

Non-State Actors and the State: Interrogating Disaster Response and Management in the Global South, the case of the Philippines

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Abstract: This paper interrogates the premise that the contemporary and interconnected world is not anymore only dominated by state actors but also by the active participation of a plurality of civil society organizations (CSO) or non-state actors (NSA) that are now creating more viable spaces for international solidarity and interdependence. The process of globalization has further made possible a world that is now borderless, more interconnected and more inclusive in many ways. In the course of this globalization, international cooperation is strengthened not mainly through state-to-state transactions but by the operation civil society organizations which provides dynamic interactions among states across borders. This study examines the impact of non-state actors in terms of disaster response and management in the global south, with a case study on the Philippines during one of its most devastating natural calamities in recent memory. Ultimately, this paper concurs that because of the presence of various non-state actors, engagement among states and different nations are being strengthened in ways that is never before recently seen in the greater practice of international relations.

Keyword: Non-State Actors, Globalization, Global South, Disaster Response, International Relations, Development.

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper underscores the idea that today's interconnected world is not anymore only dominated by state actors but also by the active participation of a plurality of civil society organizations (CSO) or non-state actors (NSA) that are now creating more viable spaces for international solidarity and interdependence. According to a study on the rise of non-state actors in global governance "the second half of the twentieth century witnessed an unprecedented growth in the number of international actors and dramatic changes in the scope of international connectivity, with a corresponding boom in discussions among scholars and policy wonks about the pluses and minuses of globalization and how it could be governed" (Weiss, Seyle and Coolidge, 2013).

Moreover, the process of globalization has made possible a world that is now borderless, more interconnected and more inclusive in many ways. In the course of this globalization, international cooperation is strengthened not mainly through state-to-state transactions but by the operation non-state actors which provides dynamic interactions among states across borders. This paper concurs that because of the presence of non-state actors, engagement among states and different nations are being strengthened in ways that is never before recently seen in the greater practice of international relations.

1.1 Non-state actors defined: its roles and impact

Civil society organizations (CSO), or non-state actors (NSA) are all those actors that are not (representatives of) states, yet that operate at the international level and are potentially relevant to international relations (Arts et al., 2001; Furtak, 1997; Higgot et al., 2000). NSAs can be seen as a strong catalyst for international cooperation and solidarity, transcending borders and race. By definition non-state actors are "recognized as a diverse and ever-wider ecosystem of individuals, communities and organizations. Information and communication technologies have opened up spaces of power, influence and association to new configurations of actors, leading to a significant growth of online civil society activity, and enabling networks to be built across geographical, social and physical divides. These networks allow greater numbers of

people to aggregate and collectively address societal challenges” (We Forum, 2013). It is interesting to look at how civil society organizations or non-state actors can mobilize operations in different countries in ways most states cannot accomplish.

Another definition offered by a JICA report on Turkish civil societies, civil societies are defined as “autonomous social units and organizations, such as voluntary associations, private companies, family and professional associations, etc. These social units are based on the principles of basic human and civil rights. In each civil society, citizens act collectively in a public sphere to express their interests and ideas, exchange information, achieve mutual goals, and make demands from the public authorities.” This paper acknowledges that collective actions from civil society organizations or non-state actors can influence the public sphere of governance, and even affect public policies and the bureaucratic processes leading to their creation and implementation.

This is strongly endorsed by Bas Arts (2003) in his study of the powers of non-state actors (NSA) in global governance. Arts observed “the notable rise of NSAs and their increasing influence and role in international politics.” He also noted that due to this increasing and intensifying activity of the NSAs, the mainstream state-centric approach to transnational relations is now being challenged by a new alternative. In analyzing this influence and impact, Arts has this to say: “NSAs do matter in the realm of global governance. I do not argue on normative grounds that NSAs should have power; instead, I argue on empirical grounds that they do in fact have power.” These new alternatives thus, are seen as either complementary to state roles in disaster response and management, or a competition specially in terms of funding, as would be demonstrated later in this paper. Do CSOs or NSAs therefore, supersede or even expropriate state functions and authority?

Moreover, according to Ataman’s (2003) study of non-state actors’ impact on world politics, NSAs play a major role in foreign policy making of nation-states and significantly influence their foreign policy behavior. They lobby in domestic as well as international settings and mobilize their home or host states and national and global public opinion. As will be demonstrated later in this paper, non-state actors have the capacity to impact public policy, and even push the policy implementers. They have the capacity to rally for a cause and demand transparency from the government in matters related to disaster and climate management, especially on its policies and the use of funds.

Ataman further said that “a product of intensified globalization process, NGOs which operate on international and transnational levels have become more notable determinants of foreign policies of nation-states. Like their counterparts that operate at domestic level and lobby in their respective countries, they lobby at international level. Therefore, no nation-state can ignore their existence and effectiveness. Due to their increasing significance, non-state actors forced students of the international relations (IR) to revise their theoretical perspectives and to develop more explanatory theories.” Arts (2003) re-echoes this idea when he observed in his study that the rise of NSAs and their tangible contributions cannot anymore be ignored in the international and global politics.

Today, nation-states are no longer able to solve their problems only by themselves. They cannot deal with problems such as acid rain, nuclear contamination of the atmosphere, climatological changes, shortage of food, poverty, overpopulation, and insufficient natural resources (Kegley and Wittkoph, 1995: 332; Miller, 1994: 215-225). Again, as we can see on this paper, non-state actors can take on the functions of the government in terms of services during disaster management and other environmental issue.

Since the massive rise of CSOs and NSAs after the Cold War era (Arts, 2003) definitions have been changing as non-state actors are recognized as encompassing far more than a mere “sector” dominated by the NGO community. According to the WE Forum (2003) civil society today includes an ever wider and more vibrant range of organized and unorganized groups, as new civil society actors blur the boundaries between sectors and experiment with new organizational forms, both online and offline. Roles are also changing: civil society actors are demonstrating their value as facilitators, conveners and innovators as well as service providers and advocates, while the private sector is playing an increasingly visible and effective role in tackling societal challenges.

In describing their relationship with government institutions, Grunfeld said that “in the majority of cases, these organizations have a limited functional objective. They are not aimed at taking over the duties of the State, that is to say they do not seek self-determination or the overthrow of the State. They will and are able to take over the duties of the State where the State itself is not able to perform these, for instance in supplying food, health care and so on.” While not

dismissing the roles of the state, observers conclude that non-state actors are effective channels to complement the state in terms of public service and delivery.

In a study by Zarei and Safari they observed the impact of NSAs by saying that “non-state actors (NSAs) are new players in international law. NSAs possess significant de facto economic, financial and institutional power yet the lack any corresponding legal responsibility.”

According to the executive report made by the We Forum, civil society groups, some actors, such as faith and religious cultures, as well as social media communities and networks, are starting to play an enhanced role. These roles include the following:

- *Watchdog*: holding institutions to account, promoting transparency and accountability;
- *Advocate*: raising awareness of societal issues and challenges and advocating for change;
- *Service provider*: delivering services to meet societal needs such as education, health, food and security; implementing disaster management, preparedness and emergency response;
- *Expert*: bringing unique knowledge and experience to shape policy and strategy, and identifying and building solutions;
- *Capacity builder*: providing education, training and other capacity building
- *Incubator*: developing solutions that may require a long gestation or payback period;
- *Representative*: giving power to the voice of the marginalized or under-represented;
- *Citizenship champion*: encouraging citizen engagement and supporting the rights of citizens;
- *Solidarity supporter*: promoting fundamental and universal values;
- *Definer of standards*: creating norms that shape market and state activity

1.2 Institutional definitions of non-state actors

The World Bank has adopted the definition of civil society developed by a number of leading research centers, namely: “the wide array of non-governmental and not-for-profit organizations that have a presence in public life, expressing the interests and values of their members or others, based on ethical, cultural, political, scientific, religious or philanthropic considerations. Civil society organizations therefore refer to a wide array of organizations: community groups, NGOs, labor unions, indigenous groups, charitable organizations, faith-based organizations, professional associations, and foundations.”

The European Union (EU) considers CSOs to include: “all non-State, not-for-profit structures, non-partisan and non-violent, through which people organize to pursue shared objectives and ideals, whether political, cultural, social or economic... they include membership-based, cause-based and service-oriented CSOs. Among them, community-based organizations, non-governmental organizations, faith-based organizations, foundations, research institutions, gender and LGBT organizations, cooperatives, professional and business associations, and the not-for-profit media. Trade unions and employers’ organizations, the so-called social partners, constitute a specific category of CSOs.”

According to Walker and Thompson (2008) “civil society today cannot be put into any nutshell. In structural forms it ranges from the organized NGOs for public benefit (such as Amnesty International, Oxfam, Greenpeace, and CARE) and associations for member benefits (such as trade unions, consumers’ groups, professional associations, and sports clubs) to faith-based organizations, internet-based pressure groups, and anti-war protestors. As with the private sector and the natural world, diversity is a cornerstone of its strength. A vibrant civil society is packed with organizations and causes competing for the attention of citizens.”

Cognizant of these various definitions from different sources, this present paper consolidates into the whole cluster of Non-State Actors (NSA) all those actors independent and external of the state and its representatives, to include Civil Society Organizations (CSO), International Peoples’ Organizations (IPO), Non-Government Organizations (NGO),

professional organizations, charitable organizations whether religious or secular, and other similar entities. The subsequent discussion from hereon is therefore technically premised on this definition.

1.3 Related studies: Impact of non-state actors in the Global South

Here in this section, some studies related to the impact of civil society organizations are presented and surveyed. This will establish the hypothesis that the impact of non-state actors can be measured by the amount of change it contributed to the host nation-state. We can glean from the studies mentioned here that CSOs and NSAs indeed can effect state roles and functions. As one of the first to respond in calamities like disaster response and management and other environmental issues, it cannot be denied that CSOs are a significant help to the people and organizations they represent.

In the study of Ataman (2003) he revealed that “NGOs create and/or mobilize global networks by creating transnational organizations, gathering information on local conditions through contacts around the world, alerting global network of supporters to conditions requiring attention, creating emergency response around world, and mobilizing pressure from outside states.” It is further observed that NGOs participate in IGO conferences by mobilizing transnational social movements organizations around issues in IGOs, building transnational social coalitions, raising new issues, supporting IGO development, addressing IGO meetings, submitting documents to governmental organizations’ meetings, improving skills in conference diplomacy, and increasing expertise on issues (Mingst, 1999: 255-257).

In disaster risk response and management, non-state actors have played important roles over the years in the disaster field. Starting from the traditional approach of response and relief, the emphasis has gradually shifted to rehabilitation and disaster risk reduction. From international nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) to national and local NGOs, all stakeholders have recognized the significance of and need for community-based risk reduction. In their different capacities they have endeavored to establish links to the policy options at the local and national levels. “There still are many issues that remain untouched by CSOs, however, and local CSOs face special challenges in resources in terms of human, financial, and technical issues” (Shaw et.al, 2014). These challenges of course, have something to do with financial restrictions that make non-state actors to rely in donations and external funding. Moreover, bureaucratic restrictions and regulations from and by the state might affect the operations of NSAs. However, these do not seem to prevent NSAs in accomplishing their targets as will be discussed in this paper.

1.4 Non-state actors in the context of development

As a result of numerous changes in the world the development community is no longer talking about aid effectiveness, but about development effectiveness. Banks & Hulme (2012) agree that the key role of civil society organizations (CSOs) in addressing this paradigm shift, to which they also contributed, is to focus on poverty reduction and factors affecting development such as human rights, participatory democracy, social and environmental justice, sustainability and gender equality. Non-state actors today are in the front lines of many developmental projects in the community.

According to Policy Digest (2013) NSAs engage in development effectiveness in many important ways. Firstly, CSOs monitor the actions of donors and other actors in development and play the ‘watchdog’ role. Secondly, they shape the global agenda of development effectiveness by participating in multi-stakeholder discussions. Thirdly, CSOs make sure their actions reflect the internationally agreed principles of development effectiveness.

Acknowledging not only their contributions, but also their weaknesses and challenges as development actors, CSOs have taken on the challenge to proactively improve their work and be fully accountable for their development practices and results. In Philippine development framework and practices, the active participation of CSOs and NGOs in different facets of governance and public service delivery has affected and complemented bureaucratic roles and functions. Observers presume that this dynamics between state and non-state actors is causing a more viable spaces for development.

2. RESEARCH PROBLEM AND METHODOLOGY

This paper interrogates the impact of non-state actors in terms of disaster response and management in developing countries, with a case study on the Philippine experience of recent calamities specifically the Typhoon Yolanda (international name *Haiyan*) in 2013. This takes into consideration some international and local civil society organizations and looks at how they work vis-a-vis government institutions in the delivery of public services and goods. This will also survey the global impact of civil societies on political and social issues upon which the operation of civil societies are validated. It specifically aims to:

1. Identify the non-state actors and civil society organizations that assisted in the disaster response during the Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines, including the extent and nature of their contribution and participation during and after the calamity;
2. Evaluate the general impact of non-state actors in disaster risk response and management in developing countries in terms of collection and utilization of funds, and public service delivery, and;
3. Demonstrate how non-state actors work vis-a-vis government and state institutions in terms of the prescribed regulatory standards and concepts used in this paper.

Data for this study is obtained from different sources available from international government websites, Philippine government websites, and civil society organizations' official websites, official government and private documents, previous studies and papers related to the topic which are published and presented in the previous years, and relevant news articles and information from local and international media outlets. This paper focuses only on the impact and specific contributions of non-state actors in disaster risk response and management, specifically during the Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines.

Generally, this paper aims to consolidate information that would investigate the capacity of NSAs to impact disaster risk response and management specifically in the Philippines, and to further support the hypothesis that NSAs have tangible and significant contributions to society and the people it represents through working side by side with the government. This paper attempts to demonstrate the complementary roles of state governments and non-state actors in responding to and managing disasters. Interpretations and analysis of the data will be framed within the contemporary development and international relations concepts and theories.

2.1. Theoretical Considerations

This paper has appropriated the analysis of power proposed by Arts (2003) in his study on the impact of non-state actors in global governance. Since this paper aims to interrogate the impact of CSOs in disaster risk response and management, it is expedient to frame this discussion in the context of power, as what Giddens (1984) defined as the ability to gather resources and utilize those resources to achieve the desired outcomes. According to Arts, power is the organizational and discursive capacity of agencies, either in competition with others or jointly, to achieve certain outcomes in global governance, a capacity which is, however, co-determined by the social structures in which these agencies operate.

To appraise the impact of non-state actors in disaster risk response and management, this paper has utilized Arts' concept of the Three Faces of Power namely: (1) *decisional power, which is related to policy-making and political influence*; (2) *discursive power, which is related to the framing of discourse*; and (3) *regulatory power, which is related to rule-making and institution-building*. Together, they constitute the power of agents, i.e. the capacity 'to achieve outcomes' in social interactions, embedded in institutional and ideological contexts. This three faces of power has been used in this paper to assess if NSAs really have an impact on disaster risk response and management by evaluating the "achieved outcomes" during and after the Typhoon Haiyan calamity.

In addition, this paper has used the concept of the We Forum (2013) defining the roles of NSAs and CSOs in the global community. To assess the impact of an actor, one must define a standard on how to measure it. Standards define the success, efficiency, or failure of an organization. This paper will use these defined roles and benchmarks to assess the efficiency of NSAs in disaster reduction and management during the Typhoon Haiyan: *watchdog, advocate, service provider, expert, capacity builder, incubator, representative, citizenship champion, solidarity supporter, and definer of standards*.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

This section presents secondary data gathered for this paper. Data is limited only to the nature and extent of participation and contribution of international and local NSAs during and after the Typhoon Haiyan. By studying the contributions of NSAs during the response phase and rehabilitation phase, we can infer the importance of NSAs as partners and collaborators of the government in the delivery of public goods and services. Moreover, the interplay of the government and the NSAs during calamities was at work during these particular times, as evidenced by the complementary efforts to assuage the hardships of those directly affected by the calamity.

Today, the Philippines is said to have the largest, most vibrant and dynamic civil societies in the entire Southeast Asia (Turner, 2011) and its roles and impact can be seen across different spheres of society. Because of the tradition of democratic institutions and principles which the nation has inherited from the United States, non-state actors such as CSOs, People's Organizations (POs), Non-Government Organizations (NGOs) has pervaded the country and has successfully thrived over time. And they are here to stay as democratic institutions reinforce the existence and operation of non-state actors and civil society organizations.

Moreover, the Philippines, an archipelago in South-East Asia with a population of now over 100 million, is perhaps the most disaster vulnerable country in the world, exposed to a variety of natural hazards including storms, typhoons, floods (and associated hazards such as landslips), as well as earthquakes, volcanic eruptions and droughts (GFDRR, 2009). Recent large-scale disasters have included typhoons Ketsana (Ondoy) in 2009, Washi (Sendong) in 2011 which hit the Manila and northern Mindanao areas respectively. The most devastating of these is of course the Typhoon Haiyan (Yolanda) in 2013 which wreaked havoc in the Visayas region and in many parts of the archipelago. These typhoons are in addition to countless smaller disasters and the ongoing conflict and related displacement on the island of Mindanao (Alnap, 2013).

This paper postulates that the operation and existence of such non-state actors is beneficial to both the donor and the recipient state. It also enhances international and national cooperation in which the public and the private become engaged and complement one another in delivering goods and services.

3.1 The Haiyan Calamity: NSAs at work

The super Typhoon Haiyan that hit the Philippines last 2013 was touted as one of the strongest typhoon that was ever recorded in world history. According to the final report by the Philippines National Disaster Risk Reduction & Management Council (NDRRMC), Haiyan affected 44 provinces after making landfall in Eastern Samar on November 8. It has affected 3, 424, 593 families, with 6, 300 casualties, 28, 688 injured, 1, 062 missing. Estimated cost of damage was at P9.46 billion. Immediately after the landfall, a band of government and non-government agencies and institutions joined hands in responding to the challenge at hand: rescue the victims, provide for their immediate needs, and eventually to oversee their rehabilitation until things got back to normal.

This section consolidated secondary data regarding the significant contributions of non-state actors during the Typhoon Haiyan calamity, how much they were engaged, and to what extent did they involve in the response, rescue and rehabilitation of the people affected by the typhoon. Data for this section are gathered from government websites, official documents, reports and news articles that came out during and after the calamity.

Table 1: Partial list of international organizations that pledged and supported the relief operations immediately right after the super typhoon Haiyan, based on available government data.

Organization	Nature of Assistance
1. International Committee of the Red Cross	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Staff on ground to assist in relief ops Relief goods
2. Médecins Sans Frontières (Doctors Without Borders)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 200 tons of aid -- medicine, tents, hygiene kits
3. European Union	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two 747s loaded with relief goods Agence France-Presse reports that the European Union upped its contribution by \$7.0 million on November 16 to US\$20 million.
4. United Nations Office for the Coordination of Human Affairs (UNOCHA)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> US\$ 25 million from the Central Emergency Response Fund (CERF) to support life-saving efforts
5. Buednis Aktion Deutschland Hilfe's CARE, Malteser International and HelpAge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teams were placed in Samar and Leyte and coordinated with PH government, rescue, and relief Agencies.
6. ADRA, Johanniter Unfallhilfe (German)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Deployed search and rescue team
7. World Vision And the International Search and Rescue Team (ISAR)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 23 tons of relief aid consisting of water, food, hygiene, and medical kits
8. ISAR Germany	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Medical team of up to 24 doctors and nurses to the hardest hit areas Medical tents that can accommodate up to 1,000 persons a day

9. UNICEF	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 60 tons of aid (shelters and medicine) Water purification and sanitation equipment
10. OXFAM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Deployed assessment team ahead of aid
11. Action Medeor	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 2 tons of medical supplies sent through ISAR Germany
12. Keidanren (Japan Business Federation)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> JPY1 million (approximately P500 thousand)
13. Aeon Co. Ltd.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> JPY10 million in assistance
14. International Labour Organization (ILO)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> As part of the UN Typhoon Yolanda Action Plan, ILO deployed a disaster response program focusing on employment opportunities to help rebuild the affected communities' infrastructure.
15. Disasters Emergency Committee, UK (DEC)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Have set up a rescue appeal that has raised GBP1.5 million (US\$2.4 million) in just 15 hours since it was started. The British Monarchy, through Queen Elizabeth has promised to contribute to the appeal.
16. Arab Gulf Fund for UN Development (AGFUND)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> US\$100,000
17. Marubeni (Japan)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> JPY15 million (P6.7 million) handed over by former Japanese Ambassador to Manila Makoto Katsura to the Philippine Embassy in Tokyo
18. Al Ain (UAE)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Relief funds amounting to P110,000 to the Philippine Red Cross
19. KGL Investment Asia (Kuwait)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> US\$1 million financial assistance
20. Irish Aid	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 100 tons of relief goods valued at EUR510,000 (599 tents, 700 tarpaulins, 10,000 blankets, and 880 ropes)
21. United Nations Development Program (UNDP)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> US\$5 million for debris removal
22. Organization of Islamic Cooperation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Humanitarian mission
23. Asian Development Bank (ADB)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> USD 3M Grant for Typhoon Yolanda (Haiyan) Project signed on 14 November 2013 and disbursed to DSWD USD 20M Grant committed by ADB to be sourced from Japan fund for poverty reduction
24. LSIS South Korea	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> P1 million (US\$20,000) through Yu Eng Kao Electrical Supply (Philippine partner)

Table 2: Breakdown of total foreign aid received in Philippine peso¹

Foreign Aid Received	PhP 17,233,297,910.67 (USD 386,249,588.96)
Total Cash Received by Government	PhP 1,202,312,574.78 (USD 26,947,409.61)
Total Non-Cash Received by Government	PhP 1,269,787,369.01 (USD 28,459,720.94)
Total Received by NSAs, NGOs, Multilaterals and others	PhP 14,761,197,966.88 (USD 330,842,458.41)

It is of interest to observe from the information above that a great majority of the total foreign aid received for Haiyan response and rehabilitation went to NSAs, NGOs, and multilaterals and other organizations. This is quite the same observation in the study of Jelinek (2006) about NSAs being allocated with funds to operate on far more than what the government receives. Few factors cited are the credibility and efficiency of NSAs to deliver services and goods. This paper postulates that because of the centralized organizational nature of most NSAs, ridding them with less bureaucratic dark waters, the delivery of public goods and services is deemed to be speedier and more efficient. In addition to this, NSAs strict adherence to corporate social responsibilities, their missions, and objectives, make them as viable channels for public funds and donations.

Naturally because of this, some tensions might develop between the state and non-state actors. Do NSAs take away the authority of the state, replace government roles, or supersede government programs and projects? NSAs by definition are

¹ From the Foreign Aid Transparency Hub (FAiTH), the Philippine Government's online information portal for international calamity aid and assistance set up to monitor the influx of Yolanda funds, <http://www.gov.ph/faith/full-report/>

independent, impartial and neutral agencies, which provide relief, rehabilitation, reconstruction and/or development assistance. Non-state actors-State relations across the globe have occasionally been tense, where a government has been fearful of being substituted by NSAs and NGOs and/or exposed for a lack of accountability and transparency with donor or public funds (Jenilek, 2006).

Moreover, governments may also view NGOs as competitive rivals for donor funding. While the mandates, organizational structures and approaches will differ between agencies, NGOs generally work at the grass roots level to provide aid, services and information both to those in need and to a wider audience of policy-makers, state organizations and donor agencies (Jenilek, 2006). However, within the more idealistic frameworks of humanitarian aid, both groups can always work together side by side to address public concerns.

Much of the aids mentioned in Table 1 and 2 from international non-state actors and private individuals was either channeled to government offices such as the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD), Department of Health (DOH), Department of Public Works and Highways (DPWH) and to Local Government Units (LGU), or disbursed directly by the CSOs themselves. Local government, NGOs, and humanitarian aid groups worked together to get basic services, water and medical supplies to people who needed them.

An example of this collaboration was between the UNICEF Philippines and the DOH. UNICEF Philippines has brought in US\$8 million worth of medical kits and diarrheal disease sets. Some US\$2 million worth of vaccines was ordered to replenish the government's stock and US\$10 million worth of cold chain equipment—generators, solar and ice-lined refrigerators capable of withstanding long power failures and cold rooms for storing vaccines. Along with this essential medical hardware, UNICEF has deployed international experts to support the Department of Health to build up its capacity to manage long-term investment in cold chain. Without the cold chain, essential medicines and vaccines that protect children from life-threatening illnesses cannot survive the heat—they become ineffective and fail to invoke the required immune response (Zaka, 2013).

Furthermore, where there were issues about the inability of the government to build homes for those affected², NSAs and local foundations were there to see to it that homes, even though temporary, were built and provided for the victims. One of these NSAs is the “Shelter Box”, an organization that gives out huge tents that can sleep a family of six or eight people complete with a small stove and cooking set, a tool kit, solar lamp, mosquito nets, water containers and purification set and even a children’s activity pack. Shelter Box is an NGO that partners with Rotary Clubs.

Moreover, about 1,700 houses for victims in the municipalities of Pilar and Dao have been pledged by the Switzerland-based non-government organization popularly called HEKS in partnership with the Task Force Mapalad, Inc. (TFMI) as part of the non-government organization’s Typhoon Yolanda (*Haiyan*) Shelter Project. The international NGO has also conducted relief operations after the supertyphoon which benefited about 2,100 households province-wide. Other groups which voluntarily offered immediate relief, shelter and livelihood assistance include United Sikh, Shelter Box, ADRA, UN agencies and various humanitarian as well as religious groups, Red Cross, other local government units, national government agencies, philanthropists and private individuals, among others.

One of the biggest local private sector organizations that have done more for the victims of Typhoon Haiyan was the Aboitiz Foundation (AF), the Social Development Arm of the Aboitiz Group of Companies. The AF was reported to have repaired 200 classrooms in Northern Cebu notably Bogo City and San Remigio that helped some 13,000 students. AF also has built 70 new classrooms in the said area. For its rehabilitation effort, the Aboitiz Group was able to raise P203 million which they used for relief in Cebu and Leyte where P140 million is earmarked for rehabilitation efforts. This, according to a Philippine Star report, is the “power of the private sector”.³

3.2 Post-Haiyan rehabilitation

Even long after Typhoon Haiyan left the country, a number of NSAs have stayed to help in the rehabilitation of the affected areas. Some have stayed to directly facilitate the building of shelters and monitor the progress of rehabilitation. Iloilo Provincial Administrator Raul Baniyas have recognized the tremendous effort in disaster reduction and rehabilitation efforts of the NSAs in his province alone. By estimate, Baniyas said around P50-million worth of fishing boats were

² In a report by Philippine Star, it pointed that the problem really lies in the National Government agencies tasked to build permanent homes for those victims who lost their homes in the aftermath of Typhoon Yolanda.

³ Ibid

directly donated to the beneficiaries in Northern Iloilo wherein largely about P40 million came from Chan's One Meal Foundation.

Private and international donors were very active in assisting with the means to access clean and potable water in the Haiyan-ravaged towns where most clean water sources were polluted by saltwater from the sea. For instance, international NGO Waves For Water in partnership with a local group called Ambag, has installed 500 clean water filtration systems in the Iloilo towns of Balasan, Estancia, Concepcion, Barotac Viejo, and San Dionisio and selected towns in the province of Capiz. Several schools are designed to be typhoon-resilient by foreign partners such as Concern Worldwide, Korean Red Cross, and Save the Children. The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations in coordination with the Department of Agriculture has released farm implements to the farmers affected by typhoon Yolanda.

These post-Haiyan activities are cognizant of the idea advanced earlier on this paper that NSAs today do not only deal with disaster response but with the more essential concern of community rehabilitation and development.

4. CONCLUSION

At the beginning of this paper, the author attempted to establish the premise that non-state actors and civil society organizations are dynamic agencies which help foster international cooperation and solidarity. In the absence of state-to-state interaction, NSAs can transcend national boundaries and territories, which give a better chance for mutual understanding among nations. NSAs can go beyond nationality, race, and political and religious divides—domains where governments of States sometimes find difficult to negotiate.

In terms of disaster response and management, NSAs and CSOs are proven to be effective in helping out governments to address calamities and disasters by raising funds for the affected community, mobilizing networks to operate on the ground, deploy humanitarian missions to complement government efforts, and demand accountability from the state. NSAs are also seen as credible agencies on which to channel funds, projects and programs. Governments too, have recognized the significant help that NSAs contribute to addressing issues such as disaster reduction, response and management, environmental issues, health, education, political awareness, and poverty alleviation, among others.

Looking back at the roles of NSAs as enumerated by the We Forum (2013), let us assess now interrogate whether NSAs really play well in terms of disaster risk response and management:

- **Watchdog:** during and after the Typhoon Haiyan calamity, NSAs were actively engaged in holding the government accountable in terms of response and use of funds. Some NSAs even demanded investigation of government institutions regarding the alleged misappropriation of funds intended for Haiyan victims' rescue and rehabilitation.
- **Advocate:** NSAs have the capacity to raise awareness on a certain issue. During the Typhoon Haiyan, they advocated for the just use of funds, appropriate rehabilitation practices, and decent housing for the victims. After the typhoon, NSAs became more intense in promoting a more concerted efforts and coordinated response to disaster among state actors and non-state actors.
- **Service Provider:** on this, we have observed that NSAs were actively engaged in providing services, relief operations, and humanitarian missions to the areas affected by the typhoon. They were committed in helping out the government in terms of public service delivery during and after Typhoon Haiyan. In fact, many NSAs have stayed to oversee the continuous rehabilitation of those affected.
- **Expert:** NSAs during the Typhoon Haiyan have responded to this role by sending experts and specialists out in the field. They have deployed doctors, nurses, and medical personnel to oversee the medical needs of the people. Planners, organizers, and community leaders were also present to help in the management of the devastated areas. Post-Haiyan activities also witnessed NSAs being involved in further disaster management planning and operations.
- **Capacity builder:** after the calamity, some NSAs have involved themselves in educating people about how to respond to future disasters, as they have regularly done before. They provide and support trainings that will help communities to better respond to disasters, like what the UNICEF has done. They also do research to assist in disaster reduction and management. They also assist and empower local agencies and institutions in creating more responsive and resilient communities.

- **Incubator:** NSAs have helped develop programs that will not only help the relief of Typhoon Haiyan victims, but also for their rehabilitation and long-term well-being.
- **Representative:** NSAs have effectively represented the voice of the marginalized/affected people during the Haiyan calamity. Because of the awareness they have raised, funds have poured in for the relief and rescue operations. After Haiyan, NSAs were there to make sure that their rehabilitation was prioritized by governments and other funding agencies.
- **Solidarity supporter:** the presence of NSAs during and after the calamity attested to the notion that we need not be politically colored to help out those in need. NSAs have time and again demonstrated that solidarity matters in these dark times, more than political ambition and projections of power. NSAs ideally promote solidarity and mutual cooperation among people and institutions across cultures and ideologies.
- **Definer of standards:** NSAs have demonstrated efficiency and transparency that the State, with its difficult bureaucratic structures, can learn from.

Finally, in lieu of Arts' Three Faces of Power, the impact of NSAs in disaster response and management is hereby evaluated by looking at the outcomes achieved by the NSAs during and after the Typhoon Haiyan calamity.

On the first face of power, decisional power or the power related to policy-making and political influence, NSAs which operated during and after the Typhoon Haiyan calamity have significant impact on the political sphere, as evidenced by their active presence in the field during most of the situation. One can only think of the bureaucratic bargaining and process they have gone through just to operate and get in the affected areas. Also, with a massive and large-scale national catastrophe like the Typhoon Haiyan, government regulation would necessitate the strict overseeing of the entire relief and rescue process, and the fact that NSAs freely operated during and after the Haiyan calamity testified that they can influence, or at least persuade, government agencies to allow them to do their humanitarian work.

Based on data gathered by this paper, some NSAs in the field have even used government facilities and vehicles such as army trucks, helicopters, and boats. They have succeeded in making the government allow them to continue operation despite the imminent risks in the area.

Moreover, in the months and years that followed, NSAs remain committed to overseeing the rehabilitation process in the affected areas. Where there are errors on the side of the government, the NSAs were there to demand explanations. Some have conducted rallies, awareness campaign and took on social media to demand transparency. In terms of policymaking, NSAs became actively engaged in drafting policies and regulations pertaining to disaster risk reduction, preparedness and management. They have used their political influence to rally behind them international organizations that have something to do with the environment and climate change. Partnerships and networks among NSAs and with the government were forged to better address calamities such as Typhoon Haiyan.

With the government claiming that NSAs are strong partners in such crises, one can deduce the assertion that NSAs will continue to participate in international, regional, and local disaster reduction, response and management. They can lobby, they can advocate, they can protest, they can monitor and demand transparency. As what has been demonstrated early on in this paper, NSAs have tangible political and social relevance that can be felt especially in terms of the contributions they give to humanity.

Secondly on the domain of discursive power, or the power to frame and reframe discourse, the NSAs that were engaged in the Typhoon Haiyan definitely achieved significant success, because after all as Arts said, "to influence decision-making one might also need to (re)frame discourses." The basic argument according to Arts is that non-state actors—by shaping and disseminating politically relevant values, norms, theories and stories—co-determine the behavior of states and other participants in the global arena. According to Hajer (1995)⁴ "a discourse refers to a more or less coherent set of values, norms, ideas, concepts, buzzwords, testimonies, etc., produced, reproduced or transformed by a group of societal actors, to give meaning to a certain practice."

The discourse that the author would like to point out was that NSAs which were engaged in the Haiyan response and rehabilitation have attempted to demonstrate to the state actors during the calamity is the ideal of mutual cooperation,

⁴ As quoted by Arts.

solidarity and transparency. Where government and politicians have had conflicting issues on how to handle the response, especially in the operation of funds, CSOs were there to balance the tension and remain committed in delivering their services. Did this change the behavior of the government? One can only deduce from the willingness of the government to cooperate with and respond to the demands of the NSAs and some private individuals for some transparency and commitment. After all, significant amount of the relief and rehabilitation funds came from international organizations which expected the government to be transparent on the way it handle the operations.

Third and lastly, in terms of the regulatory power or the power to reform and remake rules, on which Arts said that “NSAs are no longer merely watching, influencing and waiting for governments and intergovernmental organizations to establish public rules on various matters; they are increasingly taking the initiative to set rules *themselves*.” Were the NSAs during the Typhoon Haiyan successful in this? In terms of regulating the use of mass media and social media for example, the NSAs during the Haiyan rescue and rehabilitation have exhibited excellent utilization of these tools. NSAs have utilized these tools to raise awareness, mobilize actions and gather funds. They have set the rule of the game in terms of partnering with other institutions, local and international, and as a result, almost all of the funds that came from foreign institutions and states went to NSAs and other groups.

In terms of drafting regulations and policies for disaster reduction and management, again NSAs and private institutions have been very engaged in the dialogues to achieve a better programs and projects. They corporately define rules on how to educate, train, and prepare citizens for possible and future disasters. They conduct independent studies and researches to look for better solutions and alternative programs. And they define how to raise funds and how to use them. These are just few instances that demonstrate the power of NSAs to regulate and even reform policies.

Generally, this paper has attempted to evaluate the impact of non-state actors in terms of disaster reduction and management during and after the super Typhoon Haiyan of 2013. As was stated earlier, one cannot deny the significant impact of the NSAs when we look at their contributions in the rescue and rehabilitation efforts of those affected by the calamity. Framing this impact based on the framework of the We Forum and the study of Arts, this paper have demonstrated that NSAs indeed have the power to generate resources, and utilize those resources to achieve the desired outcome. With this, disaster risk response and management is much better because the State has found strong and efficient partners in non-state actors.

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