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After the Wrath of Typhoon Haiyan:

Unveiling Representation of Vulnerabilities as Beneficiaries of the Emergency Shelter Assistance for Survivors in the Philippines

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Arisa Junio

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Members of the Examining Committee:

Silke Heumann, Ph.D.

Wendy Harcourt, Ph.D.

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Inquiries:

Postal address:

Institute of Social Studies
P.O. Box 29776
2502 LT The Hague
The Netherlands

Location:

Kortenaerkade 12
2518 AX The Hague
The Netherlands

Telephone: +31 70 426 0460
Fax: +31 70 426 0799

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List of Acronyms

4Ps	*Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program*
CCT	Conditional Cash Trasnfer
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CLUP	Comprehensive Land Use Plan
CGI	Corrugated Galvanised Iron
CRRP	Comprehensive Rehabilitation and Recovery Plan
DAFAC	Disaster Affected Family Assistance Card
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
DRRM	Disaster Risk Reduction and Management
DSWD	Department of Social Welfare and Development
ESA	Emergency Shelter Assistance
GoP	Government of the Philippines
IP	Indigenous People
ITCZ	Inter-Tropical Convergence Zone
LGBT	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and Transgender
LGU	Local Government Unit
LSWDO	Local Social Welfare and Development Offices
MSMEs	Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises
NDRRMC	National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council
NDRRMF	National Disaster Reduction and Management Framework
NDRRMP	National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan
NEDA	National Economic Development Authority
NHTS-PR	National Household Targeting System for Poverty Reduction
OFW	Overseas Filipino Worker
OPARR	Office of the Presidential Assistance for Rehabilitation and Recovery
PDP	Philippine Development Plan
PMT	Proxy means test
PWDs	Persons with Disabilities
RA	Republic Act
RAY	Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda
RAY I4R	Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda Implementation for Results
SOGIE	Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity and Expression
WPR	What's the Problem Represented to be?

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Dedication

Ang pananaliksik na ito ay para sa mga Pilipinong patuloy na nakakaranas ng pang-aabuso, pang-aapi, diskriminasyon, at patuloy pa ring sumisigaw ng hustisya dahil sa kanilang kulay, ideolohiya, paniniwala, kultura, relihiyon, sekswalidad, at paninindigan sa buhay. Nawa'y ang papel na ito ay maging isang palaisipan na makakadagdag sa pag-intindi sa pangangailangan ng mga taong nakararanas ng patuloy na diskriminasyon sa panahon ng mga kalamidad.

Higit sa lahat, inaalay ko ang pananaliksik na ito para sa mahigit 6,300 na mga taong namatay, at milyun-milyong Pilipino na nawalan ng mga mahal sa buhay, pangkabuhayan, ari-arian, karapatang pang-tao, at sa mga nawalan ng pag-asa matapos ang himagsik ng Bagyong Yolanda sa kani-kanilang mga buhay. Ito ay para din sa mga Pilipinong patuloy na lumalaban para sa kanilang mga buhay upang makabangon sa nagdaang bagyo apat na taon nang nakalipas. Maging tanglaw nawa ang pananaliksik na ito sa pag-intindi sa mga taong higit na mas nangangailangan ng tulong at suporta na patuloy na pinapabayaan ng pamahalaan sa kanilang mga polisiya.

Ito ay para sa minamahal kong bayan: ang Pilipinas.

Abstract

This research paper focuses on how the Department of Social Welfare and Development constitute vulnerable people as beneficiaries of the Emergency Shelter Assistance and represent them in defining and delivering the housing intervention program. In answering this research question, I applied intersectionality and social exclusion as my theoretical framework and employed Critical Discourse Analysis and 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' as techniques of analysis. I focused on six relevant national disaster policy documents and Haiyan-related disaster recovery and rehabilitation plans and frameworks in looking at the assumptions on people's vulnerabilities. Findings show that there is a major problem on how the Philippine government perceive the underlying root cause of vulnerability by neglecting the historical and social aspects of disasters. This neglected root cause of vulnerability was reinforced by intersecting power relations on gender, sexuality, class, and ethnicity. People having these characteristics are automatically excluded in availing the ESA program: non-conforming man/woman, non-heterosexual families, people outside the lower income class, and heterosexual families whose houses were identified as safe zone under the Comprehensive Land Use Plan.

Relevance to Development Studies

This research is relevant in looking at the power of language in policies and on how it directly affects people to be excluded in a social welfare program in a disaster setting. Disaster can be a space where power is being fought, and power can be seen on how certain vulnerable groups are identified which leads to the exclusion of other vulnerable sectors.

Moreover, this study looks at how a disaster setting can reinforce discrimination and social exclusion of vulnerable people which was reinforced by the disaster risk reduction policies implemented by the government. Specifically, the claimed 'truths' underlined in policy documents that carry assumptions regarding gender, sexuality, class, and ethnicity leads to the exclusion of people who do not conform on the ideal framing of the government towards people's needs.

Keywords

Philippines, disasters, Typhoon Haiyan, Emergency Shelter Assistance program, Department of Social Welfare and Development, vulnerability, gender, sexuality, class, ethnicity, social exclusion, intersectionality, WPR Approach

Chapter 1
Introduction

Nature of the problem

> *"Disasters are always present or embedded in the local-level society and that a hazard simply provides the catalytic agent to produce an intense social crisis."*

> Watts 1983, as cited in Bankoff 2001: 30

On 08 November 2013, the Philippines experienced the strongest tropical cyclone ever recorded. Super Typhoon Haiyan[1], locally known as Yolanda, entered the Philippine area of responsibility and was identified by the Philippine Atmospheric Geophysical and Astronomical Services Administration as a category-five[2] hurricane, with maximum sustained winds of 320 km/h and gustiness of 380 km/h. Haiyan made its destructive landfall in the Eastern Visayas region, severely affecting 12,139 *barangays[3]* in 44 provinces, 591 municipalities, and 57 cities of Regions IV-A, IV-B, V,VI, VII, VIII, X, XI, and CARAGA. In a report released by the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Council (NDRRMC), a total of 3,424,593 families (16,078,181 persons) were affected during Haiyan, leaving 6,300 death cases, 28,688 injured, and 1,062 missing (NDRRMC 2013: 3). The extent of the devastation led former Philippine President Benigno Aquino III to declare a state of national calamity for all government departments and concerned government agencies to initiate rescue, relief, rehabilitation, and recovery work (OPARR 2014: 7).

The typhoon was concentrated in some of the poorest provinces in the country, and affected the main sources of livelihood in the areas which are agriculture, fisheries, and tourism. 2012 data showed that the average household income in the severely affected provinces was only 75 percent of the national average, and over 50 percent of the household income in the affected provinces is largely dependent on agriculture and remittances from families with Overseas Filipino Workers (OFWs) members (NEDA 2013: 4).

With Haiyan, the poverty incidence in the affected areas worsened. The total damage and loss of properties, whether public or private, ranging from in-

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[1] In the whole coverage of the paper, I will be using Haiyan and Yolanda interchangeably since Philippine policies produced on the onset of Haiyan are using the local name of the typhoon.

[2] According to National Hurricane Center, Category Five hurricane has a sustained wind of 252 km/h, with a "high percentage of framed homes destroyed, total roof failure, and wall collapse. Fallen trees and power poles will isolate residential areas, while power outages will last for weeks to months. Most of the area will be uninhabited for weeks, even months (NHC NOAA n.d.:1)"

[3] A *barangay* is a "unit of administration in the Philippine society consisting of from 50 to 100 families under a headman" (Merriam-Webster 2017).
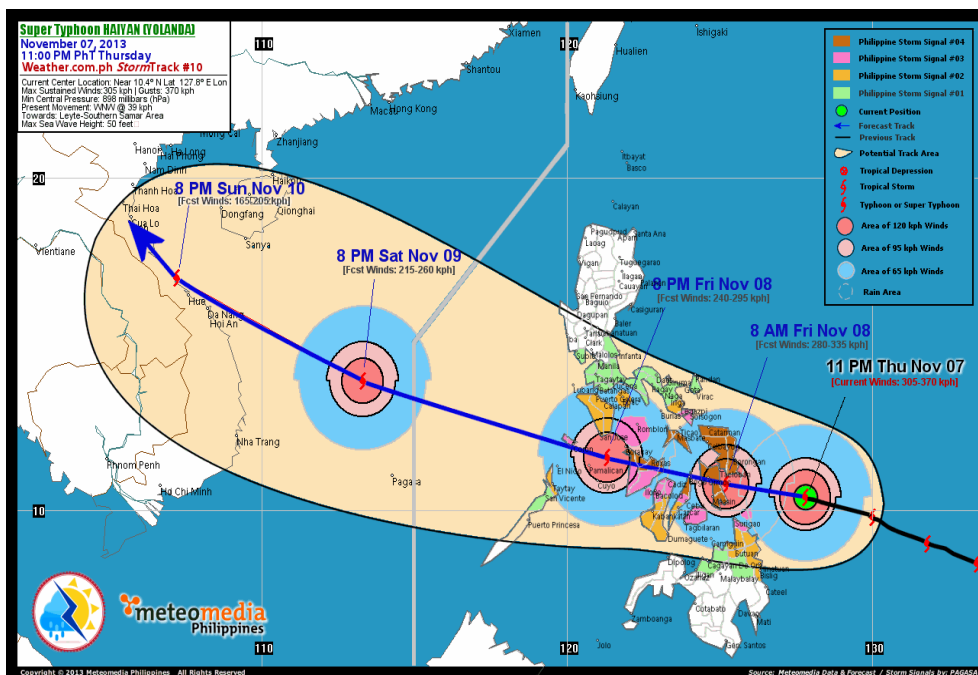
Figure 1: Typhoon Haiyan Route in the Philippine area of responsibility.

frastructure, economic, social, and cross-sectoral was at Php571.1 billion (equivalent to USD12.9 billion) (NEDA 2013: 5). Moreover, affected families experienced non-income effects such as rising poverty and vulnerability that include food insecurity and worsening nutrition; disruption to education and loss of human capital; out migration; increase in child labour and other exploitative labour practices; increased levels of indebtedness; and loss of houses (NEDA 2013: 14). The extent of Haiyan led to the destruction of 1,140,332 houses, where 550,928 were totally damaged and 589,404 were partially damaged (NDRRMC 2013: 4).

Haiyan worsened people's vulnerability and capacity to recover from the impact of the natural hazard. In a disaster[4] setting, vulnerability pertains to households where the probability of their becoming poor is greater than the national poverty incident (NEDA 2011: 244). Based on socio-economic terms, vulnerable people include people living in poverty as well as certain sectors of the community such as the sick, persons with disabilities (PWDs), elderly, women, and children in times of disasters (NDRRMC 2011: 6). Other than the implication of Typhoon Haiyan to people, it destroyed the economic and development gains in the affected areas by having negative impacts on the country's GDP, and the like. The risks induced by the typhoon led to disadvantages in the economic development of the country with the social, economic, infrastructure, and physical damages it produced.

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[4] Disaster is defined under RA 10121 as "a serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society involving widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses and impacts, which exceeds the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources. Disasters are often described as a result of the combination of: the exposure to a hazard; the conditions of vulnerability that are present; the insufficient capacity or measures to reduce or cope with the potential negative consequences. Disaster impacts may include loss of life, injury, disease and other negative effects on human, physical, mental and social well-being, together with damage to property, destruction of assets, loss of services, social and economic disruption and environmental degradation" (Congress of the Philippines 2010: 5)

A natural hazard setting can be a taken-for-granted space where power is being fought, and power can be seen in the recognition of certain sectors and groups of people in policies and laws, especially those who are identified as vulnerable in a disaster setting. The problem, however, with this identification of vulnerable groups (such as women, children, PWDs, elderly, and Indigenous Peoples [IPs]) is that it creates a certain form of 'truth' regarding who needs help the most. This 'truth' is vesting privileges that leads to inadvertent exclusion of the non-vulnerable. This made me rethink the inclusiveness of vulnerability with the identification of specific groups, and these claims of 'truth' were manifested in the rehabilitation and recovery programs implemented after Typhoon Haiyan.

One of the programs implemented as part of the rehabilitation and recovery program of the Philippine government is the Emergency Shelter Assistance (ESA) program, which is detailed in the Memorandum Circular No. 24 Series of 2014: *Guidelines for the Implementation of the Emergency Shelter Assistance Project for Families with Partially and Totally Damaged Houses Due to Typhoon 'Yolanda'* by the Department of Social Welfare and Development (DSWD). The DSWD is the lead government agency for social protection and social welfare efforts of the Philippine government (Bowen 2015: 1). The social protection system, programs, and policies of the DSWD targets individuals from disaster risks and equip them with their immediate needs in rebuilding and responding to their livelihoods and housing (Bowen 2015: 1). In addition, DSWD is taking the lead role in coordinating disaster response initiatives. It also has responsibilities across the national prevention and mitigation, preparedness, recovery and rehabilitation pillars of the National Disaster Risk Reduction Management Plan (NDRRMP) in addressing issues pertaining to food security, shelter, camp coordination, and camp management and protection (Bowen 2015: 1-2).

Of the various social protection and disaster response initiatives of the DSWD, the ESA program is one of the needed support by people living in Haiyan-affected areas due to the loss of their homes. With the destructive impact of the Typhoon, people's houses were almost wiped out, and the support given by the Philippine government, through DSWD, would help alleviate the vulnerability of people with their immediate housing situation. To address the housing needs of people, DSWD allocated Php20.73 billion[5] (USD 40.25 million) in implementing the ESA program for cash or short-term housing materials to Haiyan survivors whose houses were partially or totally damaged. It particularly targets families who have not received any shelter materials such as corrugated galvanised iron (CGI) sheets, plywood, etc. from the government and private sector six months after Typhoon Haiyan (DSWD 2014: 2).

The ESA program addresses the immediate short-term housing needs of people in Haiyan-affected areas. The DSWD defined vulnerability by identifying the number of families whose houses were either partially or totally damaged, the socio-economic circumstances of families to rebuild their houses, and whether families are part of government-led poverty reduction initiatives to impoverished Filipino families. The Department recorded that a total number of 1,472,251 families were within the 50 kilometres (km) radius of Haiyan, leaving 493,912 families with partially damaged houses and 518,878 families with totally damaged houses (DSWD 2014: 1). Furthermore, DSWD considers families whose houses were situated in safe and habitable areas as vulnerable and should

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[5] This amount was reported as of 15 August 2016 (Bueza 2016).

receive government support in rebuilding their houses. For them, houses situated in safe and habitable areas which are designated by the Comprehensive Land Use Plan (CLUP) will further promote the "Build Back Better[6]" principle in preventing to rebuild houses in high risk zones (Bowen 2015: 27).

In addition, vulnerable people are those whose monthly income should not exceed Php15,000 (USD295), whose household heads are not regularly employed and does not have access to housing loans (DSWD 2014). In order to avail ESA, families whose houses were either totally or partially damaged should be part of the official list of DSWD, sourced through the DSWD-Disaster Affected Families Access Card (DAFAC). The DAFAC serves as a monitoring list of families who have received comparable assistance from different source (Bowen 2015: 27). It also records information determining whether a family is a beneficiary of the *Pantawid Pamilyang Pilipino Program*[7] (4Ps) (Conditional Cash Transfer), whether they belong to the vulnerable sectors (i.e., lactating mothers, elderly, and PWDs), mentions the family's monthly income, and records the type of assistance received by beneficiaries involving cash for works program and relief goods (Bowen 2015: 28).

The ESA program's eligibility criteria pose problems to important population groups who are vulnerable to be excluded as beneficiaries. Intersecting power relations such as gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality are vital in looking at people's vulnerabilities. Disaster-affected people are vulnerable geographically because of the location of their houses in 'danger zones', socially because they are members of minority groups, economically because of their work and economic standing, and politically because some voices are continuously disregarded by those with political power (Gaillard 2010: 222). These intersecting power relations led to the exclusion of some vulnerable groups in availing the ESA program.

This is evident on how ESA framed vulnerable people who are eligible to avail of the program. Vulnerable people in the ESA program are identified based on their economic standing (their monthly income), location (whether their houses are situated in safe zones), ethnicity, sexuality (capacity of building a family), and gender (essentialist view on femininity and masculinity), with people who fit into this framing benefitting from the said program. On the other hand, those who do not fit into the classed, ethnicized, sexualized, and gendered traits were discriminated. This concept of vulnerability, therefore, is creating a certain form of truth regarding people who need help during the rehabilitation and recovery efforts.

The prevailing idea on people's vulnerability creates a homogenized idea that vulnerable people are classed, ethnicized, sexualized, and gendered, and all

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[6] Build Back Better was conceptualized by the United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR) and defines it as "the use of the recovery, rehabilitation and reconstruction phases after a disaster to increase the resilience of nations and communities through integrating disaster risk reduction measures into the restoration of physical infrastructure and societal systems, and into the revitalization of livelihoods, economies, and the environment" (UNISDR 2017).

[7] The 4Ps is a human development measurement that provides conditional cash grants to the "poorest of the poor, to improve the health, nutrition, and the education of children aged 0-18 (Official Gazette n.d.: 1)". DSWD is using an economically-based statistical tool in identifying households living in poverty as beneficiaries of the 4Ps.

having the same vulnerabilities and capacities in times of disaster. For example: to be eligible, a family's house should be located in safe zones, thus automatically excluding 200,000 victims— 100,000 in Leyte and Samar and 81,000 in Panay— because their houses were built in danger zones (Cabacungan 2016). These danger zones include sea shores, where fisherfolks' houses are located, were automatically excluded in this criterion. The fishing communities face a huge issue with relocation because it is problematic with their livelihood of being dependent largely on the sea, thus opting to stay in their original place (Oxfam 2014a: 14-15). Under the *Philippine Fisheries Code of 1998*, fishing communities can be relocated to land near their fishing grounds (Oxfam 2014a: 3).

In relation to pushing for safe zones, President Aquino announced to observe the "no-build zones" within 40-meter shorelines in December 2013 to meet plans to build back better after the disaster (Oxfam 2014a: 8). "This announcement led to a lot of repercussions to displaced residents living within the 40-meters: where will they be relocated, and who are still eligible for the relocation" (Oxfam 2014a: 8)? The lack of clarity in this announcement about how to relocate affected populations living within this area created another layer of marginalization to landless people who were left without housing after Typhoon Haiyan (Oxfam 2014a: 8).

In addition, vulnerabilities of ethnic minorities after Typhoon Haiyan worsened. Even before Typhoon Haiyan, IPs faced a number of problems including loss of land due to development projects, worsening poverty, government neglect, and loss of culture which created multiple layers of discrimination towards them (ACAPS 2013: 74). IPs live in ancestral lands such as forests, pastures, inland waters, and coastal areas; however, these areas were identified as danger zones (HLURB 2014: 7). This then automatically excluded them from availing of the housing program, therefore adding another layer to their marginalization.

Another problem that emerged in the strict guidelines in the ESA program is the inclusion of beneficiaries in the master list of the DSWD DAFAC which were submitted by local government units (LGUs). To be eligible in DAFAC, beneficiaries should be economically-impoverished heteronormative families, or single-parent family that fit into the criteria set by DSWD. The heteronormative perception on gender is an insufficient construct in addressing the gendered dimensions of a disaster as it fails to capture the realities of diverse gender minorities (Gaillard et al 2016: 1). Automatically, families who do not fit into this definition were not included in the list and are automatically excluded in availing ESA.

Finally, the conceptualization of gender poses a huge barrier for people to be included as beneficiaries of the ESA program. The overall approach of the Philippine government to gender and disaster continues to reinforce the essentialist view on masculinity and femininity which delimits people to be included in the rehabilitation and recovery efforts of the government regarding the gendered needs of people in a hazard situation. The existing framing of the Philippine government in its gender mainstreaming does not consider people who do not conform in this binary perception on gender. This questions how gender was interpreted within the policy level as it veers away from the fundamental role of gender in looking at power relations and how power operates between masculinities and femininities.

Statement of the problem

Policy analysis entails exploring *about* the policy which contributes to the understanding of contemporary social life (Goodwin 2011: 167). Susan Goodwin (2011) reminded researchers to critically look at the "political environment where 'evidence-based' policy is privileged, as it considers policy as discourse to look at contesting dominant ideas on what constitutes as 'evidences'" (Goodwin 2011: 168). Since most of the research on policy analysis focuses on contributing to the making of the policy, it is crucial to look at the underlying meanings and power dominations underlined in the language used in policy documents and its impact to people who are targeted and unconsciously excluded.

In effect, there is a crucial need to review how the ESA program was formulated, along with the assumptions regarding people's vulnerability and their needs by taking into consideration the broader disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) policy frameworks in the country. The concepts articulated in the broader DRRM policy frameworks are translated into context-specific disaster rehabilitation and recovery programs like the ESA. These national disaster frameworks have huge implications on how the ESA program was derived, carrying along assumptions on vulnerabilities of people in a natural hazard setting. Thus, the goal of this paper is to expose the underlying meanings and question the claimed 'truths' indicated in the broader DRRM mandate down to the specific disaster response project which was implemented after Typhoon Haiyan.

Furthermore, it is critical to look at the underlying assumptions from these broader policies in defining the shelter needs of Typhoon Haiyan survivors which is reflected in the ESA program. Specifically, how the policies define the housing needs of people in Haiyan-affected areas through the strict eligibility criteria set by DSWD in the program policy. The eligibility criteria should be scrutinized as it runs contrary to an 'inclusive' approach to supporting people's vulnerability as a result of Typhoon Haiyan. It is deemed critical to look into the ESA program since it is the Department's housing program which is part of the immediate recovery phase in the general DRRM national strategy. The program's eligibility criteria should be scrutinized to avoid excluding other vulnerable people in a natural hazard setting in a highly rural geographical location. This would avoid exclusion of people in the future that the ESA will be implemented in disasters.

Finally, it is crucial to identify the assumptions about social power relations of class, ethnicity, sexuality, and gender that reinforced biases against the beneficiaries. Since natural hazards are a space where power relations were highly fought for, the problem of naming certain groups of people as vulnerable after Haiyan led to the exclusion of those who were also in dire need of assistance (i.e., fisherfolks, IPs, non-heteronormative families, non-poor people, and non-conforming 'gendered' people). These groups of people who were automatically excluded in the ESA program is a solid manifestation of how the language used in DRRM rehabilitation and recovery policies contradicts the DRRM's overall mandate of lessening people's vulnerability (Wodak 2011: 3). The 'truth' which was claimed in the formulation of the policy acknowledges privileges that unintentionally leads to exclusion of other vulnerable sectors.

It is important to look deeper in dealing with people's inclusion and exclusion in policies. People's vulnerability and marginalization should veer away

from the one-size-fits-all perception on people's needs which are mostly evident in policies, thus, my intention of this research is to analyse the different needs of diverse people living in a hazard-prone area with an intersectionality point of view. People can be marginalized because they are excluded in accessing resources to key social institutions such as recognition under the law, absence of data and statistics showing their existence, and much more. This would also help us understand the impact of the language used and the underlying assumptions carried by DSWD in the ESA program regarding vulnerable people creates a dominant idea on who are vulnerable, excluding people who do not fit into this category, especially in a Super Typhoon scenario where everyone is vulnerable in varying ways.

Research question

My research will explore how the language used in the broader national DRRM policies and frameworks which was translated into the disaster rehabilitation and recovery efforts, as well as in the ESA policy document, created a particular knowledge regarding vulnerable people and their immediate short-term housing needs after the wrath of Typhoon Haiyan. It is deemed crucial to dissect the underlying ideas, knowledge, and facts that were used as justification in prioritizing certain groups of people in availing the ESA and identify particular power relations on class, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality which were reinforced in the policy documents.

Furthermore, this research would like to expose the power of language and its impact to vulnerable people after Typhoon Haiyan. It will scrutinize the language used in the eligibility criteria of ESA program which delimits eligible people who are in dire need of the housing program.

After giving the context of vulnerable people's exclusion in availing the ESA program after Typhoon Haiyan, I will answer the research question: ***How did the DSWD constitute 'vulnerable people' as beneficiaries of the Emergency Shelter Assistance and represent them in defining and delivering the housing intervention program?***

In developing the answers to this question, I have sub-questions to further help achieve the goal of my paper. These are:

1. What are the underlying assumptions on class, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality in the DRRM post-disaster rehabilitation and recovery and its mitigation initiatives in addressing poverty to Haiyan-affected areas?
2. What are the underlying assumptions that define the shelter needs of vulnerable people in the disaster policy documents, and Haiyan-triggered plans which are reflected in the ESA program?
3. Based on the policy documents and tools required in availing ESA, what power relations (relating to class, ethnicity, gender, and sexuality) are produced and reinforced for the beneficiaries, particularly the vulnerable people? What privileges and incentives were constructed for the beneficiaries, and consequently reproduced invisibility and exclusion of others?

Chapter 2
Theoretical and Methodological Approaches

The theoretical underpinnings of this research paper are intersectionality and social exclusion, while utilizing Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' (WPR) as my techniques of analysis. These theories and methodologies will serve as the backbone of my paper in unpacking how DSWD constitute the vulnerable people as beneficiaries of the ESA program, and how their immediate housing needs were represented in the program. It also exposes challenges on how DSWD understands, problematizes, and tries to address short-term housing needs of Haiyan survivors.

Intersectionality and Social Exclusion

Social policy makers came up with ways to address a broader range of social issues. Instead of focusing on the concept of poverty, social exclusion provided policy makers with means of dealing with a wider political scope (Room 1995). Graham Room (1995) explained social exclusion as a "concept rooted in continental social theory and maintains a focus 'primarily on relational issues, in other words, inadequate social participation, lack of social integration and lack of power'" (O'Brien and Penna 2008: 85). "Contrary to the economic basis of poverty measures as a social administration tradition, social inclusion/exclusion investigates whether certain groups of people are (or are not) incorporated within a moral and political community" (O'Brien and Penna 2008: 85). Basing inequalities in social strata and impacts of inequities, people will tend to suffer "generalized and persistent disadvantage and their social and occupational participation will be undermined" (Room 1995: 7). This framing, then, would lead to some groups of people being denied access to social services.

Central to social exclusion is the concept of marginalization. With social exclusion, it proposes to delve deeper into issues concerning economic deprivation or civic inequality of people. As what Room (1995) describes as 'vocabulary of disadvantage', social exclusion deals with the inaccessibility of resources and lack of integration in key social institutions which are mostly concentrated within specific groups of people – who are gendered, sexualized, ethnicized, and classed (O'Brien and Penna 2008: 85). It highly considers intersecting power relations which adds to the marginalization of people through intersectionality.

Intersectionality is one of the important contribution of feminist scholars in scrutinizing social issues. It veers away from the idea of having a unified, single, and fixated conception of people which hinders a diverse understanding of different groups of people which are usually neglected in dealing with social inclusion in programs and services. Intersectionality proposes that "instead of merely summarizing the effects of one, two, or three oppressive categories, adherents to the concept of intersectionality stress the interwoven nature of these categories and how they can mutually strengthen or weaken each other (Crenshaw 1989, as cited in Winker and Degele 2011: 51)".

Intersectionality concretizes the social inequities existing in various structural levels. Despite the existence of inequities in various levels, Myra Ferree

(2008) argued that there are multidimensional forms of inequality which are experienced, contested, and reproduced in historically changing forms (2). Intersectionality is not only evident in one level of analysis: it is a process where "class" takes on multiple "gendered" meanings for particular women and men depending on whether, how, and by whom class-gender is seen as relevant for their sexuality, reproduction, political authority, employment, or housing (Ferree 2008: 2). The categories of gender, sexuality, class, and ethnicity are crucial intersecting power relations in looking at how people can be socially excluded in a disaster setting by vesting of powers and privileges dictated in policy documents.

Sexuality is about "policy, programming and power relations, but it is also about pleasure and danger, feelings, sensations, emotions, skin flesh and body fluids" (Cornwall and Jolly 2009: 1). It specifically looks at people's sexual choices which were traditionally dictated by the society based on a person's biological sex and the associated gender to it. The problem with sexuality lies at the "silences, taboos and societal expectations that surround sex reinforce unhelpful gender stereotypes that can be as problematic for heterosexual men and women as they are for the LGBT people" (Cornwall and Jolly 2009: 3). In the disaster discourse, sexuality has always been associated to heterosexual man and woman, thus 'sexually defiant' (McSherry et al 2015: 27) and people non-conforming to the heterosexual behaviours bound by gendered roles and assumptions, which affects their treatment in receiving support from the government (McSherry et al 2015: 28). With the heterosexual framing of values and norms inculcated in the DRR policies and practices, non-heterosexual people experience an additional layer of vulnerability and marginalization in a disaster situation (Gaillard et al 2016: 4).

Gender is considered as "social construction, which means that a human being becomes a 'woman' or a 'man' through processes of socialization at home, school, through state practices and policies, in the market, through the mediation of discourses, etc. by highlighting this social construction of 'men' and 'women'" (Icaza and Vazquez 2016: 3). This non-fixated perception on gender needs to be situated in a broader perspectives and discourses focusing on heteronormativity, the normalization of gendered roles based on a person's biological sex that exists in a particular context (McSherry et al 2015: 29). The reinforcement of this heteronormativity affects how people are treated in policies, as these assumed roles of people based on their biological sex tends to exclude people who are not bound by the expected gender roles.

The idea of class was recognized by Karl Marx in his writings by segregating people based on their grouping and functioning in the society. "Class is used to refer not only to capitalists, proletariats, landowners, petty bourgeois, and peasants, but to groups carved out of society based on their mode of production" (Ollman 1968: 575). The society is segregated based on their economic standing, and this reinforces class distinction between and amongst people. To alleviate the disadvantaged position of people situated in the lowest class in the society, policies address their immediate needs particularly in a disaster setting. Usually, economically poor people are placed in a disadvantaged position in natural hazards due to lack of resources which is being restrained because of their economic standing. Thus, people's socio-economic condition worsens their vulnerability in natural hazards (Balgos 2014: 128).

Ethnicity, synonymously used with race, was a way to categorize complex cultural differences which defines how individuals to behave towards them (Wade 1997: 16). The term has been used both in academia and in common language "is partly due to rapid processes of social change which have created new postcolonial nations and massive migrations" (Wade 1997: 15). There is a vast number of ethnic minorities living in the Philippines. They are mainly categorized based on the language that they use, the culture they practice, the place where they reside, their historical and ancestral origins, and the like. This differences in practices culture, tradition, and ancestral origins was used for them to be excluded in the modern progress, and to the development efforts. This perception towards ethnic minorities created layers of discrimination towards them, which delimits their basic human rights to freedom.

At the policy level, intersectionality is concerned with re-shifting researchers, civil society, and policy actors' understanding of social categories, its relationship and diverse interactions. It encourages critical reflection, allowing researchers and decision-makers to move beyond the favoured singular categories (e.g., gender, race, class, ethnicity) in policy analysis to consider the complex relationships and interactions between the mentioned categories and other social locations and identities such as indigeneity, sexuality, gender expression, immigration status, age, ability, and religion (Hankivsky et al 2012: 18). It also attempts to deconstruct existing assumptions on inequalities where it does not fully capture the complexity of reality (Ferree 2008: 3). With gender equality, for an instance, where it means something different for people who are situated in diverse positions along the axes of oppression, "'gender' and 'gender equality' are framed through the processes of conceptual abstraction and simplification that are inherently and inevitably intersectional as well as imperfect and contested (Ferree 2008: 3)."

This kind of framing from intersectionality links with the aim of social exclusion in determining whether individuals and groups of people are wholly or partially hindered from accessing and participating in various levels, and how they gain access in these political, social, and economic life as citizens due to their gender, sexuality, class, and ethnicity. Intersectionality and social exclusion concepts scrutinize the economic distribution, bureaucratic administration, and civic governance, and at the same time looks deeper to daily experiences in contemporary life: whom you can love, or not; how you can worship, or not; what you can wear, or not; where you can shop, eat and drink, or not; where you can belong, or not (Bhabha 1994; Hall and Held 1989: 175; O'Brien and Penna 1996; O'Brien and Penna 2008: 90).

In addition, social exclusion is a manifestation of an unending deprivation of a person's functioning compared to other members of the society over time. According to Walter Bossert, Conchita Ambrosio, and Vito Peragine (2007), social exclusion depends on the extent to which an individual can associate and identify with others (778). A person's feeling of deprivation arises out of comparing their situation to those who are better off: "The magnitude of a relative deprivation is the extent of the difference between the desired situation and that of the person desiring it (Runciman 1966: 10)". This interpretation of social exclusion highlights the important variable of time in the ongoing deprivation of individuals or groups. "The individual experiences a higher degree of social exclusion in situations where deprivation is present in consecutive periods than

were there are equal levels of deprivation interrupted by periods without deprivation (Bossert et al 2007: 778)".

More importantly, another reason in veering away from an economic-based perception in looking at social exclusion and shift to a deprivation and marginalization-centred framing is to fully understand the underlying reason why certain individuals and groups of people continuously experience deprivation of social services. If income is used as a variable relevant for a person's deprivation, most individuals have a positive degree of deprivation in every period because people from top-income groups do not experience deprivation at all; in contrast to focusing on deprivation in terms of functioning failures, a substantive proportion of the population is not deprived in some period, time, and occurrence (Bossert et al 2007: 778).

In a disaster setting, where power is being fought by people, it is crucial to take into account social exclusion and intersecting power relations on gender, sexuality, class, and ethnicity in looking at the existing disaster response efforts of governments to their constituents. Having these theoretical lenses in looking at a specific housing program to victims of a natural disaster should not discriminate anyone, most especially in the case of Typhoon Haiyan where almost everyone became instantly vulnerable. These lenses would guide me in unpacking the assumptions underlying the vulnerabilities of people in a disaster situation, and would suffice as critical lens in questioning the truths the disaster policy documents were claiming.

Methodological Approaches

Data Gathering

The study will review policy documents, laws, pre-existing DRRM framework, and national policies created as an impact of Typhoon Haiyan in the country. These documents are, in any way, related to the government programs and services providing support to people's vulnerabilities in times of natural hazards, and their immediate housing needs. I will treat all these documents as my primary source of information in unpacking the government's understanding of people's vulnerabilities.

In addition, I will also zoom into the particular documents, requirements, tools, and related laws regarding the eligibility requirements set in DSWD's Memorandum Circular No. 24 Series of 2014. These tools would support my cause in answering my sub-question three (3) by identifying the power relations that were produced and reinforced for the beneficiaries, particularly the vulnerable people after Typhoon Haiyan by showing dominant features, characteristics, and attributes vulnerable people are privileged to avail of the program and who are excluded from it.

Furthermore, I will utilize books, online journals, electronic books, electronic journals, and government websites relating to DRRM and issues concerning intersectionality in a development context, and social inclusion and exclusion of people in housing programs in a disaster context in the Philippines. I will also use course readings within my Master's course relating to intersectionality, social exclusion, gender and sexuality, development interventions in natural hazard

contexts, and discourse analysis techniques which were used in building my theoretical, methodological, and analytical foundation within the whole course of my paper.

Overview of Policy Documents Analysed

These policy documents and tools analysed would help me answer my research question in looking at the underlying assumptions to vulnerable people as beneficiaries of the ESA program. I will specifically look at the language that was used in the broader DRRM policy framework down to a context-specific program implemented to Typhoon Haiyan victims and how this language affects the people who were in need of help. The certain form of knowledge on people leads to favour certain sectors of the society who fit into the category, while unintentionally exclude people who do not, in any way, fit into these categories set. The documents range from the country's DRRM law, national frameworks on DRRM, down to Haiyan-specific plans crafted that deals with people's vulnerabilities and their immediate housing needs. These documents might not directly relate to the short-term housing needs of vulnerable people during disasters, but these documents help on how specific programs were operationalized from the broader policy level. The national policy frameworks define the overall strategies addressing certain developmental issues in the country. Specifically, these policy documents which I focused on look at how the DRRM rehabilitation and recovery, poverty mitigation initiatives, immediate housing needs, and vulnerable people in disaster situations were translated into a context-specific disaster that needs government intervention. These documents are elaborated below:

Republic Act (RA) No. 10121

Also known as *Philippine Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Act of 2010,* this was enacted on 27 July 2009 as the Country's law addressing the root causes of vulnerabilities to disasters, setting mechanisms in strengthening Philippines' institutional capacity to DRRM, and building local communities' resilience to natural and man-made disasters, including climate change impacts (Congress of the Philippines 2010: 2). The policy recognizes the inevitable impacts of natural and human-induced disasters and climate change and how these things intensify the country's vulnerability.

RA 10121 became the precedent for the creation of national frameworks and plans in strengthening the Philippine DRRM system. These broader frameworks are: The National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Framework, and the National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Plan.

Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY)

RAY was created on 16 December 2013 by the National Economic Development Authority (NEDA) as the Government's strategic plan to guide the recovery and reconstruction of the economic and social conditions in rebuilding the lives and livelihoods of people affected by Typhoon Haiyan/Yolanda (NEDA 2013: 1). It recognized the destructive impact of Super Typhoon Haiyan which were concentrated in Eastern, Central, and Western Visayas and the northern part of Palawan that led to the massive loss of private and public properties, assets, livelihoods, and even lives.

Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda Implementation for Results (RAY I4R)

The RAY I4R is the results framework created by NEDA in the reconstruction and recovery of Haiyan-affected areas, but is more focused on meeting the targets set by the Philippine Development Plan (PDP) in inclusive growth and poverty reduction. The destructive effects of the Typhoon had significant negative impacts in achieving the growth, eradicating poverty reduction, and employment creation objectives of the PDP (NEDA 2014: i). It recognizes the social and economic conditions of Haiyan-affected people, and on how to address these needs through recovery and rehabilitation in the national level.

Being developed a year after the wrath of Typhoon Haiyan, RAY I4R aims to accelerate and intensify the recovery and rehabilitation process and to ensure the alignment of Haiyan programs, projects, and activities in achieving the goals set by the PDP Midterm Update 2011 – 2016.

Comprehensive Rehabilitation and Recovery Plan (CRRP) for Yolanda

The CRRP was developed by the Office of the Presidential Assistance for Rehabilitation and Recovery (OPARR) on 01 August 2014 to unify the efforts of the Government and other NGAs involved in the rehabilitation and recovery of Yolanda-affected areas (OPARR 2014: 10). The Plan established five clusters – Infrastructure, Social Services, Resettlement, Livelihood, and Support – on the national level, along with the provincial and municipality level, in formulating plans and programs to form the integrated short-, medium-, and long-term programs for the President's approval (OPARR 2014: 10). The Plan is to materialize the policy guidance from the Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY) and provides projects, programs, and activities to meet the needs identified in the Post-Disaster Needs Assessment (PDNA) (OPARR 2014: 10). The PDNA entails a multi-sectoral and multi-disciplinary approach in assessing disaster impacts and setting priorities on people's recovery and reconstruction needs (OPARR 2014: 9).

DSWD Memorandum Circular No. 24 Series of 2014

The Memorandum Circular known as *Guidelines for the Implementation of the Emergency Shelter Assistance (ESA) Project for Families with Partially and Totally Damaged House Due to Typhoon "Yolanda"* was created on 21 November 2014 by DSWD as a response to the urgent housing needs of people affected within Haiyan-affected areas. Specifically, the memorandum circular sets as a guideline in the project implementation of ESA by identifying and selecting eligible families whose houses were either partially or totally damaged in all affected LGUs located within the 50-kilometer (km) radius of Haiyan path. Moreover, it aims to provide shelter assistance to families whose houses were situated in safe areas or in sites provided with engineering and scientific interventions to make their locations habitable (DSWD 2014: 2).

National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Framework (NDRRMF)

The Philippine DRRM Law institutionalizes the creation of the NDRRMF which lays the overall framework of the Philippine community in understanding the underlying cause of vulnerability to help reduce and manage risks to disasters. The framework recognizes the inevitability of all forms of hazards due to

the country's geographic and geologic location and physical characteristics, as well as human-induced disasters that places people at high risks.

Techniques of Analysis

Policy analysis entails a systematic, rigorous, and methodological evaluation of policies which centres not only on values but also on other forms of human meaning, including beliefs and feelings, as opposed to just focusing on cost-benefit analysis, decision analysis, and others (Yanow 2000: 4). The words and language used in policy documents portray a certain knowledge towards people who should benefit from this policy. The underlying ideas, knowledge, values, and 'facts' used in policies have effects in producing and reproducing relations of power through the ways they represent and identify people (Wodak and Meyer 2009: 6, as cited in Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258). Language holds a certain form of power, especially in binding words like policies. Where these languages were contextualized is deemed crucial, thus CDA comes in to dissect the social practices present (Wodak 2001: 2).

CDA is defined as "fundamentally concerned with analysing opaque as well as transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language" (Wodak 2001: 3). This type of discourse analysis informs researchers to critically investigate social exclusion and marginalization as it is legitimized, presented, and expressed through language use (or in discourse) which is a medium of dominance and social force (Wodak 2001: 3). To properly conduct CDA would mean deciphering the theory and description of both social processes and structures that brought about the formulation of the text to be analysed, and the social structures and processes where the individuals are subjected which creates meanings in their interaction with the texts (Fairclough and Kress 1993: 2ff, as cited in Wodak 2001: 3). With the presence of dominant values injected in the language used, it stabilizes conventions and naturalizes dominant structures which were later taken as a given and would set as the norm (Wodak 2001: 4).

In relation to CDA, the "What's the Problem Represented to be?" Approach perceives policy as a form of discourse where it is subject to analysis (Goodwin 2011: 168). The approach, which was developed by Carol Bacchi (2009), provides a systematic way of looking at policies, how problems are represented to unpack in struggles over meanings portrayed in the ESA program (Goodwin 2011: 167).

Rooting from the ideas of Bacchi (2009), "policy as a discourse starts from the assumption that all actions, objects, and practices are socially meaningful and that meanings are shaped by social and political struggles in specific socio-historical context" (Goodwin 2011: 170). This idea is derived where policies shape the world by how it was framed as problem and government 'solutions' by how concepts, categories, and subject positions are created. Bacchi's WPR Approach is a conceptual checklist to probe how problems are represented in policies. These questions are as follows:

Question	Goal	Strategies
1. What's the problem represented to be?	To identify the implied problem representation.	Identification of the problem as it is expressed in the policy.
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	To ascertain the conceptual premises or logics that underpin specific problem representations.	Foucauldian archaeology involving discourse analysis techniques, such as identifying binaries, key concepts and key categories.
3. How has this representation of the problem come about?	To highlight the conditions that allow a particular problem representation to take shape and assume dominance.	Foucauldian genealogical analysis involving tracing the 'history' of a current problem representation to identify the power relations involved in the prevailing problem representation.
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?	To raise for reflection and consideration issues and perspective that are silenced in identified problem representations.	Genealogical analysis, and cross-cultural, historical and cross-national comparisons in order to provide examples of alternative representation.
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?	To ascertain discursive effects, subjectification effects, and lived effects.	Discourse-analysis techniques including identification of subject positions, dividing practices where subjects are produced in opposition to one another and the production of subjects regarded as 'responsible' for problems. Impact analysis: consideration of the material impact of problem representations on people's lives.
6. How/where is this representation of the problem produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be question, disputed and disrupted?	To pay attention to both the means through which some problem representations become dominant, and to the possibility of challenging problem representations that are judged to be harmful.	Identification of institutions, individuals and agencies involved in sustaining the problem representation. Mobilizing competing discourses or reframing the 'problem'.

Table 1: Summary of the WPR Approach (in Goodwin 2011: 173, adapted from Bacchi 2009)

I will focus on questions 1, 2, 4, and 5 in this whole research which is defined by my research question. In answering question number one, I identified the context that triggered the creation of the policy document. I highlighted the situation that led respective government actors and national government agencies in formulating the specific policy document. In the first document[8], for example, the main problem being addressed in the policy was natural and man-made disasters and climate change impacts are inevitable in the Philippines. The recurring experiences of disasters in the country makes it vulnerable in times of disaster, which challenges the institutional capacity of the Philippines in managing disaster risks.

The second question digs deeper into the presuppositions or assumptions underlying the representation of the problem. I specifically scrutinize facts which were mentioned in the policy to establish the urgency of the policy document. Specifically, I look at how gender, sexuality, class, and ethnicity played a role in understanding vulnerabilities. For example, in all the policy documents, gender is always equated to men and women and their heteronormative gendered division of labour. This assumed gendered roles were further reinforced by the class of people affected, and on how their gendered roles worsened.

To proceed further, question 4 will expose what is left unproblematic in the problem representation indicated in the policy document which leads to the creation of certain truths towards natural disasters and vulnerability. This would be an avenue where policy analysis would be *about* the policy where Goodwin (2011) interpreted it in contributing to understand the contemporary social life which is reflected in the policy document itself (Goodwin 2011: 167). This would also expose what the problem representation and assumptions around it did not take into consideration, or which ideas contradict within one policy, or among different policies. This question would also expose the silenced aspects of the problem represented.

After understanding the silences in the problem representation, I proceeded with question 5 which unpacks nuances about the problem representation about natural disasters and vulnerabilities and how people were framed in relation to the presupposed assumptions. I will specifically look at how power relations on gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and class were reinforced within the underlying assumptions which led to the unintentional exclusion of some groups of people. For instance, one of the requirements needed in the ESA program is to have the DSWD DAFAC. To be eligible in acquiring an ID, a family should be a beneficiary of one of DSWD's poverty reduction initiative. Thus, class plays a role in identifying the vulnerable people who can avail the housing program. However, it is not only economically-challenged people: it should be heteronormative, impoverished families with children not older than 15 years old.

Positionality of the researcher

My positionality as a feminist, intersectional researcher, and sexuality advocate who came from a developing country while pursuing my Master's degree in Human Rights, Gender and Conflict Studies at ISS here in the Netherlands has already set the frame of the output that I will develop in my paper. Specifically,

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[8] Document 1 is Republic Act No. 10121, known as the Philippine DRRM Law of 2010. Refer to Annex A for the Analysis Table for each document using the WPR Approach.

being an advocate of sexual minorities' rights and welfare already created a framing towards policies which are unfair to the treatment of these peoples in a highly developmental concern: disasters. Having the mind set of being critical in domineering institutions and tools (such as policies) and analysing the social implications in a particular topic places an additional value in understanding the complex realities of policies and government programs towards people.

Coming from a country where natural hazards are now seen as normal, I already have this mindset that the government has a lot of flaws in the DRRM efforts that they are trying to push in all government agencies. As I have experienced strong typhoons when I was back in my country, I already have this bias of the incompetency of the Philippine government in conducting its rescue, rehabilitation and recovery efforts to its people.

Moreover, I may not have personally experienced the intensity of the typhoon, but I was in the Philippines miles away from the Haiyan-affected areas. Watching the television news about the situation in those areas made me vulnerable to the point of me turning off the television due to the worse conditions of the people. As a researcher, this motivated me to do something within my reach. This inspired me to analyse why the obliterations happened.

On the other hand, these biases will be eliminated while I conduct step-by-step and systematically CDA and WPR Approach in unpacking the assumptions dictated in the policies and programs that I will be analysing. Moreover, these techniques will guide me in eliminating my previous experiences and biases towards the marginalization of lesbians, gays, bisexuals, and transgenders (LGBTs) per se, and other groups who are automatically excluded in policies to the Filipino community.

Chapter 3
Unfinished business: deciphering Filipinos' vulnerabilities in times of disaster

The chapter will explore the claims and truths reinforced in the Philippine DRRM discourse regarding rehabilitation and recovery vulnerabilities of people. It is crucial to look at the problem representation, pre-supposed assumptions concerning the problem, as well as the silenced aspects of the assumptions that lead to exclusion of certain groups of people whose vulnerabilities are at high stake.

Band-aid solution: plastering underlying vulnerabilities

Reducing vulnerabilities is one of the main targets of the DRRM policies and frameworks. RA 10121 defines vulnerability as "the characteristics and circumstances of a community, system or asset that makes it susceptible to the damaging effects of a hazard" (Congress of the Philippines 2010: 11). There are higher cases of vulnerability if the physical, social, economic, and environmental factors are weak. Vulnerability may arise due to "poor design and construction of buildings, inadequate protection of assets, lack of public information and awareness, limited official recognition of risks and preparedness measures, and disregard for wise environmental management" (Congress of the Philippines 2010: 11-12). This is how vulnerability was understood from the broader policy level, but this definition of the problem is problematic as it does not attempt to tackle the underlying reasons why vulnerabilities continue to persist.

The way vulnerability was framed in the Philippine DRRM policies and frameworks was further reinforced with the fact that the country is prone to natural and human-induced hazards due to its geographical and geological location and physical characteristics, thus making the country vulnerable to impacts of climate change and disasters. The Philippines is one of the most disaster-prone countries in the world. Being marked as the third highest disaster risk country by the World Risk Index in 2015, the country lies along several active fault lines and have active, inactive, and potentially active volcanoes all over the country (NDRRMC 2011: 6). It also lies within the Western Pacific Basin, known to be the generator of climatic conditions such as monsoons, thunderstorms, inter-tropical convergence zone (TTCZ), typhoons, and more, which makes the country frequently visited by tropical cyclones (NDRRMC 2011). This leads to impacts of climate change (such as El Niño-related droughts, super typhoons, projected rainfall change, and projected temperature increase) normally felt by Filipinos on a yearly basis (NDRRMC 2011). Thus, the arrival of Typhoon Haiyan in the Philippines was an inescapable threat.

Moreover, Haiyan-related policies pointed the problem on the intensity of the typhoon as one of the main culprits which led to the massive loss of private and public properties, assets, livelihoods, and even lives of people. In less than 24 hours on 08 November 2013, Super Typhoon Haiyan severely destroyed nine regions in the Visayas area, but most of the damages were centred in the Eastern,

Central, and Western Visayas region, and Bicol region which are within the 100-km storm track (NEDA 2013: 1). Typhoon Haiyan was known to be one of the strongest typhoon ever recorded in history, that caused storm surges that led to huge cases of deaths, particularly in the Eastern Visayas region (NEDA 2013: 1).

The arguments raised regarding a country's geographical features and intensity of the hazard attempt to cover the underlying reason for pre-existing vulnerabilities by neglecting the historical and social aspects of disasters. By attributing disasters to natural forces, from a state of normalcy to recovering from a hazard, covers the underlying vulnerabilities of reasons why communities are unsafe due to the society's social order with their advantaged and disadvantaged social positioning (Hewitt 1997, as cited in Bankoff 2001: 24-5). Since natural hazards are natural, vulnerability looks whether populations are at higher risks not simply because they are exposed to hazards, "but as a result of a marginality that makes of their life a 'permanent emergency'" (Bankoff 2001: 25). The created social order makes certain groups of people as powerless which has an implication on their vulnerabilities in the future (Blaikie et al 1994, as cited in Bankoff 2001: 25). The continuous social order within the Philippine society, along with the historical marginalization of groups of people, adds to the formula on the deeper root cause to the unresolved vulnerabilities of people in times of natural hazards. This is highly evident during Typhoon Haiyan.

Pre-existing vulnerabilities prior to a natural hazard is one of the main reasons why people are having difficulties to recover from Typhoon Haiyan. Even before the typhoon entered the Philippine area of responsibility, the regions affected have extreme cases of poverty incidence. Typhoon Haiyan's impact are centred on some of the poorest provinces in the country, which poses another layer of problem for the people to bounce back to their normal lives (NEDA 2013). The accumulated contribution of the regions in the overall Gross Domestic Product (GDP) of the country in 2012 accounts for 17.4 percent, which is low, while the average household incomes in the affected areas was only 75 percent of the national average (OPARR 2014: 7). Other than the poverty incidence of the affected provinces, it was also reported that there were high cases of malnutrition, child mortality, and lack of access to clean and safe water and sanitary toilet facilities (OPARR 2014: 8).

In addition, an underlying root cause of continuous vulnerabilities is the lack of sustainability of people's livelihood. The livelihoods of people in the affected areas heavily rely on the environment which were gravely destroyed by the typhoon, thus leading to another problem after Haiyan. The main livelihood in majority of the areas are farming, fishing, and tourism, and the natural resources that these people used were heavily destroyed (OPARR 2014: 7). With the storm surge, the fishing sector was heavily affected with all the obliterations in their supplies, boats, equipment, fish pens, as well as the damages under the waters such as destruction of coral reefs, and the like (NEDA 2013: 9-10).

The way the Philippine government attempted to address the underlying causes of vulnerability to help reduce and manage risk to disasters was also problematic. Even though the NDRRMF recognizes vulnerability in terms of people's exposure to risk through poor planning, development project failures, and lack of institutional capacity to cope with and adapt to natural hazards (NDRRMC 2011), this perception frames the issue of underlying vulnerabilities as a governance failure. And this governance failure is further reinforced in RA

10121 where it posits that the country should "adopt and implement a coherent, comprehensive, integrated, efficient and responsive disaster risk reduction program incorporated in the development plan at various levels of government adhering to the principles of good governance such as transparency and accountability within the context of poverty alleviation and environmental protection" (Congress of the Philippines 2010: 2-3). Despite its intention to mainstream DRRM in the national down to the local level, the deeper historical and social vulnerabilities of people were not fully considered in these policies.

Layering vulnerabilities towards marginalization and exclusion

Typhoon Haiyan worsened people's vulnerability. In the Haiyan policy documents, vulnerability is based on socio-economic impacts to people, to their livelihood, housing, and to the overall economic implications. In the Haiyan context, vulnerability is seen in the number of displaced people, loss of assets with their livelihoods, and impact of the typhoon in the environmental set-up of affected communities. In addition to this, the geographical location of a province increases people's vulnerability. The effects of storm surges and flooding to low-lying lands, the blocking of roads due to debris, and oil spills which are hazardous to people residing within the area exposes people to post-Haiyan risks (NEDA 2013).

Natural hazards have gender implications. In the case of Typhoon Haiyan, the way how gender in gender mainstreaming was defined is questionable. Gender mainstreaming was defined as "recognition, acceptance, and identification of the different roles, needs, capacities, and vulnerabilities of men and women are considered and addressed properly" (Congress of the Philippines 2010: 19). Gender has always been perceived as a "categorical distinction between men and women" (Pratt 2009: 268), basing people on their sexual differences on how they interact with the cultural and political forces that shape the roles of both men and women in society (Gaillard et al 2016: 3). The pre-existing gendered division of roles and labour before the Typhoon struck persisted after the typhoon, alongside with the government strengthening these essentialist view on femininity and masculinity to men and women survivors of the typhoon.

There is a huge difference on how men and women's productive roles were rewarded and recognized before Haiyan. Under these assumptions of gendered division of labour, it is evident that men and women's roles were confined in a heterosexual-familial setting, and their main contributions in their respective households. Men were highly valued with their role as breadwinners for the household usually through hard labour (Oxfam 2014b: 31). This common recognition of men engaging in hard labour is highly evident to low-income families living in the affected areas. Starting at an early age, men were engaged in hard labour jobs such as farming, fishing, driving, welding, carpentry, manual labor, etc. in their communities (Oxfam 2014b: 31). Men's work was highly associated with them working outside the home, and earning money for the family (Oxfam 2014b).

Women's contribution in the productive sector, on the other hand, was not recognized as work compared to their husbands' work. For an instance in the

fishing sector, husbands' work of going to the seas and catching fish was considered work, while women's work was only recognized as substantial contribution by selling, processing, equipment repair, aquaculture, and finding cash capital to support their partner's work (Oxfam 2014b: 31). Women's work was only recognized as secondary support to the main source of income to their husbands, leaving their work unpaid (Oxfam 2014b: 31).

Low-income class women in Haiyan-affected areas engaged in multiple ways of earning mostly in the informal sector (Oxfam 2014b). Women comprise 51.9 percent of all Micro, Small, and Medium Enterprises (MSMEs) in the Eastern Samar region by trading goods such as fish and rice, owning small retail stores, gathering raw materials like shells for crafts, providing laundry and household help, operating small eateries, and much more (Oxfam 2014b: 32). The multiple roles and unrecognized contribution of women in their households worsened with the onset of Typhoon Haiyan. These gendered roles were reinforced with the rehabilitation program led by the government to Haiyan-affected areas through their skills development support.

The skills development initiative under the RAY I4R reinforced gendered roles practiced in Haiyan-affected areas. With the goal of giving opportunities to develop new or enhance people's existing skills, as well as the high demand for reconstruction work, skills offered to people were carpentry, masonry, tilting, roofing, concrete fixing, welding, electric installation, plumbing, basic furniture making, and repair work (NEDA 2014: 11). Going back to the gendered division of labour before Haiyan, men were highly associated under these skills, ending up acquiring these jobs needed in rebuilding houses and public investments destroyed by Haiyan. Women, on the other hand, were covered by the Project *Bagong Araw* (New Day) initiative "which aims to re-establish 2,000 *sari-sari stores* (small retail store) in Eastern Visayas, provides a good example of an assistance model for small entrepreneurs (NEDA 2014: 13). These initiatives of the government in rehabilitation and recovery continues the gendered division of labour that continuously reinforces essentialist views on masculinity and femininity to people affected by Haiyan.

Furthermore, the DRRM and Haiyan related policy documents relating to gender constantly equate gender-related terminologies to women and girls. Despite the policy documents' acknowledgement in pre-existing social norms and cultural values practiced by men and women, women were always addressed in the negative impacts of gender (NEDA 2013: 22). In addition, women were always portrayed as a homogenous group who are hopeless victims of the typhoon. They are portrayed having "limited self-rescue or rehabilitation abilities due to differences in learned capabilities, which may restrict the choices, behaviour, and opportunities of *women and girls[9]*" (NEDA 2013: 22).

The repercussions in equating gender into women defies the purpose of using gender in the rehabilitation and recovery initiatives to Haiyan survivors. Gender is not exclusively for women; gender looks at the concurrent power relationship between masculinities and femininities where it identifies how power operates and not only exclusively pertaining to women (Icaza and Vazquez 2016: 2). The Philippine government has always been equating women in all its gender

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[9] Emphasis noted by the researcher.

provision in DRRM and Haiyan-related policies pertaining to the diverse sexualities present in the Philippine community. This framing, in effect, excludes people who do not conform into the woman image in terms of gender mainstreaming. This excludes men, non-conforming feminine women, and sexual and gender minorities. And in return, all gender programs created privileges heterosexual women.

Sexual and gender minorities were socially excluded and oftentimes discriminated in disaster risk assessment and planning which worsened their vulnerabilities in times of natural hazards (Balgos et al 2010; Dominey-Howes et al; 2013). There is growing recognition that sexual and gender minorities are marginalized and are often the most vulnerable in facing natural hazards (Wisner 1993; Wisner et al 2004, as cited in McSherry et al 2015). Accessing resources in disaster situations and means of protection were only designed for 'men' and 'women' which causes difficulties and discomfort to sexual and gender minorities (Gaillard et al 2016: 4).

In relation to the skills development initiative in the abovementioned part, this short interview I had with a transwoman survivor of Typhoon Haiyan told me how gender binary the livelihood opportunities were offered to people as part of the disaster rehabilitation and recovery. She said:

> "*tinanong ako: iilan ba ang lalaki dito? May ibibigay kaming skills training, for example, on carpentry and masonry. Ay jusko naman saan kami lulugar doon eh hindi naman kami ano, eh siyempre beautician ako ala nga naman maging carpentry ako.* (I was asked: how many are men here? We will be giving skills training, for example, on carpentry and masonry. Oh my God like where would I situate myself there? I'm not— of course I am a beautician—it's as if I can be a carpenter) (personal communication 17 August 2017)."

Her story might be untrue to the whole LGBT community who were affected by the typhoon, yet her story is a significant reason as to why the gender framing in DRRM is problematic that leads to exclusion of other vulnerable people.

On the other hand, a disaster setting can be a space where sexual and gender minorities can be accepted by their respective communities. In a study conducted by Ong et al (2015), many LGBT people came out to their respective communities and were accepted due to the presence of agency workers on the ground during the recovery period in Haiyan-affected areas (24). This open-mindedness and acceptance were mainly benefitted by middle-income members of the LGBT community. With the presence of humanitarian agencies, along with their Western, white volunteers on the ground, there was an expansion of the nightlife economy where middle-class LGBTs hang out for leisure time (Ong et al 2015: 24). "The experiences of middle-class LGBTs is an example of a 'cumulative impact' of humanitarian intervention (Anderson, Brown, & Jean: 30), where the presence of foreign workers has long-term effects on local cultures outside of their provision of economic assistance" (Ong et al 2015: 24).

In contrast to the acceptance gains of middle-income class LGBTs, a huge number of low-income class LGBTs were mainly focused on earning a living and were threatened to come out because they will be treated differently from the other heterosexual victims of the typhoon. Low-income LGBTs have interacted with humanitarians only for relief distribution purposes, while they were struggling to look for appropriate jobs for them which would fit the skills they had (Ong et al 2015: 25). The sexuality of low-income class LGBT people were

further repressed with the absence of any kind of support recognized under DRRM and Haiyan policy documents. They can only benefit from any form of rehabilitation and recovery support from the government if they must adhere to the essentialist man-woman image continuously portrayed in the policy documents. They were not only fighting for survival, but combatting the cultural discrimination and human rights violations they continuously experience, even before Haiyan.

Poverty Reduction for 'Inclusive' and 'Sustainable' Development?

The policy documents intended to address the poverty problem that underlines the vulnerabilities of people affected by Haiyan. Poverty reduction was one of the initiatives in reinvigorating the development of affected areas. The rehabilitation and recovery programs are crucial in achieving development in inclusive growth through a multi-dimensional perception on poverty reduction and creation of quality employment, with a more sustainable development (NEDA 2014).

The way poverty was framed is problematic. Poverty has always been economic in nature. In the CRRP, poverty has been transformed into a multi-dimensional point of view to further improve the quality of life of people. According to OPARR, "poverty is a state of deprivation in multiple dimensions – health and nutrition, education, and living standards (e.g., water and sanitation facilities, electricity, and quality of housing)" (p. 18). Despite the government's effort to transform poverty with a multi-dimensional lens, promoting human rights would complete the ingredients in addressing the underlying root cause of people's continuous vulnerabilities in dealing with poverty reduction.

Placing human rights at the core of any development intervention would ensure success in promoting sustainable and inclusive development. In an article written by Tammie O'Neil (2006), human rights become a constitutive element of development and human rights violations become both a cause and symptom of poverty (1). Using the case of HIV/AIDS in the article, she noted that restricting rights in the name of public health cannot be effective in the area of HIV/AIDS if the rights and dignity of the most vulnerable are not respected (O'Neil 2006: 4). It would be impossible to meet the MDG goal on HIV/AIDS if a marginalized group was not included because they are restricted due to poverty, discrimination, and other human rights violation in accessing HIV prevention, care, and treatment (O'Neil 2006). Restricting rights in the name of public health defeats the purpose of providing services to people who are in dire need of support.

Applying this case to the Haiyan experience, the typhoon became a "space of powerlessness, exclusion, poverty, and conflict" (Dhaliwal, as cited in O'Neil 2006: 4), where marginalized people were unintentionally excluded in the rehabilitation and recovery programs of the government. In order to fully promote the 'Build Back Better' principle and to achieve the MDGs in reducing poverty incidence in the country, everyone – regardless of sexuality, gender, class, race, ethnicity, sexual orientation and gender identity and expression (SOGIE), religion – should be included in all interventions created by the government. The continuous violation of the human rights and dignity of all people would not

eradicate poverty, but would lead to the creation of another level of marginalization that would exclude them from the rehabilitation and recovery interventions. These exclusions were heavily felt by those people who do not fit into the image of vulnerable people set by the government who are non-conforming women and men, people with diverse SOGIE, IPs, and non-poor people who are struggling to bounce back to their normal lives.

In addition, having a human rights-based approach to development interventions would ensure that the people's money managed by the government would be felt by the people on the ground, and not merely complying with government protocols and deadlines for project compliance. With the transparency and accountability approach of the Philippine government, government projects should be done with the intention of improving the lives of all people, and not merely writing figures and data regarding their beneficiaries which will be evident in reports, and the budget used to be audited. Focusing on human rights in all development interventions for people would ensure lesser cases of poverty incidence, better health and education facilities, which would improve the quality of life of all Filipinos.

In addition, the problem of equating poverty to vulnerability is inappropriate. "Poverty is determined by historical processes that deprive people of access to resources, while vulnerability is signified by historical processes that deprive people of the means of coping with hazard without incurring damaging losses that leave them physically weak, economically impoverished, socially dependent, humiliated and psychologically harmed" (Chambers 1989: 1, as cited in Bankoff 2001: 25). Bouncing back to one's normal life can be determined by a person's economic resources, however, vulnerability veers away from the simple identification of the poor as vulnerable in understanding the diverse impacts of a disaster to people despite having the same income level (Hewitt 1997; Wisner 1993; as cited in Bankoff 2001: 25). Vulnerabilities make people think deeper on the socio-historical factors on why people are having difficulties recovering from the impacts of Haiyan.

Bye, indigenous practices. Hello, science and modern technology!

An emergent problem in the assumptions stipulated in the DRRM policies is the compliance of the Philippine government to international standards and ideals in dealing vulnerabilities by addressing disaster risks. With the intention of the government to "adhere to and adopt the universal norms, principles, and standards of humanitarian assistance and the global effort on risk reduction" (Congress of the Philippines 2010: 2) to fully address vulnerabilities, the underlying problem lies in the internationally-accepted practices on Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) which have been long designed using the experiences, knowledge, and expertise of the West and imposed to the rest of the world (Bankoff 2001, as cited in Gaillard et al 2016: 2). This is much more evident in the disaster prevention and mitigation image the policies posit.

The disaster prevention and mitigation inculcate that disasters can be managed and avoided with the use of "engineering techniques, hazard-resistant constructions … as well as seismic engineering designs" (Congress of the Philippines 2010: 6). The problem with the technocratic approach to disaster prevention and

mitigation permits hazards to be treated as a specialized problem for the advanced research of scientists, engineers and bureaucrats, and is much more appropriate within a discourse of expertise that quarantines disasters (Hewitt 1983, 1995, as cited in Bankoff 2001: 24). This idea reinforces that prevention and mitigation can only be done by highly technocratic specialists who can systematically define measures to reduce destructive impacts of disasters.

The technocratic approach in preventing and mitigating disasters is also evident in international disaster risk reduction frameworks such as the Sendai Framework 2015 – 2030. The Sendai Framework reinforced the idea that understanding risks would entail the development and dissemination of science-based methodologies and tools to strengthen disaster risk warning systems (UNISDR 2015: 16) which undermines the underlying reason of the worsening disaster risks of people. It is not because the Philippine government is to be blamed for their lack of adequate knowledge and preparedness, but this covers the underlying reasons of people's high risks in disasters. These science-based methodologies would not fully work not unless the primary historical and social vulnerabilities of people persist.

In addition, this justification being used by Western discourses on disasters create a divide between (us) countries which experiences disasters frequently (them). This divide serves as a justification for the West to interfere in the affairs of countries like the Philippines for *our* and *their* sake (Bankoff 2001: 27). This idea is reinforced through a broader discourse of colonialism, being a white man's burden to save the rest of the world. The vulnerability problem identified by Western countries intervened to Global South countries through the provision of relief (Bankoff 2001: 27). The saving grace of Western countries is recognized under Section 18 of RA 10121, entitled *Mechanisms for International Humanitarian Assistance* that gives a leeway to the "importation and donation of food, clothing, medicine, and equipment for relief and recovery and other disaster management and recovery-related supplies" (Congress of the Philippines 2010: 28). Moreover, the NDRRMF stipulates that international disaster agencies channel their support to the Philippines through humanitarian assistance, disaster aid, and relief operations (NDRRMC 2011: 14). This political use of relief to disaster-prone countries like the Philippines reinforces the wider historical discourse on imperialism, hegemony, dominance through which the West can exert its ascendancy over the others (Bankoff 2001: 28).

Another problem that surfaced is the science-dominated DRRM policies in the Philippines, despite high importance in integrating indigenous knowledges and practices. RA 10121, as well as the NDRRMF, declared that disaster risk reduction and climate change measures should be sensitive to indigenous knowledge systems (Congress of the Philippines 2010: 3) and should be integrated in the four disaster thematic areas[10] (NDRRMC 2011: 19) does not really embrace this provision in its initiatives. These indigenous knowledges are neglected despite its reputation as a credible source of information in coping and managing disaster risks (Molina and Neef 2016: 255).

IPs are among the population who possess rich collection of indigenous knowledges which historically enabled them to cope with and endure the impacts of disasters (Bankoff et al 2004; Scott et al 2013, as cited in Molina and Neef

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[10] Prevention and Mitigation, Preparedness, Response, and Rehabilitation and Recovery.

2016: 248). In Jesusa Molina and Andreas Neef's article, they focused on *Agtas*, an indigenous group in the northern part of the Philippines, who survived strong hazards for generations by relying on their local practices, environmental resources, and networks for disaster preparedness, response, and recovery (248). These knowledges include observations relating to: animal behaviours such as ants transporting food in elevated areas, monkeys hiding in forests, birds squeaking, etc.; atmospheric changes, which includes red sunrays in the West, cloud movement and colour, wind movement, *habagat* (southwest monsoon); and natural environment such as silences in the surroundings, rise in sea level, and huge waves (Molina and Neef 2016: 254). These un-utilized indigenous knowledges have been highly neglected with the prevailing scientific measurements the Philippines is highly indulged with, despite provisions under RA 10121 and the NDRRMF regarding these ethnic practices. There should be an area of convergence with science and indigenous practices to fully promote sustainable DRRM in the country, while recognizing the invaluable knowledges of IPs in mitigating hazards. The integration of indigenous knowledge with science provides an avenue for local people to be included in the development process, rather than being subjects of intervention (Molina and Neef 2016: 248-9).

Moreover, it is not only the indigenous practices which are being excluded in privileging scientific measures in DRRM. The IPs themselves are also excluded in the government's planning and decision-making in people's needs in times of disasters. The insensitivity of the Local Government Unit (LGU)'s practices in DRRM places IPs in a more precarious condition that compromises the sustainability of their livelihoods, as well as promoting the rights of IPs' rights to sustainable development and disaster safety (Molina and Neef 2016: 247). This places IPs in a marginalized, discriminated, and powerless position where dominant unequal power relations, discriminatory practices, and external pressures brought by modernization that worsens their disadvantaged position in the Philippine society (Molina and Neef 2016: 261).

IPs are discriminated in DRRM planning consultations due to their ethnicity and cultural differences. As part of the DRRM thrust of identifying, assessing, and prioritizing hazards and risks with key stakeholders, IPs were recognized as one of the key stakeholders invited in these facilitated consultations (Congress of the Philippines 2010: 18). Despite being invited in meetings, IPs were not fully integrated in the discussions and would attend as passive participants which inhibits them to voice out their needs relating to livelihood, health, education, and DRRM (Molina and Neef 2016: 257). *Agtas*, for example, were labelled as lazy, dependent, spoiled and alcoholic individuals which created a reason for them to be discriminated, inhibiting them to participate in the planning discussions for sustainable development (Molina and Neef 2016: 257). Even LGU officials have a dismissive attitude in *Agta's* participation in meetings, which can be seen in the quoted text below:

> "The Agta's lifestyle is different compared to others which explains why most of them are impoverished. There are times when you provide finance assistance, the Agta just use it for drinking alcohol. They usually go home drunk. I always tell them to build and protect the reputation of their tribe given their poor condition. They are not like other indigenous peoples such as the *Igorots* who are very hardworking. The Agta are really different" (LGU department head, Casiguran, interview, June 2014, as cited in Molina and Neef 2016: 257)

Blaming IPs' culture, ethnic practices, and state of poverty were used as discriminatory and exclusionary reason by government officials to neglect them in discussions regarding DRRM planning from the local government level. Aside from being labelled as impoverished people due to their own indigenous culture, their geographical isolation discouraged them in participating consultations because they usually live on top of mountains, or in the seas that resulted to unsustainable livelihood interventions for IPs, in general (Molina and Neef 2016: 257).

Chapter 4
Emergency Shelter Assistance for whom?

After exposing the problematic representation of vulnerabilities in the DRRM and Haiyan-related policy documents, I will specifically focus on DSWD's ESA program and its underlying assumptions to people based on their gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and class, and expose the groups of people who were privileged and excluded based on their assumptions about people's vulnerability after Haiyan.

Am I eligible for an Emergency Shelter Assistance?

The ESA program targets vulnerable families as a result of Typhoon Haiyan. The DSWD Memorandum Circular No. 24 enlists the eligibility criteria set by the Department to families who wanted to avail of the housing program. To fully understand the assumptions regarding the people who were in need of housing assistance from the government, it is important to focus at two of the main documents which should be satisfied for a particular household to be considered as eligible in the ESA program. These two documents are further expounded below: the DAFAC, which was utilized by DSWD; and the CLUP developed by the Housing and Land Use Regulatory Board (HLURB).

DSWD DAFAC for Relief Assistance Tracking

The DAFAC monitors the aid and support received by people affected by Typhoon Haiyan. In a report released by the Government of the Philippines (GoP) Official Gazette, former DSWD Secretary Corazon Juliano-Soliman disclosed that concerned Local Social Welfare and Development Offices (LSWDOs) in Haiyan-affected areas used DAFAC in registering the number of affected families as well as listing down the types of assistance they received from GoP, international and local NGOs, and from the private sector (Official Gazette 2013: 1). According to former DSWD Secretary Soliman, "The DAFAC is one way to monitor if a family is underserved or over-served. It confirms that a family is a victim of disaster and is eligible to receive relief assistance" (Official Gazette 2013: 1). DAFAC was a crucial document which sets whether a certain family is eligible in receiving assistance, thus it is important to look deeper on how a family can be considered in availing the DAFAC.

One of the main requirements needed to be considered in the ESA program is the DAFAC. The DAFAC records basic information whether a beneficiary's house was either partially or totally damaged, a 4Ps Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) beneficiary, or whether they belong to the pre-identified vulnerable groups, and the estimated monthly income of a household (Bowen 2015: 27-8). In these information needed from potential beneficiaries who need housing rebuilding support, it is interesting to zoom at the 4Ps and pre-identified vulnerable groups criteria and look at the underlying assumptions instilled to people who can be eligible in the ESA program.

4Ps and Impoverished Families

The 4Ps is a poverty reduction initiative of the DSWD to impoverished Filipino families. Patterning this Conditional Cash Transfer (CCT) scheme from Brazil and Mexico, the 4Ps aims to provide monetary and nonmonetary transfers to families who were in extreme case of poverty in exchange of education, health, and nutrition commitments (Reyes et al 2015: 3). Targeting poor families by addressing health, nutrition, and education would break the intergenerational poverty cycle by investing in human capital (Reyes et al 2015: 3). Families who meet these four criteria are eligible to be a beneficiary of 4Ps: 1) family from the poorest municipalities based on the results of the 2003 Small Area Estimates (SAE); 2) families whose condition is equal to, or below the poverty threshold identified through the National Household Targeting System for Poverty Reduction (NHTS-PR); 3) impoverished families with children aged 0 – 14 and/or pregnant women at the time of assessment; and 4) families that agree to meet the program's conditionalities (Reyes et al 2015: 4).

The way how poor was defined only looks at the socio-economic factors why a person can be impoverished. According to RA 8425, known as Social Reform and Poverty Alleviation Act of 1997, poor is "referred to individuals and families whose income fall below the poverty threshold as defined by the National Economic and Development Authority and/or cannot afford in a sustainable manner to provide their minimum basic needs of food, health, education, housing, and other essential amenities of life" (Congress of the Philippines 1997: 3). Same with the critique that emerged in the previous chapter, the way how it was defined uses socio-economic lens while disregarding the historical aspects of why poverty continues to exist.

In addition, it is crucial to note that families are only recognized as poor. This go against the poverty cases of people who do not fit into the family image, or those people who cannot build their own families. In the Philippine setting, a family is traditionally composed of a father, mother, biological children, and extends to some paternal and maternal relatives in one household. This traditional structure of a Filipino family reinforces ideas about gender and sexual division of labour amongst male and female parents where women are usually assigned to reproductive and productive work which was translated into policy assumptions about the specific role of women as mothers.

In zooming at the poverty-specific criteria in the 4Ps, the socio-economic perception of poverty is highly evident. The data used in acquiring the poorest municipalities are outdated. Table 2 presents the 2003 data on the poorest 40 municipalities which DSWD utilized in implementing the 4Ps in 2008 (Reyes et al 2015: 4-5). In looking at the data in Table 2, it can be observed that of the severely affected regions of Typhoon Haiyan (Region V, VI, VII, and VIII), only seven (7) municipalities in Region VIII (Western Samar) were included in the list. Despite the claim indicated in the CRRP for Yolanda regarding the impoverished status of the provinces severely affected by Haiyan (OPARR 2014: 7), the 2003 SAE only recognized these seven municipalities with high poor incidence (NSCB 2009: 7).

The way how the NHTS-PR was generated is problematic as it only focuses on the economic poverty of people. The NHTS-PR uses economic proxy tests such as proxy means test (PMT) in estimating level of economic welfare of a household by looking at a family's socioeconomic and demographic standing,

particularly their income, ownership of assets, type of housing, education and employment of household head, and access to water and sanitation facilities (Fernandez 2012: 1; Reyes et al 2015: 5).

Region	Province	Municipality	Poverty Incidence (%)	Standard Error (%)	CV (%)	Rank
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE	SIAYAN	97.5	1.4	1.4	1
CAR	KALINGA	TANUDAN	88.1	4.2	4.8	2
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR	SOMINOT	87.5	4.1	4.7	3
X	LANAO DEL NORTE	TANGKAL	86.7	4.8	5.6	4
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR	MIDSALIP	86.3	3.1	3.6	5
I	LA UNION	BAGULIN	85.5	9.6	11.2	6
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE	BACUNGAN	85.2	4.3	5.1	7
XI	DAVAO DEL SUR	JOSE ABAD SANTOS	84.6	4.7	5.6	8
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE	GODOD	84.6	4.3	5.1	9
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR	LAPUYAN	84.3	3.7	4.4	10
CARAGA	AGUSAN DEL SUR	SAN LUIS	83.1	3.3	4.0	11
CAR	KALINGA	TINGLAYAN	82.1	5.8	7.0	12
VIII	WESTERN SAMAR	SAN JOSE DE BUAN	81.9	3.1	3.8	13
X	LANAO DEL NORTE	POONA-PIAGAPO	81.7	4.3	5.2	14
VIII	WESTERN SAMAR	MATUGUINAO	81.4	3.1	3.8	15
XI	DAVAO DEL SUR	DON MARCELINO	80.8	6.0	7.4	16
VIII	WESTERN SAMAR	ZUMARRAGA	80.1	2.7	3.3	17
CARAGA	AGUSAN DEL SUR	LA PAZ	80.0	4.5	5.7	18
XI	DAVAO DEL SUR	SARANGANI	78.7	6.7	8.5	19
XI	DAVAO DEL NORTE	TALAINGOD	78.6	12.7	16.4	20
CARAGA	AGUSAN DEL SUR	ESPERANZA	78.4	2.8	3.5	21
VIII	WESTERN SAMAR	TARANGNAN	78.0	2.2	2.8	22
VIII	WESTERN SAMAR	DARAM	78.0	2.3	2.9	23
X	LANAO DEL NORTE	TAGOLOAN	77.9	7.0	9.0	24
CARAGA	AGUSAN DEL SUR	LORETO	77.7	3.6	4.6	25
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE	PRES. MANUEL A. ROXAS	77.7	3.5	4.5	26
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR	MABUHAY	77.7	3.9	5.0	27
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR	SAN PABLO	76.9	3.7	4.8	28
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE	SIBUCO	76.6	3.6	4.7	29
VIII	WESTERN SAMAR	SANTA RITA	76.5	2.5	3.2	30
IV-B	PALAWAN	LINAPACAN	76.4	5.2	6.8	31
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE	SIRAWAI	76.1	5.0	6.5	32
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR	VICENZO A. SAGUM	75.8	4.4	5.8	33
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL NORTE	MUTIA	75.7	5.8	7.6	34
CARAGA	SURIGAO DEL NORTE	SAN ISIDRO	75.5	6.1	8.1	35
X	LANAO DEL NORTE	MAGSAYSAY	75.1	3.4	3.6	36
IV-B	ORIENTAL MINDORO	BULALACAO (SAN PEDRO)	74.7	3.3	4.4	37
CARAGA	SURIGAO DEL NORTE	CAGDIANAO	74.5	4.0	5.3	38
IX	ZAMBOANGA DEL SUR	TIGBAO	74.5	4.3	5.8	39
VIII	WESTERN SAMAR	PINABACDAO	74.3	2.7	3.7	40

Table 2: 40 poorest municipalities based on the 2003 SAE of poverty. Source: National Statistical Coordination Board (2009)

In addition, the way how poverty should be based on a specific timeframe, and conditions a family experiences. The way how poor was defined in the NHTS-PR is problematic by homogenizing poor people (Reyes et al 2015: 22). In a study conducted by Reyes et al (2011), they presented that there are types of being poor: chronically or persistently poor, and the transient poor who were classified poor due to certain shocks (as cited in Reyes et al 2015: 23). In the data

of poor households in 2009 show that 52.6 percent were transient poor who were moving in and out of poverty, and the remaining 47.4 percent were considered chronically poor since 2003 (Reyes et al 2015: 23). This is a problem since there are families who got out of the poverty threshold when the 4Ps was implemented, thus defeating the purpose of the program in breaking the intergenerational poverty cycle, as noted in the rationale why 4Ps was implemented.

The third requirement for a family to be eligible in the 4Ps is families with children aged 0 – 14 and/or pregnant women at the time of assessment. this criterion will only hold if an economically poor family has children from 14 years old below, which automatically excludes economically poor families whose youngest member is 15 and above. Furthermore, this criterion reinforces the reproductive role of women as mothers and child bearers. Article II Section 14 of the 1987 Philippine Constitution reiterates the crucial role of women, specifically mothers, that "the State recognizes the role of women in nation-building…". Mothers' reproductive role, as well as her state role of rearing the future generations place additional burden to the concurrent multiple roles she juggles all at the same time.

Pre-identified vulnerable groups: does this change?

The DSWD identified pregnant and lactating mothers, PWDs, senior citizens, solo household heads, and chronically ill household heads as its pre-existing vulnerable groups which needs special attention in times of disasters (Official Gazette 2013: 1). This pre-existing idea on vulnerable people does not take into account non-poor who became instantly vulnerable after the wrath of Typhoon Haiyan. It does not take into account a person's geographical location on why some non-economically poor people became vulnerable.

In addition, this framing of vulnerable people as economically impoverished limits the reason why vulnerabilities persist. Since the DSWD only frames vulnerable people based on being a woman, ability, age, and status, it also disregards historical reasons why other people's vulnerabilities continues to exist. For an instance, IPs and sexual and gender minorities were not, in any way, included in this pre-identified vulnerable groups, not unless they fit into the frame the government dictates: sexual and gender minorities can only be included as vulnerable group if they belong to a family, which has a father as the head of the family. For IPs, with the historical discrimination towards them, they can only be included if they adapt the modern lifestyle and try to remove their "backward" culture that keeps them from being developed and progressive.

Comprehensive Land Use Plan for Safe Housing

The CLUP defines the physical plan of cities and municipalities within the whole Philippines through the land-use planning (HLURB 2014: iii). It specifically defines integrated special areas and thematic concerns such as ancestral domain, biodiversity, heritage, urban design, and green growth in land-use planning (HLURB 2014: iii).

In the CLUP, the regulations on municipal waters zone does not encourage the establishment of any permanent building or structures. Specifically, the CLUP does not allow settlements where "fishing and other forms of activities which may damage the ecosystem of the area is prohibited and human access may be restricted" (HLURB 2014: 29). This provision supports the underlying

assumption that water zones are not safe for settlement due to impacts of storm surges and natural hazards which can lead to increase risks of people residing in these areas. Particularly, these people are the fisher folks and their families.

Families living in Residential-1, 2, 3, 4, 5, and Socialized Housing Zones are the only recognized as safe settlement areas. In the CLUP, there were certain regulations in cities and municipalities where settlements are allowed, thus houses built outside these zones are not eligible to avail the ESA program. These residential areas were aimed at certain intended density of residential purposes. For an instance, Residential-1 Zones are "any areas within cities or municipalities intended for low density residential use of 20 dwelling units per hectare" (HLURB 2014: 34). In these provisions on residential zones and municipal water zones complies with the 'Build Back Better' principle promoted in all rehabilitation and recovery efforts of the Philippine government.

What's wrong with the ESA Program?

While reviewing the overall mandate of the rehabilitation and recovery programs, projects, and activities to be implemented for Haiyan-affected areas, the housing support that the DSWD is giving people already failed the 'Build Back Better' principle. The ESA program is identified as part of the short-term program of the government which means that its main purpose is to immediately repair damaged facilities such as food, shelter, and other necessities and turn it to disaster resilient facilities (NEDA 2013: 14). Even though ESA is a short-term program, DSWD opted to rebuild the houses of families using feeble and non-disaster resilient materials. The DSWD does not comply with the 'Build Back Better' principle being promoted in the DRRM framework by offering resilient housing to affected people.

The DSWD further assumed in the ESA program that vulnerable families are those whose houses were located in safe zones, but have not received any form of support from the government nor any organizations in rebuilding their damaged houses. This provision of the houses' location on safe zones already defies the overall intensity level of the typhoon by just focusing its program to families in safe areas, and not to those houses in coastal areas which were affected by the storm surge. Automatically with this provision, the families whose houses were built in danger zones are automatically excluded to avail of this program. In reality, these families are considered more vulnerable due to their houses' location, compared to families living in safe zones.

In addition, the government's promotion of the "Build Back Better" principle led to clashes of the livelihood dependency of people who heavily rely on the sea for their daily income. With the government's overall goal of "increasing resilience and capacities of communities in coping with future hazard events" (OPARR 2014: 12), this led to the President declaring the no-build zone proclamation that prohibits the establishment of any infrastructure and settlement 40 meters away from the shorelines. This provision added another layer of vulnerability to families living within the 40-meter scope, who are mostly fisher folks, who do not want to leave their previous settlements because of their dependence on the seas. To date, the government has not yet resolved the conflicting needs of people residing in coastal areas and their dependency on the sea for their livelihood.

Moreover, ESA can only be availed by families who are recognized by DSWD in its DAFAC. These families should have the following features to avail the DAFAC:

1) economically poor families who cannot afford and sustain their basic needs of food, health, education, housing, and other necessary basic needs
2) impoverished families residing in poorest municipalities, specifically the seven municipalities included in the 40 poorest municipalities based on the 2003 SAE of poverty
3) economically impoverished families identified in the NHTS-PR
4) families with biologically woman who is pregnant/or families with children from 0 – 14 years old
5) lactating mothers
6) families whose houses were covered by the residential zones identified in the CLUP

Unfortunately for those families who do not have all these additional eligibility criteria set by DSWD, they are not qualified to avail of the ESA program.

Chapter 5
Conclusion

Natural hazards are not new to the Philippines. Being recognized as one of the most disaster-prone countries in the world, the Philippine government prepared several interventions in times of destructive disasters. Typhoon Haiyan was an unexpected disaster not only to people living in the Visayas region, but to the government agencies leading disaster response and rehabilitation and recovery efforts to the victims. The extent of Typhoon Haiyan gravely affected millions of lives of Filipinos, leading to more than six thousand deaths, and the immense destruction to public and private properties, particularly people's housing and livelihood. DSWD, being the leading national agency in disaster response, addressed the immediate housing needs of people through the ESA program. This housing program offers cash and housing material support to families based on certain criteria to lessen people's vulnerabilities. On the contrary, the ESA program's limiting eligibility criteria poses a huge barrier to other vulnerable sectors in the society who were excluded from availing the housing program. The vulnerabilities of people in a disaster setting can be analysed based on power relations on gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and class, and on how these categories intersect that leads to marginalization and social exclusion of people in government programs and services.

In addition, the language used in the DRRM policy documents creates a certain form of knowledge to people and their vulnerabilities. In doing policy analysis, it is critical to look at the underlying assumptions and knowledges being informed in the policy documents and on how it affects real people and lives on the ground. With the underlying assumptions evident in the language used in policies, this leads to inadvertent exclusion of other vulnerable groups in Haiyan-affected areas. The 'truth' assumed in the policy documents needs to be dissected to identify underlying ideas, knowledge, and facts that were used as justification in prioritizing certain groups of people in availing the ESA through the intersecting categories on gender, sexuality, ethnicity, and class which were reinforced in the policy documents.

Thus, the aim of my research paper is to look at how DSWD constitute 'vulnerable people' as beneficiaries of the ESA program and represent them in defining and delivering the housing intervention program. DRRM policy documents, particularly DRRM policy discourses and Haiyan-related disaster rehabilitation and recovery plans and documents were analysed using intersectionality and social exclusion theories. Intersectionality and social exclusion reinforces the idea that social policies can be a space where dominant knowledge and heteronormative values were continuously reproduced, which leads to exclusion of certain people who were not conforming into these stereotypical roles and functions. Intersectionality highlights that there is no unified, single, and fixated reason why people are excluded from a policy program: the intersection of multiple power relations reinforces discrimination to people. Furthermore, CDA and WPR approach were employed as techniques of analysis to look at the words and languages used in the policy and how it problematizes a particular social issue in a policy. These techniques of analysis looked at the underlying ideas,

assumptions, knowledges, values, and facts were used in the policy and its effect in reproducing the housing needs of Haiyan survivors.

In the DRRM policy documents, the major problem lies on the perception of the Philippine government on the term vulnerability. The documents argue that vulnerability is caused by the physical, geographical and geological situation of the country, thus hazards are inevitable, and impacts to disasters should be addressed for the country to be disaster resilient. In reality, this framing of vulnerability does not tackle the root cause of vulnerabilities which can be traced back to historical and social aspects why people are vulnerable and not susceptible to the impacts of hazards. This historical and social aspects of disasters were further reinforced by the intersection of gender, class, sexuality, and ethnicity, on why vulnerabilities were never addressed properly to specific target groups.

The policy documents posit that gender has always been equated to only men and women, thus people who do not conform into this man-woman framing are excluded from all disaster interventions. The policy documents have been sticking to the gendered division of roles of men and women, and continues to reinforce this in their rehabilitation program to people. In addition, gender has been always equated to women's specific needs which defies the purpose of using gender in the development interventions set by the government. These women who were mostly targeted by the government are low-income class women whose recovery needs were identified as handling their own *sari-sari* stores (small retail store) which is bound by their reproductive and productive roles. Moreover, this framing of binary perception of gender excludes people who do not conform into the heteronormative assigned roles based on their sex and gender, thus being excluded in the DRRM interventions. This is highly evident to sexual and gender minorities in Haiyan-affected areas.

However, sexual minorities' class makes a difference on how they were being accepted by the society: LGBT middle-income class people were accepted by the society with the presence of white volunteers on the ground. The night life that was available to middle-income class LGBT people became an avenue for them to come out and practice their own sexuality without constraints; on the other hand, lower-income LGBTs continuously struggle to fight for their basic rights, to acquire basic relief such as food, shelter, while conforming to the heteronormative assumption towards them to be able to acquire a job and money.

The IPs, despite being recognized as one of the vulnerable groups in the DRRM policies, were excluded not only on the rehabilitation and recovery efforts, but in disaster planning and consultations on the ground. Their culture, ethnic practices, and impoverished state were used as reasons for them to be excluded in these development interventions that should address their needs in times of disasters. Despite their immediate needs such as food, shelter, and sustainable livelihood, they were also socially excluded due to their geographical location which limits access to resources.

In addition, the poverty mitigation initiative of the government has been centered in the socio-economic deprivation of people. This creates a problem on how to address poverty by focusing on economic reasons why people are poor: veering away from an economic perception of poverty should be replaced

with a human rights approach to poverty to promote the quality of life of all people, regardless of categories.

It is also interesting to note that the DRRM initiatives of the Philippine government is science-dominated which were garnered from Western discourses on disasters. This justifies West's intervention in the affairs of the Philippines in dealing with disasters through their modern equipment and technologies. This leads to the neglect of indigenous practices which was reinforced by the Philippine law.

This research paper also looks at the what power relations were privileged in the ESA program by looking at the specific requirements needed. In the ESA, people who have all these qualities are the only ones who can avail the program:

1. Economically poor heterosexual families who cannot afford and sustain their basic needs of food, health, education, housing, and other necessary basic needs;
2. Impoverished heterosexual families residing in poorest municipalities, specifically the seven municipalities included in the 40 poorest municipalities based on the 2003 SAE of poverty;
3. Economically impoverished heterosexual families identified in the NHTS-PR;
4. Heteronormative families with biological woman who is pregnant/or families with children from 0 – 14 years old;
5. Lactating mothers; and
6. Heterosexual families whose houses were covered by the residential zones identified in the CLUP.

These underlying assumptions create a huge impact on non-conforming people to be excluded in the housing program of DSWD. The vested assumptions to people who are straight, poor, ethnicized, and sexualized reinforces marginalities and discrimination to people who are usually the most vulnerable even prior to a disaster. To fully address vulnerabilities, there is a need to trace back the underlying reasons why people are vulnerable not because of a hazard; but hazard only intensifies pre-existing vulnerabilities of people.

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Appendix

Appendix A: Analysis Table Using WPR

QUESTION	DOCUMENT 1 Republic Act No. 10121	DOCUMENT 2 Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY)	DOCUMENT 3 RAY Implementation for Results (I4R)
1. What's the problem represented to be?	- Natural and man-made disasters, and the impacts of climate change are inevitable in the Philippines. The recurring experiences of disasters in the country makes the country vulnerable in times of disaster, and it challenges the institutional capacity of the country in disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) initiatives	- In less than 24 hours on 08 November 2013, Typhoon Yolanda (Haiyan) severely destroyed the Eastern, Central, and Western Visayas and beyond to the northern part of Palawan (p. 1) - This led to the massive loss of private and public properties, assets, livelihood, and even lives.	- The destructive effects of Typhoon Yolanda (Haiyan) "are likely to have a significant negative impact on achieving the growth, poverty reduction and employment creation objectives of the Philippine Development Plan (PDP)" (p. i) - There is a strong desire to "restore and rehabilitate the economic and social conditions of Haiyan-affected people" (p. 5)
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	- Philippines is prone to disasters due to its geographic (lies within the Western Pacific Basin which generates climatic conditions such as monsoons, thunderstorms, inter-tropical zones, typhoons, etc. (NDRRMC 2011: 6)) and	- Typhoon Yolanda (Haiyan) was one of the strongest typhoon ever recorded in history, with wind speeds of more than 300 km/h and storm surges of over 4 meters (p.1) - Nine regions were severely affected by the typhoon: Regions IV-A (CALABARZON), IV-B	- The PDP sees development through inclusive growth through a multi-dimensional perception on poverty reduction and creation of quality employment, with a more sustainable development.

QUESTION	DOCUMENT 1 Republic Act No. 10121	DOCUMENT 2 Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY)	DOCUMENT 3 RAY Implementation for Results (I4R)
	geological location and physical characteristics (archipelagic country with small islands, surrounded by huge waters, with active volcanoes and lies along active fault lines). - Disasters occur if it negatively impacts a community or society's functioning. Disasters are the combined result of: "exposure to a hazard; the conditions of vulnerability that are present; and insufficient capacity or measures to reduce or cope with the potential negative consequences" (p. 5) - Disasters affect not only the quality of life of people, but it also has negative implications on people's property, assets, services, disruption on social and economic activities, and has bad effects	(MIMAROPA), V (Bicol), VI (Western Visayas), VII (Central Visayas), VIII (Eastern Visayas), X (Northern Mindanao), XI (Davao), and XIII (CARAGA). → There are millions of people who were affected by the typhoon, but most of the damages were in 4 regions (Eastern Visayas, Central Visayas, Western Visayas, and Bicol) which are within the 100-km storm track (p. 2). The people in these regions are prioritized in the government assistance. → There are huge cases of deaths in Eastern Visayas due to the storm surge. → With the storm surge, the fishing sector have been heavily affected since their main source of livelihood were destroyed with	→ Rehabilitation and recovery programs are crucial in achieving this national goal. → Rehabilitation means strengthening the physical assets destroyed and strengthening capacities of people to become resilient, all having a disaster-resilient framing. → To deal with the negative impacts of the disaster, it is crucial to focus the recovery and reconstruction efforts to the private sector: individuals and enterprises to bring back the economic gains of the country. → In achieving this, all program and

QUESTION	DOCUMENT 1 Republic Act No. 10121	DOCUMENT 2 Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY)	DOCUMENT 3 RAY Implementation for Results (I4R)
	on the environment. - Climate change is caused by natural variability or results of human activities. This will persist for a very long-time frame (decades or longer) thus, there is a need for the Philippine government to be prepared of impacts through disaster mitigation, preparedness, and prevention. → Disaster mitigation are based on scientific and engineering techniques, disaster-resilient establishment, and improved environmental policies to lessen impacts of hazards and disasters. → Disaster preparedness is more on knowledge-generation and capacity	the intensity of the typhoon. → Main livelihood in majority of the regions affected are agriculture, fisheries, and tourism, and these were gravely affected by the typhoon. → The cities affected by the typhoon were some of the poorest of the regions in the country. Typhoon Yolanda added to another layer of poverty to the affected regions. - The RAY's basis in looking at people's vulnerability after Haiyan is based on the socio-economic impacts to people, to their livelihood, housing, and to the overall economy implications by addressing a more resilient plan to build back the lives of people. → Vulnerability is seen in the number of displaced people, loss of assets	projects should consider cross-cutting issues of: gender and vulnerable groups, environment, poverty, and disaster risk reduction and mitigation. → Gender recognizes the specific need of women, and vulnerable groups are "small scale and local traders (mostly women), relying on local agriculture or fishing … poorer families." (p. 7) → Environmental impacts were mostly targeted on water-related and upland forest-related damages caused by the typhoon. Environmental

QUESTION	DOCUMENT 1 Republic Act No. 10121	DOCUMENT 2 Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY)	DOCUMENT 3 RAY Implementation for Results (I4R)
	building from governments, professional response and recovery organizations (NGOs/INGOs which are advocating on DRRM and environment-related issues), communities (who are mostly affected by impacts of disasters), and individuals. Preparedness needs to have an institutional, legal, and financial grounding to ease the transition of an emergency from response to sustained recovery. → Disaster prevention is more on structural initiatives (such as construction of dams or	with their livelihoods, impact of the typhoon to the environmental set-up of the affected provinces. → Most of the damages were from the private sector. - The geographical location of a municipality can also be a reason on people's vulnerability. The effects of storm surges and flooding to low-lying lands, the blocking of roads due to debris, and oil spills which were hazardous to the people residing within the area. - The means on how the government frames people's recovery and reconstruction needs are primarily based on monetary terms. This budget allocation in the different clusters will fall under five sectors: infrastructure sector (which includes electricity, roads, bridges, flood control and public transport), economic sector (agriculture, industry,	vulnerabilities were mostly towards the fisheries and water-associated damages to people who primarily depend on waters as their main source of livelihood. → Poverty is perceived in economic and social conditions. → Disaster risk reduction and mitigation will be done by protecting the environment, lessening exposure to risks through scientific mechanisms, and reducing vulnerability through improved community preparedness. - Recovery and rehabilitation initiatives in the livelihood and

QUESTION	DOCUMENT 1 Republic Act No. 10121	DOCUMENT 2 Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY)	DOCUMENT 3 RAY Implementation for Results (I4R)

	embankments) which has policy effects (such as land-use regulations that prevents settlements in high-risk zones) to avoid impacts of hazards and disasters.
	- Vulnerabilities arise when a community, system, or asset is susceptible to the damaging effects of a hazard.
	  → There is a high risk of vulnerability if the physical, social, economic, and environmental factors are frail.
	  → There are certain sectors and marginalized groups who are at higher risks than some of the people. These groups are,
		services), social sector (education, health, housing), and cross-sectoral (local government), under the 'build back better' principle.
		  → This means all programs and services that will be done as part of the recovery and reconstruction efforts should be disaster resilient.
		- Right after the typhoon, the government started its recovery and reconstruction efforts. Short term assistance is basically repairing damaged basic facilities, while medium term reconstructions should have disaster-resilient measures within the five sectors.
		- People who were gravely affected are those who live in areas destroyed, whose livelihoods were destroyed, and who lack physical protection (housing). These groups are: "informal settlers living in makeshift
			business development is addressed through encouraging the economy to fuel the affected communities again.
			  → Vulnerable workers are self-employed and unpaid family workers with inadequate income and no social protection benefits (insurance) (p. 10), as well as workers in the informal economy and vulnerable groups of workers such as parents of child laborers, women, youth, persons with disabilities, and indigenous peoples … unemployed poor, seasonal and low-wage workers and women … farmers,

QUESTION	DOCUMENT 1 Republic Act No. 10121	DOCUMENT 2 Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY)	DOCUMENT 3 RAY Implementation for Results (I4R)
	but not limited to, are women, children, elderly, differently-abled people, and ethnic minorities. - Improved capacities lessen vulnerabilities. Capacities may be in terms of infrastructures, physical, and institutional means, as well as "human knowledge, skills, and collective attributes such as social relationships, leadership and management" (p. 4). - To improve capacities, there is a need to mainstream disaster risk reduction and management (DRRM) from national to local levels which are gender responsive, sensitive to indigenous knowledge systems, and respectful of human rights to build a disaster-resilient nation	houses along coastal easements, rural poor living in remote areas, farmers (especially coconut farmers from areas where coconut trees have been totally damaged), fisherfolk, and rural workers whose livelihoods have been depleted", (p. 14), "self-employed workers or are unpaid family workers" (p. 17), women (p. 18), - Typhoon Yolanda led to gender implications to people affected. However, when the RAY refers to gender, it only equates to women and girls. - The environment was greatly affected by the typhoon. It submerged low-lying islands, blocked the roads with trees and debris, and caused oil spill which also affected people who were living nearby the oil spill. - People who were living in danger zones (e.g., coastal area) should be relocated.	fishers, and informal workers in urban and rural areas (p. 11) and coconut farmers (p. 12) - Housing and resettlement focuses on rebuilding houses in 'safe zones', while tracking areas which are non-habitable/danger zones which upholds the 'build back better' principle. This aims to protect the lives of people by removing them away from these danger zones to lessen casualties. → Poor families usually live in 'non-engineered' houses which are mostly built using makeshifts. → 40 percent of homes which are located in coastal areas, were non-permanent homes.

QUESTION	DOCUMENT 1 Republic Act No. 10121	DOCUMENT 2 Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY)	DOCUMENT 3 RAY Implementation for Results (I4R)
	and communities (p. 3) → For the improvement of institutional capacities, there is a need to "incorporate internationally accepted principles of disaster risk management in the creation and implementation of national, regional, and local sustainable development and poverty reduction strategies, policies, plans, and budgets" (p. 2)		→ Vulnerable people are those who live in hazard-prone areas, which are shore-lines, whom are poor and are dependent on the seas for their livelihood. → Vulnerable families are those who are economically poor to rebuild their houses. → Vulnerable people are those who were survivors who lost their rights on their land, absentee owner's houses, victims of land grabbing. - Social services focus its programs in eradicating poverty, while improving education and health services. - For infrastructure, it should entail disaster resilient structures based on

QUESTION	DOCUMENT 1 Republic Act No. 10121	DOCUMENT 2 Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY)	DOCUMENT 3 RAY Implementation for Results (I4R)
			'build back better' standards. - Climate change, in this document, is another culprit identified in reversing development (economic) gains of the country. And, the impacts of climate change (Super Typhoon Haiyan) caused people in poverty (which were mainly affected by Haiyan) added another layer of poverty towards them.
3.	-	-	-
4. **What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?**	- The approach of the policy should not only pinpoint hazards/disasters as the cause why people's vulnerabilities are not fully addressed. It is not only because of the physical, social, economic, and environmental reasons why people and communities are vulnerable: people who are at risk do not have enough political voice and are continuously	- It is true that the recovery and reconstruction initiatives should be led in monetary terms, however, this will not assure the full recovery of people from the typhoon. The recovery and reconstruction initiatives should also be in human-rights approach: ensuring people's rights and welfare are prioritized. This monetary framing of the government in addressing people's needs would not assure good results: government	- Despite its attempt to make poverty reduction 'inclusive', it is not human-rights in approach which would make 'equal development opportunities' because it still did not recognize some sectors in the society as part of the citizenry (spell: LGBTs, IPs). They would either conform to the government's

QUESTION	DOCUMENT 1 Republic Act No. 10121	DOCUMENT 2 Reconstruction Assistance on Yolanda (RAY)	DOCUMENT 3 RAY Implementation for Results (I4R)
	disregarded even before a disaster comes. Disaster just adds to people's vulnerabilities. - With the disaster mitigation, I am personally curious how the government will merge scientific and engineering techniques with indigenous knowledge systems. - It is good that the policy recognized certain sectors in the society who are at more risks, but it is also important to consider that the intensity of a disaster can also make other people who are outside the defined groups at the same level of vulnerability. - Recognition of specific groups of people in a policy is just, however it creates an image and notion of whom should be the only target in DRRM initiatives in times of natural	officials would just make sure that they spend the money and put it on paper; however, if it was done with a human rights approach, it would create a leverage in pushing for quality recovery of all people affected. - The assumed cost needed for housing is lower than the costs covered by DSWD in the ESA. ESA is over-priced, and under-qualified for a disaster resilient housing. - RAY did not offer any housing solution to fisherfolks who were mainly identified as most vulnerable after Yolanda. Programs, projects, and activities were primarily targeted on economic part (cash-for-work programs), complementary programs to rebuild assets for livelihood purposes, and support establish social protection programs. - The gender aspect is highly focused on women, and kept on portraying	framing of 'gender' or nothing at all. - Sustainable development is perceived as scientific in nature, where the government will utilize disaster-resilient standards to become sustainable. - The typhoon was not the only culprit why people are impoverished in the Haiyan-affected areas. The typhoon added to another layer of poverty and marginalization to the people. - Gender only recognizes the impacts of the typhoon to women. This affects those people who are not women, whose roles and needs has to be recognized by the government. - Vulnerable people are based on their economic standing, access to social insurance, their livelihood, physical disabilities, ethnicity, sex (only

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	and man-made disasters. It automatically excludes people who are outside/who were not mentioned as part of this groups of people. This is more evident in the succeeding plans, policies, and frameworks on DRRM and vulnerable people. - What does the policy mean in ensuring gender responsive measures? How do they define gender responsive? The Philippine NDDRM Framework defines gender mainstreaming as "recognition, acceptance and identification the different roles, needs, capacities and vulnerabilities of men and women are considered and addressed properly" (p.19).	women as weak victims who are hopeless after the typhoon. - There was even no mention of IPs in the data, and any other ways on how to include them in the "build back better" principle. Most of the projects to be implemented in the disaster-resilient initiatives entail modern, empirical, and advanced technological mechanisms which neglects the indigenous knowledge practice. - RAY already highlighted the crucial people who are most vulnerable after Haiyan, yet the DSWD did not take them into consideration in providing them housing. - Poverty is always portrayed as something economic. - Short-term services should have already been disaster resilient in nature to prevent wastage of public funds in building basic services to people.	women), location of their houses in hazard prone areas, and who lost their properties (lands). - Despite mention about IPs and PWDs. - For the skills development offered, it is very limited and constraining. People who were highly associated with the skills development (masonry, carpentry, tilting, roofing, concrete fixing, welding, etc.) are men. As for women-specific needs, it is still based on traditional work such as "garment manufacturing, light assembly plants". - Poverty alleviation initiatives are in line with the DRRM policies' main initiatives to "build back better". But, how sure will these poverty alleviation strategies bounce back the

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			lives of the victims, and make it 'better' as oppose to their life before Haiyan? Who benefits from this poverty alleviation initiatives? - For the housing and resettlement, there was a clear understanding on how the government should relocate families in danger zones. However, they didn't offer any solution to people who will be relocated away from their livelihood source. - For the vulnerable groups, a special highlight to women are still emphasized, separated with the other 'vulnerable' groups, and justified special focus to women's vulnerability. - Despite the recognition of different vulnerable groups, the policy portrays them as a homogenous group, having the same needs.

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5. **What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?**	- Since the Philippine institutional capacities has to incorporate internationally accepted principles on disaster risk management, this would overhaul the indigenous knowledges practiced by ethnic communities in the country since it does not have 'scientific/empirical basis' which are present in international measures. Since these measures came from the West, or the highly developed countries which has all the latest and modern technology, apparatus, machines, and equipment in mitigating disasters, as oppose to primitive, old-fashioned, 'backward' practices of ethnic communities in the Philippines, this provision on being sensitive to indigenous knowledge	- Despite the identification of RAY on who are vulnerable people (families who will be having difficulties in recovering, who are highly dependent on their livelihoods to survive, were not even prioritized in the ESA. These families are living in danger zones, and vulnerable based on their location. This is a concrete exclusion of these people in availing the housing program. - Even with the socio-economic perception on vulnerability, economically poor who are located in hazard-prone areas are excluded specifically in the ESA housing program. - There is kind of mismatch between the needs indicated in the RAY, as oppose to the ESA program. Does ESA have to comply with the overall framework in addressing needs of Yolanda-affected areas? - It identified problems, but did not	- The programs promoting 'inclusive' approach to development by the Philippine government is not inclusive at all. It is only exclusive to women and men, children, farmers and fisherfolks, people who lost their livelihood due to Haiyan, and people living in danger zones, but does not incorporate LGBTs, IPs. - The gender perception excludes gender minorities and those who do not fit into the 'woman' image of the policy. - Poverty alleviation is still based on socio-economic means, and not human-rights based. Because if it is human-rights based, the country will be adhering to its commitment of "promoting life, liberty, and property of all" (from the 1987

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	systems will not hold. And this is already evident in the disaster mitigation assumptions under the law. - Women, children, elderly, differently-abled people, and ethnic minorities are privileged in all policies and plans created in relation to the country's DRRM efforts. - The impact of the perception on gender mainstreaming reinforces "gender as a 'categorical distinction between men and women' (Pratt 2009: 268) based on sexual difference in interaction with cultural and political forces that shape the roles of men and women in society (Gaillard et al 2016: 3)" - The disaster risk reduction (DRR) programs developed in compliance with the DRRM Law favors women,	specify on how to reconcile the problem of 40-meter rule and the social and economic demands of fisherfolks' families. - The 'gender' framing being used in the policy exclude people who are not conforming in the essential feminine and masculine, and most especially to those people who are outside the binary (LGBTs). This created another layer of discrimination and vulnerability to LGBTs - There was no one mention of IPs, and this automatically excludes them in the plan. In addition, their indigenous knowledge practices were not even imbibed by the Philippine government in its plan but instead used Western ideologies on disaster resiliency.	Philippine Constitution), without any prejudices. -

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	children, persons with disabilities (PWDs), and the elderly, yet, these programs have a homogenous perception on these groups of people. - The definition of vulnerability under the law lacks the provision of people not having access to political resources, specifically recognition of people outside the identified groups as vulnerable, and recognition under the law. This automatically excludes LGBTs, most especially on the 'gender-responsive' idea they have.		

	QUESTION	DOCUMENT 4 Comprehensive Rehabilitation and Recovery Plan for Yolanda	DOCUMENT 5 DSWD Memorandum Circular No. 24 Series of 2014	DOCUMENT 6 National Disaster Risk Reduction and Management Framework
1.	What's the problem represented to be?	- The typhoon's impact is concentrated in some of the poorest provinces in the country (p. 7) - There is no unified plan from the government and other agencies involved in the rehabilitation and recovery of Yolanda-affected areas to address disaster impacts and prioritize the needs of vulnerable people.	- Typhoon Haiyan affected 1.4 million families, damaging more than 1,011,782 shelters in 171 municipalities of Regions IV-B, V, VI, VII, VIII, and CARAGA. - Within the 50-km radius of Yolanda, there are 1,472,251 families affected, leaving 493,912 families with partially damaged houses and 518,878 families with totally damaged houses.	- Due to the geographic, geologic location and physical characteristic of the Philippines, it is prone to all forms of natural hazards. - It is also prone to human-induced disasters brought about by hazards that are political and socio-economic origins and inappropriate and ill-applied technology (p. 6) - There is no common understanding on how to address underlying causes of vulnerability to help reduce and manage risk to disasters, as well as a ground understanding of DRRM
2.	What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the problem?	- Even before the typhoon made its landfall in the affected areas, the six affected regions have high poverty incidence. → The six regions have	- Typhoon Yolanda has "powerful winds caused massive storm surges in the coastal areas, uprooted trees, tore down houses, bridges and other structures, blown down power and communication	- "The Philippines have been labeled as one of the most disaster-prone countries in the country … as it lies along several fault lines and have active, inactive, and

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	low contribution in the overall GDP of the country as of 2012 → The main source of livelihood in the regions are agriculture, fishing, and tourism → "Data in the 2012 survey show that the average household income in the severely affected provinces was only 75 percent of the national average" (p. 7) → There was high rate of malnutrition, child mortality, and lack of access to safe water and sanitary toilet facilities. - To harmonize government's efforts, there is a need to establish five clusters (infrastructure, social services,	lines, and parts and debris of houses and buildings littered along main highways, roads, and bridges" (p. 1) - The families whose houses were damage need shelter kits and CGI sheets to build their houses, on the provision that their houses are in safe zones. - Vulnerable families are those families whose houses were located in safe zones, but haven't received any support from the government nor any organizations in rebuilding their totally or partially damaged houses. - The vulnerable families identified by DSWD are renting or sharing houses. - Vulnerable families are recognized by DSWD in their Disaster Family Access Card (DAFAC) which were submitted by the respective LGUs. - The vulnerable families covered in the data have family heads who were	potentially active volcanoes all over the country" (p. 6) - "Climate risks bring with it exposure to super typhoons, El Niño-related droughts, projected rainfall change and projected rainfall change and projected temperature increase. In addition, flooding is another hazard facing the country due to rains brought about by typhoons and the monsoons." (p. 6) - Human-induced hazards (such as conflicts) are also considered as disasters. - Hazards are not dangerous in nature; it becomes destructive if it becomes a disaster and affects vulnerable people. - Vulnerable people are those who are eco-

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	resettlement, livelihood, and cross-sectoral) within the national level while engaging the provincial governors and city mayors of affected cities for a concerted effort. → Infrastructure cluster would assure that buildings, establishments, and infrastructures will comply with scientifically-approved disaster resilient measures based on hazard maps prepared by the science agencies. → Social service cluster focuses on social protection schemes in addressing the needs of vulnerable people on education;	not permanently hired and does not have access to housing loans. - Vulnerable people are economically poor families, whose monthly income should not exceed Php15,000 - Vulnerable are lone survivors of the typhoon, as long as he/she is in the official DAFAC master list. - The cost that is needed for a totally destroyed house is Php30,000, while Php10,000 for partially damaged houses will be given. - Other than these vulnerable families, these people are more prioritized I case of limited budget: family heads died due to Yolanda; child-survivors living alone under surrogate parents; family head who is sick; family with three or more members below the age of 12 years; family with differently-abled members; a family with senior citizen member or a caretaker of a	nomically-dis-advantaged and living in adverse socio-economic conditions. → These groups are the poor, the sick, people with disabilities, older persons, women, and children. → Vulnerable people are men and women whose risks to disaster remain high - Vulnerability recognizes the exposure of people through poor planning, development failures, and lack of institutional capacity to cope with and adapt to natural hazards. - DRRM entails modern, scientific, and technological approach to reduce impact of hazard on people.

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	health, nutrition, safety, and psychological welfare; environment; food security; and shelter and land use planning. → Resettlement cluster aims to identify hazard zones and unsafe areas to prevent people from resettling in those areas for practicality and safety purposes. → Livelihood cluster will bring back people's sources of income, employment, and micro, small, and medium enterprise (MSME). - Prioritization of services are based on short-, medium-, and long-term interventions, all	senior citizen; female-headed family; and single parent-led family. -	→ The international community, through humanitarian assistance, disaster aid, and relief operations, are channeling their support for the country to establish its DRRM efforts. - DRRM has four aspects on how to address people's vulnerability: Prevention and Mitigation, Preparedness, Response, and Rehabilitation and Recovery. → Prevention and mitigation will lessen people's vulnerabilities by reducing their exposure to hazards and enhancing capacities of communities through scientific measures towards

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	with disaster resiliency mindset. → Short-term interventions are targeted in 'normalizing' the day-to-day lives of affected people, ensuring the adherence to the 'build back better' principle. → Medium-term upgrades short-term initiatives into a more sustainable facility to affected people, creating to disaster resilient communities. → Long-term are mainly based on implementation decisions brought about by the short-and medium-term programs. - The economic recovery plan of		people's resiliency, and for the environment. → Preparedness empowers people and communities in coping, anticipating, and recovering from impacts of disasters through government planning. → Response provide immediate basic need of affected people of hazards. → Rehabilitation and recovery should entail 'build back better' principle in its programs to affected people. - Gender mainstreaming recognizes the different roles, needs, capacities, and vulnerabilities of men and women

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	the CRRP addresses poverty, and poverty was from an economic-point of view, which is now multi-dimensional in perception and this multi-dimension perception is socio-economic in nature to improve quality of life. → "Poverty is a state of deprivation in multiple dimensions – health and nutrition, education, and living standards (e.g., water and sanitation facilities, electricity, and quality of housing)" (p. 18) - The needs of vulnerable people should be integrated in all the planning and implementation of government interventions to survivors. There were identified		- Cultural sensitivity/indigenous practices promote sensitivity to ethnic knowledges and practices in DRRM initiatives.

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	groups of people as vulnerable. These groups are: "children, pregnant women, elderly people, malnourished people, and those who have special needs or are differently-abled" (p. 19), displaced families, orphaned youth, and single parent households (p. 19) - Gender sensitivity recognizes that women are much more vulnerable than men in times of disaster. -		
3. How has this representation of the problem come about?			
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?	- Despite the recognition of a multi-dimensional view on poverty, the Philippine government (specifically NEDA) is still mindful of achieving the MDGs in reducing poverty	- DSWD assumed that these families, under their conditions, are the only vulnerable people after Haiyan - The framing of people who are vulnerable do not take into consideration the impact of the typhoon to people who earns	- Vulnerability is always seen in socio-economic in nature, but people's vulnerabilities are evident when they are part of a minority group, and because of the spatial dimension of a province.

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	incidence in the country. - The disaster resilience initiatives in the CRRP are based on scientific, empirical, modern, and technology-based measures, and this does not merge, in any way, with the indigenous knowledge practices being promoted in the national DRRM cross-cutting initiative. - Definition and perception on poverty is still socio-economic in manner. Despite its goal of having a multi-dimensional aspect in dealing with poverty, it tends to disregard the violation of human rights as one of the reasons why poverty is prevalent in the country. - In promoting the "build back better" policy, this creates clashes with the needs of the	more than Php15,000 (USD339.06). For DSWD, their basis of a poor family is a family head who is earning Php15,000 (USD339.06) or less. - If ESA is a short-term program, why would the Philippine government opt to rebuild the houses of families in safe zones with frail materials which are not disaster-resilient? The ESA do not comply with the 'build back better' principle being upheld by the DRRM framework by providing resilient housing to affected people.	- DRRM uses modern, high technology measures which the country acquired from the international community. This, however, overhauls local practices because the traditional means on doing DRRM are 'primitive', out-of-date. -

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	vulnerable peo- ple that the gov- ernment identi- fied. With their goal of "increas- ing resilience and capacities of communities in coping with fu- ture hazard events" (which led to the crea- tion of the no- build zone proc- lamation), vul- nerable families in terms of ac- cess to the sea are already de- prived of doing their own liveli- hood, which is fishing. - The short-term programs and projects does not follow the target date that it will grant sup- port to survi- vors. Specifi- cally, in the case of ESA, this did not work fully. - With the nam- ing of vulnera- ble groups and the target activi- ties to reduce their vulnerabili- ties, it creates an image of all vul- nerable people as homogenous groups, who		

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	- have the same needs. - The gender sensitivity acknowledged the differences in women and men yet they still show that women are the most group who are in dire need of help. The Plan kept on portraying women as helpless victims, and that there is only one, single image of a woman.		
5. **What effects are produced by this representation of the problem?**	- By veering away from the overall human rights approach in dealing with poverty, people who do not conform into the identified vulnerable groups (such as IPs, LGBTs) are disregarded and not covered in the rehabilitation and recovery initiatives of the government. - There are cases where members of LGBT experience discrimination and non-inclusion because of their	- This poses as a huge problem to families whose houses were located in "danger houses" are automatically excluded to avail of this program. These families are most vulnerable because of the location of their houses, compared to the families living in safe zones. - Houses which were built in potential storm surge areas are also considered as danger zones, and some families do not know that their houses were located in such	- Vulnerability was also not considered in terms of employment. People who are working on areas where hazards will create a huge impact on their livelihood (farmers, fisherfolks, small entrepreneurs, etc.) - Indigenous and local practices in DRRM were replaced with modern, western, scientific measures.

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	sexual orientation and gender identity. - Disaster resilience measures excludes indigenous practices. - The definition of poor in "economic recovery" excluded non-poor people who became instantly poor after Typhoon Haiyan, who cannot bounce back to their normal lives without external help. - Women are always in-favour in gender programs stipulated in the document.	area (Ocon and Neussner 2015). - Families who were not registered in the DSWD DAFAC are automatically excluded. -	