are imitating me" (Interview PDAO1). These kind of negative attitudes and behaviors are still persisting within the Philippines. Striking is that PWDs often emphasize to advocate for 'equal citizenship' and 'the right to live'. This gives the impression that there is still a discourse in which PWDs are regard as inferior to normal people. As if they are a passive homogenous group, rather than peers capable of doing something (Hästbacka et al., 2016). PWDs try to influence this unfavorable perspective by showing their added value in society: "Despite of my disability I try to prove that I can do something, that I can offer something. (…) PWDs can be useful

citizens and they can contribute to the community" (Interview DPO4). With these efforts, PWDs try to overcome stigmatization within the Philippine society, and show that "despite of their disability, they are not dependent" (Interview PDA3).

Participants state that attitudes are slowly changing indeed. They indicate that there is an emerging paradigm shift in approaches to PWDs: from a Charity- model towards a more Rights based approach. The latter regards people, irrespective of their disability, as right holders. In this regard, PWDs are regarded as a heterogeneous group in which everyone holds certain capacities (Trainor & Subbio, 2014). This model is especially prevalent in areas where there has been awareness raising activities on PWDs' rights, like in most municipalities of Albay. The main message disseminated through these campaigns is summarized by a PDAO as follows (Interview PDAO4):

> We [PWDs] need to learn about the laws, and stand up and fight for our rights. Because we are also part of the community, we are also contributors and not always liable on others. We are entitled to live like other normal persons, because we have equal opportunities and rights.

It seems like the awareness about laws is regarded as the first step towards an inclusive society. It stimulates PWDs to advocate for rights and influence other people to do the same. This increases their overall self-esteem which is being enforced by trainings on for example 'Leadership skills'. This training is provided by SoC to among others PWDs, which helps them "(…) to remove negative attitude in themselves" (Interview DSWD1) and "to turn negative thoughts into positive" (Interview PDAO4). Increased self-esteem can also reduce discrimination (Interview PWD4):

> When I accept myself the bullying stopped. Because of trainings and seminars I learned to accept how I am, I learned how to love myself. Because people that are bullying don't know the law. Now I am aware of the law and I can tell them. Although I am a PWD I have also rights; equal rights to live.

When people know about the laws, they feel empowered to "change the view of their environment and people around them" (Interview HI3). So, when PWDs are aware of their rights and capabilities, they have more confidence to become an active member within their community. Advocating for their rights not only increases their self-esteem, but also contributes to changing attitudes in their environment. This ensures that PWDs will be no longer regarded as passive victims, but recognized as equal citizens who are capable of contributing to development (Interview DSWD2/3).

5.2.3 Cultural and religious embeddedness

As mentioned previously, the dominant religion in the Philippines is Christianity: the majority of its population belongs to the Roman Catholic Church. Religion plays a major role in society and is very much visible in daily life. The doors of Churches are always open and often a handful of praying people can be found inside. People pray before having dinner or going on a journey, always making a cross when passing a church. Religion is not only visible in the practices of the Philippine population, it is also embedded in their beliefs. This also shapes the way in which people think about PWDs. Some people consider physical disability as a curse of God, or they see people with intellectual impairments as being possessed by the devil (Interview PWD6). These beliefs can make people decide to hide their children with disabilities from the outside world (FGD1):

> People were scared with my son. They will tell you that he is cursed, because you get a lot of sin. They say: 'God punished you for what you have done'. That is why my son stayed at the house, he did not mingle with other children because they were scared of him.

Keeping PWDs at home can be a matter of protection, not only the child from bullying but also to protect the family name: "They can hide them out of shame" (Interview PDAO2). Or some people think that PWDs can be dangerous, and hide them to protect others: "They don't allow people to mingle. They think it is kind of dangerous if a person goes out of the house because they can harm others" (Interview PDAO2). They do not want PWDs to form a burden to the community or they try to avoid contagion. However there are several cases in which a PWD was kept at home although the impairment was not transferable (Interview HI4). Hiding people thus also seems to do with a lack of awareness about the impairment of PWDs, exemplified by the following case (Interview HI4):

> *I know some cases of children chained by their parents. The community don't care because they know the child has a mental illness. They don't know how to manage, they think parents do a good job because they are afraid that the kid can hurt them. [In one of the cases] The child was 15 years old, but not mentally retarded, it was only blind and deaf. He was in a cage of a dog.*

According to HI, these kind of stories can still be witnessed within the country, although they become more rare (Interview HI4). Nowadays religion is mostly regarded as something that fosters the inclusion of PWDs. For example, some parents of children with disabilities explained that they felt special because God gave them a child with disabilities. They believe to be chosen because they are able to take care of the kid. Also PWDs themselves retrieve strength from their religion, as they believe that their disability is a gift from God: "Disability is given to me so that others can learn how to deal with it" (Interview DPO1).

Negative attitudes towards PWDs, is not fully explained by religious beliefs, it also relates to the hierarchical culture of the Philippines. Special honor goes to elder members of the family or people in power positions. This characteristic is not per definition negative, but as Dolan (1993, p. 88) states: "(…) when taken to extreme, it can develop into an authoritarianism that discourages independent judgment and individual responsibility and initiative". People pay respect for authority, so when PWDs are held at home, this will not easily be contradicted (Interview HI2):

> *[People tend to] follow instructions, rather than to think of themselves, as if they are not in charge of their own rights. (…) This already starts in the family, where most children are taught to simply follow. If they feel that their parents' decisions are not beneficial for them, they do not contradict this.*

HI explains that these cultural norms and values might be derived from colonial times, as people are used to being ruled by others. For generations these ideas are transmitted within families, and still deeply rooted within households (Interview HI2). Another cultural legacy can be related to indigenous beliefs that were prevalent in the Philippines before the colonial rulers. During these times people perceived the world as being inhabited by spirits and supernatural occurrences, which created various superstitious beliefs (Interview HI3). Bad spirits could do harm in the form of illnesses or accidents, whereas good spirits could bring prosperity in the form of good weather or harvests. Shamans were regarded as the communicators with these spirits, and ceremonies were part of everyday village life (Dolan, 1993). During these times, disability would be regarded as something that could be cured: "People in community stuck to their beliefs, they thought PWDs are disabled because of things you cannot see. They believed that they can be cured by local doctors [Shamans], and don't need medical attention" (Interview DSWD1). Such beliefs, although less prevalent, continue to influence religious practices and beliefs of tribal groups in this modern period.

5.3 Concluding remarks

In the Philippines natural hazards are part of daily life, they are 'frequent life experiences' embedded within people's 'cultural- memories'. How natural hazards are experienced and how people act accordingly, is largely influenced by their cultural backgrounds. This generates various coping strategies, such as fatalism and *bayanihan*, to deal with reoccurring hazards and constant disaster threats. These coping capacities are essential elements in Philippine life, in which hazard are experienced on daily basis. According to Bankoff (2004, p. 106) this notion of 'social construction of hazards' may have implications on the state-society relations as well: "The concept of fatalism [and bayanihan] has its political parallel in the degree to which the Filipino public lacks confidence in the ability of government agencies to protect their citizens". Attributing disaster to external forces such as in the case of fatalism, can be used by the government to excuse situations that otherwise would be attribute to their own (in-)actions. Similarly, the Philippine cultural characterization of *bayanihan*, can withdraw the government from their responsibilities as people are taking care of each other anyways (ibid). These so called 'disaster excuses' can thus be used to separate the government from problems and create distance from difficult situations. At the same time, people's mistrust in the government can result in a reactive culture that, simulated by recurrent disasters, increases their coping capacities (ibid; McConnel, 2003). The same counts for PWDs, who in absent of major welfare services, remain largely dependent on their own direct social network. However, the network of PWDs is often limited to their direct social environment.

As has become clear in the second part of this chapter, this limited social network can also partially be explained by the general attitudes towards PWDs. It can be noticed that this is slightly changing from a Charity model towards a Right-based approach. This shift is steered by increased awareness about disability laws, which in turn increases PWDs' self-esteem and reduces discrimination. PWDs are no longer regarded as a homogenous group, but seen as right holders with individual capabilities. This evolving heterogeneous perception on PWDs has implications for DI-DRR as well. It emphasizes the importance of considering a wide array of capacities, alongside people's vulnerabilities. Therefore the participation of PWDs is essential in DI-DRR, as their specific experiences and perceptions on disaster preparedness and response can be taken into account (Ronoh, Gaillard, & Marlowe, 2015). One of the consequences can be that PWDs gain more political agency. How this has evolved in the context of the Philippines, will become clear in the following chapter.

6. Institutional policy framework on DI-DRR

The emphasis on the participation of PWDs as subjects in DI-DRR, can be seen in the light of broader developments. In recent decades international and national policy frameworks has undergone a shift towards more inclusive approaches. In the first part of this chapter these developments will be briefly elaborated upon in relation to international levels and the context of the Philippines. Zooming in to the local context of Albay, it becomes clear that DI-DRR activities take place within a complicated web of institutions: different actors have their own responsibilities and interests. It will therefore not come as a surprise that DI-DRR turns out to be highly political. In fact, the organization of the Philippine administrative system, influences the way in which DI-DRR can be performed. The second part of this chapter will go deeper into these political issues. It will become clear that DI-DRR is a matter of prioritization, which is interwoven with underlying political issues and structural concerns.

6.1 (Inter-)National Frameworks

6.1.1 International Conventions

The shift towards more inclusive approaches is steered by the Convention on the Protection and Promotion of the Rights and Dignity of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD), organized in 2006 by the United Nations. Since then, inclusion of PWDs has become a requirement of international agreement and obliges states to consult people with disabilities when implementing new policies (UN, 2007, 2008). This obligation only counts when a state signs and ratifies the UNCRPD policy. There is an Optional Protocol that gives a committee the mandate to examine complaints regarding violations of the Convention. The Philippines signed and ratified the convention, but did not sign the protocol (OHCHR, 2016). Article 11 of the UNCRPD is about Situations of Risk and Humanitarian Emergencies, and calls for states to take "all necessary measures to ensure the protection and safety of persons with disabilities in situations of risk, including situations of armed conflict, humanitarian emergencies and the occurrence of natural disasters" (UN, 2006, p. 10). The Convention itself does not define how this will be translated into practice. This can be found in another paper, published by the International Disability and Development Consortium (IDDC), Task Group on Conflict and Emergencies. It explains among others that Article 11 means that PWDs "should be involved and consulted by humanitarian agencies to ensure the needs of persons with disabilities are recognized" (Kett, 2007, p. 2).

Building on the obligations of the UNCRPD, the Sendai Framework 2015-2030 was adapted in 2015. This framework is a new international blueprint for DRR and the successor instrument to the Hyogo Framework for Action 2005-2015. Over the past decades, the Hyogo Framework dominated the field of DRR and steered international related policies (Cobley, 2015). However, this framework has only one reference to PWDs, related to the strengthening and implementation of 'social safety-net mechanisms' for vulnerable groups (UN, 2005, p. 11). The Sendai Framework by contrasts, has a more inclusive people-centered approach and refers to disability very explicitly. It emphasizes the engagement and partnership of the entire society, including PWDs, for successful DRR. The implementation of the framework is guided by, *inter alia*, the following principle: DRR "requires empowerment and inclusive, accessible and non-discriminatory participation, paying special attention to people disproportionately affected by disasters, especially the poorest" (UNISDR, 2015b, p. 13).

This currently dominant international framework seems to adopt some of the principles of the Disability Inclusive- DRR (DI-DRR) framework, created by HI and CBM (both NGO's, working with PWDs). It regards PWDs as equal and full members of society, irrespective of their impairment or other status. Inclusion means in this regard that PWDs are recognized as stakeholders at all levels of disaster preparedness and response (Bolte et al., 2014). The DI-DRR framework consists of the following elements: accessibility, awareness, non-discrimination and participation. These are elaborated upon by Handicap International (2014) and CBM (2012) as follows:

- Accessibility: For the full participation of PWDs in DRR, accessibility is fundamental. In order to create equal opportunities for PWDs, removing 'disabling barriers' is essential to ensure their access and participation in development programs. Inclusive DRR thus implies that the physical environment, transportation, information and communication are accessible to all.
- Awareness: Disability inclusion can be stimulated through creating awareness and building a shared understanding about PWDs. Creating awareness can be regarded as the first step to remove barriers and forming strategies for inclusive DRR programs.
- Non-discrimination: In DRR programs PWDs need to be regarded as people with equal opportunities. This can be achieved through inclusive DRR which ensures that 'disabling barriers' are removed (such as physical environmental, communication, policy and attitude barriers) and that DRR programs do not contribute to new ones.
- Participation: This last principle is based on the slogan 'Nothing about us without us', which is the integral message of the disability rights movement. Active participation will help to overcome isolation and invisibility of PWDs in society. In DRR programs this comes into being through the participation of PWDs in planning and implementation processes. It highlights the need to include people in all DRR phases and give them space to influence decisions and make their own choices.

The fourth principle is complemented by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP, 2014, p.11) with the principle of 'resourcefulness and capacity'. This principle relates to the fact that PWDs need to be regarded as a valuable resource in DRR: their knowledge and capacities are meaningful and can be used in risk management. It acknowledges their rights to develop the skills required for disaster preparedness and response.

It shows that strides have been made to improve the position of PWDs in DRR, at least in theory. This has culminated in the recently created Charter on Inclusion of Persons with Disabilities in Humanitarian action, developed during the World Humanitarian Summit 2016. The Charter is based on five principles: Non-discrimination, participation, inclusive policy, inclusive response and services, cooperation and coordination. Those who endorse the Charter will strive for inclusive humanitarian action "by lifting barriers persons with disabilities are facing in accessing relief, protection and recovery support and ensuring their participation in the development, planning and implementation of humanitarian programmes" (Humanitarian Disability Charter, 2016). Also they state to translate the Sendai Framework on DRR into actions, and stress its execution as essential to empower PWDs and promote universally accessible DRR programs (Humanitarian Disability Charter, 2016, p. 2). The number of people supporting the Charter is constantly increasing, the Philippines however did not (for unknown reasons) endorse the Charter yet (HI, 2016).

6.1.2 Philippines' National policies

The Philippines did attend and accept various other international conventions and commitments, including the UNCRPD and the Sendai framework (Cobley, 2015; DRPI, n.d.; UN, 2015b). Besides these international agreements, DRR in the Philippines is steered by Republic Act 10121: the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010. The law seeks to "adopt a disaster risk reduction and management approach that is holistic, comprehensive, integrated, and proactive in lessening the socio-economic and environmental impacts of disasters including climate change, and promote the involvement and participation of all sectors and all stakeholders concerned, at all levels, especially the local community" (NDRRMC, 2010, p. 2). The Act provides an overview of policies, plans and implementation of actions and measures on DRR that need to be developed. These are not specifically formulated for PWDs. However, they are again included under 'Vulnerable and Marginalized Groups'. The Act defines this group as "those that face higher exposure to disaster risk and poverty including, but not limited to, women, children, elderly, differently-abled people, and ethnic minorities" (ibid, p.12). Throughout the Act, several times reference is made to these 'Vulnerable and Marginalized Groups', namely the following:

- Section 2 – Declaration of Policy: "It shall be the policy of the State to (…) Develop and strengthen the capacities of vulnerable and marginalized groups to mitigate, prepare for, respond to, and recover from the effects of disasters" (ibid, p. 4).
- Section 3 – Definition of Terms: DRR and Management Information Systems need to have "a specialized database which contains, among others, information on disasters and their human material, economic and environmental impact, risk assessment and mapping and vulnerable groups" (ibid, p. 7).
- Section 12 – The responsibilities of Local DRRM Office: The Local DRR Committee needs to "facilitate and ensure the participation of at least two CSO representatives from existing and active community-based people's organizations representing the most vulnerable and marginalized groups in the barangay" (ibid, p. 22).

The National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan 2011-2028 (NDRRMP) fulfills the requirement of Republic Act 10121. The NDRRMP covers four thematic areas of the DRR cycle, from Prevention to Recovery. All areas set down specific outputs, key activities, responsible agencies and implementing partners. Together they strive for the attainment of the country's overall DRR vision: To achieve sustainable development and disaster resilient communities within the Philippines. The NDRRMP embodies a paradigm shift from reactive to proactive DRR wherein it aims to increase awareness and understanding of DRR by the population, with the end goal of increasing resilience and decreasing vulnerabilities (NDRRMC, 2011).

In addition, the Philippine Government undertook several efforts to change the development approach towards PWDs. These efforts are reinforced by the 1992 Republic Act 7277, known as the *Magna Carta for Disabled Persons*. The Act provides for rehabilitation, development and provision of opportunities towards self-reliance and the integration of PWDs into the mainstream of society. The Magna Carta describes PWDs as "those suffering from restrictions or possessing different abilities, as a result of a mental, physical or sensory impairment, that hinder them from performing an activity in a manner that is within the range considered normal for a human being" (NCDA, 1992, p. 2). This definition reflects the medical model of disability that views disability as something physical, without taking societal

factors into account (Cobley, 2015). Nevertheless, the Magna Carta marked a turning point in inclusive policies and development programs for PWDs in the Philippines, and it is still one of the most wide known disability laws of the country (DRPI, n.d.). The Magna Carta does not provide any obligations or restrictions towards the inclusion of PWDs during disaster preparedness or response. Other provisions are related to the responsibilities of different governmental bodies, which will be elaborated upon later this chapter

A more recent contribution to improve the position of PWDs in the Philippine society, has been made through the adaptation of the Incheon Strategy 2013-2022, entitled to '"Make the Right Real" for Persons with Disabilities in the Philippines'. In this proclamation the government, together with various NGO's and CSO's, declared its intention to implement programs and activities concerning PWDs (NCDA, 2013). Goal 7 is in particularly relevant: "Calling on governments to ensure disability-inclusive disaster risk reduction and management" (Cobley, 2015, p.690)**. The proclamation is in line with the ASEAN Decade of Disabled Persons 2011-2020 that emphasize disability-inclusive developments by promoting mainstreaming of disability issues in disaster management at various levels (ASEAN, 2011, p.4).

6.2 DI-DRR actors in a political arena

As previously discussed, the DRR framework in the Philippines is organized in accordance with Republic Act 10121. The Act mandates the implementation of various actors involved in DRR, and outlines their different roles and responsibilities. It depends on the scope of the natural hazard which DRR office is responsible to act: the larger the scope, the more institutions are involved on different governmental levels (NDRRMC, 2010). This administrative system is organized according to the Local Autonomy Act of 1991. This Act involves a decentralization policy to address the highly centralized political and administrative power concentrated in Manila. According to the Act, LGUs receive the responsibility over the delivery of basic services and can develop their own organizational structures. The Act tries to increase local autonomy by decreasing LGUs' dependency on the national government and increasing reliance on internally generated resources (Brillantes & Moscare, 2002). The implications of the Act for the DI-DRR policy in Albay will become clear when describing the different actors in both, the DRR and Disability sectors**. To give the fullest possible understanding of DI-DRR, first actors of the DRR sector are described after which the Disability sector will be elaborated. It will become clear that there tasks are quite well outlined within policy documents, however major practical challenges hinders successful implementation.

6.2.1 DRR actors of Albay

The highest governmental body in the Philippines responsible for DRR, is the National Disaster Risk Reduction Council (NDRRC). This National Council is headed by the Secretary of the Department of National Defense and various other departments are responsible for each phase of the DRR cycle (NDRRMC, 2010):

- Disaster Prevention and Mitigation: Department of Science and Technology (DOST)
- Disaster Preparedness: Department of the Interior and Local Government (DILG)
- Disaster Relief and Response: Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD)
- Disaster Recovery and Rehabilitation: National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA).

The NDRRC is mandated with "policy-making, coordination, integration, supervision, monitoring and evaluation" on DRR, and holds various other responsibilities such as the establishment of a national early warning system (NDRRMC, 2010, p. 15). In accordance with the Local Autonomy Act, the NDRRC established a nation-wide network of Regional and Local DRR Councils. The emphasize is on developing autonomy among local government units (LGUs) in managing disasters (Bankoff & Hilhorst, 2009). The Regional DRR Councils in turn form the link between National and Local DRR Councils. They coordinate, integrate, supervise and evaluate the activities of the Local DRR Councils (NDRRMC, 2010). They ensure that regional development plans align and contribute to the National DRR Plan (Interview HI1). In case of any natural hazard occurring, they mobilize different regional agencies, concerned institutions and authorities to respond.

DRR at local level is organized according to the provincial and municipal/city DRR offices and councils (NDRRMC, 2010). Albay Public Safety and Management Office (APSEMO) is formally the local DRR office of Albay. They are at the center of DRR activities in the province and try to synergize all actors towards the attainment of the 'Zero Casualties' goal: no injuries, people missing or deaths. This goal is achieved through the focus on disaster preparedness, in which APSEMO believes that "Early evacuation is better than rescue" (Interview DRR6). The following formula steers this approach: Early warning systems + communication + evacuation = Zero Casualties (APSEMO, 2010). To achieve this goal APSEMO (in collaboration with the Local DRR Councils) perform among others the following tasks in line with Act 10121 (2010, pp. 23–25):

- Design programs, and coordinate DRR activities;
- Organize and conduct training and seminars on DRR.
- Facilitate and support risk assessments and contingency planning activities.

Their focus is thus on disaster preparedness, rather than response. Members of the Local DRR Council involve various government officials like the head of the municipal/city Health Office and DSWD. Also non-governmental actors should be part of the Local DRR Councils, such as representatives of CSO's: senior citizens, women, youth and PWDs (Interviews PDAO4, DRRO5). The Council are responsible for approving, monitoring and evaluating the implementation of the Local DRR Plan. At the smallest administrative unit, there should be a barangay DRR Committee (BDRRC), under the head of the barangay Development Council. The barangay captain is mostly the chairman of the barangay DRR Committee, and responsible for the involvement of the CSO's (Interview DRRO2).

6.2.1.1 Challenges of the DRR sector

So with the decentralization policy of the Local Autonomy Act, there also came a sort of hierarchical structure in responsibilities: from national down to barangay level. The same system is in place in terms of DRR funding. As described in Act 10121 there is a National and a Local DRR Fund. The NDRRC is responsible for the mobilization of both funds, but the specific amount of this fund is determined by the President of the Philippines. Thirty percent of the National DRR Fund needs to be allocated as Quick Response Fund (QRF) for the relief and recovery activities (NDRRMC, 2010). The QRF is only released when a state of emergency is declared, after for example a major disaster occurred (Interview DRRO5). This exceptional situation can legitimize extraordinary powers of the government, which involves the abandonment of the rule of law that limits human rights and fundamental freedoms of people (UNHROHC, 2003). This can be used as a rationale or pretext by the government to dominate and control the population. History showed that this 'danger' also exists within the Philippines (chapter 4).

In addition there is a Local DRR Fund, which is derived from the Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA) of the respective LGU. At least five percent of the IRA of the LGU should be spent on DRR activities, thirty percent from this amount should be allocated as QRF. The other seventy percent needs to be spent on programs related to disaster preparedness and mitigation (ibid; Interview DRRO2). The specific share of the LGU from the wealth of the area varies, so does the Local DRR Fund. This share depends on the tax revenues of the LGU, which in turn is being influenced by factors such as population size and proportion of land (the more people, the higher the taxes, the bigger the share). Because of a lack of local resources, rural barangays develop slowly compared to urban areas. This creates an increasing gap between rich and poor LGU's within the country (Interview DRRO3/7).

When the IRA of the LGU is insufficient to cover all DRR expenses, other financial sources can be addressed. These can be derived from the provincial and national DRR Councils, or non-governmental actors such as (I)NGOs. So, although the Local Autonomy Act aims to increase local autonomy, in reality the LGU is thus still highly dependent on external sources. In fact there are certain conditions given by the government, which hinders the prioritization of certain projects. Therefore some DRR officers feel like they are unable to respond to specific local needs: "The provincial and municipal level does not create their own program that will respond to the needs of locals. Because most of their programs emanates from the national government" (Interview DRRO7). As the government continues to influence program development, in reality there is no absolute independence.

6.2.2 Disability actors of Albay

As discussed in the preceding section, the Government attempts to improve the situation of PWDs by implementing various laws like the Magna Carta. It mandates the implementation of different institutional mechanisms to "ensure the implementation of programs and services for people with disabilities in every province, city and municipality" (NCDA, 2012). At national level, the National Council on Disability Affairs (NCDA), is the lead agency responsible for the formulation of policies, delivering of services and the coordination of activities for PWDs. In addition, they monitor the implementation of laws to ensure the protection of PWDS' rights. The NCDA consists of eight sub-committees, of which one is the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD) (NCDA, 2012). The DSWD is the government agency mandated to "develop, implement, and coordinate social protection and poverty-reduction solutions for and with the poor, vulnerable, and disadvantaged" (DSWD, 2016). The DSWD delivers welfare and development programs through field offices on regional, provincial and municipal/city level. Being one of the permanent members of the Local DRR Council, the DSWD also plays a role in DRR. They coordinate camp management, disaster response and provide relief assistance (DReAMB, 2015). The DSWD is thus partly responsible for disaster relief and recovery activities in the Philippines as well.

Besides the DSWD, a Persons with Disabilities Affairs Officer (PDAO) needs to be established in every province and municipality/city, as determined by the Magna Carta. At the barangay level there is no PDAO allocated, although the PDAO is expected to collaborate closely with Disabled Peoples' Organizations (DPO) of the barangay. They are under the wings of the municipal DSWD, and "should oversee implementation about everything on PWDs in the municipalities" (Interview PDAO4). Concrete this means that PDAO need to perform among others the following tasks (NCDA, 2010):

- Formulate and implement policies, plans and programs for the PWDs;
- Represent PWDs in meeting of the local development councils and other special bodies;

- Disseminate information including programs and activities for PWDs, statistics on PWDs and training and employment opportunities for PWDs.

The PDAO "ensures that the concerns of people with disabilities are included in programs [of the barangay] and among others are linked with DRR" (Interview HI1). The PDAO needs to be a person with disabilities themselves, or at least an active member of a DPO (NCDA, 2010; Interview HI1). The importance of this is stressed by one of the PDAOs: "I know the feeling of being a PWD, I know what are the special needs and the issues and concerns" (Interview PDAO4).

PWDs have organized themselves in so called Disabled People's Organizations (DPOs). The DPO president as well as its members, are all PWDs and voluntary involved. In order to be established, the Magna Carta (1992) states that DPOs can receive technical and financial assistance from the national government through the LGU. The role of the DPO is to give PWDs a voice, increase awareness, identify their needs, advocate for their rights and create positive change. The obligations of the DPOs' president is to represent the PWDs during provincial and regional meetings, in which their views and priorities can be expressed. As well, the president needs to attend trainings (or assigns a member to attend) provided by the DSWD on for example livelihood.

Also NGOs like Simon of Cyrene (SoC), can provide these livelihood trainings. They play a role in both, DRR and the Disability sector of Albay. SoC works according to the Community Based Rehabilitation (CBR) program that focuses on prevention, rehabilitation and inclusion of PWDs in development on municipal and barangay level. The Twin Track approach forms their practical strategy that emphasizes how DRR can be inclusive for PWDs. The overall aim of the approach is to achieve equal rights and opportunities for PWDs by promoting an inclusive DRR system, and at the same time empower PWDs to participate in DRR (Bolte et al., 2014). The Twin-track approach is moreover a way to mainstream disability inclusion into DRR practices. Mainstreaming in this regards means the process of assessing the implications for PWDs of any action in all areas, at various levels with the ultimate goal of disability equality (Albert, Dube, & Riis-Hansen, 2005, p.6). Following this approach, SoC partners with LGUs, CSOs and other stakeholders to promote inclusive systems, meanwhile they empower DPOs by increasing their capacities (Interview SoC1). This is done through the CBR training provided to the DSWD and DRR Council on municipal level; DPOs and DRR Council at barangay level and; PWDs on household level. The CBR program consists of various elements related to health, education, rehabilitation, empowerment, social- and livelihood development. The activities within the CBR program related to DI-DRR, include the following (SoC, 2016; Interview SoC1):

- Sagip Kapamilya Simon of Cyrene Village (SKSCV): This permanent resettlement site for PWDs and their families is established in 2008. It is "a living laboratory where development initiatives and strategies are being piloted for adoption in greater communities".
- Disability Inclusive Disaster Risk Reduction (DI-DRR): As a follow up program of the SKSCV, SoC came up with a DI-DRR program. It aims to mainstream disability issues in DRR of LGUs through advocacy, training and disaster response- and relief operations. SoC themselves are also part of the Regional DRR Council.

The role of non-governmental actors such as SoC, is essential in developing DI-DRR in Albay. They negotiate with the LGU to accept the CBR program and release funding for its implementation: "Simon act as catalyst to increase budget for PWDs" (Interview SoC3). SoC aims to ensure the continuity of disability inclusive programs and increase the capacities of various actors involved.

6.2.2.1 Challenges of the Disability sector

The Disability sectors holds the same financial structure as the DRR sector, bringing similar kind of challenges. In theory the different DSWD field offices have freedom to determine their own programs and make own decisions, but in practice it is not that straight forward. In accordance to the Local Autonomy Act, the DSWD on provincial and municipality/city level holds the budget for disability programs, and need to receive one percent from the IRA of the LGU. This percentage needs to be equally divided among senior citizens and PWDs (Interview DPO1). From this amount, the DSWD needs to finance their own programs and that of the PDAO. However, because of budget constraints, sometimes there is no PDAO established. So the law creates responsibilities that cannot always be performed (Interview DRRO4). But if the funds are insufficient, the DSWD on municipal/city level can request financial assistance from its regional or national departments: "We have limited resources, thus we need assistance from the provincial and regional office. We are dependent on the revenues extended from the national government" (Interview DSWD3). The PDAO can also seek donations from local, national or foreign donors in order to implement their programs (Interviews DSWD3/4).

One of the challenges the Disability sector faces is thus again their limited financial capacity: local departments are financially dependent on the IRA of the LGU and on regional allocations, who in turn rely on national level decisions. This hierarchy of funding might constrain their independency from the National DSWD, which bears the risk of programs being developed top-down instead of bottom-up. This raises the question whether local needs are sufficiently met (Interview DRRO7). Another financial strategy is therefore, to tap from (I)NGOs: "Devices like wheelchair and crutches to poor PWDs. This is now provided on request, we don't have funding to buy it for them. So they need to be requested from Simon of Cyrene" (Interview DSWD2). Actors such as SoC, are less entangled with the decentralized administrative formalities. However, their dependency on external funding also brings the responsibility to act upon certain preferences of donors. Sometimes donors wish to fund only certain programs or goods (Interview Soc1). Because of these preferences, there is a risk of DI-DRR activities becoming supply driven instead of demand oriented. It is therefore questionable whether the actual needs of PWDs are being addressed, as pre-determined programs are implemented. As will be explained in the next section, the underlying cause of action may relate to ensuring donor legitimacy.

6.3 Common goal, different interests

Although Philippines institutional framework seems to be quite well organized on paper, the financial dependency of DRR and Disability actors determines to a large extent DI-DRR practical outcomes. Being partially dependent on funding from outside, creates pressure on showing good practices to keep donors satisfied. These good practices not only ensures external (financial) support, but also increases the confidence of the affected population. Both will contribute to embeddedness of the actor within the respective working area, which increases their overall legitimacy. However, also the opposite can occur: disasters that create societal disruptions, that can – depending on the quality of response – throw the legitimacy of the authoritative actor into question (McConnell, 2003). As this section will explain, DI-DRR activities occur within a political arena where different actors have various interests. Although they might have the common goal of implementing DI-DRR, they have their own reason to do so.

6.3.1 DI-DRR as political strategy

Government officials (such as the governors, mayors or barangay captains) can use DI-DRR as a strategy to gain legitimacy of the public. One of the DPOs explained how the vulnerability of PWDs sometimes is being used as propaganda during elections. They promise to improve the living conditions of PWDs, but "Once elected they don't change anything about the situation" (Interview DPO1). Or they do not focus on PWDs in the first place but on senior citizens instead, as they form a larger voting population (Interview DPO1). To ensure their legitimacy, they will therefore choose to focus their programs on senior citizens instead. However, if another official will be elected, the question is whether continues attention will be paid towards PWDs. Including PWDs in DRR programs seems to be a matter of prioritizing their concerns, as explained by a DRR officer (Interview DRRO7):

> *Although there is a law that obliges LGU to have an [DRR/PDAO] office, it still depends on the mayors and governors whether they will establish it or not. It is a political connection because they have their own personal biases. If they are not into DRR [or PWDs] programs, they will not put much attention to it. If they don't think no calamities have occurred to them, they don't see the need to establish it.*

'Why do I need to create an office when there is no disaster?' This way of reasoning is especially in place in parts of the Philippines that did not experience many calamities. The DRR officer in Albay gives an example of a major earthquake that took place within a specific area of the country, which caused enormous devastation: "People did not expect an earthquake to happen in that area, so they were not prepared" (Interview DRRO7). The same way of reasoning can be applied to including PWDs in DRR: if government officials do not regard PWDs as added value in DRR, it is unlikely that they will be involved (Interview SoC1). It is about "political will of the LGU to implement disability inclusive policies" (Interview HI4). As a matter of course, if DI-DRR is not being prioritized, it will not be incorporated in the LGU's budget. Even though the LGU is in favor of disability inclusive programs, its implementation remains uncertain because of their dependency on external funding. The matter of prioritizing or neglecting PWDs thus not only stems from political strategies, but can also be generated by necessity: as in general there is limited budget available, certain issues cannot be addressed. However, lack of funding can also be used to justify the absence of a disability focus (Interview DRRO6). These justifications can be used by government officials "to reframe the undesirable outcome (…), in a more favorable light" (McGraw, as cited in McConnel, 2003, p. 163). This can be regarded as a political strategy to remain legitimate in the eyes of the population.

Where government falls short, NGOs like SoC step into the field by advocating for the rights of PWDs and influencing inclusive developments. "Although Simon is not politically partisan, it is part of convincing the political side [to adapt disability inclusive programs]" (Interview SoC1). However, this bears the risk of taking over responsibilities of the government, who in reaction will possibly withdraw from their tasks. This is explained by a DRR officer in relation to relief operations: "Simon gives relief goods to PWDs, so government doesn't have to provide these people relief goods anymore" (Interview DRRO7). When this happens, it is likely that the government does not feel the need to change the situation of PWDs: It is SoC who ensures their legitimacy will remain anyways. However, SoC also has certain obligations towards their donors: they need to spend their money well to secure their future donations. Their legitimacy not only stems from external funders, but can also be derived from their target population. In general, PWDs consider their influence to promote inclusion as limited, because they often undermine their capacity to tackle underlying structures. However, they have their own strategies to maneuver in the DI-DRR field. As a result of minimal government intervention in the

development of disability facilities and services, they organized themselves in DPOs with the help of among others SoC. Through these DPOs and NGOs they try to improve their situation. As explained before, government officials can use the vulnerability of PWDs for political purposes, so can PWDs themselves also take advantage of their disability to achieve certain objectives. An example can be given about PWDs living in Sagip Kapamilya Simon of Cyrene Village, which will be further explained within the following chapter.

6.3.2 Corruption, continuity and capacity

The lack of funding of DI-DRR thus seems to be very much related to political strategies. However, this is embedded within complex structures of the country, namely corruption: "Corruption and political clans are part of the governance problem in the Philippines" (Howe & Bang, 2017, p. 65). As described in the first section of this chapter, there are quite some laws in the Philippines for PWDs. Government officials working on disability affairs and DRR are very much aware of these persisting laws. However, it can be observed that they are not widely enforced within Albay. For example almost no ramps or wheelchair suitable sidewalks can be found in public spaces. Also not all Local DRR Councils have representatives of PWDs, although this is mandated by Act 10121. Asking participants the underlying reason, they often referred to corrupt practices of politicians. This is clearly explained by a DPO officer: "Most of the money disappears in people's own pockets" (Interview DPO1). Even people working for the government gave the same information, as this DRR officer said: "The Philippines has a lot of laws, but we always fall short in the implementation because of corruption" (Interview DRRO3).

The negative impact of corruption on the development of DI-DRR seems undisputed. However, addressing this issue is complicated due to high turnover rates of government officials. Every three years, a new governor, mayor, barangay captain and DPO president will be elected. Although this seems like a democratic process, some believe it is a matter of favoritism: "It is about who you know" (Interview SoC3). Whether this is true or not, these high turnover rates causes some serious problems, as explained by a DRR officer (Interview DRRO6):

> Those officers that are new, they start from zero. The old local official does not always turn over the things they have developed during their term. That is how politics are selfish. They will say to the new officer: 'You can start your own, we don't want to teach you'.

So newly elected officials do not get a proper introduction from their predecessor to programs and services for PWDs. This creates the risk of repeating or subverting existing activities (Interview DPO2). Moreover, every time there is a newly elected official, there can be changes in administration. Within different departments DRR officers can be replaced or even dismissed. So not all positions are permanent; they can be hired for only a short term (Interviews DPO6, DRRO3). As well newly elected officers need to be retrained and reoriented about the systems in place and future systems to be developed. "That makes our operational system so expensive, we keep on training them on similar modules. That is the irony, that is the gap, the pitfall of political development processes" (Interview DRRO6). This training period creates a transition situation, during which the allocation of funding takes even more time (Interview PDAO4). It seems like the continuity of DI-DRR activities cannot be guaranteed. This is enforced by a lack of legislative control. Although the Office of Civil Defense and Department of Internal Local Government (DILG) are mandated by Act 10121 to look after the implementation of DRR offices, in reality their presence largely remains absent (Congress of the Philippines, 2010; Interviews DRRO6/7). Also the NCDA and different local chief executives have their responsibility to address these issues, although their involvement also seems to be insufficient

(Interview PDAO4). The consequence is that PWDs are not always involved in DRR, although this is mandated by law. Again the political strategy of the LGU forms a basis of this problem, as explained by SoC: "(…) although they [LGU] know the law, they don't implement it. Because they don't know how to do it and it is not their priority or interests: They don't care about it" (Interview SoC1).

Another underlying factor springs from this citation, namely the 'lack of capacity' to incorporate PWDs in DRR. Within the Philippines, political positions can be held by people without any relevant study background: "The provincial governor, municipal mayor or barangay captain don't need educational qualification, they only know how to read or write. As long as they are elected, voted by the people they can become a political leader" (Interview DPO6). For example the Filipino Manny Pacquiao is not only a famous boxer, but also a politician. With only a primary school degree, he is the leader of the People's Champ Movement and Senator of the Philippines. This gives the impression that people can win elections based on their popularity, not necessarily because of their political capacities. A similar situation can be found in the case of Albay. Multiple participants explained that DPO presidents are democratically elected by their members, but they are not always in favor of their position. Illustrated by the following quotation of a DPO president (Interview DPO4):

> I was chosen to be president because people think that I am able to speak in English and I am able of speaking to others. I was the one capable of doing the job. But actually I am not really comfortable doing this, I think I cannot manage my role.

DPO presidents do not always feel capable of performing their tasks, moreover it brings them a lot of unpaid work. This is a major concern, as indicated by a PDAO: "The president should be able to cater the needs of PWDs (…), as the federation plays an important role to make the PWDs' community more visible" (Interview PDAO2).

6.4 Overview of DI-DRR actors

Figure 4 represents the various actors involved in both, the DRR and Disability sector. This gives a clear overview of the actors within each administrative level of the country, as set out in policy documents. However, one can imagine that it is beyond the scope of a three months' research to unravel all different DI-DRR actors involved in Albay. The following overview is based on interview sources and additional secondary data, and is possibly way beyond complete. As can be seen in the figure, the actors are mainly governmental and not actors operating outside the political arena, such as ecclesiastical institutions. They did not immediately sprung from the research, which can possibly be clarified by the politicization of the Disability sector, as described in chapter 4. References towards the Disability sectors, clearly stresses that the disability community is institutionalized within the context of the Albay. In accordance, they gradually adapted a 'Sector-wide approach' (SWAp) in which governmental actors (like the DSWD) and non-governmental actors (like SoC) are partnering to further develop the Disability sector. However, rapid turnover rates within Albay, make the SWAp subject to unsuccessful implementation. Moreover, SWaP possibly influences the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR, because it is criticized for its top-down policy approach (WHO, 2000). Institutionalization of the Disability sector is thus not by definition positive for the inclusion of PWDs.

Figure 4: DI-DRR actors of Albay *(Source: Author, 2017)*
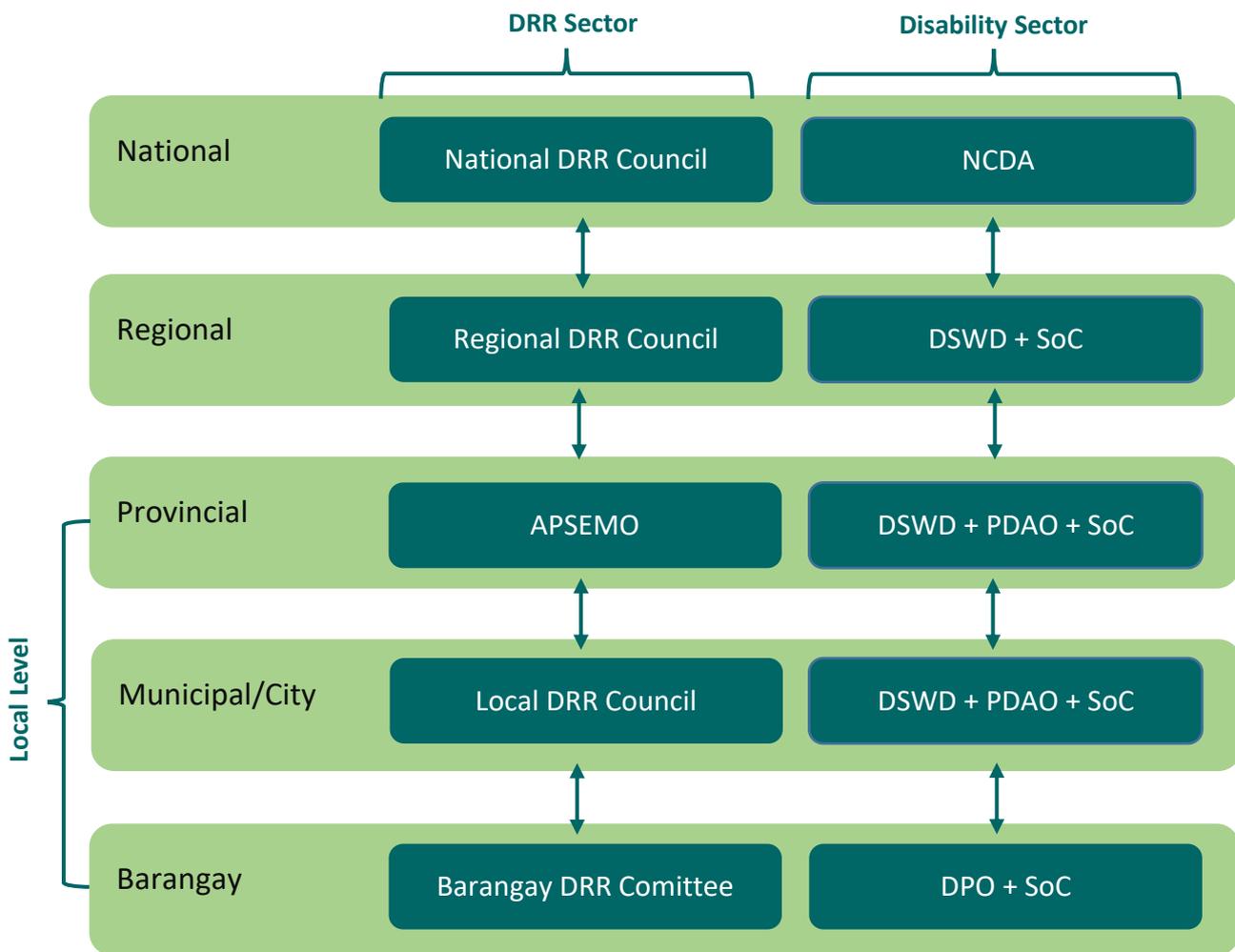
6.5 Concluding remarks

The first part of this chapter outlined the shift towards more inclusive approaches in international and national policy frameworks. It shows increased emphasis on the inclusion and participation of PWDs in (DI-)DRR, at least on paper. However, how this is envisioned in practice remains somewhat ambiguous. It seems like there remain unclear definitions on what participatory approaches exactly include, making them subject to people's own interpretations: "There are different laws for PWDs, but people don't know how to implement it. They are vague and subject to different interpretations" (Interview HI3). It remains for example unclear what 'consultation of disabled people' means as stated by the UNCRPD. Or whether PWDs are part of 'resilient communities', as described in the DRR plan of the Philippines. PWDs are not explicitly mentioned, and a definition of 'communities' is not provided. If included, PWDs are categorized under 'vulnerable groups' as stated in Act 10121. This is striking since it regards PWDs as vulnerable, rather than perceiving them as active agents that hold certain rights (Priestley & Hemingway, 2007). Although there is a shift towards more inclusive policies, unclear definitions hinder its implementation. This is aggravated by the fact that governments lack funding and consistency in their approach towards disability issues (Huong, Lalitha & Mahmood, 2015). Moreover, a lack of funding can be used to justify the absence of a disability focus in DRR.

The second part of this chapter clarified that DI-DRR takes place within a complicated web of institutions in which different actors each have their own roles and responsibilities. National laws like Republic Act 10121, try to set clear structures wherein tasks are delimited from national down to barangay level. At the same time, the Local Autonomy Act aims to decrease reliance of the LGU upon the national government in terms of funding and program development. In the case of Albay it can be witnessed that this ideal cannot always be achieved in practice: "LGUs enjoys physical autonomy, but are not completely independent" (Interview DRRO2). Because of various economic and political challenges of the LGU, DI-DRR actors are still highly dependent on other sectorial levels. This bears the risk of DI-DRR programs emanating from the national government, instead of responding to local needs**.**

Despite this downside of decentralization, one can argue whether 'total independence' is a wishful or realistic situation. In times of disasters, largescale coordination is not entirely bad and can even be necessary. However, the involvement of many different DI-DRR actors can create misunderstandings about responsibilities and tasks. All have their respective protocols and restrictions, creating confusion about who does what, , when and how (Interviews DRRO2, HI4, DPO6). This so called 'bureaucratic jungle' is often mentioned as a barrier for the implementation of DI-DRR: "There is an attitude of mistrust among agencies since there are many layers of bureaucracy" (Interview DRRO4). This is also emphasized by Huong, Lalitha & Mahmood (2015, p. 154) who states that DRR can be difficult when applying a multi-actor and multi-level approach. With such an organizational structure, response and recovery can possibly be delayed (ibid). It thus seems like the institutional complexity of Albay undermines effective and efficient DI-DRR**,** as institutions have to deal with the administrative system brought about by the decentralized set up. A DRR officer clarifies that the decentralization therefore remains unsuccessfully implemented: "That is why almost all LGUs have difficulties with decentralization. It is implemented a long time ago, and yet the LGUs are still groping in the dark with the decentralized responsibilities" (Interview DRRO3). The exact implications of these policies and institutional organization for the inclusion of PWDs in DRR, will become clear when describing the practical outcomes within the following chapter.

7. DI-DRR activities of Albay

Within the preceding chapters the Philippine cultural, institutional and political context is described in which different DI-DRR activities take place. Within this chapter the focus shifts from policy towards practices. It describes what kind of DI-DRR activities are performed within Albay province, headed under pre-disaster and post-disaster activities. Although the different DRR activities can be performed within both phases (following the 'Expand-contract model', described in chapter 2), this twofold is made to maintain an ordered description. Specific attention will be paid towards the involvement of PWDs in these different DI-DRR activities: what makes them inclusive for PWDs? As well, the major challenges regarding PWDs' inclusion will be highlighted. The number of activities can be very extensive, considering all multi-level institutional (non-structural) measures. For the purpose of this research, this chapter is limited to DI-DRR activities as encountered in field. Note as well that these activities can differ per municipality/city or barangay, not all are performed within the different areas. This can possibly be explained by their contextual differences.

7.1 Phase I: Pre-disaster activities

The pre-disaster phase encompasses (1) Prevention & Mitigation, and (2) Preparedness activities. Both aim to develop knowledge and capacities to effectively anticipate, respond and recover from the impact of disasters. These activities can also be performed during disasters, to prevent secondary hazards. It is based on disaster risk analysis with good linkages to early warning systems, backed up by formal institutional, legal and budgetary capacities. The overall aim is to minimize potential adverse effects of hazardous events on the community (UNISDR, 2017). The pre-disaster activities of Albay encompasses among others the following:

7.1.1 Contingency planning

All barangay and municipalities/cities in Albay are obliged to formulate, through assistance of APSEMO, a contingency plan according to hazard type. The Local DRR Council, in collaboration with barangay officials, is responsible for the development and implementation of the plan. Ideally, PWDs are part of the Local DRR Committees and thus contributors of the design. During fieldwork it was found that their presence is not always guaranteed due to various compounded factors (as will be further elaborated upon in chapter 8). The contingency plan provides information on hazard characteristics, capacities and vulnerabilities and institutional arrangements. It outlines operational agreements for specific actors, and information processes that enable efficient and effective response (APSEMO, 2014; DRRO Legazpi, 2013). Elements of the contingency plan can vary, but generally they include hazard characterization; capacity and vulnerability assessment, and; institutional arrangements:

- **Hazard characterization:** This encompasses the process of identifying what kind of hazards are likely to occur, and where they pose a threat on people, property, services, infrastructure and livelihood opportunities. The type and amount of these elements at risk and their potential damage are described, often visualized by Geographic Information Systems (DRRMO Legazpi, 2013). According to SoC, a contingency plan is inclusive when also data on PWDs is provided; type of disability and location of residence (Interview SoC1). However, often this only encompasses information on their numbers, and not on disability types (Interview HI1). This can be regarded as a mayor lack since it can hinder adequate disaster response.

- **Capacity and Vulnerability assessment:** From the above described elements at risk, a capacity and vulnerability assessment (CVA) is made. Capacities refer to the ability of people to manage the adverse effects of a disaster. Vulnerabilities, are the conditions that increase the "susceptibility of an individual" or community to the impact of a disaster (UNISDR, 2017). With this information, combined with the hazard characterization, a hazard map is created of the respected barangay or municipality/city (sometimes also referred to as spot map). The map highlights the areas vulnerable to specific hazards so that "people can see where specific calamities might occur" (Interview DSWD4). It shows people's houses and public facilities like the barangay hall and schools. In case of an inclusive CVA, dots represent where vulnerable people live: sick- or elderly people, single parents, pregnant woman and PWDs (Figure 5). According to a DRR officer, "they are being identified to know who are the ones given priority during evacuation (Interview DRRO2). Most spot maps are impressive: they are the size of at least a door, and centrally displayed within the community so everyone can see it. However, it could be observed that not all spot maps in Albay are up to date or disability inclusive.

Figure 5: Example Spot map

Source: Author, 2016.

- **Institutional arrangements:** Within this part of the contingency plan, the operational and institutional arrangements are outlined. An organizational setup is created to outline responsibilities regarding the implementation of the various DRR activities: "Horizontal and vertical linkages among the executive bodies further ensure synergy of efforts and sharing or transferring of risk between and among the communities" (APSEMO, 2016, p. 270). The institutional arrangements in Albay are organized according to a 'Cluster approach'. This means that both, government and non-government actors collaborate in preparing and responding to natural hazards. Executive bodies are clustered, according to their expertise and resource capabilities. This design helps to coordinate responsibilities and synchronize actions during calamities (Interview DRRO6). Although SoC is not part of a particular cluster of APSEMO, this chapter will clarify that they do collaborate. So whether the institutional arrangements are inclusive or exclusive, remains somewhat in the middle.

Contingency planning can be regarded as an important part of the Pre-disaster phase; therefore the plan needs to be exercised and updated regularly. The frequency of these updates varies among the different barangays. Some state to revise the contingency plan once a year: "Before the barangay annual budget plans, because this plan is based on among others the DRRM plan of the barangay" (Interview DRRO2). Others mention that it depends on the amount of hazards that occur: "It needs to be revised after every disaster, just to check if those measures are working during the response period" (Interview DRRO3). When asking various DRR officer about their most recent contingency plan, they often had to apologize for a deprecated version and clarified to update the plan coming year. It seems like the barangay prioritize the development of contingency plans differently. This can negatively influence the degree to which a community is prepared for a disaster, and the inclusivity of PWDs.

The development of contingency plans can also be developed on household level, so called 'Household preparedness plan'. It describes different hazards types and appropriate measures, and the roles and responsibilities per family member are identified. A PDAO states that the household plan ensures that everyone is "aware of, and understands their roles/tasks during disasters" (Interview PDAO1). This is especially relevant for PWDs, who are often dependent on family support. One PWD in a wheelchair with severe heart problems, explained the measures the family undertakes (Interview PWD5):

> I stock medicines as much as possible and instruct my kids how to help me by bringing for example a folding chair. They also all have a cellphone number of my doctor, so they can ask for medical help. They also stock portable water and canned food.

Being the first to respond, the family preparedness plan is important, as well because a crisis situation can last for days, weeks or even months. A severe natural hazard can isolate families from outside help for a long time, it is therefore advised to stock emergency goods needed for at least one week (Interview DRRO3). Whether households with PWDs have preparedness plan indeed, is difficult to say based on this research. People participating not always held a hard copy household preparedness plan, but usually knew how to respond in times of disaster.

7.1.2 Information, education and communication

Public information, education and communication (IEC) programs are performed on LGU level, within schools and communities to ensures everyone knows how to prepare and respond to natural hazards. IEC programs increase environmental awareness and the capacity of the population to conserve and protect nature. It ensures that people will better understand the environment they live in, and how to adjust their life's accordingly (Interview PWD1):

> The participants were able to learn something about disasters in the area. For example, about landslides: If you are living in a place near a river bank, you should not make a house there because it is dangerous for floods. Also, do not build near the sea to avoid a storms search.

Therefore, the Spot map is one of the main outputs of DI-DRR training. Other activities of IEC trainings and seminars include earthquake and fire drill, and early warning systems:

- **Earthquake and fire drill:** During field exercises government officials, in collaboration with among others the Police, Health department and Bureau of Fire Protection, develop arrangements for coordination and public information on natural hazards (derived from the contingency plan). During drills, people are taught how to prepare for and respond to disasters. One of the participants explained: "They taught us about possible fire threats. Like how to avoid overloading a plug, and that it is not good to charge near the windows so it can get wet and catch fire" (Interview PWD2). First possible safe and temporary evacuation centers are identified (based on

the spot map), and those people who need to be evacuated (especially vulnerable people). Second, the evacuation process is being simulated according to the 'Dug, Cover and Hold' steps. Also a first aid training is part of the drill exercise: "Knowledge is provided on basic first aid; how to treat minor wounds and how to rescue wounded persons when trapped in a room for example" (Interview SoC2). Conducting Disability Inclusive-DRR training, special attention is paid towards PWDs: "We learned how to evacuate disabled people, how to bring them from their residence to an evacuation center" (Interview PWD6). Generally the main message is: PWDs are vulnerable and thus need priority during evacuations (Interviews SoC1, DRRO1, PWD3). Sometimes PWDs act as victim during role plays, so evacuation teams know how to carry PWDs. However, it has been indicated and observed that PWDs are often not present or even not invited for the exercises (Interviews HI1, SoC4, FGD2, OB3). The earthquake and fire drills are also not annually performed, because of financial constraints and different priorities of the government (Interview DRR7).

- **Early warning systems:** During drills people also learn how to use the early warning devices. Most common devices are: megaphone, whistle, flashlight and flags in different colors for each emergency phase (Figure 6). These devices can be regarded as disability inclusive because they are suitable for people with hearing or visual impairments. For people with intellectual impairments, also pictograms can be used that indicate hazard type and specific preparedness or response measures. These pictograms are developed by HI, but were not found during the research. It also has been observed that if flags are in in place, they are not always used (OB3).

Figure 6: Disability Inclusive Early Warning Systems

Source: Author, 2016.

7.1.2.1 Information dissemination

How does hazard information trickle down from National towards community level, and how does this reach PWDs? The Philippine Atmospheric Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA) is mandated to "provide protection against natural calamities and utilize scientific knowledge as an effective instrument to insure the safety, wellbeing and economic security of all the people, and for the promotion of national progress" (PAGASA). So PAGASA is the national institute responsible for disseminating weather- related information and services (weather forecasting). They closely collaborate with different Local DRR Councils around the country. PAGASA communicates their advisories trough modern communication channels like television, radio, mobile phones and internet. On the Facebook of PAGASA (a very commonly used medium in the Philippines because it is for free) typhoon warnings can be found. The public can thus access weather related information themselves

through for example internet. They also receive information from the Local DRR Councils and barangay officials, especially in the case of local weather related calamities. The officials make use of the early warning devices to warn the residents within the area, usually four to two days before the expected hazard. For example, "the barangay police goes around with a megaphone to announce if there is a need to evacuate" (Interview PWD4). In some cases, the mayor conducts 'house to house visits' to inform the people about a coming hazard (Interviews PWD1/6, DPO5, DSWD1/3, DRRO2/3).

Modern communication channels like mobile phones can be very suitable for PWDs as well (especially those living in remote areas). Through these channels they can be warned betimes, giving PWDs and their families more time to prepare or evacuate. A prerequisite for such a communication system to be effective, is that all data on PWDs must be known by the barangay officials. This is however unlikely in the case of Albay, giving the fact that there is a general lack of data on PWDs within the country (Pante, 2012; Smith et al., 2012; Suprobo, 2011). Also it has been observed that within Albay, information on PWDs is not digitalized, making information dissemination a time-consuming process (Interviews DSWD2, DRRO3). Moreover, when a disaster strikes signals are often lost, making cellphones useless. Therefore, it is wise to compliment modern systems with traditional communication channels, instead of replacing them. A DRR officer states: "We advocate for redundancy in communication, so that people do not forget the basics like a bell or serene that are driven by hand" (interview DRRO7). In one barangay the following example was found: they made use of an 'automated flood monitoring station' to monitor rising water levels. "This is linked to satellite, so people can access the information that is sends about water height" (Interview DRRO4). This system is complemented by a community warning systems "Every time we have heavy rainfall, the community sends volunteers to watch the river. So, when water rise they can warn the community to evacuate" (Interview DRRO4). This system moreover stimulates the community participation in DRR, and creates a shared responsibility towards the safety of the people. A similar system is in place regarding PWDs: A community support systems, which means that community members are looking after each other in case of emergencies (Interview DRRO7). This system is especially helpful for vulnerable groups like PWDs, as they are often very much dependent on their direct social environment in times of crisis. One can speak of a sort of 'inclusive support system'.

7.1.2.2 Collaboration in dissemination

There are various actors within Albay concerned with IEC training and seminar provision on different levels. First of al APSEMO has a specific Information and Training Division responsible for: "Warning information systems in the area, coordinates and undertakes training activities of the DCCs [DRR Councils] and other concerned groups" (APSEMO, 2014, p. 5). They mainly focus on LGUs and DRR offices on municipality/city and barangay level, who undergo training and seminars on different DRR activities. Also APSEMO aims to increase awareness on community level trough pamphlets that explain what to do before, during and after natural hazards. These pamphlets are written in English or Tagalog (local language), and complemented by pictures (Interviews PWD6, DRRO5). Clear language and visualization fosters the accessibility of PWDs. Moreover, simplified information can also benefit the general public like elderly people and children (AKUT, 2016). In this regard, various stakeholders in Albay view it as a major challenge to translate scientific worlds in local dialects, understandable for ordinary people (Interviews DRRO3, SoC1, HI1). Moreover, the process of information dissemination is further complicated by the fact that different institutions often use different terms (Interview DRRO3).

APSEMO also provides technical support to SoC, and they in turn invite APSEMO as resource speaker to their trainings (Interviews SoC1, DRRO7). According to APSEMO both organizations are complimenting each other (Interview DRRO7):

> *We encouraged them [SoC] to join the DRR Council of Albay province, so they will be the one representing PWDs. (…)We were giving them technical support first, and now their program on DRR is complimenting us. Our focus is general, so when it comes to PWDs it is Simon who does the work.*

According to SoC (Interview SoC1) they taught APSEMO how to incorporate a disability focus their trainings. Apparently both parties regard their responsibilities in a different way: While SoC advocates for mainstreaming disability inclusive DRR, APSEMO regards SoC as the ones responsible for the inclusion of PWDs in DRR. Although an inclusive focus is being incorporated by APSEMO, they seem to distance themselves from the situation by holding SoC accountable for the inclusion of PWDs in DRR. Both focus their training and seminars on DRR offices on municipality/city and barangay level, but SoC also specifically targets DPOs in collaboration with the DSWD (Interview SoC1). However, APSEMO states that there is no overlap in their work because SoC works within an existing system – as created by among others APSEMO – on inclusive DRR: "They don't have to create anything new" (Interview DRRO7). SoC acknowledges this as well, although they indicate that there can be some collaboration improvements: "Maybe we have to sit again with them [APSEMO] to look if we don't duplicate activities and to review whether their training modules are really inclusive" (Interview SoC1).

APSEMO thus performs an executive and supportive role, in addition they hold a controlling function in relation to DRR offices. The collaboration between APSEMO and a city DRR office, is explained by a DRR officer as follows (Interview DRRO3):

> *We inform APSEMO about the training: they usually form part of the assessment team. When the city conducts a drill, they are invited to observe and assess how the drill is done. After the drill, we have a meeting how it is done, what was lacking, what needs to be done and which part needs retraining or reorientation.*

As this example clarifies, also the municipality/city as well as the barangay DRR Committee perform IEC campaigns. They inform and educate barangay officials on the various DRR activities (Contingency plans, Drills, Early warning systems, etcetera) who in turn disseminate the information to the community members. This generally happens during the barangay assembly once or twice a year (Interviews DRRO2, DSWD1). However, information dissemination does not always go as expected: "Sometimes the barangay officials don't reecho it [disseminate the information] to their public" (Interview DRRO4). Although DRR offices rely on barangay officials to transfer their knowledge, they generally do not monitor whether this is done or not.

This raises the question how DRR information reaches PWDs? The DPOs are generally responsible to disseminate DRR training information to PWDs. DPOs receive this training from SoC, or as member of the Local DRR Committee. DPOs in turn are expected to call for a meeting, to disseminate the content of the training to their members (Interview DPO2). A DRR officer notes that the continuity of passing on knowledge is sometimes endangered because DPOs sent different people to the trainings (Interview DRRO3). When PWDs are not capable of attending the meeting organized by the DPO, a family member represent them, and are expected to inform PWDs (Interview PWD2):

> *Me as a mother [of a PWD] I need knowledge on DRR. If I know how to prepare for disasters, I can teach my son how to use the whistle and the flashlight. Because he is more vulnerable during disasters, I trained him so he knows what he must do. But he still needs me to guide him.*

Information is thus trickled down through different levels: from APSEMO on provincial level, towards the DRR Councils on municipality/city and barangay level, and DPOs transfer the knowledge to PWDs, so do the family members of PWDs.

7.1.3 Environmental protection

The natural environment can trigger disasters, and at the same time protect people. Environmental degradation can thus increase the vulnerability of communities, hence environmental protection is an essential element of pre-disaster phase. Sustainable usage of the environment and its ecosystems requires a comprehensive land use plan and development activities. This includes both, structural (physical constructions) and non-structural (not involving physical constructions) measures (APSEMO, 2016; UNISDR, 2017). Structural measures found in Albay include activities such as: removing landslide prone soil, preserving vegetation, (river-) slope protection, ocean wave barriers, earthquake resistant constructions and evacuation shelters. Non-structural measures involve all non-physical constructions such as: land-use regulations, awareness raising activities, training and education. According to a DRR officer, structural and non-structural measures are equally important, "We need both to build resilient structures" (Interview DRRO2). In this regard reference is made towards climate change adaptation as well (Interview DRRO2):

> We need to plant trees that are climate resistant varieties because of climate change. It needs to survive heavy rainfall and the hottest season. They [trees] are important to mitigate the impact of future disasters. This shouldn't be considered as separate program, but complement DRR. So DRR and climate change adaptation should go hand in hand to achieve sustainable development.

Because climate change is an irreversible trend, activities focus on mitigating the impact of natural hazards. Within Albay the emphasis is on collaboration to establishment of a comprehensive land-use plan: "It is a process in which all provinces and municipalities should comply" (Interview DRRO7). It is joint effort in which particular areas are dedicated for specific usage like forest, industry, residential area or resettlement. One of the most notable plans in Albay is the prohibition of settlements in high-risk zones, like the 7-kilometer permanent danger zone around Mayon volcano. Various signs mark this area and warn people about the danger zone (Interview BC1). "We have to prevent casualties and thus prevent people to not be in the area" (Interview DRRO4). These kind of land-use plans are regarded as "A solution to disasters. Because if you put everything on a proper place, there will be less impact during natural hazards" (Interview DRRO6). Guidelines are established by APSEMO, and LGUs should follow by designing their own land-use plan accordingly (Interview DRRO7). Despite this comprehensive plans, there are still (illegal-) settlements on the slopes of Mayon volcano. These are mainly people deriving their livelihood sources of its fertile grounds (see chapter 5). The enforcement of the land-use plan is therefore not easy.

The community is sometimes also involved in environmental structural measures, referred to as Community Based Disaster Risk Reduction Management (CBDRM). There are of course different ways and degrees to which the community can be involved in DRR activities. Participation of the community can be for example merely based on a resource contribution with the emphasize on local ownership, while other forms of participation focus on empowering with the aim to transform society (Heijmans, n.d.). A DRR officer from a flood prone barangay, explains about a CBDRM project the following (Interview DRRO4):

One of our flood prevention measures is to construct concrete slope protection structures in the rivers. In fact, we have one of the biggest single project constructed trough community efforts [in Albay]. The community was in charge, they brought supplies materials and labor. They received minimal payment. Aside from financial benefits, they got to participate in protection structures that also protects their house.

It seems like, from the DRR officers point of view, this project is limited to the allocation of community resources for slope protection. Whether the community themselves experienced this in a similar way is unknown. Nevertheless, such an example clarifies how the participation of PWDs (as being part of the community) can be translated into practice. Insofar as their impairment allows, they can contribute to the construction these protection measures. In the aforementioned example, the DRR officer did not know whether PWDs indeed participated.

7.1.4 Logistic arrangements

Efficient delivery of relief goods during or immediately after a disaster, require prearranged logistical facilities and capacities. Stockpiling of supplies allows immediate mobilization of resources needed for the affected population. "They are located on strategies places. So when hazards occur there are already stocks in place. (…) They are ready to be delivered in case of emergency" (Interview DRRO3). These stockpiles often consist of medicines, water and food items (sufficient for 5 days). When taken PWDs into account, it also include assistive devices. The municipality/city and barangays are responsible for stockpiles, but they can request addition support from APSEMO (APSEMO, 2014). Also, SoC keeps a stockpile within the office, selected and funded by HI. This allows immediate response when a disaster occurs, without approval of the donors. However, due to the high incidence of natural hazards in Albay, stockpiles often get depleted and need to be replenished (Interview SoC1). It is questionable whether this is done within the barangay due to a lack of resources (Interview DRRO1/3).

Besides stock piles also transportation mechanisms are part of the logistic arrangements. APSEMO holds a list of transportation vehicles of the province: some are used for evacuation others for immediate medical assistance (APSEMO, 2014). Also the barangay are expected to identify all available transportation facilities and equipment's. These include those of the local government, and privately owned vehicles: "A vehicle list is created with ambulances to respond to emergencies. A disaster operation vehicle is purchased, if the municipal budget allows. Also trucks, vans and cars from private owners are identified that can be used" (Interview DRRO4). The type and amount of transportation facilities is thus dependent on the financial possibilities of the local government, and the willingness of the population to make their vehicle voluntarily available. For PWDs an accessible evacuation vehicle is essential. However, local public transportation (Jeepney's) are not suitable for people with physical impairments. Jeepney's have a very high step-up and no suitable space for wheelchair users. So do special designed evacuation vehicles: "During disasters, they [LGU] are using an army truck which PWDs cannot access. It is a high vehicle, which is not differently abled friendly (…)" (Interview PDAO4). It is therefore not surprising that PWDs often refer to accessibility as a major barrier for their participation in DRR (see chapter 8).

Figure 7: Disability Inclusive Transportation

Source: Author, 2016.

SoC and a DPO, independently designed a vehicle for the transportation and evacuation of PWDs. The so called 'Freedom vehicle' is a tricycle with a ramp, which makes it accessible for wheelchair users (Figure 7). It is remarkable that there are two different organizations that almost simultaneously developed the same idea. Although SoC and the DPO are both situated in a different province within the Philippines (SoC in Albay, the DPO in Rizal), it raises some questions about the collaboration of PWDs organizations within the country. It would have saved quite some time and money when the vehicle would have been developed in a joint effort.

7.2 Phase II: Post-disaster activities

The post-disaster phase encompasses (3) Relief & Response, and (4) Recovery & Rehabilitation activities. Relief & Response actions take place during or immediately after a disaster, in order to save lives and reduce health impacts. It focusses on short-term needs of the affected population. Recovery & Rehabilitation activities aim to restore or improve livelihoods, health and other socio-economic and cultural aspects of people's life. Basic services and facilities are restored, to ensure the functioning of the community after a disaster. The division between the two stages in DRR, are not clear-cut: some response activities extend well into the recovery stage (UNISDR, 2017). The post-disaster activities of Albay encompasses among others the following:

7.2.1 Damage, loss and needs assessment

A damage, loss and needs assessment is one of the first activities performed after a hazard struck, to obtain information on the effects and impacts on the economy and citizens of the affected area. This assessment helps to locate and quantify the needs for recovery and reconstruction (APSEMO, 2014, 2016). The assessments are performed by the LGU with the help of the DSWD, consolidated at municipality/city up to provincial level. In general, the rapid assessment validates the destruction according to the following categories: totally damaged, critically damaged, partially damaged and substantially damaged. However, as a DSWD officer indicates, this classification can vary between different municipalities (Interview DSWD2). Often various assessment tools are used, and different language applied (Interview HI2). Also a DRR officer refers to this challenge: "There is a risk of exaggerating numbers by barangay officials in order to retrieve more goods. (…) Sometimes we get numbers that are higher than the general population size." (Interview DRRO7). Another DRR officer

encountered two to three different lists of affected population from one barangay: "Blurred data can be found already at barangay level; can you imagine how this looks like on other levels" (Interview DRRO3). There is thus a clear need for an overall body that regulates and equalizes the rapid assessment on different levels. Within the contingency plan of Albay also reference is made to this issue: "There is a pressing need to capacitate the LGU in the conduct of damage and loss assessments during disasters in order to ensure the credibility and accuracy of the data that will be collected" (APSEMO, 2016, p. 128).

A lack of synergy between assessment tools has major implications for disaster relief: Within some municipalities people are eligible for help while in other places their needs will not be met, although they face similar kind of damage. A DRR officer states that it also has implication for foreign donors: "If we don't have consistent data, it will be difficult to have help from outside. Because they also want to determine how much they are helping and giving us" (Interview DRRO3). These challenges regarding the 'damage, loss and needs assessment' also counts for PWDs. For example, only numbers on affected PWDs are listed without taking their specific needs into account (if data on PWDs is available in the first place). Therefore, the PDAO, in collaboration with the DPO president, sometimes assess the needs of PWDs themselves: "We count how many devices are needed and [other] items that need to be divided" (Interview PDAO3). When the DSWD does not reported PWDs' needs, SoC performs this damage and loss assessment through their CBR volunteer. The number of affected PWDs are listed per barangay, the amounts staying in evacuation centers, the extent of hazard damage (totally and partially damaged), and their immediate needs. This information is used for proposal writing, to fiend possible donors for relief programs (Interview SoC1). This brings the challenge however, of time consuming procedures: the assessments needs to be written, submitted, reviewed and approved by donors, which obviously consumes quite some time. Moreover it remains to be seen whether funding will be granted, because according to HI only few of these reports will be approved (Interview HI1). The result is that the affected population sometimes needs to wait for several weeks before the relief goods arrive. Therefore, SoC state: "There should be ongoing recourse mobilization, so there is no need for us to write a proposal and we don't have to wait for approval for funding. If there is a [permanent] calamity fund, we can immediately provide assistance" (Interview SoC1). Such a fund was available before, but has terminated because this donor shifted its focus from relief (post-disaster) towards training (pre-disaster). It shows that relief, in case of SoC, can be constrained by the funding of donors.

7.2.2 Distribution of relief goods

Relief goods are generally provided by the provincial DSWD through their field offices. They turn it over to the DRR offices at municipality/city level, to release it at the barangay DRR Committee and/or directly at the evacuation centers. The Local DRR Councils in turn, coordinate relief distribution with the barangay officials: "They will distribute it from a certain place in barangay, like pickup point. This is often the barangay hall" (Interview DRRO6). PWDs or their representatives are also expected to obtain their goods here. A PWD explained that she did not only receiving goods, but also distributed relief goods within the evacuation center herself: "Having disability is not a hinders to be active in these kind of activities" (PWD6). Also a DRR Officer states that disability does not necessary form a hinder to participate during relief activities: "Sometimes they [PWDs] help during evacuations. They are active agents, they can help and do things" (DRRO1).

Relief goods (Figure 8) include basic food items (rice/canned goods), beddings (blankets/mats), hygiene devices (toothbrush/soap) and medicines (Interviews DSWD1/2, PWD4). These goods are in line with the previous described rapid assessment. This however brings several challenges: firstly, as described in the previous section, these assessments takes quite some time, creating the risk of relief goods being delayed. This is at odds with the 'culture of speed' mentality of relief operations, which is based on the idea that emergency situations require quick response. Hilhorst (as cited in van Dijkhorst, 2011) states that this mentality, excused by the emergency situation, might result in the absence people's participation in relief operations. Similar results can be the case for PWDs. Secondly, the dependency on external funding brings the responsibility to act upon certain preferences of donors. Sometimes donors wish to fund only certain goods, like WASH kits (water, sanitation, hygiene) (Interview Soc1). The risk of these so called 'earmarked donations' is that relief goods are being supply driven instead of demand oriented (Kennedy et al., 2008). It therefore can be questioned whether the actually needs of PWDs are being addressed, as pre-determined type of goods are distributed. As described within the previous chapter, the underlying cause of action may have to do with ensuring donor legitimacy.

Figure 8: Relief goods Typhoon Nina

Source: Author, 2017.

APSEMO coordinates the provision of relief goods – from local and foreign donors – within Albay, to prevent possible duplication (APSEMO, 2014). Also SoC closely collaborates with APSEMO and the DSWD to identify areas for relief operations. Their priority is on CBR areas, where their CBR volunteers make an inventory of affected PWDs (Interview SoC1):

> Not all LGUs have enough budget to support all affected families. So that is when we come in, we complement them. We ask the barangay captain how much their budget is [to check whether this is sufficient or not], but we ensure that we get the truth through different sources.

The validation of data is important because of the potential risk of exaggerating or compressing numbers. For example, the LGU can exaggerate the number of affected population or compress the available budget for relief to continue or withdraw their responsibilities. Nevertheless, according to SoC it is common that people complain about unequal distribution of relief goods anyways (Interview SoC1). This is because the rapid assessment does not always reflect the real situation on the ground. Often more people are affected than noted, so the LGU's budget is insufficient to meet all needs. Therefore relief programs are limited to the totally- and partially damaged population, leaving a large part of the population with empty hands. Some argue this is why PWDs are often left behind

(Interviews SoC1, PWD4, DPO2). In contrast other state that 'normal people' can be left out because PWDs are prioritized instead, as explained by SoC (Interview SoC1):

> *It is very common that people complain that they don't receive goods because they are not PWDs. How are you going to answer that they are not qualified to receive these goods? We explain them that because of limited budget we cannot help all people of the community. Our priorities are PWDs, where in fact everybody is affected.*

It shows that in general, the needs are bigger than the budget, making equal distribution of relief almost impossible. This stresses the need for clear guidelines with criteria for relief within Albay province, and the rest the Philippines as a whole.

7.2.3 Evacuation, relocation and livelihood

Evacuation can be regarded as a short-term coping strategy in times of *sudden onset disasters*, while relocation is often long-term and applied in case of *slow onset disasters*. Both measures can be performed during the pre-disaster or post-disaster phase. The DRR framework of Albay however, focusses mainly on pre-emptive evacuation, as a primary strategy to achieve zero casualties. One of the guiding principles to achieve this goal is "to evacuate at the early stage of the calamity instead of to rescue affected families" (Espinas, 2012, p. 11).

Sudden onset disasters such as typhoons, require a timely and accurate warning system issued by PAGASA, and the identification and organization of the evacuation route and locations by the Local DRR Councils (APSEMO, 2014). An alternative evacuation route or new road should be established to ensure fast and organized evacuations. When a hazard struck, cleaning operations are required, as blocked infrastructure hamper evacuation or relief activities (APSEMO, 2016). Most of the evacuation locations are not purpose-built structures, but comprises schools and public buildings. They are intended as temporary shelter, and often do not provide suitable long stay facilities. However, also the suitability as temporary evacuation center is in some cases questionable, especially for PWDs. It has been observed that some locations do not have running water or accessible toilets: "The comfort rooms are very small and the door is narrow, making it inaccessible for wheelchair users. And some of the evacuation centers have stairs" (Interview PDAO4). Without a ramp, PWDs using a wheelchair are not able to reach the evacuation location. The department of education in Albay, forms the Camp Management Team responsible for the organization: "They ensure that evacuation center is safe and that utilities or niceties for evacuees are present. (…) They are also responsible to make evacuation center disability inclusive" (Interview DRRO2). Even though the locations are suitable for PWDs, it remains to be seen if they will be used. A PWD explains that PWDs often do not want to evacuate, and rather stay at home (Interview PWD5):

> *The problem is that disabled themselves don't want to go to evacuation center, they don't want to be separated from their families and homes during disasters. (…) It's hard for me to stay in evacuation center because my immunity is very low. I have a poor heart condition, so I can acquire bacteria very easily within crowded place.*

This citation clarifies that some PWDs do not feel comfortable staying in evacuation locations because of their health conditions. Moreover, being separated from their house means being apart from a familiar place. Especially people with intellectual disabilities like autism, require such an environment, preferably with no unexpected or unknown social interactions. A packed evacuation center can be a highly uncomfortable situation for them. Therefore, some people advocate for a separate room for PWDs within the evacuation center (Interview PDAO3). However, in some cases it seems that

evacuation is not a matter of choice. Within Albay, the zero casualties' goal in disaster management, compels APSEMO sometimes to forced evacuation (Interview DRRO5):

> It is a problem when people don't want to evacuate. We are constantly prodding them; we go there again and again convincing the people to come with us to the evacuation center, up to the extent of taking them by force. Whether they like it or not, they have to go there.

Forced evacuation happens with the help of the military and police. However, APSEMO indicates that forced evacuation does not mean that people are taken with violence, instead they are assisted to leave their homes: "We will bring a car and ask you to get out of the place, and bring you to evacuation center" (Interview DRRO6). They also indicate that they usually do not reach this point, as people are often willing to collaborate based on previous experiences: "People generally learned from super typhoon Reming in 2006. This was turning point of DRR life. It was a big lesson, and it made people realize that they should do something [evacuate] in advance" (Interview DRRO5).

Another strategy of APSEMO is the creation of resettlement sites, as a reaction to *slow onset disasters* such as climate change. The increasing threats of natural hazards makes the government decide to move people from high risk zones to safe places (APSEMO, 2014). The relocation of families or entire villages, is a common phenomenon within Albay: within Legaspi city (capital of Albay province) there are four resettlement sites, giving home to around 1.5 thousand families (APSEMO, 2016). Figure 9 is an example of a permanent resettlement site. Also PWDs are eligible to live in these places, however the houses do not seem to be adjusted to their specific needs. Roads are often unpaved and some houses can only be reached by stairs, making it hardly accessible for wheelchair users.

Figure 9: Resettlement sites around Albay

Source: Salceda, 2012

The population at risk, defined as 'vulnerable people' eligible for relocation, are identified by the mayor in collaboration with APSEMO: "The candidates for relocation are families along the shorelines. (…) But is hard to relocate them because of their dependency on fishing" (Interview DRRO3). The relocation does not come without challenges, as learned from previous experiences: "We made a mistake by removing people [after typhoon Reming] from fishing areas, and replacing them in a farming location" (Interview DRRO7). As this quote indicates, 'resettling' bears the risk of dislocating people from their original livelihood sources. Therefore it should go beyond the mere provision of housing, also socio-economic needs, should be addressed: "The challenge is to identify resettlement areas that are suitable for people to maintain a livelihood" (Interview DRRO2). Moreover, the new resettlement sites should hazards risks free, hence the selection of appropriate areas should be considered carefully. In the ultimate situation, this takes place in a consultative manner, with the participation of the affected

communities such as PWDs (Kim & Olshansky). Mutual agreements prevent beneficiaries from returning to former places, due to dissatisfaction of their new homes (APSEMO, 2016). In the case of Albay, it seemed like the community was not sufficiently involved in the resettlement program. Various DRR officers clarified that people often kept their house within the resettlement site as a second home and continued to live within a disaster prone area (Interviews DRRO 4/7).

Another manner to reduce the discontent of resettlement sites, is the integration of livelihood assistance and training within relocation plans. This is often provided by LGUs as part of the post-disaster phase, directly after a disaster struck. It includes short-term income generation programs, such as cleaning of salinized road networks for a monetary compensation (cash for work). Also food for work programs can be offered: "It is 2 hours of work within the barangay. In return for their work, the LGU will gives them 3 kilos of rice" (Interview DRRO2). At the same time, these kinds of activities are a strategy to stimulate community participation in disaster recovery. Likewise, livelihood training can be provided to affected population for resource acquisition. As a matter of fact, PWDs can also avail for these kinds of programs. Livelihood programs for PWDs are usually provided by the DSWD in collaboration with DPOs. In the ultimate situation, members of the DPO will be asked what kind of activities they prefer (Interview DPO6). Although wishes are taken into account as much as possible, DPOs are often constrained by the resources of the LGU. "I will create a livelihood program based on the allocated budget, but this is often minimal", states a DPO president (Interview DPO2).

7.3 Building back better, elsewhere

Post-disaster activities in Albay province, are employed according to a development approach with the main principle of 'building back better, elsewhere'. It refers to resettlement sites in safe areas and the construction of better housing to reduce the vulnerability of the community to disaster (Espinas, 2012). This policy can be regarded as an extension of state control into the field of disaster preparedness and mitigation, with the main thought of restoring communities to its previous state, albeit better than before and somewhere else (Bankoff & Hilhorst, 2009, p. 9). The approach of Albay acknowledges this concept of 'linking relief, rehabilitation and development', in which disasters can pave the way for development opportunities, preferably in a sustainable way: "We do not only think about present generations, but also [aim to] secure future generations. Therefore development should take DRR into account; without mainstreaming of DRR there is no full development" (Interview DRRO2). According to this officer, DRR and sustainable development should go hand in hand, especially in a country prone to natural hazards. Going back to the situation before the hazard struck, does not reduce future impacts and increases the risk of reoccurring disasters. Therefore theory states that: "Better development can reduce the need for emergency relief, better relief can contribute to development, and better rehabilitation can ease the transition between the two" (Salgado, 2013, p. 11). In case of Albay, re-building society on a different location is regarded as a strategy for sustainable development. This brings several ethical limitations and practical concerns. With reference to a case study of Sagip Kapamilya resettlement village, these issues will be elaborated upon in relation to PWDs.

Sagip Kapamilya Simon of Cyrene village is the resettlement site for PWDs in Albay, constructed by SoC. This project is established in 2008 as a resettlement location for PWDs affected by typhoon Reming. There are 60 housing units and nowadays about 180 people live in the village. They are eligible to live here when at least one of the family members is disabled, or when people have an impairment themselves. Some of the residences have a job outside the village as for example a tricycle driver or construction worker. Within the village there are no official jobs available, but there are some people who own a *Sari Sari* store (small grocery shop) (Interview SoC2). The purpose of the village is to provide safe and accessible housing for PWDs, and to create an inclusive environment in which self-sufficiency is stimulated and development programs can be pioneered. These programs include among others the following (SoC, 2017):

- Economy: Livelihood training and leadership skills;
- Health: Medical assistance and early intervention;
- Education: Provision of school supplies and transportation assistance;
- DRR: development of contingency plans and performing emergency drills.

Although having a disability is of course not something people choose for, some inhabitant's regard their disability label as an advantage because it allows them to live in the village for free and become eligible for these development programs. The village is free from any disaster threats (except earth quakes), and therefore regarded as a safe environment to raise children (FGD1). There is a basketball court, a multipurpose building (that also serves as evacuation center) and several plots of land used for agricultural purposes. Moreover, the village is described by SoC as a 'living laboratory' where they pilot programs, and give support to the residence such as free medical assistance.

Considering these facilities, it seems like the village is a good place to live, and perhaps even a 'better place' compared to others people's living conditions. To a certain extent, one can say that the villagers are better off than others, due to the fact they are being labelled as PWDs. This is confirmed by the inhabitants, who indicate to be satisfied living in the village. They do not want to return to their former places (FGD1). Being labeled as PWDs, can thus become self-perpetuating in the sense that people take 'advantage' of their disability label (or that of their family member) in order to become entitled to live in the village (Bakewell, 2000). Even though being labeled as a PWD can be an advantage from the villager's point of view, it can deprive their capabilities as well. The process of labelling might enhances a 'dependency syndrome' in which prolonged assistance can cause

dependency of PWDs on SoC. For example, one of the main challenge in the village is to establish a livelihood: "What I have heard from the families living there is that they don't get enough livelihood opportunities, [among others] because it is quite far from the town. Although many NGOs are giving support, it is not enough" (Interview PDAO4). As a matter of course, SoC is one of the main supporters. This continue assistance bears the risk of creating a sort of dependent relationship between the villagers and SoC. Moreover, this seems to be contradicting SoCs' objective of stimulating self-sufficiency.

Although there are regular meetings with the inhabitants of the village, it is unclear how much room PWDs have to initiate things themselves. One of the people said: "Even though we have a voice, Simon of Cyrene decides. We have a contract [in which is stated] what we can do and what not, so we need to follow these rules" (FGD1). This raises the question whether PWDs in the village are right holders themselves, or if their rights are determined or demarcated by others? SoC in turn, did not independently establish this contract, as they are dependent on donors who probably have a stake in this as well. Because of this 'donor dependency', SoC kind of needs 'successful programs' to secure future donations. The village can be regarded as a tangible outcome of their success. Labels can thus also be used by SoC to foster accountability towards donors, and enables the development of 'successful programs' such as the village (van Dijkhorst, 2011). Or as Hilhorst and Jansen (2010, p. 1122) put it: "While agencies [SoC] derive their legitimacy from their image of being moral actors, recipients [PWDs] derive their legitimacy from the fact that they are in need". This shows a complex power relationship between donors, SoC and their beneficiaries.

The village is not only established to provide PWDs a safe place to live, but also to foster their inclusion in society. However, how is the inclusion of PWDs stimulated when they live in a sort of confined setting, separated from other residences and services of the barangay? Interaction with outsiders seems to be limited, meanwhile PWDs in the village are largely designated to their own families or neighbors. In this regard the network of PWDs thus remain limited within their direct social environment. Also the participation of PWDs in the barangay's DRR activities (such as earthquake- fire drills) are rare, as these activities are also organized within the village itself. Barangay officials are normally invited but often not attending, the same occurs the other way around: people in the village are usually not present during barangay activities outside the village (Interviews SoC2, FGD1). The exchange of experiences between the people inside and outside the village are thus rare. It seems like the village aims to foster inclusion while it (unintendedly) creates a form of exclusion. Whether the village is a representation of a 'successful program' indeed, it therefore questionable. Discussing this issue with SoC, they acknowledge this way of reasoning, and state the following about the village (Interview SoC1):

> *All PWDs are put in one place, but when talking about inclusiveness you should be part of the community. (…) Eventually there is a need to open the opportunity for non- PWDs [to live in the village], so it will become more inclusive.*

Inclusion for SoC thus means that both, 'normal citizens' and PWDs are living together on equal basis without any distinction in terms of rights or benefits. In the case of Sagip Kapamilya Simon of Cyrene resettlement village however, it seems like this ideal is not (yet) being achieved. The inclusion of PWDs is doubtful from two perspectives: within the village because of limited influence, outside the village because of separated activities**.**

7.4 Concluding remarks

Within this chapter different pre- and post-disaster activities of Albay are described, with specific attention towards the inclusion of PWDs. Table 1 provides a summary of the DI-DRR activities, and how they are regarded by the participants as disability inclusive. During the research it could be witnessed that this is a rather ideal situation, as there are still some major challenges to overcome.

Table 1: DI-DRR activities and challenges

DI-DRR activities	*Disability Inclusive*	*Challenges*
Pre-disaster activities		
Contingency planning: • *Hazard characterization* • *Capacity and vulnerability assessment* • *Institutional arrangements*	• Involvement PWDs in Local DRR Committees • Accurate data on PWDs: place of residence and disability type	• Lack of (digitalized) data on PWDs: type of impairment • Different prioritizations of the plans by barangay officials • Different content of the plans
Information, education and communication: • *Earthquake- fire drill* • *Early warning systems* • *Information dissemination*	• Information on how to evacuate PWDS • Usage of disability inclusive early warning systems • PWDs act as victim in role plays during drills • PWDs warn public in case of impending disasters	• Passive role PWDs in drills • Warning devices not in place or not used • Lack of understandable information • Different terminology: no synergy in words • Different understanding responsibilities between SoC and APSEMO • No contingency in information dissemination: weak trickle down system
Environment protection	• Land use plans to protect inhabitants • Involvement PWDs in protection measures	• Bad enforcement land use plans: illegal settlements • Participation limited to allocation of community resources • Exact role PWDs unknown
Logistic arrangements	• Accessible for people with physical impairments	• Depleted stockpiles • Inaccessible transportation • Limited exchange information between PWDs' organizations
Post-disaster activities		
Damage, loss and needs assessment	• Including number of affected PWDs: extent of hazard damage and their immediate needs	• Lack of synergy between assessment tools • Time consuming procedures

		• Unreliable data: risk of exacerbating or depriving numbers
Distribution of relief goods	• Respond to the specific needs of PWDs • PWDs help to distribute goods	• Delayed relief distribution • Culture of speed mentality: absence disability focus • Earmarked donations: goods are not tailored to specific needs • Unequal distribution of relief: exclusion of PWDs or 'normal people' • Needs bigger than the budget
Evacuation, relocation and livelihood	• Accessibility of both, evacuation centers and relocation sites • Selection of appropriate locations done in a consultative manner, with involvement of PWDs • Livelihood assistance tailored to the specific capacities of PWDs	• Inaccessible or unsuitable evacuation centers and resettlement sites • Zero casualty goal leads to forced evacuation • Limited involvement relocation plans • Insufficient livelihood opportunities • Keeping old homes: continue to live in hazard prone areas

Source: Author, 2017.

Besides these challenges, this chapter also highlighted some ethical issues and practical concerns in relation to the resettlement village Sagip Kapamilya. This village embodies the development approach of Albay, based on the principle of 'building back better, elsewhere'. The interface between SoC and the people in the village reflects a certain power relation, in which SoC determines who becomes eligible to live in the village by fitting people into specific labels. Although this might enhance a 'dependency syndrome', van Dijkhorst (2011) notes that this does not necessarily deprive people's agency: in fact, the 'dependency syndrome' can be a sign of active participation. Being labeled as PWDs – making PWDs objects of the program – can be the outcome of an active negotiation process in which PWDs maintain a particular image of vulnerable people that 'need' the village to improve their situation. It indicates that PWDs have agency to shape the labelling process to their own benefits (ibid). This case show how the process of labelling, allows the relocation of entire population groups such as PWDs under the heading of 'building back better, elsewhere'. The Sagip Kapamilya village is possibly an example of wat happens on a large scale within Albay, or even the Philippines as a whole.

8. Participation of PWDs in DRR

The preceding chapter elaborated upon the different DI-DRR activities taking place in Albay province, and the extent to which they include PWDs. Within this chapter the focus is on practices of participation by PWDs in these activities. First, participation is defined according to different actors in the field, and its relation to inclusion elaborated. Theory has been discussed within the theoretical framework, now the focus will shift towards practical outcomes. Second, environmental and personal factors that facilitate or hinder participation will be elaborated. This chapter results from the often expressed concern of participants regarding the absence of PWDs in DI-DRR activities, explained by a social welfare officer: "We find it hard to reach out to some PWDs. When we call for a meeting, only a few attending" (Interview DSWD). This chapter aims to provide insights in the factors underlying this.

8.1 Participation in practice

Theory states that participation can be interpreted in various ways (Brown, 2014), making it interesting to examine how it is defined by different actors within Albay. Talking with PWDs about participation in DRR activities, it means to be invited for trainings and seminars on DRR (Interview PWD2/3). They regard participation as being present and sharing ideas and experiences: "I fully participated during the training by sharing my knowledge with others" (interview PWD3). However, according to this definition participation does not necessarily mean that input is also taken into account. This gives the impression that PWDs regard participation in a passive form, instead active engagement. PWDs working as PDAO or as DPO president, have a broader understanding of the term. They generally state that it is not only about being present during meetings and sharing personal knowledge, but also about the actual usage of the provided information: "If we are given attention and our concerns and suggestions are taken into account, than we feel heard" (Interview PDAO4). Another participants puts it like this: "[Participation means that] we can voice out whatever sentiments we have, that this is given attention and is being used" (Interview DPO3). So participation for them means, getting space to speak up, and that voices are being heard. Discussing the issue with DRR officers in Albay, they acknowledge that the participation of PWDs in DRR is beyond a mere presence (Interview DRRO2):

> It is not only about being present, but also about taking part. The difference is that a mere presence does not justify your involvement in barangay [DRR] consultation. You should speak up in all the deliberations being made by the barangay, because silence is not a sense of culture in DRR. You need to voice out because your feedback means a lot for disaster management.

Participation in this regard has a more active meaning, especially in relation to DRR. Another DRR officer expresses this as follows: "When they [PWDs] are there and actively participating by freely expressing their opinions. And if others recognize the importance of what PWDs are saying. If they suggest certain projects, and it gets implemented: that is the total manifestation of participation" (Interview DRRO3). In summary, according to the various participants of Albay, participation of PWDs in DI-DRR means: getting space to speak up, and what is said is used for developing DI-DRR.

So how does this definition of participation relate to the inclusion of PWDs in DRR, in other words DI-DRR? According to SoC, inclusion of PWDs means that they are part of a 'normal society', and not segregated or set apart from others. PWDs are taken into account as normal citizens, with equal rights and opportunities (Interview SoC1/3). Handicap International shares this definition, and regards participation as "(…) a strategy in which PWDs feel they are part of a community, like normal people" (Interview HI4). In this regard, participatory approaches are a means to increase PWDs' inclusivity in

DRR and society in general. This issue highlights the theoretical discussion of participation as a means to an end, or participation as an end in itself (Ntata, as cited in Cobley, 2015). While the latter approach values human rights, according to Cobley (2015, p. 700) the first fosters 'real change' in terms of DI-DRR's practical outcomes: "[Participation as a means to an end is] ensuring that more inclusive societies arise from these processes". For these wider benefits to be realized, several barriers must be overcome first to enable PWDs to participate. Therefore the following section will take a closer look at what participants regard as barriers and facilitating factors of participation. Thereby it is recognized that participation does not occur in a vacuum: personal and environmental dynamics both influence participation (Hammel et al., 2008). Describing these, contributes to examine how the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR activities comes about in practice.

8.2 Environmental facilitators and barriers

Environmental and personal factors consist of facilitators that enhance the ability of PWDs to participate in DRR activities, and barriers that inhibit participation (Hammel et al., 2015). During the research three major categories of environmental factors emerged: Attitudes and knowledge; Natural and build environment; and, Rules and regulations. And also two categories of personal factors can be appointed: Resources (money and time), and; Self-esteem and social capital. According to Hammel et al. (2015), these factors can intersect and cumulatively influence participation. This also could be witnessed in the case of Albay, where weather occurrences hinder the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR activities. Bad weather also contributes to inaccessible transportation, of which the latter can be regarded as a physical factor that hinders PWDs' participation. In addition, poor implementation of rules and regulations can contribute to a lack of accessible transportation, again representing a different environmental factor. This illustrates how certain environmental barriers (or facilitators) can fall under different categories at the same time. Likewise, multiple facilitators and barriers can be experienced simultaneously, complicating the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR activities. The first section describes environmental factors on different levels, ranging from barangay up to provincial or national level. Factors that influence participation on individual level, are described under section two.

8.2.1 Attitudes and knowledge

The participation of PWDs in DRR activities can be facilitated by attitudes regarding the role of PWDs in DI-DRR. These attitudes include for example that PWDs are regarded as active agents in DI-DRR. A DRR officer expressed this as follows: "PWDs are partners in DRR, from planning to monitoring. They are not mere beneficiaries, we look at them as partners and we treat them as normal people" (Interview DRRO2). This officer states that PWD's involvement is essential because "absent of one sector in DRR deficits development" (ibid). When the added value of PWD role in DI-DRR is recognized, their participation is likely to be fostered (Interview PDAO4):

> As normal persons we [PWDs] are entitled to have equal opportunities and play a vital and important role in DRR. If this is acknowledged, and they [the society] don't neglect us or set us aside, we will get more involved and willing to participate.

Thus, when the capacities of PWDs are acknowledged and their potential in DRR recognized, it is more likely that space will be created for PWDs to speak up and that their voice is taken seriously. This will possibly increase the confidence of PWDs to express themselves, which in turn increases their willingness to participate (Cornwall, 2008). However, as became clear in chapter 5, attitudes can also form a barrier for PWDs' participation. For example when PWDs are regarded as vulnerable people,

incapable of doing something. This creates the tendency of protecting PWDs by keeping them at home. Tabuga (2015, p. 20) states that "being protective is a manifestation of the Filipino culture of close family ties". However, over-protectiveness tends to encourage dependency of PWDs on their family, hence obstruct participation in DRR. This is likely especially if DRR activities are outsourced to family members, even though PWDs can participate themselves. For example, a mother of a PWD (her child was a mature man with a hearing impairment) represented her son within the local DPO. She was the one participating in the DRR activities, not her son. The mother transferred the knowledge to her disabled child, although the man was perfectly capable of participating within the activities himself (Interview PWD1). This (unintentionally) enforces the image of PWDs as mere recipients of DI-DRR, instead of being active agents. A similar story was found in relation to livelihood programme: PWDs could not become eligible for a 'Food for work program', because it was believed that "They [PWDs] cannot work because of their impairment they are not capable" (Interview DSWD2).

Attitudes are closely related to knowledge, since increased knowledge on PWDs and their impairments can change attitudes positively (Hästbacka et al., 2016). This includes for example information on how to work with PWDs as a partner in DI-DRR. As well it refers to knowledge on disability inclusive policies: "Improving attitudes starts with information dissemination about laws and regulations. This will create more awareness on PWDs" (Interview PDAO3). IEC campaigns can include information on these laws and regulations to inform the public. "So other people will know about the importance of PWDs' involvement in DRR" (Interview DRRO2). Knowledge can thus be regarded as an environmental facilitator for the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR, likewise a lack of knowledge can form a barrier. If there is a lack of understanding and awareness about PWDs, their participation in DI-DRR can be denied (Tabuga, 2015).

8.2.2 Natural and build environment

Even though the attitudes and knowledge about PWDs can be positive, it does not guarantee that the environment is supportive. This is noted by a social welfare officer: "PWD are accepted and recognized in society, but the environment is not always supportive (…) the society is not always adaptive to PWDs" (Interview SoC3). This participant states that PWDs adapt to the environment, not the other way around. It reflects that the environment, whether it is natural or build, can form a barrier for PWDs to participate in DI-DRR. According to Hammel et al. (2015), the natural environment refers to climate and weather conditions such as rain and heat. It also includes geographical location (urban or rural) and topographical features such as mountains and rivers. These features can cumulate for example during typhoon seasons: heavy rainfall can cause mudslides in mountainous areas, cutting off rural places from the outside world. This can form a barrier for the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR activities, as explained by a DPO president: "Some areas are very hard to reach because they are far away and have rivers and mountains. Not all presidents [PWDs] can come to meetings, because with rainy days they cannot cross the rivers" (Interview DPO2). When DRR activities take place far from where PWDs reside – in combination with poor road networks – their participation can be hindered (Interviews PWD5, BC1). Although this particular reason can of course also count for 'normal people', a PDAO states that PWDs are in particular vulnerable during harsh weather conditions because of their impairments. Moreover public transportation are hardly accessible for PWDs: "They cannot climb in the Jeepney's. Or they pass by very speedy, so they cannot stop them (Interview DPO2). This makes PWDs rather stay at home instead of participating: "I will stay home for my own safety" (Interview PDAO4).

This issue also relates to the build environment, which can facilitate or form a barrier for the participation of PWDs in DRR activities. Hammel et al. (2015) defines the build environment as the architectural features of buildings, land development and the transportation between them, like sidewalks and roadways. Also environmental features such as accessibility play a role. According to HI, this forms the main barrier for PWDs to participate: "The problem is not the impairment of the person, but the existing barriers created by the people. The number one barrier in the Philippines is accessibility" (Interview HI4). Within Albay some physical environmental adjustments are made, such as ramps, parking spaces and waiting lines for PWDs with mobility impairments. These adjustments can foster the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR. However, as a HI worker also states, accessibility issues are mostly not taken into account when designing buildings: "In some places the evacuation area is on the second floor. Persons with mobility problems can't access those places" (Interview HI3). Although it is hard to change the natural environment, the build environment can adjusted to PWDs' needs. This can facilitate the participation in DI-DRR, meanwhile it reduces natural barriers as well.

8.2.3 Rules and regulations

Rules and regulations are the foundations of the abovementioned factors, such as the accessibility law to facilitate the participation within the psychical environment (Hästbacka et al., 2016). These rules and regulations can be international such as the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, as well as national like the Magna Carta for Disabled. Generally, these rules and regulations can be regarded as environmental facilitators, as they aim to foster the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR. However, in practice their implementation often remains poor, as stated by HI: "There is no proper implementation of laws for PWDs" (Interview HI4). This can be witnessed at local level, where ramps are created but remain unusable because they are too steep. Or special seats are reserved for PWDs within Jeepney's while the entrance still remains inaccessible. Moreover, as described in chapter 6, there are many different governmental departments involved in enforcing these rules and regulations. This enhances corruption and bureaucracy, which further complicates PWDs' participation in DI-DRR (Hästbacka et al., 2016). So it seems like rules and regulations in the Philippines do not necessarily form a barrier, but –if they are in place– they do not automatically increase the participation of PWDs either. Bad enforcement of these laws is closely related to a lack of funding, which in turn can be regarded as one of the major barriers to the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR.

8.3 Personal facilitators and barriers

8.3.1 Recourses: money and time

One of the main factors influencing the participation of PWD in DI-DRR, is that PWDs are simply not able to afford going out. Personal circumstances have a significant role in this. First of all, for various reasons, many PWDs do not engage in income-generating activities (see chapter 4). They are often supported or fully maintained by their family members, and usually live in poor conditions (Tabuga, 2015). They are less likely to attend DI-DRR activities that take place somewhere far, as explained by a social welfare officer: "Their main concern is coming here and going back, because it requires financial resources. This is one of the barriers to attend meetings and trainings on DRR" (Interview DSWD3). DPO members or president need to finance their own transportation. These costs are often beyond their financial capacities, as transportation costs are particularly high in rural areas. The municipality mostly lacks budget to cover these expenses, hence PWDs are forced to stay at home instead of

participating in DI-DRR activities (Interview DSWD2). Likewise, a travel allowance can facilitate the participation of PWDs, as explained by a social welfare officer: "We are also considering to give a minimal honorarium to DPO presidents, especially to improve their attendance during meetings" (Interview DSWD3). A financial contribution can thus function as an incentive to participate. In some barangay this was provided indeed: PWDs received a certificate of appearance to avail for a travel allowance (Interview DPO2). Another incentive often mentioned, is the provision of food which can vary from a small snack to an entire lunch (Interviews DPO3, DRRO4/1). However, this incentive is not always regarded as positive: "Food is provided but we will not tell it in advance. This is not the right incentive, they need to come for their own benefits and good" (Interview BC2). Moreover, not all LGU have sufficient budget to provide food to all people. The amount of participants during DI-DRR activities are therefore sometimes limited (Interview DSWD4).

Second, to get to the location where the DI-DRR activities take place, PWDs often need someone to come along. Especially people with visual impairments or mobility problems, experience difficulties riding a Jeepney without personal assistance. They are often assisted by family members, that have limited time due to other household activities (Interview SoC3, Tabuga, 2013). "Parents don't like their children to attend the activities because they don't have time to accompany them. Especially when this parent is also working" (Interview DPO3). A lack of time to participate in DI-DRR activities also counts for PWDs, as personal economic activities often gain priority. This is explained by HI: "Most PWDs are self-employed, they have for example a *Sari Sari* store [small grocery shop]. But they need to close the store to be present during meetings. If you don't pay them to be there, they will lose their livelihood" (Interview HI4). If PWDs do not gain any compensation, they rather generate income then to participate in DI-DRR activities. Also PWDs working as PDAO or DPO president state to be occupied with other activities. They indicate that the workload within their current jobs are too high to also take up responsibilities in DRR (Interviews PDAO4, DPO3/6). According to a DRR officer, it is therefore important that people feel like their time is being usefully spent (Interview DRRO2). What exactly makes PWDs feel this way, will become clear in the following section.

8.3.2 Self-esteem and social capital

The participation of PWDs in DI-DRR is not only being influenced by the attitudes of others, but also by one's self-esteem. Low self-esteem can make PWDs decide not to participate. This notion of self-exclusion is often associated with a lack of confidence. PWDs can feel like they cannot make a valuable contribution in DI-DRR: they fear their input will not be taken seriously or even be laughed at (Cornwall, 2008). A DPO explains: "I call PWDs to stand up and say something in front of the public, but they are feared to do so, or they are even too shy to attend" (Interview DPO2). Sometimes they think their impairment does not allow them to participate. This also stems from insecurity about the kind of contribution they can make in DI-DRR.

Another reason for non-participation can be that PWDs do not see the point of their attendance. As explained before, the costs of participating does not simply outweigh the benefits. A personal invitation is appointed by government officials as something to overcome this, because it gives the feeling that PWDs' presence is appreciated: "We need to invite PWDs so they feel that they are involved and part and priority of the community" (Interview DRRO1). PWDs themselves state that knowledge is their most common incentive to participate in DI-DRR activities: "It is important to go to the training because it makes me strong, and I get information on how to prepare for a disaster. The

fact that I learn a lot encourages me to go" (Interview PWD3). PWDs attribute high value to the acquisition of knowledge, since it helps them to increase awareness of their rights an capacities during disasters. This in turn strengthens their self-esteem and gives confidence to speak for themselves.

Cornwall (2008, p. 275) stresses that an invitation is necessary, but not enough to ensure participation: "Much depends on how people take up and make use of what is on offer, as well as on supportive processes that can help build capacity, nurture voice and enable people to empower themselves". This emphasizes the contrast between space to participate as created through invitations, and created by people themselves. Within invited space – initiated by for example government officials or SoC – participation is often limited, because ownership remains in the hands of the initiators. This space is not regarded as an equal and safe environment, hence participation is seen as an instrument of initiators to gain more benefits. Within created space – initiated by PWDs themselves – this power balance is less present because the participants usually share a common background (ibid). These spaces are essential facilitators for the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR, because they gain more confidence to speak up. Thus, invited space in which DI-DRR activities take place, are less likely to foster participation of PWDs than space created by themselves.

Created space raises the notion of social capital. This includes the sense of belonging to a group and (the development of-) a social network, from which solidarity and support can be derived. Being part of a group with common backgrounds and similar interests, enables PWDs "to act together more effectively to pursue a shared objective" (Cobigo et al., 2012, p. 79). This can be witnessed in Albay where most PWDs are DPO member. These organizations advocate for their rights and aim to give PWDs a voice. For this to be realized however, DPOs need to be capable to participate in DI-DRR activities as well. This underlines the need for capacity building for among others DPO presidents, to engage with confidence in DI-DRR (Cobley, 2015). Although the social capital of PWDs often remains limited within their families (Tabuga, 2015), it can be regarded as something that facilitates the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR.

8.4 Concluding remarks

This chapter clarified that participation of PWDs is interpreted in various ways; ranging from creating space to speak up, to the point that voices are being heard and used for DI-DRR. Gaventa & Robinson (as cited in Cornwall, 2008, p. 278) state the following: "Translating voice into influence requires more than simply effective ways of capturing what people want to say; it involves efforts 'from above' and 'from below'". These efforts are captured in the various environmental and personal factors that facilitate the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR. Efforts 'from above' refers to actions to implement rules and regulations, and the political will to convert these into tangible actions. Example of these efforts are the formulation of DI-DRR laws, and – as mandated by these laws – the establishment of Local DRR Committees that include PWDs. Also the improving the build environment, which can form a barrier for the participation of PWDs, falls under this. Efforts 'from below' refers to strategies to create collectivities such as DPOs, that can advocate for the involvement of PWDs in DI-DRR (Cornwall, 2008). These collectivities need to be strengthen trough capacity building activities to increase confidence over their actions. These efforts can also be performed on individual level, to foster PWDs' self-esteem. An example on the positive impact of a leadership training, is described by a DPO president: "This leadership training enhanced me, it gave me confidence. I was shy before, the training changed me a lot: I was no longer shy, I can talk to people despite my disability. It made me strong" (Interview DPO3).

Both processes are essential facilitators for the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR, as it increases knowledge and most likely changes attitudes positively at environmental and personal level.

However, opening up space to speak up through these 'efforts from above and below', does not seems to be sufficient. This chapter clarified that it also depends on how space is created: by invitation or initiated by PWDs themselves. So called 'created space' seems to be more likely to foster the participation of PWDs than 'invited space'. In a group with common backgrounds, people generally experience (more) confidence to speak (Cornwall, 2008). It emphasizes as well the importance of social capital for PWDs to participate. This seems to be contradicting the concept of inclusion, as defined by various participants such as SoC and HI. They regard inclusion as 'being part of a normal society', and participatory approaches as a means to foster this. PWDs by contrast, generally prefer to participate in a group with similar backgrounds, rather than taking part in 'normal society' where they often feel insecure or uncomfortable to speak up. The notion of inclusion moreover raises the questions what a 'normal society' exactly constitutes, and who determines what is 'normal'? It seems like different actors have different notions of this.

9. Linking theory and practice

The theoretical framework explained the approaches to- and types of participation and its relation to 'power'. This chapter explores the practical outcomes of PWDs' participation within the context of Albay province. First, different types of participation by PWDs in DRR activities will be elaborated upon. It will become clear that the rationale behind participation is closely related to its practical outcomes. This reflects that participation is essentially a social act that springs from social interactions, embedded in power. The theory of Foucault helps to explore these existing power relations. Therefore the second section looks into processes of power through Foucaults' concept of governmentality.

9.1 Participation theories applied

As written in the Participation Handbook for humanitarian fieldworkers (URD, 2009), the type of participation is determined by the approaches to participation held by the various actors involved. It describes three main approaches: Instrumental approach; Collaborative approach, and; Supportive approach. The types of participation are described by Pretty (1994) as:

- Passive participation;
- Participation in information giving;
- Participation by consultation;
- Participation for material incentives;
- Functional participation;
- Interactive participation, and;
- Self-mobilization (see Annex III).

These can be applied to all stakeholders in the DI-DRR domain, as described in chapter 6. However, it is beyond the scope of this research to discuss all actors independently. Therefore this theory will be applied to two frames only, representing the main actors involved in this research: (1) Governmental actors, such as the LGU and various Local DRR Committees; (2) NGOs, like Simon of Cyrene (SoC). This will determine how these actors approach the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR (discourse), and ow this results in a certain type of participation (practice):

1) From a governmental point of view, the participation of PWDs in DRR within the Philippines seems to be based on an instrumental approach. This implies that participation is mainly used as a means to achieve certain goals (ALNAP, 2003). These goals are laid down in for example international and national policy frameworks, such as the Sendai Framework, that oblige governments to engage PWDs in DRR (UN, 2015a). Increasing the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR, is thus not necessarily the main goal of the government. Rather it can be regarded as a political strategy, in which participation constitutes a means to increase public accountability and ensure overall legitimacy (Polack et al., 2010). Although participation it is not necessarily an end in itself, the strengthening of PWDs' capacities can be a welcoming side effect (ALNAP, 2003). The main challenge of the instrumental approach is to maintain a trust relationship, in this case between the government and the population, and PWDs in specific (ibid). This is especially challenging within the Philippines, were state-society relations are known for mutual mistrust (Bankoff, 2004; Polack et al., 2010). The government therefore needs to invest in a constructive relationship, so their authority will not be questioned. This seems to be envisioned through the formalization of PWDs within certain

political frameworks. This ensures the legitimacy of the LGU towards PWDs, meanwhile it enables to steer the direction of their involvement.

The practical outcomes of this approach, range from passive towards functional type of participation. If PWDs participate in DRR in the first place, this is based on the predetermined laws and policies. So in this sense, PWDs comply to what is assigned to them, and have limited influence on what is going to happen. The degree to which they participate will be limited, as it is of little importance to the government to take their voices into account (Pretty, 1994). As long as participation of PWDs in DI-DRR is formulated on paper – and thus in accordance to international and national policy frameworks – the practical outcomes will be limited. Participation for them is thus more symbolic: although PWDs might be invited for DI-DRR activities, they are not expected to really speak up. So again, their participation will be more functional, as a means to meet predetermined goals.

2) A supportive approach of participation is visible in programs of Simon of Cyrene (SoC). Their overall aim is to capacitate PWDs to enjoy full participation and equal rights in Albay province, and the Philippine society in general. This is done by providing material and technical support on governmental- (LGU) and individual levels (PWDs). Material support includes among others the provision of relief goods to PWDs affected by natural hazards. In addition they give technical support such as training and seminars on DI-DRR at LGU level. They support already existing programs of the Local DRM Committees, meanwhile complementing this with expertise and knowledge on disability inclusion. The persisting capacities of the LGU are thus strengthened and they are encouraged to include PWDs in these Committees. As well, PWDs are formalized within DPO's to strengthen their voice as one, which enables them to advocate for their rights. The participation of PWDs in SoCs' activities, is mainly regarded as a means to strengthen PWDs' capacity to speak up, and stimulate them to undertake programs themselves. Showing these kind of good practices towards donors, increases their accountability and secures future donations. But because of this donor dependency, SoC might also become reluctant to share negative results (ALNAP, 2003).

How does this approach influence participations outcomes? The type of participation mainly observed within the relationship between SoC and the LGU is interactive: participation of PWDs result in the strengthening of local institutions, such as Local DRM Committees. The participation of PWDs within these Committees is regarded as a goal in itself. Self-mobilization, as ultimate type of participation, is envisioned within the relationship of SoC and the DPOs. Strengthening their capacities is key in terms of advocating for their rights and develop programs themselves (Pretty, 1994). However self-mobilizing participation brings up a dilemma, as in its extreme forms it can make SoC redundant. This dilemma is visible in the case of the Sagip Kapamilya resettlement village: SoC kind of needs this project in order to show good practices towards donors, which stimulates their accountability.

As can be read in this brief discussion, the typology of participation helps to explore the rationale behind participation. Pretty's typology of participation in turn contributes to identify how these motivations shape its practical outcomes. These different types of participation are embedded within complex power relations between the government, SoC and PWDs. This emphasizes that participation is in fact a social act that springs from social interactions and processes of power (Laderichi, 2001).

9.2 Foucault and participation

In this regard, Foucauldian governmentality helps to expand and deepen the understanding of participation and power in disaster context of the Philippines. Foucault's theory has been widely applied in disaster studies (e.g. Grove, 2014), it also has been related to theory on participation (e.g. Kulynych, 1997), and it is studied in relation to other 'vulnerable groups' such as children's participation (e.g. Gallagher, 2008). It is said to offer "a critical alternative to conventional narratives" of developments within these fields (Grove, 2014, p. 198). However it does not seem to be used yet to explore the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR, which poses a challenge to do so. It is beyond the scope of this research to elaborate on theories extensively, therefore only a brief introduction will be provided on Foucault's conceptualization of power as government. The notion of governmentality, and related concepts biopolitics and biopower, is drawn out as potential useful theoretical understanding of the practices of participation within the context of the Philippines, and most notably Albay province.

9.2.1 The conduct of others

Governmentality according to Foucault refers to an array of techniques – such as discourses, knowledge, rules and laws – that enables the exercise of power over a target population (Lim, 2011). This entails two main features: centralization of power trough administrative bureaucracy, and individualizing power in the form of biopolitics; the power to let live and make die (Oksala, 2008). In order to exert control, first specific demographic knowledge on the population is needed. Once this data is gathered, those in power can make decision on their lives. It can be determined whose lives are more worth of living than others, for example by looking into their profitability to the neo-liberal system (Death & Gabay, 2015). With the help of administrative institutions, the powerful can thus define who is vulnerable, making them subject to implement specific measures. However, by supporting only certain vulnerable populations, less care will be given to others: so you make life or let die (Cavanagh, 2014). The management and control over populations is named by Foucault as biopolitics, which refers to the existence of living populations as objects of political strategic interventions (Cavanagh, 2014). In reaction to these calculated efforts, the beliefs and practices of these populations become regulated. This is what Foucault (1982) phrases as the 'conduct of conduct', which means that subjects starts to define themselves as vulnerable as well: vulnerability becomes internalized. The powerful can thus guide the conduct of others, because this will be perceived as 'part of normal life'. In this regard biopolitics gives rice to the notion of biopower, which produces ideas and knowledge that are internalized in thoughts and behaviors of the subjects. As such, biopower renders life amenable "to calculatory programs of governmental intervention and control" (Grove, 2014, p. 199). This shows that there a dialect in power between the powerful and it subjects. An issue can be constructed as a problem that require government intervention, and thus become an opportunity to be solved (Lim, 2011). This can also be productive in the sense that is can produce changes in society and improve the life's of the population (Grove, 2014; Reid, 2013).

Applying this to the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR within the context of Albay, similar processes can be found. PWDs are generally labeled as vulnerable people who require protection, especially in times of disasters. By rendering PWDs into these labels, they are made suitable for specific interventions such as the Sagip Kapamilya resettlement village. This tendency of 'subjectification' is also visible within Albay in general, under the heading of 'building back better, elsewhere'. Certain geographical locations are appointed as vulnerable to natural hazards (such as the danger zone around Mayon

volcano), which allows the relocation of people and sometimes entire villages. A certain problem is thus identified, which legitimizes specific interventions. However, because of among others budget constraints, the special resettlement areas are not assigned to all. The Sagip Kapamilya village for instance is specifically designed for PWDs, meanwhile excluding a large group of the population. Similar process can be found in the distribution of relief goods that are only provided to PWDs. In this regard decisions are made – whether this is voluntary or not – which lives are metaphorically speaking 'made to live' and which are 'left to die'. This can create tensions between the ones made eligible for these programs and those who are not. In case of the resettlement village, development programs of SoC are confined within the village setting, while people residing outside the village need to take care for themselves. This can create inequalities between people living in the village and the residents around, possibly resulting in tensions between the two.

The case of Sagip Kapamilya village shows however a dialectical process of inclusion and exclusion: PWDs are included within the village, meanwhile they are excluded from the world outside. They can benefit from the services within the resettlement area, but at the same time their capabilities are deprived and liberties infringed as they become part of governmental policies. These processes are comparable to refugee camps, which are characterized by boundaries as well. Jansen (2015, p. 1) explains within his paper on "'Digging aid': the camp as an option in East and the Horn of Africa" that a camp suggest the notion of a demarcated area that disconnects what is inside from what is outside. Camps in this regard have been criticized for exactly the same inclusion and exclusion mechanisms as that of the resettlement village. Similarly like these camps, PWDs within the village are kept out from mainstream society, while serving the functionality of the program (Jansen, 2015). Nonetheless, within the same article, Jansen (ibid) nuances this idea of a camp as compounded area, by stating that people are often linked to its wider social-economic surroundings. In the case of Sagip Kapamilya by contrast, these linkages between PWDs within the village and their environment were limited. This can be attributed to for example practical geographical factors, such as the large distance between the village and urban areas. Following Foucault's reasoning, biopolitics offers an alternative explanation: PWDs, being labeled as subjects suitable for resettlement, start to define themselves as vulnerable as well. They are acting in accordance with their label, to comply with the ideas and notions of those in power. This might result in staying within the boundaries of the resettlement village, where they maintain the image of vulnerability. Acting conform the norm, makes them 'live worth of living'. In this way, PWDs' beliefs become regulated, so do their practices: the conduct of conduct.

9.2.2 The conduct of the self

What is left of agency if PWDs are rendered into numbers, regarded as biopolitical entities? Foucault (as cited in Gallagher, 2008) argues that the process of governmentality is not based upon the idea of dissolving agency, but rather on cultivating agency in specific ways. It is not about imposing the will of the powerful upon the subjects, instead there is a more subtle interplay between powers. Moreover, the subjects have power over themselves as well, which can be called agency (ibid). Burchell (1996, p. 20) therefore states that biopolitics is also about 'the conduct of the self': the self can also be constructed and modified by the self. Transposing this to the participation of PWDs in DRR, this provides some interesting insights. PWDs being labeled as vulnerable, are not necessarily deprived from their agency indeed. It might even be beneficial to be regarded as vulnerable, as it enables them to live within the resettlement village and enjoy the programs offered inside. Because PWDs can take

advantage of their vulnerability label, they are inclined to maintain this vulnerability image: in this regard they 'conduct themselves'.

Following similar line of thought, Gallagher (2008, p. 401) writes within his paper "Foucault, Power and Participation", that the notion of power as government contains a certain ambiguity: on the one hand, the powerful attempt to make subjects governed in such effective ways, so they can regulate their own conduct without the help of the powerful. On the other hand, the ability of the subject to conduct oneself, is the basis for one's own agency as well. It increases the ability to govern the self, making the powerful redundant since they have become independent actors (ibid). The same kind of ambiguity can be witnessed within the case of Albay: SoC (and other governmental agencies as well) aim to capacitate PWDs to become self-regulating subjects, whilst PWDs try to maintain their vulnerability which provides them a certain degree of agency. At the same time, SoC also benefits when PWDs do not become fully autonomous entities as it gives them legitimacy as well.

Gallagher (2008, p. 401), who applied Foucault's notion of power as governmentality to the participation of children, states that children are one of the most intensively governed groups within society. The same counts for PWDs, who are governed trough for example (mental-) health care programs, special education- and work programs, social skills- and livelihood trainings. Similarly, DI-DRR activities can be regarded as technology of governmentality. The participation of PWDs can also be conceptualized as a strategy to govern PWDs, of which its effectivity depends on PWDs' collaboration within the process. Equally Gallagher (2008, p. 402) states that this recognizes again the dependency of the powerful upon the agency of the subjects, such as PWDs. Because only when PWDs decide to comply with the programs of the powerful, they can achieve their aims. For example, Sagip Kapamilya resettlement village can only become a successful program of SoC, when PWDs living within the village comply to its rules and regulations and prevailing norms. To a certain degree PWDs maintain power to not be governed by, for example, resisting the village. This confirms what Gallagher (2008) states as well, that the notions of biopolitics and agency are in fact not the opposite of each other, but connected instead: the power of subjects and the power of the powerful are mutually dependent. Participation in this regard can be seen as a 'frontier' where these powers meet. The will of both actors, the powerful and subjects, can attempt to influence each other and redefine their relationship (ibid). Therefore Gallagher (2008, p. 402) concludes that "participation has the potential for both compliance and insubordination".

This research draws a similar conclusion on participation, but at the same time it argues that the PWDs' collaboration within this process are dependent on additional factors. Building upon the theory of Cornwall (2008) within his article "Unpacking 'Participation': models, meanings and practices", for PWDs to be able to participate, they need to initiate space themselves. This so called 'created space' are less marked by considerable power differences, as people have similar backgrounds and shared objectives. Being united within a group, such as DPOs, gives PWDs confidence to speak up. From these considerations, it is not surprising that PWDs prefer to live within Sagip Kapamilya resettlement village, even though this segregated community poses some challenges as well. Similar reasoning can be found in other disaster studies. For example, a research of Cobley (2013) in post-tsunami areas of South-India, reveal that PWDs liked to belong to 'disability self-help groups' – where they participated in livelihood projects among peers – rather than joining common livelihood support groups where they fear not to be heard. Similarly, dos Santos- Zingale & McColl (2006) found in post-conflict Sierra Leone that PWDs wished to live within segregated communities where they felt accepted and free to

participate within community activities. As Cobley (2015, p. 701) notes as well, this creates kind of a dilemma: international and national policy frameworks such as the Convention on the Rights of People with disabilities, as well as the Sendai framework on DRR and the Philippine Magna carta and National DRR Act, all call for PWDs' participation within mainstream society. Also SoC aims to include PWDs as part of a 'normal society'. Participation in this way is regarded as a means to ensure PWDs' inclusion. This is conform the international developments of the disability movement, who's discourse moved away from institutional segregation towards PWDs' integration in society (dos Santos-Zingale & McColl, 2006). However, this study indicates that PWD's agency seems to be enforced within a collective setting, contradicting general notions of inclusion.

10. Conclusion

This study looked into the interplay between practices and discourses of DI-DRR policies and activities in relation to perceptions and experiences on the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR. The focus was on the position of PWDs within the Philippine society, and their role in DI-DRR within Albay province in particular. It discussed the processes of participation, and the different social and political challenges of the various actors involved. As such, it described how institutions and policies on macro level relates to practical outcomes on micro level. Within this concluding chapter the main findings of the research will be presented, and an answer provided to the following research questions:

How is the participation of people with disabilities in DI-DRR operationalized within the Philippines, notably in Albay province, and what are its wider implications on the inclusion of people with disabilities in general?

- What is the social- cultural context in which the participation of people with disabilities in DI-DRR takes place?
- What does the multi- level institutional policy framework on DI-DRR look like, and how does its political dynamics influence DI-DRR practices?
- What DI-DRR practices can be found, and to what extent do they foster the inclusion of people with disabilities?
- What personal and environmental factors facilitate or hinder the participation of people with disabilities in DI-DRR?

Social- cultural context

The Philippines is highly prone to natural hazards, which have shaped society throughout history. Reoccurring hazards and constant disaster threats have become part of people's daily lives, giving rise to coping strategies such as fatalism and *bayanihan*. At the same time, their coping can be used by the government to withdraw their responsibility. Therefore it remains undisputed that natural hazards deprive people's economic situation, and that of PWDs specifically. It creates a 'vicious cycle' in which both poverty and disasters reinforce each other. Former governments eagerly took advantage of people's vulnerability: relief was used to foster political agendas and increase dependency on the political system. This resulted in major gaps in disaster management, giving rise to community-based disaster management initiatives. These initiatives in turn became increasingly institutionalized, and state agencies and Civil Society started to collaborate again. The decentralization of DRR created space for PWDs to participate in DRR activities, through Local DRR Committees. The formalization of PWDs as actors in disaster management is fostered by the changing approach from a Charity model towards a Right-based approach that acknowledges PWDs as right holders with individual capacities.

Institutional policy frameworks

Strides have been made on the inclusion of PWDs by international conventions and Philippines' national policies, at least on paper. Both on international- and national level, there is increased emphasis on the engagement and partnership of PWDs for successful DRR. The Philippines seems to be a great example on the development of DRR policy, and also regarding the inclusion of PWDs several steps forward have been taken: the disability community is formalized within Disabled People Organization's (DPO's) and various government bodies like the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). Legislative developments gave rise to the Disability Sector within the country

through which PWDs gained increased political agency. This is manifested through among others their membership in Local DRR Committees. These findings point towards the inclusion of PWDs as actors in DI-DRR policy, although practical outcomes continuously face some major challenges.

Philippine laws do not provide a clearly articulated framework on what participation constitutes, making it subject to interpretation differences and implementation difficulties. The continuity of inclusive programs is undermined due to high staff turnovers within the government, and a lack of legislative control. In addition, political seats can be held without significant experience, questioning the capacity to address disability issues. Moreover, the implementation of inclusive policies depends upon the strategy of the respective person in power: PWDs are prioritized or neglected in accordance to prevailing political agendas. The Local Autonomy Act aims to decrease the reliance of the LGU upon the national government, but their autonomy is undermined due to a lack of local recourses. This creates the risk of programs emanating from the national government instead of responding to local needs. The inclusion of PWDs cannot be guaranteed, as there is simply insufficient budget to address their concerns. Although a lack of funding can also be used to justify the absence of a disability focus. In addition, the Act results in a wide variety of DI-DRR actors, creating unclarity about tasks and responsibilities. Including PWDs in DI-DRR practices thus stems from both, political strategy (unwillingness) and necessity (inability). These results show that the Philippine institutional system undermines efficient DI-DRR on local level, such as in Albay province, since institutions have to deal with the administrative complexity brought about by the decentralized set up.

DI-DRR activities

The different pre- and post-disaster DI-DRR activities of Albay are: contingency plans; information education and communication programs; environmental protection measures; logistic arrangements; damage, loss and needs assessment; relief distribution, and; evacuation, relocation and livelihood. This study found that these activities are generally regarded as disability inclusive when information on PWDs is incorporated, accessibility facilitated, and when PWDs are present during DI-DRR activities. However, it was observed that the inclusion of PWDs within the DI-DRR activities of Albay remains limited in practice, due to among others, the following challenges:

- There is a general lack of (digitalized) data on PWDs within Contingency plans, and different designs and prioritizations of these plans among the LGU. Moreover, PWDs are often not invited during DRR activities within the community, and if they are, their participation remains limited and voices often remain unheard.
- Public transportation as well as official evacuation vehicles are often inaccessible for people with mobility impairments.
- The LGU frequently use different assessment tools, resulting in unequal and inadequate disaster responses. Due to donor accountability, these assessments become time consuming procedures that delays relief.
- 'Culture of speed' mentality, excuses the absence of a disability focus during emergency response. In addition, the dependency on external funding poses the challenge of 'earmarked donations': goods are supply driven instead of demand oriented. This makes it a challenge to meet the actual needs of the affected population. Moreover, there is a risk of unequal distribution of relief, since certain goods are only provided to PWDs while all are affected.
- Relocation and evacuation sites generally face accessibility problems. Sagip Kapamilya Simon of Cyrene resettlement village is specifically designed for PWDs affected by disasters. PWDs

(and their family members) are eligible to live in the village based on their vulnerability label. This study found that this labelling process can be beneficial for both parties: on the one hand it enables Simon of Cyrene (SoC) to develop 'successful programs' such as the village, which fosters their accountability towards donors. On the other hand, PWDs can take 'advantage' of their vulnerability label in order to become entitled to live in the village. This shows that PWDs have agency to shape the labelling process to their own benefits

Facilitators and barriers

Environmental factors that both facilitate and hinder the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR, encompasses: attitudes and knowledge; natural and build environment, and; rules and regulation. This study found that attitudes towards PWDs are changing positively: PWDs' capacities and potential role in DRR are increasingly acknowledged. This facilitates their participation in DI-DRR, since it is more likely that space will be created to speak up and that their voices are taken seriously. This increases PWDs' willingness to participate and confidence to express themselves. Knowledge can be a facilitating factor in this regard, as increased knowledge on PWDs' capabilities changes attitudes positively. The natural environment mainly seems to hinder the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR due to its mountainous terrain and high number of typhoons. The build environment forms a major barrier as well, as buildings are often inaccessible for people with physical impairments. Rules and regulations form the foundations to remove these barriers, but due to bad enforcements they do not always facilitate the inclusion of PWDs in society

Personal factors involve: resources; self-esteem, and; social capital. This study found that these factors mainly hinder the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR. A lack of resources and time form major barriers to participate: PWDs often lack money to cover travel expenses, and their workload is too heavy to also take up responsibilities in DI-DRR. Personal economic activities often gain priority over attending DI-DRR activities. The costs of participation does not simply outweigh its benefits. In addition, it was found that PWDs often have low self-esteem, which can make them decide not to participate. In this regard, participation works best within space created by PWDs themselves instead of through invitation by SoC, the government or other DI-DRR actors. Related is the notion of social capital, which fosters the participation of PWDs in DRR: acting in a group with common backgrounds and similar interests gives confidence to speak up.

Participation and inclusion

The findings of this study point towards a considerable gap between DI-DRR policy and practice. Although there is a shift towards inclusive approaches within international and national policy frameworks, the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR within Albay province remains limited in practice. This is the result of contextual features of the Philippines: a generally poor and disaster prone environment where PWDs continuously face challenges of participation due to persisting barriers (Cobley, 2015). But above all, this research showed that the rationale behind participation shapes its practical outcomes. Governmental actors in Albay regard participation as a means to an end, while SoC and PWDs by contrast envision it as an end in itself. Moreover, it seems like it is in the interest of all these parties that participation remains limited, as it legitimizes their position in society. This implies that inclusive policies do not automatically lead to more participation of PWDs, nor do participation practices automatically lead to a more inclusive society. Still, it should be emphasized that this does

not undermine the agency of PWDs. In fact, PWDs are powerful actors who can influence the practical outcomes of DI-DRR policies.

This study reflects a considerable ambiguity towards the inclusion of PWDs in DI-DRR within the Philippines, and society in general. Over the past decades, disability movements have shifted towards inclusive approaches: from segregating PWDs within institutions towards integration of PWDs in society (Santos-Zingale & McColl, 2006). This study found a similar discourse within the Philippines, where inclusive policies demand for PWDs' participation in mainstream society. Also SoC aims to include PWDs as a part of 'normal society', and regards participation as a means to achieve this objective. PWDs themselves by contrast, seem to hold a contradicting notion of inclusion: they prefer to reside within a separate group holding similar backgrounds. This dilemma closely relates to the case of Sagip Kapamilya resettlement village, specifically designed for PWDs, where a dialectical process of inclusion and exclusion in relation to DI-DRR was observed. The village aims to foster inclusion of PWDs in society, while in fact PWDs are excluded from the outside world. Moreover, PWDs benefit from the services provided within the village, creating an unequal relationship with their surroundings. This raises the question who defines what an inclusive society constitutes. According to this study, there are various definitions adopted by different actors such as DI-DRR policy makers, practitioners and beneficiaries. Therefore, it seems like there is not one ideal of inclusion, nor one way to participate. This leads to the somewhat disappointing conclusion that the ideal of inclusion cannot be achieved, as it is simply non existing and not aspired by everyone.

11. Research reflections

The final research questions are the outcome of adaption process shaped by the fieldwork. Changes were needed because local realties appeared different than expected beforehand. Some issues became less relevant, while others became more important. The most major change has been the shift in focus, from solely PWDs as participants towards various actors involved in DI-DRR. By taking into account their different perceptions on participation, the researched became more comprehensive and created a more holistic view on the topic. The theory on participation, approaches and typology, helped to understand the various degrees of participation in the early stage of the research. But as the researched proceeded, this theory proved to be somewhat static. It was hard to translate the theory into understandable interview questions, and it was challenging to apply within a discussion. The theory seemed to function as a strategic tool for policy development, rather than for analyzing participation practices. An issue that became more important within the analyzing phase, was the notion of 'building back better, elsewhere', illustrated by the case of Sagip Kapamilya resettlement village. It appeared to be a clear example of how PWDs are labelled as vulnerable, making them objects of program implementation, and thereby creating legitimacy of Simon of Cyrene (SoC). The village is also an example of how PWDs can use the image of vulnerability to their own benefits. Looking into this case, made me decide to focus more on the theory of Foucault. His theory became central in discussing the relation between participation and power.

11.1 Research methods

The challenges of conducting research, partially had to do with the research methods. During the interviews I deliberately chose not to make use of a translator. English is the second language in the Philippines (Tagalog the first), taught at school and sometimes used among local people themselves. Using a translator poses several ethical limitations to the research. For example, it can bring the independency of the researcher into question, cause misunderstandings or even loss of valuable data. Although most participants were able to express themselves in English, sometimes there were problems understanding each other. I had to reformulate interview questions several times so I ended up asking something different than intended in the first place. As well, the answers people provided did not always correspond to the questions. It consumed a lot of time and energy to understand each other well, and sometimes I returned home without being sure whether we had truly understood another. In several cases the one accompanying me to the field, mostly from Simon of Cyrene (SoC), spontaneously acted as a translator. This helped me understanding the respondent better, although I am not sure how detailed their translations were. Sometimes it seemed more like a summary than exact reflections of what people said. Moreover it is possible that their presence, as being connected to SoC, pressured the respondent to give favorable answers. Therefore I tried to go to the field alone as much as possible. Looking back, it would have been helpful to do a language course in advance. This would have helped me to understand the participants better. At the same time it probably contributed to build a trust relationship, as it shows willingness to adapt to the local context.

Another challenge I faced during the interviews relates to the understanding of the interview topic. Mason (2002) states that interviewing is a method to understand people's perceptions on a certain topic, which can be (re-)constructed during interviews. This implies that a successful interview "is heavily dependent on the capacities of people to verbalize, interact, conceptualize and remember" (ibid, p.64). I noticed this process when interviewing people about participation in DI-DRR activities.

Trying to make them explain about their participation, did not produce many concrete answers. Discussing this issue with SoC gave me the idea of translating certain words in the local language, and providing some examples. However, by doing so, I took the risk of influencing their answers as well. This struggle proves once more that participation is a concept hard to grasp. Observing DI-DRR activities would have helped me to gather complementary information on how participation comes about in practice. However, since the research took place around New Year, most municipalities were occupied with other activities such as Christmas. I would consider this as a limitation of the research because these observations could have provided great insights in the participation of PWDs in DI-DRR.

11.2 Researcher positionality

Barakat & Ellis (1996) state that roles can raise certain expectations among participants. Although this is almost unavoidable, it can be limited by clarifying the research agenda (ibid). In the Philippines I had similar experiences by occupying different roles such as a student, researcher and doing fieldwork in collaboration with SoC. SoC functioned as a gatekeeper who provided access to the field. At the start of the research they often arranged appointments, which unintendedly made participants think I was working for SoC. Therefore I always started the interviews by clarifying that I conducted independent research, not in favour of the NGO. By doing so, I hopefully solved possible misunderstandings about my research position. Related is the challenge of conducting research in collaboration with a host organization. Being connected to SoC might have influenced my impartiality as a researcher. It is possible that participants gave information in favour of the organization or told me things they think a researcher wants to hear (Barakat & Ellis, 1996). I therefore tried to remain conscious about the initial research objectives and balanced this with the expectations of the organization. To remain as impartial as possible, I gathered information from different sources (e.g. through different research methods) and over a longer period of time, so information could be checked (e.g. by interviewing people twice).

Considering my position as a researcher, I think it is important to reflect on my living condition as well. During the research in Albay I stayed with the president of SoC. This was a very safe environment in which I experienced a lot of freedom to move around. However, I did not live with PWDs themselves. Doing research meant for me: going to the field to talk with people, and going back home. So I was not really able to observe the everyday difficulties PWDs encountered. I was kind of an outsider that stepped into their lives, asking questions and went home again. Although I have not experienced any negative attitudes towards my research (people were very much willing to spend time with me and share their stories), I experienced an internal conflict myself: 'How can I become an insider when I am obviously an outsider'? At the same time, it made me realize that remaining an outsider avoids a bias from the research area on my position as a researcher. So I regard it as both, a positive and negative consequence of my living condition. Nevertheless, this position forced me to come up with questions on the spot (besides using a topic list) which was not always easy. It created limited time to reflect, since I only spend time with the participants during the interviews. I tried to tackle this by going back to the same research location, and speak several times with some people.

A last limitation relates to the research context of the Philippines. Working in a disaster prone area brings the possibility of unexpected events that influences the research. This is exactly what happened while I was doing research in Albay. During Christmas 2016, typhoon Nina made landfall in Bicol, hitting my location of interest the hardest. Goodhand (2002) notes that if a disaster strikes at the moment the research is unfinished, it is possible that changes need to be made in relation to the research

methods. As well, it might influence the role as a researcher that brings about ethical dilemmas. However, he emphasizes that a crisis is not necessarily the dominant feature in people's lives, there can be continuations of normality that enables the researcher to continue its research (ibid). With some adaptations, research can thus still be possible in such conditions, and can evens open a window of opportunity for a researcher. In my situation it created the opportunity to help with relief distribution within the affected areas. This allowed me to experience disaster response activities from first-hand. However, I was confronted with another internal conflict related to my role as a researcher: 'Do I continue research while (affected) people wait for goods to be distributed, or do I help with the distributing of the goods myself'? Choosing for the first made me feel like a 'disaster tourist' (especially when also taking photos of the people), choosing for the second created an image of being the Good Samaritan (people personally thanked me for the relief goods). Neither of them felt good. It tried to keep low profile and observe the activities from a distance. Nevertheless, I decided to not come along with another relief operation.

11.3 Recommendations and future research

Based on the findings of this research, I believe that increased attention should be paid to bridge the gap between DI-DRR policy and practice. General debates should shift their focus from developing disability inclusive policies towards enhancing DI-DRR practices. Since this study highlights the importance of the rationale behind participation, it is important that different notions of inclusion and participation are taken into consideration. Accessible space for dialogue can be created, to adequately capture and exchange the various meanings of inclusion and participation held by policy makers, practitioners and beneficiaries. Increased engagement with realities on the ground, will possibly congregate in a realistic ideal of inclusion, aspired by all actors. I believe that this is realistic under the condition that challenges of inclusion in DRR activities –as discussed within this study– are addressed, and persisting environmental and personal participation barriers of PWDs removed. In this regard, I consider it as important to build upon PWDs' existing agency and strengthen their capacity to become strong advocates for DI-DRR. This could enable them to transform passive participation into active engagement, to the extent that PWDs can turn their voice into action.

Several areas for further research arises from the research reflections described above: Firstly, as this study is mainly based on interview data, it can be valuable to complement this research with more observations of DI-DRR activities. This can help to compare and verify interview data to realities of participation on the ground. Secondly, it would be interesting to conduct more extensive research on the Sagip Kapamilya resettlement village through ethnographic methods, for example by living with PWDs in the village and come along with activities inside and outside the resettlement area. This can provide more insights into underlying process of power in relation to inclusion and participation of PWDs in DI-DRR. The scope can be broadened to the wide variety of resettlement areas within Albay. It can make a valuable contribution to the whole DI-DRR debate and policies, and move beyond obstacles of inclusion and participation PWDs continuously face today.

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Annex I: List of participants

Respondent Code	Interviews (37)	Observations (4)	Focus Group Discussions (2)
Staff Handicap International			
HI1	X		
HI2	X		
HI3	X		
HI4	X		
Staff Simon of Cyrene			
SoC1	X		
SoC2	X		
SoC3	X		
SoC4	X		
Release Freedom vehicle			
OB1		X	
People with disabilities and/or their parents			
PWD1	X		
PWD2	X		
PWD3	X		
PWD4	X		
PWD5	X		
PWD6	X		
FGD1			X
FGD2			X
President Disabled People's Organization			
DPO1	X		
DPO2	X		
DPO3	X		
DPO4	X		
DPO5	X		
DPO6	X		
Household visits PWDs			
OB2		X	
Persons with Disabilities Affairs Officers			
PDAO1	X		
PDAO2	X		
PDAO3	X		
PDAO4	X		
Disaster Risk Reduction Officer			
DRRO1	X		
DRRO2	X		
DRRO3	X		
DRRO4	X		

DRRO5	X		
DRRO6	X		
DRRO7	X		
Fire- Earthquake Drill			
OB3		X	
Barangay Captain			
BC1	X		
BC2	X		
Department of Social Welfare and Development Officer			
DSWD1	X		
DSWD2	X		
DSWD3	X		
DSWD4	X		
Relief distribution Typhoon Nina			
OB4		X	

Annex II: Topic list

General background

1. Personal formation:
    a. Name
    b. Organization/ Office
    c. Function
    d. Tasks

Disabled people

2. What is the definition of PWDs (Intellectual versus Physical)?
3. What is the general attitude towards PWDs?
    i. Difference in intellectual versus physical disability?
    ii. What influences this view (e.g. culture, religion)?
4. What kind of institutions and laws are there that aim to improve the position of PWDs?
    a. Are these laws enforced, and by whom?
    b. If yes or no, what is the reason for that?
5. What are disabled people's capacities and vulnerabilities during disasters?
    a. What is needed to reduce their vulnerabilities and strengthen these capacities?
    b. From whom is this needed (National, regional, local actors)?
    c. What makes PWDs (more-)vulnerable during disasters?

Natural Disasters

6. What kind of natural hazards are occurring in this area?
    a. Frequency / Period / Duration / Impact?
7. How are the people informed when there is a natural hazard coming?
    a. How do PWDs receive information?
8. How does these hazards impact the lives of PWDs?
    a. Is this impact different compared to other ("normal") citizens?
    b. Can you give an example of past hazard and its impacts?
    c. What factors influence this impact?
        i. What is needed to reduce the impact?
9. Which organization is responsible for disaster preparedness and response (coordination)?
    a. What kind of collaboration takes places between what kind of different institutions?
    b. What is the role of PWDs in this regard?

(Disability Inclusive-)DDR

10. What kind of DRR activities are performed?
    a. Long versus short term activities?
    b. At different levels of DRR in the Philippines (National, regional, local)?
11. In what ways are current DRR activities inclusive for PWDs?
    a. What does it make (not) inclusive?
        i. What hinders the participation of PWDs (barriers)?
        ii. What fosters the participation of PWDs(facilitators)?

b. Who advocates for the inclusion of PWDs, and how?

12. What is the (ultimate-) goal of PWDs' participation in DRR?
    a. What is needed to achieve this?
    b. What does successful DI-DRR involve?
    c. What is needed to make DRR (more) inclusive?
        i. From whom (National, regional, local)?

Participation

13. What does participation mean to you?
    a. How does participation in DRR look like in practice? – example
    b. How is their knowledge/ experiences shared?
    c. Who initiates the participation of PWDs?
    d. Who sets the goals of DRR meetings?
    e. Who defines problems and solutions in e.g. DRR plans?
    f. How are decisions made? – through what kind of process ?
    g. What are incentives of participation?
    h. How are different perspectives taken into account?

> People with disabilities → PWDs/or family members, DPO or PDAO

General background

14. Personal formation:
    a. Name
    b. Household composition
    c. Form of disability: intellectual versus physical disability?
        i. Where you born with this impairment?
        ii. If not, how did it change your life (social, economic)?
        iii. Did you notice a difference in how people perceive you before/ after your impairment? (Different levels: family, community, society)
    d. What is the general attitude towards PWDs?
        i. Different levels: family, community, society in general?
    e. What makes you feel like being part of the community?

15. Are you member of a federation or organization specifically for PWDs?
    a. In what ways do you collaborate with this organization?
    b. How do you consider your involvement? – sufficient yes/no
    c. What can be improved?
    d. Does this collaboration influence you position in family, community or society?

Natural Disasters

16. With what kind(s) of natural hazards do you have to deal?
17. Did you ever experienced a natural hazard?
    a. How do you prepare for and respond to a disaster?
        i. Household preparations?
        ii. Evacuation plans?
        iii. Early warning system?
        iv. Example of these experiences?
        v. From who do you get help during these experiences?
    b. By whom and how are you informed when there is a natural hazard coming?

18. How do you consider your own position during/after natural hazards?
    a. What skills are needed for disaster preparedness and response?
    b. What do you consider as your strengths and weakness in this?
    c. What is needed to improve strengths and to reduce weakness?

(Inclusive) DRR

19. Do you get any help from others to prepare/ recover from a natural hazard?
    a. What kind of help?
    b. What can be improved in this help?
20. In what ways are you involved/participating in DRR activities?
    a. What form(s) of collaboration takes place, with whom?
        i. What fosters / hinders this collaboration?
        ii. What do consider as the added value of the collaboration?
    b. What do you consider as your contribution in DRR?
        i. What kind of knowledge (and/or practical help) do you transfer to others?
        ii. Why is your involvement important (or not)?
    c. How can this collaboration be improved?
    d. Does this collaboration influence your position in your family/friends, community, society? - Why or why not?
21. How would the ideal form of collaboration look like?

Participation

22. What is the first thing that comes to mind when hearing the term participation?
    a. What do you think participation is about?
    b. What is important/ needed for effective participation?
    c. Do you initiate participation yourself? – who invited you in the meeting?
23. To what extend do you feel like your voice is being heard?
    a. Do you feel like you can influence DRR activities?
    b. Do you feel like you can decide about the problem/solution definition?
    c. Do you feel like your view is taken into account? – that people listen to you?
    d. To what extent do you feel like you are in control?
24. How do you share your knowledge on DRR?
    a. Do you feel that you learn or that others learn from you?
    b. How are decisions made during meetings?
    c. What is your incentive to participate? – motivation?
25. What is ultimate goal of participation?

Annex III: Typology of participation

Table based on Cornwall, 2008, p. 272; Pretty, 1994, p. 41.

Type of participation	Features of each type
Passive Participation	People participate in the sense that they are being told what is going to happen or has already happened. It involves unilateral announcements by e.g. the project manager without taking local voices into account. The information is only shared among external professionals.
Participation in Information Giving	Participation of people takes form of answering questions posed by external researchers. The outcome of the research is not shared, making it impossible for people to influence any proceedings.
Participation by Consultation	People participate through consultation in the form of questionnaires. External stakeholders define both, the problem and solutions without the consultation of beneficiaries in final decision making. There is no obligation to take their views into account.
Participation for Material Incentives	People participate by resource provision like labor in exchange for goods like food. They are not involved in learning processes or experimentations. Nor are they involved in prolonged projects when incentives end.
Functional Participation	Participation of mainly groups of people, is regarded by external agencies as a means to achieve predetermined project goals. It mostly occurs at the last phase of a project cycle, when major decisions already have been made. Such engagement can be interactive and involves shared decision-making.
Interactive Participation	People participate in a joint analysis which can result in the development of action plans and the formation or strengthening of local institutions. Participation is regarded as a goal, not means to achieve a project goal. It involves interdisciplinary methodologies to incorporate different perspectives and stimulate mutual learning. The people have control over local decisions and determine the use of available resources.
Self-Mobilization	Participation of people is initiated by themselves, independently from external organizations. In order to change systems they develop external contacts for resources and technical advice but remain in control themselves. This self-initiated form of mobilization, can possibly change existing power relations and inequalities.