CASE STUDY ON THE PHILIPPINES AND SRI LANKA





TRANSFORMING GENDER RELATIONS IN DISASTER RISK REDUCTION



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Paper Series on Women, Peace and Security: Case Study on the Philippines and Sri Lanka: Transforming Gender Relations in Disaster Risk Reduction

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List of Abbreviations

BDRRMC Barangay Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Committee

BHW Barangay Health Worker
BNW Barangay Nutrition Worker
BSPO Barangay Service Point Officer
CCA Climate Change Adaptation
CCT Conditional Cash Transfer

CDP Center for Disaster Preparedness

CEDAW Convention for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

CRS Christian Relief Services
CSO Community Service Officer
DA Department of Agriculture
DMC Disaster Management Center

DMCU Disaster Management Coordinating Unit

DRR Disaster Risk Reduction

DILG Department of Interior and Local Government

DiMCEP Disaster Management Capacity Enhancement Project Adaptable to Climate Change

DOLE Department of Labor and Employment
DPWH Department of Public Works and Highways

DRRMC Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council/Committee

DRRMP Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan

DS Divisional Secretariat/Secretary

DST Department of Science and Technology

DSWD Department of Social Welfare and Development

EC Executive Committee
GA Government Agent

GAD Gender and Development GBV Gender Based Violence

GIWPS Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security

GN Grama Niladhari (villages)
GOO Government Operating Officer

JICA Japan International Cooperation Agency
JSFV Japan Sri Lanka Friendship Village
NCW National Committee on Women

ND National Defense

NDRRMC National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council/Committee

NDRRMP National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan

NEDA National Economic Development Authority

NEOP National Emergency Operation Plan NGO Non-governmental Organization NHA National Housing Authority

OCD Office of Civil Defense

PAO Provincial Agricultural Office
PCW Philippine Commission on Women

QIPs Quick Impact Projects

RDS Rural Development Society

SWDC Suriya Women Development Center
SWDO Social Welfare and Development Office

T-CUP Tsunami and Conflict-affected Community's Uplifting Project

TESDA Technical Education and Skill Development UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNFPA United Nations Population Fund

UNISDR United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction
USAID United States Agency for International Development
UNHCR United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

VAW Violence against Women WDO Women Development Officer

WEDGE Women's Empowerment Development and Gender Equality

WRDS Women Rural Development Society

Executive Summary

Despite the efforts made by gender and disaster specialists, a gender perspective has not fully been integrated in relevant research, national policies, and international initiatives, as well as activities at the grassroots level. The international initiative of the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) (2015-2030), for example, states the importance of participation of women and other marginalized groups of people and their leadership in DRR. However, it lacks logical analysis and explanation on how gender relates to disasters. In other words, the Framework does not thoroughly look into the mechanism by which unequal power relations, associated by gender and other socio-economic factors, shapes human vulnerability to a risk and exclusion from decision-making processes in DRR. It does not show any strategy on how to involve women and other marginalized groups of people in DRR although they tend to be excluded from every-day decision-making processes due to the unequal power relations.

Disasters are regarded as opportunities for women and other marginalized groups of people to transform their position subordinate to men and the powerful to more equal one. This can be realized only when the government or external organizations intervene in a way by which resources, roles, and power are redistributed equitably among all stakeholders in a community. In many post-disaster recovery and DRR interventions, however, gender has been neglected or overlooked. Few governments and external organizations aim to transform stereotyped gender roles and unequal gender relations within their post-disaster recovery and DRR projects. For gender-responsive DRR policies and activities, the government and external organizations should take the primary and ultimate responsibility to translate disasters into opportunities for transformation.

In light of the thoughts above, this policy paper focuses on women's active participation and their leadership in DRR which are the gender perspectives fully integrated in the United Nations Security Council Resolution (UNSCR) 1325 (Women, Peace and Security) and partially integrated in the Sendai Framework for DRR (2015-2030). The policy paper is the output of the joint research project conducted between Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security (GIWPS) since March 2015, consisting of two research topics: 1) gender and DRR; and 2) gender and peacebuilding. In the field research, the research team of JICA, focusing on gender and DRR, explored how local women and men experienced a past disaster and faced a risk of future disasters and how JICA and other organizations contributed to their recovery, preparedness, and empowerment. In this policy paper, the research team of JICA aims to address how external organizations, including JICA, can transform unequal gender relations, while reducing risks of vulnerable people, within their interventions, drawing on key findings from the research.

In the Philippines, the research team of JICA conducted field research in a certain city and municipalities of Leyte and Samar Islands which were severely hit by Typhoon Haiyan (Yolanda) in early November 2013. Those research sites are also parts of target areas for the Project on Rehabilitation and Recovery from Typhoon Yolanda, implemented by JICA from 2014. On the other hand, in Sri Lanka, the team conducted field research in three sites, including 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami-affected area of Trincomalee District, landslide-prone area of Rathnapura District, and flood-prone area of Batticaloa District. The first and second sites were parts of target areas for JICA's

Tsunami and Conflict-affected Community's Uplifting Project (T-CUP) and Disaster Management Capacity Enhancement Project Adaptable to Climate Change (DiMCEP), respectively. The third site is a part of target areas for community-based DRR projects implemented separately by *Suriya* Women Development Center (SWDC) and Oxfam.

In this policy paper, key findings from the field research in the Philippines and Sri Lanka are categorized into 7 themes which are keys to not only reducing risks of vulnerable people, but transforming unequal gender relations. The themes include: 1) institutional arrangements at the national and local levels; 2) preparedness for and response to a disaster at the local and community levels; 3) camp management at the community level; 4) protection of women and girls from a risk of gender-based violence (GBV); 5) reconstruction of houses; 6) livelihoods; and 7) community-based DRR. First, both Governments of the Philippines and Sri Lanka have made basic institutional arrangements for disaster management, including the development of relevant laws, policies, and plans, as well as the formation of structures necessary for implementing them. However, those are not necessarily fully gender responsive. This is partly because the national machineries of both countries that are mandated to promote gender equality do not necessarily take a leading advocacy role in mainstreaming gender in DRR due to a shortage of their commitment, institutional capacity, and influential power.

Secondly, many women and men in the research sites of the Philippines and Sri Lanka were severely affected by a past disaster and exposed to a risk of a future disaster. Their vulnerability was largely associated by class/poverty and gender, which resulted in the dangerous location of their houses and weak construction of their houses, as well as lack of proper institutional arrangements. In the Philippines, both women and men had access to information on a super typhoon through TV news in advance. In Sri Lanka, however, regardless of sex, ethnicity, and religious belief, people in the tsunami-affected research site were not aware of even the word of tsunami, which attributed mainly to a lack of proper institutional arrangements by the Government of Sri Lanka. Based on socio-cultural norms, most of Muslim women in the research site, in particular, did not know how to swim and some of them hesitated to go out without properly getting dressed up, which made them hard to survive from the tsunami. Both women and men in landslide-prone research site in Sri Lanka had no choice other than living with the risk since they could not afford to move to a safer place by themselves or the local government did not offer them any proper alternative land for relocation.

Thirdly, camp management can be a great opportunity for women to take non-stereotyped roles, such as management and decision-making roles, so that their voices are heard and their needs are reflected in camp management's plans and implementation. In the Philippines, affected women were involved in the camp management of shelters and temporary houses with the initiative and instruction of the local government. On the other hand, affected women in the tsunami-affected site in Sri Lanka were excluded from camp management in both a tent village and temporary houses, and only male members of the religious committee were involved in camp management. A local NGO, supporting for the temporary houses, did not encourage women to involve in camp management, but dealt only with the male members of the committee.

Fourthly, some interventions to protect women and girls from a risk of GBV were undertaken in the post-disaster context of the Philippines. In a case of Sri Lanka, on the other hand, no specific intervention was undertaken by the Government or external organizations within their post-disaster recovery and DRR projects while the Ministry of Women and Child Affairs worked on GBV issues in normal times. In a case of the Philippines, UNFPA and local government built Women Friendly Space in their target places, including a part of the research sites. They also trained local active women so that they would work as facilitators and provide legal information and counselling to victims of GBV in the Space.

Fifthly, although houses are important to everyone, women and girls tend to be excluded from decision-making processes for the re/construction of new houses in both normal and post-disaster contexts, due to intra-household power relations. In a case of the Philippines, many affected women in the research sites contributed to the construction of temporary huts with whatever materials were available for them. The Government, as well as external organizations, provided them with housing subsidies which were far from sufficient for them to buy materials and pay labor costs for rebuilding houses. Oxfam assisted some affected women by providing them with training on carpentering work, which is generally regarded as men's work, so that they took 'cash for work' and make an earning from carpentry work later. Due to strict gendered division of role, as well as the too basic skill acquired, however, the women trained did not continue working as carpenters, but went back to an original position as home makers. On the other hand, in a case of Sri Lanka, JICA involved both women and men in a decision-making process to select the design of their permanent houses, as well as involving them in an explanation session on how land ownership would be handed over to them.

Sixthly, the recovery and enhancement of livelihoods are essential for affected women and men to go back to normal lives and reduce their risk of a future economic crisis and disaster. Whether or not post-disaster interventions for the enhancement of livelihoods will help affected women and other marginalized groups of people to gain their agency and empowerment may depend largely on the extent to which a gender perspective is integrated into the interventions. In a case of the Philippines, through Quick Impact Projects (QIPs), JICA supported affected women for their livelihoods' recovery and enhancement by providing necessary training and equipment. Since JICA did not necessarily aim at the empowerment of women from the planning process, it did not conduct any gender sensitization workshops from the early stage of the QIPs. As a result, women did not negotiate with their men to share household chores and child care and their participation in the QIPs increased their workload. Women's collective work through QIP activities contributed to supplementing the weakness of some women with the strength of others while many women tended to rely on leaders with knowledge, skills, and free time. As lessons learnt from the QIPs, it is important to integrate a gender perspective in a project from the planning process, approach both women and men through gender sensitization workshops, and make the enabling environment that women can actively participate and get empowered.

In a case of Sri Lanka, through the T-CUP, JICA supported affected women, in particular, for their livelihood enhancement, which improved their access to reasonable financial services. Due to a lack of a gender perspective in the project from the planning process, however, the T-CUP did not necessarily aim to empower women and did not bring about any critical change in gender roles and gender relations. Micro-finance activities conducted by Women's Coop, a local NGO, under the T-CUP did not function in a way affected women well utilized their access to reasonable financial services for doing their own business. Muslim women, in particular, borrowed loans for

the sake of their husbands and sons, not for themselves. In a sense, those women were used as a means so that the saving and micro-finance activities are efficiently and properly managed and benefits from the activities can reach out other family members and contribute to welfare of whole family members, based on women's self-sacrificing characteristics. External organizations, thus, need to translate micro-finance services into opportunities for women to achieve their autonomy, do whatever they want to do, and become empowered. It is essential for the organizations to recognize and involve women as main actors.

Lastly, community-based DRR is not only a goal, but a tool and process by which all community members as stakeholders take important roles in relevant activities and participate in decision-making. Through such a process for the empowerment of all stakeholders, a community can finally become resilient and sustainable. In a case of the Philippines, the Government's interventions for community-based DRR were limited. Although NGOs' support for community-based DRR was active, it was also limited in terms of the number of barangays they covered. On the other hand, in a case of Sri Lanka, through the DiMCEP, JICA contributed to raising risk awareness of women and men in the landslide-prone site. While local authority and people made efforts for building proper early warning system, the local government did not remove a source of the problem or provide people with proper alternative land for relocation. Therefore, people had to continuously live there with the risk. In its community-based DRR project in the flood-prone site, Oxfam aimed at the transformation of stereotyped gender roles and unequal gender relations. Oxfam promoted active and equal participation of women and other marginalized groups of people in community-based DRR activities. In the project, Oxfam also took into account the indigenous knowledge and experiences of women, based on which Oxfam supported for the construction of a reservoir for flood and drought control.

Drawing on the lessons learnt from a case of the Philippines and Sri Lanka, external organizations, including JICA, need to take into account the following points in planning, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation processes, in order for future post-disaster recovery or DRR projects to be more gender-responsive:

Preparedness Phase

- 1. Inclusion of women, men, or all stakeholders of a community in decision-making processes for DRR planning and implementation
- 2. Ensuring of access to information on a disaster and early warning system available for all stakeholders in a community
- 3. Identification and preparation of an evacuation center with sufficient accommodation capacity in a safe place
- 4. Conducting practices of drills regularly with the participation of those who need assistance for evacuation in particular

Response Phase

- 1. Ensuring of a space for women, elderly people, people with disabilities, etc. in an evacuation center
- 2. Ensuring of the safety of women and girls from a risk of GBV, specifically in an evacuation center
- 3. Taking statistics by gender, types of disability, etc.

Recovery Phase

- 1. Taking measures to protect women and girls from a risk of GBV
- 2. Involving women and other marginalized groups of people in decision-making processes for camp management so that they reflect their own needs in camp management
- 3. Providing housing assistance, ensuring of women's access to information on the design of housing and land ownership
- 4. Involving women and men in the planning process for the reconstruction of temporary/permanent houses so that their needs and concerns are reflected
- 5. In livelihood activities, providing not only materials and skill training, but also business strategies, including marketing
- 6. Ensuring not increasing women's workload and time consumption through livelihood enhancement activities, and taking measures to promote women's agency and empowerment in terms of bargaining power over work sharing with their partners or husbands

Community-based DRR

- 1. Appointing women and other marginalized groups of people as members in the committee and sub-committees
- 2. Taking into account the indigenous knowledge and technology of women and men for reducing a risk of future disasters
- Involving women and other marginalized groups of people, like men, in the decision-making process for DRR planning and implementation and facilitating their initiatives and autonomy
- 4. Promoting the leadership of women and other marginalized groups of people in particular
- 5. Making a community hazard map based on community risk/vulnerability assessment in a participatory way
- 6. Taking practices of drills regularly with the participation of all stakeholders in a community

Introduction

1. Introduction

For the last few decades, gender and disaster specialists have consistently called for the integration of a gender perspective into relevant research, national policies, and international initiatives, as well as activities at the grassroots level. Despite their efforts, most of relevant policies, initiatives, and activities are not necessarily gender responsive. Key issues still remain unchallenged for achieving the full integration of a gender perspective into DRR policies and activities at the international, national, and local levels. The critical challenges include to make the coping capacities of women and other marginalized groups of people visible and involve them as active agents in decision-making processes for DRR while reducing their vulnerability and risks. In fact, there has not been much progress in addressing the challenges since 2001 when gender and disaster specialists first got together and discussed gendered implications of disasters in the Expert Group Meeting on Environmental Management and the Mitigation of Natural Disasters: A Gender Perspective in Ankara, Turkey.

Why have gender and disaster specialists still struggled with the same challenges? They have not succeeded in convincing other policy makers and practitioners about how gender relates to disasters and how unequal power relations exclude women and other marginalized groups of people from decision-making processes for DRR. The international initiative of the Sendai Framework for DRR (2015–2030), adopted at the Third UN World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction in 2015, as well as most of national policies, still lack detailed analysis and explanation on root causes for human vulnerability and exclusion. The unequal power structures shaped by gender, class, ethnicity, caste, age, dis/ability, culture, religion, etc. largely determines the accessibility of women, men, and different groups of people to information, resources, and technology, as well as decision-making power, which results in the different levels of their individual vulnerability, coping capacity, and risks. Thus, what is ultimately needed for reducing the risks of vulnerable people, as well as promoting their agency and empowerment, must be to transform the unequal power structures, including gender relations.

Instead of addressing the transformation of unequal power structures, gender and disaster specialists have taken a strategy to emphasize the coping capacity of women, rather than their vulnerability, to avoid the image of women as helpless victims. They have also focused on a more nuanced understanding of how social groups, defined by gender, class, race, ethnicity, age, etc., differ between and within themselves and how they are not simply victims, but active agents. As a result, the expression of women, men, and different groups of people as stakeholders and their roles as active and leading actors in DRR are partially mentioned in the Sendai Framework for DRR (2015–2030). However, there is still no detailed analysis and explanation on why all members of a community, including women, need to participate in DRR. More importantly, how to involve

¹ Bradshaw, Sarah. 2013. *Gender, Development and Disasters*. Cheltenham, UK: MPG Print Group.

Fordham, Maureen. 2008. "The Intersection of Gender and Social Class in Disaster: Balancing Resilience and Vulnerability." In Women and Disasters from Theory to Practice, edited by Phillips and Morrow, Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation.

such marginalized groups of people in DRR, despite their subordinate or powerless position in a community, is not described at all in the Framework.

Disasters are regarded as opportunities for women and other marginalized groups of people to transform their position subordinate to men or the powerful to more equal one³, on the one hand. They might, if provided with effective interventions by the government or external organizations, collectively move for justice and achieve more equitable redistribution of resources and decision-making power, which are dominated by more powerful groups of people in a community.⁴ Such a collective movement for social justice and change might improve the coping capacity and agency of women and other marginalized groups of people. On the other hand, the post-disaster recovery and DRR contexts can also reshape or even worsen pre-existing inequalities⁵, if the transformation of the power structures embedded in a community is not addressed at all or properly. Bradshaw and Arenas argue that both governmental and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) tend not to address the transformation of gender roles and relations in their reconstruction plans.⁶ For the realization of gender-responsive DRR policies and activities, it is essential for the governments and external organizations to take the primary and ultimate responsibility to translate disasters into opportunities for transformation.

In light of the thoughts examined above, this policy paper focuses on women's active participation and their leadership in DRR which are the gender perspectives fully integrated in the UNSCR 1325 (Women, Peace and Security) and partially in the Sendai Framework for DRR (2015–2030). It aims to identify what prevent women and other marginalized groups of people from taking active and leading roles in DRR. Based on the understanding of various constraints, this policy paper addresses how external organizations can transform stereotyped gender roles and unequal power structures, while reducing the risks of vulnerable people, within their post-disaster recovery and DRR interventions. To achieve those objectives, it briefly touches on context-specific gendered vulnerability and coping capacity, as well as institutional arrangements, drawing from a case study of the Philippines and Sri Lanka, lasted from July to October 2015. Based on the lessons learnt from the interventions done by JICA and other organizations in the Philippines and Sri Lanka, some key interventions are also recommended for gender-responsive DRR as well as recovery.

³ Bradshaw, Sarah. 2013. Gender, Development and Disasters. Cheltenham, UK: MPG Print Group.

⁴ IRP. 2009. "Gender issues in recovery. Executive briefs for recovery: Extracts from key documents series," compiled by IRP.

Lipman-Blumen, Jean. 1984. *Gender Roles and Power*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall. Morrow, Betty Hearn, and Elaine Enarson. 1994. "Making the Case for Gendered Disaster Research." Paper presented at the World Congress of sociology, Bielefeld, Germany, July 18-23.

Phillips, Brenda D., and Betty Hearn Morrow (ed.). 2008. *Women and Disasters from Theory to Practice*. Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation.

⁵ Anderson. M. 2011. *Disaster Writing: The Cultural Politics of Catastrophe in Latin America*. Charlotesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.

⁶ Bradshaw, Sarah, and A. Arenas. 2004. "Analisis de genero en la evaluacion de los efectos socioeconomicos de los desastres naturales." Comision Economica para America Latina y el Caribe (CEPAL), Serie Manuales 33.

Rationale based on Literature Review

2. Rationale based on Literature Review

In spite of continuous calls for the integration of a gender perspective in DRR policies and activities, both a gender perspective and women have not been a central, but partial or marginal topic of relevant policies and activities. Some of researchers working on gender and disaster, including Bradshaw and Fothergill, argue that until recent years, gender was one of the neglected research topics. Women's voices or non-dominant perspectives were absent in disaster works. Enarson also points out that if addressed at all, gender is integrated into disaster research as a demographic variable and not as the basis for a complex and dynamic set of social relations. Similarly, practitioners working on gender and disaster also shared a similar concern. Participants at the 2009 International Conference on Gender and DRR, held in Beijing, China, stated that gender remains a marginalized issue in the current national and international DRR negotiations and that gender considerations have been hardly applied as a fundamental principle in development policies and frameworks. The Sendai Framework for DRR (2015–2030), one of the international policy frameworks for DRR in which a gender perspective is partly integrated, does not treat gender as a priority for action.

The neglect or exclusion of a gender perspective from DRR initiatives, policies, and activities mainly attributes to the traditional assumption that disasters be neutral or equal to everyone. From a social-science perspective, on the other hand, disasters are constructed through everyday social, economic, and political processes which are not equal, but discriminatory. Based on this understanding of disasters, Enarson and Morrow argue that the power relations and inequalities structured by gender, class, ethnicity, age, and physical ability should be central to how to understand the complex concepts of vulnerability and disaster. Gender-responsive DRR initiatives and policies are to be developed on the basis of how gender relates disasters, specifically in terms of vulnerability and coping capacity. Thus, this policy paper draws on key findings from case study of the Philippines and Sri Lanka focused on not only women's active participation and leadership in post-disaster recovery and DRR contexts, but also how the root causes of gender and other socio-economic factors related to human vulnerability and exclusion from decision-making processes. This policy paper may lead policy makers and practitioners to a better understanding of what

Phillips, Brenda D., and Betty Hearn Morrow (ed.). 2008. Women and Disasters from Theory to Practice. Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation.

Bradshaw, Sarah. 2013. Gender, Development and Disasters. Cheltenham, UK: MPG Print Group.
Fothergill, Alice. 1998. "The Neglect of Gender in Disaster Work: An Overview of the Literature." In The Gendered Terrain of Disaster: Through Women's Eyes, edited by Enarson and Morrow, 11-25. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

⁸ Bolin, Robert, Martina Jackson, and Allison Crist. 1998. "Gender Inequality, Vulnerability, and Disaster: Issues in Theory and Research." In *The Gendered Terrain of Disaster: Through Women's Eyes*, edited by Enarson and Morrow, 27-44. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Phillips, Brenda D., and Betty Hearn Morrow (ed.). 2008. Women and Disasters from Theory to Practice. Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation.

⁹ Enarson, Elaine. 2000. "Gender Issues in natural disasters: Talking points and research needs." In ILO Focus Programme on Crisis Response and Reconstruction Workshop held in Geneva, Switzerland on May 3-5.

¹⁰ UNISDR. 2009. "Making disaster risk reduction gender-sensitive: Policy and practical guidelines." UNISDR, UNDP and IUCN, Geneva, June.

Blaikie, Piers, Terry Cannon, Ian Davis, and Ben Wisner. 1994. At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability, and Disasters. London: Routledge.
Hewitt, K. 1997. Regions of Risk: A Geographical Introduction to Disasters. Harlow: Longman.

¹² Enarson, Elaine, and B.H. Morrow (ed.). 1998. *The Gendered Terrain of Disasters: Through Women's Eyes*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

kind of a gender perspective should be integrated in what stage of interventions for gender-responsive DRR policy and action.

Pre-existing literature on gender-based vulnerability and coping capacity by the phases of preparedness, response, recovery, and prevention are attached as Annex.

Background

3. Background

3.1 UNSCR 1325 (2000) and Sendai Framework for DRR (2015-2030)

This policy paper is the output of the joint research project conducted between JICA, based in Tokyo, Japan and GIWPS, based in Washington D.C., the US, since March 2015. This joint research project comprises two research topics: 1) gender and DRR; and 2) gender and peacebuilding, drawing on the main focus of the UNSCR 1325 on women's active participation and leadership in all processes for DRR and peace-building. The main research team of JICA, focused on gender and DRR, was consisted of Dr. Yumiko Tanaka, Senior Advisor on gender and development (GAD), JICA and Dr. Atsuko Nonoguchi, Senior Consultant, Japan Development Service Co., Ltd. Mr. Hideya Kobayashi, Senior Advisor, JICA partially joined in the field study in Sri Lanka. The team conducted field research in the Philippines in July and October 2015 and Sri Lanka from July to August and in October 2015. The field research aimed to analyze key constraints preventing women and other marginalized groups of people from actively participating in decision-making processes for DRR, as well as possible measures, drawing from the lessons learnt from the interventions done by JICA and other organizations in the Philippines and Sri Lanka.

In terms of gender and DRR, the Sendai Framework for DRR (2015-2030) is a more relevant international initiative than the UNSCR 1325 (2000) on women, peace and security which focuses more on gender and peace-building. Compared to the UNSCR 1325, however, the Sendai Framework is not fully gender-mainstreamed, but partially (See Table 3.1). Even relevant key words, such as gender, sex, women, persons with disabilities, inequality, etc. are found only in several clauses in the whole Framework. Unlike children and youth, women and persons with disabilities are not necessarily regarded as actors or agents of change, while they are regarded as stakeholders, in the Framework. Women seem to be limited their activities to building their livelihoods and gender-responsive DRR policies, plans, and programs in the Framework. Similarly, persons with disabilities are limited their activities to the assessment of their own risks and designing and implementing plans tailored to their specific requirements. This seems that both women and persons with disabilities are marginalized from main DRR policies, plans, and programs. More importantly, the Sendai Framework's four priorities for action are not directly related to gender, whereas the four pillars of the UNSCR 1325 are all related to gender.

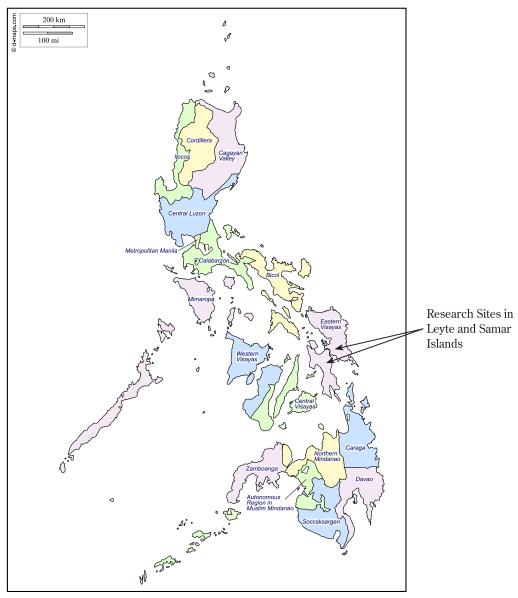
In order to mainstream gender into DRR initiatives and policies, including the Sendai Framework for DRR (2015–2030), what kinds of factors and considerations should be taken into account, and when and how can they be translated into action within DRR policies and activities? Drawing from key findings from the field research conducted in the Philippines and Sri Lanka in 2015, the section after the following section describes how the government and external organizations should involve women, like men, as main and leading actors in DRR.

Table 3.1 Comparison List of the Sendai Framework to the UNSCR1325

	UNSCR 1325 (2000)	Sendai Framework for DRR (2015-2030)
Gender- mainstreaming	Fully promoting gender mainstreaming.	Relevant key words found only in several clauses, such as 6 (p. 4), 7 (p.5), 19(d) & (g) (pp.8 & 9), and 36 (a) (p.20)
Priority Areas	Four main pillars: 1) participation of women in decision-making processes; 2) prevention of GBV; 3) protection of and relief for victims women and girls; 4) consideration of gender issues in rescue and reconstruction phase	Priorities for action: 1) understanding disaster risk; 2) strengthening disaster risk governance; 3) investing in DRR for resilience; 4) enhancing preparedness and build back batter in recovery
How to regard women	Positioning women not as passive and vulnerable victims but rather proactive participants contributing at all levels in conflict prevention, resolution, and peacebuilding activities	Women's participation is critical to implementing gender-sensitive DRR policies, plans and programmes adequate capacity building measures need to be taken to empower women for preparedness as well as build their capacity for alternate livelihood means in post-disaster situation
Key point	Human rights of women	DRR management/governance

Source: Developed by the author, based on the Resolution and the Framework

3.2 Research Sites of the Philippines and Sri Lanka



Source: http://d-maps.com/pays.php?num_pay=104&lang=en (Accessed December 1, 2016)

Figure 3.1 Map of Research Sites in the Philippines

The Philippines

The research team of JICA conducted field research in the Philippines, drawing from a case of Typhoon Haiyan, known as Typhoon Yolanda in the Philippines, which hit Southeast Asia, particularly the Philippines, in early November 2013. It was one of the strongest tropical cyclones ever recorded, killing at least 6,300 persons in the Philippines alone. Typhoon Haiyan is also the

second-strongest tropical cyclone ever recorded in terms of one minute sustained wind speed.¹³ It caused catastrophic destruction in the Visayas, particularly in Samar and Leyte, as well as Cebu, Capiz, Negros, and Northern Iloilo. According to the United Nations' reports, about 16 million people have been affected, and many of them were made homeless. The general profile of Typhoon Haiyan is shown in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2 General Profile of the 2013 Typhoon Haiyan

Description	Details
Name	Typhoon Haian (Yolanda)
Date	Nov. 8, 2013
Highest Wind (measured by PAGASA)	230 km/h (145mhp)
Primary Affected Places	Eastern Samar, Samar, and Leyte provinces
Casualty	
1. Affected	16 million persons
2. Death	6,300 persons
3. Injured (as of Apr.17, 2014)	28,689 persons
4. Missing (as of Apr. 17, 2014)	1,061 persons
5. Displaced	4.1 million people
House Damaged/ Destroyed	1.1 million houses
Total Damage as of April 2014 by NDRRMC	USD 2 billion
Economic Impacts	USD 14 billion

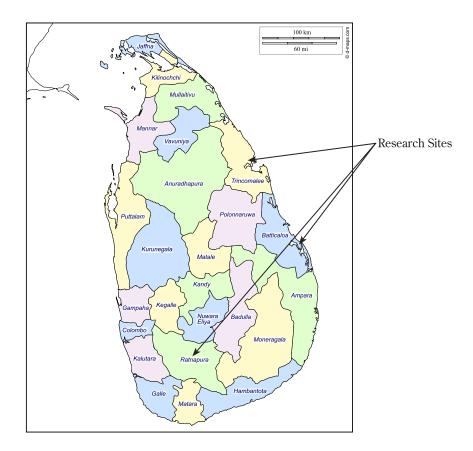
Source: USAID14

The research sites in the Philippines included Tacloban City, Tolosa Municipality, Tanauan Municipality, Palo Municipality in Leyte Island, as well as Basay Municipality in Samar Island, which were all severely hit by Typhoon Haiyan. Those sites are also parts of target areas for the Project on Rehabilitation and Recovery from Typhoon Yolanda, implemented by JICA from 2014. The main purposes of the Project are to reconstruct the roads, schools, and other public facilities damaged by the typhoon, as well as to support affected women, in particular, to get their livelihoods recovered through the Project's Quick Impact Projects (QIPs).

http://blogs.scientificamerican.com/observations/was-typhoon-haiyan-a-record-storm/ (Accessed November 20, 2015)

https://www.usaid.gov/sites/default/files/documents/1866/philippines_ty_fs22_04-21-2014.pdf (Accessed November 20, 2015)

Sri Lanka



Source: http://d-maps.com/pays.php?num_pay=108&lang=en (Accessed December 1, 2016)

Figure 3.2 Map of Research Sites in Sri Lanka

In Sri Lanka, the research team of JICA conducted field research in three research sites: 1) tsunami-affected area of Trincomalee District; 2) landslide-prone area of Rathnapura District; and 3) flood-prone area of Batticaloa District. The first site was a target area for the T-CUP in which JICA supported in cooperation with a local NGO affected women to improve their livelihoods. The second site was a part of pilot projects' target areas for JICA's DiMCEP, aimed at community-based DRR as well as institutional capacity development for early warning system. The third site is a part of target areas for SWDC's and Oxfam's community-based DRR projects, focused on gender.

The Indian Ocean Tsunami, resulting from the Indian Ocean Earthquake on December 26, 2004, devastated Indonesia, Sri Lanka, India, Thailand, and Maldives. It was one of the deadliest natural disasters in recorded history. In Sri Lanka, more than 35,000 persons were killed and 21,000 persons were injured by the tsunami. ¹⁵ Over a million people were internally displaced from their

¹⁵ http://www.wsws.org/en/articles/2005/12/sri2-d29.html (Accessed November 20, 2015)

homes.¹⁶ The tsunami hit the entire coastline of Sri Lanka, particularly the south and east coasts. On the east coast, the Ampara, Batticaloa, Mullaitive, and Trincomalee Districts were severely affected. The general profile of the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami is shown in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3 General Profile of the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami (Sri Lanka)

Description	Status
Name	Indian Ocean Tsunami
Date	Dec. 26, 2004
Magnitude of the Earthquake	9.0
Primary Affected Places	Mulaitive, Ampara, Batticaloa, Jaffna, Hambanthota, Trincomalee, Kilinochchi
	districts
Casualty	
1. Affected	1,019,306 persons
2. Dead	35,399 persons
3. Injured	23,176 persons
4. Missing	not specified
5. Displaced	480,000 persons
House Damaged/Destroyed	114, 069 units
Total Damage as of	USD 1,316.5 million

Source: International Recovery Platform¹⁷

¹⁶ ibid.

http://www.recoveryplatform.org/countries_and_disasters/disaster/15/indian_ocean_tsunami_2004 (Accessed December 20, 2015)

Gender Equality in DRR based on a Case Study of the Philippines and Sri Lanka

4. Gender Equality in DRR based on a Case Study of the Philippines and Sri Lanka

4.1 Institutional Arrangements at the National and Local Levels

Major Findings

Proper disaster management or disaster governance with proper institutional arrangements is essential for DRR at the national and local levels. The Governments of the Philippines and Sri Lanka have made basic institutional arrangements for disaster management, including the development of relevant laws, policies, and plans, as well as the formation of structures to implement them from the national level down to the local level. However, the laws, policies, and plans developed, as well as the structures formed, in both countries, are not necessarily fully gender responsive. The systematic data-collection and data-base system for casualties of each disaster have not yet been developed and the data collected are not necessarily disaggregated by gender, age, and physical ability (types of disability).

In a case of the Philippines, the PCW contributed to the development of Magna Carta of Women and Women's Empowerment Development and Gender Equality (WEDGE) which take into account the importance of protecting women from a risk of violence, as well as of women's role as actors and leaders. However, the PCW did not necessarily take an advocacy role of the national machinery for promoting gender equality and gender mainstreaming in DRR. The PCW also had a mandate to check on how each of the central and local governments allocated the budget of the calamity fund for women and gender-responsive activities. However, the PCW faced difficulty in checking all of budget plans due to the limited number of personnel at the central level and no supporting structure at the local level. Instead, Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD), Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE), and Department of Trade and Industry (DTI), which are implementing agencies, played significant recovery/reconstruction roles for affected women at the community level.

In a case of Sri Lanka, the Ministry of Women and Child Affairs was initially excluded from the membership of the National Disaster Management Committee. The National Committee on Women (NCW) under the Ministry developed Women's Charter in 1993. The policy, however, did not contain a section focusing on gender and disaster. In terms of reducing women's risk of a violence, the Ministry provides counselling and legal services to women survivors at Women's Counselling Centers located in 12 places over the country from normal times, which can be applied to the post-disaster situations.

Drawing on the following critical gender-related check points, major findings on institutional arrangements in the Philippines and Sri Lanka are described below.

Critical gender-related check points

- 1. Are there national DRR laws, policies, and plans?
- 2. Is a gender perspective integrated into the laws, policies, and plans? If so, how and to what extent is it integrated?
- 3. Is there gender budget allocated?
- 4. Is there gender- and disability-disaggregated data system developed?
- 5. Is there national and local structures (committees) formed to implement the national laws, policies, and plans?
- 6. Who are involved in the committees as members at each level? Is the national machinery, such as the Ministry of Women, involved in the committee at the national level? If so, does the Ministry take an advocacy role of promoting gender-mainstreaming in DRR policies, plans, and programs?
- 7. How is DRR treated in a national gender policy, specifically in terms of women's role in DRR?

The Philippines

The national law of the Philippines Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010 (Republic Act 10121) was adopted in 2010. Based on this law, the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan (NDRRMP) (2011-28) was developed. Accordingly, the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (NDRRMC), consisting of key stakeholders from both governmental and non-governmental organizations, was set up to implement the NDRRMP. The Council is led by the chair of Secretary of National Defense (ND), and among four vice chairs, the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG) is in charge of the stage of preparedness, the DSWD of response, National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) of recovery and reconstruction, and the Department of Science and Technology (DST) of prevention or mitigation. As one of the members, the PCW, the national machinery for promoting gender equality joins the Council, whereas the Center for Disaster Preparedness (CDP), World Vision, and Plan International joined it as the representatives of the civil societies. Institutional arrangements for DRR in the Philippines are shown in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Institutional Arrangements for DRR in the Philippines

Policy/ Plan/Structure	Description	
Law	The Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010 (Republic Act 10121)	
Policy/ Plan	National Disaster Reduction and Management Plan (NDRMP) (2011-2028)	
Structure: National	NDRRMC chaired by Secretary of ND	
Local	City/Municipality DRRMC chaired by Mayor	
Barangay	Barangay DRRMC chaired by Barangay Captain	
Department in Charge		
Preparedness	DILG	
Response	DSWD	
Recovery	NEDA	
Prevention	DST	
Budget National/Local	Calamity Fund (5 % of the total budget at each level)	

Source: developed by the authors based on the key-informant interviews.

Based on the national law, the DRRM Councils/Committees are to be set up at the city, municipality, and barangay or village levels and are supposed to develop their own DRRMPs as well. Some barangays, including San Jose Barangay in Tacloban City which is very at risk of typhoons, have proactively set up the Committee, consisting of the Barangay Captain as the chair of the Committee, 7 counsellors, 1 secretary, 1 accountant, and 1 security officer as well as community volunteers, including barangay health workers (BHWs), barangay nutrition scholars (BNSs), and barangay service point officers (BSPOs). In the case of San Jose Barangay, most of the members were women.

A gender perspective is partially integrated in the national law of Republic Act 10121. Section 2 of the Act states that disaster risk reduction and management measures should be gender-responsive, sensitive to indigenous knowledge, and respectful of human rights, focusing on the importance of the protection of women. Section 11 of the Act states that the Head of Gender and Development (Gender Focal Point), who is appointed by Local Government Unit, should be invited to the City/Municipality DRRMC as a member. Similarly, the Act states that 5 percent of the total budget for each city/municipality at the local level and Departments at the central level should be allocated as a calamity fund for disaster preparedness and emergency relief activities. More importantly, 5 percent of the calamity fund should be allocated and utilized for women or GAD relevant activities, as well as each of another 5 percent for children, elderly people, and people with disabilities. The ways of integrating gender in the DRR law and policies and integrating DRR in the gender policies are shown in Table 4.2.

Table 4.2 Integration of Gender in the DRR Law and Policies and Integration of DRR in the Gender Policies in the Philippines

Item	Title	Integration of Gender/ DRR
DRR relevant Law	the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction	Section 2 (utilization of women's indigenous
	and Management Act of 2010 (Republic	knowledge, protection of women's human rights,
	Act 10121)	women's security, etc.)
		Section 11 (appointment of Gender Focal Point as
		a member of C/M DRRMC)
Gender Policy	Magna Carta of Women (RA9710)	Statements of Gender and Disaster
	WEDGE 2013-2016	Section of Environmental Management and CCA
Gender Budget	Calamity Fund at national & local levels	Allocation of 5 % of the total calamity fund for wom-
		en or GAD relevant activities

Source: Developed by the author based on the key-informant interviews.

For casualties of each disaster, systematic data-collection and data-base system have not yet been developed by the Government of the Philippines. The data collected at the barangay level or any local offices are not necessarily disaggregated by gender, age, and physical ability (types of disability).

In order to promote gender equality and women's empowerment, the Government of the Philippines, with the initiative of the PCW, developed Magna Carta of Women (RA9710) in 2009 and WEDGE (2013-2016) in 2013. Both have statements or sections on gender and disaster, specifically underlining the importance of the protection of women from a risk of GBV as well as of recognizing women's coping capacity/strategy and their roles as main actors/leaders in DRRM. The Government also developed the National Plan of Action on the UNSCR 1325 (2000) and UNSCR 1820 (2010–2016). However, it does not include a section on disaster, but on peace building only.

Consistent with Magna Carta of Women and WEDGE, the PCW is responsible for advocating and suggesting that relevant government departments integrate a gender perspective into all the stages of their planning, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation, and as well as for supervising and monitoring the processes and progress of gender-mainstreaming. Due to its limited number of personnel and lack of implementation bodies at the local level, the PCW has not necessarily fulfilled such mandates. Although the PCW participates in NDRRMC meetings as a member, it does not play a leading role in advocacy or mainstreaming gender into the NDRRMC and sub-committees of Preparedness, Response, Recovery, and Prevention, in terms of each committee's planning, implementation, and monitoring, and evaluations. The PCW has another critical mandate to check on how each of the central and local governments allocates the budget of the calamity fund for women and gender-responsive activities. However, the PCW faces difficulty in checking all of budget plans due to the limited number of personnel at the central level and no supporting structures at the local level. The PCW neither refused the budget plans submitted by the central and local governmental organizations, even if a plan lacks

relevance to gender-responsiveness, nor suggested that the plans be revised to better promote women's empowerment.

On the other hand, the DSWD, DOLE, and DTI, as implementing bodies, play crucial roles in DRR, taking into account a gender perspective. As the department-in-charge of Response in the NDRRMC, the DSWD is responsible for the evacuation of people to a shelter and emergency relief, including food distribution in the aftermath of a disaster to the time when people resume normal life. The DSWD appoints Gender and Development Officers (Gender Focal Points) at city/municipality level, who are supposed to join the C/M DRRMC and take responsibility for GBV issues. They set up their offices even in temporary shelters and bunk houses, and closely work with a member-in-charge of GBV issues in the camp management committees. To ensure the security of women living in the shelters and bunk houses, policewomen also patrol around the shelter and bunk house areas, particularly at night.

The DOLE and DTI, as well as the Department of Agriculture (DA), support the women affected by a disaster to rebuild their livelihoods. Those organizations support women in livelihood enhancement or entrepreneurship during normal times. They also provide special supports to disaster-affected women to recover from the adverse effects of a disaster in their livelihoods or businesses. The DOLE and DA provide members of women's associations with necessary training and equipment/tools during normal times. The DTI, mainly targeting the women running micro and small enterprises, provides special loans to women entrepreneurs whose businesses were seriously damaged by a disaster.¹⁸

Sri Lanka

After the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami, the Sri Lanka Disaster Management Act, No. 13 of 2005 was adopted in May 2005. This law regulates the creation of the National Council on Disaster Management (NCDM) headed by the President. The Council's main role was to develop National Policy on Disaster Management (NPDM), which was developed and finally adopted in 2014. The National Disaster Management Plan (NDMP) (2013-2017) was also approved by the Parliament in 2013. The National Emergency Operation Plan (NEOP) has been formulated, but was not yet approved as of October 2015.

Based on the Act, No. 13 of 2005, the Disaster Management Center (DMC) was established under the Ministry of Disaster Management, which is mandated to coordinate for the NCDM and to implement and monitor the NPDM and NDMP. As a branch of the DMC, the Disaster Management Coordinating Unit (DMCU) was established at each of the 25 Districts in Sri Lanka. The DMCUs promoted the formulation of Disaster Management Committees at the district, division, and *Grama Niladhari* (GN) or village levels, as well as the development of a disaster management plan, especially an annual emergency operation plan, at the district level. The DMC at the national level allocates and provides a disaster management budget to each DMCU, according to its annual master plan on disaster management. The budget is mainly distributed for the purpose of raising public awareness of a risk of future disasters and of constructing

DTI developed the Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprise (MSME) Development Plan 2011-2016, and is implementing Great Women Project to promote upgrading women's business based upon the Gender Responsive Value Chain Analysis, with PCW and other agencies.

small-scale infrastructures for disaster mitigation. There is no specific gender budget allocated. The institutional arrangements for DRR in Sri Lanka are shown in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Institutional Arrangements for DRR in Sri Lanka

Policy/ Plan/ Structure	Description	
Law	Sri Lanka Disaster Management Act, No. 13 of 2005	
Policy/ Plan	National Policy on Disaster Management (adopted in 2014)	
	National Disaster Management Plan (2013-2017)	
Structure		
1) National	National Council on Disaster Management chaired by the President	
	Disaster Management Coordinating Committee chaired by Secretary of MDM	
2) Local (District & Division)	District Disaster Management Committee chaired by Government Agent	
	Division Disaster Management Committee chaired by Divisional Secretary	
3) Village (GN)	GN Disaster Management Committee chaired by GN	
In-charge of DRR		
1) Policy	Ministry of Disaster Management	
2) Implementation	Disaster Management Center & Disaster Emergency Relief Center	
3) Research/Technology	National Building Research Organization	
Budget National/Local	No specific percentage for budget allocation as calamity fund	

Source: Developed by the author based on key-informant interviews.

In the case of Trincomalee and Rathnapura Districts, the Committees were established at both district and division levels. According to the local authorities of those districts, the members of those committees held meetings at least once a year in order to update their Disaster Management Plans and develop Annual Emergency Operation Plans. In Ranhotikanda GN under Kolonnna Division in Rathnapura District, local people established a GN Disaster Management Committee based on the suggestions made by JICA experts of the DiMCEP. In this GN, under the Committee, an Executive Committee and Sub-committees, consisting of: 1) early warning; 2) search and relief; 3) first aid; 4) camp management; and 5) monitoring, were set up.

A gender perspective is not integrated in the Sri Lanka Disaster Management Act, No. 13 of 2005. As members of the NCDM, the Act assigns 20 Ministries, including the Ministry of Social Welfare Services; Ministry of Environment; Ministry of Health; Ministry of Finance; Ministry of Urban Planning; Ministry of Housing; and the Police. However, the Ministry of Women and Child Affairs was excluded from membership on the Council while the Council was not functional. This exclusion made the Ministry invisible in terms of their role as a national machinery for mainstreaming gender in DRR policies, plans, and programs. Instead of the NCDM, the Ministry participates in the regular meetings of the Disaster Management Coordinating Committee (DMCC), newly established at the national level. However, it is unclear what kind of roles the Ministry plays in this new Committee. The integration of gender in the DRR law and policies and integration of DRR in the gender policy in Sri Lanka are shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 Integration of Gender in the DRR Law and Policies and Integration of DRR in the Gender Policy in Sri Lanka

Item	Title	Integration of Gender/ DRR
DRR relevant Law	Sri Lanka Management Act No. 13 of 2005	No statement for the membership of Ministry of
		Women and Child Development for NDRRC
DRR Policy	National Policy on Disaster Management	Section 13: Equality, diversity and inclusion
DRR Plan/Program	National Comprehensive Disaster	Separate Chapter on Gender
	Management Plan/Program	Integration of a gender perspective into an develop-
		ment plan of each of around 20 targeted sectors
Gender Policy	Women's Charter	No statement for DRR
Gender Budget	No calamity fund	-

Source: Developed by the Author based on the Key-informant Interviews

The NPDM, approved in 2014, includes the section 13 of Equality, diversity and inclusion which states, "All people affected by disaster have equal rights to receive assistance and information regardless of ethnicity, gender, religious beliefs, ability or other personal attributes". In the section, target groups are identified as those who are vulnerable to possible hazards and disasters, including people with disabilities, sick people, elderly people, pregnant women, small children, and displaced people, and are supposed to be given special consideration. Section 13 also includes the following critical statement, "Disaster management should ensure gender equality and in particular the empowerment of women and girls". However, there is no detailed description on the role of women in disaster management, and how women and girls get empowered through the processes of disaster management.

Similar to the Philippines, systematic data-collection and data-base system for casualties of each disaster have not yet been developed by the Government of Sri Lanka. The data collected at GN level or any local offices are not necessarily disaggregated by gender, age, and physical ability (types of disability). According to a staff member of Handicap International, there is a need to modify international standards or guidelines for categorizing the types of disabilities according to the context of Sri Lanka where a lot of men, in particular, got handicapped due to the tsunami and the conflict lasted for 26 years.

In cooperation with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Ministry of Disaster Management has developed the National Comprehensive Disaster Management Plan (2014-2018). Based on the Plan, the Ministry has already begun to implement the National Comprehensive Disaster Management Program (2014-2018). Under this Plan and Program, all governmental agencies participating in the Program (around 20 in total) are supposed to integrate not only a disaster management perspective, but also a gender perspective in their own annual development plans. With the initiative of the Ministry of Women and Child Affairs, the form for budget proposals to be submitted from each governmental agency to the National Planning Department under the Ministry of Finance will be developed in a gender-responsive way. The form is supposed to include sections that require the agencies to provide gender-disaggregated data

and gender-related descriptions. For this purpose, the Ministry of Women and Child Affairs will develop relevant guidelines and manuals, implement advocacy activities, and train their officials under the Plan and Program.

In Sri Lanka, the NCW under the Ministry of Women and Child Affairs developed Women's Charter in 1993. This policy, however, did not contain a section focusing on gender and disaster. Although the Ministry contributed to the amendment and development of the laws and plans relevant to GBV, it does not intend to make the National Action Plan for the UNSCR 1325 separately. The Ministry is planning to integrate the chapter of the Plan into the forthcoming second National Gender-based Violence Plan of Action.

The Bureau of Women under the Ministry is an implementing agency by which Women Development Officers (WDOs) and Counselling Officers are hired to promote women's empowerment and protect women and girls from a risk of GBV/VAW at the district and division levels. Those officers are involved as members in the DMC at the divisional level in particular. Although the NPDM does not propose any concrete measures to protect women and girls from a risk of GBV/VAW in the aftermath of a disaster, the Ministry usually provides counselling and legal information to women victims at Women's Counselling Centers located in 12 places over the country at normal times. The Ministry also provides tentative shelters in Colombo (near future in Jaffna, Mullitivu, Batticaloa, Rathnapura, and Kandy) to the victims of human trafficking and GBV/VAW.

4.2 Preparedness for and Response to a Disaster at the Local and Community Level - Exposure to a Risk, Access to Information & Early Warning System, and Evacuation

Major Findings

In the research sites of the Philippines and Sri Lanka, different groups of people were exposed to different sorts and levels of risks. Class and/or poverty, as well as gender, mattered human vulnerability, specifically in terms of a risk caused by dangerous residential locations and poor home-structure. In addition, gender and institutional arrangements affected a person's access to information on a disaster and how she or he evacuated to a safer place.

In a case of the Philippines, some significant gender differences were found in terms of their roles, rather than vulnerability, during the phases of preparedness and response. Women and men were put in a similar vulnerable position in the sense that they were not able to well prepare themselves for the typhoon due to a lack of accurate information and low level of understanding a technical word, such as serge. However, there were differences in risk perception and roles of preparedness and evacuation between men and women and between inland and coastal areas. In inland areas, men tended to stay at their houses longer than their wives and children because they were traditionally responsible for tying their houses with ropes so that building materials were not washed away, whereas women took their children to a safer place. On the contrary, in the coastal areas, both men and women tied their houses with ropes and evacuated together due to short evacuation time allowed.

In a case of Sri Lanka, regardless of differences in ethnicity and religious belief, women and men and the Tamil and the Muslim had never heard the word of tsunami before the disaster. Therefore, the extent of access to information and level of awareness were not differentiated very much by gender, ethnicity, and religion. However, some Muslim women had difficulty with evacuating quickly from the tsunami due to social and cultural norms: they were not allowed to learn how to swim and lacked confidence in evacuating on their own. In the landslide prone site, both women and men were not aware that they were exposed to a risk of landslides. Despite their current awareness, however, those people had no choice other than living with the risk due to no appropriate offer by the local government for their relocation.

Focusing on the following critical gender-related check points, research findings on the extent to which local women and men had access to information and early warning system and how they evacuated are stated below.

Critical gender-related check points

- 1. What kinds of risks are people exposed to?
- 2. Are the risks caused by geographical reasons, gender and poverty (dangerous location, poor home construction, etc.) or poor institutional arrangements?
- 3. Do women and men have access to information on coming hazards/disasters?
- 4. Is there proper early warning system, based on accurate information?
- 5. Have community-based drills been conducted by the initiative of a community or the local government?
- 6. Are evacuation centers with sufficient accommodation capacity identified and prepared at the community level?
- 7. Can women, men, and marginalized groups of people evacuate to an evacuation center safely?

The Philippines

The research sites are all prone to and vulnerable to typhoons and tidal waves (Tacloban City, Tolosa Municipality, Tanauan Municipality, and Palo Municipality on Leyte Island, and Basey Municipality on Samar Island). This is partly due to their coastal location and flat geographic conditions. Apart from usual typhoons, the tidal waves of Typhoon Haiyan reached not only the coastal areas, but inland areas which are relatively low and flat. According to the official who is in charge of DRR, out of 15 barangays, 8 are located in the coastal areas in Tolosa. Similarly, the official-in-charge of planning explained that the Municipality is only 30 meters above the sea and relatively flat, which is why it is at high risk (in Tanauan). A couple of women stated that although they evacuated to a neighboring barangay which is not in the coastal area, but inland, water reached even there (in Telegrafo Barangay, Tolosa). Women also explained, "There is no hill in our neighborhood. Our area is all flat. The nearest hill is 12 kilometers away" (in Tanghas Barangay, Tolosa).

Despite similar typhoon-prone locations, some were more vulnerable due to their shabbily constructed houses while others were not. Most of residents in the research sites resided in simple one-story houses mainly because they were relatively poor. In such rural areas where main industries are limited to fisheries and agricultures, most people struggled to earn a living. They were beneficiaries of the *Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino* (Bringing up Filipino Family) Program, called 4Ps in short, which is the National Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) program targeting relatively poor families with a child/children up to the age of 18 years. One woman explained, "Since my house was built so weak and simple, I thought our family members were not able to be survived if we stayed in the house" (in Burak Barangay, Tolosa). On the other hand, another

woman witnessed that her concrete house suffered only minimum damage (in Burak Barangay, Tolosa). Thus, vulnerability also resulted from the way of home construction, which was closely associated with class and poverty, as well as gender.

In the research sites, there was little gender difference in terms of access to information on the typhoon and level of awareness. Both women and men were aware of Typhoon Haiyan a week in advance, due to the weather forecast on TV news. In the case of Olot Baranagay, Tolosa Municipality, the Barangay Captain also visited one house after another and advised residents to evacuate to a safer place a couple of days before. Although women and men knew that a super typhoon was coming soon, they had little idea of the meaning of storm surge which was frequently repeated on TV news. Based on those, there was not clear gender-based disadvantage in either access to information on the typhoon or the knowledge level of disaster terminology.

However, both women and men in the research sites were put in a sort of vulnerable position in regards to the typhoon, in the sense that they were not able to well prepare themselves for it due to a lack of accurate information on the typhoon. The official who is in charge of DRR in Tacloban City pointed out that the weather forecast in the Philippines lacks accuracy compared to that in Japan, and Typhoon Haiyan arrived seven hours earlier than forecast. According to him, though the typhoon was predicted to reach around the noon, it actually reached around five in the morning. A lack of accurate information and early warning system at the central level, in particular, partially contributed to the vulnerability of women and men in the research sites.

Preparedness with pre-disaster practice of drills and identification of evacuation centers was not sufficient in many of the research sites. According to all women interviewed in the sites, they never practiced any drills before Typhoon Haiyan. In most of the sites, schools and barangay halls, which were built of concrete, were identified as evacuation centers, and people were aware of the location of the nearest evacuation center. However, some women pointed out that while the high school was identified as an evacuation center in their area, it was located in a flat place (in Tanghas Barangay). Some women said, "Although we once evacuated to the school identified as an evacuation center, the surge reached the school soon. So, we had to evacuate to a hill which is 500 more meters away" (in San Roque Barangay). Another critical problem with evacuation centers in the research sites was their limited accommodation capacity. There was limited space in the center where they evacuated, and not all people could stay there (in Olot Barangay). Thus, vulnerability of women and men at the preparedness and response phases was also closely associated with insufficient institutional arrangements.

Interestingly, there were differences in risk perception and roles of preparedness and evacuation between men and women, which varied by areas of the research sites. One woman in Burak Barangay, Tolosa Municipality described:

One day before, I asked my neighbor to let me and my children stay in their house since their house was much stronger than ours. My husband insisted that there should be no need for evacuation. But, I was so scared that I made the decision of evacuation by myself. My husband remained in our house until the typhoon started destroying our house and finally evacuated to the place we stayed in.

Other women shared similar experiences of evacuating to another safer place with their children whereas their men stayed in their houses until the last moment. According to those women, this was partly because many men overlooked the severity of the typhoon and were overconfident, based on their experiences of hundreds of typhoons and masculinity. A more common reason, however, was that men tended to stay at their houses longer than their wives and children because they were traditionally responsible for tying their houses with ropes/strings so that building materials were not washed away. Such different responses to the typhoon by women and men highlight that women in the research sites had autonomy to make the decision to evacuate by themselves.

In terms of the gender division of roles during evacuation, there was a difference between the coastal and inland areas. As described above, men in inland areas usually stayed at their houses longer than women and children, and tied their houses with ropes. As an exception, some women described that they tied their houses and coconut trees by themselves, following their traditional way of preparation (in Olot Barangay). On the other hand, women in San Roque Barangay, Tolosa, which is located in the coastal area, explained that both men and women usually evacuate together. According to them, their place is coastal and there is little time available before evacuation. Therefore, both men and women used to engage in tying the houses with the help of older children even before Typhoon Haiyan.

Sri Lanka

First, people who were severely affected by the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami were vulnerable because of their residential location. The residents of the Japan Sri Lanka Friendship Village (JSFV) in Iqubal Nagar, Kuchchaveli Division, Trincomalee District used to live in Nilaveli Village which was located only 50 meters away from the coast hit by the tsunami. Since most of men, in particular, engaged in fishing for a living, people in Nilaveli used to live close to the coast. Most of people there did not reside in strong houses for disasters. One Tamil woman explained, "We used to live in a very shabby house with the roof made of banana leaves." Under such an unsafe location and weak home construction, both men and women in the coastal area in the research site were vulnerable to the risk of the tsunami.

Another critical factor attributing to serious casualties of the tsunami in Sri Lanka was a lack of both technical information on tsunamis and early warning system to alert people to evacuate in advance. The national and local governments had taken few institutional and technical measures to reduce the risk of disasters, especially tsunamis, before the 2004 tsunami. Without proper information and institutional arrangements, local women and men never imagined or prepared themselves for a tsunami. Regardless of differences in sex, ethnicity, and religious beliefs, both women and men and both the Tamil and Muslims in JSFV in Iqbal Nagar never heard the word of tsunami before the disaster. In this site, therefore, the extent of access to information and level of awareness of tsunamis seemed not to be differentiated among different groups of people associated by gender, ethnicity, and religion.

In the case of Ranhotikanda GN, Kolonna Division, Rathnapura District which are prone to landslides, both women and men were not aware that they were exposed to a risk of landslides until they were technically advised by JICA experts in 2010. Through training and workshops

undertaken within JICA's DiMCEP, both women and men learned how a landslide was upheld and what kinds of adverse effects it would cause. Despite their increased awareness, the risk of the residents in that place was not removed as long as they continuously lived in the place which was identified as highly risky by the National Building Research Organization (NBRO) under Ministry of Disaster Management. For their relocation to a safer place, however, the local government did not offer the proper alternative land with which the target people could be satisfied. In spite of the risk, the residents, both women and men, had to continue living in the same place with the risk because they had little choice. Thus, the vulnerability to the risk shared by those women and men in the site was largely associated with their lack of information and awareness initially, and socio economic reasons and poor local institutional arrangements currently.

The Batticaloa District in the east coast, which was also severely affected by the 2004 tsunami, is geographically vulnerable to floods as its elevation is lower than neighboring districts and partially lower than the adjoining sea and lagoon levels. According to the Government Agent (GA) and an official-in-charge of DRR in Batticaloa District, when water tanks in the upstream areas of other districts are full of heavy rainfall, which would create an uncontrollable situation, the upstream districts often discharge water in the tanks for flood control without informing to the GA of Batticaloa. As a result, the water bursts into the downstream areas of Batticaloa several hours after the discharge, causing severe flooding in Batticaloa.

In such a problematic context, few institutional arrangements were made for mutual flood control between the local governments of upstream and downstream areas. As there is no announcement about discharge of water from the upstream districts, the water tanks and channels in Batticaloa would remain closed and overflow with the water from the upstream areas, which would create a flood. However, the GA of Batticaloa never had coordinating meetings with the representatives of relevant districts adjoining Batticaloa. She explained that she had little power over coordinating for flood control with the representatives of upstream districts since there was no law which would force upstream districts to inform her when they discharged water in their tanks. She argued for the establishment of a new law or policy on this matter. A lack of institutional or administrative initiatives by Batticaloa District reflects the ethnical power dynamics between powerful (Sinhalese-led) and powerless (Tamil-led) local governments in Sri Lanka, based on the history of the ethnic conflict.

Reflecting the lack of institutional capacity of the District, local people of Batticalloa were vulnerable to the 2010/2011 flood, in particular, mainly due to a lack of information and early warning system. Some Tamil men and women in Vilaveduwani GN and Karavetti GN in Manmunai West Division mentioned that they did not have a weather forecast or other early warning that would alert them in advance of the possibility of a great flood. All they could do was to carefully watch the water level of a nearby river, providing information on a rise in the water level to the Hindu temple where a siren was available. Without information and early warning in advance, one Tamil woman explained, "Only when water came into my house, I noticed the occurrence of a flood and jumped up on a table by any means."

In responding to the 2004 tsunami, Muslim women in the JSFV in Iqbal Nagar had difficulty with evacuating by themselves and quickly due to social and cultural norms. One Muslim

woman explained, "Women don't know how to swim. It's a shame of us to swim, exposing our skin to other people." Others described their experience protecting themselves from a big wave by holding a boat or something floating, despite not knowing how to swim. Another woman described that her husband, who knew how to swim, helped her and their children to evacuate. According to one Muslim woman, some Muslim women were so shy and lacking in confidence in themselves that they were unable to decide to evacuate on their own. She explained that the tsunami occurred in the morning when many of those women had neither combed their hair nor changed their clothes, which made them embarrassed and hesitant to leave their houses.

4.3 Camp Management at the Community Level

Major Findings

Camp management is critical for both women and men who have evacuated to an evacuation center and have to stay there for a while. In order to fulfill the needs of different groups of people, including women, camp management must be done in a participatory way so that the voices of all stakeholders should be reflected in the management. Camp management is also a great opportunity for women and other marginalized groups of people to take non-stereotyped roles, such as management and decision-making.

In a case of the Philippines, the camps (temporary shelters and bunk houses) were managed by not only men, but also women with the initiative and instructions of the DSWD. Some women were assigned to members of the camp management committee such as the vice leader, assistant secretary, and a member in-charge of violence against women and children (VAWC). One room in the bunk house in Tacloban City was allocated for GBV/VAWC issues. The policemen/women also took responsibility for patrolling around the camps and protecting women and girls from a risk of GBV/VAWC.

In a case of Sri Lanka, both Muslim and Tamil women survivors from the tsunami were excluded from the camp management which was done only by men and aid organizations. Whenever the women faced problems, they had to talk to their husbands, then their husbands raised the issues in the management committee. Similarly, in the temporary houses supported by a local NGO, only a group of men was in charge of camp management. The NGO did not encourage women to participate in the camp management committee, or take any interventions related to GBV/VAW in the camp. Both Muslim and Tamil women thus lost an opportunity to bring about a change in stereotyped gender roles and take on the new role of camp management.

Drawing from the following critical gender-related check points, key research findings on camp management in the Philippines and Sri Lanka are described below.

Critical gender-related check points

- 1. Is there a committee formed for camp management in an evacuation center/shelter/temporary housing?
- 2. If so, are women and other marginalized groups of people involved in the committee as members?
- 3. If not, why are they excluded from membership on the committee?
- 4. What kinds of roles do men and women play in an evacuation center/shelter/temporary housing?
- 5. What are needs for women and men at an evacuation center/shelter/temporary housing?
- 6. How are the needs of all stakeholders staying in the camp addressed by the committee?

The Philippines

With strong leadership and support by the DSWD and other relevant local governmental organizations, temporary shelters and bunk houses in the research sites were managed by not only men, but also women. The case of National Housing Authority (NHA) Bunk House Sagkahan in Tacloban City on Leyte Island included gender-responsive elements. In this Bunk House, 1,447 people (681 women) lived after March 2014. Those people lost their houses in Typhoon Haiyan and temporally lived in the Astro Dorm until they moved to the Bunk House. The camp management committee of the Bunk House was comprised of the leader, vice leader, secretary, assistant secretary, a member-in-charge of VAWC, a member-in-charge of security, etc. Out of all the members, the vice leader, assistant secretary, and the member-in-charge of VAWC were women who were active. All of the committee members worked on a voluntary basis for the benefits of residents there. In the Bunk House, one room was allocated for GBV/VAWC issues. In that room, an officer of the DSWD and the member-in-charge of VAWC in the committee provided consultation and legal information to victims/survivors. The member-in-charge of security, as well as the policemen/women, took responsibility for patrolling around the Bunk House and protecting women and girls residents, in particular, from a risk of GBV/VAWC.

Sri Lanka

Unlike the case of the Philippines, Muslim and Tamil women survivors from the tsunami were excluded from the camp management of the tent village and temporary housing where they resided after the tsunami and before they moved in the permanent housing provided by the Government of Japanese. The camp management was done only by men and aid organizations. According to Muslim women in the JSFV in Iqbal Nagar, there was a Management Committee consisting of only men which was originally organized for a religious purpose, and which took a leading role in the camp management of the tent village. Whenever the women faced problems, such as a shortage of water and bathrooms in the tent village, they first had to talk to their hus-

bands, and their husbands raised the issues in the Management Committee. The Management Committee tried to solve the problems by consulting with any NGOs concerned.

Similarly, during the whole period when both Muslim and Tamil survivors stayed in the temporary housing supported by a local NGO, only a group of men was in charge of camp management. According to the women interviewed, the NGO never encouraged women to participate in the committee maybe because it did not recognize women as actors or take into account the importance of gender-responsive camp management. The NGO did not take any interventions related to GBV/VAW in the housing. Without getting any gender-responsive interventions from this aid organization, both Muslim and Tamil women lost an opportunity to realize their own capacity and roles, bring about a change in their stereotyped gender roles and responsibilities, and take on new roles in the camp management.

4.4 Protection of Women and Girls from Gender-based Violence

Major Findings

Based on unequal gender relations, women and girls usually are at risk of GBV/VAWC. Under a more stressful situation, such as a disaster, they are exposed to more at risk. Thus, post-disaster recovery and DRR interventions should include activities to protect women and girls from a risk of GBV/VAWC, in addition to relevant interventions from normal times.

In a case of the Philippines, the number of VAWC cases increased after Typhoon Haiyan because many men lost the source of their livelihoods and got financially stressed. Women's access to counselling and legal information was made possible in the aftermath through Women Friendly Spaces, built by UNFPA and DSWD, where various gender awareness training programs were done by them. Compared to women, men tended to be psychologically more vulnerable to an economic crisis after the disaster, due to the strict social norm of their role as breadwinners. In order to protect women from a risk of GBV/VAWC in the aftermath and post-disaster contexts, it is necessary to provide therapy services not only for women victims/survivors of GBV, but also for men who vent their feelings by violating and abusing their wives/girlfriends and children.

In Sri Lanka, no intervention to protect women and girls from a risk of GBV was conducted within JICA's post-disaster recovery or community-based DRR projects.

Based on the following critical gender-related check points, how external organizations in the Philippines and Sri Lanka addressed GBV issues in the post-disaster recovery and DRR contexts is explored below.

Critical gender-related check points

- 1. Is there any intervention to protect women and girls from a risk of GBV/VAWC within a post-disaster recovery and DRR project/program?
- 2. If so, what kinds of services are available?
- 3. What roles do the local government and local women take in the project/program aimed to reduce a risk of local women and girls for GVB?
- 4. How did the interventions impact women and men on their awareness of women's rights?

The Philippines

Following Typhoon Haiyan, necessary measures against GBV were taken by UNFPA and DSWD in the parts of the research sites. The UNFPA built Women Friendly Space in target cities/municipalities, including Tolosa and Palo Municipalities, where victims of GBV/VAWC, particularly domestic violence by their husbands, could access counselling and necessarily legal information. The UNFPA, in cooperation with the DSWD, provided selected 7 local women each in Tolosa and Palo with training to work as facilitators in the spaces, consisting of 10 modules, such as gender sensitivity, VAWC, etc. The facilitators in Tolosa explained that the number of VAWC cases increased because many men lost the source of their livelihoods and got financially stressed after the typhoon. According to the facilitators in Palo, due to their presence in the space and the dissemination of relevant information to the public, victimized women tended to speak up more than before.

Compared to women, men tended to be psychologically more vulnerable to an economic crisis after the typhoon. According to the executive director of the Center for Disaster Preparedness (CDP) in Manila in the Philippines, men often suffer from not being able to fulfil their role as breadwinners based on the strict social norm of gendered division of roles embedded in a rural Filipino society. However, men tend not to be able to express their feelings, especially in front of other people, because of beliefs about masculinity. In light of this, in order to protect women from a risk of GBV/VAW in the context of post-disaster, therapy services are also necessary for the men who vent their feelings by violating and abusing their wives, partners, and children.

4.5 Reconstruction of Houses

Major Findings

Houses are important assets for everyone. Based on gendered division of roles, houses are the places, for women, where they take a main role in providing food to family members, taking care of children and elderly people, and engaging in home-based business. Due to the intra-household power structure shaped by gender and age, women and girls tend to be excluded from a decision-making process for the re/construction of a new house in normal times and post-disaster context. The reconstruction of permanent houses can be also an opportunity for women to claim their rights over the land- and house-ownership, depending on the ways of interventions to be done by the government and external organizations.

In a case of the Philippines, after the typhoon passed by, women collected whatever materials left nearby and built simple huts with available materials just for their survival. Although housing subsidies were provided by the government, the amount was far from sufficient for them to buy materials and pay labor costs for rebuilding houses, partly because the market price rose after the typhoon. Affected women tried to work in basic carpentry work, assisted by Oxfam, and some of them worked as carpenters through cash for work for some time. However, this new attempt failed due to the strict social norm of gendered division of roles and too basic level of carpentry skills they learnt. Those women were not able to take advantage of the local government's plan to construct another 500 permanent houses.

In a case of Sri Lanka, under the resettlement project funded by the Government of Japan and JICA, the women and men who lost their houses in the tsunami moved to new houses in the new resettlement village of JSFV. JICA took into account the participation of to-be-residents in selecting the design of the new houses so that they could have more ownership over the houses and village. However, JICA did not actively involve, yet did not intend to exclude, women from the selection processes, either. Accordingly, women were able to participate in the selection of different designs of the houses, as well as to have access to information about land ownership issues. Some Tamil women planned to register the land under their own names or at least claim joint-ownership with their husbands.

Based on the following critical gender-related check points, key research findings on the reconstruction of houses in the Philippines and Sri Lanka are described below.

Critical gender-related check points

- 1. Is there any support/aid for the reconstruction of houses by the government or external organizations?
- 2. If so, do women and men have access to information about the contents of the support/aid?
- 3. What roles do women and men take in reconstructing their houses?
- 4. How are women and men involved in decision-making processes for the selection of the design of permanent houses to be constructed under the support/aid program/project?
- 5. To what extent is gender-based land ownership taken into account within the program/ project?

The Philippines

Many women survivors in the research sites played an important role in the reconstruction of their houses. Many women there responded well to the loss of their houses with their coping capacity as survivors. They described that after the typhoon passed by, they, in cooperation with their husbands, collected whatever materials were left nearby and built simple huts with those available materials just for their survival. The households that lost their houses received "emergency shelter assistance" from the DSWD, or similar assistance from the Red Cross. Both women and men in the sites were well aware of the contents of the assistance which was usually a combination of 10,000 pesos in cash for the cost of labor for building houses and a coupon for 20,000 pesos for the cost of building materials. However, many women in the sites complained that the assistance was insufficient for them to buy materials and pay labor costs for rebuilding houses, partly because the market price for both rose after the typhoon. One woman in Telegrafo Barangay, Tolosa demonstrated her coping strategy, by saying, "We tried to rebuild a house by ourselves, saving the cost for hiring a laborer since the wage for a laborer rose up after the typhoon."

Unlike other organizations, Oxfam tried to transform the stereotyped gendered division of work through cash for work. In cooperation with Technical Education and Skill Development (TES-DA), Oxfam provided affected women with three-months- training in basic carpentry work, and then the women worked as carpenters through cash for work for some time. Unfortunately, this trial did not root as their sustainable occupation, and those women quit the work and went back to the original roles of child-care and household chores at home. This was said mainly because neither men nor women were free from social norms and stereotyped gender roles. In addition, since the skill acquired by the women was too basic, representatives of construction companies in the sites tended to undervalue their skills and work, and were reluctant to hire them, partly due to gender bias. As a result, those women were not able to take advantage of the the local government's plan to construct another 500 permanent houses in near future.

Sri Lanka

After living in the temporary housing for a couple of years, Muslim and Tamil survivors from the tsunami moved to the resettlement community of JSFV in Iqbal Nagar from 2006. Through the resettlement project funded by the Government of Japan, JICA, in cooperation with relevant local government agencies, constructed permanent houses for 246 households, including 136 Tamil and 110 Muslim households, in the land owned by the Government of Sri Lanka. JICA took into account the participation of the beneficiaries of the houses in the process of deciding on the design of the houses so that they could have more ownership over the houses and village. JICA did not actively involve, but did not intend to exclude women from the process, either. One Muslim woman there explained, "JICA experts took us to Kandy for a study tour/ training in which they showed us three types of model houses. Even after the tour, JICA experts brought the model houses here and showed them to other people". With such interventions, those women were able to have access to information on the designs of the houses.

JICA also involved both women and men in the session to explain about the ownership of the land allocated for each household in JSFV in Iqbal Nagar. Both Muslim and Tamil women in the site understood well how the process for handing over landownership from the Government of Sri Lanka to the residents would work. One Muslim woman explained, "I know we (our family) can get a landownership after we lived here for 10 years. I remember it very well because JICA experts explained in that way." Similarly, Tamil women explained that the Land Commission in Colombo would issue Permanent Deeds for them after 10 years of their arrival there. Those Tamil women even discussed their plan to register the land under their own names or at least claim joint-ownership with their husbands.

In this project, JICA contributed to both women's and men's access to information on the design of newly constructed permanent housing and land- and house-ownership. However, JICA did not regard the land- and house-ownership of the permanent housing as critical gender issues. JICA experts might not recognize that the houses which were washed away by the tsunami were originally under the possession of women, based on a Tamil traditional practice. Thus, they did not necessarily encourage those women to register the land under their names. In this light, external organization should take into account such a culture-based local practice for landownership in their housing program/project because land is one of the most critical gender issues.

4.6 Livelihoods

Major Findings

The recovery and enhancement of livelihoods are essential for affected women and men to go back to normal lives and reduce their risk of a future economic crisis and disaster. As their vulnerability is associated with gender, class, culture, religion, dis/ability and local institutions, it is not so easy for affected women and men to build their livelihoods back even to the pre-disaster conditions. Post-disaster recovery interventions aimed at livelihood enhancement can be an opportunity for affected women and other marginalized groups of people to gain their agency and empowerment, on the one hand. However, that might depend on the way of the interventions, and if they were not proper, stereotyped gender division of roles and pre-existing gender relations can be reinforced or even worsen, on the other hand.

In a case of the Philippines, some affected men and women were able to recover their livelihoods early while others were not. It was determined largely by the availability and condition of their tools and resources necessary for making their livelihoods. Coconut farmers who lost coconut trees in the typhoon ended up giving up coconut farming and engaging in labor work. Many aid organizations exclusively targeted affected women and provided them with material and financial support, including CCT. However, those women did not necessarily utilize the support for their own productive work, but their male partners'. The women seemed to be used as an entry point for aid organizations to reach out men and their children. Even in the case the support was for the sake of affected women, few marketing strategies and other technical support were given to the women.

Through its QIPs, JICA for a long term supported affected women to restart their lost entrepreneurship activities by providing necessary equipment, training, etc. This JICA's support through the QIPs helped women a lot to collectively work with other women and make their productive roles and capacity more visible in the public. However, JICA did not necessarily aim at the empowerment of women and the transformation of gender roles and gender relations from the planning process. Without negotiation with their men to share household chores and child care, women's participation in the QIPs increased their workload. Many women participating in the QIPs were not able to balance their time between QIP activities and their original roles at home, and tended to put most of responsibilities and burdens on the shoulder of their leaders who tended to have no small children to take care of and have more free time. Collective work through QIP activities contributed to supplementing the weakness of some members with the strength of others, on the one hand. However, most of members tended to rely on leaders who had knowledge, skills, and free time, on the other hand. As lessons learnt from the QIPs, it is important to integrate a gender perspective in a project from the planning process, approach both women and men through gender sensitization workshops from the initial stage of the project, and make the enable environment that women can concentrate more on their business activities. At the same time, challenging for promoting women's business strategy and their agency and leadership can lead to the empowerment of women, which should be taken into account as the main objective of relevant projects.

In a case of Sri Lanka, JICA's T-CUP supported women and men in the tsunami-affected area to regain their livelihoods, which dramatically improved women's access to reasonable financial services and actually helped them a lot with quick economic recovery. Due to a lack of a gender perspective in the project from the planning process, however, it did not necessarily promote the empowerment of women or bring about any critical change in gender roles and gender relations. The T-CUP provided affected women and men with training programs, but those were based on stereotyped gender roles and lacked marketing strategies. Most of Muslim women who took training ended up using the skills gained only for family consumption. Micro-finance activities conducted by Women's Coop under the T-CUP did not function in a way affected women well utilized their access to reasonable financial services for doing their own business. Muslim women, in particular, borrowed loans for the sake of their husbands and sons, not for themselves. In a sense, those women were used as a means to meet the purposes and intensions of Women's Coop that the borrowed money should reach out other family members and contribute to welfare of whole family members, based on women's self-sacrificing characteristics. External organization, however, should try to change problematic local institutions, including gendered division of roles, limited women's mobility, and unequal gender relations through their interventions. They need to translate micro-finance services into opportunities for women to achieve their autonomy to make a decision by themselves and become empowered. In order to plan future relevant projects, it is essential for external organizations to recognize and involve women as main actors, not as a means or entry points.

Based on the following critical gender-related check points, key research finding on livelihood interventions by external organizations, including JICA, are described below.

Critical gender-related check points

- 1. Is there any program/project aimed to get women's entrepreneurship started/restarted in the context of the post-disaster recovery?
- 2. Whom does the program/project target?
- 3. How are women regarded in the program/project (as main actors or a means to get benefits reached out entire their family members)?
- 4. Is there any intervention, such as gender sensitization workshop approaching to not only women, but also men?
- 5. What kind of assistance is provided in the program/project: material, financial, or technical one? Is any training on business skills, including marketing, available?
- 6. How are women's collective power and leadership functioned for and contributed to livelihood enhancement?
- 7. Are there any cultural constraints preventing women from doing business and taking leadership?

The Philippines

Whether affected women and men were able to recover their livelihoods early or late in the research sites depended mainly on the types of work they did and their coping capacities, including available tools and resources, rather than gender. Some women there who used to do laundry work for other people for a living were able to come back to the work right after the typhoon, because the laundry work was manual labor that did not require any productive resources or machines which could be damaged by the typhoon. Similarly, those men, whose fishing boats were not damaged, were also able to restart fishing right after the typhoon and earned more profit due to the increased price of fish in the aftermath. One woman from Olot Barangay, Tolosa lost her own small shop (sari-sari store) due to the typhoon. With her coping strategy, however, she borrowed 10,000 peso from a private money lender, and re-started her business right after the typhoon. She was able to make much profit and returned the loan with the interest of 20 percent within 58 days because there was no other shop available nearby at that time. On the other hand, a son and his father in Burak Barangay, Tolosa who used to depend exclusively on coconut farming for a living lost their livelihoods when they lost all coconut trees in the typhoon. They did not have an alternative livelihood other than wage labor work while they tried to replant seedlings of coconuts and farm vegetables, which ended in failure.

In the research sites, those households that lost their livelihoods had access to the assistance provided mainly by NGOs. Though such NGOs exclusively approached affected women, they did not necessarily target the women or aim to support their agency and empowerment. Through the women, the assistance was supposed to reach their husbands/partners and family members. One woman in Olot Barangay, Tolosa explained, "I applied for Red Cross's CCT to replace the pigs killed by the typhoon. But, other woman applied for it to repair her husband's pedi-cab which was damaged by the typhoon". Similarly, another NGO provided the husband of one woman in Olot Barangay, who lost his fishing boat, with the materials necessary for reconstruction. Livelihood assistance in the post-disaster context tended to utilize women as superficial beneficiaries to fill the demand of funding organizations that require implementing agencies to exclusively target women survivors. Such assistance could bring benefits to the household, but this did not contribute to women's gaining agency from a long-term perspective.

Many external organizations concentrated their support for livelihood enhancement on the provision of materials necessary for their doing business, and lacked a marketing perspective. This was mainly because such aids were emergency ones, not long-term ones. One woman in Cambayan Barangay, Basey complained that NGOs widely distributed the same species of vegetable seeds to affected farmers almost all over in the Barangay. According to her, every farmer started farming the same vegetable, and so the price of that vegetable went down and her livelihood based on vegetable cultivation was seriously affected. Similarly, others complained that NGOs supported many women survivors to start their *sari sari* stores, which made the business more competitive, and many of them ended up closing the stores. Such support without any marketing strategy did not lead the survivors to building back even to their pre-disaster economic status and in fact, worsened the status.

Within the QIPs, JICA greatly contributed to economic recovery trials of affected women for a long term, which is different from other external organizations' programs. JICA supported 15

women's associations in Tolosa, Tanauan, and Basey Municipalities for the recovery and expansion of their businesses as of October 2015. The JICA-supported associations in Tolosa and Tanauan were initially supported by the DOLE in forming a women's group, registering as an association, and engaging in business. The associations in Basey, on the other hand, registered as associations and started their business only after JICA implemented its project in 2014. Based on the proposal made by each of the associations, JICA supported the associations, by providing tailor-made training, equipment, and building space necessary for the production of their food-processing products. Through the QIPs, JICA closely worked with local agencies, such as the DSWD, DOLE, and DA, and implemented activities based on the needs of the women and each of the associations, which was outstanding and different from other programs as well.

Despite the efforts made by JICA and participants in the QIPs, almost all the associations faced some problems, particularly with marketing. None of the associations, except one in Tanghas Barangay, Tolosa, made enough of a profit to monthly or even periodically redistribute among the members. They distributed only 1,000 pesos per person, once or twice a year. As one of effective marketing strategies, the branch of the DSWD in Tolosa Municipality suggested all associations in Tolosa work on a different processed food product in order to avoid competition in the market. Although three associations in Tolosa supported under the QIPs were working on different products of vege-fish noodles, sausages, and deboned milkfish (*bangus*), first two associations faced marketing difficulty. As a sales manager of Robinson Department in Tacloban City pointed out, the association, in Tanauan, working on processed milkfish needed to determine the most marketable price and number of cuts in one package based on the target customers of each of their buyers/whole sellers. JICA experts helped the associations a lot to expand their customers, but did not necessarily give them context-specific marketing strategies. This was mainly because the QIPs were commenced on an ad hoc basis, and sufficient human resources for context-specific business strategies were not necessarily allocated.

The QIPs did not necessarily focus on the promotion of the agency and empowerment of women, but rather income generation through the provision of necessary training and materials. Therefore, there was no gender sensitization workshop or session held during the QIPs, inviting both women and men in each site. As a result, women were not encouraged to negotiate with men to share their household chores or child-care, and ended up facing difficulty with balancing time between their original reproductive and new productive roles. Many of the women participating in the QIPs seemed unable to concentrate on their association's activities, and most work was left in the hands of those who had no small children to take care of. Similarly, activities necessary for the expansion of their customers and increasing profits were left to the leaders or those members who had sufficient time and capacity to do so.

For most of women participating in the QIPs, forming a group and working together with other women under the QIPs were useful because they were able to supplement some members' weakness with others' strengths, and share information and skills among the members. However, the leaders, or any other members who had more knowledge and skills, and more importantly more free time, exclusively take a responsibility for the management of the associations. Remaining members tended to depend on them. Their group work did not necessarily result in the development of leadership skills for all the members. Since the associations were not formed for the purpose of the transformation of gendered division of roles and gender relations, leaders

of the associations did not function in that way. For most of the women participants, leadership meant taking on all burdens and tasks that other members did not have time to do. According to them, more critical conditions to be a leader for the associations were to have a lot of free time as well as to be responsible, patient, and honest. Thus, post-disaster interventions for the recovery and enhancement of women's livelihoods should be planned and implemented in the ways that the enabling environment can be built in cooperation with other family members, specifically men. Under the enabling environment, women can fulfill their roles as main actors and leaders and get empowered. The interventions should ultimately aim at the transformation of gendered division of roles and gender relations, which can result in reducing the vulnerability of women and raising their presence as main actors in DRR.

Sri Lanka

Throughout the T-CUP implemented in the tsunami-affected area in Trincomalee District, JICA introduced exclusively to women the saving and micro-financing activities undertaken by the Women's Coop, a local NGO, based in Colombo. In the saving and micro-financing activities, JICA did contribute to increasing women's access to reasonable financial services. However, JICA did not necessarily aim at the empowerment of women, so it did not take any interventions, such as gender sensitization workshops, by which women could negotiate with men and achieve their autonomy or agency. The Manager of the Women's Coop, who founded the organization, insisted that the main purpose of the saving and micro-finance activities was not the women's, but the entire family's welfare. He explained the main reason for targeting women rather than men was that women had been previously found to be generally more patient than men and tended to think and act for the sake of children and family members. Women thus were not targeted for their own empowerment, but ended up being used for the intention and purpose of the Women's Coop. This highlights women's tendency to scarify themselves for their family members, partly due to their roles as care-takers and the self-perception of their lower contributions to household livelihoods.

In addition, JICA provided both women and men with training, based on the stereotyped gender division of work: training on carpentering, painting, and mechanics for men and training on food-processing and sewing for women. As ultimately little attention was paid to promoting those women to carry out business in a professional way, while a capacity development program was undertaken, it did not sufficiently support the development of women's business/entrepreneurship plans and proposals particularly. Without changing their stereotypical attitude and ideology and addressing professional business development, those women who participated in the training program, specifically Muslim women, ended up having the acquired skills used only for family consumption. One Muslim woman explained that although she took the 7-day training course on producing fruit jam, she only made fruit jams for family consumption and not for commercial purposes. Similarly, another Muslim woman stated, "I took the training on sewing. I was selected as one of the most devoted trainees. JICA gave a sewing machine to each of the selected 12 women, including me. I make clothes, but mostly only for my family members." From a gender perspective, therefore, training should be planned in a way that women, as well as men, can gain both technical and business skills and run a business.

The tendency for women to work only for their families or sacrifice themselves for their other family members was also observed in their saving and micro-finance activities. Those women borrowed money through Women's Coop's saving and micro-financing activities mainly for their family members. Most of Muslim women borrowed money for their sons and/or husbands, but not for themselves, whereas some Tamil women borrowed money for doing their own business. The money most Muslim women borrowed was used for their sons' buying their motor-bicycles and their husbands' doing new business, paying for the fuel of their fishing boats, and buying a new engine for their fishing boats. In such a context, those Muslim women merely served as a means for their men to borrow money. It was very problematic that neither Women's Coop nor JICA experts noticed the situation and took measure to develop those women's agency by improving their bargaining power over their doing business.

Main constraints preventing those Muslim women from doing their own business by taking loans was a lack of agency or decision-making power, limited mobility, and husbands' objections to their doing business. Such limited power, as well as social norms shaping women's limited mobility and gendered division of roles, contributed to those women's vulnerability. One Muslim woman revealed that she was unable to decide to borrow money on her own, but needed her husband's or son's agreement. Since another Muslim woman insisted on home-based work which did not require her to move out of the house, she had to engage in low-income-work which tended to be exploited by middlemen. Furthermore, one Muslim woman explained, "As a breadwinner, men usually disapprove their women to work outside and earn a living. They want to show their authority as a man to their women". JICA provided those women with access to finance; however, it did not necessarily help them to negotiate with men for their autonomy/agency to make their own decision on how to use the borrowed money for their own sake and get empowered.

Under the T-CUP, no technical support, including marketing, was provided for those women, in line with the saving and micro-finance activities. One Muslim woman had a husband whose leg was amputated after an injury caused by the tsunami. He tried to make a living as a driver of a three-wheeler. However, due to a bias against his disability, many parents were reluctant to send their children to school in the three-wheeler driven by him. To support her household livelihood, she borrowed some money and started a yogurt business in which she made yogurt and her husband went out to sell it. Since she did not have a cow and needed to buy milk, her profit from making yogurt was much less than she expected. She explained that her difficulty with making a profit was due to her limited capital, as she was unable to buy much milk, and the amount of the yogurt she was able to make was therefore limited. Micro-finance services only may not bring women sufficient profits or empowerment, specifically in the local area where no industry other than agriculture is available, unless technical support and appropriate gender-related interventions are undertaken.

4.7 Community-based DRR

Major Findings

Community-based DRR is not only a goal, but also a tool and process by which all community members take important roles in relevant activities and participate as stakeholders in decision-making. Through such a process for their empowerment, a community can finally become resilient and sustainable. Based on the principle of its participatory approach, community-based DRR should be initiated by the autonomy of community members, women and men, thus their roles, experiences, and indigenous knowledge should be taken into account. In that way, external interventions working on community-based DRR can bring local women and men a great opportunity for the transformation of the unequal power structures embedded in a community and the realization of a community resilient for a risk of future disasters.

In a case of the Philippines, the local governments and people in the research sites of Leyte and Samar Islands were moving on to processes for making community-based hazard maps and building community-based DRR plans, based on the city/municipality-level hazard maps developed in support of JICA. In terms of community-based DRR, however, the extent of each barangay's preparedness depended on its people's awareness and exposer to/intensity of a risk. The leadership of Barangay Captains and the availability of external resources also differentiated the level of each barangay's preparedness.

In a case of Sri Lanka, through its DiMCEP, JICA contributed to raising risk-awareness of local people in the landslides-prone site. Due to a lack of proper institutional arrangements for providing local people with proper alternative land for relocation, those who were exposed to a very risk were forced to continuously live there with the risk. In its community-based DRR Project, Oxfam aimed at the transformation of stereotyped gender roles and unequal gender relations. Oxfam promoted the active and equal participation of women and marginalized groups of people in community-based DRR activities in the flood-prone research sites. In the project, Oxfam took into account the indigenous knowledge and experiences of women and other marginalized groups of people, based on which Oxfam supported for the construction of a reservoir for flood and drought control.

Based on the following critical gender-related check points, the lessons learnt from the interventions for community-based DRR by external organizations, including JICA, are examined below.

Critical gender-related check points

- 1. Is there any program/project focused on community-based DRR?
- 2. If so, what are the key contents of the program/project?
- 3. How are women and other marginalized groups of people involved in community-based DRR?
- 4. How is the autonomy of all stakeholders of a community ensured to realize community-based DRR?
- 5. To what extent does an external organization take into account the roles and indigenous knowledge of women, men, and other marginalized groups of people for better community-based DRR?

The Philippines

Few comprehensive community-based DRR programs/projects were undertaken in the research sites. In its project, JICA supported the local governments of target city/municipalities to develop hazard maps at the city/municipality level so that they could develop their land-use plans accordingly. Thus, the next step for those governments would be to conduct risk and vulnerability assessment, develop community-based hazard maps, and make community-based DRR plans accordingly. Some NGOs supported a limited number of barangays to do those activities with the participation of local people, mainly women, but on an ad-hoc basis. Those women who participated in the activity to make a community-based hazard map in Palo Municipality appealed that since women, more than men, know about community people, specifically those who need assistance for their evacuation, they can take leading roles in developing community-based hazard maps and plans.

Even without financial and technical support by external organizations, a couple of barangays were well prepared for a risk of future disasters with the leadership of their barangay captains. In San Jose Barangay in Tacloban City, of which whole areas are located in the coastal areas and exposed to a risk of typhoons, its female Barangay Captain took outstanding leadership in terms of preparedness. She formed a barangay-based DRRMC, consisting of 7 counsellors, 1 secretary, 1 accountant, and 1 security officer as well as community volunteers, who were mainly women, as described above. With her leadership, many volunteers were involved in the sub-committees, and drills and meeting were regularly conducted, specifically before the typhoon season.

Sri Lanka

Based on the technical advice provided by JICA experts of the DiMCEP, people in Ranhotikanda GN, Rathnapura District which is prone to landslides established Disaster Management Committee at the GN level. The Committee comprised 50 households, from each of which more than one member was supposed to attend its regular meeting. Out of the Committee members, seven were to be selected as the members of Executive Committee (EC). As of October 2015, the vice chairperson was the only female member in the EC. She seemed to be selected as the vice chairperson not because of her strong commitment or leadership, but rather her relatively higher educational level.

The DiMCEP focused on the inclusion of all households in the target area in community-based DRR, and contributed to autonomous community-based DRR to some extent because the committee was formed with local people's initiatives and meetings were regularly conducted even after the DiMCEP was finished. Since the DiMCEP mainly aimed at the improvement of local early warning system, it did not take into account the empowerment of women and other marginalized groups of people even through its activities at the grassroots level. Therefore, women and other marginalized groups of people were not necessarily encouraged to participate in decision-making processes as members of EC and sub-committees. Under the EC, there were sub-committees, such as early warning, relief and rescue, first aid, camp management, and monitoring. Some women were involved in each of the sub-committees, but they did not take non-stereotyped roles, but a cooking role and so on at an evacuation center, based on gender division of roles.

One critical problem faced by this target GN was that the Committee did not conduct any drills after the DiMCEP was terminated in 2013. Since there were some elderly people and people with disabilities who were unable to walk by themselves, carrying them to an evacuation center smoothly would be a big challenge for the members of the relevant sub-committees in an actual situation. Such a lack of local initiatives to take a drill can exacerbate the vulnerability of those people living in highly risky places.

Under the DiMCEP, a community-based hazard map was made and displayed in the center of Ranhotikanda GN. Early warning system was developed among the District, Division, and GN levels. In some more risky places of Ranhoticanda, rain gauges were set for risk assessment. Based on the early warning system, women and men in Ranhoticanda were supposed to receive a message for evacuation. If the result of the rain gauges suggested a risk, the announcement for evacuation would be delivered from GN and sub-committee members to all residents living in the risky places. The GN revealed his strong commitment that whenever it rained heavily, he tried to go and check the places identified as highly risky and would make announcements to residents living around there if necessary.

In flood-prone areas of Batticaloa District, there were local men's and women's coping strategy or climate change adaptations (CCA), based on their indigenous knowledge. Some Tamil women in Puthumandapathady GN and Vellavettuwan GN, Manmunai West Division demonstrated their coping strategies or CCA, which were also reflected by gender roles-based knowledge and experiences. They described their traditional coping strategy of trying to collect as much fire-

wood as possible during the dry season so that they did not need to go often to the forest during the rainy season. Similarly, they tried to produce preservative food before the drought season started. Women from Karavetti GN explained that they would store food as well as the seeds and the products harvested in the upper places of their houses during the rainy season, so that they could protect them from flooding.

In its community-based DRR project in Manmunai West Division, Batticaloa District, Oxfam succeeded in facilitating local people, specifically women, to take their initiatives and leadership in their community-based DRR and CCA. Women in Vilaveduwani GN proposed that Oxfam support them to construct a reservoir, based on their own knowledge and experiences. Some women in Vilaveduwani GN revealed that although they were severely affected by the 2010/2011 flood without the reservoir, they were able to control the 2014 flood with the reservoir to some extent. According to them, the reservoir could also function well to reduce a risk of droughts. Water saved in the reservoir was usually used for an agricultural purpose. This case well illustrates the importance of recognizing women's indigenous knowledge and experiences and of facilitating women to take initiatives, which can lead to building a more resilient and more equal community.

According to Oxfam staff members, based on Oxfam's gender mainstreaming policy, they actively involved women and marginalized groups of people in the decision-making process of community-based DRR activities and let them take non-stereotyped roles. In Vilaveduwani GN and Karavetti GN, which were Oxfam's project sites, women actively worked as members of the main committee of DMC at the GN level, such as the secretary and treasurer, and members of the sub-committees of the DMC, including early warning, relief and rescue, and site security, which are regarded even as men's work. In the construction of the reservoir, women from the women-headed households (mainly widows) and people with disabilities were prioritized to be selected for cash for work. This was based on the fact that in Batticaloa, the majority of the economically vulnerable were the widows whose husbands were killed or abducted during the conflicts, as well as those women whose husbands abandoned them for other women or other reasons. The community-based DRR project implemented by Oxfam was so gender-responsive that it tried to address not only women's daily-based needs, but also strategic gender needs, including the transformation of gendered division of roles and gender relations.

Conclusion and Recommendations

5. Conclusion and Recommendations

Findings from the research sites in the Philippines and Sri Lanka show that a gender perspective is integrated into legislation and institutions, including relevant laws, policies, plans, and operational structures at the national and local levels, to some extent. In the relevant policy of the Philippines, in particular, women are regarded as not only parts of vulnerable groups of people for a risk of GBV in particular, but also main actors who can utilize their indigenous knowledge for DRR. However, national machineries for promoting gender mainstreaming and gender equality in both countries did not necessarily take an active advocacy role in mainstreaming gender into those laws, policies, plans, and structures. Their commitment, institutional capacity, and influential power toward relevant governmental agencies were limited. On the other hand, a couple of implementing agencies in the Philippines, such as the DSWD and DOLE, were taking a crucial role in protecting women and girls from a risk of GBV and supporting affected women for the recovery of their livelihoods. Their good practices and lessons learnt from Typhoon Haiyan should be reflected into the planning process for more gender-responsive laws, policies, and plans.

Similarly, most of external organizations did not provide women and other marginalized groups of people in both countries with an opportunity for the transformation of their subordinate positions through post-disaster recovery or DRR programs/projects. In many cases, external organizations provided emergency aid for those who lost houses and a source of income, using women as entry points to reach out their male partners and children. They intended to meet only the daily-based survival needs of the affected, but not needs for sustainable development and gender equality. Most of external organizations lacked a gender perspective in their post-disaster recovery and DRR interventions, and did not aim to meet strategic gender needs, including the promotion of agency and empowerment of women and marginalized groups of people and the transformation of stereotyped gender roles and unequal gender relations.

Unlike emergency aid organizations, JICA supported affected people from a more long-term perspective, and contributed to their economic recovery to some extent. In the case of the Philippines, JICA targeted the members of women's associations for the recovery and enhancement of their businesses, and provided necessary training, equipment, etc. based on the needs of the associations. However, JICA did not put its focus on gender, or intend to approach both women and men to change gender roles and gender relations through gender sensitization workshops or so. Many of women participating in the associations' activities faced difficulty with balancing their time between their household chores and association activities. In Sri Lanka, JICA also did not regard women as main actors, but rather passive beneficiaries, and women, specifically Muslim women, turned out to be used as a means to borrow money for their husbands and sons in the saving and micro-finance activities done by Women's Coop.

On the other hand, Oxfam challenged stereotyped gendered roles and unequal gender relations through their post-disaster recovery and DRR programs in the Philippines and Sri Lanka. Oxfam aimed at gender-responsive DRR from the planning process. Despite gender and disability bias in a community, Oxfam tried hard to involve women and people with disability in cash for work, make them visible, and let the community recognize the roles and capacity of those people as actors. Oxfam also took into account the initiatives taken by community people, specifically women, thus, it accepted the proposal made by women to make a reservoir for flood and drought control

which was based on women's knowledge and experiences. The good practices by Oxfam shows us that DRR can be a process and opportunity for a community to be more equal and get resilient if interventions for transforming stereotyped gender roles and unequal gender relations are properly done. In order for future post-disaster recovery or DRR projects to be more gender-responsive, external organizations, including JICA, should take into account the following points in planning, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation processes:

Preparedness Phase

- 1. Inclusion of all stakeholders of a community, women and men, in decision-making processes for DRR planning and implementation
- 2. Ensuring of access to information on a coming hazard or disaster and early warning system available for all stakeholders in a community
- 3. Identification and preparation of an evacuation center with sufficient accommodation capacity in a safe place
- 4. Conducting practices of drills regularly with the participation of those who need assistance for evacuation in particular

Response Phase

- 1. Ensuring of a space for women, elderly people, people with disabilities in an evacuation center
- 2. Ensuring of the safety of women and girls from a risk of GBV/VAWC, specifically in an evacuation center
- 3. Taking statistics systematically by place, gender, age, types of disability, etc.

Recovery Phase

- 1. Taking measures to protect women and girls from a risk of GBV/VAWC
- 2. Involving women and other marginalized groups of people in decision-making processes for camp management so that their own needs are reflected in camp management
- 3. Providing housing assistance, ensuring women's access to information on the design of housing and land ownership
- 4. Involving women and men in the planning process for the reconstruction of temporary/permanent housing so that each of their needs and concerns are reflected
- 5. In livelihood activities, providing not only materials and skill training, but also business strategies
- 6. Ensuring not increasing women's roles, but letting their partners or husbands to share women's household chores and child care roles and enable women to focus more on their productive work and promoting their agency and empowerment

Community-based DRR

- 1. Appointing women and other marginalized groups of people as members in the committee and sub-committees of community-based DRR and give them opportunities for taking non-stereo-typed and management roles in community-based DRR
- 2. Taking into account the indigenous knowledge and technology of women and men for reducing a risk of future disasters
- 3. Involving all community members in the decision-making process for DRR planning and implementation and facilitating them to take initiatives and autonomy
- 4. Promoting the leadership of women and other marginalized groups of people in particular
- 5. Making a community hazard map and community-based DRR plan, based on community risk and vulnerability assessment, in a participatory way
- 6. Taking practices of drills regularly with the participation of all stakeholders in a community

Annex Gendered Vulnerability and Coping Capacity, Drawing from Literature

Annex: Gendered Vulnerability and Coping Capacity, Drawing from Literature

Women and men are exposed to the different sorts and levels of risks and are affected by natural hazards differently

Based on gender division of roles and gender relations, women and men are exposed to the different sorts and levels of risks and are affected by natural hazards differently. Disasters are products of the intersection of hazards and vulnerability. Vulnerability, defined as "being prone to or susceptible to damage or injury" is characterized by a person's or group's capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist, and recover from the impact of a natural hazard. Vulnerability is shaped by gender, class, ethnicity, caste, age, and disability that determine the degree to which one's life and livelihood are put at risk by a discrete and identifiable event in nature or in society. Vulnerability is rooted in the unequal distribution and allocation of resources and power among different groups of people, shaped by those factors. Thus, the ultimate purpose of gender-responsive DRR policies and activities is to transform such unequal distribution and allocation of resources and power, necessary for women and other marginalized groups of people to cope with and reduce their risks.

Due to gender division of roles, their lack of literacy, their lack of mobility, and their seclusion from public places, women have less access to information on disaster, specifically for evacuation

Disasters can be categorized into four phases of preparedness, response, recovery/reconstruction, and prevention. An examination of the phase of preparedness reveals that, regardless of gender, the poor often involuntarily reside in disaster-prone areas. Due to the gender division of labor and domains, however, poor women are more likely than poor men to be exposed to risk from natural hazards. In her case study on the flood-prone areas in Bangladesh known as chars, which are river islands formed from sedimentation, Chowdhury explains that while male dwellers are usually engaged in wage-labor outside the chars during the day, female dwellers

¹⁹ Bradshaw, Sarah. 2013. Gender, Development and Disasters. Cheltenham, UK: MPG Print Group. Flint, M. and A. E. Luloff. 2005. "Natural resource-based communities, risk and disaster: An intersection of theories." Society and Natural Resources 18: 399-412.

Oliver-Smith, A. 1998. "Global changes and the definition of disaster" In *What is a Disaster? Perspectives on the Question*, edited by E.E. Quarantelli, 177-194, London and New York: Routledge.

²⁰ Blaikie, Piers, Terry Cannon, Ian Davis, and Ben Wisner. 1994. (pp. 9) At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability, and Disasters. London: Routledge.

²¹ Adger, W. Neil et al. 2007. "Assessment of adaptation practices, options, constraints and capacity." *Chapter 17 in the IPCC's Fourth Assessment Report*, pp. 719-743.

Blaikie, Piers, Terry Cannon, Ian Davis, and Ben Wisner. 1994. At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability, and Disasters. London: Routledge.

Enarson, Elaine, and B.H. Morrow (ed.). 1998. *The Gendered Terrain of Disasters: Through Women's Eyes*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Blaikie, Piers, Terry Cannon, Ian Davis, and Ben Wisner. 1994. At Risk: Natural Hazards, People's Vulnerability, and Disasters. London: Routledge.

²³ ibid.

always stay at home and are thus more at risk.²⁴ Drawing on the 1991 cyclone in Bangladesh, both Ikeda²⁵ and Cannon²⁶ stress that due to gender division of roles, their lack of literacy, their lack of mobility, and their seclusion from public places, women had less access to information on the cyclone, specifically for evacuation. Similarly, strict cultural norms constrained women to wait for their male members' to make a decision on evacuation and escort them to shelters.

Women tend to be disproportionately impacted in terms of mortality, morbidity, and injury

When natural disasters occur, women tend to be disproportionately impacted in terms of mortality, morbidity, and injury.²⁷ This is largely determined by gender, specifically in terms of lower physical capacity, gender division of labor and domains, and cultural norms/institutions. It is estimated that 90 percent of the victims of the 1991 cyclone in Bangladesh were women and children.²⁸ Similarly, more women died in the 2004 Indian Ocean Tsunami in Indonesia, India, and Sri Lanka.²⁹ Cannon connects the causality of Bangladeshi women's higher mortality with their weakness, resulting from their relatively poor health conditions and malnutrition status.³⁰ The 2004 Tsunami in Sri Lanka shows that many women were preparing for breakfast at home and were washed away while their husbands had already been off to sea for fishing and were safe.³¹ Muslim women in Sri Lanka delayed evacuating due to fear of the shame attached to leaving the house and moving in public without putting on a scarf.³² Women's clothing, *sari*, and relative inability to swim restricted their mobility and survival in the Tsunami in Sri Lanka³³ as well as in floods in Bangladesh.³⁴

- Ikeda, Keiko. 1995. "Gender Differences in Human Loss and Vulnerability in Natural Disasters: A Case Study from Bangladesh." *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 2(2): 171-193.
- Khondker, H. H. 1996. "Women and Floods in Bangladesh." *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 14(3): 281-292.
- ²⁹ Oxfam International. 2005. "The tsunami's impact on women." Oxfam Briefing Note. March.
- ³⁰ Cannon, Terry. 2002. "Gender and climate hazards in Bangladesh." In Gender, Development and Climate Change, edited by Rachel Masika, 10-20. London: Oxfam.
- ³¹ Oxfam International. 2005. "The tsunami's impact on women." Oxfam Briefing Note. March.
- 32 Rosa, Kumudhini. 2005. Voices from the Wave. Colombo, Sri Lanka: Fast Print (pvt) Ltd.
- 33 ibid.
- ³⁴ Cannon, Terry. 2002. "Gender and climate hazards in Bangladesh." In *Gender, Development and Climate Change*, edited by Rachel Masika, 10-20. London: Oxfam.
 - Demetriades, J. and Esplen, E. 2008. "The Gender Dimensions of Poverty and Climate Change Adaptation." *IDS Bulletin* 39(4): 24-31.

²⁴ Chowdhury, Mahjabeen. 2001. "Women's Technological Innovations and Adaptations for Disaster Mitigation: A Case Study of *Charlands* in Bangladesh." Paper prepared for DAW/ISDR Expert Group Meeting on "Environmental Management and the Mitigation of Natural Disasters: a Gender Perspective," Ankara, Turkey, November.

²⁵ Ikeda, Keiko. 1995. "Gender Differences in Human Loss and Vulnerability in Natural Disasters: A Case Study from Bangladesh." *Indian Journal of Gender Studies* 2(2): 171-193.

²⁶ Cannon, Terry. 2002. "Gender and climate hazards in Bangladesh." In *Gender, Development and Climate Change*, edited by Rachel Masika, 10-20. London: Oxfam.

²⁷ Demetriades, J. and Esplen, E. 2008. "The Gender Dimensions of Poverty and Climate Change Adaptation." IDS Bulletin 39(4): 24-31.

Fothergill, Alice. 1998. "The Neglect of Gender in Disaster Work: An Overview of the Literature." In *The Gendered Terrain of Disaster: Through Women's Eyes*, edited by Enarson and Morrow, 11-25. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers. MacGregor, Sherilyn. 2010. "Gender and climate change': from impacts to discourses." *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* 6(2): 223-238.

²⁸ Cannon, Terry. 2002. "Gender and climate hazards in Bangladesh." In *Gender, Development and Climate Change*, edited by Rachel Masika, 10-20. London: Oxfam.

Media repeatedly shows desperate women and reinforces the image of women as victims, but women play a significant role as food providers and care-takers in recovery phase

In the third phase of recovery, women also tend to play a significant role as food providers and care-takers while their contribution is often invisible and overlooked.³⁵ Bolin et al. argue that media repeatedly shows desperate and crying women with their babies and reinforces the image of women as victims.³⁶ The relief worker, Bari explains how poor women in Bangladesh coped with the cyclone³⁷:

Because coping with poverty is tougher for women in general, the aftermath of the cyclone and tidal wave hit them the hardest. Their men may have lost the fishing equipment necessary to earn a living, their children may have died and their homes and belongings were washed away but at the end of each day it was the wife/mother who had to cook for whoever survived in her family. In all the relief lines I saw, women stood first. They were the ones collecting bits of wood and bamboo to rebuild the houses. As is customary, they dealt with the children and lack of food.

This reveals that women are not simply victims, but active actors who can cope with the disaster.

Women's post-disaster role as food and resource providers and care-givers delay women to restart their productive work and put them in more economically vulnerable status

As Bari illustrates³⁸, women tend to bear a disproportionate share of invisible unpaid work as food and resource providers and care-givers.³⁹ After floods, fetching water becomes much more difficult, and burdens women who mainly take responsibility for the task.⁴⁰ Women's increased workload often results in more stress than men experience⁴¹, and constrains them from doing

³⁵ Fothergill, Alice. 1996. "Gender, Risk and Disaster." International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters 14: 22-56.

³⁶ Bolin, Robert, Martina Jackson, and Allison Crist, 1998, "Gender Inequality, Vulnerability, and Disaster: Issues in Theory and Research." In The Gendered Terrain of Disaster: Through Women's Eyes, edited by Enarson and Morrow, 27-44. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

³⁷ Bari, Sona. 1992. (pp. 58) "How Women Cope: Women in the Aftermath." In From Crisis to Development: Coping with Disasters in Bangladesh, edited by Hameeda Hossain et al., 55-58. Dhaka: University Press Ltd.

³⁸ ibid.

³⁹ Demetriades, J. and Esplen, E. 2008. "The Gender Dimensions of Poverty and Climate Change Adaptation." IDS Bulletin 39(4): 24-31.

Fothergill, Alice. 1998. "The Neglect of Gender in Disaster Work: An Overview of the Literature." In The Gendered Terrain of Disaster: Through Women's Eyes, edited by Enarson and Morrow, 11-25. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

⁴⁰ Cannon, Terry. 2002. "Gender and climate hazards in Bangladesh." In Gender, Development and Climate Change, edited by Rachel Masika, 10-20. London: Oxfam. Faisal, I. M., and M.R. Kabir. 2005. "An Analysis of Gender-Water Nexus in Rural Bangladesh." Journal of Developing Societies 21(1-2): 175-194.

⁴¹ Kumar-Range, Shubh. 2001. "Environmental management and Disaster Risk Reduction: A Gender Perspective." Paper prepared for DAW/ISDR Expert Group Meeting on "Environmental Management and the Mitigation of Natural Disasters: a Gender Perspective," Ankara, Turkey, November.

income-generating activities.⁴² Women's self-sacrificing efforts, however, tend to be taken for granted or are invisible because their roles as food providers and care-givers in the post-disaster context is an extension of the pre-disaster roles and often takes place in private places.⁴³

Houses often mean to women the place not only to live in, but work and earn a living in

More importantly, women survivors' increased unpaid duties and limited income-generating opportunities tend to exacerbate their economic insecurity and dependence on their husbands. Losses of harvest and livestock from floods in Bangladesh have a disproportionate impact on women, many of whom rely on food processing, cattle, and chickens for their cash income. In losing their homes, the poor women who used to conduct home-based small business lose income, their workplace, and production tools. Unlike men, these women cannot as easily seek outside work due to their domestic duties and limited mobility. In a study in post-Hurricane Mitch Nicaragua, many women survivors prioritized their role as care-givers, and could not go back to pre-disaster productive work as quickly as their husbands. As a result, the proportion of women in productive activities declined in absolute numbers and relative to men's employment in income generating activities.

Violence against women and girls in post-disaster

One of the most severe problems faced by women during a disaster and in the post-disaster context is all forms of violence. While women tend to experience more emotional trauma and anxiety, men may be more likely to suffer from alcohol abuse in times of disasters.⁵⁰ This alcohol abuse, combined with power inequalities between men and women, can drive men to abuse

Fothergill, Alice. 1998. "The Neglect of Gender in Disaster Work: An Overview of the Literature." In *The Gendered Terrain of Disaster: Through Women's Eyes*, edited by Enarson and Morrow, 11-25. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

Bulletin 39(4): 24-31.
 Baden, S., C. Green, A.M. Goetz, and M. Guhathakurta. 1994. "Background report on Gender Issues in Bangladesh."
 BRIDGE Report 26. City: Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex.

UN DAW. 2004. "Making Risky Environments Safer." Women 2000 and beyond April 2004. UN DAW.

⁴² Demetriades, J. and Esplen, E. 2008. "The Gender Dimensions of Poverty and Climate Change Adaptation." IDS Bulletin 39 (4): 24-31.

⁴³ Bradshaw, Sarah. 2001. "Reconstructing roles and relations: women's participation in reconstruction in post-Mitch Nicaragua." Gender and Development 9(3): 79-87.
Bradshaw, Sarah. 2013. Gender. Development and Disasters. Cheltenham, UK: MPG Print Group.

Bradshaw, Sarah. 2001. "Reconstructing roles and relations: women's participation in reconstruction in post-Mitch Nicaragua." *Gender and Development* 9(3): 79-87.
Bradshaw, Sarah. 2013. *Gender, Development and Disasters*. Cheltenham, UK: MPG Print Group.
Demetriades, J. and Esplen, E. 2008. "The Gender Dimensions of Poverty and Climate Change Adaptation." *IDS*

Enarson, Elaine. 2008. "Women and Housing Issues in Two U.S. Disasters: Case studies from Hurricane Andrew and the Red River Valley flood." In Women and Disasters from Theory to Practice, edited by Philipps and Morrow, Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation.

⁴⁷ Kumar-Range, Shubh. 2001. "Environmental management and Disaster Risk Reduction: A Gender Perspective." Paper prepared for DAW/ISDR Expert Group Meeting on "Environmental Management and the Mitigation of Natural Disasters: a Gender Perspective," Ankara, Turkey, November.

⁴⁸ Bradshaw, Sarah. 2001. "Reconstructing roles and relations: women's participation in reconstruction in post-Mitch Nicaragua." *Gender and Development* 9(3): 79-87.

⁴⁹ ibid.

Fothergill, Alice. 1996. "Gender, Risk and Disaster." *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 14: 22-56. Phillips, Brenda D., and Betty Hearn Morrow (ed.). 2008. *Women and Disasters from Theory to Practice*. Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation.

their wives more than they would in normal circumstances. As Gelles and Fothergill notes⁵¹, domestic violence against wives increased in the wake of Hurricane Andrew. Bradshaw also shows that women survivors from Hurricane Mitch could not resist violence by their husbands due to social stigma, their economic dependence on their husbands, and their fear of abandonment by their husbands.⁵² More importantly, Philipps and Morrow point out that women with disabilities are more likely to be sexually harassed or violated in evacuation centers where private and safe spaces are not ensured for them.⁵³

Landownership is more critical for those women who are left alone due to a disaster

In addition, disasters reveal differences among women with different marital statuses in terms of economic recovery and poverty.⁵⁴ Women survivors, specifically those who became widows, tend to suffer from their lack of property rights, as well as a lack of income sources. In patriarchal Sri Lankan societies post-tsunami, many widows were not allowed to claim back the property which had previously been legally owned by their husbands.⁵⁵ Instead, their male family members or relatives had the rights to claim the land, which marginalized the widows.⁵⁶ In the post-tsunami context, widows also had difficulty accessing cash payments and rations because families registered for government and insurance purposes in their husbands' names.⁵⁷ Similarly, in many of the post-famine emergency relief programs in Africa, a male-headed household is considered as a model for food provision.⁵⁸ Such programs often fail to pay special attention to female-heads and the women who are abandoned by their husbands.⁵⁹

Women's indigenous knowledge and innovative technology play a crucial role in protecting their lives and livelihoods from a risk of future disasters

During the phases of prevention, in other words, preparedness for a risk of future disasters, women tend to be excluded from the planning and implementation processes of DRR programs, which often take place in ordinary development programs. ⁶⁰ Through their everyday practices and group actions, however, women can exercise their coping and adaptation strategies according to their responsibilities. In her case study in Bangladesh, Chowdhury illustrates that women's indigenous knowledge and innovative technology play a crucial role in environmental

⁵¹ Gelles, Richard J. 1997. *Intimae Violence in Families*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
Fothergill, Alice. 1996. "Gender, Risk and Disaster." *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 14: 22-56.

Bradshaw, Sarah. 2001. "Reconstructing roles and relations: women's participation in reconstruction in post-Mitch Nicaragua." *Gender and Development* 9(3): 79-87.

⁵³ Phillips, Brenda D., and Betty Hearn Morrow (ed.). 2008. *Women and Disasters from Theory to Practice*. Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation.

⁵⁴ Bradshaw, Sarah. 2013. Gender, Development and Disasters. Cheltenham, UK: MPG Print Group.

Oxfam International. 2005. "The tsunami's impact on women." Oxfam Briefing Note. March. Rosa, Kumudhini. 2005. Voices from the Wave. Colombo, Sri Lanka: Fast Print (pvt) Ltd.

⁵⁶ ibid.

⁵⁷ Oxfam International. 2005. "The tsunami's impact on women." Oxfam Briefing Note. March.

⁵⁸ Bolin, Robert, Martina Jackson, and Allison Crist. 1998. "Gender Inequality, Vulnerability, and Disaster: Issues in Theory and Research." In *The Gendered Terrain of Disaster: Through Women's Eyes*, edited by Enarson and Morrow, 27-44. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers.

⁵⁹ ibid

⁶⁰ Khondker, H. H. 1996. "Women and Floods in Bangladesh." *International Journal of Mass Emergencies and Disasters* 14(3): 281-292.

management and the protection of their lives and livelihoods from cyclones and floods. ⁶¹ For example, these women increased food security by composting kitchen waste to produce soil-enriching fertilizer and prepared for floods by securing fodder for their livestock, planting trees around low houses to protect against strong winds, and selecting fast-growing seedlings to make soils more stable. ⁶²

Women's climate change adaptations (CCA)

Similarly, in their comparative case study in Bangladesh, India, and Nepal, Mitchell et al. show that some Bangladeshi women who live in flood-prone areas try to store seeds in high places within the house and take livestock to safer places before the floods come. ⁶³ Mitchell et al. also quote a story of a woman farmer in Bardiya district, Nepal where farmers have suffered unpredictable rain fall patterns and decreasing rainfall⁶⁴:

I am one of the women farmers who are growing off-season vegetables and bananas. These crops suffer less than paddy when there is a flood or a drought. I started to grow vegetables in a kitchen garden to sell. There is no alternative other than changing our cropping patterns to reduce the risk of crop failure.

Women farmers' difficulties with adapting to climate variability and climate change

Mitchell et al. also show the difficulty faced by women farmers in the context of Nepal where extreme climate events, including heavy rainfall and droughts, have already unfolded. Some women farmers who participated in their study said that changing the way seedbeds are prepared and selecting crop varieties (mixing local and hybrid types) according to the local context could be helpful adaptations. However, Mitchell et al. observe that hybrid seeds are often more expensive and some crops tend to be labor-intensive, which might thus put more burden on women. They also add that these seeds require knowledge and skills, which can be constraints for those women who are more likely to be illiterate or less educated and have limited access to information and opportunities to acquire new skills.

Women farmers' financial barriers, as well as a lack of access to extension information, for their successful adaptations to climate variability and climate change

Some farmers in Nepal responded that finance has remained the barrier for them to use "labor-intensive technologies (through machine/equipment); initiating multiple cropping and intercropping practices; changing cultivation to more easily marketable crop varieties or flood-

⁶¹ Chowdhury, Mahjabeen. 2001. "Women's Technological Innovations and Adaptations for Disaster Mitigation: A Case Study of *Charlands* in Bangladesh." Paper prepared for DAW/ISDR Expert Group Meeting on "Environmental Management and the Mitigation of Natural Disasters: a Gender Perspective," Ankara, Turkey, November.

⁶² ibid.

⁶³ Mitchell, Tom, Thomas Tanner, and Kattie Lussier. 2007. "We Know What We Need: South Asian Women Speak out on Climate Change Asaptation." actionaid and Institution of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Sussex.

⁶⁴ ibid. (pp.12)

⁶⁵ ibid.

⁶⁶ ibid.

and drought-resistant crops; and investing in alternative irrigation facilities".⁶⁷ Other women farmers in Nepal insisted on their need for extension workers' and veterinarians' visits, and skill training to allow them to increase their incomes through alternative livelihoods.⁶⁸ On the contrary, in her studies on community forestry programs in northern India, Agarwal shows that cultural norms about female seclusion and limited mobility prevent women farmers from contacting extension workers who are exclusively men and attend the training programs which are overnight and held outside the community.⁶⁹

Micro-finance is not necessarily remedy for recovering and empowering affected women and men in the post-disaster context

As a current trend, many external organizations engage in the programs/projects aimed at the enhancement of affected people's livelihoods in the post-disaster recovery phase. This is partly because vulnerability is often viewed as being equal to poverty, and livelihood improvement is a key to building back. If a person or group of people fell into further financial poverty due to a disaster, this may make them more vulnerable to a risk of future economic crisis or disasters. Micro-credit loans are often allocated as the presumed solution to "building back better" their livelihoods, but Lovekamp argues⁷¹:

Theoretically, these loans empower women by increasing their autonomy and decision-making within the household, promoting more social interaction, and enhancing their economic status by generating extra income. However, ... these loans reinforce the cycle of poverty and debt and potentially increase women's vulnerability to future disasters.

CCT tends to increase women's roles without transforming pre-existing unbalanced gender roles

Similarly, it is reported that despite their efforts, many women in Bangladesh after the 1998 floods were still having difficulties repaying loans and had resorted to borrowing from different people. This reveals that access to financial resources is not the ultimate condition for vulnerable women to get out of vicious circle of poverty and disasters.

Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT), introduced as a means for social protection, mainly in middle-income countries in Central and South America, is also provided in the post-disaster context. In the CCT programs, cash is transferred through women because, according to the World Bank, channelling resources through women is more efficient. For the transfer, women are conditioned to attend training sessions and take such roles as mothers and care-givers in meeting the conditions in health, education, and nutrition.⁷³ Thus, CCT tends to burden women with new

⁶⁷ ibid. (pp. 13)

⁶⁸ ibid.

⁶⁹ Agarwal, Bina. 2001. "Participatory Exclusions, Community Forestry, and Gender: An Analysis for South Asia and a Conceptual Framework." *World Development* 29(10): 1623-1648.

⁷⁰ Bradshaw, Sarah. 2013. Gender, Development and Disasters. Cheltenham, UK: MPG Print Group.

⁷¹ Lovekamp, William E. 2008. (pp. 103) "Gender and Disaster: A synthesis of flood research in Bangladesh." In Women and Disasters from Theory to Practice, edited by Philips and Morrow, 99-116, Bloomington, IN: Xlibris Corporation.

⁷² Bradshaw, Sarah. 2013. Gender, Development and Disasters. Cheltenham, UK: MPG Print Group.

 $^{^{73}}$ ibid.

responsibilities for poverty alleviation or social protection in addition to their stereotyped roles and post-disaster duties, without deconstructing unequal power structures at the household and addressing women's empowerment.⁷⁴

Women's taking a leading role in DRR leads to the reduction of a risk of future disasters

Like their coping and adaptive capacities, women's potential roles and leadership in DRR tends to be limited and invisible, due to unequal gender relations, although women have capabilities and actually contribute to their households and communities. In rural Bangladesh, early warning information about cyclones and floods was transmitted by men to men in public spaces, rarely reaching women directly, in part explaining why five times more women than men died. In comparison, Buvinic suggests that part of the reason why no deaths were reported in La Masica in Honduras after Hurricane Mitch was that women had been educated in and were in change of the early warning system. Furthermore, Serrat Vinas points out that women were highly active in organizing community resistance to enforced relocation, echoing the activism of women around housing issues in the wake of the 1985 Mexico City earthquake. Thus, it is important to deconstruct the stereotypical image of women as helpless victims or passive beneficiaries, make it visible, and transform their roles from stereotyped gendered roles to new and leading roles through DRR interventions.

⁷⁴ ibid.

⁷⁵ Skutsch, M. et al. 2004. "Mainstreaming Gender into the Climate Change Regime." Prepared for COP10 held in Buenos Aires.

⁷⁶ Buvinic, M. 1999. "Hurricane Mitch: Women's needs and contributions." Inter-American Development Bank, Sustainable Development Department, Technical Papers Series.

⁷⁷ Serrat Vinas, Carolina. 1998. "Women's Disaster Vulnerability and Response to the Colima Earthquake." In *The Gendered Terrain of Disaster*, edited by Enarson and Morrow, 161-172, Westport, CT: Praeger.

