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**Reality check: Gender mainstreaming in a JICA-funded disaster risk
reduction and management project in the Philippines**

A thesis presented in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of
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Abstract

The Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) is one of the leading bilateral donor agencies which supports the Philippines in enhancing its resilience to natural disasters. Addressing human vulnerability is believed to be the key in strengthening community resiliency, and this includes minimising the disparate impacts of disaster on men and women. Linking these issues to the principles of aid effectiveness, this thesis explores how does one of the largest bilateral development actors, JICA, ensure that its disaster rehabilitation programmes are gender responsive? In particular, this research investigates how JICA mainstreams gender into a disaster risk reduction and management project in the Philippines.

This research used a qualitative approach—drawing on semi-structured interviews, document analyses, and a non-participant structured observation—to explore JICA’s gender mainstreaming framework, how it affects a Philippines’ disaster risk reduction and management project, and how the local partners influenced the mainstreaming of gender within the rehabilitation programme. It followed JICA’s gender mainstreaming framework starting from the formulation of the policy in its Headquarters in Tokyo, and to the adoption by JICA’s country office in the Philippines based on the local context. It then examines how the framework is operationalised in the programme, and finally, the contribution of JICA counterparts in the city government of Tacloban in mainstreaming gender.

The research found that JICA’s gender mainstreaming framework covers only its departments in Tokyo. It has minor impacts on JICA’s Philippines office and its operations. However, the local gender framework in Tacloban City was reflected in the bilateral programme, albeit with limitations. In examining the frameworks and mechanisms of JICA and Tacloban City, the study found that gender mainstreaming is inherently technical in nature, requiring expertise, resources, and processes to be in place in order to achieve its transformative potential. The research concluded that a gender policy alone is not enough to precipitate changes towards gender responsive operations and outcomes—it requires fundamental commitment to gender equality by agencies who aim to deliver equitable development outcomes. The research hopes to enhance understanding of how gender can be better integrated in the context of official development assistance and disaster-related interventions in the Philippines and elsewhere.

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Introduction: Background and Rationale of the Study

On November 8, 2013, Typhoon Haiyan shook the Philippines after it wreaked havoc in Tacloban City. I was sitting at my work desk – fresh from an earlier humanitarian relief activity for the victims of an earthquake which hit another province – when the JICA’s country representative for the Philippines approached me and said, “You are coming.” Of course, he was referring to the upcoming immediate relief activities for Typhoon Haiyan-affected areas. Being the main officer in charge of JICA Philippine’s public relations, I had to be there.

The trip to Tacloban City, usually an hour away from Manila by plane, turned into 36 hours of travel due to closed roads, airport, and seaport. When we finally reached the province of Leyte, I was confronted by despair and anguish: dead bodies everywhere, houses and villages fully destroyed, government agencies and officials in disarray, international organisations all over the place trying to help, and heartbreaking stories of grief and sorrow from the survivors of the super typhoon. Everyone, regardless of social status, was immensely affected by Typhoon Haiyan, albeit in different ways. Given the magnitude of the damage, impacts of the typhoon on different sectors of the community were not easily identified – it required thorough analysis in order to respond aptly and effectively.

JICA responded in a timely manner: medical teams from Japan and a temporary clinic were put in place, and relief items like tents, tarpaulins, water filters, power generators, and mattresses, among others, were distributed in far-flung areas of affected towns. Japan was again demonstrating its renowned expertise and experience in disaster management. However, this made me think: Japan and Philippines have different cultural and social contexts, how do they ensure that their urgent response is appropriate and suitable to the communities they are helping? With my years of work experience in JICA, I had pondered repeatedly about JICA’s approach to gender and how they integrate gender into their operations. My first-hand experience in responding to one of the deadliest typhoons in the country and seeing how it significantly affected fellow Filipinos piqued my interest to investigate how JICA had holistically and inclusively implemented its now-finished recovery and rehabilitation programme in Typhoon Haiyan-affected areas.

The personal account above briefly conveyed what spurred this research. It also comes on the heels of the Philippines facing constant challenges about its approach to disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM), given that it experiences an average of 20 typhoons a year (UNISDR, 2015a). According to the World Risk Report in 2017, Philippines sits among the top three countries worldwide that face the highest exposure and highest risk to disasters (Bündnis Entwicklung Hilft, 2017). However, exposure to natural hazards alone does not cause disasters; the scale of damage and its extensive impacts are largely based on the current conditions of human vulnerability (Palliyaguru, Amaratunga, & Baldry, 2014; UNISDR, 2009b; Wisner, Kelman, & Gaillard, 2014). In the Philippines, the state of poverty and underdevelopment heightens its vulnerability, affecting people's capacity to reduce and cope with natural disasters. This was greatly apparent after Typhoon Haiyan, the strongest tropical cyclone to ever hit the Philippines, which displaced millions of Filipinos and engendered extreme economic, political, and social havoc (Alcantara, 2014; Santiago, Manuela, Tan, Sanz, & Tong, 2016; UNOCHA, 2013). The onslaught of the Typhoon and its sweeping damage and losses have proved that the country is still not resilient enough to withstand mega disasters and subsequently this has challenged the Philippine government's system for disaster governance (Kure et al., 2016; World Bank, 2017).

Japan's official development assistance is considered prominent in the country, targeting not only economic infrastructure but also disaster risk reduction and management (NEDA, 2017; OECD, 2016). Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA), the bilateral organisation which implements Japan's foreign aid, has been active in boosting Philippines' DRRM capacity, with assistance such as provision of Japanese technology and equipment, construction of resilient infrastructure, and technical trainings and skills transfer (JICA Philippines, 2017). Japan's expertise in mitigating and responding to disasters is globally recognised (Habara, 2014; Shaw, 2014; Shiwaku, Sakurai, & Shaw, 2016), and JICA considers the technical cooperation with the Philippines highly relevant due to the similarity of risks faced by both countries in terms of exposure to disasters (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan, 2012).

The nature of JICA's assistance to the Philippines in the DRRM sector largely addresses the economic aspect of vulnerability. However, reducing disaster risks also includes acknowledging and tackling prevalent social vulnerabilities in the community. According to Chambers (1983), the social and cultural status of people in terms of their function and responsibilities in the community causes human vulnerability, particularly due to the

inequitable access to resources and opportunities arising from the roles assigned to them. Hence, ensuring equal participation of and voices from various sectors of society in crucial decision-making processes like in DRRM can make the system more holistic and sustainable. This is also underscored in the 2015 Sendai Framework of Action, which stipulated an inclusive approach: “to include the most vulnerable sectors of society, i.e. women, children, persons with disabilities, and elderly in the planning, implementation, and evaluation in all stages of DRRM from mitigation, preparation, response, and recovery from disasters,” (UNISDR, 2015b, p. 5).

As UNISDR (2009a) pointed out, “gender relations in disasters reflect gender relations in society,” (p. 4). Indisputably, gender inequalities contribute to the failure of inclusive and gender-sensitive approaches to DRRM. Men and women’s cultural and social roles and responsibilities result in disparate impacts of disasters on each gender. Gender imbalances are particularly highlighted and aggravated in disaster situations, where women’s greater vulnerability to disasters are due to fundamental and prominent differences in social roles, norms, restrictions on behaviours, and employment status (Ariyabandu, 2009; Bradshaw, 2013; De Silva & Jayathilaka, 2014). Studies have also found that women’s obligations are further magnified in disaster situations in terms of securing food and water from scarce resources for the family, caring for the sick and injured with limited medical facilities, and even in uplifting the family and community’s morale amidst diversity (Ginige, Amaratunga, & Haigh, 2014; Reyes & Lu, 2016). Women’s practical and strategic needs are also often neglected in relief, evacuation, and recovery, leaving them more susceptible to gender-based violence and making it harder for them to cope with the effects of the disaster (Flatø, Muttarak, & Pelsler, 2017; Saito, 2012). Hence, even though disasters do not discriminate, the socially constructed roles of women make them more at risk in such situations. As gender-based social, cultural, and economic constructs marginalise women regardless of class, age, status, and economic standing, addressing gender relations in disaster risk reduction requires targeted attention to women and the challenges they face (Ariyabandu, 2009; Enarson & Dhar Chakrabarti, 2009; UNISDR, 2009a).

In the Gender and Development perspective, women are not only victims who need help, they are also agents of change (Bradshaw, 2013; Fordham, 2003; Parpart, Connelly, & Barriteau, 2000). Ensuing from their socially constructed roles, women can contribute distinctive knowledge and skills that can further enhance the DRRM system. A number of studies show that improving women’s conditions and overall status can significantly affect the outcomes of

a disaster (Austin & McKinney, 2016; Enarson & Dhar Chakrabarti, 2009; Ginige et al., 2014; Islam, 2010). This underscores the importance of gender mainstreaming by increasing women's participation and consultation in DRRM, and how integrating women's knowledge and skills can reduce losses and damages from natural hazards. Gender mainstreaming ensures women are given the opportunity to hold leadership positions, and therefore influence decisions as simple as evacuation shelter designs, and as complex as relocation, livelihood options, and policy planning (Bradshaw, 2013; Enarson & Dhar Chakrabarti, 2009). Gender mainstreaming, then, considers the needs and roles of both men and women, which can significantly contribute to a more resilient community and is thus an effective strategy towards greater risk reduction.

The 1995 Beijing Platform of Action institutionalised gender mainstreaming and promoted it as a key process to redress gender inequalities among all sectors and in all levels of development interventions. Mainstreaming gender ensures that both men and women can equally participate in, contribute to, and benefit from development processes, which may consequently lead to structural, procedural, and cultural changes instrumental for gender equality (Davids, van Driel, & Parren, 2014; Derbyshire, 2012; United Nations, 2002; Walby, 2005). Gender mainstreaming, henceforth, was adopted by UN member states and development agencies through policies and frameworks streamlined into their operations.

Resulting from the Beijing Platform for Action, the Philippines adopted a 30-year strategic plan called the Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development 1995-2025. This aimed to guide the Philippine government in institutionalising gender mainstreaming in its planning, programing, and budgeting processes. It also incorporates the implementation of the Harmonised Gender and Development Guidelines, a set of analytical tools to help mainstream gender in all stages and public programs regardless of sector and funder, even official development assistance projects.

In the international arena, official development assistance is guided by the principles of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. This agreement among donor agencies towards more successful aid delivery underscores the core values of *ownership* and *alignment*. Ownership promotes partner countries' leadership over foreign aid projects, while alignment requires donor agencies to base their overall support on the partner country's national development strategies, institutions, and procedures (OECD, 2005). These principles suggest that aid will become more effective if recipient countries have control over the donor's development

strategies and processes (Dabelstein & Patton, 2012; Gore, Kim, & Lee, 2013; Manor, 2006; Owa, 2011). However, various studies critiqued this, noting that tension emanates from donor countries who continue to impose their concept of good governance (Booth, 2012; Dijkstra, 2015; Karini, 2016). It has been argued that the aid effectiveness agenda is still politically motivated and can compromise the power balance between donors and recipients of aid (Bourguignon & Sundberg, 2007; Doucouliagos & Paldam, 2009; Sjöstedt, 2013). Thus in terms of gender, debates and discussions concerning the concept of ownership presume that in order to achieve gender equality in foreign-assisted projects, it must be a priority of both the aid donor and recipient (Grown, Addison, & Tarp, 2016; Holvoet & Inberg, 2014; Sjöstedt, 2013). Only then can gender mainstreaming successfully take place within the intervention.

Hence in the context of JICA, its operations are expected to adhere not just to the principles of aid effectiveness, but also to the various global accords related to the sustainable development agenda. Given that disasters have diverse impacts on men and women, and with pressures from the international community to prioritise inclusivity in disaster risk reduction efforts, this research aims to explore JICA's gender mainstreaming framework and how it manifests in a disaster risk reduction and management project in the Philippines. It also seeks to understand how the local stakeholders, given their own framework and policy on gender, influenced the mainstreaming of gender needs in the project. Given the current global trends and post-2015 agenda, this research hopes to contribute to the growing body of knowledge in gender mainstreaming, disaster risk reduction and management, and aid delivery, and underscore the linkages among the three significant development spheres.

Thus, the research was explored through these three main questions:

1. What are JICA's gender mainstreaming strategy, framework, and policy?
2. How is JICA's gender mainstreaming strategy implemented in a local disaster risk reduction and management project in the Philippines?
3. How did the local stakeholders influence the gender mainstreaming activities of the project?

It is hoped that, more broadly, this research will provide insights into the complex relationships between bilateral aid, gender mainstreaming, and DRRM.

Chapter Outline

Chapter One provides the rationale of the study. The research questions are presented with an overview of the current trajectory of the development arena, particularly the various international agreements surrounding the post-2015 agenda and how hegemonic development actors are guided by these accords.

Chapters Two and Three present existing studies on the three development spheres covered by the research: disaster risk reduction and management, gender mainstreaming, and aid delivery. The conceptual underpinnings of each topic will be explored to help establish a solid foundation for the research. It will provide linkages between these three seemingly distinct and complex topics, and will present a framework to synthesise the concepts.

Chapter Four explains the context and setting of the research. It details the extent of JICA's assistance to the Philippines and the disaster risk reduction and management programme examined by the research.

Chapter Five details the methodology undertaken to produce substantial data and explore the research questions above. It outlines the field work and approaches taken by the study. It elucidates what methods are used, where the research sites are located, who the participants are, as well as the positionality, limitations, and personal experiences of the researcher that influenced the conduct of this study.

Chapters Six and Seven reveal the findings of the fieldwork based on the research framework discussed in chapter four. It will describe JICA's stance on gender, particularly on how they view and implement their gender mainstreaming framework from their Headquarters, to their national office in the Philippines, and finally to the DRRM rehabilitation programme in Tacloban City. It will also throw some light on the local gender mainstreaming framework of the city and how it is applied in the project.

Chapter Eight concludes the study by expounding on the results and how they link to existing literature in disaster risk reduction and management, gender mainstreaming, and aid delivery. It will provide the answers to each research question, and finally, will deliberate on the

implications of JICA's current strategies and stance on gender, particularly on its DRRM programme in Tacloban City.

Chapter 2: Disasters and Gender

The literature review aims to examine existing studies on the three development spheres associated with the research: disaster risk reduction and management, gender and development, and aid delivery. This chapter will discuss the components, fundamental issues, and other concerns linking gender and disasters. The succeeding chapter (Chapter 3) will focus on the general overview and debates around aid delivery.

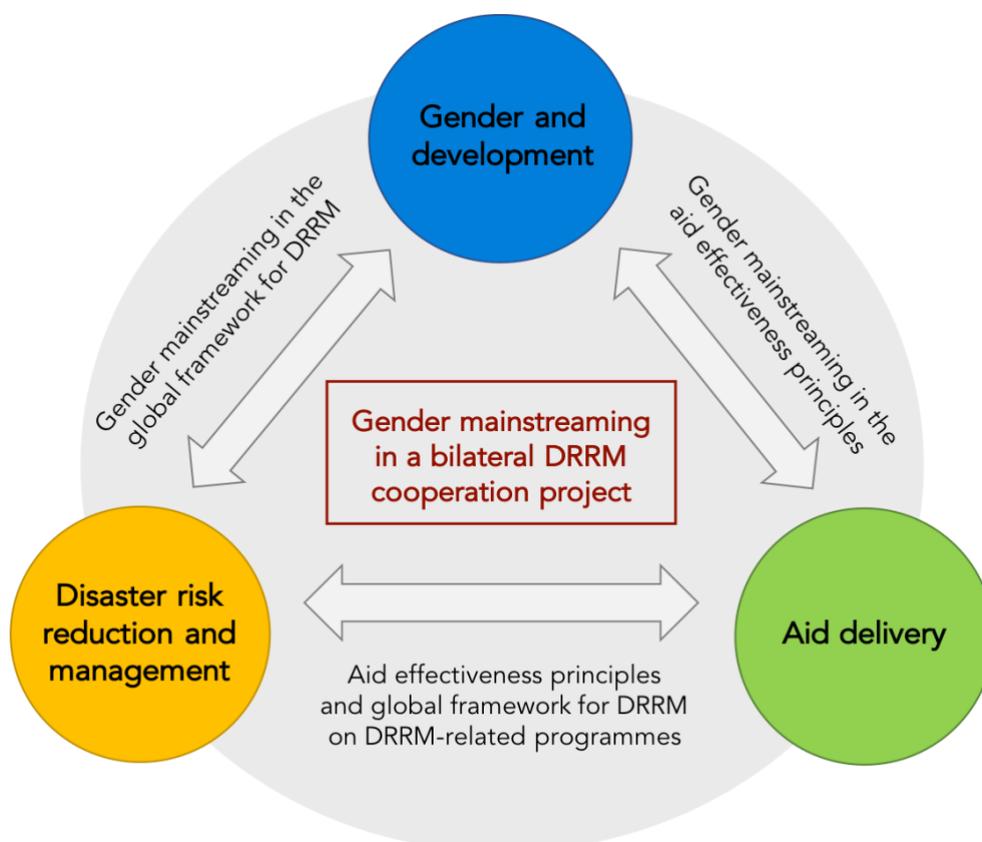


Figure 2.1: A nexus of three development themes surrounding the project. Source: author

As an overview, Figure 2.1 represents the concepts to be discussed in Chapters 2 and 3 and how they link together, and provides a nexus on the research topics. To define a solid foundation for this research, which seeks to explore gender mainstreaming in a bilateral DRRM cooperation project, it is important to understand the conceptual underpinnings of each development area. While each topic is exhaustive in its own respect, the discussion is

refined in a way that connects the three distinct development spheres. At the end of Chapter 3, the literature review will conclude with a framework that synthesises the concepts and brings the research into a well-defined context.

2.1 Disaster Risk Reduction and Management

This section will discuss the socially constructed nature of disasters and how it links to human vulnerability, an overview of disaster risk reduction and management and its importance, the differential impact of disasters rooted from prevailing social inequalities, and the significance of addressing the latter in light of emerging global trends. Building on existing literature, it aims to establish why an inclusive disaster risk reduction and management intervention is important given the post-2015 development agenda.

2.1.1 Disaster risks and vulnerabilities

Natural calamities have been increasingly frequent over the last 20 years and are predicted to intensify further because of climate change. According to a 2015 study done by United Nations International Strategy for Disaster Reduction (UNISDR), which discussed disaster trends from 1995-2005, an average of 30,000 people die yearly directly because of disasters, and about 4.1 million people were left injured and homeless; 95 percent of those affected lived in Asia. Moreover, the Intergovernmental Panel for Climate Change (IPCC) reported in 2014 that extreme weather events, climate anomalies, and changing hazard patterns have been observed more frequently. The increased frequency of typhoons, droughts, and heatwaves have extensive impacts on food and agriculture, health, and ecosystems, which exacerbate people's disaster risk (IPCC, 2014).

Moreover, while globalisation continues to stimulate economic growth, it has also increased human vulnerabilities. According to De Leon (2014), rapid urbanisation has placed more people in areas where land use and proper zoning are not always comprehensive, compromising the safety and protection of growing marginalised sectors of cities, especially during disaster

situations. As Vatsa (2014) also noted, the concentration of economic activities in the Asia-Pacific region and its high exposure to natural hazards have made the region more vulnerable to disaster risks.

The standard definition of disaster risk, as determined by UNISDR (2009b, p. 9), is “the potential negative consequences or loss of resources and assets, resulting from a combination of exposure to a hazard, conditions of present human vulnerability, and capacity to reduce and cope with disaster impacts.” Natural occurrences, such as earthquakes, typhoons, and volcanic eruptions, are only ‘hazards’ and not disaster in itself (Palliyaguru et al., 2014). Hence, a hazard is only referred to as disaster if people, resources, and properties are at risk, and if there is no efficient system to manage this (Palliyaguru et al., 2014; Wisner et al., 2014).

Hence, even if the whole community is exposed to a hazard, disaster risks differ for various sectors of society. People perceive disaster risks differently depending on the social structure they belong to. Chambers (1983) defined this as vulnerability, characterised as differential impact of natural events based on the socially and culturally constructed status of people in terms of their roles and responsibilities in the community. A number of studies have discussed that vulnerability occurs if there is inequitable access to resources in economic, social, political, and environmental assets and opportunities (Gaillard, 2011; Palliyaguru et al., 2014; Wisner et al., 2014). For instance, vulnerable sectors of society like poor people, women, elderly, and persons with disabilities, are more exposed to disaster risks since they have limited access to critical resources to deter these. Disasters, then, are only destructive when they interact with various forms of human vulnerability.

Wisner et al. (2014) discussed that poor access to resources are rooted within the political, social, and economic structures of a society (the triangle of vulnerability). These include:

- 1) Lack of political representation, poor social protection, and limited skills and formal education (political structure);
- 2) Low income, lack of savings, limited access to formal credit, and fragile homes and infrastructure (economic structure); and
- 3) Lack of access to land and water, limited social network, and lack of biodiversity resources (social structure) (p. 16).

Thus, while hazards are natural events, disaster risks and vulnerability are both social constructs—it is what a society understands and constructs it to be—and can be changed through appropriate measures and policies (Birkmann, 2006; Bradshaw, 2013).

As disasters become more complex, perceptions of vulnerability and disaster risk have likewise expanded over time. Shaw, Takeuchi, Ramasamy, Pereira, and Mallick (2012, p. 62) stated that while disasters were conventionally understood as “time-specific events leading to loss of lives and property,” they are now viewed as perpetuating poverty and vulnerability due to disruptions in livelihood systems. Vatsa (2014) also underscored that the connection between risk and livelihood arises when people prioritize staying in a disaster-prone area where resources are present (i.e. proximity to coastal areas or rivers, a major asset as source of food, income, transportation, and irrigation) despite being highly susceptible to flooding and tsunamis. She noted that the reason people choose to live in an area even if it is prone to disasters is because leaving traditional assets may induce livelihood insecurity. The impacts of disasters on poverty thus depend on the stability of livelihood systems and structural policies in place.

People’s livelihoods are therefore reinforced through their access to different resources, including the appropriate political, economic, and social preconditions. Inequities in these, coupled with inflexible policies which marginalise groups based on their gender, social class, and ethnicity, aggravate vulnerability and disaster risks—trapping them in a vicious cycle (Wisner et al., 2014). The discussion on people’s vulnerability and disaster risk points out that there is a direct correlation between disaster impacts and poverty. Hence, as extreme weather events increase human vulnerabilities, an efficient approach to disaster risk reduction and management proves to be crucial.

2.1.2 Post-2015 agenda and Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction

The year 2015 was momentous for new international agreements with the impacts of a degrading environment and growing social challenges becoming more evident due to climate change and global trends. The year also marked the conclusion of two United Nations accords

related to human vulnerability and disaster risk: 1) Millennium Development Goals which commenced in 2000 as a move to end all dimensions of poverty through eight global goals (UN, 2000); and 2) the Hyogo Framework for Action launched in 2005 as the first blueprint to guide nations and communities in reducing disaster losses and strengthening disaster resilience (UNISDR, 2005).

The succeeding post-2015 development and climate change agenda includes three new UN frameworks that tackle global challenges at the economic, environment, and social fronts. These include:

- 1) Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs): 17 interconnected universal goals that aim to “end poverty, protect the planet, ensure prosperity of all, foster peaceful societies, and mobilise partnership” in a sustainable way for the benefit of future generations (United Nations, 2015b, p. 2);
- 2) Paris Agreement on Climate Change: an agreement within the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) that aims to keep the global average temperature to below 2 degrees Celsius, reduce greenhouse gases emissions, and adapt to adverse impacts of climate change (United Nations, 2015a); and
- 3) Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction: a “forward-looking and action-oriented” framework that aims to streamline disaster risk reduction strategies into policies and programmes at all levels, as well as strengthen overall resilience within the context of sustainable development (UNISDR, 2015b, p. 9).

A number of studies have lauded and recognised the interconnectedness of the three agreements. The SDGs are deemed to cover all themes postulated within the post-2015 development agenda, with sustainable development as the core advocacy and guiding principle within the Paris Agreement and Sendai Framework. Addressing climate change through a renewed global partnership such as the Paris Agreement is believed to be crucial in attaining the SDGs. Likewise, the Sendai Framework, among its other guiding principles, acknowledged that disaster risk reduction is essential in achieving sustainable development. The framework also emphasised that sustainability and resilience are positively correlated, which means that a vulnerable, non-resilient community is not sustainable. Hence, the three global policy processes are believed to be intricately related as they all draw on scientific knowledge about

the environment and aim to improve human well-being (Aitsi-Selmi, Murray, Egawa, Sasaki, & Wannous, 2015; Kagawa & Selby, 2015; Liu, Yu, & Wang, 2015; Thorp, 2014).

Despite their strong interdependencies, various analyses also discuss that there is a potential disconnect among the frameworks of disaster risk reduction, climate change, and the SDGs, due to inconsistencies from one forum to another as they are often managed in isolation. In particular, Aitsi-Selmi et al. (2015) noted that they were not clearly linked together as each were developed as ‘separate policy streams’ (p. 165). Also, Kagawa and Selby (2015) argued that while the Sendai Framework makes many links between DRR and sustainable development, and between DRR and climate change, this was not reciprocated in the SDG and Paris Agreement processes and formulation. Moreover, others have critiqued that while these international agreements recognise existing societal problems and the need to alleviate these, they rarely help with addressing the fundamental causes of people’s vulnerability (Thorp, 2014; Wisner et al., 2014).

In particular, rights related to gender are found to be incoherent among the three frameworks. Bradshaw (2015) remarked that while gender equality is clearly visible in the SDGs, the Paris Agreement and the Sendai Framework remained gender neutral. Although the precedent disaster framework in 2005 recognised the importance of participation from all sectors of society, and more specifically, integrating a gender perspective in all DRR policies and processes, Bradshaw criticised that these ideals did not manifest in actual implementation. The study further added that this part of the discourse did not change during the Sendai Framework formulation. Even though the importance of women’s skills in DRR, particularly their role in alternative livelihood in post-disaster situations, was noted, they are only represented as a resource to be used. This poses strong implications on the whole sustainability agenda – as failure to include a comprehensive gendered perspective also means failure of development interventions (Enarson & Dhar Chakrabarti, 2009).

2.1.3 Disaster Risk Reduction and Management (DRRM) System

Preceding sections discussed that a disaster is not only caused by exposure to the natural hazard, its socio-economic impacts also largely depend on people’s vulnerabilities, which can be

circumvented if systems and policies are in place. Establishing strategies for mitigating and responding to human vulnerability during disaster situations and organising them into one comprehensive DRRM system, are critical for the resiliency of the community. According to Khan, Vasilescu, and Khan (2008), an adequate DRRM system is characterised by a continuous cycle of activities that can mitigate and minimise losses in assets and resources before, during, and after disasters. It has various stages starting from mitigation (investing in resilient infrastructure, capacity building of people), preparation (evacuation plans, community mapping, hazard information dissemination), response (efficient relief, inter-agency coordination), and recovery (rehabilitation, rebuilding plans) (Khan et al., 2008; Shaw, 2012). In order to be coherent and systematic, DRRM involves numerous stakeholders, including national and local government agencies, NGOs, people's organizations, private sector, international humanitarian organisations, and communities (Izumi & Shaw, 2012; Matsuoka, Joerin, Shaw, & Takeuchi, 2012; Shaw, 2012; Wisner et al., 2014). Khan et al. (2008) thus pointed out that a well-planned coordination is paramount to ensure an efficient process, especially during urgent situations where lives are at risk. Luna (2014) likewise noted that a disorganized DRRM system can lead to increased vulnerability and casualties, overlapping of tasks, slow response and recovery, and inefficient resource management, among other long-term detrimental impacts.

The government holds a significant role in facilitating an efficient DRRM system. Ishiwatari (2012) noted that the government is expected to proactively take steps towards a sustainable and overarching DRRM by establishing structural policies and streamlining disaster management strategies. Specifically, this includes development of early warning and evacuation systems, disaster management drills, construction of resilient public infrastructure, and the production of hazard maps that are clearly understood and validated by communities. In addition, he highlighted that it is the state's responsibility to ensure that the DRRM system is properly implemented, continuously assessed and modified based on experiences, and rooted in the local context. Additionally, Fernandez, Uy, and Shaw (2012) stated that the government is responsible for institutionalising and mobilising various groups that have the capacity and resources to help mitigate and respond to disaster risks and impacts, including research institutions, fire brigades, volunteer organisations, and other relevant stakeholders.

On the other hand, Matsuoka et al. (2012) found that communities have been too reliant on the state, especially during evacuation and response, and at the same time, governments have been

too forceful in decision-making processes. A number of studies have underscored the importance of involving various actors in government-led efforts, including NGOs and research institutions, to ensure that links between the community and environment are met (De Leon, 2014; Ishiwatari, 2012; Izumi & Shaw, 2012; Luna, 2014; Shaw et al., 2012). Fernandez et al. (2012) concur that this is important, pointing out that some governments are incapacitated to draw up an appropriate DRRM system, due to lack of expertise, experience, and knowledge to produce proper policy guidelines and alternative technologies.

However, Palliyaguru et al. (2014) concluded that even though these agencies have made efforts to minimise disaster risks and improve overall resiliency and DRRM, they did not tackle the trigger causes of human vulnerability. A movement to complement the top-down approach to disaster management is identified as community-based disaster risk reduction and management (Izumi & Shaw, 2012; Luna, 2014; Shaw, 2012). Community-based DRRM is an approach that links official disaster management systems and grassroots organisations towards building a more resilient community, and uses indigenous knowledge and local capacity to respond to disasters (Izumi & Shaw, 2012). Several studies have shown that community-based DRRM enables local capabilities since it allows the community to identify their vulnerable points and the risks they are exposed to, determine and implement risk reduction measures based on their own capacity and resources, and consequently empowers them to participate in their own development (De Leon, 2014; Fernandez et al., 2012; Kienberger, 2014; Luna, 2014). This does not only contribute to the empowerment of individuals and the community as a whole, but also helps to ensure the sustainability of DRRM efforts (Fernandez et al., 2012; Luna, 2014; Wisner et al., 2014). This further underscores that involvement of local people representative of various sectors of society is warranted in order to bolster such efforts, especially in policy making, strategic planning, and other systems at the institutional level (Bradshaw, 2013; Wisner et al., 2014).

While both government-led and community-based DRRM complement one another in terms of building overall disaster resiliency, inequalities are still present at the institutional and societal levels (Bradshaw, 2013; Enarson & Dhar Chakrabarti, 2009; McEntire, 2001; Wisner et al., 2014). The post-2015 development agenda has emphasised inclusiveness, but the long-standing inequality on gender remains ubiquitous – even concerning disaster events which, by themselves, do not discriminate (Ariyabandu, 2009; Bradshaw, 2013; Enarson & Dhar Chakrabarti, 2009). As Fordham and Meyreles (2014, p. 25) underscored,

“management of disasters is still determined and governed by patriarchal structures and processes, which, despite the advances of recent years, continue to be resistant to, or dismissive of, issues of gender and fail to recognise the necessary involvement of all social groups in disaster risk reduction.”

This is similar to the findings of Bradshaw (2015) who construed that the preceding global DRRM framework, Hyogo Framework for Action, cited women solely for economic efficiency and not to promote equality, and that “it places women in a policy agenda, rather than being served by it...and suggests further feminisation of obligation and responsibility” (p. 64).

2.1.4 Gendered impact of disasters

Gender inequalities within the DRRM system demonstrate differential impact of disasters in the community. A vast amount of research has measured and analysed how disasters affect men and women. As an example, a study done by Reyes and Lu (2016) in Malabon City, Philippines found that men, who are conventionally considered as household heads and main decision makers, were usually tasked to look for primary sources of income following a disaster, and are therefore away from home most of the time. Furthermore, the limited livelihood opportunities available after a disaster are usually more accessible to and given to men (Wiest, Mocellin, & Motsisi, 1994). On the other hand, women’s traditional roles of housekeeping and child rearing keep them tied to the confines of their home. The study indicated that unpaid reproductive work is further intensified during a disaster situation, with women bearing more of the brunt than their male counterparts. This includes securing food for the family from scarce sources, providing moral support and encouragement during difficulties, looking after the welfare of children and the elderly, locating safe evacuation areas, and even helping the wider community during emergency relief (Reyes & Lu, 2016).

Moreover, basic needs of women are often overlooked, during both disaster response and recovery. Studies have shown that disaster relief items often do not include or are short of sanitary pads, contraceptives, and other personal hygiene supplies, while evacuation centres are not gender responsive to privacy issues. As examples, lack of closed bathrooms and separate toilets for men and women in evacuation centres forced women in Aceh, Indonesia to go unwashed for weeks, and the absence of special care for pregnant women, and breastfeeding areas, lead to premature and malnourished babies (Ariyabandu, 2009).

In general, studies concluded that women face additional risks during disaster situations because of the roles ascribed to them by the society. The risks include: 1) more exposure to diseases as women take over the responsibility of caregiving for the sick and injured (De Silva & Jayathilaka, 2014; Reyes & Lu, 2016); 2) inadequate evacuation shelter designs which trigger increased cases of sexual violence, abuse, and harassment (Baten & Khan, 2010; Saito, 2012); 3) limitations in mobility during evacuation, i.e. carrying children, assisting elderly, and staying until the male partner arrives which compromises their safety; 4) less access to information affecting their ability to respond; 5) pregnancy-related and childbirth factors; and 6) insufficient skills and lower levels of training, caused by higher instance of illiteracy, which limits their livelihood options and affects their ability to recover from disasters (Ariyabandu, 2009).

Studies have also found that disasters affect female-headed households most among displaced families (Flatø et al., 2017; Wiest et al., 1994). As lack of employment opportunities are exacerbated during disaster situations, the study found that women resort to socially unacceptable labour such as prostitution to augment household income. Such exploitation can lead to a magnitude of physical and mental abuse for both women and girls, among other dire consequences. These heightened impacts of disasters on women are called “double victimisation”, wherein the traditionally marginalised end up being victimised again in the same system that imposes such structural conditions (Reyes & Lu, 2016, p. 169).

Thus, gender issues in disaster-related situations are not caused by the disaster itself, but are manifestations of what is currently prevalent in the society, visible at household and community levels, and a reflection of social and cultural norms. These studies elucidate that men and women are affected differently during disasters because of varying roles and responsibilities delegated to them. Hence, the socially constructed roles of women, particularly the responsibilities expected by the community from them, make them more at risk in disaster situations. The prevailing gender inequality in the society significantly contributes to the differential impact of disasters on women. However, the perception of women as weak and dependent is the very reason why they are excluded from planning and decision-making processes in DRRM. The continuous focus on women’s vulnerabilities and marginalisation further characterises women as victims and not as capable agents of change.

2.2 Gender mainstreaming

As the previous section explored disaster risk reduction and how it links to human vulnerability, this section will discuss the underlying causes of gender inequality and various concepts central to understanding gender roles and interventions. It will then highlight global movements that help address these issues with a focus on the concepts and debates around gender mainstreaming, before returning to the importance of equally integrating men and women in disaster situations.

2.2.1 Gender inequality and responses to this

Gender inequality is generally perceived to be one of the most widespread and persistent social imbalances. Gender disparity is ubiquitous and exists in almost, if not all, societies and facets of life (Kabeer, 2008). A number of studies and reports have shown that despite global movements to resolve this, women are still considered a second-rate class of society and not regarded as equal partners (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Onditi & Odera, 2016; Rachel, 2011; Staudt, 1981). According to the latest progress report released by the United Nations Entity for Gender Equality and the Empowerment of Women (UN Women) (2015), women continue to be marginalised because of their traditional roles, which are aggravated by the cultural norms of society. It further stated that women and girls are even more marginalised in developing countries, as their access to critical resources is further limited in countries grappling to solve national poverty (Rachel, 2011; Segal & Chow, 2011).

Studies have also repeatedly shown that in general, women are given fewer opportunities to develop their skills and have unequal access to paid work; hence they earn less, have limited ownership of assets, occupy less socially advantaged positions, and have less participation in crucial decision-making processes than their male counterparts (Jaquette & Summerfield, 2006; Molyneux, 1985; UN Women, 2015). As males dominate the household and communities, women face greater risk of abuse and violence, which further heightens their

vulnerability (De Wet, 2015; Gender Equality Bureau, 2014; McEntire, 2001). Women, then, are regarded as socially and economically weaker than men, and consequently hold a lower status in the society at large (Flatø et al., 2017; Mehran, 2009; UN Women, 2015; Yap & Melchor, 2015).

The socio-cultural constructs concerning women play a significant part in reinforcing gender-based inequalities. Moser (1989) argued that women have a triple role in society: reproductive work, productive work, and community managing work. Reproductive work refers to childbearing and rearing responsibilities; productive work refers to women's involvement in formal and informal sectors of paid work; while community work refers to their required contribution to community activities, which are considered as an extension of their domestic roles at home. Moser argued that these triple roles are usually not recognised and balancing these three roles has put substantial burden on women. In addition, because of its exchange value, productive work is the only role recognised as work. Moser argued that since reproductive and community work are seen as "natural" and non-productive, these are usually undermined and not valued. Due to the patriarchal nature of societies, men dominate both household leadership and the public sphere, while women are expected to manage domestic responsibilities (Kandiyoti, 1988). These roles, as a number of studies have already concluded, reinforce existing gender imbalances and create further dependency on men (Gaillard, 2011; Islam, 2010; Staudt, 1981; Yap & Melchor, 2015).

However, there have been paradigm shifts which are intended to curtail women's oppression and advance their overall position in the society. Two key ideologies on integrating gender in development can be noted: Women in Development and Gender and Development.

Women in Development (WID), which first emerged in the 1970s, rose from instrumental concerns after conceding that women can contribute greatly in meeting basic needs (Moser, 1989). It was perceived that women were excluded from development interventions and were neglected as economic resources due to their attribution to the unpaid non-productive sector. WID emerged from the feminist movement, which argued that if women are more involved with development processes, they could significantly contribute to economic development (Boserup, 1970). Rathgeber (1990), along with other critiques (Huntington, 1975; Salehi-Isfahani, Robinson, & Schutjer, 1987) discussed how this approach primarily targeted development projects for women, which aimed to build their capacity by focusing on the

productive aspects of work specifically in the sectors of micro-credit, agricultural extension, education, and health.

As such, WID was adopted by donor agencies and integrated into project designs to improve the productive roles and livelihood of women. However, donor agencies' WID efforts often promoted women's projects in isolation or as a special focus in traditional development interventions. This approach appears to assume that integrating women, by simply involving them in projects, will induce progress and change (Moser & Moser, 2005; Rao & Kelleher, 2005). Defining women's disadvantaged position in this way means that men hold the norm, and this therefore supports existing power relations (Benschop & Verloo, 2006; Parpart, 2009).

It was then pointed out that WID viewed women as victims of societal imbalances who needed development interventions to gain access to resources and support their traditional responsibilities dictated by society. Despite its recognition of the importance of women in development, WID did not challenge existing social constructs on gender or male dominance and power. It reinforced women's subordinate position and failed to address socio-cultural biases about gender (Moser, 1989). Critiques of WID and the greater awareness on the unique capabilities of women shifted the thinking to Gender and Development.

Gender and Development (GAD) asserts that patriarchy is the root of gender inequality (Momsen, 2010; Parpart et al., 2000; Rathgeber, 1990). GAD promotes women as agents of economic, political, and social change. It argues that patriarchy is a universal system of exploitation, whereby men dominate critical decision-making processes at all levels of the society. The GAD approach examines the social constructs of gender, specifically by delineating roles, responsibilities, and expectations for women and men, and consequently understands the power dynamics of gender in different contexts. It argued that it is only by understanding gendered power relations and challenging these structural impositions that development can lift women from their disadvantaged position, and therefore, create sustainable socio-economic changes (Momsen, 2010; Parpart et al., 2000; Rathgeber, 1990). According to Parpart (2014), the GAD approach does not seek to dominate men, but to achieve empowerment, self-esteem, and dignity ("power within") of women in order to act collectively ("power with") and contribute to the development of wider society ("power to") (Rowlands, 1997).

In order to address the principal causes of gender-based inequalities, gender planning began to be recognised as essential in development interventions (Moser, 1989, 1993; Wieringa, 1994). Gender planning works on the premise that men and women play different roles in the society (which also recognises women's triple role), and that development projects should not assume that its impacts are the same for both genders. This underscores the importance of gender analysis in various stages of development interventions. Designing, planning, implementing and evaluating projects should be executed with a gender focus. Taylor (1999) likewise noted that gender planning should not be a separate parallel process to development planning. Rather, development planning must be informed by a gender analysis to equally address the needs of both women and men.

In addition to this, Moser (1989) and Molyneux (1985) argued that strategic and practical gender needs are recognised in gender planning. According to Molyneux (1985), practical gender needs are those needed to effectively fulfil women and men's roles based on the traditional sexual division of labour. Practical needs arise as a response to immediate necessities, and do not necessarily promote gender equality or women's emancipation. Hence, in terms of development planning, practical needs are addressed by giving women access to basic necessities, such as food and social services, enabling women to meet their responsibilities as expected in their triple roles. On the other hand, strategic gender needs are needs which address women's subordination to men. In contrast to practical needs, this approach calls for abolition of the traditional sexual division of labour, and challenges existing social constructs and cultural expectations regarding the roles of women. Addressing these needs can help women promote their overall position in the society. Although strategic needs vary depending on the cultural and political context of the society, studies have shown that this approach generally helps ensure that existing laws, customs, and institutional procedures do not discriminate based on gender (Hovorka, 2006; Kandiyoti, 1988; Subramaniam, 2000).

Donor organisations consequently adopted GAD to their operations by using and integrating the results of gender planning and gender analysis to make their projects more gender responsive (Moser, 1993; Østergaard, 1992; Rai & United, 2003). However, despite GAD's conceptual power to redress gender inequalities, critiques have argued that donor organisations have applied this approach in a way that resembles WID (Benschop & Verloo, 2006; Parpart, 2009; Porter & Sweetman, 2005). This was demonstrated through their continuing efforts in micro-credit, education, and health, and lack of long-term goals on gender equality. Such

development interventions then characterised gender as being synonymous with women (Jaquette & Summerfield, 2006), with limited analysis and investments in addressing structural gender inequalities (Cornwall, Rivas, 2015). Moreover, as GAD challenges male dominance in different aspects of society, it has been viewed as a threatening approach (Subramaniam, 2000). The GAD approach was faced with resistance and conflict within donor agencies and their interventions (Ylöstalo, 2016). Thus, “mainstreaming” was introduced to encourage acceptance and implementation of gender-equitable approaches within agencies and their programmes, and push beyond the exclusive focus on women (United Nations, 2002).

2.2.2 Underpinnings of gender mainstreaming

The term “mainstreaming” refers to changes in established procedures and cultures of organisations to accept new concepts and ways of operations (Picciotto, 2002). As such, the process of mainstreaming requires flexibility, innovation, learning, and acceptance of new norms. Hence, gender mainstreaming aimed to take into account both genders’ perspectives in creating policies and programmes (UN Women, 2002). Growing efforts from WID and GAD resulted in the application of this strategy, which intends to make development interventions more inclusive and holistic, and consequently, help close the persistent gender gap (Davids et al., 2014).

Gender mainstreaming was institutionalised in the Beijing Platform of Action created after the United Nations Conference on Women in 1995. It was underscored as a key process and strategy to redress gender inequalities among all sectors, in all levels of decision making processes. Gender mainstreaming, then, was defined by the UN Economic and Social Council (1997, p. 28) and referred to by various governments and development agencies, as:

“...the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies, or programmes, in all areas at all levels. It is a strategy for making women’s as well as men’s concerns and experiences an integral dimension of design, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic, and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality.”

UN Women (2002) discussed that gender mainstreaming underscores the importance of both men's and women's experiences and knowledge into crucial analysis and decision-making processes in the planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of public policies, systems, and development programmes. Mainstreaming gender ensures that both men and women can equally participate in, influence, and benefit from development processes, which may consequently lead to structural, procedural, and cultural changes conducive to gender equality (Derbyshire, 2012; United Nations, 2002). In principle, gender mainstreaming enables the full participation of women in sectors in which they are weakly represented, and brings matters that are commonly sidelined and marginalised to the forefront of major policy issues.

General components of a gender mainstreaming policy include: 1) a dual strategy of mainstreaming and targeting gender equality; 2) gender analysis to examine existing policies and programmes' distinguishing impacts on men and women; 3) internal responsibility for gender equality, including men's and women's equal participation in decision-making processes; 4) gender training to enhance gender management skills and raise gender awareness, supported by gender specialists; 5) support for women's decision-making and empowerment; 6) gender planning, monitoring and evaluation; and 7) budget and resource allocation (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999; Moser & Moser, 2005; UN Women, 2002; United Nations, 2002).

However, gender mainstreaming goes beyond the utilisation of tools and techniques in integrating a gender perspective. Studies show that it has the potential to challenge existing organisational structures and policies by integrating a gender equality perspective at various stages of the implementation of policies, plans, programmes, and projects (Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999; Gibb, 2001; Sainsbury & Bergqvist, 2009). According to Sainsbury and Bergqvist (2009, p. 217), gender mainstreaming has a transformative potential which "reveals the male norm in structures and processes, disclosing the androcentric design of cultures, institutions, and organisations."

Jahan's (1995) study proposed two types of gender mainstreaming implementation: institutional and operational. She argued that it is not an 'either-or' option, rather, both shall be implemented simultaneously so that impacts of gender mainstreaming will reach the ground. Institutional gender mainstreaming refers to changing the internal dynamics of development

agencies, which means making their policies, structures, and procedures gender-sensitive. Operational gender mainstreaming, on the other hand, refers to the approach these agencies take to the programmes they implement in the field. However, like any other development intervention, Desai (2005) noted that operational gender mainstreaming should start with women identifying their own priorities and strategies. To avoid a false perception of homogeneity among women, gender analysis is again underscored as it reinforces contextually appropriate local understanding of gender relations (Dawson, 2005). Yet, on the other hand, for successful operational gender mainstreaming to take place, changes must be made within development institutions that seek gender equality (Porter & Sweetman, 2005). As cultural norms from surrounding societies are reflected in the practices and values of the organisation (Rao & Kelleher, 2005), gender inequality within organisations must also be addressed if the aim is to transform gender equality in the larger society. As such, it can be argued that agencies that do not have an overarching gender equality framework and policy are not obliged and able to implement, monitor, or evaluate development goals which are sensitive to the needs of both men and women.

The European Union was the first region to legally adopt gender mainstreaming across its member countries (Treaty of Amsterdam in 1997), then consequently, international development agencies started to do so globally (Lavena & Riccucci, 2012; O'Connor, 2014; Walby, 2005). With the growing adoption of gender mainstreaming among development agencies, studies have found discrepancies between its policy and implementation. For example, Moser and Moser (2005) evaluated the gender mainstreaming policies of international development institutions, including bilateral donors, international financial institutions, UN agencies, and NGOs, based on how they adopted the terminologies of 'gender equality' and 'gender mainstreaming', established the policy, and implemented it. They found that the 14 agencies covered by the study had a consistent understanding of gender equality and gender mainstreaming, and were able to develop and endorse a gender framework. However, significant challenges in implementation were observed. In general, the study found that the agencies' gender mainstreaming activities were inconsistent and incoherent, and their policy commitments would often 'evaporate' in practice. Non-committed decision makers, male resistance, deep structures of gender inequality in organisational culture, insufficient gender training, and lack of consistent and systematic monitoring and evaluation of gender mainstreaming impacts were the key factors that influenced the weak mainstreaming of gender within the institutions (Moser & Moser, 2005).

The organisational resistance described by Moser & Moser is a common hindrance to gender mainstreaming. For instance, Ylöstalo's (2016) study on the performance of the Finnish government to mainstream gender within its organisation deduced that: 1) the officials assigned to mainstream gender did not have substantial knowledge about it; and 2) that there was constant aversion within the organisation. Similarly, Paterson and Scala (2017) found that gender mainstreaming in Canada's public service invited tension in the values they uphold as an organisation, including fairness, equity and responsiveness on one hand, and efficiency, accountability, and neutrality on the other. Tensions were also found by Mergaert and Lombardo (2014) when they examined the European Union's gender mainstreaming practices, which resulted in 'filtering out' of its gender equality goals.

Thus, resistance to the gender mainstreaming policy means that it is not readily embraced and causes dissonance between high-level statements and actions in the ground. This kind of aversion suggests that development organisations have deep structures of conservatism and values. Thus, effective institutional gender mainstreaming involves the difficult task of challenging formerly unquestioned norms (Picciotto, 2002; Rao & Kelleher, 2005). Gender mainstreaming's transformative potential can hence be easily lost in the process of implementation, with social power relations within the organisation playing a significant role in the implementation of gender mainstreaming activities.

Furthermore, when Bock (2015) examined EU's gender mainstreaming in its rural development programmes, she found that its development plans integrate gender minimally, and in general, it is only done by including some separate projects for women. She noted that policy makers have a tendency to "tick the obligatory gender box" without envisioning any real change. Agencies who lack a holistic understanding of gender equality but implement a gender policy tend to take on a WID approach, whereby efforts to address structural causes of gender inequality are limited (Taylor, 1999). This kind of gender mainstreaming is called the 'integrationist' approach, which leads to a focus on women as the marginalised group that has special interests, and therefore gives the notion that men's interests are the norm (Jahan, 1995). This results in the mainstreaming of women, rather than gender, and may reinforce existing gender stereotypes and further the gender imbalance (Ylöstalo, 2016).

Hence, there is a need to move towards the ‘agenda-setting’ approach of gender mainstreaming. This approach attempts to transform existing decision-making structures, prioritises gender objectives equally among other competing issues, and reorients policy making processes by applying a gender perspective. This includes removing legal and institutional barriers that hinder the equal participation and implementation of gender-responsive activities. Jahan (1995) underscored this as “women not only becoming part of the mainstream, but also reorienting the nature of the mainstream” (p. 13). As such, if women can take on full and equal participation with leadership roles as decision makers, planners, and implementers, the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming is believed to be reinforced. In the context of international development assistance, her study argued that it requires building the capacities of aid recipients to set and implement their own agenda on gender issues.

On a more optimistic note, other studies posit that gender mainstreaming can still be effective despite its weaknesses. Such research underscores the importance of deconstructing the gender mainstreaming framework and acknowledging the constraints faced in order to improve the strategy. For instance, a study done by Van Eerdewijk and Dubel (2012) on the Dutch aid agency’s gender mainstreaming concluded that there are no uniform processes in gender mainstreaming, and that its approaches and tools are evolving. They discussed that new monitoring and evaluation methods, which focus on what has been done, the interesting challenges, and lessons, offer a more substantial way of assessing the impacts of gender mainstreaming rather than basing it solely on non-achievement of targets. In addition, in examining nine UK-based international NGOs, Derbyshire (2012) found that gender mainstreaming complements and reinforces women’s projects as they are insufficient to bring about fundamental changes on its own. She stated that gender mainstreaming, albeit a long-term process which depends greatly on skills, resources, internal gender advocates, and an enabling environment in the organisation, presents clear evidence of positive change. At a global level, Walby (2005) also noted that even with its flaws, gender mainstreaming provides “a new basis for feminist solidarity and action...a leading-edge example of implications of globalisation in gender politics” (p. 453).

Additionally, Gibb (2001) examined good practices of gender mainstreaming in projects within the Asia Pacific region, listed lessons and issues, and highlighted their importance based on the results of case studies:

1. Social and cultural expectations about women's domestic responsibilities have far-reaching implications on their participation in activities, i.e. time and mobility constraints limit women from participating fully in various opportunities, and thus may affect gender mainstreaming activities;
2. Collecting sex-disaggregated data is a critical preliminary step in identifying respective roles of men and women, and is essential in gender analysis for integration into budgets and programmes;
3. Strong commitment to gender mainstreaming is key, with support and accountability at the senior level;
4. Achievement of goals and sustainability of development interventions require setting targets for women's participation and gender training which can reinforce women's greater involvement;
5. Women can be both participants and experts and can be drawn from different levels of an organisation (p. 10-13).

Contrasting results on gender mainstreaming may be attributed to the ambiguity of its two interrelated frames of reference: 1) transformation within institutions; and 2) striving to address gender inequality within the society (Caglar, 2013; Daly, 2005; Verloo, 2005). As discussed earlier, the two types of gender mainstreaming, institutional and operational, should be implemented hand in hand in order to achieve gender equality in all aspects and levels of society. However, the combination of these two frames of reference has been a subject of growing debates, specifically about whether gender mainstreaming is about overhauling the institutions' operations or about transforming the society, and how the two can be linked together. Yet on the other hand, Davids et al. (2014) argued that it is not necessary to view gender mainstreaming in these two frames of reference, but rather, see it as a fragmented and slow transformation that takes place in all domains of society. The aforementioned studies have shown that gender mainstreaming is most effective when seen as a 'means' or process to achieve gender equality, rather than an 'end' or goal.

Thus, discussions surrounding gender mainstreaming generally view it as an encouraging platform to redress gender inequality. Studies also show that although the principles of gender mainstreaming may provide an adequate gender equality policy, implementation outcomes vary depending on deeply embedded social factors. The following discussion will attempt to

link the precedent section on disaster risk reduction and management and the importance of integrating specific gender needs and roles into this pivotal system.

2.2.3 Gender mainstreaming in DRRM

Aforementioned studies have discussed that women's skills and capabilities tend to be unrecognised, undermined, and not incorporated into crucial processes. UNISDR (2009a) reported that the same is true in disaster risk reduction and management where men tend to have higher responsibilities and roles than women. Fordham and Meyreles (2014, p. 33) also note that women's skills and experience on disaster risk reduction are outside of the "official domain of disaster management represented by technical, professional, and often military apparatus of a masculine 'command and control' model of disaster response."

The low representation of women in planning and implementation contributes to the lack of gender sensitivity in DRRM. However, owing to the traditional gender relations, women have gained valuable knowledge and experience which is complementary to that of men (Ariyabandu, 2009). Neumayer and Plümper (2007) suggested that empowering traditionally marginalised women can mitigate overall disaster effects by involving them in each stage of DRRM. Numerous studies have found that building household and overall community resilience could have been more efficient, effective, and sustainable if it integrated a gendered aspect. As such, the implementation of a gender planning framework in DRRM is imperative to ensure gender responsive activities. Short- and long-term detrimental impacts can be adequately addressed and mitigated if women are equally consulted and taken into consideration.

For instance, addressing practical gender needs, or those that are needed to effectively fulfil traditional gender roles, can help mitigate post-disaster issues such as reproductive and health risks and gender-based violence and harassment. Provision of livelihood options not only solves higher unemployment rates following a disaster, it can also decrease women and girls' participation in socially unacceptable wage labour (Wiest et al., 1994). Likewise, studies show that giving equal economic opportunities to women will also increase resilience to future disasters, since they can access and afford more structural protection as their incomes increase

(Austin & McKinney, 2016; De Silva & Jayathilaka, 2014; Ginige et al., 2014). In particular, the studies noted that restoring suitable livelihood opportunities for women and providing training and resources, even in the informal sector, can augment the income of a household. This will greatly help with the family's economic recovery and may circumvent being in deeper poverty, which disasters can cause. Hence, increasing women's capacity to access loans, property, and public health resources can significantly contribute to lessening the number of people affected by disasters: whether by reducing injury, illness, homelessness, or death. These studies postulate that women's economic empowerment affects the whole household's ability to prepare for disasters.

More importantly, addressing women's strategic needs, which helps to mitigate women's subordination to men, can help sustain resilience in the long run. Their involvement in the planning and execution of each stage of DRRM can significantly contribute to greater community resilience before, during, and after a disaster. Bradshaw (2013) pointed out that the main tenet of grappling with strategic gender needs is changing the current power relations, which is essential in building a resilient community. As such, increasing women's participation and consultation, by giving them opportunities to hold leadership and decision-making positions, can reduce human and direct economic losses and damages from natural disasters. In particular, women can influence decisions on gender-responsive evacuation shelter designs, relocation and livelihood options, and even policy planning at the reconstruction stage. Hence, integrating women's perspectives in DRRM, and ensuring they are equally heard is important not only because they are more vulnerable to disasters, but also because they have the skills, experience, and knowledge to contribute to a better DRRM system (Enarson & Dhar Chakrabarti, 2009).

These studies show that even though men are traditionally inclined to lead rebuilding processes, incorporating women's voices can result in more efficient rehabilitation. While men have substantial roles, women also have equally significant functions in reducing the wider community's risks and vulnerability to disasters. Hence, integrating a gender perspective in DRRM needs to be pursued.

According to Fordham and Meyreles (2014), the following are hindrances to streamlining gender issues in DRRM:

1. Women are still excluded from emergency preparedness and response programmes;

2. Persistent information gaps between national programmes and grassroots women's organizations;
3. Lack of shared definition among stakeholders about effective risk reduction in poor and vulnerable communities; and
4. Organized constituencies of women delivering pro-poor DRR practices represent untapped potential (p. 31).

The studies have concluded that activities under gender mainstreaming, like collecting sex disaggregated data for instance, could help address gender-specific needs and reduce short- and long-term damaging impacts of disasters. Conducting a gender analysis at each stage of the DRRM cycle is deemed important in dealing with disasters. Gender mainstreaming in DRRM not only includes addressing women's and men's basic, practical, and strategic needs equally, it also pertains to removing political and institutional barriers for their greater equal participation. Studies have shown that on one hand, gender mainstreaming should be one of the fundamental mechanisms of development organisations in terms of planning, implementing, monitoring, and evaluating programmes, without the exception of disaster-related projects. On the other hand, gender mainstreaming must be inherently implemented within the organisations themselves, as it will directly reflect on how they operationalise their projects.

As the preceding sections linked gender concerns with disasters and gender mainstreaming in reducing and managing disaster risks, the next chapter will focus on one of the dominant stakeholders that delivers development interventions: the aid industry. The discussion will focus on literature that cites donor agencies' commitments and efforts to undertake effective aid delivery, the position of gender mainstreaming within the aid effectiveness agenda, and other fundamental factors that hinder these.

Chapter 3: Aid delivery via bilateral assistance

The slow growth rates of poor countries and worsening poverty despite the presence of numerous donors and sources of development aid, has led to the reform of aid modalities, approaches, and delivery. In the 1990s, there was widespread disappointment with aid and its minimal achievements, largely because dominant aid policies, such as structural adjustment programmes and conditionality, had lowered aid effectiveness and overall worsened social inequalities (Birdsall & Fukuyama, 2011; Williamson, 2004). The donors' project aid modality and their varying regulations and requirements were believed to undermine local systems and contributed to the inefficiency of aid. Moreover, the conditional nature of aid—where donors only provided aid if the recipient government adhered to certain policy reforms—had not worked well, posed problematic accountability mechanisms, and was perceived to be intrusive and neo-colonial (Doucouliagos & Paldam, 2009; Killick, 1997).

3.1 Principles of aid/development effectiveness

Such critiques and problems concerning aid delivery were addressed during the Second High Level Forum on Aid Effectiveness in Paris in 2005. Under the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness, the main outcome of the forum, these changes were formalised and summarised into five key principles:

1. **Ownership:** Partner countries exercise effective leadership over their development policies and strategies and coordinate development actions;
2. **Alignment:** Donors base their overall support on partner countries' national development strategies, institutions, and procedures;
3. **Harmonization:** Donors' actions are more harmonized, transparent, and collectively effective;
4. **Managing for results:** Managing resources and improving decision-making for results; and
5. **Mutual accountability:** Donors and partners are accountable for development results (OECD, 2005).

Changing trends in the development industry, as well as other gaps identified in adopting the Paris Declaration principles, shifted the thinking from ‘aid effectiveness’ to ‘development effectiveness’. The new principles were particularly discussed during the fourth high-level forum in Busan, South Korea in 2011, where better coordination at all levels was emphasised given the emergence of: 1) increasing providers of official development assistance outside of OECD-DAC, i.e. new donors and south-south cooperation partners; 2) different aid modalities from foundations, civil society organisations, and the private sector; and 3) other forms of capital flows for development, i.e. trade, foreign direct investments, and remittances (OECD, 2011). Due to these factors, it was acknowledged in Busan that the global development cooperation landscape was becoming diverse and complex. Hence, it was recognised that there is a need to integrate new aid actors and modalities into the aid effectiveness principles. As the forum in Busan sustained the interests of the aid effectiveness principles by including various stakeholders outside of OECD-DAC, it was believed that the development cooperation efforts were highly relevant and effective for global poverty reduction (Gore et al., 2013).

Under the Paris Declaration principles and as reaffirmed in Busan, donors are required to promote recipient ownership and align their agenda according to the priorities of the partner country. These principles postulate that aid will become more effective if recipient countries have influence over the donor’s development strategies and processes, which will avoid externally imposed conditionality and policy changes. Increasing the ownership of aid programmes was believed to be the panacea of making aid more effective, and is the main tenet of the new aid paradigm (Booth, 2012; Bourguignon & Sundberg, 2007; Dabelstein & Patton, 2012; Manor, 2006). This was done by changing aid modalities such as aligning development aid to the recipient government’s national priorities and development plans, conjointly managing resources through the partner country’s procurement and public financial systems, and using a mutual results-oriented framework to monitor and assess progress (OECD, 2005).

In relevance to this research, the discussion will particularly revolve around strategies and critiques pertaining to *ownership* and *alignment*, and parts of the *managing for results* and *mutual accountability* principles. These principles are associated with three interrelated aid practices. Firstly, the use of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). The PRSPs enable the partner countries to elaborate their national and sectoral development plans and strategies, and donors no longer need to design aid projects for their recipients. Secondly, the shift from project to programme-based aid modality, where PRSPs are used as the basis for the sectoral

support. Lastly, which is also connected to the PRSPs, is budget support wherein donors channel funding directly into the central budget of the recipient government, where it will be allocated based on the priorities indicated in their PRSP. These changes, then, are believed to reinforce greater governmental leadership, national ownership, and utilisation of local systems over the whole aid process (Dabelstein & Patton, 2012; Manor, 2006).

3.2 Drivers for adoption of the aid effectiveness agenda

Despite of the intent of the aid effectiveness agenda, studies have shown that donor agencies' strategies are not only influenced by pressures from international agreements but also from local factors such as their own government policies, ideology, and demands from civil society (Gulrajani, 2014; Samy & Aksli, 2015; Wood & Betts, 2012). Evaluations of the agenda have shown that internal political leadership, administrative structures, and incentive mechanisms were some of the major influencing factors that can hinder or advance the implementation of the aid effectiveness principles. The political agenda at the domestic and international fronts remains as a critical determinant of donor organisational behaviour and their compliance to global norms.

To cite a few examples, in their study that examined the performance of bilateral donors in adopting the Paris Declaration principles, Samy and Aksli (2015) concluded that the more powerful and rich countries like the United States tend to ignore these principles because of their established status as a prominent donor, while Ireland, a smaller donor, is more likely to comply to such global norms. Gulrajani (2014) similarly argued that donor agencies comply to these norms to achieve or maintain global legitimacy, and to demonstrate their advancement as international development actors. On the other hand, domestic values and considerations, including political ideology and accountability, also play important roles in the countries' compliance. Bilateral agencies tend to demonstrate upward accountability where their revenues and funding are obtained, rather than downward accountability towards aid recipients (Gulrajani, 2014; Owa, 2011). Wood and Betts (2012) have in fact argued that most decisions made by donors are contrary to Paris Declaration principles. They cited donors' failures to change their systems to accommodate the aid effectiveness principles, evidenced in the lack of

internal policy structures and compliance, as an indication that donors still support their own agenda.

Other studies focused on the obstacles and conflicting interests faced by specific bilateral agencies in adopting the principles. For example, Owa (2011) examined Japan's approach to aid effectiveness and found that it lacked high-level commitment, was cautious in introducing new aid modalities because of their high regard of accountability to Japanese taxpayers and risks of failure, and their greater priority in engaging with stakeholders on the ground rather than with other donors. On the contrary, her study with UK's Department for International Development found that the agency is more robust in implementing the aid effectiveness principles, as their motivation is apparent in the existing political leadership and effective incentive mechanisms. Sjöstedt (2013), on his study with the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency, found conflicting effects of ownership and results-based management: the strict focus on results demands focus on outputs and activities ('doing things right'), rather than outcomes and impacts ('doing the right things') (p. 153).

Despite bilateral and multilateral agencies' various motives in the adoption (or lack thereof) of the Paris Declaration principles, Holvoet and Inberg (2014) emphasised that the shift in focus from isolated donor-driven projects into country-owned policies and systems influences the promotion of gender mainstreaming. The following discussion puts specific focus on gender mainstreaming within the aid effectiveness agenda and further sets the research into context.

3.3 Aid effectiveness and gender mainstreaming

As aid effectiveness promotes country ownership and alignment, mainstreaming gender within ODA projects is assumed to be the partner country's responsibility and to be integrated together with their PRSPs. However, a comprehensive study done by the African Development Bank (2011) found that gender equality is pushed further down the list of priorities of partners within their PRSPs and other aid modalities. Gender mainstreaming reports from the aid agencies of Canada (CIDA, 2008), Sweden (SIDA, 2010), and UK (DFID, 2006) show that gender equality activities are often initiated and reside with the donors and not with the partners. For example, Sjöstedt's (2013) study observed that it is the donor agency who has a development priority on

gender and not the partner country, resulting in a ‘double whammy’ for development officers: reporting specific and tangible results on the sectoral programme while also taking into account cross-cutting and mainstreaming complex issues on gender.

Aid modalities such as the general budget support and sector-wide approaches tend not to systematically mainstream gender, and the extent of gender in budget support greatly depends on its integration on the country’s PRSPs (AfDB, 2011; DFID, 2006; Holvoet, 2010). Hence, uncritical alignment with gender-blind national policies and systems risks enforcing male bias which already exists (Holvoet & Inberg, 2014). Grown et al. (2016) argued that donors should “move away from characterising gender as a cross-cutting issue,” (p. 317) as it is less likely to be addressed systematically; directing country strategies and programmes to concrete results is deemed to be more successful. Some studies cited the importance of participation and spaces for women’s groups to negotiate and ensure that gender goals are included within national action plans, especially in the context of the aid effectiveness principles. It argued that if women are given significant political participation, a stronger push for gender equality can be expected within national action plans and hopefully be reflected in ODA projects (Balioune-Lutz, 2016; Campbell & Teghtsoonian, 2010).

As such, despite the challenges of mainstreaming gender within the new aid modalities, donor agencies still anticipate opportunities of integrating gender within the wider aid effectiveness principles, such as:

1. Encouraging a more participatory and coherent PRSP formulation, which can result in increased mainstreaming of policy commitments in national development policy and planning, including priorities on gender;
2. Reinforcing a shared understanding and more coherent approach to gender equality, particularly if incorporated into the PRSP and supported by national leadership;
3. Providing a comprehensive framework for dialogue on gender issues; and
4. Monitoring specific targets and indicators on gender to promote and demonstrate gender results into national and sectoral level frameworks (AfDB, 2011; SIDA, 2010; Holvoet & Inberg, 2014).

3.4 Underlying issues concerning aid effectiveness

While the development management literature postulates that policy reform must be initiated by the recipient government, various studies (Booth, 2012; Dijkstra, 2015; Karini, 2016) argue that pressure emanates from donor countries who impose their concept of good governance. Booth (2012) pointed out that the core of a country's ownership is its political leadership, and the assumption that this exists even in low-income states, is unrealistic (p. 553). Dijkstra (2015) extensively critiqued the concept of ownership, which according to him, works only on the premise that the country and donor preferences are the same, and that "the country owns, or is committed to, what the donors want to achieve" (p. 21). Ownership was repeatedly questioned in the implementation of PRSPs, citing that political realities were concealed in these technical instruments, and that some governments only write these strategies to get aid (Dijkstra & Komives, 2011). As such, these studies (also McGee and Heredia, 2012) show that ownership, the core principle of aid effectiveness, is guided by a political stance and therefore poses problems for the whole agenda.

Hence, discussions around the whole aid effectiveness agenda posit that there is still a gap in the new rhetoric of ownership and the overall balance of power between donors and recipients of aid, and that the agenda failed to grapple with the political nature of aid and development (Hyden, 2008; Mawdsley, Savage, & Kim, 2014; Sjöstedt, 2013). It can be deduced that to effectively mainstream gender in bilateral cooperation programmes, it needs to be a development thrust and a priority of both donor and partner countries.

Framework for gender mainstreaming in a bilateral DRRM intervention

The literature review discussed that integrating gender needs equally, and recognising that women and men have their own strengths and important roles in planning and executing development interventions, can result in effective development practices. Hence, gender mainstreaming has the potential to ensure equal participation of men and women in different social processes, help identify the needs and roles of both genders, and consequently, mitigate gender disparity in critical situations like disasters. Studies have shown the discriminating

impacts of disasters on men and women, thus gender mainstreaming remains crucial in DRRM. However, in the context of delivering development interventions through official development assistance, priorities regarding gender mainstreaming seem misplaced between the partner country and the donor agency. Ideally, aid effectiveness principles elicit development programmes to emanate from the partner country and development assistance to align with the national priorities. However, the concept of “country ownership” suggests underlying power structures and political impositions from donor agencies. The whole literature review implies that mainstreaming gender should be a priority of both the donor and the partner, including but not limited to disaster-related programmes, and it thus remains crucial in making development efforts gender responsive.

Hence, while gender mainstreaming, disaster risk reduction, and aid delivery seem to be different fields in their own respects, a nexus among the three is necessary in terms of the questions asked in this research. The framework (Figure 3.1) attempts to synthesise the ideal process in addressing gender impacts of disasters through a context-specific mainstreaming of gender needs delivered through foreign aid.

Gender mainstreaming in a bilateral DRRM project

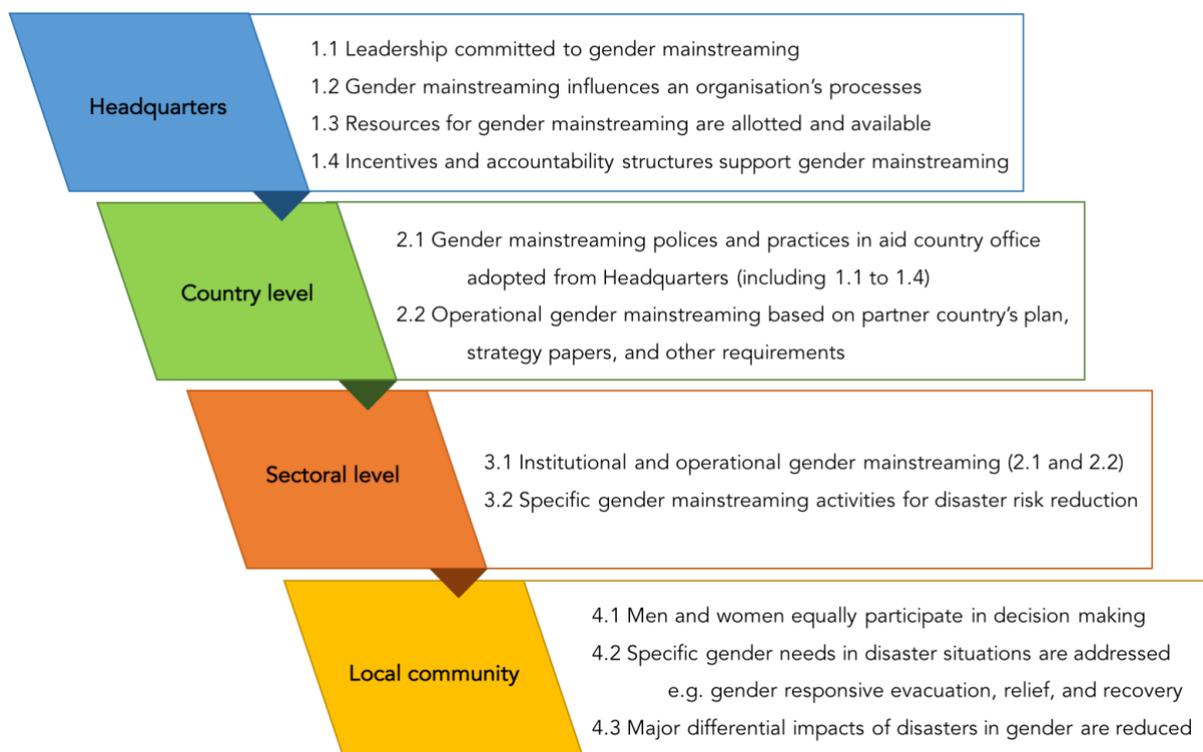


Figure 3.1: Conceptual framework of gender mainstreaming in a bilateral DRRM programme. Source: author

The framework works on the premise that the headquarters of the donor agency is executing gender mainstreaming activities in its aid programme, across its projects and operations. This includes the implementation of gender mainstreaming activities to its country offices. The framework shows that gender mainstreaming policies and strategies from the Headquarters of the donor agency should be transferred to its country office, and since literature posits that gender mainstreaming should adopt the socio-cultural context, the local settings should be integrated. Moreover, adhering to the aid effectiveness principles, the country office's operations are required to align and integrate their priorities with its partner country. Hence, depending on the requirements and priorities on gender of the partner country, this shall be reflected accordingly within the country office's operations and programmes. It is then necessary to streamline gender mainstreaming activities based on the context of the sector, in this case, disaster risk reduction and management. Once the appropriate gender mainstreaming activities in DRRM are carried out in the development intervention (together with the institutional and operational gender mainstreaming of the aid agency in the context of the partner country), it would be assumed that its effects will be reflected in a gender-responsive

DRRM on the ground. Detailed gender mainstreaming activities expected at each stage are summarised in Table 1.

Table 3.1: Specific mechanisms for gender mainstreaming based on the framework for a bilateral DRRM programme

	<u>Specific gender mainstreaming mechanisms</u>
1. Headquarters	
1.1 Leadership committed to gender mainstreaming	1.1.1 Mandated gender policy 1.1.2 Senior management commitment
1.2 Gender mainstreaming influences organisation's procedures and processes	1.2.1 Gender analysis at all project stages 1.2.2 Monitoring and evaluation frameworks 1.2.3 Collection and use of sex disaggregated data 1.2.4 Format, tools, and methods accommodate sex disaggregated data 1.2.5 Gender-sensitive language, i.e. goals, objectives, outcomes, and outputs include GAD statements
1.3 Resources for gender mainstreaming	1.3.1 Specific officers assigned to monitor and oversee gender mainstreaming (senior and junior) 1.3.2 Budget allocation for gender mainstreaming activities, including gender training and gender awareness activities 1.3.3 Gender specialists and experts 1.3.4 Research on gender issues to draw lessons in different sectors 1.3.5 Gender mainstreaming guidelines for specific sectors

1.4 Organisational incentives and accountability structures	1.4.1 Career incentives to encourage gender mainstreaming 1.4.2 Accountability mechanisms to reward or sanction staff and managers' work and output towards gender mainstreaming
2. Country-level adoption	
2.1 Gender mainstreaming policies and practices adopted from headquarters	2.1.1 Specific mechanisms from 1.1.1 to 1.4.2 also implemented in country office
2.2 Operational gender mainstreaming based on partner country's own mechanism and priority integrated	2.2.1 Integrate local cultural context 2.2.2 Integrate partner country's requirements towards gender mainstreaming of development programmes, i.e. specific toolkits, checklists, gender analysis and M&E frameworks, etc. 2.2.3 Coordination with national gender agency
3. Sector- and programme-level adoption	
3.1 Institutional and operational gender mainstreaming	3.1.1 Mechanisms and activities adopted as prescribed in 2.1.1 to 2.2.2 3.1.2 Further adoption of gender mainstreaming activities based on project locale
3.2 Specific gender mainstreaming activities for DRRM	3.2.1 Development planning includes gender analysis 3.2.2 Planning tools in DRRM system uses sex disaggregated data 3.2.3 Women's groups equally consulted 3.2.4 Women in decision making processes 3.2.5 Local emergency and recovery includes funds and plans to address women's needs 3.2.6 Trainings on DRRM include women

	<p>3.2.7 Overall DRRM plan includes GAD statements</p> <p>3.2.8 DRRM initiatives designed to equally include both genders, i.e. survival skills training, community mapping, information on disasters, design of facilities</p>
4. Outcomes of gender mainstreaming in the community	
4.1 Men and women participate equally in crucial DRRM processes	<p>4.1.1 Men and women are equally consulted in decision making processes, i.e. DRRM plans for mitigation, preparation, relief, recovery and rehabilitation</p> <p>4.1.2 Men and women participate equally in DRRM initiatives such as survival skills training, community mapping, access to information on disasters, collection of sex disaggregated data</p>
4.2 Specific gender needs during disaster are addressed	<p>4.2.1 Emergency and relief activities responsive to women and girls' reproductive health needs</p> <p>4.2.2 Evacuation procedures, facilities, and activities address privacy concerns</p>
4.3 Differential impacts of disasters are minimised	<p>4.3.1 Reduced incidence of gender-based violence, trafficking, and displaced persons</p> <p>4.3.2 Livelihood opportunities given to both women and men</p> <p>4.3.3 Reconstruction of facilities cater to both women and men's needs</p>

Source: author, drawing from Ariyabandu, 2009; Bradshaw, 2013; Commonwealth Secretariat, 1999; Enarson & Dhar Chakrabarti, 2009; Fordham, 2003; Grown et al., 2016; Holvoet & Inberg, 2014; Moser & Moser, 2005; Neumayer & Plümper, 2007; OECD, 2005; Sjöstedt, 2013; UN Women, 2002; United Nations, 2002.

The specific gender mainstreaming mechanisms indicated on the table are derived from the specific lessons learned and recommendations of various studies, reports, and evaluations of: 1) gender mainstreaming in donor agencies; and 2) gender mainstreaming in disaster risk reduction. However, despite the extensive review of literature on these three fields, there seems to be a research gap in examining gender mainstreaming in the context of a bilateral-assisted DRRM intervention. The previous framework is then an attempt to integrate existing frameworks for gender mainstreaming in a donor agency and gender mainstreaming in disaster risk reduction. The resulting conceptual framework will be used as a guide to answer the research questions.

Summary of literature review

The review of literature focused on three key areas: disaster risk reduction and management, gender mainstreaming, and aid delivery. While the review was not meant to give an exhaustive coverage of perspectives on each area, the discussion mainly revolved around fundamental premises and concepts that correspond to the linkages among the three development fields aligning with the research questions.

Studies on disasters and the risks associated with them showed that the extent of socio-economic impacts largely depend on existing human vulnerabilities. Hence, various global frameworks and development interventions have been established to ensure that appropriate disaster risk reduction and management policies and systems are in place. However, such crucial processes are still governed by complex power relations and prevailing societal inequalities. Specifically, the ubiquity of gender disparity is observed on different social facets: in institutions, the programmes they implement, and the impacts of these development programmes in the community. Through gender inequalities, together with natural hazards, the marginalised sectors of society are further trapped into deeper poverty. The current global trends and the post-2015 development agenda pose that a disaster risk reduction and management system proves to be paramount. Yet, it can only be effective and sustainable if it is inclusive of all sectors of society.

These development issues have been globally recognised and thus specific efforts to close the gender gap have been attempted. Gender mainstreaming, in particular, attempts to streamline gender perspectives within development organisations and their programmes. On the other hand, the aid industry, a hegemonic actor in delivering development interventions, is also guided by its aid effectiveness principles which promote partner country ownership and alignment. However, it should be noted that both gender mainstreaming and the aid effectiveness agenda are not without critiques, and numerous studies have found that both can be easily governed by underlying political and power structures. But, provided that these are combined and taken by principle, gender equality in the wider society can be achieved if: 1) gender development is prioritised by the donor and partner countries; and 2) gender mainstreaming is effectively practiced by both organisations implementing this intervention.

Thus, this research aims to examine how a bilateral donor agency like the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) executes its gender mainstreaming policy and strategy and explore how these manifest in a local disaster risk reduction and management project. As JICA is also governed by the aid effectiveness principles, the research will also focus on how its partner country, the Philippines, contributes to the gender mainstreaming activities of the project. With the onset of climate change and the sustainable development agenda, this research hopes to contribute to the growing body of knowledge on gender mainstreaming, disaster risk reduction, and aid delivery, underscoring their linkages and making recommendations on these three significant development spheres.

Chapter 4: Context

This chapter seeks to outline the context of the research. It will introduce Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and its assistance in the Philippines. It will also give an overview on the extent of damage brought about by the strongest typhoon to ever hit the Philippines and the corresponding assistance extended by JICA. Finally, it will describe the project examined by this research, JICA's DRRM programme, which aimed to help the local governments to rebuild infrastructure, recover livelihoods, and bring back normality in the typhoon-affected areas.

4.1 Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)

Japan's Official Development Assistance (ODA) began in 1954 after participating in the Colombo Plan for Cooperative Economic and Social Development in Asia and the Pacific. (JICA, 2014). Japan's ODA was originally positioned as part of the country's war reparations, but eventually became an instrument for foreign policy and cooperation, especially in Asia (Fujikura & Nakayama, 2016; Kato, Page, & Shimomura, 2016). While Japan delivers part of their ODA through various multilateral platforms, its bilateral assistance remains prominent at 80 percent, extended to developing countries through schemes such as technical cooperation, yen loan, and grant aid (JICA, 2017). Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) is the main organisation responsible for delivering Japan's bilateral ODA. According to JICA's 2017 profile, its main objective is to "promote international cooperation and sound development of the Japanese and global economy by supporting the socioeconomic development, recovery, or economic stability of developing regions" (p. 5-6). The bilateral organisation currently operates in 150 countries, extending its assistance in fields such as transportation, infrastructure, education, health, water resources, peace building, and disaster risk reduction, among others (JICA, 2017).

Ensuing from Japan's successful economic recovery after World War II, it became the first non-Western donor and was the top provider of ODA from 1989 to 2001 (JICA, 2014; Ohno, 2017). Data from Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) in 2016 showed that Japan is currently the 4th largest donor in terms of volume, having provided USD 10.3 billion in net ODA in 2015 alone. OECD (2016, pp. 218-221) also reported that 45 percent of Japan's ODA was allocated to economic infrastructure, with a strong focus on transportation and energy. In terms of gender efforts, peer reviewed findings by OECD showed that Japan had less than average performance in supporting gender equality and women's empowerment. In 2015, it reported that it allotted 22% of its bilateral ODA to gender, lower than the average among all donors which is 34.7%. However, the report also noted that there was a steady increase in Japan's assistance related to gender from 11.6% in 2009 and 17.5% in 2013, apparently due to the Government of Japan's new and significant emphasis on women's empowerment in its development cooperation. It further explained that JICA's gender equality efforts are usually related to population and reproductive projects (OECD, 2016).

Moreover, it can also be noted that a significant amount of JICA's aid is dispensed in Asia, having comparative advantage to other donors due to a more nuanced understanding of Asian cultures and the applicability of assistance because of similarities in environmental conditions (Arase, 2005; JICA, 2017; Kato et al., 2016; Ohno, 2017). Ohno (2017) and Jain (2016) also discussed that Japan's core values are reflected in their ODA, specifically by making their aid self-reliant and recipient-driven. Their analysis further emphasised that Japan does not see aid as charity or moral obligation but supports "self-help efforts of developing countries in building self-reliant economies," (Ohno, 2017, p. 320) where the history, society and culture of the partner country are respected.

In terms of disaster risk reduction, Japan is also globally regarded as an expert in disaster resilience—with robust infrastructure and widespread community awareness and participation in disaster-related activities and protocols (Crowley Nee Donovan & Elliott, 2012; Habara, 2014; Shaw, 2014). Their capacity to withstand mega disasters and rapidly cope with disaster impacts are due to the country's advanced technology and well-organized disaster management system (Ishiwatari, 2012; Matsuoka et al., 2012). Hence, JICA has also been a channel to share Japan's knowledge and expertise with developing countries, which is evident in its influence in the United Nation's Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (Shiwaku et al., 2016; Walch, 2015).

4.2 JICA in the Philippines

In the Philippines, JICA has been the largest donor agency for over a decade (NEDA, 2017). The National Economic and Development Authority, the Philippine government's socioeconomic planning agency, reported that JICA's assistance to the country holds the largest share in the total ODA portfolio in 2016. Out of USD 15.39 billion worth of ODA received by the country, USD 5.62 billion (36%) came from JICA, followed by the World Bank and Asian Development Bank at USD 3.04 billion (20%) and USD 2.88 billion (19%) respectively. According to the same report, a significant part of Japan's ODA are yen loans, which mostly consist of transport, water, and energy infrastructure projects (NEDA, 2017, p. 23).

JICA Philippines' 2016 annual report states that it has 93 ongoing projects in the country. As outlined in Japan's country assistance policy (2012), JICA's operations in the Philippines are guided by three priority areas based on the Philippine Development Plan:

- 1) Achieving sustainable economic growth through further promotion of investment (transport network, energy and water infrastructure, maritime safety, and human resource development);
- 2) Overcoming vulnerability and stabilising bases for human life and production activity (natural disasters and environment, health care, and agriculture); and
- 3) Peace and development in Mindanao (social services, community development, and local governance).

While JICA's assistance to the Philippines focuses significantly on infrastructure projects, it also extended notable aid related to disaster risk reduction and management (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Japan, 2016). According to the World Risk Report in 2017, Philippines and Japan are highly disaster-prone countries (ranking 3rd and 17th respectively among countries worldwide with the highest risk to disasters) as they are situated within the North Western Pacific Ocean and the Pacific Ring of Fire—geographical areas particularly vulnerable to typhoons and earthquakes (Bündnis Entwicklung Hilft, 2017, p. 17). Similarly, a report made by United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction in 2015 also stated that from 1995-2015, Philippines was fourth among countries hardest hit by disasters worldwide (UNISDR, 2015a). The impacts of disasters in the Philippines are further exacerbated by its poverty situation and

underdevelopment, in terms of poor urban planning, deforestation, sub-standard public infrastructure, and weak DRRM system (Balgos, 2014; Gaillard, 2011; Kure et al., 2016).

Since both countries experience similar risks in terms of intensity and frequency of disasters and given Japan's expertise on this field, JICA has been actively assisting the Philippines in boosting its DRRM system (MOFA, 2016). According to its annual report, the Japanese government has been providing crosscutting assistance to this sector, including early warning forecasting systems, flood control management, meteorological radars, capacity building of local government officials, community-based disaster risk reduction, recovery and rehabilitation programs, and disaster relief (JICA Philippines, 2017).

4.3 Typhoon Haiyan and JICA's response

Typhoon Haiyan, locally known as Yolanda (hereinafter referred to as Typhoon Haiyan), was one of the strongest tropical cyclones ever recorded in history (Alcantara, 2014; Ching, De los Reyes, Sucaldito, & Tayag, 2015). It struck the Philippines in November 8, 2013 and remains the deadliest Philippine typhoon on record with more than 7,000 people dead and 13 million people affected (UNOCHA, 2013). Damages and losses were estimated at USD 12.9 billion, which includes destroyed physical assets; reductions in production, sales, and income; increased operating costs resulting from the disaster; and other unexpected expenditures (NEDA, 2013). Tacloban City, which is the economic hub of the Leyte province, was severely damaged due to the unpredicted storm surge brought about by the typhoon (Kure et al., 2016; Shuichi, Yasuhito, Kanako, & Keiko, 2016). Transport infrastructure was destroyed, which affected the mobility of people and goods for disaster response. Hospitals, schools, evacuation centres, other public infrastructure and most of the houses were also immensely devastated. Lack of adequate, timely relief supplies also resulted in victims looting establishments, which further exacerbated the initial impacts of the disaster in the city (Alcantara, 2014; Kure et al., 2016; Santiago et al., 2016).

The extent of the damage of the super typhoon and the insufficient resources of the government prompted the swift action of the international community, donors, non-government organisations, and private groups in extending aid to affected areas. There was overwhelming

foreign aid: initial reports stated that total aid pledged was USD 1.6 billion but aid received fell short at USD 386 million (Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 2016). The catastrophe revealed issues concerning the capacity of the Philippine government in disaster governance (Santiago et al., 2016; Shuichi et al., 2016). A policy note made by the Philippine government and World Bank (2017) highlighted major issues that needed to be addressed, including “lack of coordination at all levels, aid transparency and accountability, systems and protocols for donations and assistance, conduct of post-disaster needs assessment, recovery planning, implementation, monitoring, and communications” (p. 1). This prompted the review of the Philippine government’s disaster risk reduction and management system.

Following the onslaught of Typhoon Haiyan, Japan was one of the countries to immediately respond: sending emergency relief worth USD 52 million and dispatching three medical teams and an expert team to evaluate the damage and needs for recovery and reconstruction (Official Gazette of the Republic of the Philippines, 2016). The deployment of the Japanese teams was the onset of JICA’s assistance towards the rehabilitation of the typhoon-affected areas (JICA Philippines, 2014). Shifting from relief to recovery, JICA implemented a comprehensive programme for reconstruction called “The Urgent Development Study on the Project on Rehabilitation and Recovery from Typhoon Yolanda.” The said programme, implemented from 2014 to 2017, had three main components:

- 1) Recovery and reconstruction planning – which includes: a) production of hazard maps; b) revision of the comprehensive land use plan including development of structural measures to build safer cities; and c) revision of local disaster risk reduction and management plans in three municipalities;
- 2) Programme grant aid – including reconstruction of schools, medical facilities, local government offices, and procurement of equipment for airport, meteorological radar, and fisheries centre worth 4.6 billion Japanese yen in total; and
- 3) Quick impact projects – small scale projects aimed to recover livelihood and capacity development, which includes re-establishing local farming of milkfish and oyster; reconstruction of processing facilities, market and other public infrastructure; and capacity building for processing and marketing of local products (Oriental Consultants Co. Ltd., 2016).

This research specifically focused on Component 1: Recovery and Reconstruction Planning, where JICA assessed the damage brought by Typhoon Haiyan and consequently produced

hazard maps for the hardest hit municipalities. The maps contained data on possible types and scale of hazards and highlighted the vulnerability of specific geographical locations in each municipality. In Tacloban City, the hazard maps were streamlined and used as a basis of the revision of the city's disaster risk reduction and management plan. From the hazard map, JICA's assistance to Tacloban City eventually developed into several activities, including: 1) creation of evacuation routes for specific residential zones; 2) formulation of plans for camp management and relief operations, including an identification system for vulnerable groups; and 3) a timeline action plan that contained a checklist and flow chart of actions to be taken by each cluster before and after a disaster.

Aside from providing assistance in the improvement of Tacloban City's disaster risk reduction and management plan, the first component of the project also contributed to the updating of the city's comprehensive land use plan. JICA's technical support and inputs were requested by the city government, especially in integrating both structural (tidal embankment, reclamation) and non-structural (evacuation, early warning, education) measures, a strategy which is part of the so-called "Building Safer City Approach." The revised disaster risk reduction and management plan was also incorporated into the land use plan. Workshops were conducted together with other institutions such as international non-government organisation Oxfam, United States' bilateral agency USAID, and the United Nations Human Settlements Programme. Workshops facilitated by JICA resulted in identification of spatial strategies and area management of Tacloban City, which are all crucial in sustainable long-term land use. Moreover, an evaluation report of the first component of the programme stated that JICA's hazard maps and technical inputs were particularly instrumental in the revision of the city's disaster risk reduction and management and land use plans. After two major phases, JICA's recovery and rehabilitation programme officially ended in 2017.

The rehabilitation programme did not have sub-projects directly related to gender and development. With the Sustainable Development agenda and other global accords discussed in the previous chapter, important development interventions such as JICA's recovery and rehabilitation programme in Tacloban City should ensure that they cater to all sectors of society. While the absence of a gender project does not inevitably mean that the whole programme is gender insensitive, gender mainstreaming remains crucial in ensuring that both men's and women's perspectives are equally considered in interventions which aim to rebuild safer and resilient communities, regardless of the nature of assistance. On a broader note, given

JICA's significant assistance to the Philippines and having the largest percentage in the ODA portfolio received by the country, it puts pressure on the organisation to make its projects gender responsive.

As this chapter explored the setting of the research, the next chapter will then discuss the methods used to explore how JICA mainstreamed gender, and how its local stakeholders influenced it, in the recovery and rehabilitation programme in Tacloban City.

Chapter 5: Methodology

This chapter will discuss the data collection methods and processes undertaken in this research. The overall framework used by the researcher explored JICA's gender mainstreaming practices, starting from the policy execution in Headquarters, to its contextualisation in its Philippine country office, then to the sectoral adoption in a DRRM project in Tacloban City, Philippines, and finally to the local stakeholders' influence on the mainstreaming of gender needs in the project. To do this, data collection was done in three research sites from June to July 2017: JICA Headquarters in Tokyo, JICA's country office in Manila, and the local government of Tacloban City in the Philippines. The research used a qualitative approach, with interviews, document analyses, and observation as primary data collection methods. The research has been influenced by some limitations, constraints, and biases encountered during the fieldwork; these will also be described and explained in-depth in the following sections of this chapter. Finally, this chapter will also touch upon the personal experiences of the researcher, which are coincidentally related to the research topic at hand: gender and disasters.

5.1 Positionality and ethical considerations

Prior to fieldwork, the research underwent the Development Studies' in-house ethics process and was found to be aligned with the ethical principles required by the Massey University Human Ethics Committee. As the research heavily draws from Japan International Cooperation Agency's (JICA) gender mainstreaming policy and practices, approval and endorsement from JICA Philippines office was sought—and obtained—from the organisation prior to conducting data collection.

One of the significant reasons that this topic was chosen is because of my work experience with JICA. I have been working for JICA Philippines since 2013 and will be back in 2018 to continue my work as one of its programme officers. Hence, it was important for me to clear any conflicts of interest that might arise by being honest with the research participants about my involvement with JICA. As part of seeking their consent, I clarified my position in JICA Philippines: an employed programme officer but currently on study leave to pursue my

Master's degree. Hence, assurance that the information given by the participants will only be used in the research and will not be used to evaluate their performance in the organisation was given. Prior to each interview, there were also verbal and written explanations on what my research intends to explore as well as their rights as participants including voluntary participation, informed consent, and confidentiality.

Although the interviewees were purposively identified based on their involvement with the gender mainstreaming work and the DRRM project, their participation in the interviews was entirely voluntary. Participants were given the right to withdraw at any stage from the interview. In reporting on this research, I have protected their privacy by using codes instead of revealing their names and positions in the organisation.

Only non-confidential documents, like guidelines and reports, were used for document analysis. In terms of documenting the fieldwork, permissions were first sought before recording each interview.

5.2 Research sites

The fieldwork was conducted from June to July 2017 and had three research sites: 1) JICA Headquarters in Japan; 2) JICA Philippines in Metro Manila, Philippines; and 3) local government of Tacloban City, Leyte, Philippines. There was also another municipality which was sought for interviews, but due to unforeseeable circumstances (which will be discussed in-depth in the forthcoming paragraphs), data gathered from this municipality was not included in the findings of the research.

The first research site is JICA's Headquarters in Tokyo, Japan. The head office serves as the managerial and administrative centre of the organisation, with its worldwide operations converging in this office. Delegations of authority, standard procedures, and guidelines to be followed by its overseas offices originate and are controlled from here.

The second research site is JICA Philippines, which is mainly responsible for coordinating JICA's operations and delivering official development assistance from the government of

Japan to the Philippines. The country office is located within Makati City, one of the central business districts in Metro Manila.

The selected JICA DRRM project is in Leyte, a province 700 km south of Manila in the Eastern Visayas region of the Philippines (Figure 5.1). The project, entitled “Urgent Development Study on the Project on Rehabilitation and Recovery from Typhoon Yolanda,” was implemented to rebuild the communities affected by Typhoon Haiyan, a mega-disaster which struck the country in 2013. Although the project had three broad components, the research specifically focused on one component: the improvement of the local DRRM and comprehensive land use plans. The research specifically examined how this is done in Tacloban City, the main hub of the Eastern Visayas region, the provincial capital of Leyte, which is the most urbanised area in the province. While the other two components of the recovery programme, which comprised of projects on rebuilding various public infrastructure, livelihood recovery, and capacity building, are also equally important, the research only focused on one component due to accessibility, resource and time constraints, and direct relevance to the research.

The research also interviewed officers from another municipality, Palo, a town next to Tacloban City which was also assisted by JICA’s recovery and rehabilitation programme. While I only requested that three specific officers be interviewed (DRRM, planning, and gender officers), the municipality invited seven additional officers whom I could interview, i.e. youth leader, health officer, municipal engineer, administrator, a barangay official, an NGO member, and a member of the municipal council; none of whom were involved in JICA’s DRRM programme. The said interviewees were already there when I arrived at the office where I was to do my interviews. However, though there was rich data and learnings that I gathered from these interviews about Palo’s recovery efforts from different viewpoints of the stakeholders, there was not enough relevant and novel information about gender mainstreaming in the JICA project. The interviews focused more on the municipality’s own rehabilitation efforts, despite the attempt to steer and connect it to the JICA intervention. In fact, it was found that JICA’s assistance in the revision of Palo’s DRRM and land use plans was slightly peripheral. This is because the local government had different strategies compared to Tacloban City, i.e. the revision of the plans in Palo was contracted to an external consultant, which made it difficult to explore JICA’s gender mainstreaming approaches on this component. Interviews suggested that JICA was able to recommend technical inputs on the plans, but internal processes like

approval of the consultant's work by the municipal government and the community consultation were slow. Hence, finalisation of the revised plans was still far from the horizon at the time of the interviews, and it is yet unknown if JICA's technical inputs were eventually included. While Palo is one of the main beneficiaries of JICA's recovery and rehabilitation programme, its assistance to the municipality focused more on rebuilding public infrastructure, which is the second component of the programme and is not examined by the research.

Since the research focused on the first component of the programme, it can thus be noted that JICA's gender mainstreaming strategies can be explored more at the level of local government where JICA played a larger role in helping them revise their DRRM and land use plans. Moreover, while I also attempted to do follow-up interviews with relevant officials and conduct a non-participant structured observation with Palo's community leaders, an earthquake hit the province and prompted the cancellation of the appointments because the participants had to attend to their emergency relief activities. Hence, the fieldwork in the municipality of Palo did not produce sufficient relevant information to contribute to the results of the research.



Figure 5.1: Map of project site in the Philippines

5.3 Limitations, constraints, and biases

Acknowledging that the research has limitations, constraints, and biases is crucial as it influences the results of the fieldwork and reveals important factors to consider during analysis. The following were the identified and anticipated limitations and biases during the conduct of the research:

5.3.1 Language barrier and other cultural factors

While the three research sites are interconnected in terms of their involvement in JICA's DRRM project, they are governed by their respective cultures. One of the significant challenges in collecting primary data at these research sites was the language barrier. The dominant first language of these offices vary: JICA Headquarters in Japanese, JICA Philippines in Tagalog/English/Japanese, and project site in Waray (the native spoken language in Leyte). However, people working in these three sites can speak, understand, and read English, a common ground for the researcher. Moreover, the interviewees in the project site can also speak and understand Tagalog, the national language of the Philippines. As such, since there was no interpreter hired, and the interviewees had to adjust to the researcher to some extent, there might have been opinions or views which were hard to express in English or Tagalog. The same is true with the interviews in JICA Headquarters in Tokyo, where they had to respond in English even if the main language used in the workplace is Japanese. In addition, there could have been verbal and non-verbal cues subject to the cultural context which the researcher would have not been able to understand or interpret easily.

5.3.2 Biases

The selected research topic, institution, and project case study were identified based on the researcher's personal and professional experience, knowledge, networks, and resources. Hence, the research may imply certain levels of biases as discussed by Chambers (1983). The research may have characteristics of *person* (established networks and contacts), *professional* (training, values, and interests), *diplomatic* (politeness and timidity), and *spatial* (easily accessible) biases. Although these biases significantly influence the research topic and scope,

they also made the research feasible and potentially relevant based on current global trends and movements. It also enabled the researcher to have a nuanced understanding of the situation in JICA and in the project, thereby contributing to a clearer grasp and discernment of the researcher to the realities of her interviewees.

5.3.3 Power structures

With the researcher's affiliation to an international organisation like JICA, power structures may be at play and power dynamics will vary from one research site to the other. In the context of conducting interviews at JICA Headquarters, they may perceive the researcher as "someone from the overseas office," who, based on the organisational culture, may be subordinate to their position. With regards to visiting the project site, the researcher may then be perceived as "someone from the country office," who will then have the tendency to be viewed as superior to their position. In addition to this, being a 'young' (which is also relative) female researcher from a developing country may also pose different perceptions, depending on the cultural and social background of the interviewee. These perceptions are likely to have significantly influenced the interviewees' response and behaviour. Thus, I always started my interviews by reminding the participants that I am speaking to them to get insights into my Master's research topic, adding that I am not currently employed by JICA nor do they have access to the fieldwork data. I also explained that JICA has no control on the questions asked and that the research is conducted independently from JICA and JICA Philippines.

5.4 Research framework

All the methods and tools explained herein seek to answer the following research questions and attain the research aim:

- Research aim

To explore how JICA's gender mainstreaming policy and strategies manifest in a local disaster risk reduction and management project in the Philippines

- Research questions

1. What are JICA’s gender mainstreaming strategy, framework, and policy?
2. How is JICA’s gender mainstreaming strategy implemented in a local disaster risk reduction and management project in the Philippines?
3. How did the local stakeholders influence the gender mainstreaming activities of the project?

In exploring JICA’s gender mainstreaming policy and examining it in a local DRRM project, the following methodological research framework was adopted:

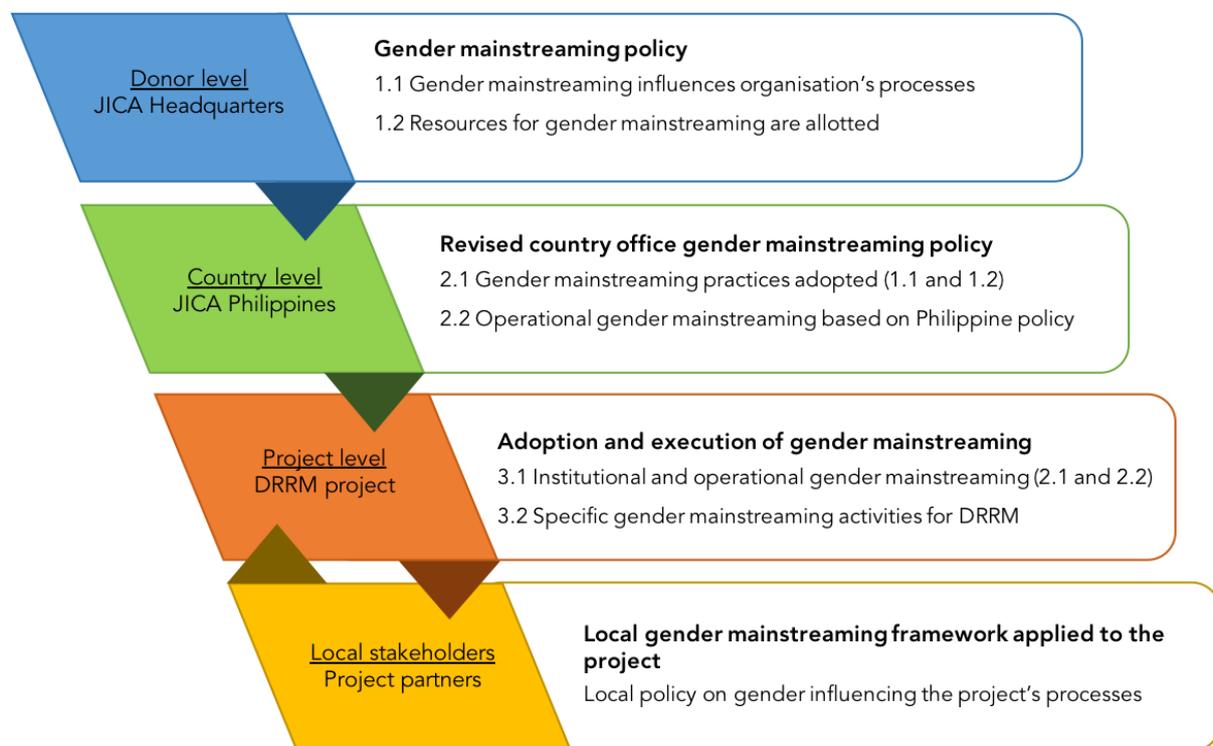


Figure 5.2: Framework for analysis of gender mainstreaming in a local DRRM JICA project

The research followed JICA’s overall gender mainstreaming framework originating from the headquarters, to the adoption of this framework by JICA Philippines office with the national policies and context of the Philippines, to its further contextualisation into the DRRM project, and finally, on how the local stakeholders influenced the gender mainstreaming processes in the DRRM project based on their own policy on gender – hence the upward arrow from local stakeholders to Project level, as shown in Figure 5.2.

5.5 Methods and participants on each research site

The methods, participants, and guiding questions were organised per research site. The research is qualitative and used interviews as the main data collection method, reinforced by document analysis and non-participant structured observation to validate findings. These methods, according to O'Leary (2014, pp. 133, 135), are crucial to explore the point of view of participants, understand the “reality of the researched,” and triangulate the findings.

5.5.1 JICA Headquarters: Semi-structured interviews and document analysis

The data collection at JICA headquarters aimed to collect first-hand information on how the office formulates and implements its overall gender mainstreaming policy prior to dissemination to its departments and overseas offices. It explored how the strategies and procedures on gender mainstreaming are done within the whole organisation.

The interviewees were from various departments in JICA Headquarters. Two out of the five key informants were from the Office of Gender Equality and Poverty Reduction, the main office tasked to formulate, implement, monitor, and evaluate JICA’s gender mainstreaming written policy and framework, strategy, and performance within the organisation. Moreover, two of the Japanese officers in charge of the DRRM recovery and rehabilitation programme in the Philippines were also interviewed at the Headquarters. Lastly, an interview with the gender focal person of the department that handles the Philippines operations was also conducted. These interviews enabled understanding of how the gender mainstreaming policy is implemented from the gender office to the division that handles Philippines operations, to the Philippines country office, and then to the DRRM project.

In addition, JICA’s written guideline on gender and development was examined. This was also the key source for understanding JICA’s stance towards gender, vis-a-vis the interviews with the officers from the Headquarters. JICA’s latest annual report on gender (2015) was also used to explore JICA’s progress in mainstreaming gender into its operations and projects.

5.5.2 JICA Philippines: Semi-structured interviews and document analysis

To examine how the gender mainstreaming framework from the Headquarters is contextualised and adopted in the Philippine setting, interviews were conducted with specific programme officers in JICA Philippines. The interviews in this research site identified how JICA Philippines revises the policy imposed by the Headquarters and how it adheres to the requirements of the Philippine government in gender reporting. They also determined how the framework is being implemented further in its projects, and more specifically, into the DRRM project covered by the research.

There were three key informants in this research site: two gender focal persons, one of whom is the officer in charge of the DRRM project, and lastly, a senior officer from the administration. Interviews with these officers helped with understanding the communication mechanisms between JICA Philippines and the Headquarters, especially with regards to gender mainstreaming. They were also crucial in conveying how the Philippine government's requirements on gender influence the processes in JICA Philippines. An official report from JICA Philippines about the status of the gender responsiveness of its programmes was also studied.

5.5.3 DRRM project level: Semi-structured interviews and non-participant structured observation

As JICA's recovery and rehabilitation programme for Typhoon Haiyan-affected areas officially ended in early 2017, most of the consultants had already gone back to Japan while the local officers were not connected anymore to JICA. However, I was still able to interview one of the local staff who worked with the first component of the project. The said interviewee was the local counterpart of a Japanese official who was responsible for determining social considerations of the project, including gender. The interview with the local project coordinator explored the interactions between JICA and the local government, especially with the coordination and implementation of processes in the project. This was helpful in discerning how JICA's and the local government's respective processes converged in the project.

The data collection done in Tacloban City explored the extent of the execution of JICA's gender mainstreaming strategies in the DRRM programme, and at the same time, how the local stakeholders influenced the outcomes based on their own gender framework. The interviewees include the direct counterparts in the city government, as well as the local gender office. Aside from the key interviews, a non-participant structured observation was also done in Tacloban City.

The non-participant structured observation was the last part of the data gathering activities. It occurred during a regular community meeting between the local government DRRM officials and the barangay¹ officials in Tacloban City. The observation examined the contributions of the local stakeholders in mainstreaming gender needs in the DRRM plan. Advocacies related to gender needs in DRRM, the influence of the local gender mainstreaming framework, and the receptiveness of the community to gender issues were explored through three indicators:

1. The gender of the speakers;
2. The number of times they mentioned the terms “men/women” or “lalaki/babae” (Filipino terms) or “hermano/hermana” (Waray terms); and
3. Given a random sample size of three males and three females, the number of people who gazed or tinkered on their mobile phones while the speaker is talking.

The first indicator intended to determine the effectiveness of the local gender mainstreaming framework and how it eventually influenced the project. By simply determining the gender of the representative speaker from different communities, it connotes who the positions of power are given to. If these are dominated by men, then it may imply that women are given lesser opportunities in decision-making processes, and vice versa. It also reflects the local gender mainstreaming framework of Tacloban City.

The second indicator aimed to identify if gender issues in DRRM are discussed in the meeting. One of the ways to determine if community members differentiate the roles and needs between men and women is when they explicitly discuss this, which can be characterised by simply mentioning the terms for “men” and “women”. Regardless of the content, saying these terms means that the speaker recognises the respective functions of each gender and acknowledges

¹ Smallest political unit in the Philippines

the importance of determining and classifying these in the discussion. However, negative statements, such as those that may imply resistance against the participation of women in DRRM, were not recorded.

The third indicator helped determine the receptiveness of the community members when discussing gender issues in DRRM, through a proxy indicator such as the use of mobile phone during the meeting. The presence and use of a mobile phone in a meeting has been extensively studied, connoting that in general, it hinders in-person social interactions, effective face-to-face communication, and the ability to fully engage with the matter being discussed (Allred & Crowley, 2017; Baron & Campbell, 2012; Ito & Kawahara, 2016; Misra, Cheng, Genevie, & Yuan, 2014; Nakamura, 2015; Przybylski & Weinstein, 2012). Nakamura (2015) noted that the act of looking at a mobile phone display is a non-verbal behaviour. He argued, along with the other researchers, that gazing and tinkering on phones during meetings may suggest that the person: 1) conceals negative feelings in the conversation or wants to escape it entirely; 2) is uncomfortable or uninterested with the topic being discussed; and 3) espouses different opinions. Billieux (2012) also concluded that while cellular phones supposedly support social exchanges, it unquestionably interferes with them. The studies concluded that the use of mobile phones during meetings, conversations, and discussions results in lower levels of empathy and overall conversation quality. Giving full and undivided attention to speakers indicates respect and confidence – a common perception across various cultures.

These arguments remain valid in the context of the Philippines, which is found to be the “fastest growing smartphone nation” in Southeast Asia (Capistrano, 2013; Celdran, 2002; Ordinario, 2017; Pertierra, 2005; TNS, 2013). In a culture that highly values collective identity and smooth interpersonal relationships, expressing disagreement indirectly through non-verbal communication is more commonly practiced and accepted in the country (Maggay, 1999; Narag & Maxwell, 2013). Hence, given the studies on the implications and reasons of mobile phone use during personal interactions and the cultural context in the Philippines, the act of tinkering with mobile phones in a community meeting may imply that participants are not fully engaged and interested at topic at hand. These can be used to measure their impression when gender issues are discussed.

Thus, the third and last indicator measured the interest of community members in gender issues in DRRM, by determining the number of people using their mobile phones while these issues

were being discussed. A sample size of six people (three men and three women) present in the meeting were observed; and whenever they tinkered with their phones while a speaker talked, and more importantly whenever gender issues were raised (characterised by mentioning the terms men and women, as discussed above), it was then recorded. This way, the interest among male and female participants was measured whenever gender needs were discussed. Their receptiveness to women or men speakers was also identified through this indicator.

Through these indicators, the influence of community members in mainstreaming gender in the DRRM plan was examined. Aside from conducting interviews with the local government officers, doing a non-participant observation helped validate the findings, especially in the absence of documents that report these. Observing these interactions first-hand enabled analysis of the relationship and dynamics among local stakeholders in DRRM planning and gender mainstreaming.

5.6 Personal experiences in the field: Gender and disasters

The fieldwork for this research did not only produce valuable data to answer the research questions, it also enabled the researcher to experience social and natural phenomena that are directly linked to gender and disasters. With gender, for instance, a couple of times the researcher received inappropriate remarks and innuendos in the middle of recorded interviews from two male interviewees who both hold positions of power. This ranged from, “I’m sorry I can’t answer your question, I am distracted by your smile,” to “Until when are you staying? Are you free tomorrow night? There is a newly opened hotel near here...” There were also a few incidents of street harassment from wolf whistling to receiving an unexpected whisper from an approaching stranger saying, “Hey, where are you going? Can I go with you?”

This made me reflect about the status of gender equality on the ground, especially in a city where there is a functional gender mainstreaming framework. Despite reports saying that the Philippines is progressive in gender—even considered a leader in Asia Pacific according to World Economic Forum’s Gender Global Gap report—in reality, fundamental issues on gender are unaddressed, with patriarchy and its moral strands still prevailing as it is deeply embedded

in our culture. While gender mainstreaming attempts to transform gender dynamics in development organisations by integrating elements and changing processes to influence gender sensitive outcomes, it seems that it fails to reach and redress gender inequality within the household and fundamental norms and values of society.

As also briefly mentioned earlier, while in fieldwork in Leyte to gather data on JICA's recovery and rehabilitation programme after it was hit by Haiyan, another disaster struck the province. A town a few hours away from Tacloban City was hit by an earthquake, followed by days of torrential rain and flooding. This prompted a week-long power outage, and worse, widespread panic from the community because of the trauma left by Typhoon Haiyan. Markets and establishments were running out of stock due to panic buying, and banks were full of people trying to withdraw cash. This posed challenges in fieldwork, particularly in terms of cancelled appointments, lessened mobility, limited resources in terms of food and battery, and the mere uneasiness of being in an unfamiliar environment experiencing the effects of a disaster.

However, these challenges did not daunt nor dissuade me to collect viable information and finish the data gathering activities in Tacloban City. All the more, it made my insights clearer as to what transpires when an unforeseen disaster strikes a vulnerable community. Having first-hand experience with this, especially while in the middle of fieldwork for research about disaster management, made me realise that an efficient and well-structured DRRM system rolled out to the community remains indispensable, and changes the way people react to both predictable and unexpected hazards. These experiences broadened my outlook on gender and disasters and made me reflect more deeply on my own research and its findings. As one adage says, "experience is the teacher of all things." The striking parallels and relevance of these experiences for my research contributed to a more thorough understanding of the realities on the ground, something which may not be simply acquired in formal interviews.

Summary of research methodology

This chapter sought to elaborate how I conducted and approached my research. It discussed the constraints, biases, ethical considerations, and personal experiences—all significant underpinnings which greatly influenced the research conduct and outcomes. To obtain and

produce substantial data and answer the research questions, Table 2 presents a summary of the key guide questions, methods, and participants used at each research site.

Table 5.1: Summary of key guide questions, methods, and participants at each research site

Research site	Guide questions	Methods
JICA Headquarters	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What is JICA’s overall gender mainstreaming policy? 2. What are the strategies and activities undertaken in the framework? How is this framework disseminated to overseas offices, especially in the Philippines? 3. What are the resources allotted for gender mainstreaming? 4. What is the level of senior management support towards institutional and operational gender mainstreaming? 5. Are there any incentives or accountability mechanisms in the implementation of gender mainstreaming within the agency? 	<p><u>Five semi-structured interviews</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender Equality Group 2. Group handling Philippine operations 3. Focal persons for a) specific DRRM project, and b) gender mainstreaming in the Philippines <p><u>Document analysis</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Gender mainstreaming policy, overall framework, and processes 2. Implementing strategies and activities on gender mainstreaming within projects 3. Annual report on gender

		4. Gender evaluation of the Typhoon Haiyan project by an external team
JICA Philippines	<p>1. How does JICA Philippine office adopt Headquarters' gender mainstreaming framework?</p> <p>2. How does the office integrate Philippine government's gender mainstreaming requirements into the framework?</p> <p>3. What are the specific strategies and activities undertaken by the office to mainstream gender? How are these implemented in the project level?</p> <p>4. Are there any additional gender mainstreaming activities aside from those under the headquarters' framework and mechanisms?</p> <p>5. What gender mainstreaming activities were implemented during the entire cycle of the DRRM project?</p> <p>6. How does JICA Philippines coordinate with the gender agency of the Philippine government?</p>	<p><u>Three semi-structured interviews</u></p> <p>1. Gender focal persons</p> <p>2. Officers handling the DRRM project</p> <p>3. Administration officer</p> <p><u>Document analysis</u></p> <p>1. Gender responsiveness report from JICA submitted to the Philippine government</p>

<p>DRRM project level</p>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. How is JICA Philippines' gender mainstreaming framework executed in the project? 2. What gender mainstreaming activities specific for disaster risk reduction are implemented in the project? 3. How did the Philippine counterparts (such as the local DRRM and GAD officer) integrate gender mainstreaming activities as required by their own gender policy? 4. Are there any challenges in implementing JICA's or the local gender mainstreaming framework? 5. Who among the local stakeholders are involved in the project? In which part of the project did they participate? What were their roles and their level of participation? 8. How did the project integrate community voices in its outputs and activities? 	<p><u>Four semi-structured interviews</u></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Japanese and Filipino project staff 2. Local government project counterparts, including DRRM, Planning, and Gender officers <p><u>Non-participant structured observation of a community meeting</u></p>
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Chapter 6: JICA and Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is an approach to achieve gender equality in every sector. It is a process to identify development issues, needs, and impacts from gender perspectives at any stage of planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of development policies, programs, and projects, on the premise that all development policies, measures, and projects have different impacts on men and women.

– JICA’s definition of gender mainstreaming, based on JICA’s Guidelines on Gender and Development, 2009

The excerpt above is one of the opening paragraphs written in JICA’s Guidelines on Gender and Development (hereinafter referred to as the Guideline). It captures JICA’s stance on gender and development and how its operations are projected to the public. Guided by this definition, this results chapter will explore how JICA’s gender mainstreaming policy and framework are implemented within the agency and transferred to its country office in the Philippines. Lastly, it will discuss how these are applied to the DRRM project in Tacloban City. The next chapter (Chapter 7) will then explain how the local counterparts mainstream gender into their own public projects, and, given the principles of aid effectiveness, how their own processes affected the integration of gender into the JICA project. Deeper analysis of the findings will take place in Chapter 8.

6.1 JICA’s gender mainstreaming policy and guideline

Based on JICA’s Guideline, the agency has three main approaches or Strategic Development Objectives on gender and development, namely:

1. Promotion of gender-sensitive policies, institutions, and organisations

“To implement projects which promote policies and institutions for gender equality, through capacity development of national machineries for gender equality;”

2. Promotion of women's empowerment

“To implement cooperation projects with women as principal target beneficiaries;”

3. Promotion of gender mainstreaming in all projects

“To integrate gender perspectives into project components and activities, by reflecting women's perspectives into project goals, outcomes, activities based on accurate understanding of women's roles,” (JICA Thematic Guidelines on Gender, 2009, p. 2-4).

The Guideline was last revised in 2009 from the precedent document in 2002 entitled “JICA Thematic Guidelines on Gender Mainstreaming/WID.” This means that the current Guideline is still not yet updated based on the rhetoric of sustainable development and the various post-2015 agenda, which poses an issue about how women and gender are seen in JICA's operations.

The interview with a senior-level officer (hereinafter referred to as HQ1) in the Gender Equality and Poverty Reduction Office, the main gender team in JICA Headquarters, explained the process of gender mainstreaming within the agency. HQ1 stated that JICA's gender mainstreaming is focused on the project formulation stage, which is the main task of operating departments in Headquarters. HQ1 discussed that based on the list of proposed and ongoing JICA projects globally, the gender office is tasked to assess and categorise the projects based on the three strategic objectives on gender as described above. However, HQ1 expressed that since not all projects fall into the three categories, they also have two other unofficial categories:

- 1) Gender mainstreaming of a needs survey (pending projects requested by a partner country); and
- 2) Not categorised (if the project has no explicit relation to gender or no gender mainstreaming is done).

According to HQ1, the categorisation of projects is not just for statistical purposes, but to prove how these projects have contributed to JICA's differing objectives on gender. However, HQ1 also noted that the bulk of JICA's projects are under the fifth unofficial category: Not categorised. HQ1 explained that:

“Examples of ‘not categorised’ projects are those related to electricity, financial banking system, or those that have nothing to do with gender.”

HQ1 further added that:

“Not all projects are given a gender lens because, for example, in technical cooperation projects in energy, fisheries, economic policy—they do not have a gender aspect. And I think it’s fine because it is gender irrelevant.”

The supposed irrelevance of gender to technical cooperation projects, along with other succeeding findings, will be critiqued in Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusions.

To promote gender mainstreaming within the agency, JICA has adopted the following framework (Figure 6.1). The promotion system is mainly divided into two: 1) operational gender mainstreaming (which focuses on JICA’s operations on its projects) and 2) organizational gender mainstreaming (related to the agency’s human resources development).

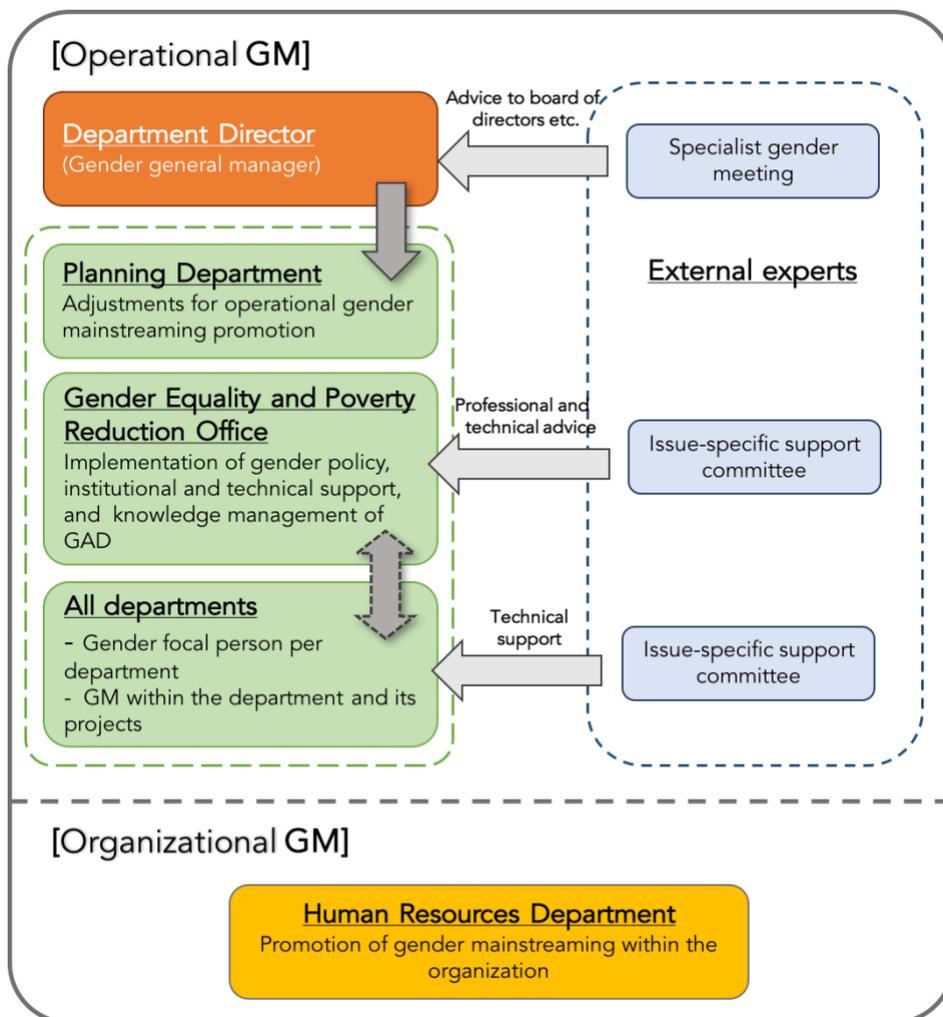


Figure 6.1: JICA's gender mainstreaming promotion system based on its GAD guideline

HQ1 explained that the process of gender mainstreaming occurs mainly in consultations between operating departments and the gender office. The gender office's involvement with gender mainstreaming in the projects comes in at the project design and formulation stage, where the corresponding department shares the documents with the gender office, and the office returns the document with comments on how to integrate gender. According to HQ1:

“We always seek space for integrating gender mainstreaming activities, and provide them with comments on which areas they could make a gender survey.”

This process is validated by a management-level officer (hereinafter referred to as HQ3), who is also the gender focal person of the department handling JICA's operations in the Philippines. HQ3 emphasised that it is not required to follow the comments made by the gender office:

“The implementing department needs to consult with the gender office at the early stage of project preparation. We can get comments from the gender team, but it's basically just suggestions. We are not required to follow them; it's up to us especially if the project is not directly related to gender...but it's helpful, because they have views which we didn't notice before.”

Another officer from the gender office who is specifically tasked to focus on mainstreaming gender in projects related to water, forestry, environment, and disasters (hereinafter referred to as HQ2) noted the same point:

“It depends on the responsible officer to consult us on how to integrate gender perspectives. But it is not a requirement.”

Hence, the gender office does not require either the consultation of operating departments with the gender team nor the inclusion of gender perspectives in the projects. The interviews expressed that seeking guidance from the gender office is the prerogative of the programme officer, especially if the project is not directly related to gender. However, when asked how programme officers determine if a certain project is related to gender or not at the project formulation stage, the officer who was previously deployed in the Philippines office and acted as the chief gender officer, and now works for an operating department in Headquarters and currently its gender focal person (hereinafter referred to as HQ5), stated:

“Gender is usually integrated with the social considerations part of the project appraisal. It's just a box which you tick 'yes' or 'no'. This way, we would easily know if the project is related to gender or not. It is up to the officer who is filling up the form.”

Moreover, the gender office also does not have any mechanism to verify if their comments are executed or not. According to HQ1:

“We do not have a rigid and official monitoring system. We don’t know if they are actually implementing the comments we suggested.”

This implies that JICA does not offer incentives to officers who comply with, or accountability measures against those who disregard, gender mainstreaming in their projects. HQ2 cited the importance of incentive and accountability mechanisms by referring to another donor agency’s strategies on gender, which includes having specific gender action plans on each project and how it links to the promotion of the staff. HQ2 emphasised:

“In JICA, we count the number of projects under each category but implementing the gender mainstreaming process into each project does not lead to promotion of position. There are no incentives. So, for JICA staff, integrating gender does not matter.”

6.1.1 Human Resources

*The gender focal person is just an ordinary staff, so it is too much for that person to negotiate to other staff about incorporating gender aspects in their projects.
It is 99% other tasks and 1% gender. –HQ1*

As part of the gender mainstreaming strategy, JICA appoints at least two gender focal persons in each department at Headquarters and each overseas office. This includes appointing one at the management level (such as the managing director or chief) and the other at the implementing level (junior programme officer). HQ1 said:

“We appoint at least two gender focal persons for each department and overseas office...but the issue is that we cannot explain well about their task, and we don’t usually provide the necessary training.”

Gender focal persons in the Philippine office reinforced this statement, expressing that they are not provided with the proper capacity building and training on gender work. PH3, a senior administration officer in the JICA Philippines office, noted that:

“Gender work in our office is assigned to whoever has the lightest work load or the newest staff. There was not any gender officer before; but the office was forced to assign one because of the establishment of the gender network among donors in the Philippines in 2011, and JICA had to send a representative.”

PH3 also thought that with this arrangement, the gender focal person could only do gender work in a limited way. The officer then suggested that proper training on gender mainstreaming should be given to all officers, not just the gender officer:

“I think it can be embedded in operations through proper training and mandate from the management. If this happens, we can easily mainstream gender in all sectors without solely relying on the gender focal person.”

HQ5, who worked in the Philippines office before but is now assigned in Headquarters, said:

“We have gender focal persons but they are not experts. Whoever is available at that time will be appointed as the gender officer. If the person coincidentally likes it—that’s quite good. But usually, that is not common. Maybe there is not enough awareness and promotion in the office.”

Moreover, HQ1 elucidated that the gender office has not established systematic coordination between gender focal persons of departments and overseas offices. This is despite the fact that some departments in Headquarters handle the operations of overseas offices, which includes guidance of appropriate internal processes and structures in monitoring, evaluation, and administration; yet gender officers in these departments do not have clear communication mechanisms on gender-related reporting and policy enforcement.

HQ3 stated that they do not have active communication and reporting with the gender office, nor with gender officers in the Philippines office:

“I must admit that I don’t actively coordinate with both the gender team here in HQ and the gender officers in the Philippines. There are no established communication processes between our department and the Philippines office related to gender.”

This is also a cause of concern to the gender office, with HQ1 stating that:

“Since we do not have a systematic monitoring system, we are unsure of what is happening. If needs arise from the implementing department, then we will provide them with guidance. That’s the only time the department consults us.”

Based on the gender mainstreaming promotion system in Figure 6.1, there is indeed no mechanism which reaches out to the overseas office. Gender mainstreaming in JICA, as discussed, concentrates mostly on project design and formulation which is the main task of Headquarters, while the monitoring and evaluation of these indicators is handled by the overseas office. Hence, when a project is designed with indicators related to gender, that is the only time the Philippines office will monitor and report on these. This is underscored by HQ3:

“Indicators are already identified at the project preparation stage, and regional and overseas offices are tasked to monitor this. If there are no gender indicators within the project design, it will not be monitored and evaluated by the overseas office.”

Hence, monitoring indicators related to gender in project design matrices were deemed important by the gender office, as these are the only way they can measure the progress on GAD. HQ1 and HQ3 expressed, respectively:

“If the project is specifically related to gender, then it will have a gender indicator clearly mentioned in the project design matrix. We use this indicator to measure the progress from that perspective.”

“The gender team requests us to put at least one or two indicators concerning women, to make sure that the project design actually contributes to women. Thus, we need to devise a monitoring indicator in the project design, to be regularly monitored by the overseas office.”

Therefore, it could be argued that there is weak coordination among gender officers and focal persons of: 1) JICA’s gender office, 2) the department in Headquarters that handles the Philippines operations, and 3) the Philippines office. Interventions related to gender can only be monitored and evaluated if it is properly integrated at the project formulation stage, where a specific indicator is included in the project design matrix. Therefore, a gender indicator can only be included if: a) the project is directly related to gender or b) if the gender office’s recommendations are reflected in the final project design matrix.

Responsibilities of the gender office and team

Most of the interviewees, including the staff from the gender office and officers who handle the disaster risk reduction and management project in JICA Headquarters and Philippines office, expressed that gender is ‘add-on’ work.

For instance, HQ1 expressed that the gender office’s responsibility regarding gender mainstreaming is just a quarter of their overall work. The office, composed of three permanent and three contractual staff, are tasked to manage individual projects related to gender, and other projects classified under the ‘poverty reduction’ sector. In fact, having to execute these tasks with limited human resources is the main reason why the gender mainstreaming framework is not implemented fully, as expressed by HQ1:

“If that was the only task we had to do, then we could fully implement it. But we have other things to do. That is why our progress is slow, to be honest. Human resource is quite limited.”

On the Philippines side, the gender focal person and main programme officer handling the disaster risk reduction and management project, PH1, expressed that the work on gender is the lowest priority since other tasks, such as handling loan projects, incur additional commitment charges if not acted upon in a timely manner. Thus, having such an accountability element makes a task a priority. It is clear that the absence of an accountability mechanism in gender mainstreaming pushes gender work to the bottom of the list of tasks to be done. HQ5, who worked with PH1 before, reinforced this by saying that:

“Departments and offices who deal with yen loan projects are already too busy, it’s too huge to deal with gender. We definitely need an expert to improve gender, not with an officer who deals with many other tasks – that’s not easy.”

HQ5 also noted that since the officers assigned to be gender focal persons are not experts, there is a strong need for a gender specialist. However, the presence of HQ2 in the gender office attempts to serve this purpose, particularly in mainstreaming gender with projects related to environment, disasters, forestry, and water. The interview with HQ2 uncovered that the officer

was hired one year ago in a contractual position, the circumstances of which posed a couple of challenges. These included:

- 1) Incognisance to JICA's regulation and policies

“We are contracted, we are actually not familiar with JICA's internal regulations;” and

- 2) Limited capacity of a junior and temporary position to endorse and push for gender mainstreaming in sectors HQ2 is assigned with. When asked about his/her opinion on properly enforcing regulations related to gender mainstreaming, HQ2 expressed:

“I have no idea if this is possible. I haven't had any conversation with senior officers before.”

Senior-level management support

Interviews from officers in Headquarters emphasised the crucial role of the senior-level management in gender mainstreaming in JICA's operations. Based on the promotion system in Figure 6.1, the department director plays a significant role in influencing the Planning department, and consequently, other operating departments, in the implementation of and adherence to the gender mainstreaming process across JICA. It shows that there is a hierarchy in promoting gender mainstreaming, from the vice president down to the two key divisions, and eventually to all departments. HQ1 underscored the importance of having the support from the senior-level officers in mainstreaming gender:

“Even though we are the ones who make the actual guidelines and policy for gender mainstreaming, we need the senior staff to disseminate voices to all other department. We need them because they have more power. They are at the top of the organizational hierarchy, so if they said something that other departments should do, then they would follow.”

The gender office uses annual meetings among heads of departments and overseas offices as an opportunity to participate, present, and raise awareness to the management about gender mainstreaming. HQ1 added that awareness of officers in positions of power is of utmost importance, since they give the final decisions on projects:

“If the manager is aware and pays attention to issues on gender mainstreaming, then the subordinates will try to respond to their requirements.”

However, interviews suggested that although the senior management push for mainstreaming gender in some ways, realities like the limited human resources, type of employment, and weight of other “more important” workload demonstrate that the senior-level management does not see it as a genuine priority. This is also apparent in how the policy is enforced, where the departments and its officers are neither required to mainstream gender in all projects, structurally consult the gender office, nor systematically respond to the gender office’s recommendations. Moreover, various officers from the Headquarters also think that it is not necessary to strictly enforce the gender mainstreaming policy across all projects, as HQ5 stated:

“We just need to make it a mandatory guideline, a rule. If it’s a rule, everybody will follow. Yet I am not sure if gender mainstreaming should be mandatory... If they check the gender in the form, then yes. If not, then no. It’s not for everything.”

An excerpt from the interview with HQ1 summarises this:

Researcher (R): Do you think it will come to a point that it will be required?

HQ1: No. It’s hard to give them any mandate or requirement because it all depends on each project implementation stage or the sectors. What we can do is just to provide suggestions.

R: You cannot require them, for instance, to do gender analyses in project formulation, monitoring, and evaluation?

HQ1: For all projects? It requires budget and additional resource, and it will also constrain them as it is additional work.

R: Do you think gender is a priority?

HQ1: It’s hard, because gender is just one of the issues – it cannot be the top priority above all development objectives. We should keep gender in mind, but it cannot be prioritised.

These statements from HQ1 imply that to require gender mainstreaming in JICA seems impractical because of the need to allot additional resources to a work that is seen as a hindrance to other more important tasks.

6.1.2 Sectors for gender mainstreaming

Incorporating gender is sometimes troublesome. Some projects do not really need a gender lens. – HQ1

A common perspective in interviews with JICA officers in both Headquarters and Philippine offices is that gender is only applicable to specific sectors of JICA's assistance. As discussed earlier in the categorisation of projects by the gender office based on the strategic objective on gender, the category with the most number of projects is the fifth and unofficial: *not categorized*. This means that because most of the projects are not directly related to gender, gender is also not mainstreamed in most of the projects.

JICA's 2009 Guideline on GAD states that, "*JICA will make extra effort in infrastructure development, where gender mainstreaming is more often neglected than other sectors such as agriculture, education and public health,*" (p.3). Despite the recognition of this problem, JICA's latest annual report on gender still shows that not all sectors reflect a gender perspective. Figure 6.2 shows 16 field thematic classifications/sectors of JICA's technical cooperation projects and the percentage of those covering gender issues.

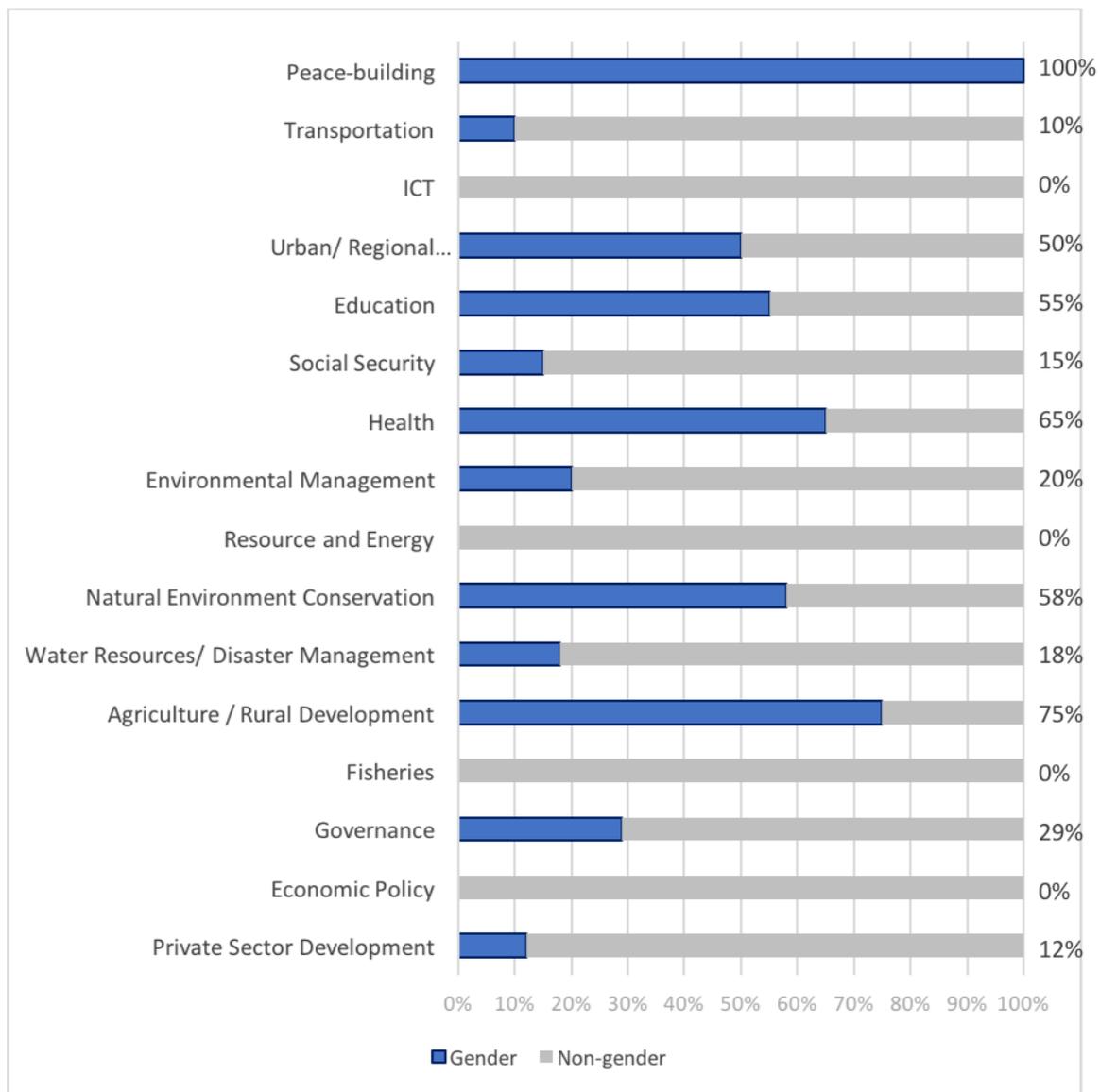


Figure 6.2: Percentage of gender mainstreamed projects in various sectors of JICA's technical cooperation assistance based on its 2015 annual report on gender and development

The graph shows that only 6 out of 16 sectors have more than 50% of projects that integrated a gender perspective. The six sectors identified as being in need of gender mainstreaming include peace-building, urban/regional development, education, health, natural environment conservation, and agriculture/rural development. These sectors are deemed as ‘traditional’ sectors which significantly deal with various women’s traditional roles, hence gender mainstreaming was implemented. However, despite these sectors being considered as traditionally inclined to women and community, not all projects under these areas integrate a gender perspective. Only the peace-building sector has mainstreamed gender into all of its projects and achieved JICA’s strategic objective 3 on gender (which aims to mainstream gender

in all its projects). Moreover, projects that mostly involve technical or hard infrastructure like ICT, disaster management, transportation, energy, economic policy, and even fisheries, have very little to no gender mainstreaming (from 0 to 29%). This also emphasises the point that projects without an explicit relation to gender, women, and community are given less importance regarding gender mainstreaming.

In a similar note, HQ1 noted that while gender is an important issue, it is just one of the issues:

“If it’s an infrastructure project, it’s plainly infrastructure for the programme officers—it’s not a gender project for them.”

HQ2 also added that:

“While integrating a gender viewpoint in infrastructure, road construction or highway infrastructure is very difficult...rural development and environmental issues are 90% gender concerns.”

On a different note, HQ5 believes that exceptions to gender mainstreaming do not depend on the sector, but on the project scope:

“If it’s about livelihood of the community, definitely gender or women’s input is necessary. But for instances like technical assistance in wood production which targets government officers, I think gender mainstreaming is not required. It really depends on the content of the project.”

6.1.3 Gender mainstreaming in JICA’s DRRM projects

Japan has expertise in disaster management, but not on gender and DRRM. – HQ2

The officer tasked to guide gender mainstreaming of disaster-related JICA projects, HQ2, noted that technical matters related to disaster risk reduction and management do not need to be integrated with gender viewpoints:

“Not all DRRM projects can be mainstreamed with gender issues. For example, typhoon radars or early warning forecasting systems. These kinds of projects are very difficult to put gender viewpoint. Some projects are not related to gender.”

Although HQ2 strongly acknowledges the importance of taking into account gender-specific concerns in DRRM in general, the officer added that JICA’s assistance in this field is more on the technical and hard infrastructure, and seldom on community-based DRRM where women are more involved. In the context of the DRRM project focused on this research, this point of view was reiterated by HQ5, stating that:

“When we target a community, more or less we need to pay attention to women, especially in rural development concerns, like our project on the rehabilitation of Typhoon Haiyan-affected areas. In that sense, when we deal with the community, we kind of deal with gender as well...”

I do believe JICA pays attention to gender especially at the early stage of the project wherein gender is included on the social economics baseline survey, although it was not done in the Haiyan project.”

Yet, the interview with HQ2 shows that there is awareness about gender issues in disaster situations, as well as the global discourse and agreements surrounding gender and DRRM, and the challenge of integrating it together:

“I recently participated in the Cancun disaster risk reduction conference and global platform in 2017. I joined the gender and disasters session. It again underscored that gender in DRRM is important and should not be left behind...but there are no new learnings or good practices. It remains an advocacy; a “we should” statement. But there’s no practice.”

According to HQ3, disaster risk reduction and management is one of the three main pillars of assistance of Japanese ODA to the Philippines. The officer added that since Philippines is a disaster-prone country, and Japan has a lot of experience with disasters and disaster management, JICA has an advantage on this sector. On the other hand, HQ2 pointed out that while Japan may be one of the leaders in DRRM globally in terms of early warning and systematic response, it lacks experiences in integrating gender and DRRM:

“Japan is advanced in disaster management. But with gender and disaster risk reduction, not so much... We need more effort to mainstream gender.”

Nonetheless, when asked where gender is seen most among the pillars of JICA’s assistance in the Philippines, HQ3 answered that it is mostly involved with the second strategy, disaster management, where the rehabilitation of Typhoon Haiyan-affected areas is a major part of it. Additionally, while HQ2 and HQ3 elucidate that one of Japan’s strengths is on disaster management and one of their weaknesses is gender, some officers remain unconcerned that they are not integrating gender as it can be done by other donors, with HQ5 saying:

“The gender expert and office pointed out that we really need to make the Haiyan project gender-responsive. But we are not good at it. Other donors have the comparative advantage in mainstreaming gender, and they are better in doing such work. For instance, the UN or the USAID are really good at it. Somehow, they can take care of it.”

In line with this argument, HQ2 underscored that there is a need to share and learn experiences from other countries, both donor and recipient countries alike:

“Japan has a lot of experiences in DRRM and we often teach [others about this]. However, we need to take a strategy of learning more together. It’s better to exchange ideas and experiences, and even Japan should learn from other countries’ experiences.”

While gender was seen as a crucial aspect of DRRM interventions, HQ2 was critical about focusing only on gender:

“Why focus only on gender? Gender is important, yes, but also disabled people, elderly, children, and even foreigners who are all vulnerable in disaster situations. The efforts should be around gender and diversity.”

6.2 Gender mainstreaming in JICA Philippines

JICA has the largest ODA portfolio in the Philippines and only 2% of it is gender responsive/sensitive. It makes the entire ODA received by the Philippines, including those from other donors, gender irresponsible. – PHI

HQ3 noted that JICA receives pressure from board members regarding “more urgent” issues other than gender and gender mainstreaming:

“There are many other pressing issues to be handled aside from gender. Everyday, our department faces pressures from the Japanese government, and recently a lot more pressure from the Prime Minister’s office, which is stronger than the Japanese ministries. I have never heard any comments/reminders from these offices telling us to use gender perspectives.”

HQ3 elaborated:

“First and foremost, the priority for them is to promote Japanese exports and to revitalise the economy. If we discussed about gender, they would certainly agree that we need gender perspectives. But in their everyday work, I don’t think they think about that.”

Japan’s assistance to the Philippines is based on two agendas: 1) Philippine Development Plan and 2) Priorities of the Japanese government. This was discussed by HQ3, who is the main person in charge in ensuring that the projects to the Philippines are aligned with both countries’ development plans and agenda:

“After the Philippine government makes its development plan every six years, we make our own strategy for our Philippines operations. But we also have to coordinate with our government too. So firstly, the Japanese government writes its overall strategy, then we look at both, and then we align.”

According to HQ3, a high-level stakeholder consultation is held between Philippine and Japanese governments to make sure that JICA’s strategy is aligned with Philippines’ policies. Based on the resulting pillars of assistance, the Philippine government can request for projects and JICA will assess if they are the best donor to assist Philippines on that project. HQ3 stated:

“The projects have to align with the Philippine government’s policy and priorities, so basically it has to start from their initiative. But sometimes, we also propose projects based on the masterplans we create.”

In assessing whether to take up project requests from Philippine government or not, HQ3 explained that they usually look at: 1) necessity and urgency of the project; 2) Whether the project can be justified and financed by Japanese ODA; and 3) Whether Japanese ODA can provide the most efficient support to the project or if another donor can provide better assistance.

In terms of mainstreaming gender within JICA’s projects, HQ3 attested that the Philippine government does not enforce a strict regulation to integrate gender:

“I, in my one and a half years of assignment in this division, haven’t heard that the Philippine government is requiring us to do gender activities within the projects.”

HQ5 reiterated this by stating that while s/he attended most stakeholder consultations with the central government, not once did s/he hear the Philippine counterparts pushed for gender mainstreaming.

However, these perspectives contrasted with those of the gender focal persons in the Philippines office. They discussed that being a gender officer requires two main tasks: 1) attendance of the meetings between gender officers of other donor agencies (known as ODA gender network); and 2) accomplishment and submission of the Harmonized Gender and Development Guideline toolkit to the National Economic Development Authority, the Philippine government’s development planning agency.

PH2, the main gender officer of the Philippines office, explained that the planning agency requires all donor agencies to complete the gender toolkit, by listing all projects and answering questions to determine their gender responsiveness. The toolkit, according to its main manual, was produced by the planning agency, Philippine Commission on Women, and the ODA gender network. According to the main manual, it aims to guide donor agencies and local government counterparts in the Philippines to mainstream gender in project development, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of both government-funded and ODA-assisted projects. The toolkit has three parts:

- 1) General core set of requirements for gender mainstreaming in the form of questions, applicable to all sector and project types;
- 2) Sectoral GAD guidelines for development of certain types of projects; and
- 3) GAD checklists for management, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of different projects.

Aside from guiding implementers in making their projects gender responsive using the toolkit, members of the ODA gender network, including JICA, are required to use the toolkit, and evaluate and summarise the results of its projects. The gender report from the planning agency in 2015 shows that JICA had the largest ODA portfolio at USD 3.3 billion (out of USD 6.1 billion) among other donors in the Philippines, with projects classified as²:

- 1% Gender responsive;
- 1% Gender sensitive;
- 62% with promising GAD prospects; and
- 36% GAD invisible.

The lack of knowledge of the officers from Headquarters that the Philippine government requires JICA to mainstream gender is caused by the lack of formal communication mechanisms between JICA Philippines office and Headquarters on gender mainstreaming processes. Moreover, interviews with PH1 and PH2 stated that there are no accountability or incentive systems within the ODA gender network. They are only required to submit a report to the planning agency annually, but do not receive strict instructions to mainstream gender. As such, despite requiring donor agencies to submit this report, PH1 reinforced HQ3 and HQ5's views that the Philippine government counterparts do not push for gender mainstreaming to be integrated into their projects.

² Scores based on 10 core elements: (1) participation of women and men; (2) collection and use of sex-disaggregated data; (3) gender analysis in the proposal; (4) GAD statements in the project goals, objectives, outcomes, outputs; (5) activities that respond to the identified gender issues; (6) gender analysis in the implementation; (7) monitoring of indicators and targets (8) sex-disaggregated database; (9) resources and budget; and (10) planned coordination with the Philippine Commission on Women. It also considers the a) leadership support; b) staff commitment and technical competence in GAD and willingness to tap external GAD expertise to develop internal GAD capacity; and c) enforcement of procedures and processes that promote gender equality and women's empowerment at the implementation level.

PH1 also discussed that the reason why 98% of JICA's projects are classified as either "with promising GAD concepts" or "GAD invisible" is that the majority of the projects declared in the gender toolkit report are loan projects related to transport infrastructure (i.e. airports, trains, bridges, roads, etc.). Hence, JICA's view that gender mainstreaming does not apply to infrastructure projects reflects significantly on the gender toolkit findings. Moreover, the statistics they submitted to the planning agency only includes loan projects, and none of the technical cooperation projects, which mostly deal with education, health, and peace-building. This is merely because there is no comprehensive data on gender in ongoing JICA projects across all funding schemes (i.e. loan, technical cooperation, grant aid, grassroots, etc.). Hence, projects on sectors perceived by JICA as applicable for gender mainstreaming were not taken into account in the gender report; giving an impression to the planning agency and ODA gender network that JICA's efforts towards gender are inadequate.

6.2.1 Gender mainstreaming mechanisms in JICA Philippines

If you ask if the office deals with gender, the quick answer is yes. We have a gender desk, gender officers, gender reports. But that's it. It's not proactive. – PH1

An interview with PH3 explained that the Headquarters usually provides the Philippines office with a certain level of autonomy and flexibility with regards to implementing policies and internal processes. According to PH3, Headquarters will always have a "mother" policy disseminated to its overseas offices, and overseas offices can modify it based on the laws and culture of the partner country. PH3 further clarified:

"Since JICA is a bilateral agency, the governments of Japan and Philippines' laws are both applicable to JICA Philippines. Yet if there are any conflicting laws/guidelines, prevailing laws in the Philippines will be followed instead... The policies in JICA Philippines is based on the Philippines and Japan's policies, and we strive for a win-win situation."

However, JICA's gender mainstreaming policy is only applied to the project formulation level done within the Headquarters. Hence, it reaches overseas offices in a limited manner, but can be complemented if the partner country imposes a policy on gender mainstreaming. This way,

together with the autonomy given by Headquarters, overseas offices such as the Philippines can easily formulate and implement their own gender mainstreaming policy. PH3 stated:

“I don’t see any problems if Philippines office would propose to have its own gender mainstreaming policy. It is one of the boxes that needs to be ticked in the forms, so why would they (Headquarters) say no?”

The importance of JICA Philippines having its own gender mainstreaming policy was also underscored by PH1, who stated:

“The supervisors and administration should set the tone and the guideline. They should mandate but also provide information to officers to ensure that they do this task.”

Officers’ work on gender

As previously discussed, the gender officers in the Philippines office only have two main tasks: attendance at ODA gender network meetings and submission of gender toolkit results of JICA projects. These responsibilities are currently assigned to the coordination section, which is composed of programme officers from different groups in the office. Hence, the officers involved in the coordination section have their main responsibilities with another primary section that they belong to (i.e. handling loan or technical cooperation projects), which makes being involved in the coordination section an additional task.

According to PH1, the main function of the coordination section is to act as a liaison between the Philippine counterparts and JICA Headquarters. Their work includes organising advisory committee and portfolio review meetings, which specifically focus on the development of JICA’s country assistance programs in the Philippines. PH1 underscored that with this organisational structure and the extent of work on gender, it is appropriate to assign gender to the coordination section. Commenting on the work load, PH1 elaborates:

“We have to multitask on jobs which may not necessarily be difficult, but time consuming.”

While gender work in the Philippines office does not usually go beyond coordination, PH2 still noted JICA’s weak participation in the ODA gender network:

“I can say that we have poor performance and contribution within the network. Yes, we attend the meetings regularly, but we are not active in terms of participating and initiating any gender-related activities like symposiums and events.”

PH3 also commented on the extent of work carried out by the gender officers. Referring to the two sole tasks, PH3 noted:

“I think this is a shallow effort, we do not really implement the true essence of being gender responsive.”

A high turnover of the gender work to various officers was also noted. PH1, who served as the main gender officer for a couple of months, was told that since there were not enough human resources, PH1 should just focus on the two main tasks and was discouraged from pursuing other initiatives related to gender. PH2, upon entering JICA almost a year ago, succeeded PH1's gender tasks. When asked if s/he had any idea on why it was handed to PH2:

“I just took over the responsibilities of the staff I succeeded, including the projects she was in charge of and the gender work she handled.”

Hence, gender assignments are not based on the officer's competency and knowledge on gender issues, it was solely because it was part of the turned-over responsibilities from the previous staff.

Given that work on gender is limited to coordination and liaison functions, PH1 suggested that if JICA wants to mainstream gender effectively in its operations, then all programme officers should know how to perceive their project from a gender angle. According to PH1:

“As a programme officer, we handle all dimensions of the project except planning and formulation. This includes recognising environmental and social considerations. If we want to include gender, all officers involved in the operations must have a certain level of gender awareness in order to mainstream it properly in their projects.”

On a related note, PH1 thought that gender can be applied through various funding schemes, sectors of assistance, and stages of the project:

“Yes, it is applicable even to yen loan and infrastructure projects. In Ex-Ante Evaluation, there is a question as simple as ‘Were there any impacts related to gender?’ It's basic, but at least it's not absent. While not in-depth, it makes the programme officer think about the possible impacts on gender of their project.”

6.2.2 Perceptions of officers on JICA's gender efforts

JICA does not prioritise gender, unless the project is specifically about women. – PH3

Staff from the Philippines office noted that JICA does not mainstream gender across its projects, and its interventions can only be considered related to gender if it directly targets women. PH3 emphasised:

“I can't say that JICA gives much importance on gender in our projects. If they do, they particularly focus on the empowerment of women. Anything which directly relates to giving women an advantage or promoting women in a position of power is called a gender equality intervention by JICA... But if it's just on the sidelines, gender tends to get left behind.”

In contrast with views that gender mainstreaming requires resources, PH3 expressed that there are no significant additional resources needed to integrate it. PH3 also doesn't see it as additional work, as it can be integrated into existing work and processes if the staff are aware of various gender issues in the sectors they work with.

“There will be no impact on the resources, you can definitely integrate it in the usual monitoring and evaluation as long as you know how to. You can get the data at the same time as when you do the usual monitoring field work.”

PH1 expressed receptiveness on this idea:

“I am not concerned with additional work, especially if it's an opportunity for learning.”

Despite positive views from a senior management officer like PH3, the lack of proper training, the directive from the management to focus solely on the coordination tasks of gender work, poor participation in the gender network, and limited guidance from Headquarters in the gender mainstreaming policy are indications of weak senior management support. PH1 and PH2 enunciated:

“I can say that we do not have any senior level management support when it comes to gender. There are no opportunities to enhance skills, no supervision, no guidance.”

“I think our weak participation and lack of initiations in the gender network is a manifestation of lack of management support, even if you say there is a policy from Headquarters.”

In addition, PH3 underscored that JICA’s current view on gender and its mainstreaming practices play a crucial role in how gender is portrayed within the organisation and thus reflected on its operations:

“The organisation’s stance in promoting gender is important as it influences the officers’ perception. Is it about women? Or is it about equality across all genders? This needs to be clarified. If they are aware about various gender issues – women’s and men’s alike – they will be able to think and act critically about the projects they handle.”

For instance, Headquarters’ perception that gender mainstreaming can only be applied to specific sectors are also the same points of view of the gender officers of JICA Philippines, with PH1 and PH2 remarking:

“Infrastructure projects and facilities, including roads, bridges, irrigation, do not discriminate against men or women. Whoever the target community is—including the men, women, and children in that community—they all benefit from it the same.”

“Infrastructure has general benefits to both men and women. There is no major difference on its effects on either gender.”

There are also conflicting views on the importance of gender work. The main gender focal person PH2 expressed:

“It has a certain level of importance, but it is not the utmost priority. On a scale of 1 to 5, gender sits at 3. It is hard to focus solely on gender and overlook other pressing issues.”

On a more positive note, PH1 stated:

“Gender is important, and so are many other concerns. You should consider doing it alongside other equally important concerns.”

PH3 also emphasised that mainstreaming gender is a technical skill:

“You have to know, and you have to be aware of various gender issues in the sector you handle in order to execute it properly.”

Hence, proper capacity building, training, and seminars were deemed important in raising awareness and appreciation on various gender issues. This could help settle any misconstructions on what gender mainstreaming entails for the organisation, understand possible gender dynamics that can happen in different project sectors, types, and stages, strengthen mechanisms to further integrate gender, and enhance overall consciousness on what gender and development is.

6.3 Gender mainstreaming in DRRM project

At least, there was no intervention within the project which is against gender. – HQ5

The disaster project was part of the Japanese government's assistance in rebuilding the communities devastated by Typhoon Haiyan. After providing emergency relief and medical assistance at the response stage, JICA became one of the leading donor agencies to guide the national government in the recovery and rehabilitation of these communities. Japan also introduced the concepts behind "Build Back Better" to the Philippine government, which is known globally as a strategy in disaster management that invests in resilient public infrastructure in the reconstruction of communities distraught by natural hazards (NEDA, 2013). This was the main theme and catchphrase of the first plan produced by the Philippine government for the recovery of the Typhoon Yolanda-affected areas entitled "Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda," which also served as the primary basis of subsequent comprehensive plans for rehabilitation. This concept, as well as the Philippine experience on Yolanda, was also thoroughly discussed in the Third United Nations Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction held in Sendai, Japan in March 2015.

However, while the project is one of JICA's major assistance and key disaster interventions in the country, interviews with the officers handling the project repeatedly underscored its urgency and the necessity to fast-track internal processes for its immediate implementation.

Project officers from Headquarters and Philippines explained their own accounts on the development of the whole programme and its sub-projects, as HQ4, HQ5, and PH1 respectively explained:

“A senior advisor went to Leyte for assessment and went back to Japan to formulate the overall framework and drafted the contract of the project consultants.”

“Project formulation was done mainly in Headquarters, even the Philippines office didn’t have time to suggest inputs. But even given the chance, I don’t know if I would have suggested something more, especially about mainstreaming gender, because the schedule was very hectic.”

“Project preparation documents did not go through national staff, we didn’t have the chance to review it. Although the consultants did basic profiling and socio-demographics, there was nothing related to gender. The project consultant team, which were mainly Japanese, coordinated directly with Headquarters and not with Philippines office.”

HQ5, who was assigned in the Philippines at the time of the project formulation and implementation, admitted that s/he totally missed doing proper social analyses, because:

“Speed was a necessity in the field especially for this project. We cannot spend too much time for assessment, for sure. The situation in a disaster-affected area, like that in Yolanda, is so fragile. It changes everyday, so even when we assess something, maybe two weeks later the situation may have changed already.”

HQ4, the main officer in Headquarters who handled the project, also noted that:

“The project was formulated swiftly, faster than normal projects because it was urgent. Normally, project formulation and design takes three months, including internal procedures, but we needed to fast-track this project. It’s large-scale, high-budget, and should be fast.”

HQ4 elaborated further:

“The strategy was: learning by doing, adjustment during implementation. Initially, not all formulated projects were applicable. When we went to the field, we adjusted the assistance accordingly based on the current situation and requests of the local

government... There were no intensive impact assessments, we just interviewed local project staff and government counterparts, but there was no time to interview local people and communities.”

In terms of following the formal gender mainstreaming process within JICA, both HQ4 and HQ5 noted that they did not have time to ask the gender office for comments. The absence of JICA’s own DRRM gender mainstreaming guideline or toolkit, the urgency of the project, and the prerogative of the officers to consult the gender office, were the main factors why the agency’s gender mainstreaming process was disregarded in the formulation of this project. The perception that gender applies only to some sectors was used to justify why gender mainstreaming is irrelevant. For instance, HQ5 argued that it is not necessary to explicitly mainstream gender anymore since the content of the projects are mostly technical, and involvement of the community in some cases mean that women are automatically involved, and gender needs are therefore addressed:

“On one hand, the first component was the production of hazard maps—a very technical exercise. It didn’t need a gender perspective. On the other hand, the gender issue was kind of included already because we had consultations with the community for the livelihood projects.”

Furthermore, the cultural context of the Philippines in terms of gender and development was also considered, with HQ5 explaining further why they were not concerned that there was no direct mainstreaming of gender:

“We know that the situation of gender in the Philippines is better than the Japanese society, so we don’t feel the necessity to mainstream gender anymore... Gender naturally comes up in the project when we have Philippine counterparts, we don’t have to do it like a technical exercise. If the project is implemented in countries where gender imbalance is apparent, like Islamic countries, that’s the time we really push to include gender. In the Philippines, once the project is ongoing, it kind of naturally comes out.”

Moreover, the lack of gender lens in the project was only realised after two instances: first, when an independent gender research team visited the project sites; and second, when inputs about the gender perspective of the project for the Third UN DRR Conference were sought. HQ5 recalled:

“When a Japanese gender study team went to the field in the middle of the project, that’s when we noticed that that portion was totally missing. While JICA dispatched more than 40 experts to assess which kinds of interventions were needed to rebuild the communities, there was none for gender. Most of them were mainly for infrastructure, and we realize now that it was not good.

“Moreover, during the 2015 UN Conference on DRR in Sendai, the Yolanda project was put in a spotlight because it was such a big disaster, and it was a big project from Japan. At that time, Prime Minister Abe was also promoting women, so they wanted to know the gender lens of this project. That was the time we realized we completely missed this point. We didn’t have any gender project to present in the conference.”

However, according to the same officer, the lack of gender analysis did not have any substantial impacts based on the outputs it produced, since a significant part of the recovery programme dealt with rebuilding various public facilities, and there were not many projects that involved the community. Additionally, HQ5 stated:

“Gender issues were kind of addressed and embedded already because we had consultations with women’s groups for the livelihood projects.”

Moreover, HQ5 noted that for the local land use and DRRM plans that JICA helped revise, the project consultants also worked with women and the disabled.

The results of the study conducted by the independent gender team found that the lack of gender mainstreaming in the planning process of the livelihood projects resulted in problems with sustainability of the interventions. One of the major conclusions of the report, entitled “Transforming Gender Relations in Disaster Risk Reduction: Case Study on the Philippines and Sri Lanka,” stated:

“Helping affected women and other marginalised groups to gain their agency and empowerment through a post-disaster intervention depend largely on the extent to which a gender perspective is integrated into it. In the case of the Philippines, JICA supported affected women for their livelihoods recovery and enhancement by providing necessary training and equipment. Since JICA did not necessarily aim for the empowerment of women in the planning process, it did not conduct any gender sensitisation workshops at the early stage of the project. As a result, women did not negotiate with their men to share household chores and child care, and their

participation in the project increased their workload... As part of the lessons learnt in the livelihood projects, it is important to integrate a gender perspective from the planning process.”

6.3.1 Local counterparts’ perceptions on the project

There were sessions in the barangay which focused on gender mainstreaming, but that is the sole effort of the local government. I would not give JICA any credit for that. – LGU2

Interviews with the local government counterparts found that the project worked well with the local officers, including the chief executive (mayor), heads of concerned departments and sectoral divisions like the DRRM and planning offices, association leaders, and various local officials. JICA was able to convene key officers in a number of workshops for the revision of the municipalities’ comprehensive land use and DRRM plans, which is the main focus of Component 1 of the project. Regardless of the gender of the person taking up the local position, the concerned officer was nevertheless invited to project meetings and workshops. Hence, there was no conscious decision to either invite or prohibit representatives based on their gender. In terms of gender and development, it can therefore be surmised that it is fortunate if a woman occupies that particular position, which entirely depends on the Philippine government’s own gender mainstreaming framework (i.e. gender equality in hiring and promotion). The project coordinator noted:

“In terms of our project counterparts in the local government, a lot of them were women. For example, the planning officer of the city was a proactive woman who mobilised the local government to act on the plan. The mayors of the municipalities are all women. So, in terms of planning the project with the local counterparts, gender is kind of intrinsic already.”

This then connotes that the participation of local stakeholders in the project is not based on gender, but on their function and the roles they hold in the local government.

According to LGU1, the DRRM officer of Tacloban City, JICA’s technical assistance played a significant part in the revision of the land use and DRRM plans. LGU1 expressed that this

was because the city government do not have the capacity to determine the kinds of information needed to effectively revise the plans on their own. S/he narrated:

“First, we could hardly come up with a categorical pronouncement as to how high the storm surge was. One of the first group of expert teams who came was JICA, and they were able to tell us the differences of the height of water in different and specific areas. There was an expert with them who busied himself to find water marks on walls and gave us their ideas on how high the water was. We could not have done this on our own.

In fact, JICA was the one who technically informed us about the radius of the storm surge. This was the kind of technical assistance we really needed. JICA was instrumental in rectifying some of our maps, which we needed for our land use and DRRM plans. Since there was a map expert with them, JICA eventually helped us in revising the plans, especially because of their technical expertise.”

Aside from the technical assistance on hazard maps, LGU1 noted that JICA also evaluated the capacity of the DRRM office, and their recommendations were eventually accepted:

“The capacity of the City Disaster Risk Reduction and Management was first and foremost diagnosed and assessed by JICA. After a series of meetings which discussed our situation and capacity as DRRM office, what we have and what we don’t, they came back with a ready-made template and guideline. This made us realise that we should have had those sooner. They gave us a contingency plan, particularly in the response aspect. The timeline management they did was very ideal. It explained specific time and motions of distributed responsibilities in different clusters, properly coordinating each other’s actions at the same time. It was because of JICA’s assistance why we expanded and added new clusters based on the model they gave us.

We mainstreamed the DRRM plan into our comprehensive land use plan, and the hazard maps given by JICA were crucial in revising these plans. We rely on the maps they provided in identifying the hazard prone areas, which also became our basis for preparedness and building back better infrastructure.”

This was also reiterated by the city planning officer, LGU2, stating that:

“JICA was here a few weeks after Yolanda—they are one of the earliest teams to offer technical assistance. JICA wanted to be part of the Tacloban Recovery and Rehabilitation Plan, but eventually became part of larger and long-term plans: the comprehensive land use and DRRM plans, even the Local Climate Change Action Plan.

The maps they did were critical in identifying the height and scope of the city affected by the storm surge. Our previous maps were, to a great extent, amiss. If we had accurate storm surge maps earlier, we could have planned, prepared, and responded more efficiently.”

Aside from the technical assistance, LGU2 also expressed that JICA’s financial assistance was crucial in order to properly integrate the technical assistance they offered:

“JICA had two main roles: financial and technical assistance. I think this is a special kind of arrangement, since HQ4 explained to us that JICA does not usually extend financial assistance directly at the local level. For the technical assistance, they deployed an architect, an urban planner, a mapper—basically an entire team to help us with the comprehensive land use and DRRM plans. As the planning officer, I negotiated—if JICA wants the technical recommendations to be done, they need to be willing to assist us financially through the conduct of workshops of concerned city officers and barangay-level officials for the revision of the plans.”

The financial and technical assistance extended by JICA to the city was deemed crucial and useful. However, although the interviews suggested that JICA played a significant part in revising and contributing technical information, LGU2 pointed out that JICA failed to include the local people’s perceptions and presented ready-made hazard maps and a timeline action plan. JICA’s maps, albeit helpful and accurate, were not done through a participatory process, which is critical to validate and make the findings useful. LGU2 narrated:

“Initially, they gave us the recommendations for revision—which was no doubt accurate and on point. They did all these development thrusts... Their recommendations were ultimately integrated, a huge chunk of it.

But their process was different—they laid it out and just wanted the local people to confirm and implement it. There was nothing participatory about it. Although their calculations were accurate, it was purely scientific. So, I said: I am okay with this, as a

technical person. But in planning and research, how do you make your output legitimate? How do you make it stand? The process should be legitimate, it is the process that will legitimise the output.

In mapping, you need to have two processes and sources: scientific and community-based. Both methods are acceptable—it would be best to have it combined. Ownership is important. If you just stick it up to them and impose it on them, at the end of the day you would always be defending it to the community. Whereas if we went through the tedious but crucial process of consulting the community and making the maps together, the outputs would be legitimate.

JICA can't understand this at first, one of the Japanese consultants said, 'Why are you so particular about the method? Why can't we just implement directly the development thrusts?' And I remember answering, 'It doesn't work that way. If we do it that way, we will always be bombarded by rallies. I am the city planning officer, I am the one who will face the communities' complaints,' so we continued with the participatory process. We validated the map through a number of workshops together with the barangay officials.

At the end of the day, we really owned it. There was ownership with the process, ownership with the outputs. I eventually told him, 'See, your inputs are accurate, but we needed the process.' JICA served as a crucial contributor. They achieved their agenda, but I also made sure we attained ours."

The hazard maps, timeline action and evacuation plans, with crucial technical inputs from JICA and workshops at the community level, were also rolled out to the barangay level.

While JICA did not initiate any participatory processes, the interview with the local project coordinator stated that one of the members of the Japanese consultant team was, for a time, specifically assigned as the social sector focal person, which included gender, health, education, and other social issues, for Component 1. Her work included assessing impacts, possible implications, and action planning in these social aspects. However, she only worked at the planning stage, and was then transferred to another project. The project coordinator expressed:

“She was mainly involved in the first phase where the social considerations were assessed, and then she wasn’t needed in the second phase, since it focused more on structural measures (i.e. building sea wall).”

The project coordinator explained that it was not just the social focal person who was “eliminated”, but also other consultant team members who focused on fisheries, agriculture, and solid waste management. While no one took over the tasks, the outputs of the focal person were taken into consideration during the workshops for the revision of land use and DRRM plans of the municipalities.

The project coordinator also expressed that in Component 1, JICA highlighted the importance of considering vulnerable groups in general, including children, elderly, persons with disabilities, among others:

“Yes, JICA did not do specific gender analysis on the possible impacts of the project. They did not focus on the possible impacts of the intervention on women or men, but more on integrating vulnerable groups in general, including children, senior citizen, persons with disability, in the land use and DRRM plans.”

Interviews with the local government officials reinforced this, explaining how JICA considered vulnerable groups in timeline action planning and systems for evacuation. They underscored that JICA did not fall short in considering the elderly, pregnant women, and children in revising the comprehensive land use and DRRM plans. LGU1 explained:

“Before Yolanda, we didn’t have a systematic evacuation. We just looked for possible shelters which we can use for evacuating the residents—we knocked on doors of private buildings, gymnasiums, churches, and ask them if it is possible to accommodate these families.

With JICA’s plan, everything is prepositioned. We now know where a specific family should go. JICA was very instrumental in its contribution to the identification system. One household has one ID card. At the back of the card, it shows the list of members of the household, and specifically, if the member is vulnerable—is this person with disability? With special needs? With communicable disease? Pregnant? This is helpful, with just one look at the ID card upon check-in at the evacuation centre, we will know any specific needs and other priorities that we need to accommodate. For instance, if

you are a person with disability, if you are pregnant, we will address these needs separately. JICA underscored the need to separate vulnerable individuals.”

LGU1 further added:

“Our new DRRM plan is not just gender responsive, it is inclusive to all vulnerable groups, which is the trend now.

In the evacuation aspect, it was JICA who pushed for these kinds of needs: separate women, prioritize pregnant women and children... The vulnerable groups should be evacuated first, and the capable and energetic last. Although we cannot say these are really rooted from Japan, but a part of this really was based on their experiences in disasters. When I was sent there, I observed how responsive they are in disasters. I think disasters, their response to and management of it, has been part of their culture. Everybody instantly reacts. They are prepared and know what to do in times of calamities. It should also be engrained in our culture like that.

Yet, I think they underscored these needs in the plan because they also studied our culture—the importance that we give to women, children, and other vulnerable groups, and how these should be integrated. I think it’s unlikely for them to give us a directive. I took it to myself that maybe they studied and considered our culture well to be able to give us appropriate guidance.”

However, while vulnerable groups and their needs are considered to be unequivocally important, LGU2 explained why, for instance, gender mainstreaming is also crucial in crafting plans for the community:

“In one of the workshops, we visualized how men and women use spaces in the barangays. We did this because we know the desires and needs of men and women are different. We found out with the men’s perspective, they are usually concerned mostly with infrastructure or production—structures which will help them seek or make profit. On the other hand, women are concerned with the general well-being and up-keep. Women’s perspectives are more holistic, while men’s are economic. It does not necessarily mean that they are contradicting, it just means that they see things differently.”

Interviews with the local government counterparts also attested that while JICA did not push for a specific gender lens in the project, another member of the Japanese consultant team was there to share her personal points of view. The only female consultant that stayed for the entire duration of the project served as a key person who provided some gender viewpoints, based from her own experiences in disaster management in Japan. LGU1 said:

“She was very informative, though she only provided her viewpoints when we asked her.”

LGU2 argued that it was solely the local government’s effort to consciously mainstream gender. However, even though JICA did not initiate any discussions related to this, LGU2 noted that they also did not reject the idea:

“We would plan the entire programme, and they let us do so. When we suggested to have a session on gender mainstreaming, they did not negate nor dispute the idea.

We really pushed for gender since it is in our organisational culture. I can also say it’s deeply rooted in the Philippines’ culture, where women are strong-willed. We are also required to mainstream gender within the Climate Change Action and DRRM plans. That’s why in our barangay workshops, it’s not just the technical people who are involved. We’ve done it with the barangay constituents, and we particularly allocated a session on gender mainstreaming. But all of those are the local government’s efforts, I wouldn’t give JICA any credit for that.”

Chapter 7: Gender mainstreaming in Tacloban City government

I think the local stakeholders played a major role in mainstreaming gender. It was a crucial factor that the chief executive is a woman, the planning officer we mainly dealt with is also a woman. Both are intrinsically aware of and consider the roles and needs of women. It is good that women are assigned in these planning positions. Gender is implicitly mainstreamed, especially because no one from the JICA team specialized on gender issues. – Project Coordinator for JICA’s recovery programme

The differing cultures of Japan and Philippines was pointed out by LGU1, by recalling his/her own experience:

“When JICA sent me to Japan, it was men who welcomed us, men who discussed about DRRM. Even the Japanese woman involved in the consultant team told me, that women are not in the frontlines of disaster management. When we visited the community, women were aloof. They are expected to have the “taking care” attitude.

“But here in the Philippines, women shout for equality.”

Reflecting on the team handled by LGU1, s/he underscored that gender is not an issue in the City DRRM office:

“In this office, it is a distributed function. I let both men and women facilitate drills and accept both as volunteers. I let my female staff operate radios. I expose all of them to trainings. In fact, most of my female staff are very skilful in water search and rescue.

In my experience, it is the women who are more enthusiastic—but not necessarily more active—to plan and prepare for disasters. I think this is maybe because of the emotion that they have—they are worried what will happen to their children and families when disaster strikes. So, they are always the ones initiating what to do and what to have.”

In mainstreaming gender into the City DRRM office, LGU1 expressed that it is included on the GAD plan enforced by the City Population Office, which also acts as the gender office:

“We are included and obligated to adhere to our gender office’s GAD plan. Our programs should align with their identified priorities on gender. They are the main mobiliser of gender within the city government. For instance, last month, we celebrated women’s month and all offices are involved. Our office, the City DRRM, held a training for responders for women. If they didn’t push for a programme like this, there will be no directions and guidance for us on how to integrate gender.”

In jest, LGU1 added:

“The gender office is not marginalised at all—they are, in fact, very imposing.”

7.1 GAD code, incentive and accountability mechanisms

The head of Tacloban City’s population management division, which functions secondarily as the city gender office (LGU3), explained that the city implements a GAD code that they update annually. The said GAD code is part of the requirements to acquire the Seal of Good Local Governance, an incentive programme of the national government “to provide greater challenge to continue good governance practices while providing better services” (Department of Interior and Local Government, 2014). The Seal is conferred to local government units who can “prepare for disasters (Disaster Preparedness) and address the needs of vulnerable and marginalised sectors of the society (Social Protection),” among other conditions. Recipients of the Seal will be entitled to a package of incentives, including a performance challenge fund and access to other national performance-based programs. According to LGU3:

“We created our GAD code to achieve the Seal of Good Local Governance. The national government evaluates us on this, so we need to have a properly enforced GAD code.”

Part of acquiring the seal is to implement an annual GAD plan, to be adapted by the barangays. All GAD plans have a specific allocated budget from the local government. LGU3 discussed:

“The barangays and the city government must allocate a minimum of 5% from our respective budgets to GAD—that’s the law. We’re lucky to have a very supportive budget office in the city, since they will not approve the budget of the barangays if they don’t have a 5% allocation to GAD.”

LGU3 discussed that the support of the budget office ultimately came from the enthusiasm and appreciation of the mayor and city administrator of the local government who enacted policies and memos to reinforce the city's gender mainstreaming framework. LGU3 explained that it was the city administrator who appointed all administrative officers as GAD coordinators:

“The City Administrator before, a woman, initiated this structure. Although prior to that, she already attended orientations, trainings, capacity building, so she was totally aware on the importance of having a gender lens in all divisions of the local government.

I really requested for her support. As the sole GAD focal point who also handles a separate programme (population management) I realised I can't monitor this alone. So I asked her, “is it possible to appoint a GAD coordinator per office?” She then responded that all administrative officers of each division can be a GAD coordinator. So that was it, it was my request.”

LGU3 further expressed that having a monitoring system is essential in the gender mainstreaming framework, despite limited human resources dedicated to GAD:

“We are not a department, we are only a division with limited personnel. Tacloban City has 138 barangays, we need to monitor all of them. But with systematic processes and structures in place, including the appointment of GAD coordinators in all barangays and city offices, we were able to do a hands-on monitoring. All orientations we did helped them be aware of the importance of executing their GAD plans.”

Moreover, LGU3 said that monitoring the implementation of the GAD plan is not only from the city government to the barangay level. The city government also submit reports to the national government, which will be the basis of attaining the Seal of Good Local Governance.

Furthermore, aside from a structured monitoring system among GAD coordinators, raising the awareness and appreciation of the focal persons was also crucial. LGU3 discussed that they had to conduct regular trainings, orientations, and seminars in order to guide each focal person in the division and in the barangay.

“It was challenging at first. Of course, there were problems in implementation. But with regular meetings, proper guidance, capacity building, accountability, budget, and a bit of spoon-feeding, they were able to make their GAD plans and execute it.

After all the orientations and seminars, they are now convinced and see the importance of mainstreaming gender. It's not hard for us to monitor them now, since they are the ones coming here and asking for help. We all benefitted.”

Moreover, having accountability and incentive mechanisms, such as the integration of GAD into the local budget and involving GAD as one of the criteria in achieving a national recognition such as the Seal of Good Local Governance, were instrumental in enforcing the GAD code in the city. The gender office emphasised how such recognition helps in encouraging the proper implementation of the plan:

“While the city government has been given recognition from the regional and national governments, we also plan to give the same to our barangays. Even as simple as awarding the title ‘Most Outstanding Barangay’ in terms of executing their GAD activities can give a sense of fulfilment that you are doing the right thing... which makes you feel happy and satisfied with your work.”

According to LGU3, one of the factors that made the gender mainstreaming in the local government comprehensive is their passion and commitment to GAD. LGU3 explained:

“The law started in 1995, but still not all local governments in the Philippines are implementing it. A big part of our GAD success is being proactive and our constant promotion to the office staff, barangay volunteers, and even communities. Some local governments only have a plan for the sake of compliance, but they do not implement it. When I accepted this assignment, I knew that I really have to work on it. I don't want to be called as the GAD focal person of the city just for the sake of it. We all wanted to work it out, that's why the support of the mayor and city administrator is instrumental.”

7.2 Gender mainstreaming in all sectors

The city gender office started mainstreaming gender into their population programs first. From there, the office started to expand their GAD plans to other offices which implement projects in various sectors. LGU3 believed that gender is cross-cutting, and should not be limited to ‘traditional’ sectors where women are perceived to be more involved:

“It was easy to integrate gender into the population management programme, including responsible parenthood, prevention of human trafficking, teenage pregnancy, reproductive health, and even livelihood... We started with this, and now we are involved in other issues too. We previously had gender equality as a separate programme, then we realized it should be integrated to all programs. For instance in family planning, we need to give complete information to the family—not just the wives who carry the pregnancy, but also educate the husband. There will be an issue if not all are informed.

I think this is a good start because most of the issues can be GAD-related if we want it to be. We talk of putting people at the centre of development. And when we talk of development, then it should be sustainable development. One way to do this is to consider the needs of men and women, that’s where having a gender lens comes in.

“We recognize the importance of integrating a gender perspective in government projects and interventions. We must take into account and ensure that there are equal opportunities and services to both men and women, given that they have differences... We should identify the specific needs of men and women, because that portrays the real situation. If we just implement the programme without considering their differences, the impact of the public programmes and projects will not be as effective.”

For instance, LGU3 expressed that with the properly enforced gender mainstreaming framework, the city engineer’s office has been actively tapping them for their inputs for the city’s infrastructure projects:

“For example, when we were planning the construction of barangay halls, particularly the stairs, we suggested that it should be made in a way that even women in skirts can climb up without being peeped on. It’s not just men who will use those stairs. Or in building toilets, there should be enough space because girls need to sit down, if it’s too narrow then it would be hard for the girls. While boys won’t have any of those problems because they can use that simply by standing up.”

LGU3 also cited another more complex example in the importance of mainstreaming gender in building infrastructures:

“Usually when they build infrastructure in rural areas, prostitution also rises. It’s because in the construction sites, they tend to build small-time entertainment businesses because the demand is there. If gender analysis was included in the planning, this can be circumvented.”

LGU3 underscored the need to mainstream gender further in other sectors and raise awareness within the local government offices:

“I think there is still a need to push gender mainstreaming. Integrating gender, especially in other sectors, is still not easy. We still need to have more training on that. Also, while there is awareness within other divisions, it is apparent that they still don’t fully appreciate it. But I don’t think it is a big burden, it’s just a matter of making them understand and consequently capacitate them.”

As such, with a framework in place, the gender office is also involved with the City DRRM office’s initiatives. LGU3 particularly discussed their participation in the revision of the comprehensive land use and DRRM plans:

“We also contributed some inputs in the revision of the land use plan. We were also invited by LGU1 when they were revising the city’s DRRM plan. The fact that we were recognised to be involved in the planning stage means that we are considered. We were included on the workshops and we were given opportunities to voice out our opinions. Our office is also a member of the technical working group, and the city response team includes a GAD coordinator. I think the city government wanted to make it comprehensive and harmonised. In a disaster, we are all in the same situation, we must help each other out.”

However, despite the recognition of the need to mainstream gender in the plans, LGU3 admitted that there were challenges in mainstreaming gender into it. Their capacity to guide the City DRRM office is also limited since they lack training in linking gender and DRRM:

“There were some problems in the DRRM plan. For instance, while they have created designs for evacuation centres with separate toilets, the toilets for men and women should not be placed adjacently. We also suggested the inclusion of hygiene kits in relief items. It should be included as one of the priorities, so we really pushed for it.

“We are used to mainstreaming gender in health and livelihood. We still need training and capacity building on how we can link gender and DRRM, because there really is differential impact on vulnerable groups. But honestly, as of now, we can’t see if gender is fully recognised in the plans.”

7.3 Structured observation in Tacloban City

To examine the dynamics of local stakeholders, particularly in mainstreaming gender into their DRRM system, a non-participant structured observation was conducted in a meeting between the City DRRM team and various community leaders. The meeting discussed the new DRRM plan with the barangay officials and volunteers and became an avenue to offer opportunities to those who want to become trainers and drill managers in their respective communities.

Three indicators were sought to determine if advocacies related to gender are raised, how the Philippine government’s gender mainstreaming framework is reflected based on the interactions of the local stakeholders towards their DRRM system, as well as local stakeholders’ receptiveness to these gender issues. The indicators were:

1. The gender of the speakers;
2. The number of times the speakers mentioned the terms men/women; lalaki/babae (Filipino terms); or hermano/hermana (Waray terms); and
3. In a sample size of six (three men and three women), the number of people who tinkered on their mobile phone while a speaker talked.

The meeting lasted for three hours, with 15 speakers in total. The first speaker was the city DRRM head, a male, who mainly discussed about the new DRRM plan. During his presentation, he specifically mentioned the terms “men / lalaki / hermano” 3 times, and the terms “women / babae / hermana” 8 times. On the times he mentioned these terms, he talked about the GAD budget allocated by the city, the facilities of the evacuation centres, and some roles each gender can play in evacuation. While the speaker discussed these, one of the three men in the sample size tinkered with his phone, while all three women in the sample size were seen lingering on their mobile phones.

The next two speakers were a male and a female representing an international non-government organization, who offered an opportunity to the barangay officials to be trained as lead trainers or drill managers of their communities. On both accounts, they did not mention any of the terms which connotes men or women. While the male speaker talked, 2 out of 3 males and 2 out of 3 females in the sample size were seen busy with their phones. During the talk of the female INGO member, the same people were seen tinkering with or gazing at their phones.

The next 12 speakers were officials representing their barangays, each given an opportunity to express their concerns about the first three presentations. Of the 12, 6 of them were female, 5 were male, and 1 openly gay male. On these dialogues, they did not specifically mention the terms used for men and women. However, it can be noted that there was equal opportunity for both men and women to speak and voice their concerns. Both genders were given opportunities to hold positions of power and speak on behalf of their barangays. In addition, throughout the entire time the community representatives were speaking, no one from the sample size gazed, used, or looked at their gadgets.

The results of the non-participant structured observation provide support for three points: 1) that there is adherence to the local government's GAD framework at the city DRRM level; 2) no conscious gender mainstreaming from the external stakeholder, INGO; and 3) a manifestation of a mainstreamed GAD at the community level. The attention of the members in the sample size connoted that they are more receptive to the people at the grassroots level, a bit lesser on the city DRRM official, and least with the INGO representatives.

7.4 Perceptions in gender mainstreaming at the local level

According to LGU3, one of the common perceptions in the GAD programme is that it caters to women and women-empowerment only. Aside from LGU1 stating that the gender office is "*too imposing*," LGU3 also heard remarks from men that they are the ones "left behind." LGU3 then underscored that in their intervention, they accommodate both genders:

"We also want to let the men recognize that we're not only promoting women. The programme is not women and development, it's gender and development. So, we let them understand that it's not just women we extend assistance to, we also want the men

to be involved and have access to the same services, in a way that is applicable to them based on their needs and roles.”

On the other hand, LGU2 considered that since gender is fully mainstreamed and established within the local government offices, it is not anymore necessary to consciously allot time to talk about gender issues:

“I think that the local government is already progressive in terms of gender mainstreaming. Mainstreaming gender is already built-in within the system, given that it has been implemented for 15 years already. Gender and development is not an arena of conflict or struggle anymore... It’s being done unconsciously already, it is given.

That’s why I think that since this perception is already integrated instinctively, it’s not necessary to allot a half-day workshop to talk about gender. It is too time consuming.”

LGU2 goes on to justify that gender is already successfully mainstreamed because of three factors:

“I can say that gender has already been mainstreamed since firstly, there is a properly enforced law which has long been implemented. Secondly, culturally, women in the Philippines are strong, who also demand for equality. Thirdly, I think it depends on who occupies the position. Some men here in the office are traditional! If that happens, then that is where the gender office is supposed to come in and rally. I think they are already capacitated enough to do that.”

Reflecting on the project, LGU2 stated:

“The Japanese people are more technical, scientific, technological... While Filipinos have strength in social preparations. This includes gender.”

From a macro perspective, as the law covers public offices and projects only, LGU3 reflected that gender mainstreaming can only transform gender roles in formal spaces, but not fundamentally at home and within the society. This is also in contrast to LGU2’s perception that gender mainstreaming is intrinsic, and that it has achieved its full potential. LGU3 cogitated:

“At the office, gender tends to be fair. But at home, there are still gender biases. That’s why I don’t think gender mainstreaming is enough. For instance, we’ve been doing a

lot of classes, seminars, and forums to raise awareness on how to prevent teen pregnancy. Yet, even though we have these kinds of GAD programs, there are still external factors which influence the youth to do otherwise. For example, they have access to the internet, and among other influences, which affects their decisions. While we are trying to educate them, there are also other contributing elements which affects how they think. And young people tend to follow what they see.

“We still need to strengthen our interventions. As of now, the divisions have their own efforts, which may contradict each other. We must collaborate more to avoid confusion at the community level, especially given various external factors. The city government needs to have one solid, holistic approach.

“But no matter how much gender mainstreaming we do, there are lots of other factors which reinforce gender biases, that can be out of our control. We can only do so much.”

Summary of findings

Although it is a ‘developed country,’ Japan is not necessarily advanced in the field of gender mainstreaming. In reality, so-called developed countries do not always score better in all gender indicators compared to developing countries, and their development assistance in the field of gender is also experimental.

However, Japan generally maintains a high human development index. Therefore, Japan has potential to contribute to international development assistance more effectively by integrating gender perspectives into experiences of its own development in various sectors.

- *JICA’s Guidelines on Gender, 2009*

This chapter discussed how JICA’s gender mainstreaming policy manifested in a local DRRM project in the Philippines. Starting from JICA’s overall gender mainstreaming framework implemented within the agency, it followed how the project was formulated based on its gender mainstreaming guidelines. It looked at the dynamics of Headquarters and the Philippines office

in terms of adapting the guidelines, and how the overseas office is affected by the Philippine government's own policy and requirements on gender. Lastly, it focused on how the local stakeholders contributed to the mainstreaming of gender in the DRRM project, especially given their own GAD code implemented within the city government.

It found that JICA's gender mainstreaming guideline is limited to the project formulation level of the projects, done mainly in Headquarters. While there is a guideline on JICA's stance and strategies towards GAD, there is limited implementation of gender mainstreaming in JICA's operations. This is evidenced by the lack of a mandate to mainstream gender, weak process to integrate gender in projects characterised by the optional consultation and involvement of the gender office, no systematic monitoring, and absence of incentive and accountability elements, resulting in officers' disregard of the entire gender mainstreaming practice.

Hence, the said policy almost does not reach the Philippines office. Because the policy covers only project formulation and the Philippines office is mainly tasked to monitor and evaluate, any development related to gender can only be monitored if it is initially included as one of the project's indicators. However, principles of aid effectiveness—aid alignment and ownership—forces the office to adhere to the gender mainstreaming practices of the Philippine government to a certain extent. The presence of a gender toolkit evaluates the gender responsiveness of the JICA projects, making the office aware of its insufficient performance in this area and potential steps towards improvement, i.e. making their own gender policy by converging Philippines' and Japan's respective priorities and agenda.

JICA's perception that gender can only be applied to specific sectors like health, rural development, and peace-building, and not in technical and hard infrastructure, strongly influence the officers' perceptions on gender and consequently, in the operations at the local level. This is apparent in the DRRM project, wherein a balance of both community involvement and technical exercise can be observed. Japan's expertise on disaster management cannot be underestimated. Based on the interviews, JICA was instrumental in contributing crucial technical assistance to the local community, even considering how vulnerable groups should be prioritised in disaster situations. However, the justification that the project was urgent led to crucial processes being overlooked in the planning stage, particularly mainstreaming gender which is not, in the first place, a fundamental requirement in the organisation. While there have been repercussions as examined by an external gender team, this research found that the

presence of a properly enforced local GAD plan can contribute to the mainstreaming of gender needs in the project. The local stakeholders' own GAD framework, including its incentive and accountability mechanisms, resulted in the gender office being involved in the project despite not being directly part of it. However, the local office has its own challenges in terms of limited human resources and insufficient knowledge to link gender and DRRM. Nevertheless, the local framework and policy on gender still enabled men and women to have equal opportunities to participate in critical positions of power, by focusing on the ability of the individual to contribute rather than be marginalised because of gender. At times, local men have thought that they are left behind, and that women have been too imposing. On the other hand, some local women do not see the necessity to consciously mainstream gender anymore as it is already intrinsic in processes and activities of the local government.

The next chapter will synthesise the findings of the research with existing literature. This will integrate different elements in gender mainstreaming and how it ultimately contributes to reaching its goal: to reduce gender inequality.

Chapter 8: Discussion and Conclusions

Research Questions

1. *What are JICA's gender mainstreaming strategy, framework, and policy?*
2. *How is JICA's gender mainstreaming strategy implemented in a local disaster risk reduction and management project in the Philippines?*
3. *How did the local stakeholders influence the gender mainstreaming activities of the project?*

The previous chapter discussed the mechanisms behind JICA's gender mainstreaming guidelines, and how the local government of Tacloban City's own gender mainstreaming policy affected the mainstreaming of gender in the local disaster risk reduction and management project. This chapter will then discuss how the results relate to the current literature on DRRM, gender mainstreaming, and aid delivery, and will deliberate the possible implications of JICA's current strategies and stance on gender with its DRRM programme in Tacloban City.

8.1 JICA's gender mainstreaming strategies, framework and policy

Data from interviews and document analysis show that JICA implements a guideline on gender to ensure that the agency does not overlook gender and development in its operations. The said guideline was last updated in 2009, and this is still the version currently used by the organisation. This means that JICA has not yet updated their gender policy based on the discourse around the Sustainable Development Goals. Moreover, their perspective on gender corresponds to ideas projected in Women in Development. For instance, despite making Gender and Development the pivot of their gender policy, two of their three Strategic Development Objectives on gender still make much reference to women empowerment rather than gender equality. These objectives include:

- 1) Promotion of women's empowerment, which implements cooperation projects with *women as principal target beneficiaries*; and

- 2) Promotion of gender mainstreaming in all projects, which aims to integrate gender perspectives in project components by *reflecting women's perspectives based on accurate understanding of women's roles.*

The perspective that gender can only be mainstreamed in certain areas of assistance is validated in JICA's latest annual report on gender published in 2015. It reported that only 6 out of 16 sectors of its assistance have projects that mainstream gender. JICA's assistance related to information technology, resource and energy, fisheries, and economic policy did not have a gender component nor did any gender mainstreaming occur within the projects under these sectors. However, at least 50 percent of projects related to peace-building, health, education, and agriculture/rural development have mainstreamed gender or had a gender component. This validates JICA's view that gender is only mainstreamed in traditional sectors, which is more understood as having women empowerment components in the projects rather than gender equality.

The organisation's overall understanding of gender influences the perspective of its programme officers towards gender work, and eventually affects its operations. In particular, the view that gender can only be applied and mainstreamed in traditional sectors like health, education, and rural development and not in technical and engineering projects such as those in transportation, infrastructure, and information technology is widespread among all interviewees from JICA. Interviews from officers in JICA Headquarters and Philippines have expressed that technical assistance projects are not in need of gender mainstreaming as they do not have any issues specific to gender, and cater equally to both men and women. The notion that gender can only be applied to traditional sectors is a manifestation of concepts behind Women in Development, where women are seen as victims who need help and not necessarily crucial agents who can contribute to sustainable development.

According to previous studies, using the Women in Development lens to gender projects can pose a number of concerns (Benschop & Verloo, 2006; Parpart, 2009). While focusing on women's empowerment does not necessarily negate the efforts of the organisation towards gender equality, failure to understand the real essence of gender and development and the importance of giving equal roles to and addressing the needs of both men and women can result in unsustainable interventions, and resistance in the community due to the perceived challenges

of power between men and women, among other consequences (Ariyabandu, 2009; De Silva & Jayathilaka, 2014; Enarson & Dhar Chakrabarti, 2009). Promoting women's projects in isolation or as a special focus in traditional development intervention assumes that simply implementing projects for women will induce progress and change. Having development projects aimed at women in these selected sectors, like education, health, and agriculture, only aims to build women's capacity in productive aspects of work. Thus, defining women's disadvantaged position in this way means that men hold the norm and therefore this supports existing power relations (Benschop & Verloo, 2006; Rao & Kelleher, 2005; Rathgeber, 1990). JICA's perspective that mainstreaming gender mostly applies to traditional sectors relegates women to the domestic sphere and further reinforces gender roles that underpin inequality. This is similar to research which concluded that donor agencies see gender as synonymous with women, as evidenced by their continuing efforts in gender being limited to women-targeted projects in traditional sectors (Davids et al., 2014; Moser & Moser, 2005; Subrahmanian, 2004). It shows the lack of long-term goals demonstrated by having limited analyses and investments in addressing structural gender inequalities (Cornwall & Rivas, 2015; Jaquette & Summerfield, 2006). This results in mainstreaming women, rather than gender, and can aggravate further the gender imbalance.

The research also explored JICA's mechanisms and framework in mainstreaming gender into its operations. The JICA Headquarters has a gender office which consists of three permanent and three contractual staff. Aside from overseeing gender mainstreaming in the organisation, the office handles projects classified under the poverty reduction sector, as well as projects directly related to gender equality and women's empowerment. Analysis of the guideline revealed that the organisation's gender mainstreaming mechanisms mainly occur when operational departments in Headquarters consult the gender office about integrating gender in their projects. The consultation comes in at the project design and formulation stage, where departments share project documents with the gender office, and the gender office consequently sends their guidance in the form of comments on how to integrate gender in the project. The project formulation documents and forms were found to have a gender tick box to easily determine if the project is related to gender or not. The gender mainstreaming framework discussed in the guideline also shows that JICA's Planning department and its corresponding director play an important role in promoting gender mainstreaming in operational departments and in pushing its officers to mainstream gender regardless of whether the project is directly related to gender or not.

While JICA has identified three strategic development objectives for gender and development, the interviewees noted that not all projects fall into these three categories. Most of the projects and programmes are classified under the unofficial category: *not categorised*, despite the third objective aiming to mainstream gender in *all* projects. This connotes that having a gender guideline is not enough to steer the organisation to effectively integrate gender perspectives into their projects. Aside from the written policy, effective implementation, which includes allocating resources and establishing systems in place, is crucial to achieve the objectives of the gender guideline. The research found that JICA faces challenges in implementing its gender mainstreaming guideline, particularly:

- 1. The gender mainstreaming guideline is not a mandate to be followed by the organisation.** The gender office does not require the operational departments to consult the gender office in every project JICA implements. The departments do not usually seek comments from the gender team especially if the project is not directly related to gender. Moreover, even if the gender office recommends strategies on how to integrate a gender perspective into a specific project, they do not have a monitoring mechanism to determine if these comments are implemented or not. Furthermore, determining if the project has any relation to gender is only a matter of ticking a box. This, then, greatly depends on the knowledge of the officer who fills in the form.
- 2. Gender mainstreaming is limited to project formulation.** While inclusion of a gender perspective is crucial in development planning, JICA's gender mainstreaming framework is only concentrated in the Headquarters. Overseas offices, such as the JICA Philippines office, are primarily tasked to monitor and evaluate projects. Hence, the lack of a gender mainstreaming framework for project monitoring and evaluation also means that the gender policy reaches overseas offices insubstantially. Officers from JICA Philippines stated that they are not aware of what the gender guideline entails and how gender mainstreaming in the organisation works. Moreover, a project's impact on men and women can only be measured if monitoring indicators are devised at the project formulation stage. If there are no explicit indicators in the project design matrix, officers in the overseas office will not be able to monitor projects from this perspective and can be incognisant of its impacts on men and women. However, interviews also

suggest that JICA Philippines has the autonomy to implement its own gender mainstreaming policy independent from the one used at Headquarters.

- 3. There are no incentive and accountability mechanisms to reward or sanction staff related to their adherence to the gender mainstreaming policy.** With accountability and incentive systems, officers are either rewarded or sanctioned based on how efficiently they carry out their work. This is usually related to their promotion, salary, recognition, and other opportunities such as training and more benefits, in which their chances can either increase or decrease depending on their performance. On one hand, giving incentives for doing work beyond what is expected may increase the motivation of the staff to adhere to the gender mainstreaming guidelines. On the other hand, complementing this with an accountability mechanism avoids non-compliance of operational policies and procedures. The absence of these mechanisms for gender work means that regardless of how strongly or poorly officers perform, they are not recognised nor liable for the success or shortcoming of their work towards gender mainstreaming.
- 4. For the gender focal persons, gender is add-on work with other tasks deemed more important than mainstreaming gender.** In relation to the previous point, responsibilities tagged with accountability and incentive elements are considered crucial in the operations of the agency. The presence of these make a certain work a priority since it helps avoid non-compliance (accountability) and it is rewarded accordingly (incentive). For gender focal persons at JICA Headquarters and the Philippines office, gender work is an additional responsibility which is generally regarded as lesser priority especially if in conjunction with other main tasks, such as handling loans or technical cooperation projects. Performing efficiently or poorly in overseeing loan and technical cooperation projects is associated with respective incentive and accountability elements, hence officers usually put more effort into ensuring that these responsibilities are fulfilled and work is efficiently executed. Gender work is hence pushed down to the bottom of the list of tasks to be done.
- 5. There is lack of capacity building for gender officers, which is linked to their incapability to push for gender mainstreaming. There is also lack of communication systems between gender focal persons.**

Interviews revealed that gender work is given or transferred to the officer with the lightest workload or assigned to the newest staff. JICA's gender office also acknowledged that there is inadequate capacity building and training given to the gender focal persons due to limited human and financial resources allotted for gender mainstreaming. Moreover, although the Headquarters has an officer responsible to oversee gender mainstreaming in DRRM and environment-related projects, the officer is perceived to have limited capacity because of the nature of his position: s/he was relatively newly hired and was given a contractual status. Under these circumstances, the gender officer may have a constrained agency to strictly enforce a gender toolkit for the projects he needs to oversee. Staff who are new and/or in a contractual position may not be aware of the organisation's regulations, culture, and other office nuances which are all crucial in effectively carrying out the job as a gender officer. Officers in this position have restricted power and agency to rally the senior management for more support on gender mainstreaming. Furthermore, there is no established communication systems among gender focal persons of departments and overseas offices, which hinder learning and solidarity with regards to pushing gender mainstreaming in the organisation.

Analyses show that despite JICA's recognition of the importance of integrating gender perspectives into its operations by drawing up a guideline and strategy for gender and development, the agency was not able to follow the guideline in urgent and critical interventions like disaster risk reduction and management projects. This ultimately points to a significant gap between JICA's rhetoric of commitment to gender and its adherence in practice. This suggests that despite having an overarching policy on gender, the absence of essential resources and processes for gender mainstreaming means that it does not acknowledge inherent challenges in implementing the policy; significant barriers remain in addressing gender issues in the organisation's operations. The implementation of the gender framework faces major challenges such as lack of: enforcement and accountability mechanisms, monitoring and evaluation systems, and systematic access to expertise to support gender mainstreaming in various sectors. Results show that simply incorporating the Guideline with other existing organisational policies does not ensure that gender issues are effectively addressed. The lack of resources and processes necessary for effective gender mainstreaming seems to undermine the Guideline, and indicates a disconnect between the perceived rhetorical support for gender

and its operational implementation. JICA's current framework poses overlapping challenges, especially when gender mainstreaming should be treated as a cornerstone and cross-cutting across various levels of implementation and sectors of assistance.

8.2 JICA's gender mainstreaming in a DRRM programme in Tacloban City

A bilateral cooperation setting invariably presents two sets of policies from two countries which can be combined, aligned, or superseded by the other to achieve desirable development outcomes. The Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness requires all providers of Official Development Assistance to apply its principles for effective aid delivery. These include, among others, country ownership and alignment. Country ownership and alignment, according to the UN norms, refer to giving the partner country autonomy to exercise effective leadership over development strategies, and aligning the development assistance plan of donor countries with the partner countries' own development plan, policies, and procedures (OECD, 2005).

Interviews with officers from JICA Headquarters and Philippines office show that the organisation greatly takes this into consideration. They underscored that JICA's operations plan in the Philippines is largely based on the Philippine Development Plan and discussions with high-level stakeholders. Interviewees from JICA also emphasised that when policies of Japan and Philippines lack congruence, JICA is expected to adapt and the Philippines' policy should prevail. This also applicable in the administration of JICA Philippines office, where internal procedures of the Headquarters are adopted and revised based on the cultural context and requirements of the country.

As such, in terms of mainstreaming gender, JICA Philippines is given the autonomy to implement its own policy: integrating the principles ascribed in JICA's overall guideline on gender and the Philippine government's requisites on gender mainstreaming. The presence of: 1) a gender network among donor agencies in the Philippines; and 2) required submission of an annual gender responsiveness report, may connote that gender is being promoted by the national government. JICA Philippines Office, on the other hand, is compliant with the Philippine government's requirements related to gender, but only to a minimal degree and

without the knowledge of the Headquarters. Even though this can be considered as the minimum effort in gender, this shows that JICA complies with the Paris Declaration principles, particularly on alignment. However, JICA Philippines still does not have its own gender mainstreaming framework. Without a working gender framework in the overseas office, mainstreaming gender in JICA's projects in the Philippines remains implausible.

JICA's organisational views on gender also influenced the non-mainstreaming of gender into the DRRM project in Tacloban City. The notions that: 1) gender interventions are only applicable to rural and community-based development and traditional sectors; and 2) that assistance in infrastructure and projects that are technical in nature do not need to have a gender viewpoint, are both apparent in the DRRM programme. JICA's assistance on DRRM in the Philippines is generally a combination of both technical projects (i.e. provision of early warning systems, hazard mapping, or reconstruction of damaged infrastructure) and community-based development interventions (i.e. livelihood recovery projects, evacuation planning and drills, etc.). This is particularly evident in JICA's comprehensive assistance to Typhoon Haiyan-affected areas, the programme focused on by this research, which have the following components: 1) hazard mapping, evacuation planning, and revision of DRRM and land use plans; 2) reconstruction of public infrastructure such as hospitals, evacuation centres, schools, local government halls, etc.; and 3) livelihood programmes to rebuild communities.

The research found that the nature of the DRRM programme, specifically the need to urgently rebuild infrastructure and livelihood, caused fast-tracking of internal procedures and processes, and skipping of other analyses entirely. Since the gender mainstreaming policy of JICA is not required to be followed by its officers, they argued that there was not enough time to consult the gender office during the formulation of the assistance for the typhoon-affected areas. Hence, there were no gender planning and gender analyses done at the onset of planning the technical and livelihood projects. This, according to Taylor (1999), may pose a significant drawback in development planning as it should be informed by a gender analysis to ensure that the needs of both men and women are equally addressed.

The justification that the disaster intervention is urgent is commonly referred to as "tyranny of the urgent," (Bradshaw, 2013; Fordham, 2003) which legitimises the skipping and fast-tracking of crucial preparatory intensive analyses. This concept connotes that preparatory social analyses are believed to slow down the process of the intervention, especially when affected

people need emergency assistance. Bradshaw (2013) sees this as a ‘myth of speed’, whereby the need for urgent action overrules all else, and results in a checklist response where the same items are distributed, and same efforts are made regardless of the need, where it is needed, what has been provided, and most importantly, the culture of those in need. The belief that speed is a necessity above all else means that the intervention does not allow culture and gender to influence existing processes and may result in inappropriate and unsustainable responses (Bradshaw, 2013; Fordham, 2003; Hyndman & Alwis, 2003). As such, while speed and urgency can arguably be valid, proper planning that includes impact assessments on various areas can significantly contribute to the sustainability of the intervention, rather than delivering short-term, fast ‘Band-Aid’ solutions (Ride & Bretherton, 2011, p. 138; Wisner et al., 2014, p. 11). Studies have shown that such interventions can provide relief in the short-term, but serious and complex problems will eventually arise in the long run (De Silva & Jayathilaka, 2014; Islam, 2010).

Hence, the absence of a gender mainstreaming toolkit for DRRM projects, the urgency of the project, and the non-consultation of the responsible officers in JICA’s gender office were the main factors for gender not being mainstreamed in the formulation, and eventually, in the execution of the project. The interviews show that JICA’s officers justified that it was not necessary to mainstream gender anymore because they believed that technical assistance does not need a gender lens, and that gender is already integrated when working with a Filipino community. These perceptions on gender, coupled with the belief in the “tyranny of the urgent,” are apparent in the attempt to legitimise gender mainstreaming as irrelevant and as a result, it was left out of the DRRM programme.

Interviewees from JICA also perceived that Philippines is progressive in gender and that because of this, they are not too concerned that there was no gender mainstreaming done in the DRRM intervention. From JICA’s side, there was no deliberate effort to integrate gender. However, the research showed that gender mainstreaming was not totally excluded from the project. A significant part of integrating gender and securing the equal participation of men and women on the project were influenced by the local government’s own policy on gender and development. The local government’s gender mainstreaming framework enabled both men and women to have unbiased opportunities in planning roles and other positions of power. Despite not having explicit gender mainstreaming strategies implemented within the project,

the project counterparts applied the local gender mainstreaming framework as part of the mandate of the city government.

Thus, despite the national government requiring donor agencies to make their operations gender responsive, incognisance of the regulations and inadequate enforcement can lead to inaction at the operations and implementation level of a bilateral cooperation programme. Principles of ownership and alignment with regards to mainstreaming gender may dissipate if there is insufficient pressure from the partner country, especially if gender is not included as one of the development priorities of the donor agency.

However, even if this is the case, the research showed that gender mainstreaming can also be initiated from the community. While JICA fell short in mainstreaming gender within the project, the research found that the local stakeholders applied their own gender mainstreaming framework in the DRRM project. It showed that the bottom-up approach to gender mainstreaming ameliorated any drawbacks from the project formulation level. The principles of ownership and alignment, although not purposefully done for gender at the donor and national level, manifested at the local level where the city government was able to apply their own processes. To be able to exercise their own gender framework without resistance from the donor connotes that the local government possesses agency to influence the project's processes.

8.3 Gender mainstreaming in the DRRM programme by local stakeholders

Interviewees expressed that JICA's recovery and rehabilitation programme was an intensive bilateral cooperation that constantly convened and worked with local officers and related divisions. For the first component of the project, which involved hazard mapping and eventually the revision of the land use and DRRM plans of Tacloban City, JICA specifically worked with the City Planning and DRRM offices. The participation of local officers was entirely based on their role in the government, which did not necessarily mean that it was representative of different sectors of society. Hence, equal opportunities to both men and women to participate in this process is entirely based on the effectiveness of the gender mainstreaming framework implemented by the Philippine government, which can help ensure that both gender have equal chances to occupy these planning positions.

Interviewees from Tacloban City attested that JICA provided accurate hazard maps and crucial technical inputs for the improvement of their DRRM and land use plans. However, interviews also found that JICA did not do any bottom-up and participatory processes in verifying the maps and in drawing recommendations. It was presented and given to the concerned offices directly without proper validation from the local stakeholders and community. This may then pose some risks to sustainability and ownership, as a coherent DRRM system requires well-coordinated planning not only with national and local government agencies, but also NGOs, people's organisations, and most importantly, the communities (Fernandez et al., 2012; Ishiwatari, 2012; Matsuoka et al., 2012). Use of Indigenous knowledge and local capacity allows the community to participate in their own development—identifying their vulnerable points and the risks they are exposed to, and consequently to implement risk reduction measures based on their own capacity and resources. Hence, complementing the top-down approach, community-based DRRM can help build a more resilient community because the processes could empower the locals, which consequently contributes to greater sustainability of efforts (Luna, 2014; Palliyaguru et al., 2014; Shaw, 2012). The research found that JICA gave recommendations and technical input directly without having discussions about them with the concerned offices, and it was the sole effort of the local government to consult various community groups before it was fully integrated into the plan.

The research also discovered that in their technical recommendations for the DRRM and land use plans, JICA was able to integrate the needs of vulnerable groups in different times and phases of the disaster management cycle. As previous studies discussed, Japan's extensive experience in disaster relief, response, and recovery have made it easier for them to recommend areas for improvement (Crowley Nee Donovan & Elliott, 2012; Habara, 2014; Holguín-Veras et al., 2014; Ranghieri & Ishiwatari, 2014; Shaw, 2012). However, a number of researchers have also verified that taking into account the cultural context and actual socio-demographics on the ground, which can only be obtained through proper social analyses at the planning and formulation stage, can reinforce appropriateness, effectivity, sustainability, and ownership of the programme (Izumi & Shaw, 2012; Luna, 2014; Palliyaguru et al., 2014).

Hence, despite having efforts to improve overall disaster resiliency and minimise disaster risks, failure to conduct proper social analyses and impact assessments means that the intervention does not recognise and consequently fails to address the root causes of human vulnerability

(Palliyaguru et al., 2014). Focusing on the economic aspect of vulnerability alone, such as constructing resilient infrastructure or providing livelihoods, is not enough to prevent disaster risks from future hazards. Reducing and managing disaster risks also includes addressing the political and social vulnerabilities, which includes ensuring political representation and participation in decision-making from various sectors of society (Birkmann, 2006; Wisner et al., 2014). While JICA provided exceptional technical information and support, which addressed the economic vulnerability to disaster risks, not taking into account the political and social vulnerabilities, by overlooking proper social analyses, impact assessments, gender mainstreaming, and even participatory processes, means that the intervention could not be considered holistic. The intervention failed to recognise that vulnerability, or inequitable access to resources, aggravates risks to disasters. However, the local government demonstrated that it has agency to reshape the nature of assistance by integrating its own processes into the DRRM programme.

One of the main findings of the research is that the city government's own gender mainstreaming framework significantly, if not solely, influenced the mainstreaming of gender needs and roles in JICA's DRRM project. This was done as part of the city's internal organisational processes, wherein the local government customarily involves their own gender office in all projects they undertake. Despite not being a main counterpart for the project, the gender office was invited to and participated in the workshops that revised the DRRM and land use plans. For instance, a workshop on identifying men's and women's needs and roles was allotted and pushed for by the local government.

Ensuring that the gender office is involved in and consulted about each public project conducted by the city government is just one of the mechanisms of Tacloban City's gender mainstreaming framework. This is based on the prevailing GAD code that the city implements. The interviews also show that senior-level management support was instrumental in enacting the GAD code, and subsequently, its adaptation to individual GAD plans of the city's barangays. Interviews with the local gender office expressed that without the chief executive's support, the GAD code would not be enacted into a city ordinance. The ordinance includes enforcing a number of elements that are crucial in establishing a properly working gender mainstreaming framework. Aside from the GAD plans, the mandate includes assigning gender focal persons to each division and building their capacity, allocating five percent of each division's and barangay's budget to GAD, and having an incentive programme. This was all

found to be applied in the bilateral recovery programme, despite not being directly part of the projects and processes introduced by JICA.

Moreover, the research also found that having an effective gender mainstreaming framework can change gender dynamics in the organisation. Interviews with women in local government positions show they do not see themselves as marginalised at work, which is an indication of an effective framework on gender mainstreaming. They see themselves as empowered and having agency and voice to influence decision-making processes. This was also seen in the results of the structured observation in a community meeting done by the research.

Hence, since JICA was not able to apply and follow their gender mainstreaming framework in the project, integrating a gender perspective was mainly based on the gender mainstreaming policy of the local government. Seeing that the project incorporated and applied elements in the local framework on gender means that the local stakeholders hold agency to govern JICA's DRRM project. The local gender mainstreaming framework influenced the allotment of the GAD budget into the DRRM plan and the conduct of a gender analysis in the land use plan. It also enabled the equal participation of men and women in crucial community meetings like DRRM planning. However, despite the knowledge that disasters impact men and women differently, the local gender office acknowledged that they still need training to further understand how impacts on gender can be lessened. The research found that the gender mainstreaming done in the project cannot be considered exhaustive, but it shows that gender is still within the agenda of the local stakeholders notwithstanding limited technical know-how in linking gender and DRRM.

Considering JICA's stance and performance on gender mainstreaming in the project, it can also be argued that JICA is merely following the Paris Declaration principles and aligning with the gender agenda of the local counterparts by letting them influence the processes towards gender responsive outputs and outcomes. The research found that this resulted in increased ownership of the local stakeholders in the DRRM programme. The Paris Declaration principle of alignment then posits a challenge and tension in striking a careful balance on how the donor and partner country can both contribute to and influence programme processes and outcomes equally. At the national-donor coordination level, there is minimal to no alignment endeavours related to gender. JICA Headquarters seems incognisant of the Philippines' policy and priorities on gender, and the Philippine government does not strongly enforce it in ODA

projects aside from the submission of the gender report. Hence this development theme is not properly integrated into JICA's agenda and operations in the Philippines; but the research shows that the alignment on gender occurs in the local and project level. However, entrusting the local counterparts to direct such processes does not mean that the donor agency should entirely desist from addressing a crucial development concern such as gender. Not having a gender mainstreaming framework and solely relying on the local counterpart's efforts to integrate gender perspectives may imply that JICA seems remiss in ensuring that the bilateral cooperation programme on DRRM is gender equal.

Further discussion, implications, and concluding remarks

It can be concluded that JICA's gender mainstreaming policy and framework ultimately evaporated in the execution of the DRRM project. However, in exploring how gender was mainstreamed in the DRRM project, the research was able to look at the respective gender mainstreaming frameworks of JICA and the city government of Tacloban. The results show that both organisations acknowledge that gender is an integral part of implementing development interventions and should therefore be integrated properly into its operations. This view is evident in the guidelines and plans both agencies have on gender and development and how it sits on their organisational processes.

The literature also discussed how global agreements play an important role in guiding development actors in the direction of their programmes. A number of significant policy references that encouraged solidarity for holistic disaster risk reduction and management, inclusivity and equal participation of the most vulnerable sectors of society, and effective aid delivery, include: 1) Gender Equality Agreements³; 2) Environment Agreements⁴; and 3) Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness. These pushed member states to develop plans and strategies towards the achievement of the objectives and agenda of these accords. Hence, actors in the development arena, like providers of Official Development Assistance and state governments, are expected to adhere and streamline their interventions and public projects towards these

³ Beijing Declaration and Platform of Action, Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women, and Goal 5 of Sustainable Development Goals

⁴ Sendai Framework on Disaster Risk Reduction, Paris Agreement on Climate Change, Sustainable Development Goals

agreements. They are urged to integrate these principles in the programmes they implement, in which their adoption typically manifests by having fundamental guidelines and policies that reflect these.

Organisational policies aligned with these agreements can either be successfully implemented or evaporate in practice, depending on the resources and processes in place to reinforce it. On one hand, policies that seem to diminish in practice can be considered a manifestation of weak policy enforcement due to insufficient allotment of resources and lack of organisational processes to implement it. This renders the policy tokenistic, present only to show that it attempts to subscribe to the global accords. On the other hand, desired development outcomes of the global goals can possibly be achieved if adequate resources are earmarked and systematic implementation, such as changing current organisational processes to accommodate the new policy, are in place.

The research showed that although both JICA and Tacloban City government have their respective guidelines and policies on gender, their differing levels of implementation of these is evident in the allotted resources and processes to mainstream gender in the organisation. Based on the literature, successful gender mainstreaming requires certain elements to be in place in order to achieve its goal: to not perpetuate inequality and ultimately achieve gender equality. Hence, the presence and absence of such elements signifies the commitment of the organisation in working towards gender equality. Together with existing studies on gender mainstreaming, the research found that there are specific elements in gender mainstreaming that help determine the organisation's verifiable stance on gender. Presence of these elements is a sign of an encompassing approach to gender mainstreaming, while absence of these indicates a minimalist position (Figure 8.1).

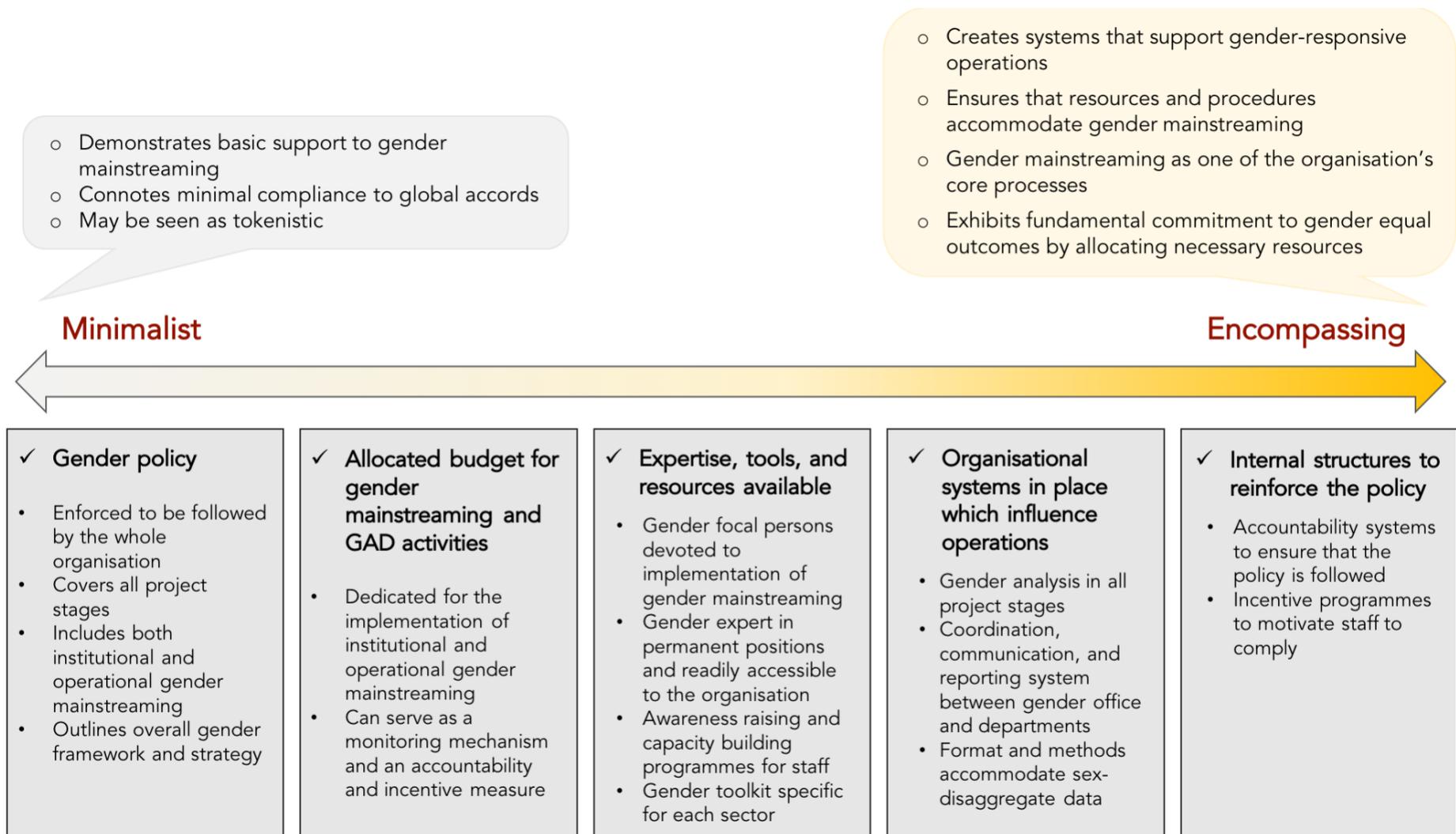


Figure 8.1 Gender mainstreaming continuum: Attributes and elements towards an encompassing approach.

Source: author

The gender mainstreaming continuum above presents two approaches to gender mainstreaming: from a minimalist position to an encompassing one. The items in the boxes below the continuum represent the essential elements for an encompassing approach to gender mainstreaming. The fewer it has on its framework, the more it indicates a minimalist approach to gender mainstreaming. When an organisation adopts a minimalist approach, it means that they only offer basic support to gender mainstreaming, and this renders the efforts towards gender equality as tokenistic. On the other hand, the organisation can be considered as having an encompassing approach when it enforces the necessary elements for an effective gender mainstreaming framework. Having an encompassing approach to gender mainstreaming means that the organisation has created systems to support gender-responsive operations and allocated the budget and resources for the efficient execution of its framework.

With most of the elements lacking, it can be inferred that JICA is taking a minimalist approach to its gender mainstreaming. Having a minimalist approach is also the reason that despite having a gender policy, it did not manifest in the DRRM programme. Hence, gender equality may not be totally achieved if this is the only gender framework used.

Based on the same parameters, the research found that the Tacloban City government implements the majority of these elements in their gender mainstreaming framework, albeit with its own shortcomings. This implies that the city government is moving towards an encompassing approach in mainstreaming gender in the local government and its operations. This is also evident in the results of the non-participant structured observation in a community meeting on the new DRRM plan, which showed that both men and women are given equal opportunities to represent and speak for their respective communities without being ignored or dismissed, and signifies that gender alone is not a basis to hold positions of power. The structured observation also verified that some gender specific issues, especially in evacuation planning, are discussed in the community meeting. Aside from this, the five percent budget allocation to gender-related activities in the new DRRM plan was also underscored. This shows that apportioning financial resources, which also serves as an accountability structure, proves paramount in ensuring that gender will be included as one of the priorities among other complex issues in DRRM.

While JICA has a gender policy that emphasises the importance of addressing the specific needs of women, it did not manifest in practice. Giving importance to gender and development

requires not just a policy and awareness of the need to include gender perspectives, but also technical guidance on how to mainstream gender in disaster situations. The need to understand how to integrate gender into specific sectors and the nature of required resources means that mainstreaming gender is a technical exercise, with a specific skillset that needs to be acquired. Operationalising the components of gender mainstreaming, such as gender analysis, collecting gender disaggregated data, or gender training, relies heavily on technical expertise, where gender advisors or specific toolkits are valuable. This is also the major hindrance cited by the local gender office in Tacloban City, where they admitted that they need further training on integrating gender in DRRM interventions. It shows that their active stance on gender can be hampered when technical guidance is inaccessible.

Therefore, effectively implementing a gender mainstreaming policy requires injecting a combination of well-rounded resources and new processes. Its outcomes thus greatly depend on the resources allocated to it and how internal processes are altered to accommodate gender mainstreaming. However, resources such as accountability structures, gender toolkits, experts, capacity building for gender officers and awareness-raising of operational staff, and monitoring and evaluation systems for gender, can only exist if there is sufficient senior management support and commitment. The absence of these in a gender mainstreaming framework results in overlapping challenges, which are compounded by what can only be identified as lack of commitment to gender equality. This connotes a deeper challenge where lack of commitment to the policy complicates the operationalisation of gender mainstreaming beyond the technical challenge it imposes.

The research found that varying management commitment to gender and development significantly influences its streamlining into existing organisational processes. JICA's case demonstrates how the absence of senior management support and strong commitment undermines their Guideline, and consequently, the global accords, in a number of ways. The fact that gender mainstreaming was totally excluded from the project formulation of the DRRM programme may indicate that JICA does not consider gender to be an issue that requires targeted attention in disaster risk reduction and management, an area where women have been proven to be more marginalised (Ariyabandu, 2009; De Silva & Jayathilaka, 2014; Reyes & Lu, 2016; Saito, 2012). It also indicates that gender is left out of the agenda and not considered as one of the points of concern that needs to be prioritised. Having a guideline on gender that ultimately evaporates in practice implies that the organisation can be paying lip service to the

ideas of gender equality and gender mainstreaming, but are not ready to commit the financial, human, and logistical resources and processes necessary to attain it. If JICA wishes to show their genuine commitment to gender and development, they should seek to move from a minimalist towards a more encompassing position on gender mainstreaming as shown in Figure 8.1.

Sufficient support from senior-level officials, by enacting the gender policy, allotting resources, transforming processes, and other structural changes, can induce effective gender mainstreaming practices. Having this fundamental commitment to gender equality changes the way gender mainstreaming is implemented and can still thrive despite some technical challenges that it may present. The research has seen that within a donor organisation, merely creating a guideline on gender is insufficient to generate engagement at the project level, especially if there is no local gender mainstreaming framework to complement it. Delivering interventions that are not intentionally made to be gender responsive can extrapolate out to the wider field of development, or even society at large, and can aggravate gender inequality. Unless resources are allocated and processes are established to support widespread education, adoption, and ongoing engagement at all levels, gender mainstreaming will remain a policy tick box exercise, rather than a practical and effective contributor to the decision-making processes throughout organisations and societies.

Hence, having a gender policy alone is not enough to precipitate broad structural and behavioural changes in the organisation. A gender mainstreaming policy cannot simply be an add-on to existing policies; it requires an overhaul of current organisational processes to accommodate the elements of an effective framework, buy-in from administrative and operational staff, and steadfast commitment from the management. However, technical difficulties inherent to gender mainstreaming, coupled with lack of sufficient management support, can further weaken the policy and the whole organisation's stance on gender and development. If donor agencies are dedicated to mitigating gender inequality, their strategy on gender mainstreaming should demonstrate an encompassing approach characterised by the presence of necessary elements to make the framework effective (Figure 8.1). While the principle of alignment under the aid effectiveness agenda may present an issue on who should implement a gender policy in a bilateral cooperation project to increase local ownership, it remains indispensable for donor agencies to ensure that the programmes they implement are not blind to gender issues.

With the requisites of technical skillset and senior management commitment, gender mainstreaming can transform organisational culture and power dynamics in a formal space. However, while it attempts to reconstruct biases which reinforce gender inequality by mainstreaming men's and women's perspectives equally, there is no sufficient evidence to prove that it reaches the basic levels of society. Whether it can be effective in changing cultural gender biases and transforming their dynamics in society and in the household remains unknown, especially if gender mainstreaming is not holistic and well-coordinated in projects that intend to deliver more effective development outcomes.

Gender mainstreaming alone is not the panacea for a gender equal society. The research showed that a properly enforced gender mainstreaming policy, with resources and systems in place, can help ensure that outcomes cater to both men and women. However, fundamental commitment of hegemonic development actors to gender mainstreaming remains paramount in making public interventions more gender responsive, and hopefully, in helping achieve structural and cultural changes conducive to gender equality.

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