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MAINSTREAMING GENDER IN PHILIPPINE INSTITUTIONAL RESPONSES TO CLIMATE CHANGE

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ABSTRACT

Global climate change has become a pressing environmental, social, political and economic problem in highly vulnerable developing countries like the Philippines. A number of socio-political institutions are thus now involved in climate change initiatives in Philippine locales. While these efforts are underway, there is also a parallel growing concern that institutional responses to climate change will reinforce gender inequalities or undermine the gains made towards gender equality. This apprehension is significant in the Philippines since it has long officially subscribed to gender mainstreaming and is ranked high in gender equity indices.

The study focused on analyzing the extent to which Philippine institutional climate change efforts integrate gender concerns. Data collection made use of feminist approaches and institutional ethnography to reveal the complex ruling relations that influence practices on the ground. Interviews and focus group discussions were conducted with representatives from international institutions working in the Philippines, national government agencies, local government units, civil society groups and grassroots communities.

Study results highlighted that institutional and community representatives acknowledge gender as a cross cutting issue yet associate it mainly with "women's participation". Gender mainstreaming has largely remained rhetoric in the face of organizational masculinism. Hence, there is minimal integration of gender concerns in Philippine institutional climate change initiatives, despite specific policy pronouncements and years of bureaucratic gender mainstreaming. These results have implications on gender equity within climate change institutional structures and processes. However, the results also provide entry points for developing gender-sensitive, equitable, efficient and effective on-the-ground climate change initiatives in vulnerable Philippine locales.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ACCBio – Adaptation to Climate Change and Conservation of Biodiversity

AECID - Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarollo

AGROMET – agro-meteorological station

CEDAW – Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women

CCA - Climate Change Adaptation

CCC – Climate Change Commission

CFS – Climate Field School

CIRCA – Centre for Initiatives and Research on Climate Change Adaptation

DA – Department of Agriculture

DENR – Department of Environment and Natural Resources

DOE – Department of Energy

DOST – Department of Science and Technology

DRR - Disaster Risk Reduction

DRRM - Disaster Risk Reduction and Management

FAO – Food and Agriculture Organization

GIZ - Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit

IACCC – Inter-agency Committee on Climate Change

ICRAF – International Centre for Research in Agroforestry

IPCC – Inter-governmental Panel on Climate Change

LGU – local government unit

MDG – Millennium Development Goals

NCCAP – National Climate Change Adaptation Plan

NCRFW – National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women

NDRRMC- National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council

NGO – non-government organization

PAGASA – Philippine Atmospheric Geophysical and Atmospherical Services Administration

PCW – Philippine Commission on Women

PMCJ – Philippine Movement for Climate Justice

PPGD – Philippine Plan for Gender-responsive Development

PTFCC – Presidential Task Force on Climate Change

UNDP – United Nations Development Program

UNFCCC – United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

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CHAPTER I

Introduction

Climate change has become the most pressing environmental issue of our time. As a global phenomenon, it is expected to cause global, regional and local changes. (Brody, et al. 2008; IPCC 2007; Wu, Yarnal and Fisher 2002). Climate change, while considered a long-term process, has steadily increased the number of extreme climatic events, which redound to disasters and cause heightened vulnerabilities of people and environments. In Asia, marine and coastal ecosystems are facing an increasing range of stresses associated with climate change, such as sea-level rise and temperature increases (Wu, Yarnal and Fisher, 2002; Cruz, et al. 2007; Zou and Wei, 2009).

The Philippines, located in Southeast Asia (See Figure 1), is currently considered one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change effects (Maplecroft 2010). An archipelago composed of 7, 107 islands spanning 117, 187 square miles, the Philippine topography is 65% mountainous with narrow coastal lowlands (US State Department 2012). The Philippines is classified as a tropical country that lies on the typhoon belt and the Pacific Ring of Fire. As such, it has long been susceptible to a host of environmental disasters. A study mapping out the Southeast Asian regions most vulnerable to climate change note that the Philippines is highly vulnerable because of its geographic susceptibility to multiple climate hazards like cyclones, floods, landslides and droughts (Yusuf and Francisco 2009). Hence, various socio-political institutions such as international agencies, the

national government, local government units and civil society groups currently facilitate policies, programs and projects on climate change in the Philippines.

While efforts to address climate change effects are ongoing at the international and state levels, there is also mounting apprehension that institutional responses to climate change can reinforce gender inequalities, or undermine the gains made towards gender equality in many developing countries (UNDP 2010). Thus, there is a growing call to integrate gender-sensitive perspectives in climate change research and responses, highlighting that there is little existing empirical research on the linkages between climate change and gender (Brody, et al. 2008). Since the Philippines has long subscribed to gender mainstreaming[1] and is a country that is highly vulnerable to climate change, the proposed study intends to address the research gap by looking into the extent to which gender is conceptualized and manifested within Philippine institutional responses to climate change.

Limited research has been done on the link between gender issues and global climate change. Even fewer studies have investigated the gendered outlook and mechanisms of institutions that implement programs or projects on the ground. Moreover, while the Philippine government and NGOs have subscribed to gender

[1] Gender Mainstreaming "is the process of assessing the implications for men and women, of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programs, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality" (UN Economic and Social Council 1997, p.2)

Figure 1. Map of Southeast Asia showing the Philippines

mainstreaming, there has been no known empirical research conducted on how gender mainstreaming is carried out in actual institutional responses to numerous fast-onset climatic events. With these points in mind, my dissertation serves as a qualitative country case study that explored the dynamics of issues and processes involved in mainstreaming gender in institutional climate change initiatives in the Philippines.

Philippine engagement with climate change policies and processes

A year before the UNFCCC was signed in 1992, the Philippines already established an Inter-agency Committee on Climate Change (IACCC) in 1991, through an administrative order (Villarin, et al. 2008). The committee was co-chaired by the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and the Department of Science and Technology (DOST). Among others, the said committee's functions included coordinating, developing and monitoring climate change activities as well as formulating the Philippines' positions in international negotiations or conferences on climate change. Through this IACCC, a National Action Plan on Climate Change was made in 1997, which aimed to integrate climate change concerns in governmental agencies' development plans (Capili 2006 cited in Villarin 2008). Meanwhile, in 1994 the Philippines ratified the Framework Convention and in 2003 the Kyoto Protocol.

According to Villarin, et al. (2008) in order to participate in Clean Development Mechanisms outlined in the Kyoto Protocol, the DENR was designated as the National Authority for CDM in 2004. In February 2007, a Presidential Task Force on Climate Change (PTFCC) was formed, led by the DENR Secretary. The task force's main responsibility was to conduct rapid assessments of the impacts of climate change to vulnerable sectors like agriculture, water, coastal areas and marine ecosystems (Villarin, et al. 2008). By August 2007 the leadership of the PTFCC was transferred from the DENR to the Department of Energy (DOE) and the task force membership was expanded to include the Department of Education. Moreover, an Advisory Council on Climate Change mitigation, Adaptation and

Communication was created within the DENR in September of 2007 (Villarin, et al. 2008). By October 2007, the 1st National Conference on Climate Change Adaptation was held and attended by various representatives from international agencies, national government, civil society and academic institutions. By then proposed legislation on climate change were already filed in Congress and the Senate. By 2009, The Climate Change Act was enacted which constituted the Philippine Climate Change Commission. The Commission is tasked to formulate policies related to climate change, as well as raise public awareness on the impacts of climate change in the country. A Framework Strategy on Climate Change Adaptation was formulated in 2009 as well, which was a result of institutional collaboration (GIZ 2010). This strategy acts as guide for government actions over a 12-year period, from 2010-2022. In 2010-2011, sectoral consultations were held by the Climate Change Commission in order to formulate the National Climate Change Adaptation Plan (NCCAP), which will serve as model for local government versions. The plan was publicly unveiled in late 2011. Following is a timeline of the major Philippine policies and institutional changes related to climate change:

Table 1. Philippine policies and institutional changes related to climate change

Year	Relevant Policies & Institutional Changes
2011	NCCAP publication
2009	Formulation of Framework Strategy for Climate Change Adaptation
	Climate Change Law enacted
	Creation of Philippine Climate Change Commission
2007	1st National Conference on Climate Change Adaptation
	Creation of Presidential Task Force on Climate Change
2003	Kyoto Protocol ratified
1997	Formulation of National Action Plan on Climate Change
1993	Ratification of UNFCCC
1991	Creation of Inter-agency Committee on Climate Change

Philippine engagement with gender mainstreaming

The process of gender mainstreaming the Philippines manifests the relationship between a vibrant women's movement and the bureaucracy. In 1975, at the height of the Marcos dictatorship, the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) was founded, with leadership drawn mostly from

academia and women's non-governmental organizations (Honculada and Ofreneo 2003). Feminists who were against martial rule were critical of the NCRFW since it was affiliated with the bureaucracy. Nonetheless, in the few years leading up to the 1986 People Power revolution, broad unities were reached as various sections of the women's movement set aside their differences to go full force against the Marcos dictatorship.

1986 was a significant year for the Philippine women's movement and gender mainstreaming. Following the revolution, efforts were underway to change the Philippine constitution. Four women's coalitions met to consolidate proposals for the inclusion of gender equality provisions that were eventually incorporated in the new Philippine constitution. In 1987, gender training in the bureaucracy was pioneered by the women's movement, using tools such as the Harvard tools for gender analysis (Honculada and Ofreneo 2003). Hence gender mainstreaming was set in motion, leading to the formulation of the Philippine Development Plan for Women covering the years 1989-1992 and the Philippine Plan for Gender-responsive Development (PPGD) for the time period 1995-2005 (Honculada and Ofreneo 2003; Philippine Commission on Women). According to Honculada and Ofreneo (2003), "towards the end of Cory Aquino's term in 1992, gender mainstreaming initiatives lay with government structures, but NGO women's groups still played an important role, especially when gender mainstreaming was pilot-tested in local government units" (p. 139).

The Ramos regime was known for a number of policies related to gender equity concerns or gender mainstreaming. In 1992, the Women in Development and

Nation-building Act was passed, followed by the Philippine Plan for Gender-responsive Development (PPGD) and the Anti-Sexual Harassment Act in 1995. The new Anti-Rape law passed in 1997 was a landmark piece of legislation that re-classified the definition of rape as crime against person rather than against chastity and made punishable by death. Another important achievement during the Ramos regime was the 1998 General Appropriations Act, mandating all government offices and local government units to allocate 5% of their budget for gender and development purposes. Other landmark legislations in the succeeding years included the Anti-Violence Against Women and Their Children Act (Anti VAWC) of 2004 and the 2009 Magna Carta of Women. Moreover, through all the intervening years the Philippines has participated in international conferences on women and ratified related conventions like the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women, widely known by its acronym, CEDAW (ratified in 1981). The NCRFW was regarded as the main government agency that oversees all matters relating to these concerns and supervises as well as monitors the implementation of gender mainstreaming in the Philippines. In 2010, the NCRFW was renamed as the Philippine Commission on Women, which identifies itself as the "national machinery for gender equality and women's empowerment." A timeline of the major developments related to gender and gender mainstreaming is provided:

Table 2. Major developments related to gender mainstreaming in the Philippines

Year	Major developments
2010	NCRFW renamed as Philippine Commission on Women
2009	Magna Carta of Women enacted
2004	Anti-VAWC Law
1998	5% mandatory allocation for GAD in all bureaucratic offices and LGUs
1997	Anti-rape Law
1995	Philippine Plan for Gender-responsive Development
1992	Women in Development and Nation-building Act
1987	New Philippine constitution ratified with inclusion, among others, of the principle of fundamental equality between women and men
	Start of bureaucratic trainings for gender mainstreaming
1986	People Power revolution
	Collaborative efforts among women's groups
1975	Creation of NCRFW

Research Goals

After providing the historical context for the Philippines' engagement with climate change issues and gender mainstreaming, I will now discuss the purpose for this study. The central aim of this dissertation is to analyze how gender concerns are mainstreamed in socio-political institutions involved in climate change initiatives in

the Philippines. Such analysis includes how international organizations, the bureaucracy, civil society groups, and village constituents conceptualize gender. Gender mainstreaming evolved from advocacy efforts of the Philippine women's movement and the government's treaty commitments. It has now become a governmental policy that compels government agencies to integrate gender considerations in their operations. The term "gender" has become quite commonplace within the last ten to fifteen years, yet there is scarce research on how it is understood, articulated and operationalized in institutional processes. Climate change effects have highlighted various vulnerabilities in Philippine society, including those of women vis-à-vis men. The gendered differential impacts of climate change thus imply the integration of gender mainstreaming in institutional efforts to address climate change.

There are various institutions currently involved in climate change initiatives in the Philippines, at different levels. Each of these institutions subscribes to particular organizational policies and dynamics that underscore gendered processes and impact on project implementation. One of the issues this research investigates is how far project processes are informed by community needs. Hence, community notions of climate change as well as experiences arising from adverse effects are highlighted in the study, along with community coping mechanisms. Moreover, community assessments of climate change project implementation are included in the study, which serve as basis for insights into community empowerment.

The specific research questions that this dissertation addresses are the following:

1. What are the current practices of the different types of institutions involved in efforts to address climate change in the Philippines?
    (a) How are gendered processes manifested in institutional structures, priorities and practices?
    (b) To what extent are institutional practices informed by community needs?
    (c) Whose standpoints are privileged in institutional climate change community interventions?
2. To what extent do institutional practices adhere to gender mainstreaming principles in the process of addressing climate change?
    (a) How do institutions define gender mainstreaming and what are the bases for these definitions?
    (b) What institutional and community issues arise in the process of mainstreaming gender in climate change community interventions?
    (c) To what extent do gender mainstreaming policies and participatory approaches reduce gender inequality, promote community empowerment and more effectively address climate change vulnerability?

Significance of the Study

Since the effects of climate change can now be felt in varying degrees worldwide, the immediacy of research on its gender[ed] implications has become more imperative. My dissertation provides concrete data on climate change initiatives pursued in a highly vulnerable country that also ranks high in gender equity indicators. By analyzing how Philippine socio-political institutions

mainstream gender in their efforts to address climate change the study also gives the necessary Southeast Asian developing country perspective to academic discourses on climate change and gender mainstreaming. Because the study focuses on institutional linkages and dynamics, insights on power relations that produce marginality through gendered processes can also be gleaned from it. The findings of my dissertation may likewise pave the way for changes in current institutional climate change practices, leading to significant implications on social policy outcomes and the development of more gender-sensitive, equitable, efficient and effective responses to climate change in vulnerable Philippine locales.

Overview of Dissertation

The succeeding chapter, Chapter II, discusses the relevant literature for this dissertation. I start the chapter by discussing current feminist articulations on the issue of global climate change, arguments on why there is a link between gender and climate change. I then proceed by describing what little research has been done on gender and climate change and how gender is mainstreamed in processes aimed to address climate change. The role that institutions play in climate change processes is also highlighted in this section of the literature review, just prior to a focus on the evolution of gender mainstreaming as a concept and process. The Philippine experience of gender mainstreaming is likewise discussed, as well as the issues generally associated with gender mainstreaming and how it fares as a mechanism to address gender equity concerns.

Chapter III, Theoretical Framework, is an extension of the literature review where the theories influencing my dissertation are outlined. This includes a discussion on feminist perspectives on environmental issues including ecofeminism and feminist political ecology. These perspectives frame the dissertation in the overall feminist critiques of environmentalism and climate change science and politics. The chapter also outlines feminist standpoint theory and institutional ethnography, which guided the dissertation research. The theory of gendered organizations is discussed towards the end of the chapter, linking it to the issues associated with gender mainstreaming, such as "the genderedness of institutions".

Chapter IV discusses the methodology and data-gathering methods used in the study. I used a combination of qualitative methods for data-gathering, including semi-structured interviews, focus group discussions and textual analysis. In this chapter, the methodology of institutional ethnography is also described, highlighting how it influenced the conduct of field research. Chapters V and VI comprise the discussions on the study findings. Chapter V focuses on various institutional practices related to climate change initiatives. These initiatives range from international down to grassroots efforts to address the felt effects of climate change. This chapter also includes discussions on community participation in climate change-related activities and tensions between the discourses on disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation. Chapter VI is devoted to gender mainstreaming in Philippine institutional responses to climate change. This chapter describes how various actors in climate change processes in the Philippines conceptualize the terms "gender" and "gender mainstreaming". It also discusses the

complexities involved in efforts to integrate gender in institutional responses to climate change. Chapter VII contains the conclusions generated from the study. The chapter likewise suggests future directions for research and outlines some policy recommendations.

CHAPTER II

Literature Review

Global climate change has become a contentious topic that has brought issues of mitigation, adaptation and disaster contexts to the forefront of research and policy efforts in recent years. However, many of the efforts to address climate change have been focused on scientific and economic measures and only recently touched on human and gender dimensions (Skinner 2011). Scholars and gender advocates assert that environmental alterations and disasters that are associated with changes in climate have exacerbated existing inequalities, including those associated with gender relations. Climate change effects result in increased frequency and intensity of natural disasters and thus cause a double burden among those considered to be the weaker, dependent and subordinate groups in communities. These groups are likely to suffer more from both the direct and indirect ramifications of the said events (Acar and Ege 2001; Morrow 1999; Enarson and Morrow 1998). People considered part of these vulnerable groups are usually the ones who are less well-informed, less well-prepared and less well-protected, and their disadvantaged position in society contributes to their vulnerability once the disaster's consequences are transferred to and/or compounded with economic, social, political, and family relationships (Morrow 1999).

The link between gender and climate change stem from the realization that women and men are differentially affected by related or consequent disasters, with women oftentimes more disadvantaged because of their pre-disaster cultural or

social vulnerabilities (Weist, et al. 1994; Morrow 1999; Denton 2002; Demetriades and Esplen 2008). Since women constitute the largest percentage of the world's poorest people living in disaster-prone areas, they are most likely to experience the greatest impacts of shifts in weather patterns and resulting environmental phenomena (Brody, et al. 2008). Women also do not often have the opportunity and capacity to prepare for the impacts of a changing climate or to participate in negotiations on mitigation because they are often not represented in decision-making circles (Denton 2002, Brody, et al. 2008). Moreover, the gendered nature of humanitarian organizations is a contributing factor to the ways in which gender is addressed in relief programs because organizations are themselves embedded in relational hierarchies of gender, caste, class and ethnicity (Nowak and Caulfield 2008).

Feminist articulations in global climate change discourse

According to McGregor (2010), "while social research on climate change has been slow to develop, feminist research into its gender dimensions has been slower." (p.124). However, feminist critiques of scientific climate change discourse and negotiations have recently permeated academic and policy circles. The emphasis on climate change vulnerability, particularly of women, has become the entry point or rallying cry of feminist critiques of climate change policy-making. Gender analyses of climate variability and change underscore that women and girls make up a disproportionate number of the poor or marginalized (Denton 2002; Dankelman 2002; Cannon 2002; Nelson, et al. 2002; Mitchell, cited in Demetriades

and Esplen 2008; Nowak and Caulfield 2008). As Denton (2002) points out, "women (particularly in the global south) are already paying huge prices for globalization, economic depression and environmental degradation…climate change is likely to worsen their already precarious situation" (p. 18). However, this emphasis on women's vulnerability and poverty, particularly in the South, has been critiqued by Arora-Jonsson (2011) as not having empirical bases. For Arora-Jonsson, what is more critical in such assertions on women's marginalization or vulnerability is the fact that "these are caused by power inequalities" (Arora-Jonsson 2011, p. 749).

The lack of women's participation and the absence of any consideration for distinct gendered vulnerabilities and adaptive capacity in climate change decision-making processes account for the gender-blindness of policies aimed to address climate change mitigation and adaptation (Denton 2002; Dankelman 2002; Nelson, et al., 2002; Terry 2009; Hannan 2009). Much of the literature on gender and climate change has thus been written "to lobby for a gender perspective in the international politics involved" (Arora-Jonsson 2011, p. 748). Nelson, et al. (2002) assert that environmental degradation increases women's workload and decreases their access to already scarce resources. Inadequate gender analysis translate to "planners depending on women to assume a central role in coping strategies, without taking into account the increased burden this imposes on women" (Nelson, et al., p. 52). This may also be partly attributed to the lack of mainstreaming of environmental issues into development thinking (Nelson, et al. 2002).

Aside from the emphasis on women's vulnerabilities in the context of climate change effects, feminist critiques of climate change policy-making processes also center on institutional tendencies to downplay women's agency. Women's indigenous environmental knowledge, for example, has been acknowledged by policy-makers to have contributed positively to environmental resource management, yet very little effort is made to utilize such knowledge or make it a fundamental part of mainstream policies (Denton 2002). Dankelman (2002) likewise asserts that despite the propensity to highlight women as victims of climate change, "many studies show how women have been instrumental in organizing themselves around environmental issues and sustainable development" (p. 26). Hannan (2009) echoes this when she underscores that women should not be seen solely as victims and that women's capabilities and contributions should be taken into account since they are powerful change agents at the grassroots level. However, Alaimo (2009) cautions that the binary between universal (masculine) scientific knowledge and the marked vulnerability of impoverished women "brings about at least three problems: (1) it results in a gendered ontology of feminine vulnerability as opposed to scientific or masculinist imperviousness; (2) it may provoke a model of agency that poses nature as mere resource; and (3) it reinforces, even essentializes, gender dualisms in a way that undermines gender and sexual diversity" (p. 30). Lykke (2009) adds, "a position of vulnerability is not necessarily an innocent one and that the complex nature of such 'vulnerable positions' will be exposed through intersectional analysis" (p. 44). Meanwhile, MacGregor (2010) argues that "there has to be a broader agenda for researching and theorizing the

gender dimensions of climate change compared to what have been presented from a development perspective that has disproportionately emphasized the victims in the global South" (p. 126). She suggests, "research on how climate change is framed, how it is experienced in everyday life and how states and individuals are addressing climate change will broaden the scope of analysis in linking gender and climate change" (MacGregor, 2010, p. 126).

Gender mainstreaming in climate change processes

Gender issues made a slow entry into the climate change debates partly due to varied competing priorities and the fact that climate change was viewed as a global phenomenon that uniformly affects everyone (Denton 2004). Far from any mention of gender issues, the Kyoto Protocol did not even mention women. This missing link could account for the absence of women's organizations in the early Conferences of the Parties (COPs), as well as in the framing of climate policies, which generally neglected the social aspects of the problem (Röhr 2009). Initial discussions on climate change "were reduced to global North-South divisions" (Gupta 1999, cited in Denton 2004, p.43). Moreover, women's organizations lacked the expertise to engage in scientific climate change discussions that were deemed to be "gender neutral" (Röhr 2009).

Despite a growing knowledge base and documented gender mainstreaming experiences, gender concerns still have to be fully integrated in climate change decision-making processes. As Denton (2002) points out, women are not even well represented, if at all, in these processes even if policy makers are starting to

acknowledge women's particular vulnerabilities. Röhr (2009) highlights that the acceptance of gender dimensions in actual climate change negotiations will come about only when advocates learn to work within the system. According to Röhr (2009), "if a network totally rejects market-based instruments, the group and its positions will be ignored and no debate with those who participate in the climate change process is going to take place" (p. 58). Skutsch (2002) argues that including gender considerations in the process of climate change policy development increases efficiency in identifying responsibility for green house gas emissions, determining vulnerability and fostering participation in mitigation and adaptation activities. Another point Skutsch (2002) makes is that progress towards gender equity may be threatened if gender considerations are not included in climate change policy.

"No Climate Justice without Gender Justice" has become a rallying for women's organizations that are currently building ranks to tackle the climate issues. There are indeed, powerful arguments for addressing gender issues in the policy areas of mitigation and adaptation in order to prevent climate change from exacerbating existing gender inequalities (Terry, 2009). Hence, gender has to be mainstreamed or made an integral part of the whole climate change negotiation processes and outcomes, in order to hold governments accountable to their commitments (Hemmati and Röhr, 2009). As previously noted, the strategy of gender mainstreaming is aimed at gender equality and can thus be understood as a "continuing process of infusing both the institutional culture and the programmatic and analytical efforts of agencies with gendered perspectives" (Christensen, et al.,

2009). We need to see this happening within climate change processes in order to ensure that institutional responses and policies do not continue to neglect or oversimplify gender issues (Fulu, 2007). In designing gender-sensitive responses to climate change, we also need to locate and hear existing knowledge on climate change, including local practices and indigenous knowledge (Demetriades and Esplen 2008). Yet the necessity for this also has to be made explicit in actual climate change policy-making processes or negotiations.

The Role of Institutions

Gender mainstreaming in climate change processes underscores the important role of institutions in promoting mitigation and adaptation practices, as well as gender awareness and sensitivity. Adaptation to climate change is unavoidably local and always occurs in an institutional context (Agrawal 2008). Agrawal asserts that "climate impacts will affect disadvantaged social groups at the local level and institutions centrally influence how these groups gain access to and be able to use assets and resources" (p. 2). Institutions, particularly in local areas, are important for mitigating and addressing factors of insecurity and instability associated with vulnerability (Uphoff and Buck, 2006). Pelling, et al. (2008) echo this by emphasizing that local organizations are the front-line actors in adapting to climate change and variability. Uphoff and Buck (2006) highlight local governments and local agencies as two important types of local public institutions.

Agrawal (2008) asserts that "partnerships among public, civic and private organizations can prove extremely important in addressing climate hazards related

adaptation" (p. 26). Such partnerships have become common in the context of environmental as well as development projects (Agrawal 2008). Olsson, et al. (2004) clarifies that in promoting adaptive co-management of an ecosystem, "knowledge develops as a collaborative effort and becomes part of the flexible organizational and institutional structures" (p. 22). However, the distribution of types of institutions, their linkages and accessibility in relation to their mediating role for external interventions also needs to be understood (Agrawal 2008). Doing so will shed light on processes such as mainstreaming gender in climate change institutional efforts, especially in relation to external funding and mandates. As an international organization providing funds and services for climate change mitigation and adaptation, the UN, for one, has acknowledged that gender and climate change are cross-cutting priorities that need to be mainstreamed in all of their program activities (UNDP 2010). The question remains, though, of how this gets implemented within UN agencies and how state-level or local-level institutions adhere to gender mainstreaming frameworks in climate change mitigation and adaptation, especially since gender mainstreaming policies in the Philippines emanate from the national bureaucracy. The state or national government thus serves as implementer and monitoring agency for local government units.

Evolution of gender mainstreaming as concept and process

The rhetoric of gender mainstreaming has permeated feminist critiques of climate change processes as a means of correcting perceived gender biases in mitigation and/or adaptation program implementation. "The concept of 'gender mainstreaming' is deceptively simple, as it implies a commitment to incorporate

gender into all areas of public policy, rather than considering women's issues as a discrete policy problem" (Mazey 2000, p. 341). Gender mainstreaming has been widely embedded at the international and national levels since the early 1990s and has become an increasingly salient issue of debate and experimentation for policy-makers (Buckingham 2004; Mazey 2000).

The concept and practice of gender mainstreaming originated in the 1980s in the Nordic countries (notably Norway and Sweden) and the Netherlands (Mazey 2000). Framed within human rights and equality discourses that have informed the United Nations, "gender mainstreaming has become a plank of all UN conventions since the environment and women's conferences of the early to mid-1990s" (Buckingham 2004, p. 5). The UN Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in 1992 was the first UN conference that was significantly informed by a coherent lobby from the women and environment movement. This led to the inclusion of a set of objectives defined as "global action for women towards sustainable development and equitable action" (UN 1992, cited in Buckingham 2004, p. 6). Thus "the link between women and the environment was then consolidated internationally at the 1995 4th UN Conference on Women, in Beijing" (Buckingham 2004, p. 6). The resulting Platform for Action identified "women and environment" as a critical area of concern. The UN thus pioneered "gender mainstreaming" at the Beijing conference by urging the signatories to "mainstream a gender perspective into all policies and programs, so that, before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men" (UN 1995, cited in Buckingham 2004, p. 8).

Following the UN lead, the Council of Europe and various UN member-states likewise adopted gender mainstreaming into their policy frameworks. As Sobritchea (2004) notes, "the allocation of development funds across countries and across sectors within a country has been heavily influenced by the priorities established in the UN-sponsored international conferences and meetings" (p.107). The UN pushed for state parties, donor agencies and civil society to enhance women's role in development. In the Philippines, gender mainstreaming was thus adopted within the context of development goals that underscore women's participation, more so since international institutions and donor countries allocated funds specifically for gender programs (Sobritchea 2004).

Mainstreaming gender in the Philippines

The Philippine gender mainstreaming experience is intertwined with the developments associated with the second wave of the Philippine Women's Movement (Honculada and Ofreneo 2003; Sobritchea 2004). Even though the movement traces its roots in the Martial Law period of the '70s, it was not until the '80s that self-identifying feminist groups were formed (Sobritchea 2004). Many of the women who joined these first groups came from the nationalist movement that fought martial rule and they left their groups presumably to "bring the struggle down to the personal level" (Angeles 1989, cited in Sobritchea 2004, p. 102). On the government front, the change of administrative leadership after the 1986 People Power revolution ushered in new officials in the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women or NCRFW, a Presidential Advisory Body that has recently been

renamed as the Philippine Commission on Women (PhilGAD Portal 2009). The NCRFW was founded during the Marcos dictatorship or Martial Law years of the 1970's-1980's, strengthened during the post-1986 revolution's Aquino administration and further expanded during the Ramos administration (Honculada and Ofreneo 2003). NCRFW's new set of officials during the Aquino administration decided to focus on mainstreaming women's concerns in policy making, planning and programming of all government agencies (PhilGAD Portal 2009). This move was undoubtedly triggered by the Philippine commitments to UN conventions or agreements.

The leftist origins of the Philippine women's movement has greatly influenced the local discourse on the roots of women's subordination, subsuming women's issues under nationalist goals that focused on the role of class and ethnicity in intensifying patriarchy (Sobritchea 2004). Yet within the nationalist movement, sexism and the culture of machismo prevailed, thus disillusioning women members who eventually explored feminist theories that went beyond class analysis (Sobritchea 2004). These women went on to declare themselves socialist feminists and followed the civil society paradigm of critical engagement with the state, while others who affiliated with the national democratic movement worked within the framework of armed struggle and socialist revolution (Sobritchea 2004).

As mentioned earlier, there were funds made available specifically for gender programs, like those from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA), allocated to integrate Gender and Development in the workings of the Philippine government (PhilGAD Portal 2009). These funds, along with pressure from the UN

and the improved social and economic situation during the Aquino and Ramos regimes, paved the way for the inclusion of the gender equality principle in the 1987 constitution, as well as the passage of pro-women laws and policies (PhilGAD Portal 2009; Sobritchea 2004). Meanwhile, through advocacy and organizing, mainstream women activists were able to raise public consciousness on gender issues and made feminist ideals part of civil society's political agenda (Sobritchea 2004). These women activists were encouraged to combine political activism with development work and established non-profit organizations and broad coalitions in the late '80s until the late '90s. A proliferation of women's organizations and women's desks/committees in various sectors triggered the perception of a vibrant women's movement. The two largest women's groups comprising a broad spectrum of societal organizations "doubled as fund facilities, channeling funds for advocacy and research to their member-organizations and thus influencing the nature and types of feminist discourse" (Sobritchea 2004, p.106). Towards the end of Aquino's term "the initiative for gender mainstreaming was within government structures but the role of NGO women's groups remained critical especially when gender mainstreaming moved out to pilot regions and local government units" (Honculada and Ofreneo 2003, p. 138). Women activist members of NGOs became the critical mass who acted as advocates, trainers and consultants for gender mainstreaming, particularly as the state enacted the 30-yr Philippine Plan for Gender-responsive Development (PhilGAD Portal 2009).

Issues with gender mainstreaming

At the outset, there have been concerns as to how gender mainstreaming will be operationalized since there were few existing procedural and institutional templates (Mazey, 2000). What was clear, according to Mazey, was that it will require increased representation of women in public and private decision-making institutions, which needed to be redesigned in order to accommodate women's needs. Staudt (2003) points out that gender mainstreaming confronted the difficult tasks of transforming institutional missions, promoting good governance and dealing with limited resources. In the European Union, studies assessing the implementation of gender mainstreaming across policy areas started about five years after its adoption by the Council of Europe. Not surprisingly, gender mainstreaming was found to be a demanding strategy that requires policy-makers to adopt new perspectives, acquire new expertise and change their established operating procedures (Pollack and Hafner-Burton, 2000). This resulted to variations in acceptance and implementation of the EU's gender mainstreaming mandate across different issue-areas. Pollack and Hafner-Burton (2000) underscored three concerns with regards to implementation, including apprehensions over the possible abandonment of specific, positive actions on behalf of women, the failure to create legally-enforceable rights, and the nature of the mainstreaming process that may not actually challenge existing paradigms.

In the Philippines, the main critique for gender mainstreaming is linked with the "critical collaboration" stance that women's organizations have with the government. Such collaboration risked the appropriation of feminist discourse and

language by the state (Sobritchea 2004). However, since funds from international entities for NGOs pass through government agencies, civil society fell under the scrutiny and supervision of the state, "thereby limiting its ability to act as fiscalizer of the government and go into alternative programs" (Sobritchea 2004, p.111). The major criticism of the mainstream women's movement by the women organizations affiliated with the militant nationalist movement has been that the former "enabled the state to protect itself by using feminist language and symbols" (Sobritchea 2004, p. 114). Further, as Sobritchea notes, the state is perceived by the militant groups as "having deflected attention from poverty and militarization while providing more opportunities for middle-class, educated women to participate in government initiated exercises and processes like policy consultations and gender mainstreaming mechanisms" (Sobritchea 2004, p. 114). This critique suggests that gender mainstreaming has come to symbolize the co-optation of feminist principles by the state.

One fundamental issue associated with gender mainstreaming is the notion of gender itself. Eveline and Bacchi (2005) emphasize that the concept of gender is a contested one, given that "different understandings of gender are attached to different reform approaches which feminists want to veer away from" (Eveline and Baachi, 2005, p. 508). Such so-called reform approaches include simply accommodating women's concerns within patriarchal structures by using sex-disaggregated data, or problematizing over how not to alienate men in carrying out "gender projects". Further, both authors suggest that feminists need to reinstate a political dimension to the term gender by using it as a verb, thus emphasizing the

complexity of processes of implementation. In relation to this, they also recommend a reframing of "gender mainstreaming" as "gendering-awareness mainstreaming". This reframing will "emphasize the need to analyze how gender is conceptualized at an early stage of the mainstreaming process" (Eveline and Baachi, 2005, p. 508). Meanwhile, Zalewski (2010) argues that even though gender mainstreaming has radical intentions and possibilities for change, gender is "an increasingly ineffective concept in regards to the radical intentions feminists hoped and work(ed) for" (p. 12). For Zalewski (2010), "the political character of the term gender itself is muffled" (p. 12) and that there is "a mismatch between feminist theory and gender mainstreaming practices, due in part to the suturing of gender into heteronormativity" (p. 124).

Echoing the arguments of Acker (1990), Benschop and Verloo (2006) point to another fundamental problem associated with gender mainstreaming—the "genderedness of organizations". Even though gender mainstreaming is positioned as participatory and thus pursuing a dual agenda of business needs and feminist goals in organizations, crucial power differences between parties determine the outcome (Benschop and Verloo, 2006, 31). The authors note that there is a tendency for feminist researchers to remain as organizational outsiders while civil servants have the power to decide an acceptable agenda for change. This translates to the goal of gender equality being watered down. Prügl's (2010) study offers parallel findings when she explored the extent to which gender mainstreaming was realized in local contexts. Bureaucratic values basically emerged as "techniques of power that prevented the adoption of gender mainstreaming and functioned to conserve

existing gendered practices" (Prügl, 2010, p. 468). Further, Prügl points out that bureaucratic masculinism was apparent and women who are embedded in the state bureaucracy submitted to it, thus obscuring the need to question gendered power relations and preventing officials from taking responsibility for change.

The foregoing and other issues raised against gender mainstreaming as a concept and process may lead one to question whether it has failed and as such, whether we should even use it within climate change policy-making processes. Yet, as Moser (2005) argues, "the issue is not so much the failure or success of gender mainstreaming, as it is of deconstructing the concept and its different stages into a viable implementation process, with appropriate indicators to monitor and evaluate it" (p. 585). Considerations of "differing contexts for mainstreaming gender are also important since in the global North emphasis is more on the issue of equality while in the global South it is [women's] empowerment" (Moser 2005, p. 588).

Notwithstanding the critical observations they put forward, Pollack and Hafner-Burton (2000) concludes that mainstreaming gender in the EU agenda will definitely not transpire overnight and that the preliminary evidence they have gathered suggest that within individual issue-areas in the EU, "the gradual introduction of a gender perspective into existing policies has the potential to transform the discourse, procedures, participants and ultimately, national policies, to the mutual benefit of the women and men of Europe" (p. 453). Similar sentiments were given by Mazey (2000), saying "gender mainstreaming is undoubtedly a potential radical strategy which, at least in theory, should ensure that policy-makers incorporate gender into the policy-making process" (p. 342). Benschop and Verloo

(2006) likewise concur that while the realities of gender mainstreaming are not without problems, this strategy also "offers sufficient advantages as it transcends liberal feminist approaches of equal treatment or equal opportunities and addresses fossilized norms and complex power relations that eventually changes gendered discourse" (p. 31). The various aspects of gender mainstreaming as a concept and process thus serve as rich sources of research material, particularly in countries that implement it. There are many nuances to gender mainstreaming especially since it is still considered as the main tool to integrate gender perspectives in otherwise masculinist discourses and policies, like that of climate change.

CHAPTER III

Theoretical Framework

To answer the questions outlined in this study I draw from and weave together three major feminist theoretical approaches. First, feminist standpoint theory provides the overarching framework for highlighting the social locatedness of knowledge and reclaiming the significance of concrete everyday experience in knowledge projects. In undertaking this research I focused on understanding the dynamics of institutional power relations that impact on marginalization. In effect I wanted to highlight how climate change initiatives are coordinated beyond individual experience. Standpoint theory, particularly the work of Dorothy Smith, provides such unrestrictive theoretical framing. Smith's institutional ethnography as method of inquiry emerges directly from feminist standpoint theory. This institutional ethnographic research maps out the links among communities and various institutions operating at the local, national and international levels and thus elucidates on the dynamics of power relations among these institutions. The research likewise provides insights into opportunities for collective action that may transform subjugated knowledges into sources of potential liberation.

Secondly, since my research is anchored in feminist critiques of climate change policies and processes, feminist perspectives on environmentalism serves as an important theoretical foundation. I argue that such perspectives echo feminist standpoint theory in underscoring women's knowledge and experience within controlling and exploitative patriarchal structures. The forerunner of feminist

environmentalism is ecofeminism and I start my theoretical engagement with feminist environmentalism with a discussion of ecofeminism. Within feminist perspectives on environmentalism, feminist political ecology with its emphasis on powerful underlying structures influencing environmental decision-making provides important theoretical insights in addressing my research questions. Gendered institutional structures and processes within environmentalism in general and climate change in particular, are thus highlighted.

To further understand the dynamics involved in gendered environmental processes and institutions, the theory of gendered organizations serves as the third main theoretical strain used in this study. Gender mainstreaming as a tool and mechanism designed to address gender inequality, is implemented within institutional structures. An understanding of how these institutions are themselves gendered is crucial in analyzing how gender mainstreaming fares within climate change policy structures and processes.

Feminist Standpoint Theory

Feminist standpoint theory "emerged as a feminist critical theory about the relations between the production of knowledge and practices of power" (Harding 2004, p.1). It is regarded as essentially an opposition to positivism (Harding 1997, 2007 in Hesse-Biber). Feminist standpoint theory draws heavily from Marxist paradigms that privileged the standpoint of the proletariat (Harding 2004 and 1997; Hartsock 1997; Hekman 1997). The use of feminist standpoint theory then

emphasizes that feminist scientific projects are best grounded in the lives of marginalized women. Haraway (1988) asserts that feminist standpoints do not perform "god-tricks" by claiming to start off from allegedly universal human problematics or dominant group lives, but rather from the distinct, objective locations of women's lives. Haraway (1988) also argues that feminist objectivity is embodied and situated knowledge or "quite simply, situated knowledges" (p.581). Further, Haraway (1988) stresses that subjugated standpoints are preferable because they are potentially more reliable accounts of the world. However, such subjugated standpoints are not innocent positions but are rather favored because they are least likely to deny the critical examination of the repressive nature of dominant knowledge (Haraway 1988).

According to Hartsock (1983), "a standpoint is not simply an interested position or bias but is an engaged position" (p. 36 in Harding 2004). The main contention of a standpoint is that there are human relations with each other and the natural world that are rendered invisible and the engaged standpoint uncovers these hidden relations and makes liberation possible (Hartsock 1983). Similar arguments are explicit in the work of Hill Collins (1986) on the significance of black feminist perspectives in sociological work. Hill Collins (1986) underscores the marginalization of black women sociologists within the discipline and enjoins them to use their "outsider" status to generate insights that are not accessible to the "white male insider". bell hooks (1990) likewise calls for a "culture of opposition as critical response to domination" when she distinguishes between "the marginality imposed by oppressive structures and the marginality one chooses as site of

resistance" (p. 159 in Harding 2004). Feminist standpoint theory's engagement with marginal positions as sources of subversion of power structures thus allows for more nuanced understanding of the dynamics of marginalization and the ways to address it. This theoretical perspective proves useful in analyzing institutional and community realities associated with mainstreaming gender in climate change and calling to mind what Smith (2005) describes as "locating a standpoint in an institutional order that provides the guiding perspective from which that order will be explored" (p. 32).

Notwithstanding its significance in highlighting the social locatedness of knowledge and subsequent liberatory potentials, feminist standpoint theory has been critiqued on several grounds, such as being ethnocentric. Harding (1993) refutes this so-called ethnocentric tendency by saying that standpoint theorists explicitly argue that the marginal lives of others provide better grounds for certain kinds of knowledge. Another strong critique leveled against standpoint theory is epistemological relativism. As Hekman (1997) notes, "If we try to accommodate the multiple, potentially infinite standpoints of diverse women, how many axes can they encompass before they slip into hopeless confusion?" (p. 227 in Harding 2004). In response to this relativist critique, Harding (1993) asserts that feminist standpoint theory subscribes to the view that "some social situations are scientifically better than others, as places from which to start knowledge projects" (p.131). It is thus against the notion that all social situations can be effective resources for learning about the world. Epistemological relativism is anathema to any scientific project, including feminist ones (Harding 1993, p.131).

Hekman (1997) said that the formulation of feminist standpoint theory rests on two assumptions: "(1) That all knowledge is located and situated, and (2) That the standpoint of women is privileged because it provides a vantage point that reveals the truth of social reality" (p.227 in Harding 2004). Hekman (1997) acknowledges that feminist standpoint theory defines knowledge as constituted or constructed by relational forces, rather than as transcendent. What she says she finds problematic is the status of truth claims which feminists advance, particularly the claim that women have been and are oppressed, so their standpoints lead to more objective accounts of reality. Hartsock (1997) counters that the criteria for privileging some knowledges over others are ethical and political, rather than purely epistemological. To this, Hill Collins (1997) adds, "Hekman depoliticizes the potentially radical content of standpoint theory… it was never designed to be argued as a theory of truth and method (p. 247)…. within the reality of hierarchical power relations, the standpoints of some groups are most certainly privileged over others" (p. 252 in Harding 2004). Harding (2004) upholds that it is relations of power and knowledge that concern feminist standpoint theorists, not figuring out how to justify the truth of feminist claims to more accurate accounts of reality. Smith (1997) likewise insists, "taking up women's standpoints has nothing to do with justifying feminist knowledge" (p.264 in Harding 2004).

Feminist environmentalism

Ecofeminism is considered to be the foundation of feminist scholarship and activism on environmental issues in general and climate change in particular (Christensen, et al. 2009). As a concept and movement in its own right, ecofeminism

has evolved from its origins in the late '70s, thus reflecting the policy shifts in the areas of gender (in)equality and environmental sustainability (Buckingham 2004). With major droughts and famines in Africa, land and soil degradation and deforestation, the 1980s saw an unprecedented rise in global environmental concern (Leach 2007). Leach further claims that many development agencies thus shifted focus and adhered to notions of environmental protection and sustainable development. It was in this context that the notion that women have a special relationship with the environment was first highlighted in development circles (Leach 2007).

Central to ecofeminist views is the conviction that systems of power and capital accumulation reflect masculine values that treat women and the earth as resources that can be controlled and exploited, or having a shared history of oppression by patriarchal institutions (Christensen, et al. 2009; Leach 2007, Rocheleau, et al. 1996). This view is premised on the belief that life on earth is interconnected rather than hierarchical. As King (1989) points out, "There is no natural hierarchy but human hierarchy is projected onto nature and used to justify social domination… Ecofeminism draws on feminist theory which asserts that the domination of women was the original domination in human society from which all other hierarchies flow" (p. 24). Moreover, Shiva (1989) takes this a step further by emphasizing how development as a post-colonial project imposed on the Third World by Western economies has fostered the belief on a market economy based on resource exploitation. She likewise discussed indigenous Third World concepts on the nature of Nature, bringing in notions of feminine and masculine integration,

rather than dualisms. However, such perspectives have been critiqued as essentializing the connection of women and nature (Christensen, et al. 2009; Buckingham 2004; Rocheleau, et al. 1996; Agarwal 1992), primarily since some feminists embraced the idea that women are closer to nature and thus have a better understanding of environmental protection (Nightingale 2006). Some feminists argued that essentialist conceptions of women ignored very real differences that exist between / among women themselves (Cuomo 1998). Nonetheless, these early articulations of ecofeminism provided impetus for critiques of technology, such as King's (1989) assertion that "militarism and the weapons industry are the most immediate threat to continued life on earth, while the ecological effects of other modern technologies pose a more long-term threat" (p. 26). Such critique is still relevant in current environmental discourse.

As a counterpoint to an "essentialist ecofeminism", particularly Shiva's works, Agarwal (1992) argued for a feminist environmentalism based on women's material realities and not on some inherent, close connection to nature. Agarwal underscored that there are gendered interests in particular resources and ecological processes due to materially distinct daily work and responsibilities. Hence, the clear focus was on gender, defined as "the differences between men's and women's experiences and knowledge in relation to their environment" (Nightingale, 2006, p.168). Agarwal "brought a political-economic analysis into the debate around gender and environmentalism, arguing that the material conditions of people's lives are complicit in producing particular environmental problems which place extra

burdens on women who are responsible for the subsistence needs of their families" (Nightingale, 2006, p. 168).

Drawing from the broader school of political ecology and incorporating feminist environmental perspectives, feminist political ecology focused attention on the nature of gendered knowledge, questions of resource access and control, and the engagement between local struggles and global issues (Leach 2007). While seemingly a synthesis of feminist environmentalism, socialist and post-structuralist feminism, feminist political ecology takes into account political ecology's focus on decision-making processes, as well as the social, political and economic context that shapes environmental policies and practices (Rocheleau, et al. 1996). Moreover, Rocheleau et al. (1996) contend that feminist political ecology treats gender as a critical variable in shaping resource access and control as it interacts with class, race, culture and ethnicity in shaping ecological change, as well as in sustaining ecologically viable livelihoods. Feminist political ecology "links an ecological perspective with analysis of economic and political power and with policies and actions within a local context" (Rocheleau, et al. 1996, p. 289).

Nightingale (2006) notes that "most of the work done within feminist political ecology demonstrates how gender structures particular types of knowledge, space, resources and social-political processes, thus providing an important foundation for arguing that men and women have differential opportunities and challenges in relation to environmental change and development" (p. 169). However, Nightingale (2006) likewise issues a caveat, saying that the emphasis in feminist political ecology has largely remained on women and thus,

there is a danger in terms of falling back into essentialist notions of women and their "natural" connection to the land (p. 169). Nonetheless, feminist political ecology lends itself well to the issue of incorporating a gender perspective in climate change issues, particularly those surrounding mitigation and adaption.

Theory of Gendered Organizations

The proposed research is anchored on the analysis of the extent to which gender concerns are mainstreamed in institutional interventions designed to address climate change effects. Hence, the very structure and organizational processes of these institutions will be analyzed to determine how gender mainstreaming can be effectively carried out in community climate change interventions. To this end, Joan Acker's work on gender and organizations, which outlined the theory that organizations are gendered, is a relevant theoretical framework.

Acker (1990) examined organizations as "gendered processes in which both gender and sexuality have been obscured through a gender-neutral, asexual discourse…that gender, the body and sexuality are part of the processes of control in work organizations" (p. 140). For Acker, "to say that an organization is gendered means that advantage and disadvantage, exploitation and control, action and emotion, meaning and identity, are patterned through and in terms of a distinction between male and female, or masculine and feminine" (Acker 1990, p. 146). Rather than an addition to ongoing organizational processes, gender is an integral part of those processes (Acker 1990).

According to Acker (1990), gendering in organizations occurs in at least five interacting processes, the first of which is the construction of divisions or hierarchies along lines of gender—divisions of labor, of allowed behaviors, of locations in physical space, of power, including the institutionalized means of maintaining the divisions in the structures of labor markets, the family and the state (p. 146). "The construction of symbols and images that explain, express, reinforce or oppose those divisions comprise the second process in gendering within organizations" (Acker, 1990, p. 146). The third set of processes resulting in gendered organizations is the interactions between women and men, women and women, men and men, including all patterns that endorse dominance and submission (Acker 1990). Fourth is the production of gendered components of individual identity, which in organizations translate to choice of appropriate work, language use, clothing, and presentation of self as gendered member of an organization. Finally, Acker asserts that gender is implicated in the fundamental, ongoing processes of creating and conceptualizing social structures; that is, "gender is a constitutive element in organizational logic, or the underlying assumptions and practices that construct most contemporary work organizations" (Acker 1990, p. 147).

Acker (1990) asserts that underlying both academic theories and practical guides for managers is a gendered substructure that is reproduced daily in practical work activities and also in the writings of organizational theorists. Constituting this gendered understructure of society's institutions is the divide between reproduction and production, highlighting the belief that reproduction and the

responsibilities it entails takes place elsewhere (Acker 1992). For Acker (1990), the resulting assumption from this belief is that those who are committed to paid employment are "naturally" more suited to responsibility and authority, while those who must divide their commitments between productive and reproductive tasks are in the lower ranks. Hence, there is the organizational concept of a universal worker that is supposedly gender-neutral but has ascribed male qualities (Acker 1990). An images of what Connell (1987) calls "hegemonic masculinities" is a central component of the creation of the notion of the male universal worker. For example, "the leader and the successful organization itself are often portrayed as aggressive, goal-oriented, competitive, and efficient, but rarely as supportive, kind, and caring" (Acker, 1992, p. 568). Despite this, though, "the appearance of gender neutrality is still maintained and understanding how this happens is an important part of analyzing gendered institutions" (Acker, 1992, p. 568).

Synthesis

This dissertation set out to analyze how gender concerns are mainstreamed in institutional climate change initiatives in the Philippines. Hence the focus is to look into institutional structures, dynamics and linkages among international, national and local level institutions, and assess whether these translate into empowering gender-sensitive community interventions. The three feminist theoretical perspectives I have outlined serve as the guiding framework and foundation for analysis in this study.

Feminist standpoint theory provides the necessary entry point and lenses for mapping out the coordinating relations of ruling involved in institutional climate change initiatives in the Philippines. Feminist environmentalism contextualizes the research in the broader feminist critiques of masculinist environmentalism and is in effect a feminist standpoint that highlights women's environmental knowledge and experience. Within feminist environmental perspectives, feminist political ecology looks into underlying gendered power structures and processes that serve to explicate on the dynamics of Philippine institutional responses to climate change. Meanwhile, the theory of gendered organizations extends the analysis of gendered power structures and processes to the institutional level itself and therefore provides insights into how Philippine institutions engage in gender mainstreaming as they implement climate change projects. Taken altogether the combination of these three feminist theoretical approaches equips this research with the analytical tools to address the outlined research questions.

CHAPTER IV

Research Methods

Research Approach

The study utilizes feminist approaches to research which primarily "centers and make problematic women's diverse situations and the institutions that frame those situations" (Cresswell 2007, p. 25). The conduct of feminist empirical research is guided by feminist theory and its use of multiple methods allows for the study of a broad range of subject matter, as well as reaches a broad set of goals (Reinharz 1992). Following from feminist research approaches, my research was guided by the principles of institutional ethnography, a methodology that "problematizes social relations and organization beyond personal experiences and coordinates people's lives" (Smith in Hesse-Biber 2007, p. 409). According to Smith, institutional ethnography is feminist in three respects: (1) It originated and developed within the politics of consciousness-raising central to the early days of the women's movement; (2) Its design problematizes the conceptual strategies and methods of sociologies that alienate people from experience and proposes an alternative inquiry that works from and learns from people's experience of the actualities of everyday lives; and (3) People are the knowers or subjects of knowledge rather than the objects of the study (Smith in Hesse-Biber, 2007, p. 409).

Institutional ethnographers generally subscribe to "critical or liberatory goals as they undertake research that reveal ideological and social processes that produce experiences of subordination" (DeVault and McCoy in Smith 2006, p. 19). Since gender mainstreaming in itself aims to expose as well as address equity and

inequality concerns in institutional structures and processes, conducting this research falls under such critical or liberatory aspirations. Any ethnographic work "relies on interviews, observations and documents as data but institutional ethnography treats them as entry points into social relations rather than as topics of interest" (Campbell in Smith 2006, p. 92). In this study, interviews, observations and documents were used to map out the social relations involved in Philippine institutional responses to climate change and how these integrate gender concerns. In this context, the term institution does not only refer to a particular organization or social arrangement but also to "coordinated and intersecting work processes occurring in multiple sites that inform the project of empirical inquiry" (DeVault and McCoy in Smith 2006, p. 17). According to DeVault and McCoy (in Smith 2006), "since institutions cannot be studied and mapped out in their totality, an institutional ethnographic study aims to explore particular strands within a specific institutional complex in order to make visible their points of connections with other sites and courses of action" (p. 17). Such was the course of action I took as I gathered data for this study.

Site and Participant Selection

The Philippines was chosen as a research locale because of its high vulnerability to climate (Yusuf and Francisco 2009; Maplecroft 2010). Studies have shown that increasing typhoon incidence attributed to shifts in climate patterns has heightened the Philippines' predisposition to a range of environmental catastrophes such as severe flooding, landslides and drought (Villarin, et al. 2008). Mid-range emissions scenario projections made by the Philippine Atmospheric Geophysical

and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA) show that for 2020 and 2050 all areas of the Philippines will get warmer, particularly in the summer months of March to May (Philippine Climate Change Commission 2011). The same climate projections say that there is likely increased rainfall during both the Southwest monsoon (June-August) and Northeast monsoon (September to November) seasons, in most areas of Luzon and Visayas (Philippine Climate Change Commission 2011). Figure 2 shows the Philippines' high climate change vulnerability vis-à-vis other countries in Southeast Asia.

Due to its climate change vulnerability, various institutions are therefore currently positioned in the Philippines to respond to people's needs following climate hazards or disasters. Initiatives are also underway for climate change adaptation. Moreover, the Philippines has likewise officially subscribed to gender mainstreaming principles. The country has policies and mechanisms particularly for this purpose. Thus how various Philippine institutions carry out their climate change initiatives on the ground and whether these adhere to gender mainstreaming were the impetus for the questions driving this research.

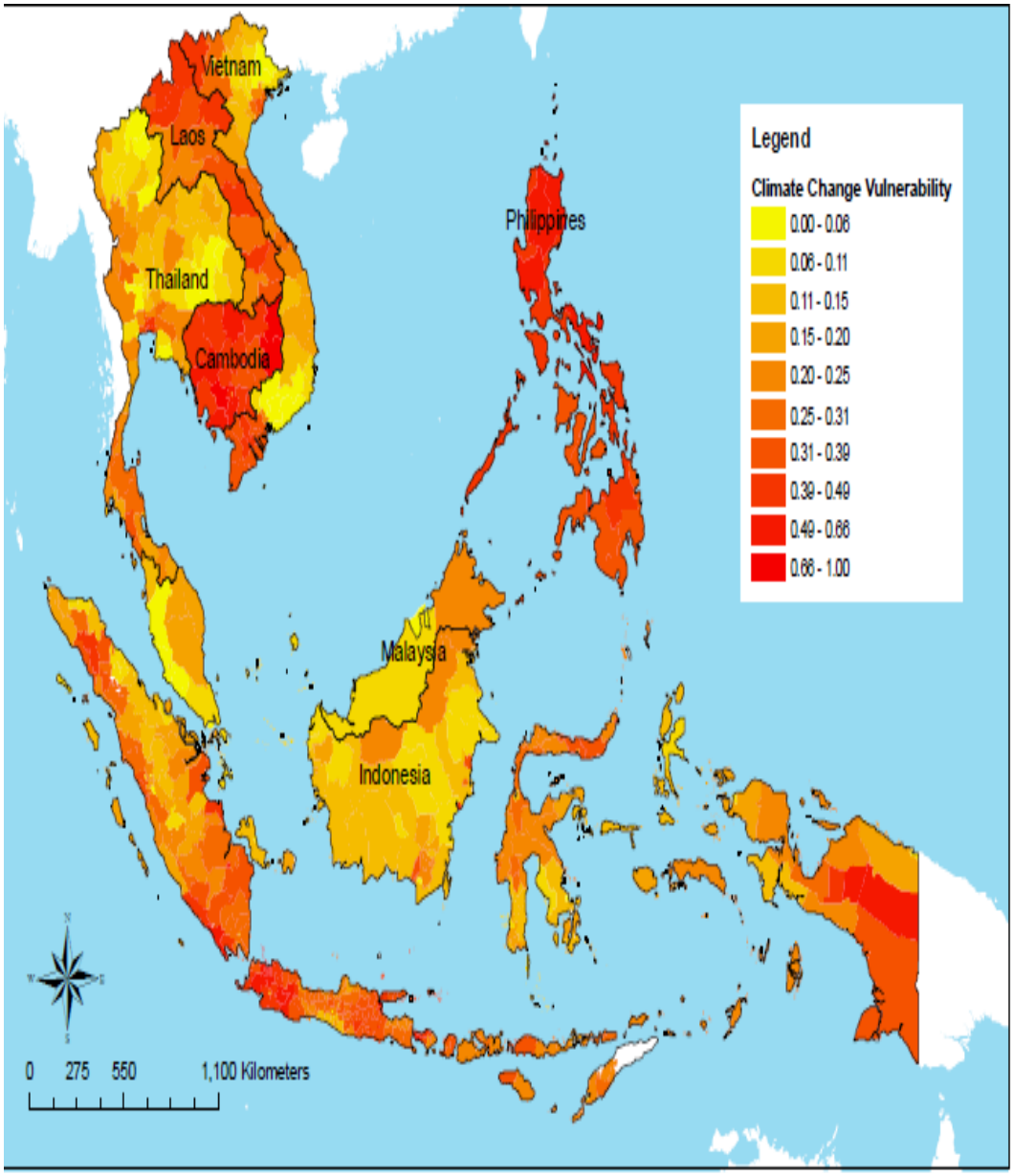

Figure 2. Climate Change Vulnerabilty Map of Southeast Asia (Yusuf and Francisco 2009)

One other factor that drove the selection of the Philippines as research site is the fact that I am a Filipina who has experienced first-hand a few instances of severe flooding. I am also affiliated with a research university and have conducted research on community-based coastal resource management, women's experience of an oil spill disaster, and several other gender-related research projects that cover women's and adolescent reproductive health. As a member of the university's gender and development program, I have likewise been involved as facilitator in trainings designed to build local government unit officials' capacity in gender mainstreaming. Moreover, in a span of ten years I have regularly taught university courses like the introductory course, "Understanding Gender" and the elective course, "Gender Issues in Philippine Society". Hence, I had the basic skills and gender lenses necessary to conduct this research in a Philippine context.

The study was conducted in three regions in the Philippines, including the national capital region, Metro Manila. Since the seat of the national government bureaucracy and the main offices of various institutions are located in Metro Manila, I made several trips there to interview representatives from international institutions, the national bureaucracy and national civil society alliances. In the course of fieldwork, I learned from civil society groups and colleagues from academic institutions that there are two local government units well known for implementing grassroots-level climate change initiatives—a provincial government in the Bicol Region and a municipal government in Panay Island, Region VI. Interviews with local government officials and focus group discussions with community members were conducted in these two locales. The Bicol region is

known as a disaster-prone area since it is frequented by typhoons and is where the country's most active volcano is located. Region VI is located almost in the middle of the Visayas group of islands, an area projected to have increased amount of rainfall in the coming years (Philippine Climate Commission 2011). Figure 3 shows the areas where I did the fieldwork for this research.

Figure 3. Study locales

Field Procedures

In mid-June 2011, I started fieldwork for the study by communicating with people who were able to link me with key players in climate change initiatives in the Philippines. Through them I was able to secure the contact information of potential institutional respondents. I communicated with these potential respondents initially through email and some of them replied that they were willing to be interviewed. For those who provided phone numbers I followed up my requests for interview through phone calls and text messages. Early on in my fieldwork a former university colleague who currently works for an international funding agency also arranged for me to attend a feedback session for the Bonn UNFCCC intersessional meetings, sponsored by a civil society alliance on climate change. In the said feedback session representatives from government, civil society and academic institutions were present. My interaction with these institutional representatives led to referrals to prospective respondents and I was able to set a few appointments for interviews.

My initial interviews led to more referrals, including key local government officials in the locales where the community focus group interviews were conducted. Throughout the time of fieldwork some of the people I sent out emails to also responded regarding their availability for interviews. The process closely resembled what DeVault and McCoy (2002) described as "the step by step process in which institutional ethnographers discover whom they need to interview, and what texts or discourses they need to examine" (in Campbell and Gregor 2002, p.64). In total I was able to interview five representatives from international

institutions that fund and collaborate with the Philippine government on climate change pilot projects; five representatives of national government agencies; seven representatives from civil society groups and alliances; and twelve representatives from local government units and local non-government organizations. Table 1 shows the breakdown of interviewees from institutions.

Table 3. Number of individual interviewees per institution

Type of institution	No. of female interviewees	No. of male interviewees	Total
International	3	2	5
National	4	1	5
Civil society	5	2	7
Local government units or local non-government organizations	4	8	12
TOTAL	16	13	29

Representatives from international institutions, national government agencies and local government units were usually interviewed in their offices located in the National Capital Region, the Bicol Region and Region VI, at pre-arranged dates and times. However, there was one interviewee from a national government office tasked with disaster risk reduction that I had to meet at his children's birthday party because that was the only time he could spare for an interview since he frequently travels. Representatives from civil society groups were interviewed in places that were convenient for them, like conference venues,

restaurants and even at the airport. One interview got postponed several times until we eventually conducted it over Skype. Two respondents from civil society groups corresponded through email because we could not have face-to-face interview due to schedule conflicts and the fact that one was in Thailand at that time. The institutional representatives I interviewed were key decision-makers, consultants, organizational staff and community trainers or liaisons. While a few institutional representatives said that their organizations have Gender and Development (GAD) focal persons, they were not available when I came around for interviews. The choices for interviewees representing institutions were not purposeful on my part. The interviewees were usually either the decision-maker who I communicated with or someone that was referred to me by virtue of capacity to handle the topic of my research. When conducting the interview, I also request the respondent to refer me to other possible respondents within their institution, especially those who are in the position to best elucidate on my queries. Table 2 shows the types of positions institutional respondents held at the time of interview.

Table 4. Positions affiliated with institutional interviewees

Organizational Position	Institution				
	International	National bureaucracy	Civil Society	LGU	TOTAL
Top-level	3	3	3	4	13
Mid-level	2	1	2	4	9
Staff / Community level	0	1	2	4	7
TOTAL	5	5	7	12	29

The interviews were tape-recorded and then transcribed and coded verbatim. I only translated direct quotes into English when I had to use them in writing my findings. Questions for face-to-face semi-structured interviews with institutional respondents revolved around: (1) if and how gender is mainstreamed within their respective organizations, (2) what their institutions are doing with regards to climate change mitigation and adaptation, (3) how their institutions conceptualize and implement gender-sensitive climate change mitigation and adaptation practices, (4) what are the barriers, if any, to the institutional implementation of gender-sensitive climate change mitigation and adaptation practices, (5) how these barriers are addressed, and (6) what is the feedback from the communities with regards to their institutions' climate change efforts. The questions were constructed in English and were translated to Tagalog, which is practically the lingua franca in the Philippines and is the language used in the national capital (See Appendix A for the actual questionnaire). The same questionnaire was emailed to the two institutional representatives who could only correspond through email. Since English is the medium of instruction from primary school up to post-graduate levels in the Philippines, it is common for Filipinos to speak in a pidginized way, combining English and the local dialects. When I conducted the interviews with institutional respondents, such manner of speaking was the norm. English terms are incorporated in the interviewees' responses and because the term gender has no equivalent Filipino translation, it was simply used as is. The interviewees understood the terms 'gender' and 'gender mainstreaming'

upfront but as noted in my findings, the term was largely associated with women or women's empowerment.

The focus group interviews conducted in grassroots communities came about through a process of interaction and negotiation with gatekeepers. A number of institutional representatives that I encountered and interviewed mentioned two local government units (LGU) that were pioneering climate change initiatives at the local or grassroots level. One of these is a provincial LGU in the Bicol Region that is considered highly vulnerable to climate change effects due to its terrain and geographic location. The province has long been considered disaster-prone, as it is susceptible to typhoons and volcanic eruptions. I learned that the province has a number of climate change related projects and has even established a center dedicated to climate change research and initiatives. I asked for the contact details of the provincial governor. I was given the email address of the governor's executive assistant and I sent her an email requesting for an interview with the governor. She got back to me asking for more details about my work and also sent some documents and video clips pertaining to the governor's climate change advocacy. After I emailed her the information she requested, she emailed back saying that it's best for me to talk with the director of the provincial climate change center and she provided his contact details. The director and I exchanged emails and phone calls concerning my visit to their locale.

My trip to the Bicol region got postponed three times. I have set my travel schedules over the phone with the center director, but twice the province fell victim

to typhoons that cancelled flights. One of the two typhoons actually factored in the accidental death of the provincial governor's mother and because the climate change center's director is closely affiliated with the governor, he requested that my visit be postponed for the third time. Wakes and funerals are culturally important events that can last anywhere from three days to a month and since it involved the mother of the governor, the provincial bureaucracy was undoubtedly preoccupied by it; hence the postponement of my trip. When I finally got to go to the locale, the center director introduced me to key local government bureaucrats and I was able to interview some of them. The center's staff were also accommodating with my questions and requests. One provincial social services office monitors communities that were displaced by a devastating typhoon and I asked head of the office if I could conduct focus group interviews in such communities. I was introduced to the staff member that directly communicates with the community leaders. He assured me that he would get in touch with me after he has coordinated the schedule for the focus group interviews. I volunteered to hand in letters of introduction to the community leaders but was told that it was not necessary, that he will ensure that the community representatives will be around when I go to the area.

On the day of the focus group interviews, I met up with the staff member and he accompanied me to the community. On our way he provided me with background information, including some political jurisdiction issues concerning the relocated communities. When we arrived at the site, some of the community respondents were already there. They were representatives of the displaced communities and most of them were recently elected officials of a federation of relocated villages. The

focus group interview proceeded in a relaxed manner with the community respondents very vocal in expressing their opinions or thoughts.

The other local government that institutional representatives enjoined me to visit was coincidentally a municipality in the same province I live in. This particular municipality has become well known for a climate change initiative aimed at building local farmers' knowledge and adaptive capacity. I went to the municipality bringing a letter addressed to the mayor. My letter essentially explained my research and asked permission to conduct community focus group interviews. I specified that I would like to conduct such interviews in communities who have participated in the climate change initiative. I left my letter along with my contact number with the mayor's secretary.

The following day, I was contacted by the secretary and told that the mayor will be available to meet with me that afternoon. I went to the municipality but had to wait a while before my audience with the mayor since there were a good number of people in line to see him. The mayor approved my request to conduct focus group interviews in the communities involved in the Climate Field School project and endorsed me to two municipal offices that oversee the said initiative. I coordinated with the municipal agriculture office in identifying the communities I can conduct the focus group interviews in. I wrote letters addressed to the *barangay captains* or village heads of these communities, outlining the purpose of the focus group interviews as well as the schedules. The municipal agriculture office staff insisted that they be the ones to hand over my letters to the *barangay captains* and that they will just inform me of their response. On the days of the scheduled interviews I went

to the communities and found the respondents already gathered at the appointed venues. I did not get to meet the *barangay captains* but learned that they were the ones who informed the community respondents about the interviews. The process of gaining permissions of local government officials prior to conducting research in villages is a typical practice in the Philippines. It actually signifies respect for the appropriate authorities and facilitates the trust and cooperation of prospective village respondents as the local government officials' endorsements are construed as some sort of screening.

The focus group interviews in the communities utilized a semi-structured interview guide that was written in English and translated to Tagalog and Hiligaynon. I do not know how to speak Bicolano, the local dialect in the Bicol Region, so I used the Tagalog translation for the focus group interview there (See Appendix A—italicized questions were in Tagalog). As mentioned previously, Tagalog is a lingua franca in the Philippines and is more widely used in the Luzon island groupings where Bicol is located. The use of Tagalog during the interview did not seem to pose any difficulty as far as the community respondents' understanding of the questions are concerned. Meanwhile, for the municipality in Region VI, I translated the interview guide to the local dialect, Hiligaynon (See Appendix B). I had facility in the Hiligaynon dialect since I am a native speaker.

The main theme of the focus group discussions with community members was their experience of institutional interventions for climate change and whether these initiatives addressed gender needs. The focus group questions were designed to solicit community members' knowledge on climate change; what institutions are

doing with regards climate change in their community; how institutional climate change interventions are carried out; whether gender concerns are mainstreamed in these institutional climate change interventions; what they think will better address community concerns on climate change. I originally intended to conduct at least two focus group interviews each in communities in the Bicol Region and Region VI. However, one community in Bicol had a series of activities and could not accommodate me during the time I was in the area. Overall I was able to conduct one focus group interview in Bicol and two in Region VI. Table 3 shows the breakdown of interviewees per community or village.

Table 5. Number of interview participants per village

Village	No. of female participants	No. of male participants	Total
Community A in Region VI	7	2	9
Community B in Region VI	5	3	8
Community in Bicol region	5	3	8
TOTAL	17	8	25

Data collection and analysis

In institutional ethnography, "what will be brought under scrutiny unfolds as the research is pursued, then builds up and looks into more extended dimensions of

the institutional regime" (Smith, 2005, pp. 34-35). Hence, institutional order and the ruling relations are explored from the point of view of the people who are in various ways, implicated in and are participating in it (Smith, 2005; DeVault, 2006). In the course of my fieldwork, I have sought to explicate how gender is mainstreamed by Philippine institutional climate change initiatives, from the funding agencies, planners or implementers and down to the grassroots level. The questions I posed in the interviews covered the range from decision-making to implementation, to community feedback. Observations and casual conversations during times when I participated in meetings such as the Bonn Feedback session and in trainings such as the Climate Field School, also informed my fieldwork. As participant-observer I was able to gather insights that may not have been readily discussed in formal interview settings. After all, "the institutional ethnographer takes up a point of view in a marginal location…looking carefully and relatively unobtrusively, from the margins inward—toward centers of power and administration—searching to explicate the contingencies of ruling that shape local contexts" (DeVault 1999, p. 48, cited in Eastwood 2005, p. 56).

According to Smith (2007), institutions "depend on texts as integral to people's lives and institutional ethnographic studies focus on texts that are key in coordinating people's work into the scope of the study" (p. 413 in Hesse-Biber 2007). Institutional ethnographies of organizational work "examines work processes and focuses on how specific texts such as planning and policy documents, funding proposals, medical charts or accounting records of bureaucratic workplaces, are coordinated" (DeVault 2006, pp. 294-295). Hence, included in this study is a

content analysis of policies, institutional mandates, project guidelines, modules or training tools and websites associated with the institutions and communities. Qualitative content analysis is a research method used to "analyze text data, focusing on the characteristics of language as communication, with special attention to the content or contextual meaning of the text" (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). Qualitative content analysis entails "the subjective interpretation of the content of text data using the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (Hsieh and Shannon, 2005, p. 1278). For this particular study, the content analysis of documents and websites provided insight into the parameters of gender mainstreaming and community participation within climate change institutions. I gathered materials on organizational structure and climate change initiatives from the institutional representatives I interviewed. I carefully read these materials, as well as functioning institutional websites, and extracted information that elucidate on institutional stances on gender mainstreaming and community engagement. Using the study's objectives I coded the institutional documents and websites and noted key relevant themes.

To facilitate analysis, transcripts of the individual and focus group interviews were coded and categorized into relevant emergent themes covering the topics or concepts such as gender, gender mainstreaming, climate change, community participation, climate change initiatives and institutional mandates. The study objectives and the main questions I asked during the interviews served as guide to extract responses that fell into specific coding themes or categories. I used the qualitative data analysis software called NVivo in generating the codes from

interview transcripts. With NVivo I went through all the interviews, highlighted specific responses or quotes and coded them according to my study objectives. I also coded responses that were recurring and those that I considered important even if not directly related to my study like those pertaining to tensions between DRR and CCA. The raw codes covered the terms or topics of my research questions and consisted of the following: concept of gender or gender relations, understanding of gender mainstreaming, challenges and gains of gender mainstreaming, gender policies, gender issues in the community, gender issues in climate change, notions of climate change, challenges related to climate change, strategies for community participation, challenges to community participation, organizational structures and mandates.

To address reliability concerns I did a test-retest in the early stages of the coding process. After a week of coding all the transcripts, I used the same texts to open a new NVivo project and re-coded the responses all over again without looking at the codes I did previously. My second pass at coding all interview transcripts closely followed my previous coding attempt and so I went through the raw codes a few more times, collapsing and summarizing them into more manageable categories or themes. Such themes, along with data generated through the content analysis, were analyzed based on the objectives of the study and utilizing feminist frames of analysis. Texts of climate change policies, as well as institutional project documents and websites were also uploaded to NVivo for ease in linking important concepts to interview data.

Ethical concerns and researcher standpoint

Prior to fieldwork, the research proposal was submitted for the Pennsylvania State University's IRB review and was deemed exempt (IRB#37099). During my fieldwork, research participants were assured of confidentiality and their informed consent were solicited prior to the interviews. Most of the individual interviewees have signed the consent forms I brought during the interviews. However, there were those whom I have not had the chance to meet in face-to-face settings and a few who I spoke with informally. There were also a few who declined to sign the form and I decided not to use the information they shared.

In writing my findings I took care not to identify individual interviewees but decided to use the actual names of institutions. I did so because I think obscuring the institutions involved in climate change initiatives in the Philippines dilutes the analysis and mapping out of the ruling relations that is crucial to my study. I do take full ownership and responsibility over the analysis and conclusions in this study and in no way do they reflect the opinions of my interviewees. It may even be fair to say that my interviewees might contend my analysis and conclusions. In the tradition of feminist standpoints, the arguments I forwarded in the study are but partial perspectives that may help illuminate the complexities in the process of mainstreaming gender in institutional climate change initiatives. The respondents for the study are entitled to their own partial perspectives, some of which I have highlighted in my findings.

In the course of my fieldwork from June to September 2011, I was conscious of my own impact in conducting the research and took note of instances where it may have been apparent. I also had to deal with "insider-outsider status" issues that are typical in doing ethnographic work. As a Filipino woman, I embodied a certain insider status in the context of doing research that concerns gender mainstreaming in the Philippines, especially since 'gender mainstreaming' is strongly associated with the pursuit of women's empowerment. I did not have difficulty establishing rapport with my interviewees, particularly those in institutions, because I not only literally speak the same language but I am also already familiar with how gender mainstreaming is carried out in the country. Yet I was also an outsider on many accounts, primarily because I came into the field after three years of studying abroad.

On one hand, my status as a PhD student from a U.S. university somehow facilitated easier access to respondents because there is some implied prestige in it, which I tried to downplay out of a personal sense of embarrassment. On the other hand, my outsider status felt burdensome as it may have skewed responses towards those that are deemed 'more acceptable' to an outsider. My interviews in grassroots communities added a few more intersections to my outsider status since I came from a different socio-economic and educational background compared to my interviewees and I have not experienced living in relocation sites. Throughout the data collection, writing and analysis stages of this dissertation, I struggled with concerns over my research being extractive and oppressive rather than emancipatory. I tried to temper such concerns by underscoring my own claims in

the study, apart from those of the interviewees. I also endeavored to present the contexts that grounded my observations and analysis so that the reader will understand where my partiality lies.

Chapter V

Philippine institutional responses to climate change

This chapter is dedicated to discussing the findings that expounds my first research objective or question, "What are the current practices of the different types of institutions involved in climate change in the Philippines?" To uphold institutional ethnography's emphasis on using people's everyday lived experiences as the starting point in research work, the discussion begins with community notions and experiences related to climate change. Summaries of institutional climate change initiatives then follow, in order to map out how "relations of ruling" (Smith 2005) or the power dynamics involved in managing climate change issues, branch out from people's everyday experiences. These summaries proceed according to the institutions' degree of direct contact or proximity to community level realities. Hence the local government units' (LGUs) climate change related activities will be discussed first, followed by those of the national bureaucratic agencies, then those of civil society networks and then finally the involvement of international institutions.

The summaries of institutional climate change initiatives only partially address the first research question on institutional practices. The chapter discussion flow thus proceeds by tackling the first sub-question and looks at how gendered processes are manifested in institutional structures, priorities or practices. The second and third sub-questions are interrelated so the chapter goes on to expound on the extent to which institutional practices are informed by community needs and

whose standpoints are privileged in institutional climate change community interventions.

Community climate change experiences

People in the local communities or villages involved in institutional climate change interventions tend to have a common-sensical and experiential appreciation of the phenomenon of climate change. When I conducted community focus group interviews, I usually begin by asking my respondents' own understanding of climate change. The frequent answer would be, *"It pertains to changes in climate conditions."* In community A in region VI the respondents said,

> *"We can define climate change because we experience its effects ourselves. We feel how different the world is now. The rainy season is now the dry season and the rainy season is now much longer. Therefore we now cannot anymore apply our previous knowledge…we really experience the effects of climate change."*

There were respondents who said climate change *"pertains to weather changes"*, while others insist that *"you can feel the changes…the heat nowadays is different, it's more intense. Like now, even though you can't see the sun shining, you can feel the heat."* For some respondents, *"It's like the climate has turned upside-down…what used to be rainy is now sunny and vice versa…it has become extremes."* One respondent succinctly shared, *"the climate has become so unpredictable…it has become abnormal."*

There were a few community respondents who talked about the causes of climate change. One particular respondent even ventured to explain the anthropogenic nature of current climate change by saying, *"You know climate change is a product of human intelligence…because of new knowledge they started*

using various chemicals or whatever. It's like human beings apply their intelligence to change their life situation. And it's usually the more developed countries who start it…" In a similar vein, a respondent from a community in the Bicol region said, *"It's because of environmental degradation. People started cutting down trees. So now we experience climate change."*

When asked for their sources of information on climate change, most of community interviewees referred to the media. There were those who said, *"We heard it from the radio…everyday we listen to the news…we see it on television, how people have done things to the environment that now results to climate change."* In the Bicol region community, respondents shared that non-government organizations provided them with seminars on climate change and that's where they learned about it. On the other hand, community B in Region VI pointed out that their awareness on climate change came about as a result of participation in their local government unit's initiative aimed to curb the effects of said phenomenon.

Community respondents shared a variety of challenges they experienced related to climate change. Primary among these challenges pertain to adversely affected livelihoods, like farming. One interviewee from community A in Region VI said that because of the changing climate, *"all kinds of pests harm the crops…so money that was originally intended for household use gets channeled to the farm…farming becomes more expensive than usual."* Another respondent from the same community concurred, saying *"The impact on our finances is really great…even if we participate in the local government's climate change adaptation initiative that*

provides us with new knowledge and skills on farming techniques, finances are still crucial."

One respondent from Community B in Region VI pointed out her concern for the health effects of climate change by sharing,

> *"The changes in climate have detrimental effects on children's health, particularly elementary grades children…when they leave the house for school, the sun is out, then when they return they get caught up in heavy rains. A lot of children get sick that way."*

Female respondents from the community in Bicol have a similar concern, saying, *"When we stayed in the evacuation center for almost a year, it was so congested. The first ailment that hit us while we were there was tetanus. Community members who were wounded while escaping the floods suffered from it."* Another interviewee from the same community in Bicol added, *"Then the children started having diarrhea…it was awful…there were also those who had asthma attacks."* A number of respondents attributed these health problems to the fact that *"authorities did not really pay much attention to the food given to us while in the evacuation centers…we only received rice, sardines and noodles as food aid for a long time. While we appreciate it given a survival situation, we don't think it was healthy for us to be eating those for a long time."*

Two key points that touch on my research questions can be gleaned from the responses of village members pertaining to their experiences of climate change. One is the implied disconnect between community needs and institutional responses. Morrow (1999) highlighted that organizations and government agencies responsible for emergency management at the local level recognize the importance

of customizing services to fit community needs. Indeed, when I spoke with a high-ranking public health official in the Bicol region, he emphasized that they have mechanisms in place to address people's needs during emergency evacuation situations. He said that since they live in an area where the Philippines' most active volcano is located and which is also frequented by typhoons, the local government units have devised and implemented reasonably effective disaster management strategies. He also explained the health protocols that the local governments carry out following evacuation procedures. However, community respondents still shared that they encountered difficulties that I think could have been prevented through immediate and efficient institutional responses.

Congestion is one root cause of people's difficulties in evacuation and relocation, including health issues. The spread of diseases is directly related to shortage of space. The high-ranking public health official in the Bicol region said that while they strive to adhere to international standards in appropriating spaces for people in evacuation centers, there simply isn't enough space to go around. In the Philippines, schools usually serve as evacuation centers until people get transferred to "tent cities" for longer stay. Schools are the most convenient choice to serve as temporary shelters because the infrastructure and facilities are in place. However, when people shift to tent-living there are related problems such as shortage of water facilities and free-standing public restrooms in Bicol and elsewhere in the Philippines. These problems impact on people's health needs during emergency relocation but can definitely be addressed by forward-looking and practical planning by authorities (Morrow 1999).

Another key point highlighted by community level experiences is the high level of stress women are likely to face resulting from climate change effects. Filipino women, as in most other societies, are culturally conditioned to bear the responsibility for household concerns such as food and family health. Thus, in my interviews, the women were the ones who verbalized their anxiety over climate change's health effects and the problem with the quality of food aid for evacuees. This echoes what authors like Weist, et al. (1994) and Acar and Ege (2001) underscore as the higher likelihood for women to take on multiple pressures when calamities strike. Women have to look after the well being of family members on top of dealing with significant losses in livelihood or income in times of calamity. Acar and Ege (2001) as well as Enarson and Morrow (1998) thus emphasize the need for gender analysis in emergency situations that would enable institutions to design relevant and targeted interventions. However, based on what the community respondents shared, the institutional interventions they encountered did not take consideration of differential gender needs but were largely borne out of routine emergency management protocols. Dependency on external or philanthropic aid also factors in on this, as local governments likewise rely on food and other donations from various institutions that may not be sensitive to local realities and needs. As various institutions plan for and implement climate change initiatives in the Philippines, these foregoing issues and concerns will thus serve well as guideposts for effective and efficient community project implementation.

Current climate change efforts in the Philippines

Climate change initiatives in the Philippines may be classified as largely sporadic and disparate at the time of my fieldwork from June to September 2011. Various institutions such as UN agencies, foreign governments, international donors, Philippine national agencies, local government units, national networks or alliances, non-government organizations, and academic institutions were involved in these initiatives. Some of these institutions collaborate on particular projects; some individual organizations have specific community-based projects; while a number join in climate change advocacy as members of the same network or alliance. As the awareness level on climate change issues increased in the past few years, so have the corresponding activities of various institutions gained momentum. Through the years, the Philippines has had its share of environmental advocates from both public and private sectors. The government has been part of the Conference of Parties to the UNFCCC and Filipino scientists have taken part in drafting the IPCC reports. However, as two interviewees from civil society groups pointed out, it was not until the experience of successive extreme typhoons that resulted in unprecedented flooding in 2006, 2008 and 2009 that the notion of climate change gained widespread acceptance. Specific climate change initiatives and advocacy were thus carried out. Funding for these initiatives usually comes from international institutions and implemented by the national and local government bureaucracy, in partnership with civil society groups and academic institutions. Due to its proximity to village-level constituents, the local government unit serves as the link between

grassroots communities and other institutions, thus, the following summary of institutional climate change interventions begins with the local government.

A. Local Government Climate Change Initiatives

The governmental set-up in the Philippines since the early '90s has been decentralized. The passing of the Local Government Code devolved administrative functions to the provinces, municipalities and even the *barangays* or villages. These governmental entities came to be known as local government units (LGUs) charged with providing for their constituents' needs. As someone who has taught the course Philippine Politics and Governance at the university for close to ten years, I have come across Filipino scholars and public intellectuals who have critiqued the decentralization process as a double-edged sword. For one, while decentralization made social services become more accessible to local constituents, it also made LGUs susceptible to politicians' agenda (Lacaba 1995). The success of political decentralization and administrative devolution became dependent on LGU leadership and priorities. Despite the vulnerability of a number of villages, municipalities or provinces to climate change effects, a programmatic focus on climate change is thus likewise dependent on LGU leadership.

At the time of my fieldwork in the Philippines in 2011 there were two local government units (LGUs) known for their successful climate change initiatives. One was a municipality or town and the other was a province. The former is located in the Philippines' Panay Island in Region VI, an area projected to have increased typhoon occurrences in the coming years. The latter is known as a disaster-prone

area since it is located in the region frequented by typhoons and because it is where the Philippines' most active volcano is found. The municipal-level project is referred to as the Climate Field School (CFS) and came about through a confluence of factors, one of which is the municipality's location at the tail-end of one of the large river systems in the province. The municipality thus has very minimal water access for farm lands and is also vulnerable to drought during the dry season. Another factor was the need to relocate weather-monitoring facilities from the Provincial airport. The former municipal mayor, who was said to be a DRR advocate, allegedly negotiated for the said facilities to be transferred to their municipality and serve as an agro-meteorological (agromet) sub-station. A summary document that I acquired through the municipal planning and development office describes the establishment of the agromet station as *"an initiative and strategy for the integrated disaster mitigation approach endeavored by the LGU, in partnership with the Philippine Atmospheric Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration (PAGASA) and an international NGO, in order to provide weather advisories and climate information."*

It was during the former mayor's term that an international NGO financially assisted the municipality in the initial climate field school (CFS) sessions in 2007 and 2008. The CFS is identified as the second of its kind in Southeast Asia and the first in the Philippines. As such, the municipality earned recognition locally, nationally and even internationally. So much so that the succeeding mayor decided to continue the project, with funds appropriated from the municipal LGU itself. According to a fact sheet from the Municipal Agriculturist Office,

"the Climate Field School is a flagship project under the Climate Forecast Application for Disaster Risk Reduction and Climate Change Adaptation Program. It aims to establish a sustainable institutional system for the generation and application of locally tailored climate information tools, as well as build capacity to apply such information in real time in order to mitigate the impacts of natural or man-made disasters." It also aims to enhance the capacity of agricultural extension workers, farmers or stakeholders and rural women to understand and apply climate information in order to reduce disaster risk and be able to adapt to climate change towards agricultural productivity."

The specific project goals and objectives of the CFS include:

(1) enable the farmers to understand different climate related risks in agriculture and the cropping system in the municipality;

(2) to let the farmers know the importance of climate in plant growth and development, as well as its relationship with plant pests and diseases;

(3) to familiarize the participants with forecast interpretation, weather parameters and instruments and their functions at the agro meteorological station that influence plant growth and development, namely, temperature, air humidity and soil water content;

(4) integrating weather and climate information on disaster management and agricultural planning to help farmers in their decision-making; and

(5) create awareness of participants on disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation.

The Climate Field School falls under the direct supervision of the municipal agricultural office. Key office personnel attended training for CFS facilitators in 2007 and came up with the CFS training module. In the course of my fieldwork in the area, I had a number of informal conversations with the CFS facilitators. In the process I learned that one particular individual did most of the work on the module and is actually the main organizer for the CFS sessions. However, in my attempts to formally interview him, he always declined. He did arrange for me to conduct focus

group interviews in the villages, though, as well as let me attend one actual CFS session. In our informal conversations, I learned about the project's budgetary constraints and I also learned that they only have one copy of the CFS module and that the mayor refuses to allow other municipalities to have access to said module for purposes of replicating the CFS. The module itself is not necessarily groundbreaking as it largely contains well-known information on topics such as integrated pest management. What makes the CFS sessions different from other agricultural extension services conducted by the municipal agriculture office is the commitment it demands from the village participants. The entire CFS course takes twelve weeks, with one session per week. Participants are expected to attend all sessions in order to graduate.

The other local government unit involved in climate change activities is located in the Bicol region and is known nation-wide as *"a champion of climate change initiatives"* (PNEJ 2010, p. 21). It is a province described by Philippine environmental journalists as *"very vulnerable to various natural hazards like typhoons, flood, mud and debris flows, storm surges, tsunami, earthquakes and volcanic eruptions"* (PNEJ 2010, pp. 21-22). As such, local officials in said province have put mechanisms in place to address problems associated with disaster situations. The province's disaster risk reduction and management team is regarded as very efficient and quite famous for its successes. The team's leader and head of office is considered as one of the nation's pioneers in disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) work. Hence, it may be understandable that these DRRM practitioners have certain misgivings about a separate provincial climate change

program and office. As I conducted fieldwork in the province, I have observed and learned of tensions between the DRRM and Climate Change Adaptation (CCA) offices and advocates, a topic that I will expound further towards the end of this chapter.

The efforts towards climate change adaptation in the province can be traced to the administration of the current governor. The province experienced three successive devastating typhoons in the last quarter of 2006 that *"weakened the discharge capacity of rivers, created new paths of lava and lahar, formed new landslide patterns and resulted to an overflow of displaced constituents in evacuation centers"* (Opiña in PNEJ 2010, p.6). These series of unprecedented typhoons—one of which dumped 467mm or equivalent of one-month rainfall in the region, within 24 hours—were said to have *"practically depleted the province's resources, leading to the governor's commitment to mobilize and strengthen risk management at the grassroots level"* (Opiña in PNEJ 2010, p.7). Thus, mechanisms were put in place so that the provincial LGU will be able to better respond to similar future disaster situations. A local news report quoted the governor as saying that the worst of the three typhoons in late 2006 *"triggered the devising of strategies to shield the province from the impact of climate change."* Thus the governor established a center dedicated to initiatives and research on climate change adaptation as a component of the province's Action on Climate Change Program. A provincial flier describes the center as

"geared towards strengthening capacity for research, as well as project and program implementation in progressive sustainable agriculture, forestry, fisheries, energy and eco-cultural tourism. It is the repository of interdisciplinary knowledge and expertise for the climate change program for community development in addressing the critical

need for environmental, social, economic, historical, cultural and tourism action. It seeks an environment conducive to and supportive of scientific endeavors in agriculture, environment and natural and social sciences…the center's main objective is to enhance the ability of the province's constituents in particular and the Filipinos in general, to cope with risks brought about by the changing climate."

During my fieldwork in the province located in Bicol region, I got the impression that climate change is a topic that is well-advertised, as evidenced by streamers and billboards that mention climate change and what the LGU is doing to address it. The provincial climate change center has a variety of informational materials on climate change, from posters to bookmarks. I also learned that the climate change center facilitated the establishment of weather monitoring stations in a few municipalities, monitors ongoing mangrove reforestation and is preparing to implement the plan for a Climate Change Academy for Local Government Units. I saw the future site of this academy, which is a run-down building within a university campus. Apparently the plan was to renovate said building and transform it into the climate change academy. What I understood from my informal conversations with people affiliated with the climate change center is that the project will be implemented through the strategy of counter-part commitments. The academy site is a counterpart commitment of the university along with university involvement in the academy activities. There are also funding counterpart commitments from international donors and the provincial LGU. According to the climate change center's director, *"the academy will train other local government units in the country, on how to develop their own provincial or city or municipal framework on climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction."*

Through interviewees with people affiliated with the provincial climate change center, I learned that one of the center's major accomplishments was to convene the 1st National Conference on Climate Change Adaptation, in October 2007. Various sectors and institutions from the national and local government, civil society, international funding agencies, country offices of international institutions and the academy participated in the conference. The conference was considered a high profile activity, with the President of the Philippines acting as keynote speaker. The most important output of the conference was a statement of unities written as a declaration named after the host province. A few people from academic and research institutions were tasked to draft said declaration and then present it to all participants towards the end of the conference. The conference participants representing various sectors and institutions then critiqued the draft by deleting and adding portions to it until the final version was adopted through votes of confidence from those present.

According to one interviewee from civil society, since most of the conference participants represented various institutions, the process entailed negotiations to incorporate notions or principles reflective of particular interests. The process thus echoed what Eastwood (2005) called the "invisibility of actions endemic to the production of a final text" (p. 26). After all, such actions depend on varying degrees of access to information and negotiations. The final text of the declaration enjoined the national government to take effective policy measures to address the problem of climate change (See Appendices for full text of the declaration). Due to the support of key elected Philippine legislators, the declaration went on to become the template

for the Climate Change Act of 2009, which in turn became instrumental in the creation of the Philippine Climate Change Commission.

Aside from the national climate change conference, another noteworthy accomplishment of the provincial LGU is the integration of climate change concepts in the curriculum of public elementary and secondary schools. According to the director of the provincial climate change center,

"… the focus of the program is to embed climate change adaptation up to the seventh generation…we are integrating climate change adaptation in the curriculum of the 4th to 6th grades and from 1st to 4th year in high school. It took two years until we finally got the approval from the Department of Education to pilot-test and it has been a year since we have done this curriculum integration."

The center director requested his staff to make arrangements for me to actually sit-in one of the classes that integrates climate change concepts but the teacher contact had other commitments and could not accommodate me at such short notice. However, she did agree to an interview and described the process of integrating climate change adaptation concepts in the curriculum as *"very challenging…we had to undergo several revisions until the Department of Education approved the output."* She added,

"We started with a write-shop, coming up with the lesson exemplars. With all the critiques these lesson exemplars went through we were able to come up with a book containing the final output. This was in 2009 and in the late 2009 up to early 2010 we were able to incorporate some of these in our lessons for the remaining of the school year. But the official start of the curriculum integration was the school year 2010-2011 (note: in the Philippines the school year starts in June and ends in March)."

I asked about student response to the new curriculum and the teacher respondent narrated:

"At first, the students really wondered why there is climate change in the lesson…because I teach Math in high school…my students would ask 'Ma'am, even in the examples, should we use climate change?' I told them yes, even in the examples. But it's also hard for me because of the subject matter. The lesson exemplars were a big help but there are still limited ways to integrate the topic of climate change in mathematics. Anyway, when teachers in other subject areas also incorporated climate change in the lessons, I think the students stopped wondering. Then there are also the high profile campaigns of the province on climate change which made the topic familiar even to school-age children."

I learned from interviews that the initiative on integrating climate change concepts in the elementary and high school curriculum serves as the pilot-test for future implementation nationwide by the Department of Education. However, certain limitations were underscored, such as the lack of funding for the mass production of the lesson exemplars for purposes of dissemination among all the province's schools. This setback threatens the sustainability of the project. Another limitation is *"the need for mass training for teachers for purposes of uniformity in implementing the curriculum integration of climate change",* which can also be tied to the issue of sustainability and lack of funding. Nonetheless, there are ongoing efforts to likewise *"integrate climate change in the curriculum at the tertiary or university level."* At least the teacher interviewee thinks this is a good development since

"it would be a waste if the students' [learning] momentum will stop when they reach college… I heard there are plans to create a college course on climate change that will be required for students to take. If this pushes through then whatever they learned from elementary and high school will be reinforced in college."

I think the teacher interviewee made a good point in highlighting the importance of consistency as far as the propagation of climate change knowledge to the next generations is concerned. To likewise integrate climate change concepts at the tertiary education level ensures a higher likelihood that such concepts will be ingrained in the young that will in turn foster attitudinal changes toward environmental conservation. Further, such concepts learned in school will provide the explanations needed for the environmental changes that communities experience and will thus help concretize and contextualize such experiences within the global climate change framework. However, as pointed out previously, the effort to integrate climate change in the curriculum requires certain logistical support that local government units may not be able to access.

While the Department of Education is geared to implement said curriculum integration nationwide, the directive may be construed as added strain on impoverished local schools. The teacher I interviewed verbalized the demanding process they had to go through in order to pilot-test the lesson exemplars for climate change curriculum integration. The training of teachers is crucial and while it seems feasible in more progressive school divisions, it may not be so in others. There are a number of other perennial logistical problems that public education in the Philippines face, like lack of teachers and classroom space. Moreover, as evidenced by project successes in the two LGUs exemplified as models for climate change initiatives, prioritization of climate change issues by LGU leadership is key. As Agrawal (2008) pointed out, climate change adaptation happens at the local level. Local governments are institutions that are strategically positioned to directly

address people's vulnerabilities (Uphoff and Buck 2006; Pelling, et al. 2008). Thus, local government leaders are important change agents for climate change mitigation and adaptation at the community level. The Philippines' Local Government Code has given latitude to local government officials to implement initiatives that they deem fit for their constituents' needs. The code likewise ensures that local governments are free to embark in entrepreneurial ventures or partnerships, to supplement the funding they receive from the national government through the Internal Revenue Allotment (IRA). Not all local government unit leaders are innovative, though, and patronage politics is still very much evident in a number of Philippine locales. Hence, directives from the national government still remains crucial in order for local government units to embark in activities related to climate change.

B. National Government Institutions

There are three national government agencies that are directly involved in climate change concerns—the Climate Change Commission (CCC), the Department of Agriculture (DA) and the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR). Other national government agencies are also involved by virtue of being part of the Climate Change Commission's Advisory Board. However, the DA and DENR are partners to a few collaborative pilot projects aimed at enhancing the adaptive capacity of farmers and fishers. Both agencies also have offices dedicated to climate change and are therefore front-runners in propagating climate change

information as well as circulating relevant policies within their respective areas of responsibilities.

Matters pertaining to climate change in the Philippines is currently handled or coordinated by the CCC. However, prior to the passing of the Climate Change Act of 2009, climate change issues or concerns in the Philippines were under the jurisdiction of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR). A high-ranking official of the Climate Change Commission confirmed this in an interview, saying,

> *"Before, it was the Department of Environment And Natural Resources that was primarily tasked to address climate change issues. Then there was the Presidential Task Force on Climate Change that was primarily engaged in coordinating climate change concerns among agencies…so institutionally there has been recognition of the cross-sectoral nature of climate change but different bodies were governing, so to speak. When the Act was signed it abolished all these and put in the Commission all the responsibility to coordinate, monitor and evaluate the implementation of the strategies to address climate change."*

Republic Act 9729, known as the Climate Change Act, provided for the creation of a Climate Change Commission, *"that shall be an independent and autonomous body attached to the Office of the President, with the same status as a national government agency. The Commission shall be the sole policy-making body of the government that will be tasked to coordinate, monitor and evaluate the programs and action plans of the government relating to climate change and pursuant to the provisions of the Climate Change Act"* (RA 9729, p. 4). The following is a summary of the commission's functions:

- to formulate a framework strategy and program for climate change adaptation, in

consultation with the global effort to manage climate change,

- to mainstream climate risk reduction into national, sector and local development plans and programs,
- to recommend policies and key development investments in climate-sensitive sectors,
- to assess vulnerability and facilitate capacity building

When I asked my interviewee from the Climate Change Commission whether the commission directly implements or supervises climate change related projects, I was told, *"It's not supervisory. It's actually really a coordinating body. It is considered a policy making body so whatever policy we make here could be taken up or not by the government agencies..."* Aside from being the national government's lead policy making body on matters concerning climate change, the CCC also represents the Philippine government to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) as well as other international bodies or gatherings dedicated to climate change issues.

To date the CCC has drafted the National Climate Change Adaptation Plan (NCCAP) and its implementing rules and regulations. This plan serves as the concrete steps to achieve the framework strategy for climate change adaptation, which addresses sectoral concerns. The framework strategy was formulated as a collaborative effort among eight technical working groups. These groups were organized to tackle the needs and concerns in nine major sectors, namely, agriculture, biodiversity, coastal and marine, fishery, forestry, water, health, energy

and infrastructure. According to the high-ranking official of the Climate Change Commission, *"the [national climate change action] plan became thematic, meaning adaptation and mitigation strategies should address issues such as food security, water sufficiency, human security and the like. We want to show that while climate change adaptation is a top priority, mitigation strategies should also be seen as a function of adaptation.*"

Aside from the formulating the NCCAP, the CCC has also released some infomercials, aimed at raising the general public's awareness on climate change issues, as well as urging the public to be more environmentally conscious or responsible. It has also been accessible to the media and civil society by actively participating in interviews and forums that cover climate change. The CCC is thus slowly gaining ground in advocating for climate change awareness and support for its policies. This support is crucial especially in implementing the NCCAP, which will require all local government units to have their own local versions of plans for climate change adaptation. Civil society groups give support and necessary critique to the CCC as it carries out its mandates. There seems to be a reciprocal relationship between the CCC and civil society groups as they need one another to carry out climate change policies, raise public awareness and engage in mitigation or adaptation projects. However, since the CCC is part of a widely perceived corrupt government bureaucracy, some civil society organizations and alliances are wary of its political stances and policies.

C. Civil Society Organizations

There are a few national alliances or networks dedicated to climate change advocacy in the Philippines. These are composed of various civil society groups / organizations which have banded together on the basis of common underlying principles and ideological stances. There were two particular active broad alliances on climate change that I was able to interact with during my fieldwork. One group is called the Philippine Movement for Climate Justice (PMCJ) and the other is Aksyon Klima (literally translated to Action on/for Climate). The former may be classified as being more critical of government positions or pronouncements on climate change while the latter engages with the government on climate change concerns. Thus, one female national officer from Aksyon Klima lightheartedly quipped, *"It's like we play the good cop-bad cop routine."* Two board members of PMCJ affirmed this observation, saying, *"we are both broad and loose coalitions but since they [Aksyon Klima] include the government there are some issues that are difficult to raise within their group…it's like the formation of PMCJ filled the gaps left by Aksyon Klima."*

As their name suggests, the Philippine Movement for Climate Justice (PMCJ) is anchored on what they call "The Climate Justice Framework". The network's statement of unity on climate change emphasizes the belief that,

> *"Developed countries must assume, above all, their historical responsibility for climate change, and therefore recognize and honor their climate debt as the basis for a just, effective and scientific solution to climate change. The point of climate debt is not only financial compensation but climate justice, which should be understood as restorative justice…developed countries need to acknowledge their moral responsibility to the restitution of integrity to the environment and to redressing the impacts of climate change in the developing countries…Climate justice also means that*

developed countries be made accountable for using international financial institutions to promote and fund market 'solutions' to the climate crisis and in the process promote corporate profiteering."

One interviewee explains, *"What is implicit is the injustice in the kind of development track that is based on consumerism and overproduction which led to our current [climate] situation and forces us to adapt. Developing countries like the Philippines have become most vulnerable to changes in the climate that we did not cause in the first place."* I was told that there are two kinds of climate debt—the one that developed countries owe the developing countries by virtue of the causes of climate change, and then there's the [foreign] debt used for adaptation measures. My interviewee gave the analogy: *"It's like we are being fried in our own oil because the solution to the problem that we did not create in the first place must come from own pockets."*

Regarding climate change related activities, I was told by the male Board member that

"PMCJ is currently in the process of gearing up for a popular education campaign…we are preparing for that now. Our target audience/s will depend on where the government consultations for the National Climate Change Adaptation Plan (NCCAP) will be held. We have to prioritize those areas due to limited funding. The climate change law mandates that the NCCAP be localized so the government intends to conduct consultations by specific areas or regions."

The female board member added,

"It's important for us to engage in this because civil society participation is required…it's a good thing that at the local levels our member organizations have

chapters…they can thus facilitate our advocacy work…We emphasize that as part of the network, organizational trainings and the like on climate change should include the global nature of the issue and the accountabilities involved."

The website of Aksyon Klima Pilipinas or Aksyon Klima describes it as an alliance of around forty diverse civil society organizations that have banded together on the shared recognition that climate change is an urgent cross-cutting issue, and are working collectively to address climate change concerns at various levels and in various arenas. The website further states that following a series of climate-related disasters that befell the country in 2007, a group of civil society organizations *"expressed a felt need and interest to engage the government towards developing and instituting a coherent national climate change policy and program of action that will encompass local and international levels."* On how Aksyon Klima works, a female national officer explained,

"Well, our strategy is to engage with the government. We monitor what the Climate Change Commission does. We also continuously monitor the dialogue of the climate change negotiations…I think this is what sets us apart from other networks on climate change like PMCJ…PMCJ I think is more involved in sectoral formation…our representation, on the other hand, is more organizational."

Aksyon Klima's activities involve roundtable discussions on various climate change related issues, policy advocacy and conference organizing or participation. According to my female officer interviewee,

"Aksyon Klima's strength lies primarily in providing for substance to the climate change discourse…we have members who give valuable technical support to the Philippine delegation to the UNFCCC. They use our position papers as basis for the Philippines' submissions…we have a very good working relationship with government agencies and that's why we get invited to participate in processes that are not open to

other civil society groups. We are even getting more involved in macro development issues outside of climate change."

According to my interviewee who's a national officer of Aksyon Klima, "*one important Aksyon Klima initiative is regular feed backing sessions held after each UNFCC intersessional meeting, to give first-hand account and analysis of the climate talks process."* I was able to attend one such feed back session at the start of my fieldwork in the Philippines and it gave me a glimpse of the dynamics of climate change advocacy and policy-making efforts in the Philippines. One of the things that struck me during my participation in the Bonn Intersessional Meeting Feedback Session sponsored by Aksyon Klima was the heavy emphasis on the issue of climate finance. While there were presentations on REDD, technology transfer, mitigation and adaptation, the topic inevitably turned to the issue of funding or lack thereof. I think this is understandable considering that the Philippines lacks the necessary funds to address needs during climate change related disaster situations and such disaster situations are increasing in frequency.

The Vice Chair of the Climate Change Commission shared during the Bonn feedback session that, *"there is a strong link between climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction and that the government budget for ensuing calamities is not enough, at 5 billion pesos (around $125 million)."* Hence she said there is a need to seek out foreign loans. At this, a representative from the Freedom from Debt Coalition and one of the convenors of PMCJ reacted, saying, *"the country is already so indebted to international entities like the World Bank. More loans will definitely not be*

beneficial in both the short and long terms." Then a question was thrown in with regards the feasibility of implementing climate change insurance as alternative to foreign loans. The Commissioner's response to these was a bit defensive. She said, *"Yes, it would have been better if we don't resort to foreign loans but there seems to be no other better alternative at the moment. There is not much local climate change fund to speak of and the [climate change] insurance is too expensive."* The Commissioner even challenged those who were resistant to the prospect of foreign loans to finance the country's climate change interventions by asking pointblank whether they have any alternatives they would like to share. Such exchange between the Commissioner and representatives from civil society implies the difference between government prioritization and civil society ideals. There is likewise an implied tacit agreement to disagree on some things but as far as climate change issues are concerned, there are practical mechanisms that both government and civil society can work on, like policy formulation and dissemination. Coming up with the National Climate Change Adaptation Plan is an example because civil society groups were consulted. However, as I gleaned from my interview with PMCJ, civil society remains vigilant in monitoring how the Climate Change Commission and government in general implement such plan.

Through my attendance at the Bonn Feedback Session, I gathered that the main concern of various institutions in the Philippines is how to access finances for purposes of climate change adaptation. The basic prevailing assumption among these institutions (and even at the community level) is that the Philippines is already experiencing the effects of climate change. Hence, the priority should be

adaptation rather than mitigation. I also came to understand that the stance of the Philippine delegation to the UNFCCC meetings is that the bigger responsibility for climate change mitigation falls on more developed nations, those who have contributed greatly to excessive GHG emissions through the years. This is most likely the result of positioning at the international arena, with the Philippines being a member of the G-77 group of countries. The Philippine positions or stances on climate change at the international level are reflective of the dynamics between the powerful industrialized countries and the poorer, less-developed countries. The former are considered largely responsible for global warming yet are not fully being held accountable, while the latter are those that experience the negative consequences of climate change due to geographic location and lack of effective mechanisms. To help address climate change effects, vulnerable developing countries like the Philippines thus rely on assistance provided by international institutions.

D. International Institutions

Among international institutions, the UN is one of the most visible in climate change efforts in the Philippines. Located mostly in one of the prestigious high rises in the national capital's central business district, the UN has several country offices in the Philippines. UNDP and FAO are the agencies that are most involved in climate change initiatives, essentially through collaborative community-level pilot projects and policy consultations. Within the UNDP, focus on energy and environment issues get high priority in terms of budgetary allocation and climate change falls under this

programmatic thrust. A female high- ranking UNDP official shared that the Energy and Environment Team's focus is on *"biodiversity conservation, residuals management, chemicals and pollution control, forestry issues, and then coastal and marine issues."* She further explained,

"*We help mobilize resources for our partners…so we work directly with government…normally with national government agencies like the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR), the Department of Energy, with the Climate Change Commission and then the Office of Civil Defense on behalf of National Disaster Risk Reduction Management Council (NDRRMC)."*

FAO is involved in a few collaborative community-based climate change initiatives. The project sites for such initiatives are the upland communities of the northern Cordillera Region and the coastal provinces of the Bicol region. I learned about these projects through informal phone and face-to-face conversations with a then upcoming project coordinator. The project site in Northern Cordillera is said to be one of five selected 3-year national pilot sites aimed to *"enhance climate change adaptation capacity of communities in contiguous fragile ecosystems."* The project brochure describes the project interventions as comprising the

"establishment of local working groups (LWG); facilitation of the technical assistance of the regional government agricultural agency and state universities to the LWG and the community; election of demonstration sites and criteria for CCA options; provision of needed material inputs for each of the CCA options, including the construction of greenhouses in some sites; setting up of automatic weather stations, and the conduct of staff training on collection and utilization of weather and climate data for farm planning and operations; and capacity building of local stakeholders through trainings, seminars, workshops, as well as on-farm visits."

For the coastal communities in the Bicol region, the FAO is involved in a project called 'Enhancing Livelihoods Resilience through Climate Risk Management in Agriculture and Fisheries'. The project focus is *"to support farmers in addressing disaster risk reduction and adaptation to climate change in proactive ways."* Implemented by the Department of Agriculture in partnership with FAO, the Philippine Atmospheric Geophysical and Atmospherical Services Administration (PAGASA), local government units, state colleges and universities and *barangay* or village councils, the project is said to be a response to the *"current and future hydro-meteorological hazards and climate risks that affect both the agriculture and fishery sectors of the region."* To achieve specific project objectives, the following were undertaken:

(a) installation of rain gauges in pilot *barangays* and conduct of trainings on proper operation and use of information;

(b) assistance to the Department of Agriculture (DA) in interpreting weather and climate forecasts to create impact outlooks and planning support for agriculture and to advice farmers and local institutions accordingly;

(c) development of new tool for livelihoods based damage and needs assessment, including a regular baseline, which will be pilot-tested and if successful, institutionalized;

(d) assistance to pilot communities in preparing community-based disaster risk management plans with a focus on agriculture and institutionalized planning in order to contribute to reduced vulnerabilities to current and future climate risks;

(e) assistance to the DA in prioritizing, testing, validating and documenting location and target group specific good practice options, for future replication of successfully tested options; and

(f) provision of advice for sector specific policies and proactive strategies to address disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation.

One international research facility that is linked with climate change initiatives in the Philippines is the International Centre for Research in Agroforestry (ICRAF), also known as the World Agroforestry Centre. Their website describes ICRAF as *"an autonomous, non-profit international research organization…receiving its principal funding from governments, private foundations and international organizations through the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR)."* ICRAF is involved in *"collaborative programs and partnerships in the Philippines, as well as multi-sector efforts to promote agroforestry, especially among upland farmers swidden agriculturists (slash-and-burn farmers)."* ICRAF's main office in the Philippines is located in Southern Luzon, within the premises of the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI), but they have major research sites and offices in Eastern Visayas and Mindanao. According to the program coordinator whom I interviewed, ICRAF's main office *"focuses on strengthening R&D in the areas of global climate change and the roles of agroforestry systems and landscapes in generating environmental services, and advancing the understanding and capacity of local stakeholders to manage landscapes for greater environmental and socio-economic benefits."* The interviewee added that in order to achieve its programmatic thrusts in the Philippines, *"ICRAF works on government policy reform as well as on enlarging farmers' technical options in collaboration with NGOs, universities, regional and national research and development institutions, and national and local government agencies."*

A collaborative climate change project that ICRAF was involved in was described in a draft report as *"a case study on the patterns of vulnerability and*

impacts of climate change on the forestry, water, agriculture and coastal sector." It was carried out in a municipality located in the Eastern Visayas region of the Philippines. The research project served as vehicle to pilot-test an *"interactive web-based platform, which provides information on climate change, its physical and socio-economic impacts, and adaptation options and experiences from across the world."* According to the draft report, *"consultations with local stakeholders were conducted to validate the identified patterns, which could serve as basis for the formulation of appropriate adaptation options for each sector in the municipality's Comprehensive Land Use Plan."* Aside from identifying sectoral climate change impacts and key vulnerabilities, the project concluded by underscoring the importance of social vulnerabilities and the community's adaptive capacity to adverse climate change impacts.

At the time of my fieldwork there were two European governments involved in climate change adaptation projects in the Philippines, through their international development agencies. One was the Spanish government's Agencia Española de Cooperación Internacional para el Desarollo (AECID) and the other was the German government's Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (GIZ), formerly known as Deutsche Gesellschaft für Technische Zusammenarbeit (GTZ). The Spanish government has historical ties to the country and from the mid-'70s up to the late '90s its only presence in Southeast Asia was in the Philippines. The AECID website states that AECID in the Philippines helps in MDG achievement and capacity building of local government units. Moreover, in a changing climate context, AECID has provided support for fostering adaptation planning and skills of local

government officials through trainings and is also one of the sources of funds for the proposed Climate Change Academy for Philippine local government units in Albay. In Albay, where AECID actually has a liaison office, the local government unit established an office specifically for MDG achievement, with emphasis is on poverty eradication and disaster recovery.

The GIZ has also been implementing projects to promote economic, environmental and social development in the Philippines for over thirty years. It is currently collaborating with national government agencies, aiming to develop and implement strategies that will mitigate the effects of climate change and the loss of biodiversity in the Philippines. According to the female project coordinator of the collaborative GIZ climate change initiative in the Philippines, their project,

> *"Adaptation to Climate Change and Conservation of Bio-diversity (ACCBio) is on top of the usual official development assistance (ODA) of the German government. So, this is a new facility using what the German government earned from carbon trading. They have an international climate initiative where they select projects in different areas. One of the priorities is climate change adaptation. The support to the Philippine government is mainly on developing an adaptation strategy. For the last 3 years that has been one of the major interventions of the joint project between GIZ and the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR)."*

The same coordinator further explains, *"the ACCBio project entails strengthening the institutions that are relevant to climate change, supporting the development of climate change adaptation strategies, and the implementation of selected measures towards biodiversity. In the process, the project will also raise awareness on climate change and environmental issues."* The said collaborative

project was still ongoing at the time of fieldwork but the following major outputs were listed down in the program brief:

1. National climate change adaptation strategies in close cooperation with relevant stakeholders, namely national government agencies, local government units, leagues, the academe, the private sector and civil society organizations;
2. Successful micro-projects to protect the Philippines' unique terrestrial and marine biodiversity;
3. Improved awareness on environmental issues and dissemination of success stories and good practices in the national and regional (ASEAN) context;
4. Enhanced scientific cooperation with relevant German and European research institutions and environmental organization; and
5. Enhanced capacity of the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR)-Climate Change Office.

One success story that this GIZ project takes credit for is its role in the institutional collaboration for the development of the Philippine Strategy on Climate Change Adaptation. This strategy *"guides the country's actions to cope with, moderate or offset the potential damages, as well as take advantage of the associated opportunities with changes in climate in the next twelve years."* The project brochure explains, *"The national strategy broadly seeks to prepare the country's institutions at national and local levels, for the challenges and opportunities presented by climate change."* In order to achieve this, *"a multi-stakeholder and participatory collaboration process was a key ingredient in the strategy formulation. The process brought together key government agencies, academe and civil society organizations, led by the DENR. It was a consensus-building process that lasted for a year and a half."* Technical working groups in nine sectors were organized as part of the process,

each with broad membership coming from various societal sectors. In April 2010, the resulting document was submitted to the Climate Change Commission where it was further elaborated until its official launching as the National Framework Strategy on Climate Change, in August 2010. As I was winding down my fieldwork in the Philippines I learned that the said framework strategy is slated to undergo a collaborative review because, as one interviewee from an international institution shared, *"its formulation was a bit rushed and there are loopholes that need to be addressed."*

The various institutions currently involved in climate change in the Philippines are interrelated not only through a shared advocacy but also through financial and organizational links. International institutions usually fund national and local initiatives and likewise play crucial roles in policy-formulation. Meanwhile, the national bureaucracy is the source for policies implemented at the local government unit level. Civil society groups not only advocate at both national and local levels but also act as intermediary between grassroots communities and the government or funding agency. To further understand the dynamics among these institutions it is imperative to look at each institutional structure and analyze how gendered processes play out. Implications for mainstreaming gender in climate change can then be drawn out.

Institutional Structures and Gendered Processes

This section discusses the sub-question on the dynamics of gendered processes involved in institutional structures, priorities and practices. For this

study, gender is theorized as a constitutive element of organizational assumptions and practices (Acker 1990). Hence, institutions are not gender-neutral but rather manifest gendered logic in their operations. To tease this out from the data gathered, I present an overview of institutional structures and practices, from the local government unit (LGU) up to international level institutions. These structures and practices are then analyzed to look into how gendered processes are manifested.

A. Local Government Units and National Bureaucratic Agencies

Local government units (LGU) and national government agencies in the Philippines are part of the governmental bureaucracy, which is essentially hierarchically structured despite the democratic political system. More than half of the employees in the Philippine bureaucracy are women but they occupy mostly rank and file or mid-management level positions (PhilGAD Portal). Senior management and bureaucratic decision-making positions are largely male-dominated, except in agencies traditionally affiliated with women's concerns, such as Social Welfare. LGU leaders like governors and mayors are popularly elected and act as local chief executives. Local and national legislators are likewise popularly elected. However, there are few women executive and legislative elective positions in both national and local levels. Moreover, while Philippine laws provide for sectoral representation in the local legislative bodies, these positions are usually given to the league presidents of the associations of *barangay* or village captains and the youth, who are also mostly male.

Since the Philippine political administration has been decentralized in the 1990s, local governments gained the authority to become power centers and the culture of political bossism fostered (Lacaba 1995). Governors and mayors typically act and are regarded as local bosses, basically calling the shots in their locales. This is quite common in the Philippines with its long history of patronage and patriarchal politics. I have observed this happening in the two local government units I went to for fieldwork. The level of deference towards the governor and mayor were really high. Local bureaucrats were always quick to highlight the chief executive's achievements and were guarded in answering questions that may impact negatively on the governor or mayor. Given that local administrative positions are subject to the chief executive's approval, it is understandable that local bureaucrats seek to be in the governor's or mayor's favor.

National government agencies are similarly structured as those in the local government level. Heads of offices are appointed by the Philippine President and are reflective of political affiliations. As the national agency tasked with the Philippines' climate change plans and policies, I would like to focus on the Climate Change Commission's institutional structure and practices. The Climate Change Commission (CCC) is composed of the Philippine President as Chairperson, and three appointed commissioners, one of whom acts as the commission's Vice Chair and Executive Director of the Climate Change Office (Climate Change Act 2009). An interviewee who is a commissioner admits, "*The way the CCC is structured is somewhat top-to-bottom."* The Commission also has an advisory board composed of a long list of cabinet secretaries as well as representatives from associations of local government

units, academic institutions, the business sector, and non-government organizations. The climate change law also specifies that at least one of the sectoral representatives shall come from the disaster risk reduction community.

Since the members of the Climate Change Commission and the sectoral representatives of its Advisory Board are appointed by the Philippine President, I was interested to know the basis for such appointments. So I asked a high-ranking official of the CCC and she said,

"To be honest, I cannot answer that question. Only the President can answer. They have their selection process. At least I know for sure the reason I was appointed was because they needed a woman to be part of the cluster. The law itself says that at least one commissioner should be a woman. When I presented this abroad, it elicited interest from the audience because this is the first time that it was very clear that women should have a seat [in climate change policy-making body] and it's mandated by law.

For all intents and purposes, it appears that the appointment of a woman commissioner is simply out of compliance to the provisions of the law. As far as the actual provision is concerned, I surmised that the inclusion of the clause ensuring women's representation in the CCC was partially a product of gender mainstreaming advocacies within the bureaucracy and also externally through civil society lobby. The fact that the senator who authored the Climate Change Act is a woman who professes to be an environmentalist and women's rights advocate, may also be a factor. Given that prior to the Climate Change Act climate change concerns have been handled by a national agency that has long been male-dominated, the provision on having at least one woman commissioner was a push for gender equity in climate change policy-making. However, the extent to which compliance to the

said legal provision impacts on the consideration of gender in the CCC's activities remains to be seen. Prügl (2010) observed women bureaucrats' tendency to submit to bureaucratic masculinism when they are entrenched in it, therefore preventing them from questioning gendered power relations. I think this is evident in the female CCC Commissioner's comment:

> "*I know we are considered a patriarchal society, but in terms of my own experience, I don't see any discrimination [against women] at all… with respect to promotion for example, I know it is based on merit…the only thing that I have observed is that women prefer hanging out with women so the tendency is if the President is a woman, she tends to pick women as staff members and vice versa if the President is a man. Other than that I don't think you get discriminated on the basis of being the opposite sex."*

What is ironic in the female CCC Commissioner's comment is the fact that while she insists that she has not experienced any discrimination as a woman within the bureaucracy, her observation that a male president would naturally surround himself with male cabinet members implies a gendered bureaucracy that is currently male-dominated and patriarchal. Moreover, it does not follow that a female President translates to more women in bureaucratic decision-making positions. The number of female cabinet secretaries in the previous administration with a female President is not significantly higher than the current administration. The previous administration was even widely criticized for its anti-women's reproductive rights stance whereas the current administration was recently seen as supportive of women's reproductive rights.

In terms of institutional decision-making, I inquired whether the commission has to go through the president every time a decision is required, given that he's the Commission Chair, and my interviewee replied,

"No, what we have right now is…we have implementing rules and regulations…the rule is because we're a commission, we should decide collegially so we need to meet all the time. Those tasks that are within my discretion as the office's executive director I try accomplish…to hire and fire staff and organize the commission, for example. The three of us [commissioners] actually have a good working relationship…we have more or less the same objectives. We don't allow ourselves to be hampered with the formalities. But the law specifically requires us to meet with the President every quarter. That's the limitation because the President is busy, we cannot meet as mandated by the law."

I gathered from the interview with the CCC commissioner that the so-called collegial decision-making in the CCC only pertains among the commissioners themselves and was likely because they are on equal footing as commission members. The President is still their superior and given the degree of reverence accorded to chief executives in the Philippines, the possibility of decisions made collegially being overturned by the President is still quite high. Also, the CCC's collegial working relationship may be attributed to the fact that one of the three commissioners hails from civil society and thus brings with him certain work practices associated with civil society groups, like informality and emphasis on camaraderie. However, I suspect there may still be some tensions among the commissioners since one of them was strongly affiliated with the previous President's administration and even led the Presidential Task Force on Climate Change. Prior to leading the said Task Force, he was also a Philippine senator known to advocate for climate change issues at the time when climate change was not even

a popular concept. Thus, he would have been a strong candidate to be the CCC's Vice Chair but the position was given to the woman commissioner who was previously an undersecretary at the DENR. Moreover, I have observed that in documentation of the CCC's activities, including those that are related with UNFCCC matters, only the woman Vice Chair and the commissioner from civil society are most visible. The two of them have become the faces of the CCC. I myself was initially surprised to learn that the former head of the Presidential Task Force on Climate Change was actually a current CCC commissioner. His name does not readily come up in recent news on Philippine climate change efforts. Neither was he mentioned at all in the interviews I conducted. I only came across his name in the organizational chart of the CCC.

B. Civil Society Groups

The civil society groups and alliances are the least hierarchically structured among the institutions in this study. The two networks I interacted with evolved out of core individual members or groups who took up climate change issues and convened other organizations to advocate for climate change related causes. A male convenor from PMCJ said,

"The main objective for the network's formation was to have a coalition that will represent the issues and concerns of the grassroots sectors. I think it was in 2009 when the framework for climate justice came into the picture and was adopted by the members. PMCJ currently has around 50 member organizations. When it was first organized, The Freedom from Debt Coalition (FDC) acted as the lead organization…actually up until now. But this year (2011), a coordinating committee was formed that will take charge of decision-making."

The national coordinator from Aksyon Klima shared a similar experience by saying,

"We have convened together as Aksyon Klima, I think in 2009. Before that we were a core group of civil society organizations known as the CSO-WG. Our structure now is…we have General Assembly (GA) members, a steering committee composed of the coordinator—that's me, convenor, then the heads of four clusters—the leads for technology, finance, adaptation and mitigation. We also have a secretariat, which again, is basically just me."

Since civil society networks or alliances are composed of different organizations that have banded together on the basis of shared visions and goals, their institutional structures typically accommodate consensus building and democratic decision-making. They are also more inclined to political correctness in gender issues, as evidenced by this statement from the male national coordinator of PMCJ:

"There is a conscious effort within PMCJ to uphold gender balance within the coordinating committee…Our perspectives on gender come from our member organizations…we have women-dedicated organizations and they keep us updated on what issues we need to be aware of… I can generally say that the concept of gender balance, as well as highlighting and addressing women's issues are well-accepted within our network."

Despite this claim, however, there was no mention of gender in PMCJ's Unity Statement on Climate Change where they laid down policy demands on climate change mitigation, climate change adaptation, climate finance and climate change negotiations. I likewise find it revealing that when I wrote PMCJ to schedule interviews, I was linked up with someone who leads the women's committee of one of the network's convening organizations. While I appreciate the insights she has provided on gender mainstreaming, there is still the implied assumption that the topic of gender is something specialized that not even the network's coordinator,

who joined in the interview later, was confident to address. Even though they mentioned that gender concerns are woven into their network's campaigns, it was apparent that the priority in the climate justice framework they subscribe to was the demand for accountability from so-called perpetrators of climate change, including just compensation for victim countries like the Philippines. Gender considerations may be part of this claim-making for purposes of restorative justice, but it did not seem to be highly emphasized.

C. International Institutions

Between the two UN agencies mentioned in this study, I was only able to get some first-hand details on organizational structures and decision-making practices from the UNDP. When I interviewed one female high-ranking UNDP official and asked about their mandates and organizational set-up, she informed me that the UNDP strives *"to help the country in development issues…we are really active on policy [advocacy] work and capacity development in order to address issues within the [UNDP's] four thematic areas."* She also referred me to their website, which says that the UNDP expressed mission in the Philippines is

> *"to foster human development for peace and prosperity. Working with central and local governments as well as civil society, and building on global best practices. UNDP strengthens capacities of women, men and institutions to empower them to achieve the Millennium Development Goals and the objectives of the Philippine Mid-term Development Plan. Through advocacy and development projects, with a special focus on vulnerable groups, UNDP works to ensure a better life for the people of the Philippines."*

As for its organizational structure, my interviewee confirmed what their website says that *"the UNDP in the Philippines has a total of 43 staff members, 26 females and 17 males, coming from diverse backgrounds in both private and public sectors. There are only three international [non-Filipino] staff members, thus, UNDP-Philippines relies on Filipino staff members to deliver its programs and assistance."* However, the agency's top position is held by one of the three foreign nationals, which explains why, according to a top-ranking UNDP official,

> *"Team leaders assist the country director in his tasks as he focuses on UNDP's operations in the Philippines…There are four teams in all—one on poverty and MDGs, the other is on governance, another on crises preventions and recovery and then there's us, energy and environment, which also includes climate change and disaster risk reduction."*

The number of people comprising the UNDP country team is not large, which explains why they do not directly handle projects on the ground but partner with the government or civil society. Yet, since UNDP directly funds or source out funds for use in Philippine project implementation, it remains as a significant influence in government policies and civil society activities. For one, when I was doing interviews with other institutions with climate change initiatives in the Philippines, the UNDP was frequently mentioned along with the person I interviewed who is essentially the one in-charge of UNDP's climate change involvement. However, I found it slightly unsettling that the country director is a foreign national and the rest of the staff are Filipinos, especially after hearing how my interviewee interacted with her male "boss" (her term) over the phone in the middle of our interview. The organizational set-up and the phone interaction reminded me of Filipino "colonial

mentality", a negative cultural trait that is nonetheless well-entrenched since the Philippines had a long history of being under the colonial rule of Spain and then the US. With colonial mentality, anything or anyone foreign, especially if associated with the northern countries, is regarded as better. I noted a strong deference to the Frenchman country director whom my interviewee spoke with over the phone while I was still in her office. While this is not necessarily indicative of actual office relations, it still provides a glimpse of some degree of power dynamics within the organization. Particular to decision-making processes within the UNDP my high-ranking female interviewee shared,

"We are primarily consultative…so in the process of coming up with our country program, we consult with our partners in government, civil society, academic institutions…and this is actually part of the bigger UN process which we call the preparation of the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF). Every program cycle we support the Philippine Development Plan (PDP). Our planning teams are actually synchronized with the implementation of the PDP. So while they consult for the PDP we also consult for the UNDAF and that consultation process or assessment process we call Common Country Assessment (CCA). As much as possible we try to have common endeavors through joint programs. That's why we have a joint program on climate change…we see ourselves in an advisory capacity, of course, that's why we conduct consultations. Our working relationship [with the Philippine government] is one that has been built overtime through projects…they also know that we have a long history of engagement in climate change issues. At least I should know that because I came [to work for UNDP] from the government."

The emphasis on the consultative nature of decision-making is echoed in the FAO website and is most likely typical of all UN agencies. The consultation process described by my respondent, though, pertains only to program or project decisions, not internal decision mechanics. Nonetheless we can glean from her response the

extent of UNDP's influence on Philippine development programs, including those pertaining to climate change.

Pertaining to institutional structures and decision dynamics, one thing I find noteworthy is the strong influence of a leader's advocacy on institutional program thrusts. I have observed this happening in ICRAF, where the country program coordinator has focused his research on climate change and land use or land cover change. The same country program coordinator is a coordinating lead author of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) and has served as technical adviser to governmental bodies, including the Philippine Senate. He is also instrumental in the establishment of a climate change research center in the province currently leading in climate change initiatives in the Philippines. Thus, one interviewee described him as *"an icon in climate change in the Philippines…one of the pioneers."* When I interviewed the said Program Coordinator, he explained that their institutional mandate *"is simply promoting more trees on farms…more trees in the farming system and the landscape."* Yet their main office in Southern Luzon is practically dedicated to research and development on climate change. There is of course an important link between agroforestry systems and global climate change, but this particular ICRAF country coordinator's personal advocacy has undeniably shaped their institution's program priorities.

<u>Community input in institutional climate change initiatives</u>

This section discusses the second and third sub-questions pertaining to the extent of community input on institutional climate change interventions, as well as

whose standpoints are privileged in the implementation of these interventions. The discussion starts with how project locales are usually identified, followed by the mechanics of introducing the projects to the villages. Actual community experiences in project involvement will likewise be discussed, leading to an analysis of institutional and community engagement during project implementation.

When Philippine institutions implement projects at the grassroots communities or village levels, the process usually starts with identifying project areas based on certain criteria. For climate change initiatives, vulnerability due to location and economic condition is the usual criteria. For example, the female commissioner of the Climate Change Commission explains that what they intend as pilot areas for the localization of the national climate change action plan *"will most likely be the top ten poorest provinces in the Eastern seaboard."* Some interviewees like those affiliated with the provincial climate change center in the Bicol region mentioned similar criteria for project locale selection, such as *"the five priority municipalities",* while others zero in on community organizations such as 'farm clusters' or farmers' associations. One local government unit bureaucrat in the municipality that implements the Climate Field School points out, *"In the beginning [of the project] we selected or identified communities that are more vulnerable to climate change…that's why you can see that we have selected irrigated areas, non-irrigated areas, as well as coastal communities."* When I asked him for the basis of such selection, he added, *"We more or less based it on their geographical location and their level of production. There are barangays or villages with low [rice] production, thus affecting household income."*

Institutional engagement with grassroots communities in the Philippines usually starts with coordination between implementing institutions and the local government unit. My interviewee from the Philippine Climate Change Commission said,

"The law [on climate change] mandates that we assist the local government units in their local climate change adaptation planning…however, we are not in that level yet because the way we are structured is somewhat top-to-bottom…but since we also rely heavily on consultations, I think we do the bottoms-up approach as well…we deal directly with local government units."

Another respondent from a local non-government organization underscored the importance of the local government unit (LGU) as gatekeepers in grassroots communities, saying,

"While community participation is very important, it is likewise important for the LGU to be cooperative…of course we can still continue our work in the communities as long as we have the community support, but the LGU is charged with governance at the grassroots level and it can get difficult if the LGU is not cooperative."

Indeed, to go to the *barangay* or village level, one has to course through the LGU, starting with the mayor and then the *barangay* or village captains. As the program coordinator of GIZ observed, *"It really depends on the LGUs we engage with. There are those who are open [to the projects we introduce] and there are those who aren't."* Introduction of projects to the community starts with *barangay* meetings. Such meetings are scheduled through proper channels within local government bureaucracies, where the crucial factor will be the *barangay* captain's cooperation. In the course of my fieldwork, institutional representatives and community members alike have told me,

"there are a series of meetings in the beginning [of project implementation]…attendance to said meetings depend on the leadership and networking skills of the barangay captain…there's an observed process…first there are meetings, then focus group discussions, more meetings and then village consultations."

Community respondents emphasized that mobilization at the grassroots level is dependent on the efforts of barangay council officials, particularly the *barangay* captain. One community interviewee said,

"It really depends on who leads the barangay. If the barangay captain is actively involved in projects or implements whatever the higher bureaucratic level says in terms of improving local conditions, then I'm sure you will see a lot of good things happening in a barangay. But there are also [barangay] captains who are not active…those who do not implement the higher level LGU's programs."

Another community interviewee shared, *"We really have an active barangay captain…he's been our captain for a long time…we haven't changed him…he goes house-to-house and makes us feel obligated to attend the community meetings."* To which yet another respondent added, *"How can we not be active if our captain is active? If you ask him for his help with something he usually delivers…so if he asks you to attend a meeting, even as a favor, how could you refuse?"* Thus, the immediate implication of the process involved is the extent of influence a *barangay* captain wields at the grassroots level. Gaining the *barangay* captain's cooperation is therefore important for successful project implementation.

With regards the actual participation of community members in local or village-level climate change initiatives, one respondent claimed, *"it really depends on one's value system…the people in our barangay are not difficult or hard-headed…they understand what's good for the community…we see each other as equals."* To which another respondent added, *"we don't discriminate here…whether you're a senior*

citizen (term for the elderly), SK (acronym for Sangguniang Kabataan or village-level youth alliance)…everyone gets the chance to participate in projects." Interviewees shared that the community meetings aimed at information dissemination helped a lot in their own decision to participate in the project/s. As one interviewee puts it, *"we listened to them explain it first then we thought about it…whether it will be good for us to participate in the project or not."* Another respondent shared *"since we have a farmer's cooperative, we tend to be coordinated well and we also have supportive barangay officials."* To which her fellow community interviewee interjected,

> *"I think the people in our barangay are just generally participative in projects…of course there are also those who don't participate…in my estimate they're probably about 1%...so why focus on the 1% who are not active or cooperative when you have the 99% who are working towards the betterment of our community?"*

On a lighter note, one interviewee from a grassroots community quipped, *"It doesn't hurt that we are given refreshments when we attend the meetings or participate in the training."* Moreover, community respondents also shared that *"more women attend community meetings than men"* and they attribute this to the fact that *"men work in the daytime and may not be around when these meetings are called."*

Villagers who took part in the CFS generally expressed that *"participating in the Climate Field School (CFS) was advantageous for us."* They said *"they gained knowledge…about pests and how to manage them…about planting alternative crops…about the proper use of pesticides and fertilizers."* They also emphasized that it was really good that they were taught about weather forecasts and that the municipality has come up with the system in which daily weather forecasts are

radioed to every *barangay* / village and published in the bulletin board of the community center. That way, the farmers are provided with the information that is necessary for their livelihood. One community respondent said,

"Since we learned about the use of forecast, we knew when to plant the seedlings and when not to. For example, when you see that the forecast says there is an upcoming low pressure, you know what to do and what not to do."

Another respondent underscored the importance of practicing synchronized farming, saying, *"We learned that it's better if we implement synchronized farming because there will be less pests to deal with. We knew about this through CFS."* Another respondent interjected then,

"But there are still people who do things ahead of the others in the community, thinking that the sooner they till and plant, the better will be their yield. Of course they experienced losses. Maybe through their experience they will be convinced of the logic behind synchronized farming."

In another village that participated in the CFS, a respondent offered,

"The CFS was a big help for us…let's take climate change as an example. We learned about it through CFS. So now we know how to adjust our farming activities depending on whether it's going to be a long dry season or in the event of la niña. Through CFS we learned to plan on whether we should work on the farm in advance or delay it."

The villagers claimed that the knowledge they acquired by participating in CFS enabled them to achieve higher rice yield with less cost. They affirmed that they hope the CFS project will continue and gave suggestions for improvement. One respondent said that she *"hoped the CFS would incorporate fieldtrips or exposures to successful large farms so that they can learn more."* Another respondent reiterated that share-workers in the farm (those who work on the farm in exchange for a

percentage of the produce) should also undergo CFS training. She said that this is important because

"in certain instances, like in our farm where the topography is such that when it rains the fields get submerged in water, the share-workers leave us at crucial times. They cannot feed their families if they stuck it out with our farm given such conditions and they don't have the know-how to address the problem."

The community interviewee raises a good point, which highlights gradations in socio-economic status in farming villages, as well as issues of access. Share-workers are not considered farmers in the traditional sense because they do not own nor lease farmland. In classic Marxist fashion what the share workers have that they sell is their labor for the farmers to utilize. Thus extending CFS training to share workers may ensure more stability in their means of living and that of the farmers' too.

In the same village as the one just discussed, the respondents verbalized problems with water access and when asked what suggestions they have to improve the CFS, some respondents said *"it will be good if our problem with [lack of] irrigation be solved. We have already informed the proper authorities about it and now we await what their response will be."* While such concern over the lack of irrigation may not fall directly within the scope of the CFS project, the issue underscores the need for long-term institutional support for grassroots farming communities in order to ensure continued practice of knowledge gained, as well as make headway in climate change adaptation efforts in vulnerable communities.

While climate change initiatives at the grassroots communities' level appear to be actively participated in by village constituents, it is also noticeable that these

initiatives are not borne out of community efforts. More often than not, projects are introduced from outside of the community and constituents are just consulted. These consultation meetings are mostly information dissemination sessions for the benefit of village constituents. Since projects are almost always assumed as aimed at improving conditions, there is rarely any objection to their implementation in the communities. However, this means communities have little or no input in the design and implementation of interventions targeted to address their needs. Institutional views are therefore privileged more than the communities', with the latter becoming passive recipients of interventions rather than invested project partners. The process is reminiscent of development projects that do not get sustained due to a lack of community sense of ownership.

Interviewees from GIZ shared a rather contradictory observation regarding people's participation, saying, *"Villagers now have the capacity to air their side…they can now face their LGU officials and discuss their issues or make claims…while before they could only state certain needs, now it seems that they know how to demand."* According to these interviewees, such community empowerment is *"due to the development of [community] leaders".* While implying a trend in community empowerment, the comment was largely based on the interviewees' observation that exposure to capacity-building activities sponsored mostly by civil society groups have fostered leadership skills among community members, which serve them well during times when they are consulted for project implementation purposes. Such community-level consultations related to project implementation remains as the main venue to express community demands.

Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) vs. Climate Change Adaptation (CCA)

While conducting fieldwork in the Philippines I encountered an emergent topic involving disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation that tangentially relates to the objectives of this study as it involves certain overlapping concerns of institutions. Since the Philippines is vulnerable to a host of natural disasters, disaster risk reduction (DRR) has been propagated in grassroots communities by various institutions through the years. DRR in the Philippines has a militaristic tradition, stemming from military search and rescue operations during disaster contexts. Until now, the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (NDRRMC) itself still has the Office of Civil Defense as its executive arm and secretariat.

When climate change became increasingly dominant in scientific and governmental discourses, the notion of climate change adaptation became strongly associated with disaster risk reduction. The Philippine Climate Change Law itself states, *"…that climate change and disaster risk reduction are closely interrelated and effective disaster risk reduction will enhance climate change adaptive capacity, the State shall integrate disaster risk reduction into climate change programs and initiatives."* Interestingly, the said climate change law was passed a year before the Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act, a law which also says that *"it is the policy of the state to adopt a disaster risk reduction and management approach that is holistic, comprehensive, integrated and proactive in lessening the socio-economic and environmental impacts of disasters, including climate change, and*

promote the involvement and participation of all sectors…" Both laws also state that climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction should be mainstreamed in the country's development processes.

According to an interviewee working in a foreign-assisted governmental project on climate change adaptation,

> *"the entry point for [climate change] adaptation in the Philippines is disaster/s…that's why it's really highlighted…when you talk to laymen or people in the communities, disaster is top most in their minds. So that's our starting point when we want to talk about or discuss adaptation."*

National alliances on climate change expressed apprehension about this view and one respondent from such an alliance said, *"Right now, we are advocating for the integration of DRR and CCA…we are concerned that there is just too much requirement for local government units to come up with all sorts of plans. Now there is the demand for local climate change adaptation plan as well as local disaster risk reduction plan…if these two are integrated into a single plan it would be better since they are interrelated."* The interrelated nature of climate change adaptation and disaster risk reduction is likewise underscored at the local government level, as confirmed by an interviewee representing a provincial climate change adaptation research center when he said, *"When mainstreaming climate change in the educational system as well as in climate change adaptation efforts, you start with disaster risk reduction. We cannot address adaptation without looking at interventions for disaster risk reduction."* In the grassroots communities, climate change is also associated with DRR, as one respondent shared,

"We have been exposed to disaster risk reduction in previous years. Our barangay tanod (village citizen patrol group) used to win in disaster training competitions sponsored by the municipality (town)…now this climate change adaptation training we undergo subsumed disaster risk reduction…I guess because the purpose of adaptation is to better prepare us for extreme events."

Notwithstanding the interrelated nature of disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation, I have observed tensions arising between advocates of CCA and DRR. One such tension stems from the issue of primacy in terms of strategies to address vulnerabilities. A brief interview with someone working for the NDRRMC gave me the impression that DRR advocates harbor some resentment for the current national focus on climate change. My interviewee said, *"climate change adaptation is now the trend but disaster risk reduction has long been there…there are a lot of lessons to be learned from disaster risk reduction in the context of a changing climate."* During my fieldwork in the province known as the lead in climate change adaptation projects, I was surprised that the head of their public safety and management office was not keen on being interviewed since my topic involves climate change. He said,

"I cannot discuss climate change with you…that is an entirely different topic. If we talk about climate change then we have to talk about highly technical / scientific topics like amount of green house gases in the atmosphere…disaster risk reduction goes beyond climate change because there are all sorts of disasters—natural and man-made….we deal with a lot more than just the changes in the climate."

I was bewildered by such a point of view since at the time I assumed that all the offices in that building operate through a system of coordination based on the

awareness that climate change effects exacerbate the extent of disasters. Through informal conversations with the head of a local environmental NGO I learned that there is *"a turfing issue between climate change and disaster risk reduction within the province."* My respondent said that this might have stemmed from the fact that DRR efforts are being upstaged by climate change adaptation. Yet I did not encounter similar sentiments from CCA advocates, perhaps precisely because funders and policy-makers currently favor their strategies.

Another tension that I came across during fieldwork arises within the ranks of key players in climate change in the Philippines. In one camp there are those institutions like one national civil society alliance that have evolved from the DRR community. This camp insists on the intertwined nature of DRR and CCA and tends to use DRR as a tool in CCA. Meanwhile, the other camp is composed of climate scientists and groups who engage their expertise to come up with climate change adaptation projects, but are mainly ambivalent about DRR. This camp focuses on adaptation as somewhat isolated from DRR and explores means besides DRR in implementing CCA initiatives. These tensions between CCA and DRR advocates as well as that between advocates of integration and those who are ambivalent to such integration highlight a few implications. One is the implication on funding and project implementation priorities. At the time of fieldwork, there was a prevailing assumption on available funding sources for CCA and I gathered a side comment during the Bonn Feedback Session that such expectation is one of the forces behind the immediate passing of the Climate Change Act. Since there are overlaps in DRR and CCA processes, prioritizing CCA without regard for DRR shifts funding and other

resources from DRR into CCA. Moreover, efforts to integrate the two strategies require not only funding but time and energy investments, as well—a task that few institutions are inclined to take on, given immediate demands from either CCA or DRR processes.

Chapter Summary

The chapter endeavored to answer the first research question of this study, including its three sub-questions. Hence, the starting point of the chapter discussion was an overview of current climate change initiatives conducted by various institutions in the Philippines. The chapter then proceeded to look at how gendered processes are manifested in institutional structures and practices. Finally, the chapter explicated on the extent to which community input informs institutional interventions, as well as gleaned whose standpoints are privileged in project planning and implementation.

As far climate change interventions go, the chapter highlights a range of institutional efforts, most of which are community-based. There appears to be high collaboration among the various Philippine institutions involved in climate change initiatives. As such, policies such as the national law on climate change were enacted with input from various sectors. Efforts are also underway to implement the national climate change adaptation plan, as well as initiate its local counterparts. Civil society groups are vigilant and engage or critique the government in its efforts to implement these plans. What is interesting are the local government initiatives that started even prior to the passing of the climate change law and are serving as

blueprint for grassroots adaptation initiatives. Communities in these local government units manifested substantial awareness on climate change effects based on personal experiences and information gathered through media sources. Unfortunately, these local government efforts are dependent on political priorities of elective officials with limited terms of office. The devolved and decentralized political set-up may also be an impediment to program adoption at the community level since provinces cannot compel municipalities and villages to participate. In most cases, though, if there is funding for projects, participation is high. Yet, sustainability is also an issue in all the initiatives at various levels, since, as one interviewee pointed out, "funded projects are time-bound".

Most of the institutions in the study were hierarchically structured although they claim to subscribe to consultative mechanisms. Decision-making processes were generally conducted in top-down manner. There were implications of patriarchy in institutional structures and practices, such as the fact that a high-ranking woman official was appointed to her post mainly out of compliance to law provisions rather than a conscious effort at addressing gender inequity. Even civil society networks that claimed to have worked at maintaining gender balance in their institutional structures did not seem to thoroughly imbibe more egalitarian practices. After all, their claim to gender sensitivity largely hinged only on having women-dedicated organizations as part of their alliance. Hence, Acker's (1990) theory of gendered organizations or gender as a constitutive element in organizational logic and processes is thus upheld in the findings of this study. The minimal regard for gender equity or egalitarian considerations within institutional

structures and processes can be traced to the fact that most of these institutions operate in masculinist fashion, underscoring male priorities. Thus, gender concerns, which are associated with women, are marginalized. However, the data gathered was not sufficient to make thorough analysis of the nuances in gendered dynamics per institutional level. Thus, the sub-question "How are gendered processes manifested in institutional structures, priorities and practices?" was only partially answered.

With regards the sub questions on community input and privileged standpoints, the study uncovered that communities are mainly at the receiving end of institutional interventions rather than actively engaged in project design and implementation. While community consultations are conducted before interventions are carried out, it was not explicit whether community members articulated specific needs that were taken into consideration. What became apparent is the privileging of institutional priorities over those of the communities'. This is reminiscent of what Haraway (1988) referred to as the "god-trick" of universalizing the dominant group's experiences over those that are located in concrete subjugated realities. The findings of the study highlighted the dynamics of relations of ruling (Smith 2006), which, in this context, are the coordinated and intersecting institutional climate change processes that impact on community experiences. The study was able to map out the complex mechanisms involved in dealing with climate change at a country level, including the interrelationships among various actors involved, and how different activities are linked. Figure 4 below illustrates the links among the institutions included in this study. The arrows

signify the flow of funding, policy suggestions, policy formulation and policy implementation.

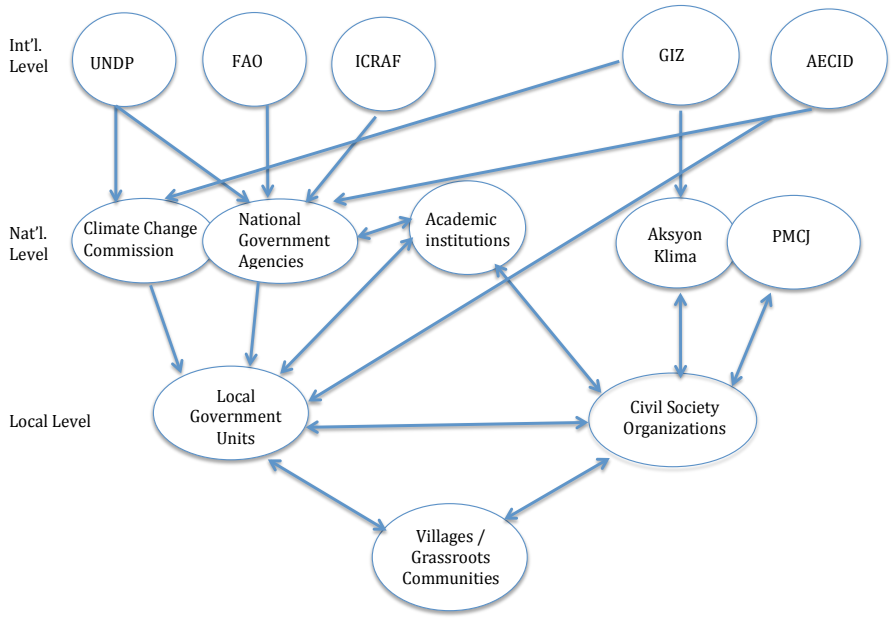

Figure 4. Links among institutions involved in climate change initiatives in the Philippines

The findings of the study underscore that international institutions essentially fund climate change initiatives and work with national government agencies particularly in policy-making. At least one international funding agency, GIZ, prioritizes climate change policy-making as program component in the Philippines. Hence, its influence in terms of concepts used may be apparent in policy documents such as the Framework Strategy for Climate Change Adaptation. Moreover, recent news shared on the CCC website says that GIZ will be funding the

first few years of implementation of the National Climate Change Adaptation Plan. In doing so, it will be able to closely monitor how the Philippine government implements such plan.

Civil society groups also source out funds from international funding agencies. In fact, climate change is considered by at least one NGO representative I interviewed as the current trend. It comes as no surprise then that civil society groups, particularly those involved in resource management, are shifting focus to include climate change mitigation and adaptation components to their programs or projects. Two local NGOs whose representatives I interviewed are doing just that. Therefore, the power of funders cannot be overemphasized in Philippine climate change initiatives. Community-level interventions may directly address expressed community needs but they also certainly echo the priorities and expectations of project implementers and funding agencies. As noted in this study, communities are almost always merely consulted at the onset of project implementation and it is not even clear whether community input is taking into account. More often than not, community interventions are introduced in a top-down manner rather than through consensus building. Hence, rarely do community feedback go up to the level of funding agencies.

Chapter VI

Mainstreaming gender in institutional climate change initiatives

This chapter addresses the second research question of the study, "To what extent do institutional practices adhere to gender mainstreaming frameworks in the process of addressing climate change?" It starts off by providing a brief background on how gender mainstreaming came about in Philippine society and then proceeds to how the term gender is conceptualized. Gender is discussed according to how the various institutions and community members involved in this study conceptualized it, then how it gets operationalized through the process of gender mainstreaming. Doing so expounds on the first sub-question that inquires on how institutions define gender mainstreaming and looks into the bases for their definitions.

After explicating on definitions of gender and gender mainstreaming, the chapter discussion proceeds by looking into what institutions articulated as gender concerns in climate change. Then community gender concerns are discussed, also in relation to climate change. These sections address the second sub-question on institutional and community issues arising from mainstreaming gender in institutional climate change initiatives. The last sub-question tackles the potential of gender mainstreaming and participatory approaches in reducing gender inequality, promoting community empowerment and addressing vulnerability to climate change. The chapter proceeds to address this last sub-question by assessing how institutions carry out gender mainstreaming and the challenges associated with it. Institutional policies on gender are likewise discussed, as well as gender

mainstreaming practices that expound on the potential for certain transformations to take place despite the challenges.

Overview of gender mainstreaming in the Philippines

The Philippines' active women's movement in the '70s and '80s raised issues related to women's rights. This movement occurred in the context of political struggle against a long-time dictator and the succeeding transition period after the People Power revolution. The women's movement can be credited for pushing for inclusion of the principle of gender equality in the post People Power 1987 constitution (Honculada and Ofreneo 2003). With a new political climate in the late '80s and early '90s, a number of women activists left ideological movements and worked in civil society. Civil society engagement with the state during this time, as well as the Philippine state's commitments to UN conventions like the Convention on the Eradication of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Platform for Action, led to the formulation and passing of the Executive Order, Philippine Plan for Gender-Responsive Development, to cover the years 1995-2025 (Honculada and Ofreneo 2003; PhilGAD Portal). In the succeeding years, a few laws aimed at protecting and promoting women's rights were also passed. All these fell under the umbrella of "gender mainstreaming", which was essentially aimed at sensitizing the bureaucracy to gender concerns and ensuring that corresponding policies are put in place. Within that period, the distinct notion of gender was circulated within the bureaucracy, civil society, the academe and eventually, the community level.

The concept of gender in the Philippines is closely intertwined with the notion of development and the mechanisms on how to achieve such development (Honculada and Ofreneo 2003). Before the term gender became a by-word in Philippine development circles, the discourse centered on women's rights. When the international development rhetoric shifted frameworks from Women in Development to Women and Development and then to Gender and Development, such shifts were manifested in the terms used on the ground by women's groups. Calls for upholding women's rights, women's empowerment and equal participation in the development process gave way to "gender sensitivity". The rhetoric largely adopted by the Philippine government revolved around the notion that development cannot fully be achieved if there is gender imbalance in policies and practices. Thus, to facilitate widespread acceptance of gender sensitivity in development planning and implementation, workshops were held in all levels of the governmental structure, from the national state agencies to the village levels. I was involved in this process as I served as facilitator in a few gender sensitivity workshops for local government officials. The process was referred to as gender mainstreaming. A government agency primarily tasked to oversee women's role in nation building (the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, now called the Philippine Commission on Women) served as supervising agency for gender mainstreaming (Honculada and Ofreneo 2003). The agency engaged civil society groups and people in the academy to set certain goals, including trainings for local government officials, the establishment of women's desks in police precincts, as well as setting up regional gender resource centers. All these were possible through

various international funding support made available to civil society groups and the academy. Efforts at mainstreaming gender and/or gender sensitivity paid off as the term gender itself became commonplace.

The concept of gender

The gender sensitivity workshops served as venues to introduce the term "gender" in various Philippine sectors. There is no single-word translation for gender in the Philippine languages and so it was collectively referred to as *"mga kaganapan, disposisyon, responsibilidad at iba pa, na nauukol sa kababaihan at kalalakihan, ayon sa ating kinagisnang kultura"* or "the roles, attitudes and values assigned by culture to men and women," when used in local dialects. These roles, attitudes and values are said to impact on or define relations between men and women. There are certainly variations to its definition by region and perhaps the simplest would be "*pagkababae or pagkalalaki",* which roughly translates to "womanhood or manhood". As an introduced concept, gender was not easy to grasp as it was more abstract than "women's rights". However, since the two terms are interconnected, and gender is more difficult to translate, they both tend to be used in tandem or even interchangeably. At the time of my fieldwork the term gender was almost always associated with women's concerns or synonymous to women's rights issues. The appreciation of gender as women's access or non-discrimination against women is repeated across the interviews conducted, from institutional representatives to community members. This echoes what Moser (2005) claims as the difference between the Northern and Southern countries' emphasis, where the

latter strongly associates gender with women's empowerment. What I gleaned as consequence of the fact that there is no local term equivalent for gender is ambivalence at best and outright rejection at worst, not only of the term but also of the notion and process of gender mainstreaming. There are people who manifest openness to notions of gender and gender mainstreaming but do not necessarily internalize their implications. Meanwhile, there are those who brush these concepts aside, arguing that these are not necessarily applicable in Philippine context largely because we do not have such an oppressive culture. I have encountered such reactions through the fieldwork for this study and also through years of being familiar with gender mainstreaming mechanisms.

There is an underlying assumption especially among program or project planners and implementers that as long as women were involved in some way, or even just the fact that there are women in the institution, then the issue of gender or gender sensitivity is addressed. A female commissioner of the Climate Change Commission pointed out: *"Of course it goes without saying…as a policymaking body substantially dominated by women, any policy we formulate will somehow mainstream our [women's] concern."* The head of an international forestry research institution also has similar notions. When I interviewed him at a café within the same international research complex as his office, I asked how gender concerns are incorporated (if at all) in climate change initiatives in the country. He replied:

> *"I think there is a lot of de facto gender considerations since many of the key players on climate change in the Philippines are women. The main proponent of the climate change law is a woman, the head of the Climate Change Commission is a woman. I don't know if it's a conscious policy, as part of gender mainstreaming, or it just so*

> *happened that there's a lot of women participation. Even in our projects on the ground, I think gender is very well considered because at least 50% of our [community] participants are women."*

Upon interviewing an undersecretary at the Philippine Commission for Women, an agency tasked to oversee gender mainstreaming at the national level, I mentioned that I have observed how people in institutions strongly associate the term gender with women. Her response is reflective of how women's rights advocates view the issue: *"It really should be [associated with] women because equity [comes] before equality. So…You give more to those who have less in life. Who are those who have less in life? These are the women, right?"* Despite this, however, there also seems to be some degree of skepticism and even fear that emphasizing gender in government initiatives, including climate change-related ones, is over-reaching. As the female CCC Commissioner said, *"When we talk of gender, for me it's not just women. What exactly does gender mean? …are we talking about women getting more?"* This official thinks that the main vulnerability of people in the context of climate change is poverty, thus, adaptation initiatives should target the poor, regardless of gender. She believes for climate change initiatives to be fair to all; it has to be gender-blind.

Civil society groups think that by ensuring the participation of women and other marginalized groups in the community, gender discrimination is minimized. In implementing Community-based Disaster Risk Management (CBDRM), for example, one national organization claimed,

"through the process of training and mentoring of community organizations, local government and NGO partners, we have taken on the concerns of marginalized groups like women, children, elderly and people with disabilities. Their participation throughout the CBDRM process – risk assessment, planning, and community managed implementation – is a must."

Since not all members of civil society groups underwent formal gender orientation, the usual strategy is for them to engage the services of gender specialists as consultants. Special consideration for women is still the prevailing assumption for gender sensitivity among these groups, though, as an interviewee explained,

"While our NGO recognizes that its integration of the gender perspective in CBDRM contributes to women's empowerment, we also work for and encourage women's and men's involvement in CBDRM. We hope to address their vulnerabilities and strengthen their capacities. It is women and men together in CBDRM, although as we say 'me partida' for women."

At the local government level, gender is appreciated in a somewhat delineated way—the official understanding and personal views. For example, when asked about how gender is defined and manifested in their area, one municipal LGU bureaucrat pointed out that they have a municipal level committee on Women and Children as mandated by the Local Government Code. A woman heads this and they can access the local gender and development fund for projects relating to gender. His view of gender may seem more relational but it still leans toward being synonymous to women's participation. He says, *"The way I see it, priority projects at the level of the local government unit relate to gender…If we look at the projects or activities implemented, whenever men are involved, so are the women."* However, in another municipality, a woman official that supervises social services related to climate change risks and disasters personally maintains the religious notion that

women were created from men's rib and therefore should be submissive to men. This official fears that increasing role reversals between males and females will lead to societal imbalance and the eventual breakdown of the system. She said, *"The men are becoming passive while the women are becoming more aggressive…we may soon find ourselves empowering men…"* Despite such personal views, the same official maintains that their office is committed to gender mainstreaming and the achievement of the millennium development goals; number 3 of which is [achieving] gender equality.

The women in the communities where I conducted fieldwork perceived gender as primarily implying women's empowerment. They generally said that *"they don't have any gender restrictions in their village"* in the sense that women are now more active than men, even in livelihood undertakings. In village-level adaptation initiatives, more women participate than men. One respondent articulated, *"Before, women just stayed at home, took care of the kids. Now women are the ones taking the lead in looking for means of income…whatever men do women can do it, too."* But some of them attribute these role changes to *"mother's instincts"* in providing for children during financially difficult times. Moreover, the fact that more women than men participate in village-level trainings actually underscores gender division of labor, as women are perceived to *"have more time on their hands"* because they don't go out to work in the fields. One particular village-level training for farmers on agricultural adaptation to changing climate even set the schedule to accommodate the women's reproductive task of going home just before their children come home

for lunch break, so that these women may be able to prepare lunch. This schedule arrangement came about after the women participants themselves requested it.

The women I interviewed in the communities were generally more outspoken than the men and interestingly, were the ones who spoke up when questions regarding gender or gender relations came up during focus group interviews. Despite some prodding, it almost seemed like the men felt they did not have anything to say on the matter of gender. A woman respondent tried to explain by means of referring to men's nature: *"You know, men are impatient. They do not have the capacity to listen to and discuss such topics."*

One male director of a local NGO said that the key to having men in the communities understand the importance of gender relations is to *"look at it from the perspective of the family"*. He said when their organization conducts community organizing and bring up the topic of gender or gender relations, they have observed that tensions occur at the family level since the women felt slighted with the way family life is ordered, i.e., women become overburdened. Since the husbands rarely attend meetings or sessions, they do not come to understand their wives' views. Hence, according to the interviewee, the key to women's empowerment at the grassroots level is to engage the men. To that end their organization designed what they called "family synergy modules", where they required whole households to attend training sessions that point out gender issues in the household. When asked about outcomes of such strategy, the respondent said they have observed changes in their community partners, such as men becoming more amenable in performing reproductive tasks traditionally assigned to women.

Members of civil society groups comprising the networks or alliances on the issue of climate change in the Philippines understand gender closest to how it is officially defined by the UN and other authorities. Their understanding largely underscores the relational nature of gender, which pertains to men and women and their assigned roles in society. Yet the implied emphasis is on women's rights. When asked about the inclusion of gender concerns in climate change, one of the frequent responses from members of civil society groups is "rights-based approach", apart from highlighting women's vulnerability. This rights'-based approach apparently largely pertains to women's right to access and control resources at a time when such resources are increasingly scarce. However, it also appears to be the blanket approach to anything related to the gender dimensions of programs or projects. The notion of rights-based approach is to focus on ensuring women's participation in program or project processes, as well as their fair share in project outcomes. Yet this approach does not yet seem to go beyond simply including women in consultations or thinking about how women will be impacted. As one interviewee from a national network on climate change said, *"At times it's just like 'add women and stir' or asking how women will be impacted or affected [by climate change]. It's not like there is really a programmatic focus on women and gender and climate change."*

Gender concerns in climate change

Pertaining particularly to the challenges posed by climate change, a few gender-related concerns were raised by people in civil society. One such concern is the lack of sex-disaggregated data, especially in agriculture and forestry where the most vulnerable women are said to be located. While sex disaggregation of data is

expected from agencies identified by the Philippine Commission on Women as key implementing agencies for gender mainstreaming, disaggregating data according to sex is a task that has come to be viewed as added burden to certain rank and file members of the bureaucracy. Disaggregating data according to sex in sectors deemed most vulnerable to climate change effects also require that village-level officials compile such data at their level, then pass it on to the municipal level officials, and so on, until it reaches the level of national government agencies. While this task may be considered standard operating procedure especially for village level officials who have direct access to people's activities on the ground, the effort may be lost on higher levels of authority. The interviewee from a civil society group continues her observation: *"Even those GAD focal point persons who might be invested in the process of gender mainstreaming have to contend with the disinterest and resistance of higher management bureaucrats."* Moreover, there is also the issue with regards the competence of GAD Focal Point Persons. One interviewee from a civil society group observed: *"In several instances the GAD Focal Point [person in a government agency] comes from lower management and it seems like the task [of being GAD Focal Point] is given to those who are not very efficient, thus adding to their work burden."* Thus, gender-disaggregating data is not a welcome task and may not be done efficiently.

Another expressed gender-related concern in climate change was the need to *"strengthen [women's] reproductive health at the community level, in order to build women's resiliency."* This point was made by an interviewee from civil society and was undoubtedly an offshoot of controversies surrounding the proposed law on

women's reproductive health, which was one hot topic during the time of my fieldwork. Women's reproductive health has long been a controversial topic in the Philippines because the Roman Catholic hierarchy has strongly opposed it for years. The basis for church opposition was the assumption that institutionalizing the pursuit of women's reproductive health through legislation will also lead to the legalization of abortion.

At the time of fieldwork for this research, the campaigns for or against the women's reproductive health bill has escalated in the Philippines, after the Philippine president has made it one of the priority bills he wants passed. This may explain why some members of civil society who are advocates of women's rights note the importance of promoting women's reproductive health in the context of climate change adaptation. The interviewee clarifies, *"This is not from the point of view of population management but about building and strengthening a community's resiliency, especially that of women, who have been known as the most stable members of a community."* Her point affirms what studies have indicated on women's role in providing for continuity and stability in times of distress. The interviewee also added, "*Needless to say, we need to be very secular in our approach, however relevant partnerships with churches are. If there is a need to put a condom into a relief package, then go ahead, even if your evacuation center is within a church's perimeter."*

Through an email correspondence, a female representative of a civil society group pointed out the need for government agencies to maximize resources in order for gender to be fully integrated in climate change efforts. She also said that government agencies have to be updated on the whole discourse of gender and

climate change. To this end she suggested that more investment has to be made in the process of dialogue, to get the gendered experiences from the ground. She explained,

"*At this point, while it is still critical to take into account the differentiated roles and needs of women and girls vis - a - vis men and boys, it is equally important to catch up with the discourse on gender. We need to take into account things like sexual identity and gender orientation, for us to complete the whole picture."*

She thinks that if need be, then

"grassroots women have to be flown to Manila or consulting bodies have to go to where the grassroots women are, especially because people in the grassroots level lack the resources needed to attend consultations outside of their localities. There is a need to launch practical initiatives [in climate change efforts] especially the kind that can slowly change [people's] mindsets."

Further, this particular interviewee has an interesting take on the issue of gender and climate change:

> *"…climate change is just a new way of framing the issues but the issues are really old - they point to the core of gender inequality, the inability to exercise right to development and self-determination - both individual and collective self-determination, the skewed distribution of resources and the unsustainable capitalist system that we have at present."*

Such sentiments echo what institutional representatives generally perceive as challenges to mainstreaming gender in programmatic processes in the Philippines, including those pertaining to climate change. While gender mainstreaming has been institutionalized in national, local and organizational policies, more often than not, such policies lack the degree of enforcement needed

for bureaucrats to consider gender issues as pressing. As one animated consultant to a foreign-assisted government project on climate change adaptation verbalized,

"The male-dominated senior management does not even see the need to discuss the topic [of gender]. They don't admit that it's a problem or that there is a need to develop strategies to address gender concerns. They are usually flippant about it, saying 'it's already covered' or joke about it by saying 'why would gender be an issue when in fact it's our wives who have the power since they take our salaries from us and control our finances?'"

As far as climate change policy documents are concerned, though, gender advocates in the bureaucracy managed to stealthily put in gender as a key component or strategy. Another informant affiliated with GIZ narrated:

"When we were having the adaptation strategy adopted and [the woman] undersecretary presented it to the executive committee, they wanted to delete the references to gender. Afterwards, we were debating among ourselves whether we should indeed delete gender but the undersecretary said we should just leave it be. She said that we'll just let the executive committee talk—that's all they do, anyway, all talk— in the end, they will not even bother to read the final output. That's usually the case. So at least we have it [gender] there, it's written down in the policy. True enough, up until it was approved it [gender] was there."

The informant laments that *"it's sad what gender advocates have to resort to in order for gender to be put on the agenda…it is considered a policy agenda if it's written down."* The same interviewee said that having gender written down in the policy will eventually prove crucial when particular sectors make claims regarding unmet needs.

Community gender concerns

The threat of climate change highlight particular gender needs in communities. Since climate change effects in the Philippines continuously increase

the frequency and intensity of tropical typhoons, people in the communities get displaced by unprecedented flooding and landslides, not to mention the loss of lives and property. When I conducted a focus group interview in a province that is frequently ravaged by typhoons in the Bicol region, the village I went to was a resettlement area for villages that have been hardest hit by a super typhoon in late 2006. Coming up to the village or resettlement area, one can see rows and rows of similar-looking tiny box houses made of concrete. The houses stand very close to one another. My guide took me towards the back portion of the village where some unoccupied plots of land were located. Vegetable gardens were in the area, along with coconut trees and a few rows of unfinished and unoccupied relocation houses.

I came upon my interviewees doing some work on what they called "organic pig pens" that will apparently serve as source of fertilizer for their gardens. I learned that they underwent training from a non-government organization to do these sustainable projects. As in my other village-level focus group interviews, more women attended than men. There were only two men in this particular group and they were officers of the federation of relocated villages (one of them is the federation president). This particular group of community-level interviewees represented the most active members of the community and most of them have obviously been exposed to various trainings and workshops, including those on gender or gender-sensitivity. I learned that civil society groups or those that sponsored their housing structures mostly conducted these trainings and workshops they attended.

Prior to recalling their 10-month stay in evacuation centers, the community interviewees explained how they previously did not really want to talk about their experiences because they would rather forget them. They said it was probably too traumatic for them to describe their ordeal when it felt so recent. But then they said now they can look back and talk about it with less anxiety. One of the first things they pointed out was how facilities in the evacuation centers were inadequate to meet certain needs. More often than not, evacuation centers were schools and one classroom would cram in up to ten families. Given the cramped conditions, it is quite understandable that the interviewees highlighted the lack of restrooms for women to use. They said, *"There was a problem with the CRs* (in the Philippines people use the term comfort rooms or the abbreviated CR, instead of restrooms) *in the evacuation centers. They did not consider that women cannot just relieve themselves anywhere, unlike the men."* Another interviewee pointed out: *"In giving out relief goods, rarely would they consider giving women sanitary napkins."* They recalled that only one NGO thought of giving out sanitary napkins and underwear. One interviewee joked, *"Only one NGO remembered that there were women…"* But another one interjected, *"When they gave out the kits with sanitary napkins and underwear, it was the men's turn to be neglected since there were no men's underwear."* These experiences uphold what Enarson, Fothergill and Peek (2007) argued as gender-related difficulties in disaster situations.

After listening to the community interviewees share their experiences and concerns during their stay in evacuation centers, I expressed my appreciation over the fact that they told me things that I only read about in the literature, particularly

those pertaining to gender concerns during disasters. In response, one interview said, *"Actually our needs were not addressed right away…"* Then two others interjected, *"Yes, it took a long time…months."* One interviewee joined in, saying, *"If we had not discussed among ourselves first and verbalized our concerns during a consultation, they would not have been addressed".* It was around this time when my guide who was affiliated with the provincial social services office asked, *"Were you the group who requested for a conjugal room at the evacuation center?"* To which the community respondents said that they were not that group and also added that their own issue of having some private space for married couples was not addressed. However, it was not made clear whether they were able to raise this particular issue during consultations at the evacuation centers. What they did share was that couples simply go back to their original homes, sometimes at the pretense that they have to check on their property or animals, but really so that they can be intimate in more private settings.

Interestingly, the community respondents also shared that many women got pregnant while they lived in the evacuation centers. One of the interviewees admitted that her son was conceived during that time. An interviewee explains, *"The space was just so tight…the proximity was really close…and of course people have no other means to pass away the time—there was no electricity, they don't have appliances and other things."* However, this scenario all the more underscores the unmet need for access to birth control in evacuation centers and the larger issue on reproductive health.

According to the community respondents, their time in the evacuation centers was harder for women than for men. They said the men eventually went back to farming or went to work in construction. The women, on the other hand, had to endure life in the evacuation centers, had to deal with the children, on top of financial concerns. They said there were also livelihood trainings conducted for women even when they were already living in the resettlement sites. Yet they felt these skills trainings were pointless since they rarely have the opportunity to practice what they learned. As one interviewee explains,

"We had training on skills like cutting hair, doing manicures and pedicures…but where will we apply them if we're stuck in the same place? A lot of us learned the same skills so if we put up small businesses like a salon, we'll largely be competing with each other for a few customers. Only those that venture to work outside of our village get to really make use of their training."

As I was winding down my focus group interview in the resettlement village, the topic turned to issues related to political jurisdiction of the resettlement area, as well as procedural concerns regarding house acquisition. Then one respondent said, *"But…you know, when I think about it, in this process of giving us new houses here, I don't think gender sensitivity was addressed."* Upon prompting her to elaborate on her comment, she said, *"Well, there are no rooms in the house. It's just an open plan."* The other respondents agreed, saying, *"Yes, it's just a box."* The respondent who first brought up this issue then said, *"Before they designed the house, they should have consulted the communities, or at least the people's organizations. That way the needs of women and men would have been considered in the design. They should have had a housing consultation."* When I asked whether the community participated at all in decisions pertaining to their housing resettlement, one respondent said, *"Well that*

time it was immediate. We needed to move into new housing facilities fast." My guide also offered an explanation, saying, *"There were different donors, ma'am, and also because of the immediacy of the need, there really was no consultation. It really all depended on the donors. They took charge of the housing design."* I then asked around what they would have wanted in the house design had they been consulted. The primary response was really partitions for rooms. Also, one respondent said that the donors should have considered disabilities in their design. Citing one particular donor, she said, *"Their house design has a steep slope. It would be very difficult to maneuver for people with disabilities."*

One other problem that the respondents highlighted with regards their housing situation in the resettlement area is the close proximity of the houses, implying lack of privacy. As one respondent shared, *"You could hear what goes on in the next house, even their breathing."* Interestingly, such close quarters apparently led to community awareness on violence against women. The respondents claimed that there were many such incidents of violence among couples in the village. So much so that one donor NGO conducted training on the Philippine law on Violence Against Women and Children (VAWC). The community respondents claim that there is still a long way to go for information on VAWC to be fully disseminated in their area. They believe that raising awareness on the issue and the new VAWC law will lessen incidents of violence. As one interviewee said,

"Not all of us have undergone the training. There are many who are still not aware about the new VAWC law. It's usually the perpetrators [of violence] who don't know. What they know is the old law that said fighting between couples is a private matter and should not be interfered with by others."

These emergent topics on faulty resettlement housing design and violence against women not only echo what gender and disaster scholars like Enarson repeatedly highlight as gender concerns in disaster situations, but likewise have implications on gender mainstreaming in climate change initiatives. The Philippine vulnerability to climate change is hinged on the projected increased severity of typhoons and prolonged drought incidence (Philippine Climate Change Commission 2011). Such occurrences are expected to bring about relocations of communities. Thus, the issues raised by community respondents of this study will undoubtedly recur, more so if institutions will not factor in gender considerations in their climate change interventions. The community respondents' shared experiences are based on concrete realities and contribute to the call for integrating gender dimensions in climate change discourses, policies and processes.

Implementing gender mainstreaming

There are several strategies or mechanisms that different Philippine institutions employ in order to incorporate gender in organizational processes or uphold the mandate of gender mainstreaming. This section will assess how these mechanisms are carried out in the international, national and local level institutions.

A. Gender mainstreaming at international level institutions

One frequent response on the question of how gender is mainstreamed in institutional mechanisms, particularly those related with climate change, is the "cross-cutting strategy". With this strategy respondents assume that gender concerns are addressed at various levels of program implementation because they

have the notion that gender cuts across all other issues. The basic thinking is that gender issues arise in all kinds of situations or scenarios. While this notion is rather indicative of an appreciation of the importance of gender in institutional activities, it also actually makes gender concerns more invisible, something that's taken for granted yet not really ensured. As the program coordinator from GIZ said, *"[Gender] is said to be crosscutting. Yet the tendency is to look at it from a sector's perspective and not holistically. It also always seems to be added only as an afterthought."* Indeed, other interviewees from institutions that are starting climate change interventions failed to elaborate on how gender concerns cut across other considerations in designing adaptation strategies. The executive director of a provincial climate change research center simply insisted that gender is *"cross-cutting…it cuts across all sectors."* He further clarified that *"when you're in the community, you don't discriminate anyone,"* which I took to mean that their programs are inherently gender-sensitive simply because they are designed for communities as a whole, thus, inevitably dealing with gender concerns. As if to reiterate his point, the said interviewee led me to a poster on his office wall that lists the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). Tapping on the MDG goal of gender equality, he said, *"See, there's gender…it's there in the work that we do given that we have adopted the MDGs as part of our program goals."*

Another concept associated with gender mainstreaming is the "rights-based approach", which essentially refers to consideration of women's rights in areas such as representation in decision-making aside from issues of access. The UNDP is said to subscribe to this "rights-based approach" in mainstreaming gender in its

programming processes. However, when I interviewed the UNDP team leader for environment, she lamented that internal institutional assessment results highlight that

"our team is the weakest [in gender mainstreaming]…I just don't understand because we always say that in essence environmental work has preferential bias for women, children and the elderly…it's the same in our work on vulnerability and adaptation to climate change. Perhaps it is due to the language we use in the reports or how the reports are done…maybe we are weak at using [gender] disaggregated data in reporting. But certainly and essentially the focus of our work is women…"

She likewise expressed some disappointment in terms of guidance on how to go about doing gender mainstreaming, saying,

"Isn't it a given that women, children and the elderly are perceived to be more vulnerable? What we would like to see are the tools that tells us what we can do…how we can ask questions that will lead us to be more gender-sensitive. Since the agency is currently involved in a regional initiative on gender, I would like to see what kind of tools will be given to us that will actually make a difference in the way we do programming now…that's what we have been asking for, for quite some time now."

While my interviewee did not express resistance to gender mainstreaming in programmatic activities, neither did she seem to be a strong advocate for the integration of gender in their team's work, including on climate change. She emphasized that she is unclear on what tools to use in order to mainstream gender and this confusion seemed out-of-place in an institution that has published documents pushing for gender considerations in climate change. The dissonance in UNDP central concepts on gender mainstreaming and my interviewee's responses imply differences and changes in the way institutional pronouncements are carried out within the institution's structure itself.

As an international agency, UNDP country offices rely on local professionals to serve as program staffers and have to contend with cultural contexts. Coincidentally, prior to joining the UNDP, my interviewee worked for many years at the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) and may have imbibed its bureaucratic values. The DENR was described as a *"very male-dominated"* government agency by a consultant who was also one of my interviewees. The DENR is one of the lead government agencies involved in climate change related concerns yet the notion of mainstreaming gender in programmatic activities *"was difficult because the senior management does not appreciate why it has to be done."*

While an informant from FAO mentioned that their projects incorporate gender concerns, I did not find any explicit mention of it in project documents. I think because said projects are linked with MDG achievement and gender equality is one of the MDGs, the assumption was made on gender integration in the project. What also struck me in my informal conversations with the informant who was then an upcoming project coordinator for FAO was his caution for me *"not to be so zealous about gender to the point of turning out like those women from [mentions organization] an activist women's group that's always rallying on the streets."* I did not find the comment unusual in Filipino cultural contexts where people still associate gender advocacy with women's uncharacteristic assertiveness to achieve gains. However, I was nonetheless surprised to hear it coming from a well-educated person working for the UN. It goes to show how little gender mainstreaming has achieved within the UN Philippine country offices and how strong cultural gender

stereotypes are. Moreover, the said comment also implies hostility and antagonism towards addressing gender equity issues.

When I interviewed the country program coordinator of ICRAF, I inquired about gender mainstreaming in climate change and he replied, *"On the national level, I think there really is gender mainstreaming…I have received materials on gender mainstreaming from the national planning agency when I was working on mainstreaming climate change."* He also shared that

> *"international donors are really strong on gender mainstreaming…with international donors, usually gender sensitivity is built-in as one of the things they require…so when you propose projects for international funding, you have to include how it will address the gender issue."*

During the course of our interview, however, it became clear that my interviewee assumes that women's participation suffices for gender mainstreaming. He said,

> *"I think gender is very well-considered even in our grassroots projects since at least 50% of the participants are women…women are very influential in farming, in terms of decision-making regarding what to plant and so on…in terms of policy-making, the key participants in climate change in the country, the leading lights, so to speak, are women…even our own staff here…majority are women."*

A consultant for the GIZ climate change project shared that almost from the very beginning of the technical working group meetings for the Philippine Framework Strategy for Climate Change Adaptation, gender was one of the big topics. She said,

"Since GIZ has certain core values and principles such as participatory and multi-stakeholder approaches, the meetings and consultations were always multi-sectoral. Across the different sectors—fishers, coastal and/or marine, infrastructure, agriculture, biodiversity, forests, etc.—gender is a recurring theme. In the end it came out as one of the main goals, based on the principle of equity and social justice."

Indeed, a briefing booklet on the Philippine Strategy on Climate Change Adaptation includes gender mainstreaming as one of the four key strategies:

"Mainstreaming gender in all levels of climate change adaptation policy formulation, development planning, and implementation. Climate change affects women and men differently. Special attention, therefore, is required to determine the impacts on women and other vulnerable groups."

I was interested in how it came about that gender mainstreaming became one of the key strategies in the country's climate change adaptation framework and another interviewee from GIZ, the project coordinator, explained,

"There were times when it was included, then removed, then included again and so on…there was a lot of dynamics to it, especially at the high levels. The advocates for the inclusion of gender mainstreaming mostly came from civil society organizations that were part of the technical working groups. Those from the government side also recognized the need to focus on women, especially those who work in the field…like in the rural areas there are a lot of women…also in disaster contexts, women are disadvantaged."

To which the consultant interjected,

"Maybe it's really a different scenario in the field offices, in the regions…we're talking layers here…it depends on which bureaucratic hierarchy is involved…The DENR hierarchy is really male-dominated, even at the regions, so you can't expect them to, for example, submit gender disaggregated data…But those that deal directly with the communities or have the opportunity to deal with them are more open-minded in terms of gender mainstreaming."

While GIZ is an international institution, the gender mainstreaming mechanisms described by the interviewees pertain to Philippine climate change adaptation strategy and are therefore indicative that gender mainstreaming is a policy consideration. They also provided insights into the dynamics involved in policy-making when gender mainstreaming is advocated for by civil society—mainly that there is resistance at the higher bureaucratic levels. The possibility that field or regional and local offices are more open to gender mainstreaming than national government offices are, is also significant in the light of efforts by agencies such as the PCW, to make gender mainstreaming part of bureaucratic standard operating procedures.

B. Gender mainstreaming in national level institutions

As far as the government's national agencies are concerned, the Philippine Commission on Women (PCW) makes use of pro-active and reactive methods to advocate for gender mainstreaming. One PCW official said,

"Our strategy is to really pick out the agencies that are involved in the implementation of the Framework Plan for Women, which was the Arroyo administration's blueprint to achieve the twin goals of gender equality and women's empowerment. We call these the key implementing agencies (KIAs). We talk of reactive strategy when we really go after the KIAs, and check whether they're doing gender mainstreaming. With the non-KIAs it's proactive in the sense that we give them assistance when they ask for it."

Additionally, the PCW also has what it calls Proactive Technical Assistance, or PROTAB. This is the program that

"spells out how gender mainstreaming is done in an organization, whether it's a KIA or a non-KIA. PROTAB involves the entire development cycle—from planning, to programming, to budgeting, to implementation, to monitoring and evaluation. For us [at the Philippine Commission on Women] that's the essence of gender

mainstreaming—ensuring that this development cycle is instilled with gender perspective/s."

Some gender advocates who are also leading members of national-level civil society institutions shared that they adopted two tracks in their work because *"while we are sensitizing the members of the climate change adaptation Technical Working Groups (TWGs) regarding gender as an issue, we also orient our colleagues in gender advocacy about climate change. So, we hope that in the end they will marry. That's what we invest in."* One national alliance on climate change sees collaboration with government as strategic in achieving their agenda, which includes *"gender-responsive governance… we deal with government policies…we lobby for better implementation."* This strategy is similar to those of a national rural women's organization that is currently representing gender concerns in some national government-level climate change consultations. Emphasizing that their mandate is advocacy and campaigns, the network's secretary-general said that *"[they] push for gender mainstreaming as support to the government's strategy. In doing this we ensure that resource allocation issues are also addressed and that [gender] policies and mechanisms are institutionalized in [government] agencies."*

The broad alliance on climate change, Aksyon Klima, credits their member organizations as the source of advocacy for gender mainstreaming within their line of work. According to a member of Aksyon Klima's national board,

"We have a number of women's groups as members so we know about the differentiated impacts of climate change on men and women and the fact that women are deemed more vulnerable…things like that…but I am not familiar with how it works on the ground even though I heard that women manage marine protected areas, for example. It's a shame that our roundtable discussion on women and climate change

did not push through…but of course we recognize women's vulnerabilities and the need for climate change adaptation programs or projects to be gender sensitive."

I asked her then to define a gender sensitive climate change adaptation program and she replied,

"It has not yet been made clear how to make climate change adaptation gender sensitive…I think that is something that has to be done at the grassroots level whereas what we do is more on national policy advocacy…But during one of our engagements with GIZ in the process of preparing the Philippine Climate Change Adaptation Program, Aksyon Klima members lobbied for a session on gender in order to incorporate gender in the said national program. Also, our members had a last minute meeting with the Climate Change Commission for purposes of integrating gender in the National Climate Change Adaptation Program (NCCAP)."

Other national civil society organizations take their cue from their field experiences when addressing gender concerns. One key informant from a civil society group focused on disaster management shared,

"We've come across some gender-related issues from our engagement with partners in the field and we tried to propose and implement innovative solutions. For example, during relief operations for typhoons, we've established separate lines for women, as well as give priority to the elderly, pregnant women and women with children. We have also put up a complaints desk during relief distribution. After disasters, we also recommend that women be given credit assistance as part of recovery processes, in order to help augment their family income. Another recommendation we push for is for work to be made available where women can be paid for their labor during disaster recovery phase."

When asked how their organization can ensure the continuity of these gender-sensitive mechanisms during relief and recovery, the informant said,

"We incorporate gender orientation in the capacity-building activities for community-based disaster risk management organizations or the people's organization tasked to implement the community disaster risk reduction plan. We recommend that this gender orientation be given to both women and men."

Based on the data gathered from my interviews with institutional representatives, it appears that civil society institutions are relatively active in advocating for gender mainstreaming in climate change initiatives compared to government institutions. The tendency for compartmentalization in the government bureaucracy is very high and gender mainstreaming is relegated only as a function of the PCW, who in turn prioritizes the key implementing agencies in their advocacy work. Indeed, as Staudt (2003) highlighted, it is a challenge to transform government institutional missions to incorporate a gender mainstreaming framework.

C. Gender mainstreaming at local level institutions

Two local community-based resource NGOs that tried to introduce gender sensitivity in their programs claimed that *"household-based organizing is an effective strategy in sensitizing grassroots communities to gender issues."* The head of one of these local NGOs explained

"Even prior to [implementing] the project, during the project development phase, isn't it usual to gather the different issues or social concerns of men and women in the community? We ask them about their specific concerns not just with regards livelihood or resources but also with regards family gender relations…we gather data on that…issues or concerns among married couples or as a family. Most of our projects go through that…as much as possible we ask our community beneficiaries or partners—we mainly call them partner families or partner households—to undergo what we call 'family synergy modules'. Starting 2007, most, if not all, of our projects have those modules as component. The modules are part of the capacity building phase of projects. If we don't have the time and resources to finish all five modules, then we make sure that the basic modules 1 and 2 are given. Module 1 covers the topic My Body, Myself, My Personhood and serves as orientation on gender sensitivity….Module 2 deals with family relationships, including how communication in the family should be, and also how to arrive at decisions without one person dominating."

The other local NGO that implemented the family synergy modules shared,

"Since our approach is household-based, there were no major issues / problems. What was even interesting was the fact that after the New Family Code and the VAWC Law were passed, the police, the Department of Interior and Local Government and the Commission on Human Rights were pleased that they were able to utilize our organization in terms of disseminating information at the village level. Imagine, there was a lot of participant turn-out when these agencies go to the villages. Also, issues like domestic violence, teenage pregnancies are brought up in these for and the villagers are taught how to handle such concerns according to the law. There were issues like men's concerns on being verbally abused that are brought up and it's good that we have an interactive approach so these are openly discussed and handled."

He further added,

"There didn't seem to be any problem with regards our implementation of gender [sensitivity] or the family synergy modules. What we did is that we created village clusters…three villages comprised one cluster. When the villagers attend the sessions, husband and wife are both required to attend, and also children who are old enough—9 years old and above. When the family members are not complete, that's the practical problem, but conceptually…in terms of resistance to the whole concept of gender [sensitivity], there didn't seem to be any problem with that."

One strategy that these local NGOs employ in order to ensure community participation in their trainings or lectures is to provide child-minding services. One interviewee explained,

"For example, we have a seminar on making a climate disaster reduction plan. The parents bring their children with them and there is a separate session for the children. Someone takes charge of the children and provides them with activities. We don't want the community participants to make childcare as excuse for not attending."

Another important strategy he shared was to look at the particularities of each household, since, according to him,

"You cannot just make a blanket description or assumption about all the families in the communities…we feel obliged to look at the realities of each household. When we conduct our trainings, we also make sure that there are sessions where the men, women and children attend separately. In this way, we can get their perspectives on household concerns. Sometimes there's not much difference in what the men and women articulate as issues, especially when they have very young children. The

husbands usually have a good sense of what their wives need in that kind of family situation. The issues change when the couple doesn't have children or if the children are older. If you ask me, this household approach is the way to go about project implementation in communities. What is important is that each household identifies its own needs."

While this strategy is commendable, it does entail greater effort and commitment on the part of community organizers. The interviewee does admit that even in the network of similar organizations that they belong to, their strategies are not readily emulated because they are exacting. Another consideration would be the interests of funding agencies. Even if funding agencies are amenable to include gender sensitizing in every community-based project, project implementers have to ensure that these fall within the allotted timeframe given by the funders. Moreover, gender sensitive efforts like provision of childcare during community trainings require additional planning, manpower and related expenses.

When I inquired whether incorporating the family synergy modules in project implementation is fine with their NGOs' funding agencies, I was told that most of the funding agencies are even pleased with the modules. An interviewee said that funding agencies actually like the effort and attention to detail that the modules demand and they complement whatever trainings the community projects require. I also learned that for now, modules 1 and 2 are considered non-negotiable as far as project implementation processes are concerned. I realized that my interviewee stressed on the temporal nature of their current practice of implementing the gender orientation modules because it actually depends on whoever is managing their NGO. Since her position is contract-based, someone else

may take over sometime in the future and may not continue the organization's practices.

The issue of sustainability has long been a problem with NGOs that are dependent on outside funding for their operations. This particular issue was even articulated by an interviewee from the other local NGO that also implemented the family synergy modules:

"Just like any other NGO, our problem is sustainability of funding…our network is highly dependent on grants. Other NGOs have become self-sustaining through income-generating activities but it's difficult for us…we have had several attempts at self-sustainability but a big portion of our operations is still dependent on funding from grants. The network we are part of does have investments but it's not enough. Then there was also the fact that our former project development officer ran away with the organization's money."

Claiming that their community livelihood interventions have received positive feedback from the beneficiary communities, the interviewee said that based on their organizational assessment, field workers needed 2-3 more years in the communities to ensure project sustainability in the area. However,

"the funding agency's policy focus shifted and they cannot support us anymore…well, I guess you can say that they have supported us for quite some time anyway. But based on our analysis, we really believed that a few more years of our presence in the field would have better improved the communities' project planning capacity and would have given grassroots projects more impetus to succeed."

At the time of interview, this particular local NGO is, for all intents and purposes, inactive. I was told that they do maintain a communication center and that their field workers are on-call. Their current activities depend on project offers and the organizational leaders are now more involved in the activities of the national network of rural development organizations of which their NGO has long been a part of.

Challenges and gains associated with gender mainstreaming

When mainstreaming gender within institutions and in communities, there are several challenges to overcome. One interviewee from civil society observed, *"We cannot just fault GAD (or gender mainstreaming as we have it) on its own because it intersects with other systems, policies and practices."* Aside from what interviewees have articulated as the shallow appreciation of gender concerns by policymakers or institutional decision-makers, gender policies are often ignored or given little thought. While there is a national mandate to allocate funds for gender-related activities one interviewee shared,

"There are many ways of going around this mandate. Even though COA checks this, it is relatively easy to "invent" a gender mainstreaming activity and charge it to this budget line. And even when it becomes plain that the agency failed to allocate and use this budget, this does not have any consequences for the agency - in a way that would compel it to mainstream gender."

I was not surprised to hear about her claim that government offices "invent" activities to comply with gender mainstreaming policies. I have observed this practice a few years ago at a local government unit, which made me think about implications for the success of gender mainstreaming, beyond perfunctory compliance. As another interviewee from civil society explained,

"In many ways, the challenges of GAD budgeting and planning in the Philippines can also be traced to the much broader challenges of gender mainstreaming. While the beginning of it can be described as a result of radical activism, its operationalization is a mere add-on—for example, the gender auditing of policies. Somehow gender mainstreaming's supposed radical edge has been diffused."

This particular interviewee even added,

"At the UN level, this can be gleaned through the dispersed offices related to women - UNIFEM, CSW, DAW etc --- like there was almost no alignment with each other, plus they only get the crumbs out of the UN budget. This problem has been challenged by many women's groups, that's the reason why we now have UN Women, which unites all these offices and integrate them better within the UN family, as well as operates with a bigger budget. Of course, the classic questions remain - for example, (1) how accountable will this be to women on the ground? Or (2) how representative will it be, in case majority of women share perspectives deemed contrary to UN Women's bigger brothers, like UNDP? Then in terms of climate change, one important question which has to be asked, if more women, especially those from poor and marginalized communities do not agree with REDD, will the UN Women have an equal say and indeed say no --- to bigger UN agencies who are pushing for REDD?"

It is interesting how this particular interviewee linked the problems associated with gender mainstreaming in the Philippines to the challenges faced by gender advocates at the international level. Her answer suggests the marginalization of gender issues in policy matters, from local to international levels. However, despite the challenges entailed in mainstreaming gender, various Philippine institutions have noted some gains through the years. According to my interviewee from the Philippine Commission on Women,

"We now have a lot of tools on gender mainstreaming. The other thing, of course, is that we have the GAD Focal Points in the [government] agencies. So for example, if you go to the Department of Agriculture and ask if there's anyone there who knows…not necessarily gender mainstreaming per se…just anyone who knows what gender is all about…there would be those people. So that's one of the gains." A high-ranking government official concurs by saying, *"We have no other option but to mainstream [gender]…we've fought for this for so long."*

Meanwhile, those from civil society reiterated that one of the gains in gender mainstreaming is that *"gender mainstreaming has been institutionalized in our*

declaration of unities or organizational goals." Yet some people from civil society still warn, *"gender mainstreaming has worked like a double-edged sword",* alluding to the fact that while there are concrete gains for gender equity, the institutionalization of gender mainstreaming became co-opted by the bureaucracy (Sobritchea, 2004).

Nonetheless, they also noted,

"the law itself mandates the allocation of a portion or resources for women or gender equality - focused policies, programs and projects. This is good especially for government agencies whose responses are dependent on budget line items. Some government agencies have developed sexual harassment policies and processes. Others revised their operations manual using gender-sensitive language. It is also important to note that the Commission on Audit checks this Gender and Development (GAD) Budget. Men are also allowed to be a gender focal person, which is not bad in itself."

Still, other interviewees said that even though GAD focal points have been established in a number of government agencies, *"they need to be trained…however, the capacity-building of these GAD focal points are not considered as priority task of [government] divisions."*

One prevailing sentiment among institutional interviewees is appreciation of the potentials of gender mainstreaming. They think that gender mainstreaming in the Philippines has not yet been fully maximized to bring about significant changes in policies and practices. As one interviewee from civil society observed,

"It's important to mainstream gender or GAD and strengthen it at the very least. I don't think that its full potential for transformative changes has been fully tapped. For example, it [gender mainstreaming] can be a source of having a day-care within an agency—imagine how convenient that would be for parents who are working in government agencies. Gender mainstreaming can also be used to pursue a non-discriminatory environment. If you ask agencies how they treat LGBTs, they would

typically assert that sexual identity is not an issue. But actually it is. Partners are not really considered immediate relatives, so if and when they become ill, it is still difficult for their partners working in government agencies to take a leave of absence."

The interviewee raised an important issue with regards sexuality in the context of gender mainstreaming. One of the basic things that gender mainstreaming is supposed to address is to foster respect and sensitivity towards various sexual orientations. However, Philippine society is still generally a macho culture and respect for one's sexual orientation is essentially lip-service. So while gay men have become well-entrenched in Philippine pop culture, it does not translate to concrete recognition of gay rights in policies. So far perhaps the only significant inroad in terms of official recognition of gay rights is the Supreme Court decision to allow a few transgenders to change their demographic category from "man" to "woman". There is a fledgling gay movement in the country for several years now, though, which serves as the catch-all group for LGBT issues. Still LGBT concerns are not interated in the bureaucratic gender mainstreaming structure and processes. What my interviewee shared is therefore right on target as far as the need to foster non-discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation,
I also agree with her point that gender mainstreaming's potential is still to be maximized, particularly in the current context of a changing climate. There have been a number of laws passed covering gender concerns and these, along with concrete experiences with gender mainstreaming in government, highlight lessons that can be used to better improve equity outcomes, particularly in community climate change interventions.

Gender mainstreaming as tool for achieving equity and empowerment

A number of policies related to gender have already been passed in the Philippines. There are national laws, presidential directives or executive orders, local ordinances, as well as bureaucratic and institutional policies that specifically address gender concerns, or incorporate such concerns (see PhilGAD Portal or PCW website for list of these laws). Institutions currently involved in climate change initiatives in the Philippines have varying degrees of awareness on these policies. Yet these policies and corresponding implementation outcomes serve as valuable resource in the pursuit of gender equity and community empowerment as well as in addressing climate change vulnerability.

In conducting interviews with institutional representatives I learned that foreign-assisted projects have mandatory gender components that are absent in Philippine government programs. A respondent from the Philippine Commission on Women affirms this, saying, *"Yes, 5% to 30% of the official development assistance (ODA) of the agency's projects go to gender [activities]. There are agencies that are very conscious about allotting funds for gender projects."* When asked to explain what kind of gender projects these would usually be, the respondent explained:

> *"There are a number of projects. For example, the Philippine Ports Authority has half-way houses. So when they see innocent-looking women in the piers and they suspect these women to be victims of sex-trafficking, they will bring these women to the halfway houses which are usually run in partnership with religious order NGOs. There are also agencies that construct baby changing rooms in public transportation stations like in the MRT (metro rail transportation). There are also agencies that put up GAD Centers. So they have a full time person who does the reviewing of all the agency programs and projects. Other*

agencies like the Department of Environment and Natural Resources (DENR) have integrated gender in their community-based forestry management project. We have what we call mainstream program, influencing the mainstream program, and Program Project Activities (PPAs) that are really budgeted from the 5% [GAD] Budget…which means there is a separate allotment for that."

One successful gender policy that is closely linked with mandatory gender mainstreaming within the Philippine government is the GAD Budget. According to my interviewee from Philippine Commission on Women,

"The GAD budget is a measure mandating agencies and local government units (LGUs) to provide resources necessary for implementing programs, projects and activities designed to address gender issues and promote women's empowerment and gender equality as identified in their GAD plan. The cost of implementing the GAD plan should at least be 5% of their total budget. The 5% GAD budget endeavors to directly influence the remaining 95% of agency/LGU budget toward gender-responsiveness."

The GAD Budget policy is perhaps the most enforced gender mainstreaming policy, especially now when according to the PCW undersecretary,

"The Commission on Audit (COA) is now very strict with regards compliance to the 5% GAD budget. Since last year or the past two years, they have issued AOMs. It's what they call the Audit Observation Memo. All their observation memos to the [government] agencies mention the GAD Budget. The agencies get rattled when they see those memos. You know how the agencies are afraid of COA."

The local government units are conscious of the GAD Budget, too, and one local government official affirmed that they *"have a funds [for gender]…it's*

incorporated in our 20% development fund…we specifically budget for that. More or less we can see gender incorporated in the priority projects and programs of the local government unit." The nature and extent of such gender mainstreaming at the local government level, though, has not yet been thoroughly studied. However, I did observe that local government officials write down anything remotely related to gender in order for them to comply with the COA regulations. An informant from civil society confirmed this, saying,

"Based on our Local Government Code, everyone should be able to participate in the Barangay Development Planning (BDP) and its budgeting component. Again, supposedly every BDP should have a GAD plan. But the trouble is, not all barangay captains and councilors know about this. So often times, it's only the barangay council that makes the plan and the budget, even if they are supposed to open the process."

When I verbalized my concern over the fact that it seemed like gender mainstreaming efforts by agencies and LGUs are simply for compliance's sake, the PCW undersecretary replied,

"Really, we cannot discount the fact that they're doing it simply out of compliance. That's the reality. What's more, even if you look at it only at the level of compliance, it's still minimal. We are targeting over three hundred agencies that should submit their GAD Plan and Budget, which is the basic manifestation of their gender mainstreaming effort/s. However, the highest rate of submission that we have so far is just one hundred sixty. So there are still over one hundred and forty agencies that have not submitted. That means there is a problem even with compliance."

Commenting on what the agencies actually submit as part of their GAD Plan and Budget, my interviewee shared,

"Among those that submit plans or comply with the gender mandates, there are those who list things that are really unacceptable. For example, there are those who state in their GAD Plan and Budget that they will buy gym equipment so that the women will be healthier and therefore improve their work performance. What's the gender issue you are trying to address in that? Is it because they think women are fat?"

While government entities have difficulty interpreting what gender mainstreaming policies entail in relation to addressing gender inequity, national alliances or network groups share that consensus-building is key. One national officer of a national civil society alliance shared,

"The commitment to gender has been institutionalized in the declaration of unities of our coalition. The member-organizations themselves pushed for the incorporation of gender…several of them are women-dedicated organizations. So in terms of vigilance…women and gender concerns are always taken up in discussions and positions on climate change."

A national coalition comprised of rural women has even come up with what one of their leaders called a "Code of Ethics". This code

"covers how the membership should relate with one another in a way that fosters mutual respect while promoting our agenda. Since our agenda is anchored on the rights-based approach and is process-oriented, we have developed what we call organizational values that are reflected in our declaration of unities."

At the level of member-organizations of alliances or networks on climate change, there are varying degrees of gender policy and advocacy. One coastal non-governmental organization (NGO) is perhaps one of the most progressive in the

sense that they have put in place organizational rules that cover gender concerns and claim to be carrying these rules through. According to the executive director,

"In terms of office policies…we have one on non-discrimination in hiring of staff. We also have one on extramarital affairs. If one of our organizational members gets involved in extramarital affairs, regardless whether it's a male or female member, she/he will get fired. The same goes for those who hit their wives or other family members. We also have a policy prohibiting the use of words with double meanings or innuendo and a policy against those who harass using words. All of these are written down in our staff manual and are explained during staff orientation."

When I inquired whether these policies are being enforced, my interviewee asserted that *"Yes, they are enforced because I see to it being enforced. We have tested those policies. In fact, people have been fired in violation of those policies. We have fired one…no… two community organizers who are married but still courted / made passes at their own staff or a community member in the areas they supervised."*

I was curious on how these actions were monitored and addressed and she explained,

"There is due process. First there is a report…someone makes a written complaint at our office and then we issue a personal notice to the staff concerned, giving her/him 2-3 days to respond on the allegations. If the staff does not respond, we take it that she/he waives her/his right to explain her/his side and then we proceed with the investigation. There's a slightly different process if the staff concerned responds or not, but either way, we ask for her/his representative to sit in the grievance committee, or she / he himself sits in the said committee. This is to ensure that they can rightfully defend themselves against the complaint/s."

I then inquired whether there have been difficulties encountered in carrying out the organization's gender policies and the interviewee replied,

"There doesn't seem to be difficulties because first of all we do have the laws covering these grievances. The organizational members know about these laws—they were oriented with both organizational policies and national laws on gender when they were first hired. Also, we give a gender sensitivity orientation so that organizational members will know the bases for our policies…will know why we do these things and how these are reflections of the law. I don't think there is much difficulty since we even go to the extent of taking action even before written complaints are filed. For example, in cases of suspected marital infidelity, when talk reaches me or the office, we seek out the spouse and explain that we heard such feedback and ask whether they would like to discuss it."

I followed up with a question on whether those that got fired due to gender policy violations put up resistance and she said,

"No…no because most of the time they were proven guilty beyond reasonable doubt. Like one person that we fired…he was courting or flirting with another staff member when he knows we have a policy against that. So the girl reported it immediately and we went through the due process. At the hiring level we already clarify the policies and point out that these [policies] are aligned with the [national] laws so it's easier."

Based on what this interviewee from civil society shared it seems that policies on gender at the level of a local institution can be successfully enforced. Moreover, the staff members of their local NGO are highly sensitized to gender issues to be able to identify, verbalize and take action against perpetrators of harassment. Perhaps this strategy could then be replicated on a larger scale, such as in an NGO or sector of government . However, gendered institutional structures and processes have to be taken into account. NGOs have arguably less hierarchical

structures and more participatory decision-making processes than government institutions. On the other hand, enforcement of gender policies within the bureaucracy is susceptible to red tape and other impediments.

Chapter Summary

The foregoing chapter dealt with the research question "To what extent do institutional climate change practices adhere to gender mainstreaming principles?" The discussion started with explicating the concept of gender as it is understood in the Philippine contexts. Then the ways in which institutions involved in climate change mainstream gender concerns were discussed, followed by the challenges and gains associated with gender mainstreaming processes. The potential of gender mainstreaming to address issues of gender inequity as well as promote community empowerment is then analyzed.

One of the main arguments of this chapter is that the concept of gender has proliferated among Philippine institutions and even at the community level. However, it is strongly associated with women or women's rights. The "rights' based approach" is a common institutional response to the question on how gender is integrated in programs or projects, including those pertaining to climate change. This approach entails women's right to be represented in decision-making, as well as women's access and control over resources, especially during difficult times.

There is a general acceptance among the institutions under study that women are more vulnerable in the context of a changing climate. Yet there doesn't seem to be any effort yet to address this vulnerability. As an interviewee pointed

out, there is even no sex-disaggregated data in the sectors deemed as vulnerable to climate change. It seems that women's vulnerability as well as all other gender concerns in climate change are assumed to likely be resolved by programs aimed at adaptation and poverty reduction. Hence, the notion of gender as "cross-cutting" is repeated by a number of interviewees as an attempt to justify that gender is given attention in their climate change initiatives, when in fact this is not the case. Feminist political ecology's emphasis on socio-political processes that define power relations in environmental discourse and consequently impact on differential opportunities and challenges for men and women (Rocheleau, et al. 1996) is relevant here. The notion of women's vulnerability is itself a function of gendered discourse and decision-making that needs to be contextualized (Arora-Jonsson 2011). Gender mainstreaming provides the necessary tools to uncover and address issues of vulnerability, differential access and even agency within climate change processes. However, as gleaned from the Philippine experience, gender mainstreaming can be caught up in patriarchal ruling relations that can marginalize in spite of concrete empowering policies (Smith 2005). The genderedness of institutions (Acker 1990; Arora-Jonsson 2011) is the apparent culprit.

The marginalization of gender mainstreaming in the overall bureaucratic set-up in the Philippines implies incongruence between policy expectations and degree or quality of compliance. It is therefore difficult to assess at this point, the extent to which gender mainstreaming and the associated participatory approaches has fostered gender equity and community empowerment in addressing issues of climate change vulnerability. One can surmise, though, that the template is there

and is used by some local actors, with noted success. As one interviewee pointed out, there are just a number of layers to consider in mainstreaming gender in bureaucratic climate change interventions. Institutions and individual actors that have direct interaction with communities are apparently in the best position to mainstream gender concerns in program planning and implementation. Hence, such institutions and individual actors are saddled with the responsibility to bridge the gap between articulated community gender needs and externally generated yet locally implemented initiatives.

Chapter VII

CONCLUSIONS

This dissertation explores the ways in which gender is mainstreamed in Philippine institutional responses to climate change. The study brought to light institutional practices and processes related to climate change, from the international to local levels. The study uncovered how gender is operationalized within Philippine institutions and communities as well as highlighted the issues arising from such operationalization. Further, this dissertation looked into the extent to which climate change initiatives in the Philippines are grounded in community needs, highlighting whose standpoints are privileged in the processes involved. Finally, the study analyzes how gender mainstreaming or participatory approaches to climate change adaptation enhanced community empowerment, reduced gender inequality or addressed climate change vulnerability. Utilizing an institutional ethnographic approach, this study outlines the complex relations of ruling that characterizes climate change and gender mainstreaming discourses and processes at the country and community levels. This chapter summarizes the findings from the study based on the research questions posed. It also analyzes the implications of such findings and makes suggestions for future research, as well as policy recommendations.

Hierarchies and processes of participation in institutional climate change initiatives

The first research question that this dissertation sought to answer, *"What are the current practices of the different types of institutions involved in efforts to address*

climate change in the Philippines?" was addressed in Chapter V. In that chapter an overview of the various institutions and initiatives that largely dominate climate change discourse and processes in the Philippines was outlined. The institutions studied range from international organizations, national government bureaucracy, civil society groups and local government units. Most of the people interviewed in these institutions said that they subscribe to consultative decision-making but such consultations generally do not emanate from the grassroots. The institutions are largely hierarchically structured and masculinist, especially the government bureaucracy. Thus, project planning and implementation are often done in a top-down manner with little consideration for gendered implications. Community participation comes only in the form of feedback regarding proposed community-based interventions. The Climate Field School (CFS), for example, was a project presented to the *barangay* or village constituents after it was conceptualized and the mechanics ironed out at the level of project implementers. In the course of implementation, a gender concern emerged in the form of women participants requesting that the training schedule be modified to accommodate their household tasks. Even though the predominantly male implementers relented to the schedule change, there was no other effort made to look into the issue of women's multiple burden. As I have articulated in the Findings chapters, I found it odd that CFS participants are mostly women, when farming is still largely considered a male productive activity.

Attending the CFS may not only add to the tasks attributed to women in the project locales but also brings into question the efficacy of the initiative itself. If the

husbands who are mainly responsible for the farms do not attend the CFS, will their adaptive skills really be enhanced? As a community-based project, the CFS can take one more step to look into household dynamics and even address power issues that impact on household sustainability. This step was apparently taken by two local non-government organizations that implement household-based community organizing. Hence, it is possible to achieve. However, the local government unit's set-up needs to be gender sensitized first. They do not even have a so-called GAD Focal Point person yet.

While direct grassroots consultative processes in every stage of project planning and implementation may not be practical, the *barangays* do have resident elected officials that may be closest to representing village sentiments. However, even in the municipal CFS project, the *barangay* officials were contacted only for purposes of setting up the *barangay* meetings wherein the project was introduced. The community members were therefore largely passive recipients of climate change initiatives instead of people exercising agency in addressing their felt needs. Since more women than men participate in the CFS and as I have observed, they are very articulate and participative, women's agency in the context of climate change is something that institutions need to harness. Literature on gender and climate change often only highlight women's vulnerability (Dankleman 2002; Arora-Jonsson 2011) yet women apparently have the capacity to organize and undertake successful initiatives.

In the province having a number of climate change initiatives, direct community participation is minimal at best. The Philippines' decentralized political set-up is partly to blame since the provincial government does not have ready access to villages that are under the jurisdiction of municipalities. Sometimes, political affiliation is also a factor as municipalities headed by mayors who are political rivals of the governor may not even be open to provincial projects. Moreover, feedback from relocated communities in the said province affirms that grassroots participation in climate change related disasters is negligible. This does not only apply to provincial government efforts but to civil society interventions as well. For example, displaced constituents lamented that they were not consulted concerning the design of relocation site houses, thus, they experienced difficulties when they moved in. Since said housing design is actually a template used by an international organization for humanitarian purposes worldwide, the community feedback on its design should seriously be taken into consideration by project implementers.

In terms of climate change policy-making, grassroots consultations for the Climate Change Act and the national framework for climate change adaptation were rarely done. The law was largely framed with input from civil society organizations and international institutions, using prevalent climate change rhetoric. During my fieldwork, I even learned of a planned review of the Philippine Climate Change Act because there was talk that its approval was rushed. Given that said law followed on the heels of successive unprecedented flooding, as well as the fact that the term of the Philippine President then was ending, the rush in its enactment was

understandable. Notwithstanding the circumstances surrounding the passing and implementation of the Climate Change Act and other climate change policies, they still basically dictate what the Philippines will do in terms of adapting to climate change effects. Needless to say, constituents of vulnerable locales are governed by such policies even though they were largely at the receiving end.

The various institutional policies and initiatives on climate change in the Philippines comprise the body of ruling relations that people in communities must abide by as they live their everyday lives within the context of a changing climate. Smith (2005) explains that ruling relations are the "extraordinary yet also ordinary complex of relations that are textually mediated, connects people across space and time and organize everyday lives—the corporations, government bureaucracies, academic and professional discourses, mass media and the complex relations that interconnect them" (p.10). Although it is not readily apparent, institutions and actors who interact with each other dominate the discursive and policy terrain of climate change in the Philippines. International institutions not only fund pilot projects and other activities but also bring in their [political] stances, especially in policy-making. The bureaucracy and civil society, while wary of each other, are in constant interaction to thresh out details of policies, official government positions and project implementation. Individual organizations are influenced by the bases of unities they formed as members of climate change alliances. These organizations likewise rely on funding from international institutions for their community-based projects. Meanwhile, the local government units seek out funding from international and national organizations and participate in the bureaucracy's programs.

Community members who are at the receiving end of all these policies and initiatives have to navigate through various policy or project expectations while dealing with their own realities.

The institutions, policies and processes related to climate change in the Philippines are therefore inextricably linked, with the grassroots communities oftentimes only mere recipients of policies and pilot projects. The process of climate change policy-making largely occurs at the national level, with national level civil society groups and international funding institutions lobbying for inclusions of particular interests, including references to gender concerns. Community consultations are rarely done prior to finalization of policies, as noted by some respondents. Institutions largely decide upon policy and project planning processes. Local NGOs with community partners are the closest to practicing community involvement in project processes, although they, too, base their assumptions on community needs on several factors, including packaging of proposals for grant purposes. After all, as shared by some respondents, financial sustainability has long been an issue in these local NGOs and they can find themselves drawn into projects that are favored by funding agencies.

Gender mainstreaming in climate change initiatives

The second research question, *"To what extent do institutional practices adhere to gender mainstreaming principles in the process of addressing climate change?"* was tackled in Chapter VI. The chapter began by explicating the notion of gender as understood in the Philippine context. The fact that there is no equivalent

local term for gender was noted as contributing to ambivalence and lack of clear considerations for gender concerns beyond an association with women's participation. The discussion then proceeded to account for the institutional and community gender issues arising from mainstreaming gender in climate change interventions.

The Philippines has officially subscribed to gender mainstreaming in all policy and bureaucratic processes since the early '90s. A national government agency was specifically created to oversee such mainstreaming of gender concerns in the bureaucracy. However, in the course of doing research for this dissertation, it was highlighted by the undersecretary I interviewed that said government agency (the Philippine Commission on Women or PCW, formerly the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women or NCRFW) is only limited to advocacy; that it has no particular power to impose sanctions to government entities that do not comply with gender mainstreaming. Hence, despite certain gains achieved through the years, the Philippine Commission on Women has consistently been critiqued by civil society groups as not doing enough for purposes of gender mainstreaming.

The Philippines' vulnerability to climate change and the initiatives undertaken to date in order to address such vulnerability provided the opportunity for an analysis of gender mainstreaming in climate change processes. This research revealed that across various institutions and communities involved in climate change efforts in the Philippines, the term gender is associated with women. This is reminiscent of very early usage of gender in academic and development discourses, and not the way gender has been defined in the past twenty-five or more years (See

Acker 1992). The understanding of gender as relational, culture-bound and implicated in societal patterns of difference and domination (Acker 1992) seems rather nebulous to the actors in climate change in the Philippines, despite years of bureaucratic and civil society efforts at gender mainstreaming. The Philippines actually rank high in international gender indices like the World Economic Forum's Gender Gap Index. In 2010, the Philippines ranked 9th worldwide in terms of gender equity and it ranked 8th in 2011. For both years, the country is the highest-ranking in Asia, especially in the areas of education and health, with strong performances in economic participation and political empowerment as well. Despite this, gender mainstreaming is still generally sporadic at best in the Philippines, assumed as a given but largely ignored and not incorporated in current institutional climate change initiatives. This may be attributed to the fact confirmed by some respondents that institutional structures related to climate change in the country are hierarchical and male-dominated, thus manifesting gendered views, processes or values like mere accommodation of women's concerns. Acker (1992, 1998, 2000) underscores the gendered-ness of organizations, highlighting the common organizational assumption that the "universal organizational worker is male". Benschop and Verloo (2006) echo the notion of the genderedness of organizations but more to emphasize that despite women's representation in bureaucratic circles, they remain as outsiders in crucial decision-making processes. Prügl (2010) also emphasizes the "masculinism" in bureaucratic structures that women bureaucrats subscribe to, thus, preventing the efficacy of needed changes. We see these manifested in the fact that appointing a female member of the Philippine Climate

Change Commission is largely due to compliance to the provisions of the law. Ironically, the female bureaucrat appointed to such position claimed that her promotion is based on merit. Yet her comment about the current male President surrounding himself with male advisers is indicative of some degree of marginalization she's experiencing.

Within climate change discourse and processes in the Philippines, women are considered to be a vulnerable group. This affirms what authors like Denton (2002), Dankelman (2002), Brody, et al. (2008) have argued as strategic entry points for feminist critiques of climate change processes. The notion of gender is also perceived as "cross-cutting" in all climate change concerns. With the term "cross-cutting" the respondents generally refer to women being part of vulnerable communities and their needs are likewise assumed as addressed through initiatives aimed at building capacity for adaptation purposes. However, not much thought nor effort is put into both women's vulnerability and integration of gender in climate change. No consultations were done specifically to cull out community gender needs. Adaptation measures such as the Climate Field School and community-based pilot projects are assumed to solve various forms of vulnerabilities, including those associated with gendered power relations. Hence it would seem that projects are implemented without conscientious assessments of local contexts. Despite the inclusion of the notion of gender mainstreaming in the Philippine Framework Strategy for Climate Change Adaptation, no concrete steps were outlined in order to ensure this, unlike in the focus on various sectoral concerns. The female CCC Commissioner is personally not even convinced that women are more vulnerable in

climate change because she believes the bigger issue is poverty, not gender. Her stance is reflective of what MacGregor (2010) highlighted as the homogenization of "the poor", disregarding the global feminization of poverty.

The national agency tasked to mainstream gender in the Philippines is actually marginalized in climate change efforts. At the time of my fieldwork I learned that said agency was just figuring out how they can enter the picture. It was in the process of linking with a national organization of rural women involved in one of the alliances for climate change in attempts to define its position of representing gender concerns in climate change initiatives. The assumption that women-dedicated organizations are in better position to discuss gender mainstreaming was also apparent in the other civil society alliance on climate change. I was usually referred to speak with key persons in alliance member organizations who they believe are more "into gender". It appears, then, that even within the ranks of civil society groups, gender mainstreaming is considered as a specialized topic associated with women's organizations, rather than mainstreamed across alliance memberships.

While gender mainstreaming has generally remained as mere rhetoric in climate change initiatives in the Philippines, there are evidences that it has nonetheless permeated in various levels. The UNDP Energy and Environment Team, for one, recognizes that it trails behind other UNDP teams in internal gender mainstreaming assessments. Hence they anticipate the introduction of relevant tools to use in order to mainstream gender in programmatic activities. As mentioned earlier, there is specific reference to gender mainstreaming in the

Philippine Strategy for Climate Change Adaptation, which underscores "the differential impacts of climate change on women and men and enjoins the mainstreaming of gender in all levels of climate change adaptation policy formulation, development planning and implementation." The Climate Change Act also specifies "It shall also be the policy of the State to incorporate a gender-sensitive, pro-children and pro-poor perspective in all climate change and renewable energy efforts, plans and programs." While questions remain on how these will be operationalized, the bureaucratic structure down to the local government levels are mandated by law to allocate resources for gender mainstreaming. Even though the types of activities LGU officials and bureaucrats refer to as gender-related leave much to be desired, they are nonetheless compelled to abide by audit rules and thus forced to think about gender concerns in their organizations and in community contexts. This will prove to be strategic in the long run if institutions learn how to better allocate and make use the GAD Budget.

Perhaps the best manifestation thus far of the permeation of gender mainstreaming in climate change initiatives in the Philippines can be found in grassroots organizing. A few community-based civil society organizations have subscribed to the strategy of "household-based organizing" and found it imperative to incorporate gender-sensitivity training for their community partners, in the process of project implementation. These organizations admit that it is not easy but they are determined to see it through, including in their impending climate change projects. However, difficulties such as the "time bounded-ness" of projects remains to be an issue. Further, during my community fieldwork immersions, I found out

that gender and related issues have become familiar to grassroots constituents due to exposure they received from seminars or trainings sponsored by NGOs. In one community, they even discussed the issue of violence against women (VAW), as well as the lack of gender considerations in disaster relief operations. In another community, there was emphasis on the fact that economic realities have changed stereotypical gender roles. Community respondents said that women are increasingly becoming dominant in productive activities and decision-making, even in traditionally male-dominated livelihoods like farming or agricultural production.

Tensions between DRR and CCA

One interesting issue that emerged during fieldwork for this dissertation is the apparent tension(s) between advocacy for disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation efforts. As an emergent topic, it was difficult to situate it in the context of my research questions. However, in light of doing an institutional ethnography that is accommodating of such discoveries in the course of doing research, I feel obliged to incorporate this emergent finding in my write-up. Disaster risk reduction (DRR) has been a priority concern by the government long before climate change adaptation (CCA) became imperative. With the current governmental pre-occupation with climate change partly due to anticipated financial support or compensation, DRR seems to have been thrown off-balance. DRR advocates maintain that climate change is just one factor among many that can exacerbate disaster incidence (Mercer, 2010). This turfing tension was apparent during my fieldwork among advocates of both DRR and CCA, and mostly emanating

from the DRR side. This is despite the fact that the Climate Change Act "recognizes that climate change and disaster risk reduction are closely interrelated and effective disaster risk reduction will enhance climate change adaptive capacity…the State shall integrate disaster risk reduction into climate change programs and initiatives" and one prominent person in Philippine climate change efforts periodically insist that "the take-off point for climate change adaptation is disaster risk reduction."

It is interesting to note that the tension(s) between DRR and CCA is happening on the ground in the Philippines, as it serves as concrete manifestation for an emerging set of literature looking into areas of convergence and discord between the two. Mercer (2010) highlighted that climate change is increasingly regarded as a "catch-all for many disastrous events and has currently more international prominence and recognition than DRR" (p. 248), or what Schipper (2009) sees as "flavor of the month" preoccupation with CCA. Schipper (2009) also notes that most actors interested in the synergies between DRR and CCA come from either the disasters or development arenas, with only a few climate-focused individuals and institutions involved. I have seen this happening in the Philippines especially since a lot of civil society groups, including one of the two broad alliances on climate change hail from the DRR network of organizations.

Suggestions for future research

One interesting research to pursue concerns the tensions and convergence between DRR and CCA. In the Philippines, DRR and CCA are inextricably link because the country's climate change vulnerability is manifested in the increasing

frequency and severity of natural disasters. However, apart from policy references, there is currently little coordination between the bureaucratic DRR and climate change structures. On the other hand, civil society groups who are DRR advocates seem able to widen their focus to include climate change as context for disasters. As mentioned earlier, there is an emerging literature that explores this topic and international gender advocates in DRR like Enarson (1998, 1999, 2007, 2008) are likewise advocating for "lessons learned" in gender and disaster work to be utilized in framing gender and climate change issues. Investigating the links between DRR and CCA may provide more data on issues related to gender mainstreaming.

My dissertation has highlighted women's vulnerability in climate change, as noted too in the literature. However, there seems to be institutional tendencies to downplay women's agency, particularly in the grassroots level. I have encountered more women than men in my community focus groups and they are actively involved in village-level activities, including those related to climate change. Women are historically involved in environmental and sustainable development issues and a focus on women's agency in climate change processes will expand the literature and may pave the way for grassroots women's empowerment.

In conducting fieldwork for my dissertation I have come across a few local NGOs working with grassroots communities who have been using an organizing strategy that they call "household-based organizing". The idea for this originated from a consultant's research in Japanese fishing villages where household capacity building was the focus. What is interesting about this strategy is the fact that it

includes modules addressing household gender power relations. The NGOs believe that improving gender relations at the household level will redound to a more empowered community. The modules on gender apparently highlight gender division of labor and emphasize areas where family members disregard stereotypes in pursuit of common goals. Children aged 10 years old and above are even included in these trainings. Such initiative will be an interesting area to explore in future research on gender mainstreaming.

My dissertation work uncovered that successful climate change initiatives in the Philippines seem to depend heavily on leadership style. The province currently regarded as the model for climate change adaptation has a very charismatic and willful governor who exhausts means to bring in projects to his locale. For purposes of climate change research, it will be interesting to look at leadership styles especially in places that are very vulnerable to climate change effects.

Finally, given certain logistical limitations, I was not able to conduct more substantial institutional ethnographic research at each level of institutions involved in Philippine climate change responses. It would be worthwhile to conduct further study on the dynamics occurring among institutions at each of the international, national or bureaucratic, civil society and local government unit levels. Moreover, a country comparison with one that is also vulnerable to climate change, like Indonesia, will provide broader and deeper inroads to research on how gender is mainstreamed in climate change interventions.

Policy recommendations

My dissertation research raised a few issues that call for policy intervention(s). For one, there is a need for cohesive efforts in integrating gender concerns in climate change discourse and practices. International funding agencies, the bureaucracy, civil society and academe need to go beyond rhetoric in operationalizing gender mainstreaming in climate change. Related to this, there has to be clear implementing guidelines for national climate change policies that mention gender mainstreaming, such as the National Strategy for Climate Change Adaptation. Hence, the Philippine Commission for Women needs to be made an integral part of bureaucratic climate change initiatives. Clear implementing guidelines are likewise imperative within civil society groups which included gender mainstreaming as part of their bases of unity for climate change related actions. These implementing guidelines should include accountability measures in order to ensure strict enforcement.

While it is noteworthy that the Philippines' Department of Education is planning to incorporate climate change concepts in the public elementary and secondary curriculum nationwide, it is also imperative that this includes references to gender concerns. I have mentioned in my research findings that cultural gender stereotypes still abound in the public school curriculum. The current bureaucratic preoccupation with climate change may prove to be a strategic entry point for gender mainstreaming in the curriculum, starting with the notion of differential impacts for women and men. Since the desire for curriculum integration of climate

change is to foster attitudinal change in future generations, it will be cost-effective to also incorporate gender in this effort. However, doing so requires advocacy and policy guidelines, not to mention the actual re-writing of the current curriculum.

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APPENDIX A

Interview Guide for Institutional Representatives

1. Please describe your institution's functions / What is your institution and what is it for?

   Paki-larawan ang mga "functions" o trabaho ng inyong institusyon. Ano po ang inyong institusyon at para saan ito?

2. How does your institution carry out its role/s / objectives?

   Paano nagagawa ng inyong institusyon ang kanilang papel at mga nilalayon?

3. Please describe your institution's structure and decision-making processes.

   Maari po bang ilarawan ang struktura ng inyong institusyon at ang proseso sa paggawa ng desisyon?

4. How does your institution respond to gender issues – are there policies in place? If so, please describe them.

   Paano tumutugon sa mga isyung pang-gender ang inyong institusyon – may mga polisiya bang nakalagak? Kung gayon, maari pong paki-larawan.

5. What barriers did your institutions encounter when policies related to gender [issues?] were implemented?

   Anu-anong hadlang ang nakaharap ng inyong institusyon noong ang polisiya ukol sa gender ay ipinatupad?

6. How were these barriers overcome?

   Paano nalampasan ang mga hadlang o "barriers" na ito?

7. Please describe what your institution does for climate change mitigation and/or adaptation.

Pakilarawan kung ano ang ginagawa ng inyong institusyon ukol sa "climate change mitigation" at/o "adaptation"

8. What is your role in these efforts?

   Ano ang inyong papel sa mga [efforts] na ito?

9. In carrying out your project, how did you involve the community?

   Sa pagpatupad ng inyong proyekto, paano ninyo isinama ang komunidad?

10. What kind of issues did you encounter in implementing the community project?

    Anu-anong klase ng mga isyu ang inyong nakaharap sa pag-iimplementa ng proyekto ng komunidad?

11. How did your institution address these issues? Are there policies in place for such issues?

    Paano tinugunan ng inyong institusyon ang mga isyung ito? May mga nakatuon bang polisiya para sa mga isyung ito?

12. What specific gender issues arose in the course of project implementation?

    Anu-ano ang ispesipiking isyu ukol sa gender ang lumantad sa gitna ng pag-iimplementa ng proyekto?

13. How were these addressed? Are there policies in place for gender issues?

    Paano ito binigyan-pansin? May mga polisiya bang nakatuon para sa mga isyu ng gender?

14. How does your institution define gender-sensitive climate change mitigation and/or adaptation?

    Paano pinakakahulugan ng inyong institusyon ang "gender-sensitive climate change mitigation or adaptation"?

15. What is the basis for this definition? How does this get carried out in project planning and implementation?

    Ano ang basehan ng kahulugang ito? Paano ito nadadala sa pagpaplano at implementasyon ng mga proyekto?

16. What areas/concerns in project implementation did your institution effectively address? How and/or why?

    Anu-anong bagay/pinangangambahan ukol sa implementasyon ng proyekto ang epektibong tinugunan ng inyong institusyon? Paano at/o bakit?

17. What areas/concerns were not effectively addressed? How and/or why?

    Anu-anong bagay/pinangangambahan ang hindi epektibong natugunan? Paano at/o bakit?

18. What feedback did your institution get from the communities regarding your project/program?

    Anu-anong feedback ang natanggap ng inyong institusyon mula sa mga komunidad ukol sa inyong proyekto/programa?

19. How did your institution react to these community feedback?

    Paano nag-react ang inyong institusyon sa ganitong mga feedback ng komunidad?

APPENDIX B

Guide for Focus Group Discussion/Interviews

1. Please describe your community in terms of geophysical / resource and livelihood attributes.

(Pwede mo bala mahambal sa akon kon ano ang pwede mapangabuhian nga konektado sa lupa sa inyo nga komunidad.)

2. How has your community changed in the last 20-50 years? Please explain the reason for these changes.

(Ano ang mga pag bag-o sa inyo nga komunidad sa naglikad nga 20-50 ka tuig. Ano bala ang mga rason sa mga pag bag-o nga ini?)

2. What is your understanding of climate change and its effects? How did you learn of this?

(Ano ang pagintindi mo sa paglain sang klima sang kalibutan ka gang mga epekto sini? Sa diin mo ini nabal-an?)

3. What challenges did your community experience which you think are related to climate change? [follow-up: Why did they think these are due to climate change?]

(Ano nga mga pagtilaw ang naagyan sang inyo nga komunidad bangud sa pag lain sang klima sang kalibutan? Paano mo mahambal nga bangud ini sa paglain sang klima sa kalibutan?)

4. How has your community responded to such challenges?

(Ano ang mga gin ubra sang inyo nga komunidad bangud sa mga pagtilaw nga ini?)

5. What specific challenges did women/men face in view of climate change?

(Ano nga mga pagtilaw ang gina atubang sang mga babayi/lalaki bangud sa paglain sang klima sang kalibutan??

6. How did the women/men in the community address these challenges?

(Ano ang gin ubra sang mga kababaihan/kalalakihan sa komunidad para ma atubang ang mga pagtilaw nga ini?)

7. What institutional climate change interventions have been or currently carried out in your community?

(Ano ano ang nahimo sang na sari-sari nga mga institusyon para ma solusyunan ang pagla-in sang klima sang kalibutan sa inyo nga komunidad?)

8. How were beneficiaries of these interventions determined? What were the institutional and/or community criteria?

(Paano ginpili sang mga institusyon ang maka benepisyo sang ila nga mga solusyon? Ano ano bala ang ila ginpang pilian?)

9. Did women in the community have equal chances with men to become beneficiaries of institutional interventions? Why/Why not? [Alternative question: Were there specific interventions for women and men? If so, what are these?]

(May patas bala nga tsansa ang mga kababaihan nga maka benepisyo sa mga solusyon sang mga institusyon? Nga a? Nga a nd? Alternative Question: Nagkalain-lain bala ang mga solusyon para sa mga babayi kag mga lalaki? Ano ang mga ini?)

10. To what extent did the community get involved in the planning and implementation of such climate change interventions?

(Hasta sa diin bala ang pag ugyon sang komuniad sa pagplano kag pag ubra sang mga solusyon sa paglain sang klima sang kalibutan?)

11. Did women have equal chances with men to get involved in the institutional intervention processes? Why/Why not?

(Patas man bala ang tsansa ang mga babayi kompara sa mga lalaki nga makaintra sa solusyon sang mga institusyon? Nga a?Nga a indi?)

12. Were there specific needs of women or men in the community that were addressed or not addressed? What are these? How were they addressed / Why were they not addressed?

(May ara bala mga kinanghanglanon ang mga kababaihan/kalalakihan nga wala natugunan? Ano ang mga ini? Paano sila na natugunan? Nga a wala sila gin tugunan?)

13. What aspects in the processes related to institutional climate change interventions would the community want to continue? What aspects need to be improved or abolished?

(Ano nga mga solusyon sang institusyon bangud sa pagalain sang klima sa kalibutan ang gusto ninyo nga padayunoon? Ano-ano ang para sa inyo mapa ayo ukon dapat untaton?

14. Did the climate change interventions in your community promote empowerment for both women and men? Why/Why not?

(Ang mga solusyon sa paglain sang klima sang kalibutan naghatag bala balor para sa mga kababaihan/kalalakihan? Nga-a? Nga-a indi?)

[vita page]

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Doctor of Philosophy: Dual Title Degree in Rural Sociology and Women's Studies, 2012, The Pennsylvania State University, State College, PA, USA

Master of Health Social Science (graduated with High Distinction), 2002, De La Salle University, Manila, Philippines

Master of Management Major in Rural Development Management, 2001, University of the Philippines Visayas, Iloilo, Philippines

Bachelor of Arts Double Major in Political Science and Psychology, 1996, University of the Philippines Visayas, Iloilo, Philippines

II. Scholarships, Grants and/or Awards

Kenneth P. Wilkinson Memorial Scholarship Award in Rural Sociology (2010), College of Agricultural Sciences, the Pennsylvania State University

Fulbright Scholarship Grant to pursue PhD in the US (2008-2010)

Delta Kappa Gamma Society International's World Fellowship Award (concurrent with the Fulbright grant, 2008-2009)

Ford Foundation Scholarship Award for Master of Health Social Science (2001-2002)

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Faculty, Division of Social Sciences, College of Arts and Sciences, University of the Philippines Visayas (1996-present)