Christian Aid in the Philippines: Building climate resilience and strengthening civil society

An exit learning review

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Research & Evidence

Former and present Christian Aid Philippines staff at an event in November 2019.

Christian Aid exists to create a world where everyone can live a full life, free from poverty. We are a global movement of people, churches and local organisations who passionately champion dignity, equality and justice worldwide. We are the changemakers, the peacemakers, the mighty of heart.

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List of abbreviations, acronyms and partner organisations cited in the report

APEC	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation
ATM	Alyansa Tigil Mina
BDRC	Building Disaster Resilient Communities
CAPHL	Christian Aid Philippines
CSO	Civil society organisation
CODE	Caucus of Development NGO Networks
DRR	Disaster risk reduction
DRRNet	Developing the network
FBO:PH	Faith-based Organisations: Philippines
ICODE	Iloilo Caucus of Development NGOs (regional branch of CODE)
ICSC	Institute for Climate and Sustainable Cities
INGO	International non-governmental organisation
LRC	Legal Resources Center
NRC	National Resilience Council
NCCP	National Council of Churches of the Philippines
OCHA	United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs
R1	Rice Watch Action Network
SURGE	Scaling up Resilience in Governance
TSC	Transforming Surge Capacity
UPA	Urban Poor Associates
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
ZOTO	Zone One Tondo Organisation

Executive summary

In 2020, Christian Aid Philippines (CAPHL) closed, as part of a wider restructure of Christian Aid. This review seeks to celebrate the work of the programme, and capture learning to share with partners, other Christian Aid programmes, and the development sector. It is one of a series of reviews (covering Angola, Brazil, Ghana and South Africa) published on the research, evidence and learning section of Christian Aid's website.

Christian Aid has worked with partners in the Philippines for around 60 years. Although the programme has evolved, strengthening the capacity and amplifying the voice of partners, and protecting civil society space has always been at its core.

This review focuses on the work of CAPHL and partners in developing thinking and practice on climate resilience and localisation. It reflects on how the work evolved from a focus on disaster risk reduction, to include wider thinking on climate change adaptation and resilience. It also introduces CAPHL's focus on a 'whole-of-society' approach to climate change, which encouraged the organisation to focus on three types of connections:

- Working horizontally across sectors to encourage strong links between government, civil society, private sector and local communities to address risk and reduce vulnerability in a practical way and rebalance power.

- Working vertically, linking local to national levels, helped ensure grassroots knowledge, experiences and perspectives influenced debate and national policy (and also regional and global policies).

- Working across discourses and practice, linking disaster risk reduction to climate change adaptation, rights to economic justice and social justice, and connecting technical and local knowledge.

This meant that CAPHL worked with some 'unusual' development actors, including academics, the private sector and a range of people's organisations and social movements.

The Philippines is one of the most climate-vulnerable and disaster-prone countries in the world. In 2013 the Super-Typhoon Haiyan hit the archipelago causing immense damage and loss of life. CAPHL and partners became part of the emergency response, causing the organisations to shift their focus from disaster risk reduction to response. This impacted on the way CAPHL worked, and brought the organisation into the humanitarian sector, leading to extensive reflection, analysis and national-level debates on humanitarian localisation, and the role of international and national partners in this process.

The evolution of thinking and practice on locally led humanitarian action forms the second section of the review, with a particular focus on how CAPHL shaped the narrative within the Philippines and built capacity nationally to position civil society to deliver the localisation agenda. A key aspect of this was to encourage the three major Christian councils to collaborate nationally and locally in the humanitarian response to Typhoon Haiyan.

The final part of the review steps back from the climate resilience and localisation experiences to look more broadly at how CAPHL contributed to strengthening an already strong and diverse local civil society in the Philippines, within an increasingly restrictive political space.

Although the organisation does not claim to have transformed civil society generally, representatives from a set of social movements that Christian Aid partnered with argued that CAPHL had strengthened the climate justice space: through convening networks, brokering relationships, sharing technical expertise and bringing actors into new and different spaces.

Closing a country programme and leaving a country is never an easy process, and all partners who participated in the review processes shared their sadness at the closure of CAPHL. However, they were also keen to celebrate the achievements delivered together, with many identifying how CAPHL had been central to their own organisational development and ability to face the challenges laying ahead.

Introduction

The learning review aims to answer three questions:

1. How did CAPHL's resilience work evolve and adapt in different contexts, with what types of impact?

2. How and why has CAPHL evolved its work on localisation, what did it achieve, and what lessons can be learned?

3. How has CAPHL contributed to strengthening civil society in the Philippines, and what can be learned about partnership approaches?

These three questions only cover part of CAPHL's long and proud history of work.

We could have focused the review on exploring how CAPHL has collaborated with partners such as PhilNet, Focus on the Global South, Action for Economic Reforms, Social Watch, Phil Rights, and Legal Resources Center (LRC) on issues related to improving economic and political justice and making participatory and inclusive governance a reality in different parts of the country.

However, we agreed it was important to limit the number of themes explored in order to capture the complexity of learning and focus in greater depth on the issues that had been worked on most recently as part of this broader history of work.

The first section of the report discusses how CAPHL evolved its work on disaster risk reduction and climate resilience using a 'whole-of-society' approach. The second section examines the changes to the programme triggered by Typhoon Haiyan, and the emergence of localisation as a new term in the narrative of humanitarian policy and practice. The third section looks across the whole programme to reflect on CAPHL's approach to partnership. The final section reflects briefly on the lessons that can be taken from CAPHL's approach to partnership and programming and applied to future practice.

Methodology

Although the main purpose of the review was to document learning to be shared with others, we also felt it was important to create space for those involved to critically reflect on their experiences and learn from their practice. This influenced the review design as we wanted to ensure that partners were given the opportunity to reflect on their history and evolution, and collectively consider how past experience presented opportunities for future practice.

This meant that focus group discussions were the main method used to gather information. Four focus group discussions were held with:

- Partners working on climate resilience
- Partners working on advocacy and movements that CAPHL had helped catalyse
- National Christian platforms, and
- CAPHL staff.

The focus group discussions all followed a similar process: we carried out a participatory mapping of the evolution of the work and identified key moments that were important in how the partnerships shifted and changed – in response to changes in the local and national contexts, and organisational priorities and dynamics. Partners also reflected on the role of CAPHL in relation to their own development, and what they had learned through the partnership while CAPHL staff reflected on their own learning and development through their engagement with partners.

These focus group discussions were supplemented by 13 semi-structured interviews with key stakeholders in Manila, and one visit to Iloilo, which included meetings with a local partner (ICODE – a network of development organisations working across the small islands of the Visayas), the local government unit, and members of a community where CAPHL had brokered the development of a community garden project. The extensive documentation produced by and about CAPHL was also reviewed.

CAPHL officially closed at the end of March 2020, a few weeks after I visited the Philippines. This meant that the report was completed after the country office closed. Although the ex-country manager and two Christian Aid staff were able to provide feedback on the draft report, we were not able to check specific quotes with all those who participated in the review, or to share the draft report with them. For this reason we have anonymised partner quotes throughout the report, although we have indicated what type of organisation the individual belonged to.

1. Christian Aid Philippines: the context

The Philippines is one of the most climate-vulnerable and disaster-prone countries in the world, regularly experiencing disasters ranging from earthquakes and conflict to climate-related events such as destructive typhoons, floods and drought. The day I was supposed to land in the Philippines to carry out interviews for this review, Taal Volcano erupted, leading to over 500,000 people being displaced, some never to return to their homes.

Two days later, when I arrived in the Christian Aid Philippines (CAPHL) office, staff were looking at the Facebook page of other international non-governmental organisations (INGOs). They critiqued the way the disaster was being communicated, with INGO brands placed front and centre, which ran counter to CAPHL's approach. This was also reflected in an internal Christian Aid document, which described Christian Aid Philippines as a 'backstage and a connector … [whereas] other INGOs 'cherry pick' high-profile activities of partners and brand the work as theirs.'[1] Given CAPHL's imminent closure, it was not becoming involved in the response; but it was hard to sit by in the face of such a disaster. Christian Aid had worked with and in the Philippines for around 60 years, and although the programme had evolved, strengthening the capacity and amplifying the voice of partners, and protecting civil society space had always been at its core:

> I've worked with a lot of INGOs, and Christian Aid values the partnership most. They do not just consult partners as part of the programme; the partners *are* the programme. (Former CAPHL member of staff)

Watching the unfolding Taal Volcano response was challenging. Would the response to this humanitarian disaster be yet another example of INGO staff being parachuted in, poaching the staff of Filipino organisations and undermining their role as local humanitarian actors? Or would the localisation agenda, which CAPHL had been so active in encouraging, result in a stronger national response – led by local civil society in collaboration with government?

The following day we visited Mark Bidder, the head of the United Nations Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) in Manila. He reflected on:

> The humble way you [Christian Aid] work. You are not seeking profile or visibility; you work quietly in the background, convening, influencing and taking on risk. And this has been critical in moving forwards the localisation agenda.

Listening to this praise of Christian Aid's work was uplifting; but I had come to the Philippines to learn. Was that going to be possible, I wondered, or was everyone just going to tell me what they thought I wanted to hear? Mark went on to describe in detail what CAPHL had done: helping humanitarian actors to 'flip upside-down' the top-down global discussion of localisation, giving it meaning in the Philippines; encouraging OCHA to become more inclusive by ensuring that space was available for local partners on the national Humanitarian Coordination Team; driving the set-up of a coordination mechanism for joint emergency fundraising that ensured the flow of funds to local actors. And it became clear that his praise was based on a set of strategic contributions that Christian Aid had made.

> Other international organisations are registering to become local entities, but they didn't emerge from within the Philippines. Christian Aid is respecting, listening, supporting civil society here, not undermining, competing or absorbing it for the future. The international humanitarian system has been built by people like me. If we just register to become local entities we are moving the deck chairs around, that's all. If the Grand Bargain[2] commitments are to mean anything, we need what Christian Aid has been doing.

Hearing such positive feedback about a civil society organisation (CSO) from a UN official I next wanted to find out how and why CAPHL had come to be so influential, and what it had learned during the process.

Over the next week I met CAPHL partners past and present, who told me their organisational stories and how they had experienced partnership with CAPHL. They included those from civil society, academia, government and the private sector; working in different areas of work, in different ways, with different types of expertise; focusing locally, nationally and internationally. For all their diversity, their feelings about partnership with CAPHL were similar:

> A shooting star – what you see of the star might be short lived, but it is still there, moving on even if you can't see it. And stars give you hope.

> CAPHL is like fertiliser, nourishing us with wisdom. Because of CAPHL, we were able to bloom where we were planted.

In 2016, 30 years after the 'People Power' revolt against the dictatorship of President Ferdinand Marcos, populist leader Rodrigo Duterte was elected President of the Philippines. Civil society was initially split over its support for Duterte, with some hoping

that his presidency would focus on corruption, poverty and inequality. Sustainable development, prosperity and the realisation of human rights for all had remained a dream rather than a reality in the previous era, despite the introduction of democratic institutions, and there was hope among some that Duterte's election may change this. But by early 2020, his leadership had resulted in numerous extrajudicial killings in the name of the war on drugs;[3] increasing authoritarian rule; and reduced freedom of speech, reflected in direct attacks on the media and civil society organisations.[4]

As an outsider, new to the Philippines, I was struck by two contradictions.

Firstly, the system of democratic governance that had emerged in the post-Marcos era was designed to be decentralised, inclusive and participatory. Spaces for citizen and civil society participation were formalised; the focus of much of CAPHL's work in this era reflected the possibilities offered for civil society engagement both in governance and in strengthening the capacity of government. Many of those I met had come of age towards the end of the Marcos era; they had politics and activism in their bones. As individuals they were deeply analytical, astute, passionate and committed to social justice, dedicated

to challenging rights abuses and inequality. But these social movement activists were now questioning whether or not they had managed to reflect properly on the new political and operational context, which included the murders of environmental activists[5] and allegations that humanitarian organisations were fronts for communism.[6] They were struggling to understand what this meant for their practice.

Secondly, the Philippines is a middle-income country beset by inequality and poverty. In the capital, Metro Manila, there are huge malls full of shops with designer labels; just next door, there are shacks with corrugated iron roofs, housing people living in deep insecurity with their rights to land, services and livelihoods constantly threatened. Beyond Manila and other cities, in rural areas and across the small islands, pockets of deep poverty remain. However, while this level of inequality – exacerbated by the country's status as one of the top 10 countries in the world most at risk from climate change[7] – suggests a deep need for social transformation, the country's middle-income status has made it challenging for INGOs to raise funds and deliver programmes.

These contradictory tensions and realities had shaped the evolution of CAPHL's programme (see box below).

CAPHL: the history and roots of partnership

Christian Aid has supported work in the Philippines since the late 1960s, when it funded projects sanctioned by the National Council of Churches of the Philippines (NCCP). This included, for example, supporting the community organisation Zone One Tondo Organisation (ZOTO) in its work organising urban slum dwellers, protecting their right to housing in the face of bulldozers, and taking direct action to encourage the government to respond to their needs.

By the period of martial law in the mid-1970s, church partners had become politicised, and Christian Aid supported initiatives through the NCCP and others to address human rights abuses. There was inter-faith work involving Muslims and Christians, informal and trade union education; and work to raise awareness of rights abuses in the extractives sector. This work was driven by church solidarity, and practical help at a time of national crisis, rather than being driven by an organisational strategy.

> My first visit to the Philippines was in 1978. The NCCP took primary responsibility for my programme and I was able to spend time meeting with their human rights staff and visiting community organisation programmes such as ZOTO…. I met Ed de la Torre (a Catholic priest) who was later detained and Karl Gaspar (a close colleague) to discuss the theology that was emerging from the grassroots. They talked about a theology of struggle and I learned that they were in the vanguard of this for the Philippines… As a result of this visit, I began talking with friends at the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development and the Catholic Institute for International Relations about whether we could create a Philippine Ecumenical Network (PEN) in the UK to be in solidarity with our church colleagues and partners in the Philippines. We launched this in the early 1980s, not long after my second visit in 1982. (Jack Arthey, former Christian Aid staff member, written reflections)

It was not until much later, after the end of martial law, that CAPHL became a distinct entity, operating as a country programme with a strategy. This reflected wider organisational shifts in Christian Aid – including a clearly articulated position (called 'To Strengthen the Poor') to guide the organisation's practice across the world, which,

in turn, led to an international campaign on third world debt. This, together with the possibilities presented by the post-Marcos era, sharpened an increasing focus on economic justice and governmental accountability in the Philippines. The period set the tone and approach, which subsequently shaped CAPHL's partnership work until the closure of the programme.

> [We had] individual discussions with current partners, [and] we also organised three partner consultations in different parts of the Philippines (Manila, Davao and Cebu) so that they could discuss 'To Strengthen the Poor' together, make proposals about future programme priorities, share ideas about which other organisations should be in partnership with us and suggest our future ways of working… Common ground amongst the partners was found in the area of accountable national and local governance. I think the programme embodied the best of both partnership and solidarity. Both parties to the partnership demonstrated unity about our common interests and offered each other the mutual support for both to feel successful. (Jack Arthey, former Christian Aid staff member, written reflections)

The country programme strategy, agreed in 1996, laid the foundations for CAPHL's next decade of work, and Christian Aid finally opened an office in the Philippines in 2000. Reflecting on this time a former staff member noted that Christian Aid aimed to provide core funding and build the capacity of partners working in the highest risk areas:

> We didn't have any complicated formula; it was very simple: Christian Aid's prophetic role is to be where help is needed the most… We were looking for partners that needed capacity development and accompaniment, who worked in the areas that were most insecure – the highest risk areas. Other NGOs would fund a project, but how can you deliver an activity if there is no core funding? Christian Aid didn't have much money, but by supporting the core costs we could work with the partner to leverage more funding.

> We focused work on the Eastern seaboard and found partners that we trusted. The personalities that CAPHL was funding were very familiar to me from my activist background. They had the gravitas to talk to government, but they were deep in the trenches. They had been working with communities at the time of martial law … they had been key in throwing out the dictatorship. They were in the area where development agencies *should* be. (Former Christian Aid staff member)

CAPHL initially worked in rural and urban areas, across eight themes of work. Over time it became more targeted, both geographically and thematically. By 2019, work was clustered around:

- Locally led disaster preparedness and response (humanitarian work stream)
- Resilience (in small island and urban settings)
- Human rights (harm reduction-focused alternatives to drug policy)
- Relationship and platform building (influencing and supporting movements).

CAPHL was a small, sparsely resourced programme relying on a mixture of project and core funding. Low funding was both a blessing and challenge. On the one hand, the funding mix enabled CAPHL to support and get behind partners' agendas, brokering, catalysing and convening strategic action, rather than extensive programme delivery. On the other, relatively scarce funds limited CAPHL's impact on wider debates and learning within Christian Aid (outside their contribution to the Resilience Framework,[8] which was significant), as there were few formal points for connection over project management, and relatively little need for senior oversight in programme delivery. Both the content of the 1996 strategy and the approach to its development were visible in CAPHL's operation as it prepared to close in 2020.

2. From disaster risk reduction to climate resilience: a 'whole-of-society' approach

The story of the evolution of CAPHL's work from disaster risk reduction (DRR) to climate resilience can be told in different ways. The linear narrative tracks the evolution through a series of discrete funded projects, which enabled work to be delivered at community level and ensured that learning was captured along the way. A more complex, dynamic narrative describes CAPHL interacting with and responding to a series of shifting factors, which created new spaces and different opportunities to develop work and thinking, leading the programme off in diverse directions.

Whichever story is told, at heart they share a strong underpinning attention to inequality and poverty, on challenging power inequalities and building power, and adopting a 'whole-of-society' approach to reduce risk, vulnerability and build climate resilience. Building climate resilience was framed as an issue of justice, not just a technical process. The multi-dimensional understanding of risk, as encompassing social, political, physical, economic and systemic vulnerabilities, was key to this. Global frameworks – such as the Hyogo[9] and Sendai[10] Frameworks for Action – are important reference points for this analysis, as is a commitment to working across many sectors at multiple levels: the local, national and regional.

CAPHL staff explained that three 'connections' were central to this whole-of-society approach to disaster risk reduction and building climate resilience:

- Working horizontally across sectors helped encourage strong links between government, civil society, private sector and local communities to address risk and reduce vulnerability in a practical way and rebalance power.

- Working vertically, linking local to national levels, helped ensure grassroots knowledge, experiences and perspectives influenced debate and national policy (and also regional and global policies).

- Working across discourses and practice, linking DRR to climate change adaptation, rights to economic justice and social justice, and connecting technical and local knowledge.

This whole-of-society approach has both a conceptual and a practical rationale. The conceptual basis is that resilience is complex and multi-faceted and needs wide participation from diverse actors to be inclusive and sustainable. On a practical level adopting this approach also enabled CAPHL to work with many actors, in many spaces, to ensure that discourse and practice was grounded in local knowledge and approaches adapted to specific contextual needs.

The programme of work on risk reduction, vulnerability and resilience that this approach gave rise to was diverse, and constantly changing and adapting. This complexity is illustrated by Figure 1, which gives an overview of the 'where, with whom, what and how' of CAPHL's work on these themes.

Rather than attempting to report on this complexity, this section focuses on how CAPHL's whole-of-society approach supported the emergence of resilience thinking and how learning at the local level led to engagement with legislation and policy on both disaster risk reduction and climate change (contributing to the passing of two key acts on climate change and disaster risk management in 2009/10[11]). It discusses how this in turn created space to develop a range of resilience programmes with shared principles flexible enough to respond to different contextual needs and priorities. It also explores how CAPHL formed novel alliances with academics and private sector actors in order to further strengthen its work and engage in a whole-of-society approach.

Resilience thinking emerges

In 2004, the Philippines was hit by a series of disasters, and Christian Aid began to realise that while its work was contributing to poverty reduction, it was not addressing underlying vulnerabilities.

> If you are fixing your roof from one hazard, and then disaster strikes again, you have no return on the investment. We were asking: what we can do in this context, how do we build resilience? (CAPHL staff member)

There followed a period of reflection with partners to consider the causes of disasters, and the impact that their frequent occurrence should have on CAPHL programming. This coincided with emergent thinking on resilience across Christian Aid and led, in 2006, to the Philippines participating in a seven-country, DFID-funded programme: Building Disaster Resilient Communities (BDRC).
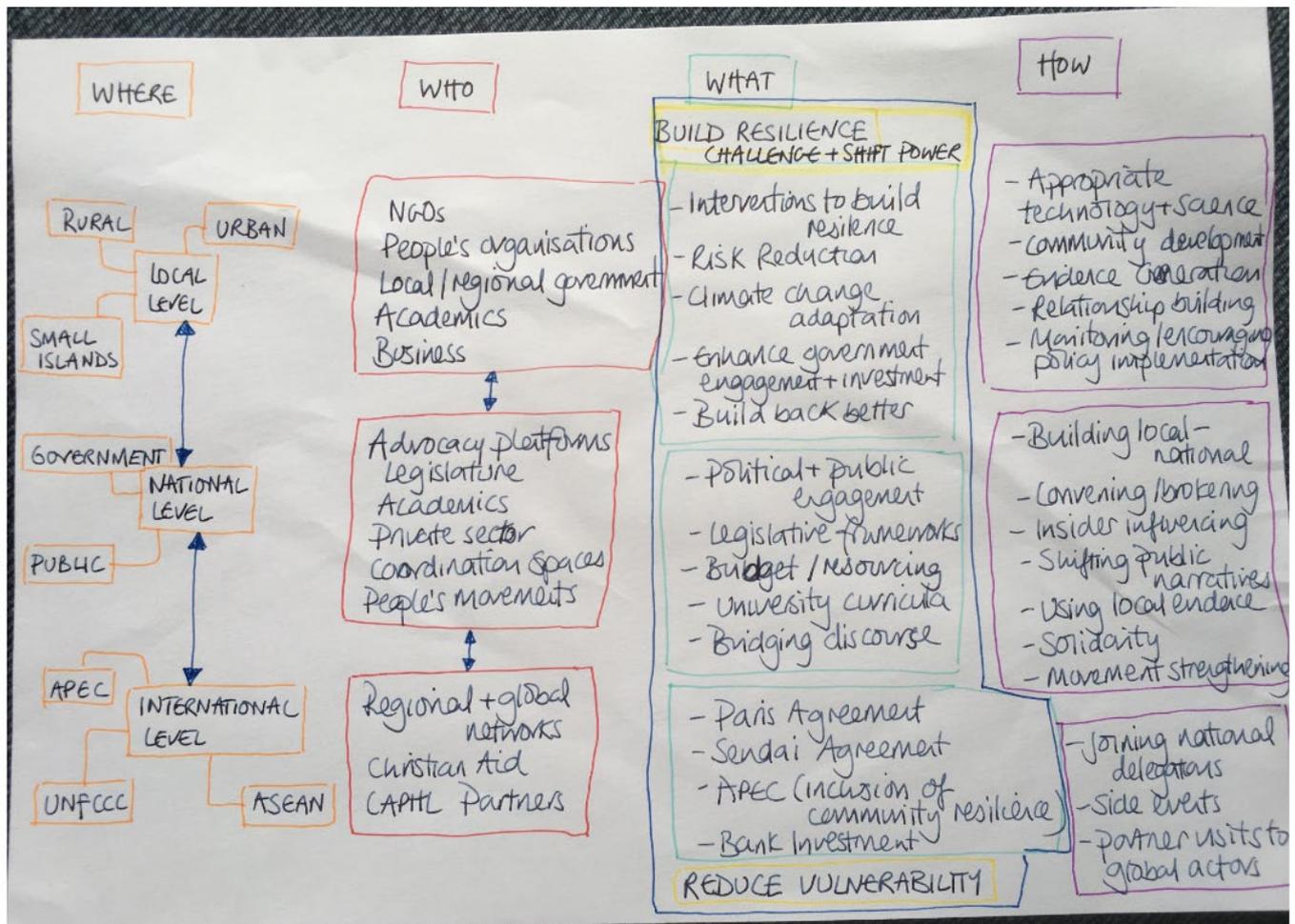
Figure 1: CAHPL's resilience programme

BDRC aimed to 'build relationships between communities, civil society and local government to improve the level of social protection and increase participation in the preparation of local and national development and disaster plans.'[12] It enabled CAPHL to reach out to new partners, to start developing community-level resilience programming and to engage with local governments on DRR and management.

By 2013, CAPHL had built on this foundation and had a network of partners working with communities and local government on DRR in different rural, urban and small island settings. Knowledge and practice on building resilience and reducing risk had evolved, and programme learning was informing wider policy and advocacy objectives.

CAPHL had a strong partnership with the Manila Observatory, a research institute that had contributed to learning materials and university curriculum development. CAPHL also catalysed a national platform that influenced the development and

passage of national laws on climate change and disaster risk management; and its leaders had allowed partners to engage in the regional and global spaces of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC).

Such achievements did not happen overnight. BDRC had been followed by four more important programmes:

- the Building Disaster Resilient Small Island Programme,
- Advancing Safer Communities and Environments against Disasters
- Scale Up, Build Up, and
- Scaling up Resilience in Governance (SURGE).

These initiatives gave CAPHL the opportunity to listen, explore, test and learn with partners. Through these engagements the organisation deepened its understanding of vulnerability, the nature of hazards and the impact of climate change. It also began work to reduce risks, through reducing hazards and

exposure and vulnerabilities, and through enhancing understanding of risks and addressing inequality and injustice as root causes of poverty. The political rather than technical starting point was key to framing the evolution of thinking, as the programme interacted with real-time extreme climate events, such as Typhoon Ketsana in 2009, which impacted on Metro Manila. These experiences deepened CAPHL's understanding of resilience in different geographic and physical contexts, and enabled iteration between theory and practice, while the practical requirements and different knowledges and actors involved in the programme furthered the whole-of-society approach.

From building community resilience to developing a network to influence policy

Many factors encouraged CAPHL to look towards the legislative space around DRR and climate change adaptation. In 2007 the UNFCCC released a document that pointed to the link between climate change, previously framed as an environmental issue, and poverty and injustice. While action at community level could shift power, further inclusion, reduce risk and build resilience, programme experiences suggested that work at this level was not sufficient to respond to the realities of poverty, vulnerability and climate change.

It was increasingly believed that if government had a stronger mandate to consider climate change and reduce vulnerability, this would enable community-level work to be more sustainable. Internal reflections in CAPHL had led it to work on convening diverse partners working on DRR, at the same time as the government was discussing its commitment to reforming DRR legislation.

> We decided to form the network so that we could have a personality to push for a law. CAPHL was a catalyst and central figure for us. It is not the financial support; they gave us impetus, jump-started us, gave us direction and guidance. They brought local organisations working on disasters together, and helped us think through how to talk with representatives and policymakers (DRRNet representative, social movement focus group discussion)

The DRRNet network drew on the links that CAPHL had already established with academics, although this time the relevant expertise was found in the school of government, rather than climate scientists. These academics shared insights on the policymaking process and provided strategic and legal advice on when and how to influence

government policymaking, including how to engage with legislative structures and legislation. The network members discussed their priorities, areas of influence and agreed on a shared position on reform. Their objective was to ensure local government, communities and CSOs would have shared responsibility and resources for DRR through achieving:

- Legislation for mandatory participation of CSOs in national and local DRR policymaking

- Recognition of civil society as key actors in supporting the implementation of the law, and

- A decentralised DRR system centred on people and communities.

Alongside an 'insider' approach to influencing policy, CAPHL also encouraged public debate, engagement, and media trainings on how to cover humanitarian disasters, bringing journalists together with scientists. Rather than just reporting on the emergency event itself, the trainings encouraged journalists to focus on reporting on the vulnerability of communities and the importance of reducing the risks those communities faced.

The flooding of Metro Manila and surrounding areas by Typhoon Ketsana in September 2009 intensified focus on the need for a new DRR law. This moment enabled DRRNet to bring national policymakers face-to-face with disaster-affected communities who shared their experiences and legislative recommendations and influenced public opinion. It was a strategy that catalysed political change.

The Philippines 2010 Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act was significant for adopting a decentralised approach. It also switched attention away from emergency response towards preventing further emergencies and included a focus on protecting and empowering local communities. Building resilience was identified as a national commitment, aligned to the Hyogo Framework for Action. It expanded the role of the national Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council, while also ensuring that resources were made available locally for disaster risk management. Much of CAPHL's work after 2010 was to ensure that the commitments made in the Act were resourced and implemented.

In 2020, the current chair of DRRNet reflected on CAPHL's role:

> Christian Aid really facilitated us in the formation of a group as an advocacy network… gathering local NGOs and shepherding us as a group… The financial support was helpful, but it was really about how they guided us and provided us with direction. It was also about frameworks –

Christian Aid were working on BDRC, and they started to ask us, why are you not working on the Hyogo Framework for Action?

Although this achievement was significant, later discussions in 2020 suggested that the early DRRNet successes and levels of energy and activism had been difficult to sustain in recent years.

The DRRNet network and Aksyon Klima, another advocacy platform that CAPHL had catalysed, had been active nationally, regionally and globally in pushing for the Paris Agreement (adopted in 2015) to include disaster risk reduction and financial, technical and capacity-building support to countries such as the Philippines. They had also played an impressive role in influencing the official Philippine delegation position on calculating loss and damage. However, representatives shared how they had been unsure how to 'ride the wave' after the Paris Agreement, and where to focus after their successes. One representative said: 'We won the war and didn't know what to do next'.

The transition to work on 'Nationally Determined Contributions', the term given to each country's goals to reduce emissions and adapt to climate change,[13] was complex. It would have involved a different approach to campaigning and organising and involved new partners and building relationships with different parts of government. Moreover, the national context had shifted following Duterte's election.

During the focus group discussion members said that shrinking civil society space and curtailed media freedom, alongside a lack of clear vision about what they, as a network, were trying to achieve, had led DRRNet to lose direction. While individual members continued to engage with local governments on community-based DRR, work at the national level had been more limited.[14]

Although CAPHL supported DRRNet, it was never a member, as DRRNet was a national network, where an INGO didn't belong. However CAPHL occupied a strategic role in DRRNet's evolution, influencing its thought and action, but without any formal voting rights. This meant CAPHL's actual role in the network potentially lacked transparency and was unclear. The potency of its role also changed over time:

Christian Aid provided direction at the beginning, but it is not so strong now. They help when we call on them, but Christian Aid is now more like the patron. (Chair, DRRNet)

There are key lessons to be reflected on based on the DRRNet experience. Further support from CAPHL in recent years could potentially have helped the network to evolve in response to the wider shifts in policy, practice and context. Yet there were many other factors that influenced the evolution of DRRNet. The increasing 'insider' advocacy role it played potentially diverted attention and resources away from the grassroots level organisation, and led to weaker connections between local experiences and national positioning.

Whatever the reason, it is clear that networks and movements are not static entities. While changes in context and possibilities need to be understood, it is equally important to reflect on leadership, priorities and internal dynamics, and to keep nurturing the movement and its membership.

Diverse contexts, diverse resilience work

An important element of CAPHL's work was responding to the resilience priorities identified by people experiencing different types of risk, vulnerability and hazard according to their context. Once the legislative space had opened to include both legal accountability and resource at the local government level for DRR and climate change adaptation, CAPHL worked with different partners to encourage these policies to be implemented in practice.

How partner organisations worked on developing climate 'resilience' in practice varied depending on their focus and context. For example, the Urban Poor Associates (UPA), a Manila-based organisation that works with poor urban communities in different cities to secure housing rights and challenge forced evictions, used resilience thinking to frame their work on the rights of poor urban communities to thrive and make a living. The Institute for Climate and Sustainable Cities (ICSC) focused on integrating low-carbon technology in emergency response processes. While Rice Watch Action Network (R1) focused on adaptation to climate change in agriculture – particularly through more drought-resistant rice varieties, the Caucus of Development NGO Networks (CODE) worked with development organisations to integrate DRR approaches into their projects, with a key aim of engaging with local governments to mainstream DRR in their planning and budgeting processes.

As the four organisations considered their experiences of working on DRR and climate resilience, several common themes about their partnership with CAPHL stood out, including the importance of collaboration and sharing expertise, and the integration of technical and scientific knowledge. In each case, the organisations

described how their local presence and engagement in national networks enabled them to innovate and learn in different contexts, and to use this learning to have wider influence, a manifestation of the whole-of-society approach.

RI explained how their initial focus on advocacy was strengthened as they developed a range of work under the banner of climate modelling, which they used to support climate-informed local government planning and use of climate-smart agricultural practices, eventually working with the national body Philippine Atmospheric, Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA). This vertical engagement enabled them to use local climate data to develop more accurate local forecasting.[15]

Some organisations also described the challenges brought by the technical nature of climate change adaptation, and the tension that sometimes exists between risk reduction and climate change adaptation. UPA discussed how, for the poor communities they represent, housing rights are extremely important. Yet if a house is situated in an area prone to flooding, where climate change increases the flood risk, then the right to housing may not be the best advocacy approach to pursue. This tension led UPA to eventually focus on inclusive development and to lobby for more inclusive urban governance that put the safety of its people front and centre.

For ICSC, the collaboration with CAPHL changed course because of Typhoon Haiyan, as it began to explore the links between renewable energy and disaster risk reduction. ICSC championed 'build back, build better' in their Haiyan response using the experience 'as a laboratory' to explore how to integrate solar power into recovery and rehabilitation. It also developed processes to enable humanitarian responders to conduct energy audits as part of disaster response assessments, and brought them closer to the communities they were working with:

> As a policy organisation, we didn't have the link to the community. Christian Aid gave us this. If you don't have the community then you are not grounded, you don't know or understand where the impact is. Sulu-an provided inspiration for the whole organisation; and it encouraged us to articulate the links between women's rights[16] and climate. (ICSI, key informant interview)

These diverse approaches to building climate resilience among organisations were echoed by community members during a focus group discussion in Iloilo. The discussion brought programme participants together with members of Iloilo CODE (ICODE) and their partners, and academics from the University of the Philippines, the country's only national university.

The 'whole-of-society' approach is one that adapts to different contexts and local priorities, while recognising interconnected vulnerabilities, working to shift power, adapt to climate change and reduce the risk of disaster. It involves working with different actors and knowledges and connecting local and national realities. The development of two innovative alliances with academics and the private sector were central to achieving this 'whole-of-society' approach.

What does resilience mean to you?

ICODE has been in conversation with CAPHL about DRR work since 2007. In 2013, CAPHL funded ICODE to support humanitarian responses to Typhoon Haiyan, one of the most powerful and deadliest tropical storms recorded, which struck the Philippines in 2013. It also funded ICODE's work to strengthen DRR and resilience work across the small islands in the Iloilo area. As a network organisation, ICODE's main function is to create space for their members to exchange expertise, and – when needed – to bring in additional expertise on climate change to strengthen capacity.

These communities live off the sea, and Haiyan devasted their islands and destroyed marine resources; fishing was no longer possible. Programme participants described initiatives that had changed their lives after the devastation of Typhoon Haiyan. Ian had previously been a dynamite fisherman, but was now producing Carrageenan seaweed. This had transformed both his income, and his mindset: 'I have learnt industry and discipline through seaweed.'

Ian built on the scientific knowledge shared with him at the start of the seaweed project, but augmented it with his own local knowledge and understanding: 'I developed a new method from my observation. Seaweed is very vulnerable to changing wind and waves, but I realise that if I used a fixed monoline, not tied in place with a pole, the seaweed can move with the waves. This means I can now farm the seaweed in the deep sea, and it can

withstand the changing conditions. In applying this, and sharing my innovation with others, I am becoming part of the solution to poverty.'

'We were trained on organisational development and how to operate a finance system,' said Jessica, who is now one of the coordinators of a female-led social energy enterprise on a small island community, to whom ICSC brought solar energy: 'We set up a community solar enterprise, so that we could give our community energy. We developed a financial system to ensure that we could run the enterprise and build up a social fund, to support education, DRR and asset acquisition.'

A third participant, Leo, told the story of having been taken underwater to see the reef by researchers from the University of the Philippines, Visayas and a US Peace Corps Volunteer working with community members to carry out participatory marine resource assessments. Leo was now collaborating with others to preserve and rehabilitate the reef.

In each of these stories, participants used the word 'resilient' to describe both the change in their lives and their behaviour. When I asked them to explain what resilience meant to them, they mentioned: the need for dignity, for a secure livelihood and a strong community, being able to stand up when you fall down, and build back better and thrive.

For Ian, Jessica and Leo, living in an island community didn't alter their fundamental idea of resilience, but it shaped their view of how it plays out in practice: 'You need to be able to survive the squall. During a disaster you can't reach the islands, the sea and waves move differently. So, we have to work together and have an understanding of each other as a community. We have to withstand the disaster together; we need social as well as physical survival.'

Working with climate scientists and other academics

An important strength of CAPHL's climate change resilience work has been its relationship with climate scientists and other academics. An initial partnership was with the Manila Observatory, which was founded by a Jesuit cleric after a typhoon in 1865 to systematically observe Philippine weather. CAPHL has also subsequently developed partnerships with the University of Philippines in Diliman, Quezcon City and with Ateneo de Manila University, located in the Visayas, and other academic and scientific institutions.

For INGOs, working with academics is not always straightforward. Common challenges, identified during research by Christian Aid and partners,[17] include:

- The narrow discipline-based framing of problems often found in academia, as opposed to the more person-centred approach taken by NGOs.
- Research timeframes and focus on detail, as opposed to a wish to 'act and save lives'.
- The different types of evidence valued and prioritised by researchers and development practitioners.

However, the same research also identified various attributes that make these partnerships worthwhile and impactful, including strong personal and institutional relationships based on mutual respect; the use of 'productive tensions' to unpack, explore and respond to challenges in new and different ways; and the diversity of knowledge and skills, which can enable the design of robust research approaches that can result in greater impact on development problems.

The story of how academics have been integrated in and contributed to resilience work in the Philippines contains important lessons in how such partnerships can be fair, equitable and impactful.[18]

The partnership between CAPHL and the Manila Observatory was initially formed because the Observatory wanted its research to be shared more broadly. In addition, the Manila Observatory's work had focused on understanding how to forecast climate hazards and physical risk, but the scientists wanted to understand more about social risk and vulnerability, and to make their own knowledge useful to communities:

> I joined as director of the Manila Observatory in 2007. There had been a series of disasters which brought to light the issue of vulnerability. The Manila Observatory was a science organisation, it wasn't political, but I had been asked to work with the academics so that science could be consumed in society. (Former director, Manila Observatory)

For CAPHL, the relationship was driven by a recognition that their programme and partners needed climate science to better understand risk and to be able to respond appropriately:

> When we asked partners why they and their communities were experiencing so many disasters they said: 'It is the wrath of God!'. I thought, God is not punitive like this, I need to find a scientific explanation – so I went to the Manila Observatory. It is run by Jesuits, and I used Jesuit language to appeal to the Director. I made the moral case for a partnership, so we could start developing a more evidence-based approach. (CAPHL staff member)

Central to CAPHL's partnership with the Manila Observatory were shared values and the shared focus on the application of climate science. This grounded the partnership, which developed through the recognition that each organisation brought different skills, expertise, knowledge and relationships:

> Christian Aid is a champion of the poor. They engage locally, and the connection here was really important for us. The Jesuits have a preferential option for the poor, and so we fit well together. (Manila Observatory academic)

Over time, the partnership grew and delivered a range of initiatives.

- Interaction with academics and their scientific expertise enabled community members to choose appropriate technologies to better cope and adapt with changes in climate. This included techniques, such as using stones to measure and monitor river levels, and community co-creation of climate adaptation measures.

- Training courses to build the capacity of farmers to help them better respond to climate change. This included creating a curriculum for a Climate Resilience Field School, a season-long sustainable farming training programme that integrates access to weather and climate forecasts.[19]

- Local evidence and practice was integrated into university curricula and teaching, including the development of a postgraduate Disaster Risk Reduction and Resilience course at the Ateneo de Manila University. The course included materials from CAPHL-supported programmes and provided student visits to CAPHL partner projects.

- Evidence generated by the academics informed advocacy by CAPHL partners to the Department of the Interior on urban development policy and the removal of informal settlements. Received wisdom was that informal settlements had caused flooding in Manila, but geo-mapping and satellite imagery of informal settlements in Manila by academics showed that the effects of the informal settlements had been minor compared to a large 'permitted development' approved by local government.

- Evidence and scientific analysis to inform policy positions and push government to keep to its international climate change commitments. This included, in the run-up to the 2015 UNFCCC Climate Change Conference in Paris, bringing scientific evidence about the importance and feasibility of lobbying for a 1.5°C limit on global warming to coalitions of faith actors who were making a moral argument in lobbying the government to act strongly in Paris.

As CAPHL and the Manila Observatory reflected together on their work it was clear that, as well as each project having an impact in its own right, the partnership had influenced and extended their thinking and practice more broadly. This included, CAPHL playing a role in brokering relationships so that, for example, climate scientists could support local government to use the mapping technology outline above. These interactions not only improved government's technical capacity to adapt and respond in the face of climate change, but also to strengthen their engagement in and commitment to DRR.

A range of researchers also contributed to the partnership. Natural scientists brought their expert analysis and visualisation tools to deepen scientific understanding of climate change processes while social and political scientists from the Ateneo School of Government collaborated with CAPHL on how to influence policymaking through evidence from their practice. This also enabled the researchers themselves to work together differently:

> We could work as Manila Observatory alone, but we needed broader expertise too: experts in planning, agriculture, water. By creating an influence diagram, we could see the connections, and so we developed a risk consortium association.

> Working with practitioners forces us to be transdisciplinary, to link across physical and social sciences. In fact it makes it easier for us to work together across the different disciplines, because this is what is needed when you locate science in the real world.

Further, it forced them to consider the importance of using non-technical language in making science useful to communities:

> You have to ease the constraint of the language so that communities can act, without sacrificing accuracy of the information, so we worked to try and explain what was happening, translating scientific concepts into normal language.

Shared values and joint initiatives, and a respect for the different knowledge and expertise brought by each partner ensured that partnerships were more than the sum of its parts. Partners felt transformed by engagement with the other. Working together, local evidence was linked to, and able to influence, national, regional and global policy.

For CAPHL, this relationship with academics was also a bridge to another novel partnership with the private sector.

Working with the private sector

We had always seen the private sector as a source of risk, but in conversation with the Manila Observatory we wondered: could they be a partner for resilience too?

CAPHL staff member

CAPHL's engagement with the private sector has been multifaceted. Individual staff were provided with opportunities to train in climate-smart technology provided by the private sector, while a second emphasis was to build relationships between high-level private sector actors, government and civil society partners through developing shared activities at national level. They also worked together to implement community resilience projects and to shift the narratives of the role of business in community resilience at national and regional levels.

As CAPHL began to develop its whole-of-society approach in 2013, it recognised businesses as important social actors in meeting the challenges of climate change and climate-related disasters. The whole-of-society approach makes a case for business involvement in community resilience, using as its basis the argument that it is good business sense to invest in community resilience. While CAPHL adopted this approach, it is important to note that it was a nuanced and not a politically neutral argument, and CAPHL recognised that businesses

needed to work for the community (and societal) good, and negative business practices had to be called out.

The director of the Manila Observatory, who was professionally tasked with ensuring that academic scientific discovery could be socially useful, was personally connected to high-powered business leaders. It was through this connection that CAPHL was able to interact directly with leading business figures in the Philippines, a different part of society than it had interacted with previously.

The impetus for business engagement was Typhoon Haiyan. Tacloban City, which had been devasted by Typhoon Haiyan in 2013, experienced extensive looting in the aftermath of the disaster, and private sector leaders were concerned about the impact of increasing climate-related disasters on their businesses.

This alignment of motivation provided an incentive for dialogue, bringing together civil society, the informal sector, government, academics and private sector to discuss their interests and needs around climate change adaptation and resilience. Creating a working relationship was not straightforward however, because of conflicting priorities and interests, and a lack of trust. One interviewee described dialogue as a slow 'confidence-building process'.

By 2017 the conversation became more formal with the creation of the National Resilience Council (NRC), a public-private partnership, bringing business leaders together with government leaders (from the departments of climate change, and social welfare and development), scientists and academics, local CSOs, and Christian Aid. The partnership focused on linking local-level practical engagement (for example, using a scorecard approach to explore resilience in nine cities, with the active participation of local government) with national-level policy influence, achieved through interaction with the Cabinet Cluster on Adaptation and Mitigation. Christian Aid's role and experience was central to enabling this.

> There are times when the universe conspires, and you just have to step in, recognise that this is the moment you need to intervene. I was clear that we couldn't offer money, but we could offer technical capacity, and we could broker relationships, and share our knowledge of political science, of government policymaking. (CAPHL staff member)

The NRC has had impact at three levels:

- Locally, it has encouraged stronger collaborative relationships between communities, community organisations and their local and regional governments, enabling community development initiatives to put DRR and climate change adaptation into practice.

- Nationally, different actors have used spaces created by the council to meet together, find common positions and understand each other's perspectives. This was evident, for example, in 2020 when the NRC convened a high-level meeting to consider a response to Volcano Taal's eruption.

- Regionally, the NRC network enabled civil society organisations (including Christian Aid and its partners) to be present and to influence Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC), shifting the focus from immediate emergency responses to a longer-term focus on building DRR processes, and positioning this as a central concern in business continuity.

For example, CAPHL facilitated the engagement of key civil-society partners at the 2015 APEC ministerial meeting in Manila, and the resulting joint statement represented a change in narrative. It affirmed support for the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction and identified a need for regional cooperation focused on preventing disaster risk, mitigation, preparedness, response and rehabilitation, and 'building back better'.[20] While this was clearly a success for Christian Aid and its partners, the engagement did not stop with this announcement:

> When you change a policy you mustn't forget to look at implementation; the next thing you need is a budget. Once we had the Sendai framework we needed to show how it could be implemented, we needed to show proof of concept, so we worked with the APEC platform to look for an area to pilot work. (CAPHL staff member)

Discussions of what a business contribution to community resilience looked like in practice followed the APEC commitments. To respond to this, CAPHL worked with APEC to develop and implement a pilot programme. Through a lengthy process of criteria setting, Iloilo was selected for the pilot on the grounds that it experiences high levels of inequality and is disaster prone, its population includes vulnerable groups, including minority ethnic communities and that there were existing

collaborative relationships at the local level around disaster risk management to build on.

Through CAPHL's brokerage, APEC, along with the NRC, engaged with the local government office's disaster risk management team to strengthen weather forecasting and local data collection systems. This aimed to enhance understanding of rain patterns and produce better weather forecasting, which is particularly important in flood risk management. However, gathering data and investing in anticipatory action is only one part of resilience. Citizens also need secure livelihoods and access to food.

The indigenous Aeta (*Ati* in the local language) community had settled on a riverbank just outside Iloilo city. Although they had managed to secure rights to their land, the soil was unproductive and livelihood options were scarce. The Ati's main income came from begging, which was insecure and exposed them to fatal diseases to which they had no immunity. A pilot project, coordinated by APEC, brought staff from the World Vegetable Centre, and an agriculture business group called Known-You-Seed, to Iloilo to work with local government to run a training course on vegetable cultivation. In collaboration with the local school and local government, the Ati translated the ideas learned through the training into action, developing a community garden, which helped them grow (and sell) their own food and become more self-sufficient:

> We learned about soil quality, about different types of vegetables, and about how these might grow in our area. Now we grow flowers and vegetables – these plants thrive. Some we eat and some we sell. And I am proud. We are no longer seen as beggars. People were scared of us. We were dirty, but now we stand proud. We are respected. (Focus group discussion)

Beyond the efforts of the Ati themselves there were various factors that enabled the success of this project. The community itself is well organised, with a strong, articulate and trusted leader. The local school has agricultural expertise and the teachers play an outreach role, mentoring and collaborating with community members. The project also benefited from extensive engagement with a range of stakeholders including:

- Local government staff, who regularly visited and supported the community.

- The World Vegetable Centre, which provided seeds and expertise.

- APEC, which was interested in the project as it was a pilot project.

Member of the indigenous Ati community in the community garden in Iloilo, which was developed as an APEC-funded project. 'I'm most proud that I passed the assessment' she said. 'I have a national certificate in organic farming. They recognised my expertise and I passed the practical exam.' Credit: Maria Alexandra Pura

CAPHL also played an important role in ensuring that the project focused on a vulnerable group, and responded to their context, needs and existing capacity; and that the community benefited from the engagement. Moreover, CAPHL ensured that seeds and energy use were sustainable and mitigated climate change. It also linked the pilot project to 'the bigger picture', encouraging both APEC and the NRC to invest further in community resilience.

The project has had a powerful local impact, with community members identifying a range of benefits, ranging from individual achievements, to a better relationship between school and community, and community pride and respect. Both the local government and regional government representatives echoed these changes, expressing their amazement at the community transformation. Furthermore, a CAPHL former staff member noted that the project empowered a formerly disenfranchised group.

> …spaces… were created to allow a highly vulnerable community to reclaim their power to engage, negotiate, articulate their own priorities, and to own their means of living. Enabling the Ati to recognise their vulnerabilities and be able to do something to reduce these in the light of climate- and disaster-related hazards was a goal in this engagement. (CAHPL staff member)

It was also a good demonstration of how a regional entity such as APEC contributed to community resilience, and both the city government and APEC have expressed an interest in investing further in this kind of work. In many ways the programme helped translate an on-paper commitment into actual investment on the ground – an important aspect of CAPHL's approach to change.

While these successes are important, questions about replicability remain. The level of investment and support from both the local government and CAPHL was extensive. The NRC noted that Iloilo had been a good choice for the pilot precisely because the mayor was supportive and there was the potential for university, private sector and government partnerships. While the pilot showed businesses how supporting community resilience could be done, and CAPHL saw the programme as strategically important, it is not clear how the pilot might be scaled up. This will depend on how the different actors translate their learning from this experience into future investment and practice.

While the pilot project itself introduced business representatives to a community development initiative, it also modelled whole-of-society collaboration, illustrating its potential for future DRR and climate resilience work. New relationships have continued to develop, such as between mall owners and civil society organisations, to explore the role of businesses in reducing vulnerability to climate-related loss and damage and flooding. CAPHL has laid the foundation for ongoing relationships and dialogue with key partners, such as with the Urban Poor Association, which has been central to building stakeholders' understanding of each other's experiences and perspectives. This is what the ex-

director of the Manila Observatory said about Jec, a former Christian Aid staff member, during an interview:

> Jec is the embodiment of NRC work. We have developed a friendship. Jec's ability to translate and address different sectors in a language they understand is key. Her role as an advocate, and her understanding of government is all important. It was her relationship which meant we got access to the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (NDRRMC), the highest policymaking body of the country on DRR, and now we have our own relationship with them. But what CAPHL has also brought is a focus on the root causes, not just on the symptoms – the importance of visualising risks. This could only take place when we understood vulnerabilities. (Ex-director of the Manila Observatory, interview)

CAPHL's role in introducing new concepts, translating science into action and situating discussions in broad political analysis were benefits repeatedly cited by partners of working in partnership.

3. From resilience to localisation

As noted in the previous section, it was Typhoon Haiyan and its aftermath that triggered CAPHL's (cautious and limited) shift towards engaging with the private sector. But the changes brought by the most powerful tropical typhoon on record, which deprived six million people of their livelihoods,[21] also affected CAPHL's programme of work in other ways. The narrative emphasis of the programme, built on a partnership and whole-of-society approach to building resilience, began to shift towards localisation. The scale of the disaster also meant that CAPHL's DRR work shifted, for the first time, from 'development' to 'humanitarian' activities. This had an impact on the shape and form of the organisation.

Typhoon Haiyan: learning, adapting and moving forward

CAPHL's operation was small, with less than five members of staff, from when it first established in 2002 to when Typhoon Haiyan struck in 2013. CAPHL staff provided institutional support to partners to enable them to deliver their own agendas. Haiyan transformed this programming approach. The minimally funded skeleton office changed into a large operational team as funding flowed in as a result of the crisis. Partners who had previously worked on a range of local development initiatives were now the 'first responders' in a massive humanitarian crisis – despite their limited emergency response expertise.

This brought many challenges for CAPHL. Humanitarian emergencies need a very different approach from the one staff were used to, and, rather than supporting the existing agendas of partners, CAPHL was now expecting partners to be part of a response effort. This meant building new programming capacities, and logistics management become important. Team meetings were dominated by the demands of the humanitarian situation, and tensions arose between those working on the Haiyan emergency response and the longer-serving staff members who had different visions (specifically the relationship between provision of immediate relief and a long-term resilience approach), backgrounds and relationships with both partners and the rest of Christian Aid.

Localisation and the humanitarian system

In the lead up to the 2016 World Humanitarian Summit a new buzzword[22] emerged in humanitarian debates: localisation. The summit aimed to transform the way humanitarianism was understood and practised, and many commitments were made, encapsulated by the term localisation. At a general level the term refers to shifting resources from international actors responding to humanitarian disasters, to local and national organisations. Common definitions of localisation refer to 'the need to recognise, respect, strengthen, rebalance, recalibrate, reinforce or return some type of ownership or place to local and national actors… a process that requires a conscious and deliberate shift [by international actors] to allow for more local humanitarian action'.[23]

After the summit, many strategies were identified to encourage a shift in the system to working with local humanitarian actors, which were encapsulated in the Grand Bargain and the Charter for Change. Through signing the charter large donors and INGOs committed to:

- Ensuring that 25% of humanitarian funding flowed to national NGOs
- Investing in partnership approaches
- Publicly promoting and strengthening the capacity of local actors, and
- Ensuring that recruitment strategies in humanitarian response do not undermine local actors by taking their staff.

For Christian Aid globally, this was a positive outcome. But for CAPHL, it raised the question of what localisation might mean in practice.

Despite the challenges, the situation presented opportunities as well. Haiyan was a powerful illustration of the link between climate change and more frequent, extreme weather events. CAPHL was able to share evidence from the local communities to reinforce advocacy for building climate resilience. While the organisation had been struggling to make links between climate change adaptation and DRR in its programmes, the recovery from Haiyan provided a good opportunity to 'build back better'.

CAPHL engaged in a range of projects that addressed the root causes of vulnerability, such as a lack of rights to land, by securing land tenure for informal settlers and coastal communities. Other projects focused on providing geographically isolated and disadvantaged areas, such as small islands, with access to renewable sources of energy, such as solar energy. More broadly, CAPHL helped strengthen community solidarity in order to build resilience and leverage with local authorities. Moreover, the long-term relationship that CAPHL had built with its partners sowed the seeds for the gradual growth of a Philippine approach to the 'localisation' of humanitarian responses.

The international response to the devastation caused by Typhoon Haiyan brought in countless INGOs and other international actors who had not previously been present in the Philippines. In many ways, they crowded the space for a response from national CSOs.[24] CAPHL recognised this problem and started formulating ideas about the role of local actors in emergency response, in collaboration with its existing civil society partners. The injection of financial resources and the move into emergency response enabled CAPHL to build the capacity of its existing partners, generating both evidence and experience for future humanitarian endeavours. This learning later influenced Christian Aid's international position when it pushed for the localisation of humanitarian aid and responses in the lead-up to the first ever World Humanitarian Summit in 2016.

Before Haiyan, core funding from Christian Aid had enabled CAPHL to build the capacity of partners to *prepare* for climate-related shocks and reduce vulnerability. These partners were not all based in disaster-prone areas, as CAPHL's focus had been on identifying areas of extreme poverty and inequality. Conversely, humanitarian funding after Haiyan enhanced the capacity of partners in disaster-affected areas – areas which were not necessarily associated with poverty. This made agreeing priorities complex, and influenced the future focus of

CAPHL's programme, which gradually adapted from a focus on building rural resilience to climate change to building urban and small island resilience.

The way you evaluate the strengths and needs of a partner in humanitarian responses is very different from a partner in a development programme. CAPHL had to adapt its partnership models accordingly.

> For CAPHL, having development NGOs respond to disasters capitalised on partners' existing understanding of local context and leveraged on their capacity to link development with humanitarian work….[but] their institutional systems [were] not set up for large emergency responses….This resulted in overstressed staff, poor performance, a level of mismanagement and a lack of time and space to reflect. There were cases of CAPHL exiting from strong and long-standing partnerships primarily because of their performance during a humanitarian response.[25]

Haiyan was thus a disrupter for CAPHL, moving it squarely into the humanitarian space.[26] However, this shift was only possible because of previous work on DRR and resilience that had laid the foundations for understanding the role of local actors in *responding* to climate-related disasters.

Through engagement in Haiyan, CAPHL discovered that it had an important role in the humanitarian response as a translator and broker, ensuring that local partners understood the language of INGOs and humanitarian agencies, and that the voice of local NGOs was heard in international spaces and platforms. Staff also noted that the very act of working together in a good partnership was an important model for other humanitarian actors, enabling other local actors to assert their opinions – including critiques of unequal power dynamics between organisations that were visible in the response.

The Haiyan response and recovery period lasted for three years and, by the end of it, CAPHL was a very different organisation, as was the landscape in which it was operating. Coordination and collaboration in the sector was stronger. The experience of Haiyan meant that CAPHL was well placed to apply for funding for an important project that explored how additional staff and resources needed to respond in the immediate aftermath of an emergency, referred to as 'surge capacity', could be created within local civil society, rather than relying on international actors (described in detail below).

Localisation in theory and practice

If localisation is the vehicle, resilience is the content of the vehicle. Localisation is the form, resilience is the substance.

CAPHL staff member, interview

As described above, CAPHL had been championing and strengthening the capacity of national and local civil society organisations for many years. While the Charter for Change commitments were all laudable, CAPHL and its national partners were concerned that the localisation agenda, through its focus on the role of INGOs and other international humanitarian actors, was being dominated by international analysis and perspectives.

What would it mean to 'flip localisation on its head' and give it meaning in a national context? How could CAPHL's programme learning and approaches influence the shape and nature of localisation in the Philippines? See the box below for further detail on how CAPHL achieved a locally led humanitarian agenda.

Stages in achieving a locally led humanitarian agenda

CAPHL adapted the international narrative by moving from talking about 'localisation' to 'promoting a locally led humanitarian agenda'. Key steps to achieving this agenda included:

- Sharpening the advocacy agenda by generating knowledge and evidence of local leadership in humanitarian action, building local civil society capacity, providing financing, and downward accountability.

- Building a constituency through linking with like-minded organisations.

- Lobbying and building solidarity with local organisations by not speaking out in spaces that should be the preserve of local CSOs, and by using its position and access in spaces beyond the reach of national partners.

- Campaigning and knowledge management rooted in, and in support of, partners' agendas.

Localisation is about locally led preparedness and response. It needs strong local capacity. Our partners know about the Core Humanitarian Standards and this is reflected in their response, their operation, their safeguarding policy, their systems and their organisational capacity. But it is not just about our partners, it is also about the system. CSOs need to have access to funding, and they need to have access to technical expertise; this is where we as Christian Aid can engage. (CAPHL staff member)

Organisational development had been part of CAPHL's work from the outset. However, much of this work focused on strengthening individual partners – through supporting the development of their internal systems, building capacity through sharing new concepts and ideas, giving them the space to experiment and innovate with new approaches, or brokering new relationships. While this approach had created a cadre of technically trained staff, the challenge of the current system meant that rather than remaining a local actor, these staff would be 'poached' by larger, international organisations:

> When I came back during [Haiyan] – I'd been gone for five years – 90% of the partner staff that we had trained under BDRC, were now technical staff of bigger agencies. [These] bigger agencies, they were reaping the investment of Christian Aid. We had focused on building capacities, and now these people were ripe for the picking. (Former CAPHL staff member, interview)

Reflections on how to 'nationalise' the localisation agenda also suggested that while this kind of capacity development for individual partners was a necessary condition for localisation, it was not sufficient for achieving a locally led humanitarian agenda.

CAPHL knew that it wanted to democratise 'the humanitarian system and make it more accountable, responsive, effective, and sustainable'. It recognised that to do this it 'need[ed] to challenge the power base of resources, knowledge and information, positional and even personal power'.[27] Staff concluded that in order to do this they needed to design and deliver focused programmes, to build an evidence base, and then draw from this experience and learning to have credibility and influence. An important step in CAPHL's journey with localisation was therefore to raise funding, and then learn from the resulting programme of work.

Transforming Surge Capacity (TSC) was a project of the Disaster Emergencies Preparedness Programme (funded by the UK Department for International Development via the START network). It involved a consortium made up of 11 INGOs working to address the question of whether surge capacity would be more

efficient and effective if it were created closer to where humanitarian disasters happen. CAPHL led the Philippines component of this multi-country programme.

CAPHL worked with other consortia members to develop a roster, or list, of around 400 people, who could be contacted in the case of a humanitarian disaster and, depending on their availability and mixture of skills, a 'surge team' could therefore be formed from these individuals to respond to the disaster. It also created a virtual platform hosted by Relief Applications, which was to be used to contact them. In addition to developing the roster, the programme built people's capacity to be included as potential 'surge team' members. The roster was successfully activated during a series of disasters in 2017 and 2018.

Although the importance of a collective, cross-sectoral surge response roster should not be undervalued, CAPHL recognised that building a roster was not enough. Those individuals listed on the roster were still linked to INGOs. Wider issues of whose voice is heard in driving that response, and where power lies, had not been considered. The focus had been on efficiency and effectiveness rather than the politics of emergency response.

It was here that CAPHL's analysis of partnership, perspectives on power and a whole-of-society approach became important. First, they worked to bring Philippine CSOs into the consortium. This involved working with four national partners to explore and understand the issues from their perspectives, by meeting together ahead of the

consortium meetings to work out what they wanted to say and how to say it. Through engaging directly with local actors in this way, CAPHL was able to understand what was limiting their participation in emergency responses. This led to the development of three platforms/networks:

- **The Philippine Partnership for Emergency Response and Resilience**: a national platform of CSOs, who have formal representation at the UN-led Humanitarian Country Team meetings, where they can influence operational decision making, response coordination and funding decisions.
- **Balik Local**: an advocacy platform of local CSOs who work together to advocate for implementation of the Grand Bargain commitments.
- **The Shared Aid Fund for Emergency Response**: a legally constituted network that can directly receive funds for emergency response and distribute them to its members (modelled on the UK Disaster Emergency Committee).

In addition to these three platforms, CAPHL also convened an important conversation about localisation from a faith perspective, based on the recognition that there is a church in every community across the Philippines, and that it is often the first and only responder in a humanitarian emergency.

The box below details how CAPHL worked with faith-based organisations, which are often first to respond to humanitarian disasters within the Philippines, to form a coalition called FBO:PH.

FBO:PH – a coalition of faith-based organisations for localised humanitarian response

Making localised humanitarian response real in the Philippines meant reaching beyond the usual civil society actors. For a truly local response that enabled long-term recovery and resilience, CAPHL worked, not only with civil society organisations, academics, scientists and the private sector, but also with faith-based actors, rooting their work in a whole-of-society approach.

After Haiyan and the World Humanitarian Summit, CAPHL reflected on the role of faith-based organisations in the humanitarian sector. Churches are crucial first responders, but their response is prone to be ad-hoc and lacking systems to ensure that those most in need are reached, or that the most vulnerable are protected. Christian Aid convened a conversation with three existing national Christian platforms, each strong organisations in their own right, and a faith-based collaboration began. The three organisations included: the national Christian council, the National Council of Churches of the Philippines (NCCP); the Catholic Council, called the National Secretariat for Social Action (NASSA)/Caritas Philippines; and The Philippine Council of Evangelical Churches.

> When we started working together, we all had our own principles and our own way of describing what we believed. We would sit together and you could see everyone raising their eyebrows as each other spoke. We all come from different persuasions and faiths. But then we listened, we came together. (FBO:PH focus group discussion)

I met with representatives of the three organisations, who used the metaphor of a river to chart the emergence of their collaboration and to think through why and how they had been able to work together, to identify significant moments, learning and challenges. When they introduced their river they noted that the establishment of Faith-based Organisations: Philippines (FBO:PH) was the first time that there had been a strategic-level sustained collaboration between national and local faith-based organisations:

> We have to put aside our differences, and realise it is not just about bringing people to heaven, but serving them here. We are three distinct organisations, but we can have common ground and points for convergence and it is easy to understand each other because of our faith. It is natural for us to talk about serving the poor. This has deeper meaning; it becomes an avenue and platform for our faith, and expression of our faith, and together we can respond. We understand now that we need to see life before and after death. The number and scale of the disasters in the Philippines means we can't do it alone. If we work together, we can do more. (FBO focus group discussion)

Although the river they described was wide and flowing with many positive symbols, the group also identified various 'alligators' in the water. These included:

- Challenging conversations about sexual reproductive health and how their different religions discussed this.
- Concerns about collaborative working and whether each council could put aside their differences to work effectively together.

More significant were the various factors they identified that were key to enabling their 'rivers' to flow and for framing the collaboration both nationally and at a more local level. The factors they identified included:

- Leaders giving them time and allocating staff time to the collaboration
- Shared values of service to the poor
- The active effort of each organisation to include others in their humanitarian response and advocacy initiatives, and
- A shared articulated vision 'of a dignified and empowered community experiencing the fullness of life'.

In convening the space, Christian Aid introduced the Core Humanitarian Standards and safeguarding principles to network members. It brokered a relationship with OCHA to gain FBO:PH a seat at the table on the Humanitarian Country Team. Members noted that these initiatives had not only led to a feeling of empowerment among church communities, now formally recognised as an official humanitarian responder, but has also shaped the development of local practice, as churches learned what was needed to play this important role.

> We have taken baby steps, but now I see it working in practice. We will have a better humanitarian response, and it will be sustainable. Our platform will be part of history. Our work is spreading like a gentle fire, touching people's hearts, changing behaviour and perspectives, leading to fullness of life and enriching our faith journeys. (FBO:PH focus group discussion)

Focus group discussion with the members of FBO:PH. They used the image of a river to reflect on the emergence of the network and key moments and issues in its development. Credit: Maria Alexandra Pura

Having previously argued that building climate resilience was a justice issue, not a technical one, CAPHL applied the same logic to developing a local ability to respond to humanitarian disasters. Together, the three civil society platforms brokered by the Transforming Surge Capacity project, and the FBO:PH, have helped strengthen and make meaningful the localisation approach at the national level, by increasing the capacity of national CSOs to engage in local-led humanitarian response and to make it a reality.

While the international dialogue had been focused on funding and how to get funding streams to national actors, in the Philippines localisation came to be more about the relationships and collaborations needed to support the delivery of responsive, local humanitarian action:

> Christian Aid's contribution has been very important… Christian Aid is one of the few organisations that is serious about working through local organisations, I can only think of one or two others. They have played a facilitative role here in the Philippines, to ensure that the voices of local actors can be heard at every level. (Key informant interview, People's Disaster Risk Reduction Network)

As well as building networks and relationships, throughout the implementation of Transforming Surge Capacity, CAPHL also created theoretical frameworks to help better understand and define localisation. This is how it was described in an interview and in CAPHL documentation:

> Localisation is not about getting resources; resources are just a tool. Localisation is about people-centred preparedness, response and resilience. It is about multi-stakeholders working together. (CAPHL staff member, key informant interview)

> [Localisation] is about democratising the humanitarian system and making it more accountable, responsive, effective, and sustainable. In the process, we need to challenge the power base of resources, knowledge and information, positional and even personal power, and make the humanitarian system more inclusive. (CAPHL internal publication[27])

While the immediate and practical benefits of strengthening the role and involvement of local actors strengthened both the timeliness and appropriateness of responses, therefore saving lives, establishing well-integrated systems at a local level provided a more strategic long-term case for it as well. It was about valuing survivor-led and community-run humanitarian responses, enabling local government to coordinate, build community cohesion and link responses to longer term development. It centred on influencing the structures and processes that cause vulnerability, enhancing local agency, creating active citizenship and building democratic engagement, and redefining and developing complementary roles between different actors (civil society, government, local and global).[28] This was a natural extension of the whole-of-society approach, and was complemented by the FBO:PH work.

> This humanitarian agenda is thus not about the exclusion of heretofore dominant players, but about shifting the power and enhancing collaboration…. We must all look beyond our individual agency mandate and capacity, and look at the humanitarian system as a whole. (CAPHL internal publication[27])

Working on localisation led CAPHL back to valuing its previous work on resilience and encouraged it to consider its role as an INGO more explicitly:

> Some people are saying it is hard to define localisation, but this is the INGOs speaking. The local NGOs are very clear. It is not a zero-sum game, where one organisation has power and has to redistribute it. It is about space, voice, equal treatment, access to funding. It is about looking at the humanitarian eco-system and understanding we have different roles in it. It is about being a learning organisation, about constant consultation and dialogue. It is not about the international NGOs leaving, we still have a role, we can broker, we have the power to bring others to the table, and we have technical expertise that would not otherwise be available. (CAPHL staff member, focus group discussion)

CAPHL staff members shared how, in the early days of the localisation narrative, there were concerns that it meant that INGOs should step back and remove themselves from the humanitarian space. But as time went on it was clear that this was not the case. In their experience localisation required them to understand their role and contribute to a system to ensure that system became more inclusive and equal. However it is also clear that localisation varies in different national contexts:

> We are a middle-income country with strong governance mechanisms and organised NGOs, so we can take a humanitarian ecosystem approach. Then we can think about who should be involved, who will do the organising, what actors do we have and what are their capacities. If there are gaps, then we can work to fill them, in different ways. You work out your value, and you can be strategic. (CAPHL staff member, focus group discussion)

This strategic capacity was not able to translate this approach to localisation at a regional level, however. Despite having substantial experience to share, when Christian Aid created a new post for a regional localisation manager to provide thought leadership for Asia, with CAPHL hosting the role, the organisation struggled. Obstacles obstructing this process cited were that Christian Aid was not set up well to connect its Asian country programmes, and there was no-one for the Philippines-based localisation manager to connect to in other countries. And although meanings of localisation in practice were emerging clearly in the Philippines, they did not mirror the evolution of localisation in other countries, where Christian Aid staff were working on different types of issues, opportunities and analysis. This made it difficult to develop a coordinated regional position and response.

Enablers and legacy of localisation

Localisation was in many ways the natural continuation of CAPHL's work on resilience, which had built institutional capacity and cross-sector relationships. The localisation discourse gave a framework that linked previous work on civil society capacity strengthening with opportunities for influencing the humanitarian sector more widely. It also gave Christian Aid the ability to make links between local needs and national discourse and to advocate for legislation to be implemented in practice. For example:

> At the moment there is a Memorandum Order that allows the local government to do pre-emptive action before a disaster. We can work with our partners to support this action, asking the right questions, looking at funding and how it might work, as part of trying to further strengthen local action and build capacity locally. (CAPHL staff member, key informant interview)

A factor in enabling localisation was the capacity of partners as humanitarian actors on the ground. What partners lacked in experience, they made up for in strong local relationships, contextual understanding, committed and inspirational staff and political analysis – strong foundations rooted in the movements built during the People Power era. CAPHL was able to step in to fill gaps through building the capacity of local organisations to enable them to carry out local emergency responses. This included going beyond institutional development to ensuring that civil society actors had the information and capability to engage strategically, for example, through knowledge of legislative frameworks for DRR and management, on international humanitarian bodies and systems and through encouraging collaborative action between partners.

> The capacity development work that we do with each partner is a way of getting them fit for purpose, whether this was about systems, or about understanding core humanitarian standards, or about how to take forward an issue, to do advocacy and be part of a larger civil society movement (CAPHL staff member, focus group discussion)

> Even before Haiyan we knew that Philippines civil society has been at the forefront of movement building … from the 1970s onwards... This is the context in which NGOs and civil society groups have come about; so, everyone is very active and politically conscious. CAPHL has been able to support and tap into this, to be part of larger movements and this is part of our localisation agenda. (CAPHL staff member, key informant interview)

The localisation manager said a key measure of the success of CAPHL's work on localisation was the fact that it no longer needed to push for a localisation agenda, because it was already being taken forward by others. Both OCHA and the Director of the People's Disaster Risk Reduction Network noted how CAPHL had been instrumental in this work. Beyond embedding the issue within the wider sector in the Philippines, the capacity development approach had also ensured that there are a greater number of development CSOs now able to act as humanitarian responders.

Moreover, the integration of organisations such as ICSC (see page 14 above) in this area ensures that issues such as renewable energy are considered as standard in any response. Staff pointed to the Typhoon Mangkhut response as an example where localisation theory was put into practice[29] and where partners were able to act effectively in the space, as local responders focused on survivor-led response, cash transfers, integration of Core Humanitarian Standards and linking of preparedness, response and resilience.

They also noted four current challenges for localisation:

- **The shifting nature of the state**: The Philippines state is recentralising control in humanitarian response, closing down mechanisms for civil society participation and threatening the possibility for community-led response. In addition, an increasing nationalist discourse is leading to a rejection of foreign involvement, and increased scrutiny and surveillance of civil society funding. These actions threaten local actors, and therefore the possibility of sustaining localisation.

- **The challenge of scale:** Although there are now many local first responders, the Philippines is a large archipelago with over 7000 islands, and widespread vulnerability to disasters. The challenge is how to align first responders with where the disasters actually are, and to even out capacity so that it covers the whole country.

- **Diverse disasters**: The Philippines experiences typhoons, earthquakes, lahars (a mudflow or debris flow) and volcanoes. Each type of disaster requires a different type of response, and developing and sustaining the technical capacity to deal with this nationally is challenging.

- **The role of the private sector**: Business is a new entrant in the humanitarian space and it brings substantial technological and financial resources, and considerable power and potential. As businesses are not experienced in humanitarian standards and approaches, and may have diverse motivations for participation, civil society actors could help enable private sector contributions to the humanitarian system. This needs further exploration.

Another, final area for consideration is how the experience of embedding a localisation approach in the humanitarian sector could be applied to other areas of practice in Christian Aid, such as advocacy and campaigning on climate change. The CAPHL country manager reflected that programmes and campaigns should always reflect local concerns and realities but are currently often UK-centric.

> The Big Shift campaign[30] is about banks and divestment. We have banks here in the Philippines that are connected to banks in the UK, although this connection is not always visible. So how do we apply localisation in this context? For one thing, London cannot be the framework for analysis. We are part of a campaign taking our partners to talk to the UK banks. But our partners' priorities are the banks here, not the banks in the UK. So how can we negotiate for space within the climate campaign, recognising that London has its own agenda, but we have a different one. How much is the advocacy strategy informed by countries? Localisation of humanitarian aid is a global campaign which has impact here; how do we take the same approach for climate justice?

Making such connections is not just about thinking about the framing and content of an advocacy campaign; it is also about understanding working in partnership and what this implies for ways of working locally, nationally, regionally and globally.

4. Partnership in action: strengthening civil society?

I have often heard told that Christian Aid has a different approach to partnership than many other international agencies. I wasn't sure what this meant in practice, or the extent to which it was a current reality or merely a historic myth (Christian Aid has always been a partnership organisation, whereas many other large INGOs only began adopting this model towards the end of the twentieth century[31]). Listening to the language of partners as they reflected on civil society strengthening helped me to understand the relationship between partnership and solidarity; and to give meaning to the concept of 'leading from behind'. This language is clearly illustrated in the metaphors used by CAPHL staff during a focus group discussion to describe CAPHL's role in relation to its partners.

> CAPHL is a butterfly – we started as a caterpillar, and during Haiyan we cocooned. Since then, we have been going through the process of change. When we leave, it will fly off. But during this time, we nourished and nurtured others; we spread the pollen and fostered development and growth across civil society. We are a beautiful butterfly. No matter what becomes of us, we will feel proud of our legacy.

> CAPHL is a worm. We fertilise the soil, creating burrows to aerate it, and to make it more possible for the seeds to germinate and grow. We leave droppings to make the soil healthy. This is our role with partners, we help them grow and develop and ensure space for them to do the work.

> Christian Aid is a *carabao* (water buffalo); we are big, slow and hardworking. Or maybe we are a chameleon, adjusting to our environment.

The evolution of the climate resilience work, the opportunities and challenges presented by Haiyan and the national response to the localisation debate all centre around CAPHL's investment in and approach to partnership.

In considering whether and how CAPHL strengthened civil society in the Philippines, one activist cautioned against unrealistic expectations:

> We didn't set up Aksyon Klima or any of these other organisations to change civil society – this would be too lofty an ambition. But if you ask 'Have we changed civil society within the climate change space?', then I can wholeheartedly say, 'YES!' (Social movement focus group discussion)

As noted above, civil society in the Philippines is strong and diverse, and CAPHL had a large pool of mature organisations from which to pick potential partners. Many existing CSOs had been born from political struggle – resulting in strong commitment to social justice, and deep roots in communities and their visions. But they sometimes lacked the technical skills necessary to operate as development or humanitarian organisations, and the experience in interacting with government in order to influence policy, strategy or planning. These characteristics of civil society influenced CAPHL's positioning and partnership approach.

In a country where civil society is already strong, it can be challenging to describe the value of an additional (international) actor. Yet partners and CAPHL staff were able to identify key contributions that CAPHL had made, and these included how CAPHL developed partnerships by adding value through organisational capacity development, specific technical skills or brokering new and different relationships.

The nature of Philippine civil society meant that collaboration was not always automatic, and therefore achievements in encouraging organisations to work together were significant and showed the value added by CAPHL in this area:

> The Philippines has always been known for strong CSOs, but sometimes these organisations are in competition with each other. Who convenes is very important, and influences whether someone decides to join. There is the capacity for openness and solidarity, to go beyond differences and work for a common purpose, but it depends on who is involved. CAPHL is often seen as neutral, so we can step into this space. (CAPHL staff member)

The rest of this section looks at the broad factors that enabled CAPHL to develop partnerships in the way that it did, before looking in depth at the way CAPHL approached building advocacy platforms.

Leading from behind to achieve organisational priorities

Christian Aid doesn't impose, it has allowed us to thrive in networks and policymaking.

Resilience focus group discussion

At first glance, reflections on CAPHL's partnership approach might suggest an organisation that is lacking its own vision and strategy, and merely working with strong CSOs to support their strategy.

Every staff and partner interviewed emphasised the importance of partners setting their own agendas and CAPHL supporting their work. In practice, sometimes this involved the co-creation of shared work, and sometimes it involved critiquing an approach to strengthen and deepen its effectiveness:

> We regularly had partnership meetings… the partners had a huge say on the direction of CAPHL's programme… It wasn't just presented to them, we developed it together. (Former CAPHL staff member)

> At the beginning of the year the partners submit a proposal. They present their reading of the current political situation and justify what they will do against the political context and scenarios, and what is needed. Then we have a meaningful dialogue. We share our analysis of the situation and debate together; we have space for joint analysis, and planning. Sometimes we challenge each other. I might say: 'This research is excellent to inform debate, but how will you involve community analysis, or how will it contribute to strengthening the wider movement?' But we work across all types of organisation, and therefore the way we are involved varies; and with many partners we learn as much as we contribute. (CAPHL staff member, key informant interview)

Therefore, while 'leading from behind' has been central to CAPHL's work, what this has meant in practice is a range of different activities and solidarity actions, underpinned by trust.

More broadly, CAPHL has built partnerships in a range of ways:

- **Capacity building**. Strengthening individual partners' institutional and technical capacity through the introduction of new ways of working, standards and brokering new relationships.

- **Inspiring and developing theory and ideas.** Encouraging partner organisations to experiment and innovate (through providing funding to take on risk); working with international concepts (such as localisation) to make them meaningful locally; and encouraging technical approaches to work (through integrating climate change adaptation in the work on DRR).

- **Drawing on experts and expertise.** While CAPHL staff were highly skilled, they recognised the limits of their own skills, knowledge and positioning and brought in additional expertise when necessary, including climate scientists, media/communication specialists, or experts in governmental and legislative processes.

- **Building networks**. Catalysing and convening networks in a range of ways, including bringing together similar organisations, while sometimes encouraging cross-sector relationships.

- **Influencing policy through building advocacy platforms**. Bringing together groups of organisations working on related issues to engage collectively to influence policy and ensuring that advocacy is based on local knowledge and evidence by balancing local and national participation.

- **Adopting both insider and outsider approaches**. These approaches have varied depending on the context. An insider approach, which is defined as building the skills of CSOs to influence and engage with policymakers and government officials, dominated in the post-Marcos period (from 1986 onwards). Subsequently, given the contraction of civil society space, there has been an increase in 'outsider' approaches of public campaigning and 'noise-making'.

- **Linking evidence from local, national and global levels.** Working at different levels to bring evidence and support from the grassroots to bear at the national level and to build the case for change, and mirroring this same process in linking national to regional and global, bringing national evidence to bear in engaging in forums such as APEC and UNFCCC.

- **Accessing funding.** Making strategic use of limited core funding from Christian Aid to enable partners to leverage project funding from elsewhere. Collective endeavours helped raise further funds.

CAPHL's partnership approach, which generally involved using limited funding to strengthen partner organisations rather than delivering services directly, was successful due to three important enablers.

First, CAPHL's staff were central to the approach.

> CAPHL staff came from local civil society. We came from the movement. This comes into play in terms of selecting which project or initiative or organisation we support. There are many personal factors. The average age of our staff is older, we are seasoned and we carry so much experience with us. And we know each other, we know our partners as activists. (CAPHL staff member)

This shared history also suggests shared politics, a commitment to a shared vision of social justice, and trust. It influenced both the type of partner and the nature of partnership.

Second, Christian Aid was known as an organisation that had supported social struggles during the time of the dictatorship and stayed the course ever since.

Finally, CAPHL positioned itself as an international NGO. This ensured that it did not take the space of partners in the domestic arena but instead encouraged their voices and agendas to be influential regionally and internationally.

The process of developing partnerships varied according to the needs of each partner, but was nonetheless broadly similar. CAPHL identified an organisation that was doing work aligned with its thinking and strategy, worked with it based on its current agenda, but identified ways to strengthen it as an organisation, in order to enhance its ability to deliver the change it was seeking. The process of developing a partnership with Alyansa Tigil Mina, a coalition of anti-mining organisations, is described in the box below.

Alyansa Tigil Mina

This is based on an interview with the National Coordinator of Alyansa Tigil Mina (ATM) *and all quotes are his.*

ATM is a coalition of organisations born out of an anti-mining summit held in 2004. The summit brought together those concerned about the direction of the government's mining policy – which included aggressive promotion of mining that served foreign interests and undermined the rights of local communities.

ATM's members include NGOs, people's organisations (a term used in the Philippines to describe member-based grassroots organisations), church groups and academic institutions. It describes itself as both 'an advocacy group and a people's movement, working in solidarity to protect Filipino communities and natural resources that are threatened by large-scale mining operations.'[32] It started as a campaign and information-sharing group, but became more formal in 2009, partly as a response to increased human rights abuses, which included the killing and harassment of some of its members.

From 2009 onwards the group raised the profile of mining-related abuses in several ways. This ranged from:

- Supporting 'sites of struggle' with mining-affected communities
- Engaging around national and international mining policy, and
- Advocating for mining policies aligned with national needs and local rights, rather than driven by profit and external stakeholders.

CAPHL's partnership with ATM has gone through several stages. Initially CAPHL contributed to the conceptualisation of the organisation and supported both building the institution and its activities.

Particularly important was the role CAPHL played in linking the national struggle to international processes. For example, CAPHL involved ATM in international policy research, which provided insight and framing for their own analysis. It linked ATM to influential people, arranging a visit by the UK Secretary of State for International Development to ATM's 'sites of struggle', which helped amplify their work.

CAPHL also enabled ATM to engage critically with the global 'Publish What You Pay' transparency platform. ATM was invited to the Publish What You Pay launch event, but were concerned that the initiative was a whitewash. CAPHL supported ATM to develop a parallel 'revenue watch' process, which examined the links between transparency in the mining industry, tax breaks, and public service investment. ATM used this critical analysis to argue for deeper and more meaningful transparency.

This international support also encouraged south-south linkages:

In a globalised situation, the struggles we are facing are local, but they are embedded in a complex global economic structure, which we are only one part of. For example, a mineral company is responding to demands from elsewhere, and we can only engage with the bit that is here. There might be 4 or 5 other links that are crucial. So, linking up with Christian Aid was important to understand more about the chain, and to also learn from other contexts. International NGOs can facilitate south-south conversations. This reduces the time needed for learning.

CAPHL had also helped them link mining to other sectors and helped clarify and sharpen concepts and ideas.

> Christian Aid showed us the links between DRR, climate justice and extractive mining. Mining creates hazards and increases vulnerabilities. You can't eliminate geo-hazards, but if you prevent mining then the risk and vulnerabilities decrease. We used this framing to talk to local government, asking them: do you really want to introduce another hazard? Why don't you stop the mine?

Finally CAPHL provided capacity building to strengthen their advocacy and humanitarian accountability, and specialised training on financial tracking of extractive industries and land use mapping.

Despite the range and variety of initiatives the two organisations had worked on together, the coordinator interviewed finished by reflecting that the equality of the partnership was what it valued most.

> But more important than what CAPHL has supported is how we feel as partners. They ask, what is your agenda, what are your objectives, how can we fit in, how can we help? This is not the usual relationship. We are treated as an equal, as a partner, and they invest in what we want to do, so when they ask for a strategic plan we feel like we are doing it for ourselves… Our partnership is like a Friday night in the pub with a close friend. They ask you how your week was, you tell them all the good and the bad, and when we depart at the end of the night you feel better, and they might pick up the tab.

Evolving partnerships: from programmes to advocacy

CAPHL decided that for its work on DRR and climate change adaptation to be sustainable, policy change was needed. As a result it catalysed a range of advocacy platforms to engage in different policy processes. At the same time, part of CAPHL's strength was in its clarity about the parameters of its role and when it needed to withdraw to ensure that it did not dominate the role of partners or the advocacy platform itself.

Jessica Dator Bercilla, a member of staff who led the DRR and climate resilience work at CAPHL, identified four stages in catalysing advocacy platforms. At each stage, the relative importance of the role played by CAPHL shrinks, as illustrated in Figure 2.

A focus group discussion with members of Akyson Klima, DRRNet, Piglas Pilipinas and CAPHL highlighted three roles that CAPHL had played in advocacy platforms.

First, it encouraged platforms to make connections, and focus attention on a particular law or policy opportunity.

> Many of the organisations that became part of Akyson Klima had been working on climate issues for some time. But CAPHL helped bring focus and formalise the work – they introduced the idea of us thinking about influencing and inputting into the Philippines positioning in relation to the UNFCCC process. We went on to join the national delegations in Bali and in Paris. (Focus group discussion)

Second, it emphasised vertical integration, linking the base to the national chapter and vice versa, and beyond to the international community. CAPHL's position on policy change was that it would not happen without strong evidence and connections with the base; this way of working had been crucial in the struggle against the Marcos dictatorship.

> From an advocacy perspective, we might take on a direct advocacy role at international or regional level. But at national level this is transformed, as advocacy is partnership led, so our role is to enable it. We need to ask how can we reimagine an advocacy organisation that stands by the principle of being partnership led at every level? (CAPHL staff member, key informant interview)

> I see them [CAPHL] as a loud speaker. They facilitate us, acting as a connector from local to donor, as a resource mobiliser and communicator. They support local NGOs and communicate to the international community on the dependability of local organisations. (Key informant interview, People's Disaster Risk Reduction Network)

But in encouraging these local to national connections, CAPHL was also cognisant of power imbalances and potential tensions:

> It takes a lot from a national network to open itself up to local leadership; you need openness and humility. CAPHL modelled this, and encouraged others to partner in this way, whether it is about national and local, or academic expertise and experiential expertise. This modelling has been very important. (CAPHL staff member, key informant interview)

Christian Aid

Platform initiation

Building trust and confidence

Setting agendas

Influencing and negotiating

Partner
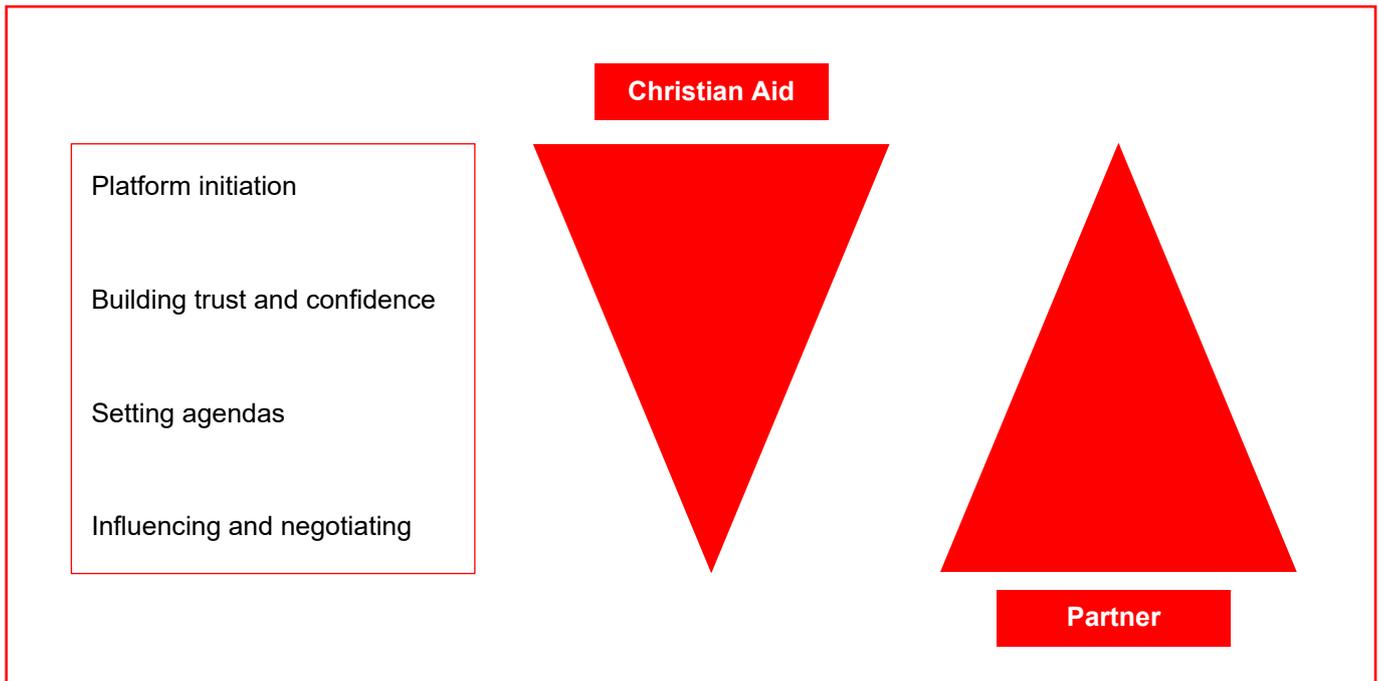
Figure 2: Four stages in catalysing advocacy platforms. At each stage, the relative importance of the role played by CAPHL is reduced.

Important in this vertical integration was a recognition that working from local to national (or from national to international) does not imply that all roles are shared. CAPHL emphasised that if there is trust and shared vision, then many local organisers might prefer to remain in their local area, organising and working with their communities, rather than travelling to get a direct audience with a policymaker. A trusting relationship allows recognition that a national advocacy platform member might be better placed to make the case for change, drawing on the local experience and evidence.

Finally, CAPHL always tried to keep the bigger picture in mind. The reason for focusing on a particular law or policy opportunity was always part of a wider change objective. For advocacy platform members, whose day-to-day actions are focused on a specific law or policy change, it can be hard to step back and keep sight of the wider goal.

CAPHL's advocacy partners said it played an important role in bringing action and strategies back to the bigger picture and the wider goal. However, they also recognised that this was not always successful, as noted earlier in relation to work on climate action losing energy and focus after the Paris Declaration.

Despite these challenges CAPHL has many advocacy success stories to cite. It has catalysed advocacy platforms, built relationships, created space for debate and brought about policy change related to DRR and climate resilience. It has also worked in a loose coalition of platforms, activists and social movements called Piglas Pilipinas working for a coal-free future. Learning from this coalition could be influential in the future, even now that CAPHL has closed its doors.

5. Learning from the past to look forward

How can former partners draw from their experience of working with CAPHL and use their learning to navigate through a challenging new period for the Philippines, characterised by an increasingly authoritarian government, limited openness to engaging with civil society and restrictions to free speech and public engagement? And what lessons does the CAPHL experience hold for Christian Aid more broadly?

Christian Aid Philippines strategies that benefited civil society organisations

In the interviews and focus group discussions carried out for this review, many reflected on the value of what had been achieved together, and how the ways of working could be built on in the future. The current context in the Philippines is very different from the one in which much of CAPHL's programme was delivered, and it was saddening to hear activists talk of their fears that society and freedoms might return to an atmosphere reminiscent of the Marcos dictatorship.

As I write this report, the Philippine government has taken on new powers under the Covid-19 lockdown, which may further curtail future freedoms. Individuals and NGOs have been named as enemies of the state, and there have been death threats and murders of civil society activists, especially environmental and human rights defenders. Despite the challenging context in which the Philippines finds itself, CAPHL's work with their partners has left a legacy, which will support these organisations to survive and thrive, if they are agile and learn from successful strategies employed in the past.

Connecting climate resilience knowledge and experience across sectors and levels. Drawing together experiential and academic knowledge, connecting across and between sectors, and linking local experience to national advocacy all provided a strong foundation for actors building resilient and low-carbon futures and continuing to hold the government accountable for its role in adapting to climate change. This could work in other sectors as well.

Seeking out allies and building coalitions. Building coalitions and bringing together diverse groups, a fundamental aspect of CAPHLs partnership approach, has become particularly important in the context of threats against civil society. It will be important to work with journalists who are willing to speak out and to identify potential collaborators within the government with whom it is possible to maintain dialogue. Learning from partnerships, such as the one with ATM, suggests there is also a need to identify 'safe' areas where individuals feel free to speak out without threats to human life. Another strategy could focus on working at the local level where there is less attention from the Duterte government. Another possibility is to reach out to the human rights' movement and connect it into the climate movement by brokering the 'neutral' spaces that CAPHL championed to enable people holding different perspectives to come together and find common cause.

Adapting to shifting contexts. One person interviewed for this review described CAPHL as a chameleon, responding to its changing circumstances. Partners also showed considerable flexibility, responding and shifting their strategies, for example, in the face of a climate disaster, or faith-based organisations considering safeguarding. The practice of adaptiveness will surely be important as the different actors negotiate their positions, strategies and approaches in the face of current challenges.

Final reflections on Christian Aid Philippines

The work of CAPHL had a direct impact on the lives and livelihoods of those living in poverty, through the creation of stronger networks for action, locally across sectors, and between local and national and global levels, and through the generation of new knowledge, understanding and transformation of practice.

CAPHL might have benefited from being a relatively small INGO with limited funding. This meant that it was not seen by other organisations as a threat, enabling staff to engage strategically. CAPHL would not have been able to achieve change on its own, and it could not deliver large-scale programmes. This forced it to be clear about how it could add value and to be purposeful in its limited space. Each context is different, and CAPHL also benefited from certain attributes of the Philippines:

- A strong civil society
- A structured and inclusive governance system
- A well-developed academia and business sector, both of which are influential globally and regionally, and
- Widespread acceptance that movements need to have a base, as well as connecting nationally and globally, to achieve change.

CAPHL's work had its limitations and weaknesses too. An earlier review wondered if being too partner led meant that CAPHL was unable to establish its own identity and reputation in the country. One consequence of this might have been losing out on funding opportunities.

While the whole-of-society approach provided a strong framing for action, it perhaps made it harder to identify and justify clear choices at every step along the way, increasing the difficulty of being certain that strategic decisions were made. Despite this, the programme was strong, and feedback from partners suggests that CAPHL contributed to long-lasting change in the country.

As I left the Philippines I felt great sadness that Christian Aid was closing our office there, but also great certainty that the work would continue in other ways, whether through individuals or partner organisations, or relationships that had been developed through participation with Christian Aid, and that the practitioners and activists that CAPHL had joined hands with would keep fighting for equality and justice.

There are lessons to be applied in other contexts. CAPHL was able to clearly analyse the root causes of poverty, inequality, vulnerability and risk, and this provided a strong vision to guide action. Individual staff members brought their own insight and analysis to their roles, as seen through their strong political analysis, deep understanding of civil society actors, and their ability to build and broker relationships.

CAPHL staff also brought skills and confidence in speaking to a range of actors (academics, private sector, government), and an understanding of their different needs. These were all key factors in how CAPHL made its partnership choices (ensuring a good mixture of partners focused at different levels and interconnecting areas), convened spaces and strengthened analysis and action.

The complexity of climate resilience work led CAPHL to adopt a whole-of-society approach and an approach focused on localisation, which became extended across the humanitarian sector. Both areas of work identified the need to connect regionally and globally while always embedding practice in the realities, perspectives and priorities of those living in poverty in both urban and rural settings, and in small island states.

Learning from Christian Aid Philippines about working in solidarity with social movements

These final reflections draw on CAPHL's understanding of social movements and its role in relation to them, and on the views of partners who identify themselves as being part of social movements. There is a huge body of literature exploring social movements that distinguishes between a movement's focus (related to socio-cultural identity or political-economic rights), mobilisation theory and organising approach,[33] which is beyond the remit of this review. However, by drawing on the insights shared by CAPHL partners during a focus group discussion on social movements, I identify key areas that Christian Aid could reflect on to both define what it means by social movements and the nature of intended collaborations within them.

A key starting point is to acknowledge that the relationship between (I)NGOs and these looser groups or movements is not always straightforward, as pointed out by a member staff.

> Movements come saying we don't think about this as a project, but CAPHL's operational language is projects…. and we don't have the tools for project-managing advocacy. [You can't] be a stickler for details and schedules, but to make sure there is learning space, to ask what is it about the political conditions that you didn't see or notice... It is narratives, not tables, that are important... To have the conversation, rather than be strict about the forms. (CAPHL staff member, key informant interview)

Focus group participants emphasised the importance of Christian Aid playing an organisational role, while leaving the mobilising to other local organisations who are driving the vision:

> CAPHL has helped in organising, not mobilising. Organising means conscientisation, getting people to recognise their issues. Mobilising is when you know what the issue is and you want people to work with you on it. These things are different. In organising you trigger thinking, and you get people to think about winning campaigns, not just launching advocacies. The metrics are different, as you are looking at long term change. (Focus group discussion on social movements)

And they noted that different types of movement work in different ways, at different moments, and therefore have different needs:

> Social movements are an association of a wide range of individuals and groups that come together to intensify a call, mobilise to protect a shared value, or advance a particular issue. No one organisation can claim to be a movement. It is the coalescing of many groups, and they include organisations of different natures. It cannot just be a collection of think tanks, it has to bring grassroots participation – this is essential. Some have strength in numbers, some have sharp analysis, some are good at communicating and capturing hearts and minds. (Focus group discussion)

Furthermore, reflecting on their work as climate activists and their engagement with national delegations to the UNFCCC process, some members of the focus group also lamented how they had perhaps become too focused on specific advocacy opportunities, and had forgotten their wider ambitions:

> When we think about whether we have built a movement for climate action, we realise that what we have built is an elite and alienated civil society. We speak with too much jargon, and during the global climate strikes we weren't able to mobilise very much here. (Focus group discussion on social movements)

Referring back to CAPHL's approach, the group reflected:

> Looking forward, we would need to partner with NGOs that have an embedded collaborative, whole-of-society approach. Who are able to influence, broker and work with others, we can't just focus on civil society. Our mobilisation has to enable partnership and be inclusive – of government, of church, academia, community, private sector. (Focus group discussion on social movements)

This reinforces learning detailed earlier in the report about the value of the whole-of-society approach, which rooted practice across a range of continuums – at different levels, with different actors, across different knowledge sets.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, in reflecting on their collaboration with CAPHL, one key principle and one key action stood out:

> Most importantly, CAPHL has actively participated in discussion and analysis – of the issue, policy and context. And solidarity shouldn't be under-emphasised. We stand together.

As Christian Aid moves forward with its work with movements, it will be important to draw on learning from the Philippines, to work out what this implies in different global contexts.

End notes

[1] Philippines CPSP Meta-review: Determining Added Value and Distilling Lessons from the Philippine Programme (2017) 18-19 (internal Christian Aid publication)

[2] The Grand Bargain was agreed at the World Humanitarian Summit in 2015, donors and aid providers made a series of commitments aimed at providing a greater share and more predictable aim to local and national responders by 2020. See https://interagencystandingcommittee.org/grand-bargain

[3] See https://www.hrw.org/tag/philippines-war-drugs and https://www.amnesty.org.uk/philippines-president-duterte-war-on-drugs-thousands-killed (accessed 1st June 2020)

[4] See https://pcij.org/article/3399/red-tagging-intimidation-vs-pressbrduterte-state-agents-behind-69-cases and https://iboninternational.org/2019/01/29/on-the-latest-threats-to-civil-society-and-democratic-spaces-in-the-philippines/

[5] Global Witness identified the Philippines as the country with the highest number of environmental activists killed globally in 2018: https://www.globalwitness.org/en/campaigns/environmental-activists/enemies-state/

[6] https://www.rappler.com/nation/244252-red-tagged-oxfam-nccp-slam-military

[7] https://reliefweb.int/sites/reliefweb.int/files/resources/WorldRiskReport-2019_Online_english.pdf

[8] You can find out more about Christian Aid's Resilience Framework here: https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2017-05/resilience-framework.pdf

[9] A global framework for action adopted by 168 governments at the first World Conference for Disaster Reduction, 2005.

[10] The Sendai Framework, which was agreed in 2015 following the Third UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction, outlines seven global standards to reduce risk and build resilience focused on reducing vulnerability, building capacity and understanding/minimising exposure to hazards.

[11] Philippine Disaster Reduction and Management Act (RA 10121) 2010 and The Climate Change Act (RA 9729) – 2009 law/2010 Act.

[12] You can find out more about this work in this document: *Partnering for Resilience* (2011) 2. https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2017-08/partnering-for-resilience-april-2011.pdf. A big part of CAPHLs work has been engagement with government at different levels, however this is not explored in detail here for two reasons: it is less novel for Christian Aid and it was the less of the focus of meetings, discussions and interviews during the review.

[13] See this web page for further background information on nationally determined contributions: https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/the-paris-agreement/nationally-determined-contributions-ndcs.

[14] One person suggested that the fact that DRRNet had managed to get four representatives on the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council could have impacted on their ability to influence. While it was quite a feat to be recognised as a key actor, once you are on the inside it can be challenging to keep up the critical edge in your contributions, and also tempting to believe that you are able to represent the network voice, without active convening and consultations that keep the network position and analysis alive.

[15] For more information see https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2017-09/Climate-services-Philippines-research-summary-jun2017.pdf

[16] For more information see https://www.christianaid.ie/news/how-women-are-lighting-lives-islanders-philippines

[17] Common challenges, identified during research by Christian Aid and partners are cited here in more detail: https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2017-10/discussion-guide-ngo-academic-research-oct2017_0.pdf (p. 18)

[18] See UKRI on 'fair and equitable' research partnerships: https://www.ukri.org/about-us/policies-standards-and-data/good-research-resource-hub/equitable-partnerships/

[19] For more information see: Ewbank, R (2016) Developing Climate Services in The Philippines; Christian Aid https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2017-11/Developing-Climate-Services-Philippines-report-July2016.pdf

[20] This media statement provides further information: https://www.continuitycentral.com/index.php/news/business-continuity-news/676-apec-ministers-issue-a-joint-statement-on-business-continuity-and-disaster-risk-reduction

[21] https://www.bbc.co.uk/bitesize/guides/z9whg82/revision/4

[22] Cornwall, A. and Brock, K. (2006) What do buzzwords do for development policy? a critical look at 'participation', 'empowerment' and 'poverty reduction' *Third World Quarterly* 26.7

[23] Barbelet, V. (2018) As local as possible, as international as necessary, Humanitarian Policy Group, ODI, London

[24] See https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2016-03/missed-again-typhoon-haiyan-evaluation-report-sep-2014.pdf

[25] Philippines CPSP Meta-review: Determining Added Value and Distilling Lessons from the Philippine Programme (2017) 18-19 (internal Christian Aid publication)

[26] CAPHL had been doing humanitarian work previously, but Haiyan changed the balance within the programme and brought the tensions of humanitarian and resilience approaches to the fore.

[27] *Our Humanitarian Agenda: Towards Locally-Led Humanitarian Actions*. Internal Christian Aid document, which articulates the humanitarian agenda of the Philippines programme.

[28] CAPHL Humanitarian Localisation (internal power point presentation, January 2018)

[29] https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2019-09/Healing-and-enabling-stories-from-Mangkhut-Philippines-typhoon-2019_0.pdf

[30] A global campaign catalysed by Christian Aid calling for an end to public financing of fossil fuels and a shift to investing in sustainable, renewable energy to provide energy access for all. https://bigshiftglobal.org/

[31] See: Newman, K. (2011) Challenges and dilemmas in integrating human rights-based approaches and participatory approaches to development: an exploration of the experiences of ActionAid International, Goldsmiths College, University of London, https://research.gold.ac.uk/id/eprint/10563/1/STA_thesis_NewmanK_2011.pdf and Elbers, W. et al (2015) Value for People On the added value of Christian Aid's partnership approach, Christian Aid: https://www.christianaid.org.uk/sites/default/files/2016-03/value-for-people-research-report-2015.pdf

[32] You can find out more about the Alyasa Tigil Mina network here: https://www.alyansatigilmina.net/about

[33] Social movement literature distinguishes between different kinds of movements with 'new social movements' focused on cultural and social issues, often linked to human rights; as opposed to historical movements, which were more political and economic in nature and often rooted in class struggle. The literature also discusses how and why they are initiated and mobilised, how groups coalesce and how transformative their intention is. Writing in a Philippine context Fabros (2006) describes these entities as vehicles for 'political action by poor and otherwise disenfranchised sectors of society', which grow in power 'when ordinary people join forces in contentious confrontation with elites, authorities and opponents'. He notes that the denser the social networks, and the stronger the cultural symbols are that exist in the movements, the more likely they are to spread and be sustained and that in the Philippines a key feature of social movements is their use and negotiation of legislative spaces, which opened up in the post Marcos era. Fabros, A. et al. (eds) (2006) *Social Movements experiences from the Philippines*. Institute for Popular Democracy, Quezon City, Philippines. Thompson and Tapscott (2013) identify two different types of movement that exist in the global south: self-organised collective action against collective oppression, or mobilisation to advance a specific cause through using participatory democratic processes. Thomspon, L. and Tapscott, C. (2013) *Citizenship and Social movements: perspectives from the global south*. Zed books, London.

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