

Gender Disparities in Climate Resilience: Amplifying Voices of Women in Climate Change Issue in Indonesia's Chairmanship of ASEAN 2023

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ABSTRACT

Indonesia officially received the mandate as Chair of ASEAN from January 1 to December 31, 2023. During the post-COVID-19 pandemic, in the period 2022-2023 Indonesia received appreciation from the international community regarding the successful organization of international forums including the G-20. Indonesia's attitude is considered to remain neutral and maximize Indonesia's function as a middle-power at the level of multilateralism, amid geopolitical conflicts such as the Ukraine-Russia conflict and regional instability in the Middle East. But on the other hand, there are other issues in the realm of low politics, including the issue of climate change and women's vulnerability. As a region with a long coastline, it has a high potential risk as a chain effect of climate change. In addition, the gender disparity that is still quite high in this region is one of the factors that make women vulnerable to climate change issues, such as vulnerability in the labor, health and gender-based violence sectors. This paper focuses on seeing the extent to which Indonesia's role as chair of ASEAN in 2023 advocates the issue of climate change in a gender framework. The concept of Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) which focuses on women's participation in the public sector and policy initiation is used as a framework. The expected results of this study can show the relationship between environmental issues and women's vulnerability and the imbalance between women's participation in the public sector and policy initiation.

Keywords: GESI, women, climate change, ASEAN Chairmanship, Indonesia.

ABSTRAK

Indonesia secara resmi mendapat mandat sebagai Ketua ASEAN pada 1 Januari hingga 31 Desember 2023. Selama paska pandemi COVID-19, pada kurun waktu 2022-2023 Indonesia mendapatkan apresiasi dari dunia internasional terkait suksesnya penyelenggaraan forum internasional termasuk G-20. Sikap Indonesia dinilai tetap netral dan memaksimalkan fungsi Indonesia sebagai middle-power di level multilateralisme, di tengah konflik geopolitik seperti konflik Ukraina-Rusia serta instabilitas kawasan di Timur Tengah. Namun di sisi lain terdapat isu lain di ranah low politic, termasuk isu perubahan iklim dan kerentanan perempuan. Sebagai kawasan dengan garis pantai yang cukup panjang, memiliki potensi resiko yang tinggi sebagai efek berantai dari perubahan iklim. Selain itu, disparitas gender yang masih cukup tinggi di kawasan ini menjadi salah satu faktor yang membuat perempuan menjadi pihak yang cukup rentan pada permasalahan perubahan iklim, seperti misalnya kerentanan di sektor tenaga kerja, kesehatan dan kekerasan berbasis gender. Tulisan ini berfokus untuk melihat sejauh mana peran Indonesia sebagai ketua ASEAN pada tahun 2023 mengadvokasi isu climate change dalam kerangka pikir gender. Konsep Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) yang menitikberatkan pada partisipasi perempuan di sektor publik dan inisiasi kebijakan digunakan sebagai kerangka berpikir. Hasil yang diharapkan penelitian ini dapat menunjukkan keterkaitan antara isu lingkungan dan kerentanan perempuan serta ketimpangan kuasa yang dimiliki oleh negara dan aktor internasional dalam mengadvokasi isu lingkungan.

Kata Kunci: GESI, climate change, ASEAN Chairmanship, Indonesia

Introduction

Indonesia held the opportunity to become the chairmanship of Association of South-east Asian Nations (ASEAN) in 2023 with “ASEAN Matters: Epicentrum of Growth” as the theme. This is Indonesia's fourth opportunity to be the chairman after previously hosting in 1976, 2003 and 2011. Currently Indonesia is committed to implement her objectives by directing ASEAN cooperation in 2023 and strengthening ASEAN's relevance in responding to regional and global challenges. As epicentrum of economic growth especially in South-east Asia, Indonesia play significant role regionally along with strengthening ASEAN's position globally¹. As the chairman, Indonesia carried out duties to navigate priority agendas of ASEAN member's national interest and also had to secure its own national interest as a sovereign state. During an increasingly dynamic global situation and the world's recovery phase from the Covid-19, Indonesia's role as chairman was challenging to establish a stronger ASEAN.

Geographically, Southeast Asia with the region's high concentration of economic activities and numbers of people located in coastal and other high-risk areas, would face a lot of significant climate change-related disaster risks.² Around tens of millions people in Southeast Asia are located less than 2 meters above sea level, and another several millions are located below sea level.³ According to a report made by ASEAN in 2020, 56% of disasters in the region which prone to floods⁴. The latest Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) reported that temperatures in Southeast Asia have risen by 0.14-0.20 celsius degrees per decade and there is no significant global action to tackle climate change. Meanwhile, around 8-13% of the region's Gross Domestic Product (GDP) could be lost.⁵ In addition, large cities such as Jakarta, Manila, Ho Chi Minh City, Bangkok, and other major urban hubs have high risk of sinking, by 2060 it is estimated that the sea-level around those cities could exceed 50 cm.⁶ As a region whose economy is highly impacted by agricultural activities, climate change jeopardized the economic downturn, because rice yields in the Philippines, Indonesia, and Viet Nam are estimated to be reduced by half annually due to the impacts of climate change.⁷

Climate change issue has been a growing discourse in Southeast Asia especially in its intersection with gender perspective. Women and other vulnerable groups are often in a disadvantageous position, as key resources needed to adapt are limited and thus only positioned as subjects in the power to influence decision-making. This is especially the case for many women living in poverty, who have limited economic capacity, and poor political or legal influence.⁸ Women are more affected by climate

¹ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of The Republic of Indonesia. 2023.. “First Quarter Achievements of Indonesia's ASEAN Chairmanship 2023.” <https://kemlu.go.id/portal/en/read/4656/berita/first-quarter-achievements-of-indonesias-asean-chairmanship-2023>

² Storer, Rhi. 2021. “Up to 410 million people at risk from sea level rises – study.” The Guardian.

<https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/jun/29/risk-from-sea-level-rises-unless-emissions-reduced>. ³ Vernimmen and Hooijer 2023, “New LiDAR-Based Elevation Model Shows Greatest Increase in Global Coastal Exposure to Flooding to Be Caused by Early-Stage Sea-Level Rise.” *Advancing Earth And Space Science*, (01), 1-13. 10.1029/2022EF002880.

⁴ Yi-Chen Han et al. 2022. “The Assessment Report on the State of Gender Equality and Climate Change in ASEAN.” ASEAN for Socio-Cultural Committee. (Online) <<https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/State-of-Gender-Equality-and-Climate-Change-in-ASEAN_FINAL-1.pdf>>

⁵ The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change. “*Summary for Policymakers — Global Warming of 1.5 °C.*” IPCC.” 2018. (Online) <<https://www.ipcc.ch/sr15/chapter/spm/>>

⁶ The World Bank 2013. “Warmer World Threatens Livelihoods in South East Asia.” The World Bank -IBRD IRDA . (Online) <<https://www.worldbank.org/en/news/press-release/2013/06/19/warmer-world-threatens-livelihoods-in-south-east-asia>>⁷

Yunus, Muhammad. 2024. “Opinion | For Southeast Asia to survive climate change, timid effort is not enough.” *South China Morning Post*, (2 April 2024), <<https://www.scmp.com/opinion/asia-opinion/article/3257532/southeast-asia-survive-climate-change-timid-effort-not-enough>>

⁸ ASEAN. “Brief and Policymakers: 2023 The State of Gender and Climate Change in ASEAN B.” *ASEAN Main Portal*, Association of South-east Asian Nation (ASEAN), https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/08/ASEAN_Policy_Brief_Digital_FINAL-1.pdf. Accessed 30 May 2024.

change and gender activists urge related stakeholders to incorporate women in climate change mitigation policy. As stated by the annual ASEAN Report on Gender Inequality and Climate change, is not gender neutral but rather viewed as inequality caused by social stratification.

Those norms and social structures limit women's participation and representation in climate change-related decision-making. On the contrary, women are culturally expected to perform at the domestic level, and partake in labor intensive work. Due to these inequalities, women who work in those sectors are more vulnerable to the impacts caused by climate change in Asia and Africa.⁹ Despite the challenge, ASEAN member states are quite successful in dealing with climate change. Based on World Economic Forum records in 2021, the Philippines is ranked 17th as a country with gender equality globally, and ranked first as the most gender-equal country in Asia, followed by DPR of Laos & Singapore respectively. Nevertheless, ASEAN member countries still need to work harder in addressing the secondary impact of the climate change issue, including the gender gap in the human security framework. In order to eradicate climate change, the ASEAN Work Plan focused on : renewable energy (RE), Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR), and agriculture.¹⁰

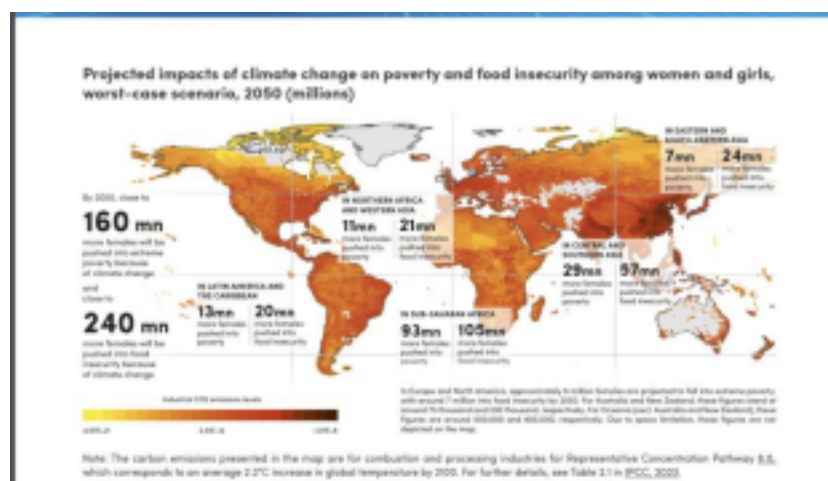


Figure 1. Food insecurity, climate change among women and girls (UN Women Reports, 2023)

Moreover, the impacts of climate change are not equally distributed within communities globally. In the case of women and girls especially in developing countries, patriarchal norms and unequal social structures can impede access to the right information and resources needed to adapt to a climate change situation.¹¹ When the climate change issue gets severe, woman vulnerability is heightened especially in developing countries.¹²

Climate change affects women disproportionately compared to men such as an increased rate of maternal death during childbirth because of limited healthcare facilities, early-age marriage, gender

⁹Rao et al., "Gendered Vulnerabilities to Climate Change."

¹⁰UNWomen, "Data-Driven Insights: The Effects Of Climate Change On Gender And Development." ¹¹OHCHR, "UN HUMAN RIGHTS REPORT 2019." in United Nations Human Rights : Office of High Commissioner. 2019. (Online). <<https://www2.ohchr.org/english/ohchrreport2019/documents/Asia-Pacific.pdf>>

¹²Fernando and Gunawardhana, "Women Bear the Brunt of Asia's Climate Failures."The Diplomat (Online ed) December 28, 2023 <<https://thediplomat.com/2023/12/women-bear-the- in G20 brunt-of-asias-climate-failures/>>

based violence, greater chance in human trafficking and being internally displaced and homeless by disaster.¹³

For example, the impact of climate change affects rural communities especially women by the increased risk of drought, extreme rainfall, rising sea levels and more intense hurricanes; 1.5 billion women and girls, or 37.2 percent of the world's female population, face a high or very high exposure. As a direct result of climate change, approximately by 2050 close to 160 million women and girls globally may be pushed into poverty as a direct result of climate change.¹⁴

The impact of climate change transcends traditional borders, makes cooperation a framework, through various multilateral forums. Therefore, gender mainstreaming in climate change in regional level institutions, especially in this matter ASEAN in Southeast Asia, need to be concerned¹⁵. However, there are several criticisms of ASEAN state members in addressing commitment on climate change in multilateral forums. In Indonesia alone, the discourse on climate change lacks women participation in the decision-making process, thus based on a 2015 research, in REDD+ (Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation) strategy, gender mainstreaming is not fully implemented in Indonesia. Women have not been benefitting from the framework when they should be one of the main stakeholders and the major people at risk.¹⁶ Meanwhile in the G20 several womens forums accused the Indonesian government of a lack of willingness as G20 chairmanship to bring fair dialogue for gender equality¹⁷ Issues related to land grabbing and deforestation have deeply affected women and indigenous people. Critics had been addressing W20, the G20's official dialogue for women's empowerment, which did not even include any agenda related to this, whereas small medium enterprise and the role of women reported to be the main topic of discussion.

Based on the explanation above, the aim of this research will focus on how far Indonesia addresses climate change issues at the multilateral level especially in the 2023 ASEAN Chairmanship. The objective describes the dynamic actor inside the ASEAN decision-making process in 2023 chairmanship, as well as priority issues from the state member, its achievement and moreover the commitment from ASEAN as a multilateral organization bringing up climate change issues in the gender framework. Those who live in poverty, work in informals sector or who rely on agriculture, and aquaculture commanually are prone to inequities that have the most devastating impacts. Even though currently gender mainstreaming perspective has been adopted on the high politics agenda such as global security and peace, but how far Indonesia as ASEAN Chairman in 2023 delivered climate change in gender framework as a threat thus it will be prioritized by state at the multilateral level alongside with non state actors to collaborate When inequality seems inevitable, do communities, as well as state and international society are able to amplify the voice of the vulnerable?

¹³CARE, "Climate Change Is a Threat to Everyone. Everywhere." CARE International . Online ed. April 21 2023 <<https://www.care.org/news-and-stories/news/earth-day-5-ways-climate-change-impacts-women-and-girls-the-most/>> Accessed at 2024-03-20

¹⁴UN Women. "DATA-DRIVEN INSIGHTS: THE EFFECTS OF CLIMATE CHANGE ON GENDER AND DEVELOPMENT DROUGHTS FLOOD UN Women's Gender and Climate Data Works: Extracted Compilations." *UN Women*, 27 November 2023, <https://www.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2023-11/data_driven_insight_the_effects_of_climate_change_on_gender_development.pdf>

¹⁵Pratiwi, Nila A., Yovi D. Rahmawati, and Ivo Setiono. "Integrating gender dimensions in climate change adaptation." *Asian Cities Climate Resilience*, 40-45. 2016. Online <<https://www.jstor.org/stable/resrep18050.10>>

¹⁶Emily J. Wornell, Ann R. Tickamyer & Siti Kusujarti. 2015. "Gender Mainstreaming Principles in Indonesia's REDD+ Program: A Document Analysis"

¹⁷Llewellyn,Aisyah. "G20 Women's Forum Accused of Excluding Indigenous Indonesians." *Al Jazeera* (Online ed) 20 -07-2022 <<https://www.aljazeera.com/economy/2022/7/20/g20-womens-forum-accused-of-excluding-indigenous-indonesians>>

Literature Review

First, International Feminist (IFP) is positioned as a starting point for literature review because it acknowledges how Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) studies are in intersection with gender norms. As mentioned by Aggerstam, current milestone of gender inclusivity on a global level such as Convention for the Elimination of all Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in 1979 and the United Nations (UN) Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS), reflects that women is no longer perceived as supporting actor in international relations and decision making process globally.¹⁸ This is certainly a positive development, considering that the realm of diplomacy in practice and study is often labeled as very masculine and traditionally ignores the role of women behind it. In accordance with Stanford in her writing, which argues that the practice of feminism in diplomacy and the formation of foreign policy is very dynamic, considering that the main character in diplomacy prioritizes political authority and state representation¹⁹

With the increasing number of challenges in the security sector, IFP evolved significantly especially in addressing cross-border issues such as climate change. Multilateralism offers an alternative as the establishment of a Social Pact between States in order to replace anarchy and power relations with an order theoretically governed by Law.²⁰ In the multilateral forum, low political issues such as human security for marginalized people including women, girls and minorities are able to be addressed collectively. By projecting gender issues on a multilateral level agenda, it can be positioned as a soft diplomatic target and an entry point to breaking consensus-based multilateralism. Thus, actors' willingness in effective leadership is inevitably in order to prevent the instrumentalisation of gender to break consensus-based multilateralism.²¹ Moreover, current findings related to women, climate change and Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) also highlight the finding that the intersection of gender and climate change is a crucial but often overlooked aspect of environmental discourse and policy-making. Climate change brings disproportionated impact, segmented vulnerability and the existence of data gaps to analyze it. Moreover, Big Data analysis through specific keywords from on line search engines (search engines (Google, Bing, Yahoo) in several regions in Pacific (Solomon, Tonga, Samoa, Kiribati, etc) especially during COVID-19 era showed steady exposure of conversation on climate change issues and violence against women in 2021.²² Based on this argument, it shows us

Methodology

This research is conducted in qualitative methods. Qualitative research needs the observer to position themselves in a situated activity. Qualitative research is an approach to explore and interpret social phenomena around the society.²³ This may need some empirical materials, such as personal experience, life story, interview, case study along with observational, interactional, and visual texts that describe problematic moments and meanings in an individual's lives²⁴. In this article, the data were gathered from secondary and primary sources. The secondary sources were gathered from, but not

¹⁸ Aggestam and True, "Gendering Foreign Policy: A Comparative Framework for Analysis," 143–162. Foreign Policy Analysis, Oxford Academic p. 143–162 <<https://doi.org/10.1093/fpa/orz026>>

¹⁹ Standfield, "Gendering the Practice Turn in Diplomacy," 146 European Journal of International Relations DOI :10.1177/1354066120940351.

²⁰ Para, Evelyn. "Building Equality Through Multilateralism." Soroptimist International (Online ed). 18 April 2022

<<https://www.soroptimistinternational.org/building-equality-through-multilateralism/>> Accessed at 03/01/2024 ²¹ Geneva Policy Outlook, "Countering Gender Trade-Offs in Multilateral Negotiations." Policy Outlook (Online ed) 05 February 2024 <<https://www.genevapolicyoutlook.ch/countering-gender-trade-offs-in-multilateral-negotiations/>> ²² Valero and Sara Duarte,

"Utilizing Big Data to Measure Key Connections between Gender and Climate Change," n.d. ²³ John W. Creswell and J. David Creswell, *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*, 5th ed. (Los Angeles: SAGE Publication, 2018).

²⁴ Denzin and Lincoln, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 5th ed. (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication, 2017).

limited to articles, books, online newspaper articles, and other documents, such as policy briefs. While the primary sources were gathered from the interview and discussion from researchers or practitioners, specifically focused on gender, climate, and multilateral issues. The primary sources were collected from the discussion with one of the researchers from The Transnational Institute and its publication related to climate change advocacy. The discussant is an expert in law, and has been doing research on sustainable development including the role of the non-state actor in the international community. The Transnational Institute is an international research and advocacy community, which focuses on building a sustainable and democratic world. Another source that the authors interview is an international relations scholar, focusing on gender perspective within Indonesia's foreign policy. The data collected from the scholar will be related to the implementation of Indonesia's foreign policy and the relevance of gender perspectives in the implementation of the foreign policy.

Gender, Climate Change and Global Resilience

This research will use the concept of Feminist Approach in Foreign Policy Analysis (FPA) as a conceptual framework alongside with the Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI). In this research Agestam's term of pro-gender norm inclusion of one or more of the four commitments in by state in designing foreign policy i.e (i) the explicit practice of gender mainstreaming at all levels of foreign policy-making; (ii) the inclusion of gender valued in international development assistance (iii) women's security and human rights alongside with state commitment on WPS agenda and/ or the adoption of WPS National Actions Plans; (iv) other concrete foreign policy gender equality institutional or legislative mechanisms. These indicators would be used as a tool to examine state commitment in addressing issues at the multilateral level.²⁵

Even though it carries a narrative of universality, the gender mainstreaming agenda in the realm of multilateralism faces structural obstacles. Gender is often positioned as immutable facts as grounds to justify gender-based discrimination and exclusion from human rights protections. Attempts to commit the gender agenda discussion from multilateral forums such as the European Union (EU) or parliament happened in the mixture of increasing roles of national populism, a result of powerplay, disinformation and reframing the gender agenda as an opposite of nationalism. This condition, later stated by Vida as the de-democratization process throughout Europe.²⁶

The concept of Gender Equality and Social Inclusion is a framework based on the idea that every human being has the right to have equal opportunities to participate and benefit in everyday life. World Vision defines GESI as a transformation process to promote the welfare of people who are in vulnerable conditions aiming transformation of systems, social norms and relationships so that the vulnerable can participate and benefit from development interventions²⁷. The GESI framework offers an alternative approach to advocate, assess, and evaluate the integration of GESI principles and public policies by policy makers. Because of its inclusive characters GESI framework is often being incorporated into the climate change issue, to assess the impact and how marginalized people could participate from the resources and assets. Critics on GESI and addressing climate change, oftenly focused on women -men dichotomy; and programs related to power and social and political relations. This is similar to the

²⁵ ^Ibid, Aggestam and True, 2018 p.144

²⁶ . Centre for Feminist Foreign Policy CFFP gGmbH . 2022 (Online ed).
<https://centreforfeministforeignpolicy.org/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2023/03/Final_Multilateralism-Study.pdf>
Accessed 2023-03-02

²⁷ Ogega, Douglas, and Winter, *World Vision's Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Approach and Theory of Change*, 3.

dilemma faced by intersectional feminists who experience the challenge of how to determine priorities in addressing multiple marginalizations.²⁸

The GESI framework looks at how individuals can be empowered independently and then provide a balanced relationship within the household. To realize the transformation, there is a need for full participation and collective movement from the community. Furthermore, society, government institutions and multilateral organizations can build structural system transformation²⁹.

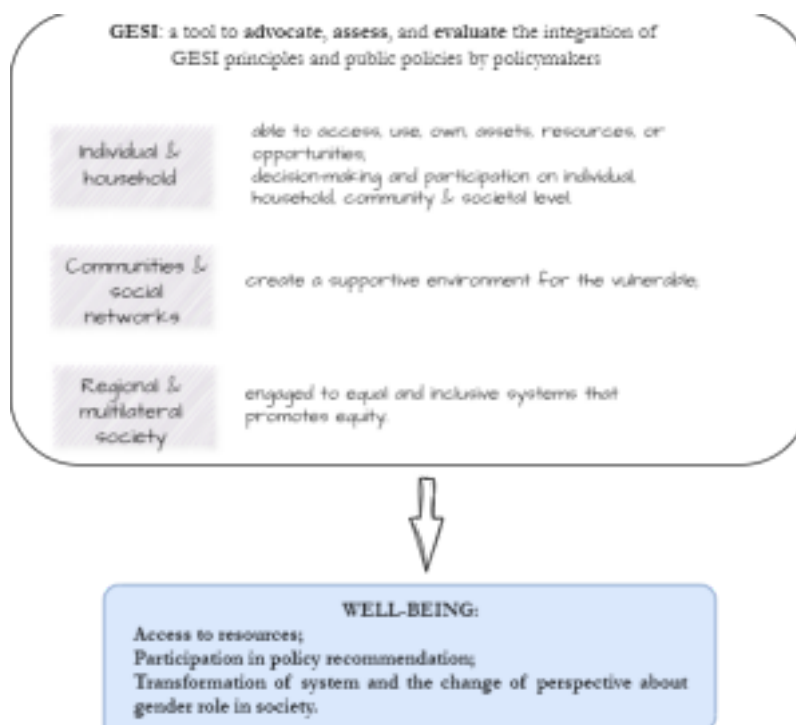


Figure 2. Framework analysis of GESI

source: Prasetyo et al, 2019 (edited)³⁰

Addressing gender inclusion in the context of climate transitions, it has mostly been exempted in this topic. It is still rare to see an intersectional analysis being applied systematically, with most research referring to gender impacts of climate change that is mostly handled in a men-versus-women dichotomy and with little or no attention paid to power and social and political relations. In other research, there are mostly social effects of climate change, drawing inferences regarding inequality but not quite focusing on it. There is an urgent need in addressing the topic of gender and inclusion in the context of climate transitions, as it is related to sustainable growth for everyone.

²⁸ Christina Tamang, “Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) as a Critical Praxis of Intersectionality: Understanding and Manifestation of Intersectionality in GESI Frameworks of Development Organizations in Nepal” (University of Oslo, 2022), https://www.duo.uio.no/bitstream/handle/10852/95978/Christina_Tamang_Master_Thesis_SUM_2022.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y. May 2022. University of Oslo

²⁹ Ogega, Douglas, and Winter, *World Vision's Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Approach and Theory of Change*, 6. ³⁰ Dinar Prasetyo et al., “[DRAFT] Gender and Social Inclusion (GESI) Contextual Analysis/Formative Research for the Plan’s Water for Women Indonesia” (SMERU Research Institute, February 2019), <https://smeru.or.id/en/publication/gender-and-social-inclusion-gesi-contextual-analysisformative-research-plans-water-women>.

Analysis

In the analysis section the author describes International Feminist Theory from being incorporated with the GESI approach in addressing climate change issues in ASEAN Chairmanship 2023. As mentioned in the previous section, even though gender mainstreaming has become a priority agenda at the international level such as UN Bodies and the EU, and G-20 forum, there are still challenges to be addressed in another multilateral organization. ASEAN Way emphasizes ~~on~~ non-intervention norms which provide independence for its member countries and depends on power play inside the organization decision making to addressing certain issues

This section consists of three main arguments: First, describing ASEAN after COVID-19 Pandemic by addressing its priority program health management and Peace and Security; Secondly climate change issue in ASEAN as multilateral forum is being conceptualized in climate change prevention, and observe how gender mainstreaming agenda being incorporated by the state member. Third, by using Agestam's term of pro-gender norm inclusion, this research will analyze Indonesia's commitment to addressing this issue in gender perspective. However, the notion of gender mainstreaming in climate change should be positioned. The last two years were marked with geopolitical instability, thus climate change and gender perspective itself were not specifically mentioned as ASEAN priority program in 2023 Indonesia Chairmanship. Scholars mentioned several significant focuses of ASEAN 2023 which emphasized on unity in global issues internally; strengthening regional cooperation and counter unilateralism and strengthening multilateralism.³¹ Thus rather than the pessimistically concluded ASEAN in 2023 Indonesia chairmanship turned its back on climate change which heavily lain on each sectoral terms, we will observe the continuation of gender-based inclusivity program as well as civil society approach which has been facilitated by the ASEAN Body.

a. ASEAN Priority Issues : Health Management and Peace- Security Agenda Achieving sustainable peace and prosperity has long been recognised as an essential issue in the ASEAN region. ASEAN members have always committed to promote the region's stability and security. As set out in the ASEAN Declaration, ASEAN aims to promote regional peace and stability through abiding by respect and the rule of law by adhering to the principles of the UN Charter.³² ASEAN has long been building the ASEAN way in addressing the peace and security agenda. The culture of dialogue and consensus is a remarkable way of ASEAN collective efforts in building trust among the ASEAN member states. To implement the peace and security agenda in the region, ASEAN leaders have agreed to establish the ASEAN Political-Security Community (APSC).

The APSC blueprint was adopted on 1 March 2009, as a shared values and norms for implementing a peaceful, stable and resilient region. With this blueprint, ASEAN member states agreed on confidence building measures and preventive diplomacy in conflict prevention.³³ In addition, ASEAN agreed to respond effectively to all forms of threats, including the non-traditional security issues. To foster the implementation of the APSC blueprint, ASEAN also contributed to the framework of Women, Peace and Security. This framework was adopted after the UNSCR 1325 stressing the need for women's equal participation in maintaining peace and security.³⁴

³¹ Daneswara Muhammad R. 2023. "Chairing ASEAN: what does it mean for Indonesia in 2023?" The Conversation.

<<https://theconversation.com/chairing-asean-what-does-it-mean-for-indonesia-in-2023-190208>>³² ASEAN, "What We Do ASEAN Aims," asean.org, n.d., <https://asean.org/what-we-do#asean-aims>.³³ ASEAN, "ASEAN Political Security Community Blueprint," June 2009, https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/03/APSC_BluePrint.pdf.

³⁴ ASEAN, "ASEAN Regional Plan of Action on Women, Peace and Security," 2021, <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/32-ASEAN-Regional-Plan-of-Action-on-Women-Peace-and-Security.pdf>.

The ASEAN Regional Plan Action on Women, Peace and Security then serves as a broad policy framework to guide the commitment of ASEAN on to mainstreaming gender and women participation in all sectors at the regional level³⁵. This document then showed the commitment of ASEAN in participating in peacekeeping and peacebuilding in the region, adopting the global norms.

Under Brunei Darussalam's chairmanship, ASEAN has promoted the establishment of the ASEAN Centre for Climate Change (ACCC) which then functions as an inter-governmental climate change coordination and cooperation center among ASEAN member states. This intergovernmental center of climate change's establishment had now been agreed by other ASEAN member states in the ASEAN 17th Ministerial Meeting on the Environment and the 18th Meeting of the Conference of the Parties to the ASEAN Agreement on Transboundary Haze Pollution in August 2023. The center itself will be supported by Brunei Climate Change Secretariat under the Office of the Prime Minister. In 2022, there is no specific point in which climate change was explicitly mentioned in the Chairman Statement. Yet, climate change was mentioned in the ASEAN Leaders' Vision Statement on ASEAN A.C.T (Addressing Challenges Together) and ASEAN Joint Statement on Climate Change to the 27th Session of the Conference of the Parties to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC COP-27).

b. Gendering Policy on Climate Change in ASEAN

ASEAN has committed to implementing gender mainstreaming at various levels. This is shown in some initiatives they had such as the ASEAN Socio-Cultural Community Blueprint 2025, ASEAN Community Vision 2025, ASEAN Declaration on the Gender-Responsive Implementation of the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 and Sustainable Development Goals and developed ASEAN Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Framework 2021-2025 as tools to monitor and evaluate plans regarding gender equality and mainstreaming in ASEAN policies and institutions³⁶. It is clearly stated in their ASEAN Community Vision 2025 that they commit to reaffirm the need to mainstream a gender perspective and analysis, which may include targeted actions and investments, and gender-responsive budgeting in their formulation and implementation of policies, plans, and programmes³⁷. Furthermore, even though there are no new documents related to gender mainstreaming in ASEAN, especially in Indonesia's ASEAN Chairmanship 2023, we could see the implementation of several initiations and commitments that have been implemented previously.

Regionalizing gender issues on the other hand, especially about gender equality, women empowerment, and gender mainstreaming in technical issues has very well been one of the key deliverables in ASEAN. Rooted deep in the 1988 Declaration of the Advancement of Women in ASEAN Region, the issue of gender equality and women empowerment has been developed further under the Declaration on the Gender-Responsive Implementation of ASEAN Community Vision 2025 and the ASEAN Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Framework 2021-2025 which adequately ruled out the strategic objectives and entry points as well as the constraints in operationalising each of the gender inclusion commitment. Under those frameworks, ASEAN promoted social inclusion towards women, especially in crucial fields such as economic enhancement, disaster management, family development, and policy-making in ASEAN priority programs such as sustainable energy, employment, and health resilience. Additionally, ASEAN has its own established committee body which focuses on women

³⁵ ASEAN, "ASEAN Regional Plan of Action on Women, Peace and Security," 2021, <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/11/32-ASEAN-Regional-Plan-of-Action-on-Women-Peace-and-Security.pdf>.

³⁶ Han, Jenny, Camille Pross, Rashi Agarwal, and Andreea Torre. 2022. "State of Gender Equality and Climate Change in ASEAN". Southeast Asia: ASEAN, UN Women.

³⁷ ASEAN. ASEAN Declaration on the Gender-Responsive Implementation of the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 and Sustainable Development Goals. 2017. Manila, Philippines: n.p.

empowerment and gender mainstreaming, that is ASEAN Committee on Women (ACW) previously known as ASEAN Ministerial Meeting on Women (AMMW) that has been established since 1975 through the establishment of a regional mechanism on women issues during the ASEAN Women Leaders Conference.

The ACW specifically identified some priority areas written in its 2021-2025 Work Plan; it has envisioned seven key points under the framework: gender data and statistics, gender mainstreaming, gender responsive climate and disaster resilience, gender approach to enhancing safety and protection of women and girls, women, peace, and security, women's economic empowerment and future of work, and last but not least, gender responsive-governance and leadership. It is stated that the inclusion of women in climate and disaster resilience has become one of the priorities of ASEAN in the ACW 2021- 2025 work plan. The work plan aims to enhance the resilience of women and girls in addressing and mitigating the impacts caused by climate change of the socio-economic aspects of society. This point was made to ensure the reinforcement and engagement of women agencies in disaster response and recovery. Another ASEAN body that is especially within the ASEAN Centre of Energy's ASEAN Energy and Gender Report.

c. GESI and ASEAN Community Building: ASEAN's People Forum Gender Equality and Social Inclusion (GESI) Framework is an important tool to be utilized during policy-making due to some of the elements it upholds: the fostering of inclusion, empowerment, addressing power imbalance, and trust-building. According to data gathered from a researcher of The Transnational Institute, GESI framework can be used by civil grassroot societies to advocate women and other marginalized groups' access in policy-making and to evaluate how far policy makers have been including women as a marginalized group in policy-decision. GESI framework aims to address how marginalized groups are able to exercise their rights towards state and private actors in the context of taking them accountable over the damage they have caused during economic-related policy implementations that have both impacted the environment and these groups' rights. The GESI framework is a regional necessity in tackling environmental impacts caused by the extraction of mineral resources towards women and other marginalized groups in mining and other impacted areas. Within the regional context of Southeast Asia under ASEAN, several platforms have been established as the products of the community-building commitment it has been upholding since the 2021 chairmanship under Brunei Darussalam, which also counts as the effort of implementing the GESI framework within the region. The primary resource mentioned that the ASEAN People's Forum through the ASEAN Civil Society Conference and ASEAN Climate Change and Energy Project have been two of the significant actors in inclusive community engagement. In which during the 2023 ASEAN Civil Society Conference's Join Statement, it's stated in the 4th Convergence Space regarding Climate and Environment Justice, that it acknowledges that women are the most impacted by climate-related issues and it is necessary to include and amplify the voice of marginalized groups such as rural women, women farmers, etc. in the making of climate mitigation initiatives.

ASEAN Climate Change and Energy Project (ACCEPT) is a joint collaboration project funded by the Norwegian Government, specifically under the Norwegian-ASEAN Regional Integration Programme (NARIP) which is operated by the ASEAN Centre for Energy (ACE) and the Norwegian Institute of International Affairs (NUPI). This body is responsible for the creation of the ASEAN Plan of Action for Energy Cooperation (APAEC) 2016-2025 and the 6th ASEAN Energy Outlook (AEO). Acknowledging the ASEAN Community Vision 2025 which strives for a people-centered approach that upholds the "no one gets left behind" motto, this body addresses the need to include gender perspectives in the energy sector as one of the climate change mitigation initiatives. This body then produced the ASEAN Energy and Gender Report: Development Finance in 2022 which includes the explanation of

the interplay between gender equality, energy access, and economic empowerment in general and recommendations for ASEAN member states in implementing the programs to reach the key objectives.

d. Analyzing Indonesia Commitment on Gender and Climate Change during 2023 ASEAN Chairmanship 2023

Indonesia hosted ASEAN as chairman in 2023 amidst geopolitical instability, such as the Ukraine-Russia conflict and regional instability in the Middle East. Even though the gender issue is a recurring issue, even in the previous multilateral forum, such as G20, the high political agenda is still being prioritized by the Indonesian government. Despite seemingly focusing on regional stability, low politics issues such as gender equality, climate change and inclusivity issues are being accommodated inside since the initial meeting also emphasized multilateralism rather than unilateralism. In this research Agestam's term of pro-gender norm inclusion of one or more of the four commitments in by state in designing foreign policy i.e (i) the explicit practice of gender mainstreaming at all levels of foreign policy-making; (ii) the inclusion of gender valued in international development assistance (iii) women's security and human rights alongside with state commitment on WPS agenda and/ or the adoption of WPS National Actions Plans; (iv) other concrete foreign policy gender equality institutional or legislative mechanisms. These indicators would be used as a tool to examine state commitment in addressing issues at the multilateral level.

(i) The explicit practice of gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming was first endorsed in Beijing Declaration 1955, which stressed the importance of adopting gender perspective as reflected in all of the policies and programs.³⁸ By adopting gender perspectives, means that the policies should all be considering the impact to both men and women. The gender perspectives should be integrated to every process, including the budgeting, planning, implementation, up to evaluation of the policies. There are conditions for policy makers to be committed in facilitating gender mainstreaming, there are political will, specific gender equality policy, statistics, comprehensive knowledge in gender relations, funds and human resources, participation of women in decision-making process.³⁹

Using those conditions, we can analyze the explicit practice of gender mainstreaming in ASEAN. Political will can be reflected in a form of acknowledgement of the global convention related to gender mainstreaming, and be implemented in an action framework. ASEAN as a multilateral organization recognizing the gender mainstreaming concept by 1995 United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. This was stated in ASEAN Gender Mainstreaming Framework 2021- 2025. The framework was laid as a groundwork of the four year initial plan.⁴⁰ Within this framework, ASEAN has also stated that they have comprehensive knowledge in this gender relations. In this framework, it mentioned that ASEAN has the initial knowledge in gender relations, which needed the external experts and other civil society organizations to support the implementation of gender relations. In November 2022, the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children and ASEAN Committee on Women held a Special ACWC-ACW Consultation Meeting on Gender Mainstreaming in the ASEAN Community. This meeting clearly stated that those two bodies

³⁸ UN Women, "Handbook on Gender Mainstreaming for Gender Equality Results," UN Women (UN Women, 2022), <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2022/02/handbook-on-gender-mainstreaming-for-gender-equality-results>

³⁹ Okta Dewi, "Implementasi Gender Mainstreaming Dalam Konteks Pembangunan: Studi Kasus Keberhasilan Kesetaraan Gender Di Filipina Tahun 2018," *Jurnal Ilmiah Hubungan Internasional* 17, no. 2 (November 9, 2021): 200–218, <https://doi.org/10.26593/jihi.v17i2.4111.200-218>.

⁴⁰ ASEAN Secretariat, *ASEAN Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Framework 2021–2025*, Asean.org (Jakarta: ASEAN Secretariat, 2021), <https://asean.org/book/asean-gender-mainstreaming-strategic-framework-2021-2025/>.

will lead the technical support related to gender mainstreaming agenda in ASEAN.⁴¹ The existence of sectoral bodies is an important part to indicate the comprehensive knowledge of the community. Subsequently, in February 2023 ASEAN Gender Mainstreaming Steering Committee held a meeting with various ASEAN sectoral bodies and entities. From this meeting, it has been concluded that there are increasing trends of sectoral bodies which articulate the gender dimensions in their work. Some of the policies in articulating gender dimensions include Guidelines for Operationalising the ASEAN Regional Framework on Protection, and Inclusion in Disaster Management by the ASEAN Committee on Disaster Management Gender, AMAF's Approach to Gender Mainstreaming in the Food, Agriculture, and Forestry Sectors by the ASEAN Ministers Meeting on Agriculture and Forestry, and Roadmap on Accelerating ASEAN Renewable Energy Deployment through Gender-Responsive Energy Policy by the ASEAN Centre for Energy (ACE).⁴² It could be concluded that ASEAN has the initial framework and understanding as the basis of gender mainstreaming agenda. However, the priorities of the gender mainstreaming framework couldn't be generalized under the different chairmen. Indonesia as the chairman for ASEAN 2023 didn't prioritize this issue, proving that there wasn't any document stated about gender mainstreaming, especially in the climate change issue.

(ii) The inclusion of Gender Valued in International Development Assistance

From January 1 to December 31 2023, Indonesia was given the opportunity to be the chair of ASEAN. Given the opportunity, Indonesia adopted the theme "ASEAN Matters: Epicentrum of Growth". Within the period of chairmanship, Indonesia aims to strengthen economic recovery in ASEAN and make Southeast Asia the center of sustainable growth.⁴³ ASEAN under Indonesia chairmanship has been focusing on ASEAN community building to strengthen the cooperation between member states. As reported, ASEAN has the potential for economic growth. The projected increase of the economic growth in ASEAN is 5.1% by 2022⁴⁴. By this, Indonesia committed to maintain the macroeconomics condition of ASEAN and offered ideas for the benefit of peace in Southeast Asia. It then shows how much Indonesia is committed to the macro issues in ASEAN.

Meanwhile, there were other issues that couldn't be covered under the Indonesia chairmanship in ASEAN 2023. The other issue that may be vulnerable for the Southeast Asia region: the climate change and women and children vulnerability. Thus, the policies show many imbalances, specifically gender blind.⁴⁵ Women make up a significant portion in key livelihood sectors, such as agriculture, fisheries, forestry, energy, and manufacturing. Economic growth, which is said to be the key to sustainable development, does not necessarily guarantee women's empowerment. This actually shows the inequality of power which then encourages discrimination against women.⁴⁶ Within this data, ASEAN under Indonesia chairmanship still does not prioritize the climate change and gender disparities issues.

Data that were gathered from researchers and academicians focusing on Indonesia foreign policy

⁴¹ Miguel Musngi, "Strategic Cooperation on Gender Equality, Empowerment and Resilience," *The ASEAN Magazine*, May 2023, <https://theaseanmagazine.asean.org/article/strategic-cooperation-on-gender-equality-empowerment-and-resilience/>.⁴²

Miguel Musngi, "Strategic Cooperation on Gender Equality, Empowerment and Resilience," *The ASEAN Magazine*, May 2023, <https://theaseanmagazine.asean.org/article/strategic-cooperation-on-gender-equality-empowerment-and-resilience/>.⁴³ ASEAN Indonesia 2023, "ASEAN 2023," asean2023.id, 2023, <https://asean2023.id/en/page/asean-2023/epicentrum-of-growth>.

⁴⁴ ASEAN Indonesia 2023, "ASEAN 2023," asean2023.id, 2023, <https://asean2023.id/en/page/asean-2023/epicentrum-of-growth>.

⁴⁵ Jenny Han et al., *State of Gender Equality and Climate Change in ASEAN* (Jakarta: The Asean Secretariat Community Relations Division, 2022), <https://asiapacific.unwomen.org/sites/default/files/2022-09/State-of-Gender-Equality-and-Climate-Change-in-ASEAN-2.pdf>.

⁴⁶ Ha Nguyen, Sofie Mortensen, and Pin Pravalprukskul, "Pathways for Women's Empowerment in Agriculture in South and Southeast Asia," n.d.

and gender issue, mentioned that there are no sufficient documents by ASEAN in 2023 Indonesia chairmanship mentioning gender mainstreaming and climate change as the priority issues. Indonesia held the 42nd ASEAN summits held on 9-11 May 2023 in Labuan Bajo, Nusa Tenggara Timur. The document's outcome did not mention anything about the gender mainstreaming and climate change issue in ASEAN. Meanwhile, the leaders agreed on enhancing women's role in peace and security that were proposed in WPS High-Level Dialogue.⁴⁷ Here can be concluded, international development assistance specifying gender mainstreaming is facing quite a challenge. The inclusion of women, specifically under the Indonesia chairmanship, was focused on peace and security issues. Yet, there is so much evidence on how peace and security issues are the main focus of the ASEAN goal. The 2021 military coup in Myanmar gets a lot of attention from the international community. Indonesia as a democratic country in Southeast Asia is expected to be a mediator and did an intervention to secure the region. Another issue that draws the international community's attention and ASEAN is about US-China strategic competition in the Asia-Pacific region. Thus, the security issues become the center of priority for ASEAN in 2023.⁴⁸

(iii) The role of community in advocating gender and climate change issue in ASEAN 2023 Chairmanship

After COVID-19 outbreak in 2020, international and regional organizations worldwide have made significant strategies to tackle health resilience and economic recovery issues, one of them is ASEAN as the regional organization in Southeast Asia. In analyzing ASEAN's priority issues in the last few years after COVID-19, we conducted thorough research from ASEAN official documents, specifically ASEAN Chairman's Statements from 2021 up to the recent one under Indonesia's leadership in 2023. The key deliverables from 2021 to 2023 are mainly focused on upholding multilateralism and community building, regional digital transformation, ASEAN youth acceleration, and sustainable resilience after COVID-19. Only a little has been addressed about gender equality and gender mainstreaming, especially in terms of climate change adaptation and mitigation. Since 2021, only two times has the issue about climate change been mentioned, one in the ASEAN Chairman's Statement of the 38th and 39th ASEAN Summits under Brunei Darussalam and the other one in the ASEAN Chairman's Statement of the 42nd and 43rd ASEAN Summits under Indonesia.

In addition, the other summits were held by ASEAN under Indonesia chairmanship on 4-7 September 2023 in Jakarta, Indonesia. Indonesia, as the chairman of ASEAN 2023, restated its position on gender equality in ASEAN. ASEAN under Indonesia chairmanship agreed on women empowerment and equality between men and women. Thus, it was mentioned again about the importance of women's role in the peace and security agenda. The 42nd ASEAN summit was mentioning the High-Level Dialogue as the acknowledgment of women's role in peace and security. Then, the 43rd ASEAN summit mentioned the successful convening of the High-Level Dialogue on Women Peace and Security (WPS) on 5-7 July 2023 in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.⁴⁹

Regarding the gender issues in ASEAN, it has the fundamental basis of the gender framework. While ASEAN is aware of the gender disparities, ASEAN under Indonesia chairman does not mention or work on climate change issues. ASEAN under Indonesia's chairmanship is working on women's participation and role in the peace and security agenda by increasing individual capability in

⁴⁷ ASEAN Indonesia 2023, "Chairman's Statement of the 42nd ASEAN Summit" (ASEAN, 2023), <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/05/FINAL-Chairmans-Statement-42nd-ASEAN-Summit-1.pdf>.

⁴⁸ Lee, "The 2023 ASEAN, ASEAN+3, & East Asia Summits: Focusing on ASEAN Issues amid US-China Indifference" (The Asan Institute for Policy Studies, November 24, 2023), <https://en.asaninst.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Issue-Brief-Executive-Summary-The-2023-ASEAN-ASEAN-3-East-Asia-Summits.pdf>.

⁴⁹ ASEAN Indonesia 2023, "Chairman's Statement of the 43rd ASEAN Summit" (ASEAN, 2023), <https://asean.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/09/CHAIRMAN-STATEMENT-OF-THE-43RD-ASEAN-SUMMIT-FIN-2.pdf>.

peacemaking, negotiation and encouraging clear career paths from female diplomats.⁵⁰ Citing the data from the primary resource, Indonesia as ASEAN Chairman 2023 encourages the capacity building of female diplomats through workshops and training, especially in addressing peace and security issues. While there are not any ASEAN's documents mentioning gender mainstreaming in climate change issues under the Indonesia chairmanship.

Another data collected from the primary resource mentioned that there was an ASEAN Community Forum as a body that accommodates advocacy of gender mainstreaming from civil society organizations. The Manila Draft Version 7 March 2024 is a recent initiative from AICHR, as a declaration on environmental rights.⁵¹ This adds the information regarding the role of community in advocating gender mainstreaming in ASEAN 2023. It could be concluded that there is awareness of advocating gender mainstreaming in regional areas, and how it is important to have community in advocating gender mainstreaming. However, the primary resources have also mentioned that there is a challenge in doing advocacy in the regional area. The involvement of civil society organizations needs a lot of support from the countries involved. ASEAN is a regional organization, which then the ASEAN Community Forum can only be delegated by the countries involved. It is a critic for the implementation of a regional body which lacks discussion forums with civil society organizations, to develop another framework and policy brief regarding the issues around the region.

Conclusion

This research then shows how ASEAN under Indonesia chairmanship focuses on gender mainstreaming in climate change issues. The gender mainstreaming in climate change issues has reached its implementation phase within the ASEAN member states. Indonesia as ASEAN chairman in 2023, has tried to fill in the advocate role in the ASEAN regional realm through the ASEAN Community Forum and AICHR. Gender mainstreaming awareness has been advocated through civil society organizations. This role has been accommodated in ASEAN regional bodies through AICHR. However, the challenges have been found as the ASEAN as a regional body has not fully prioritized gender mainstreaming as the main point of their domestic issue. ASEAN member state countries have the power to delegate which civil society organizations can be included in the ASEAN forums. This has become the limitation of the issue, which needs more exploration on how ASEAN as a regional body implemented their power in other ASEAN forums to advocate and maintain their priority issues in regional areas.

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⁵⁰ Prajuli, Wendy A. "Menjadi pendamping diplomat: peran diplomasi yang strategis, namun kerap tak dianggap." *The Conversation*. Online ed 04/08/2023 <<https://theconversation.com/menjadi-pendamping-diplomat-peran-diplomasi-yang-strategis-namun-kerap-tak-dianggap-210791>. 2023>

⁵¹ "Consultation on the ASEAN Declaration on Environmental Rights (Manila Draft Version 7 March 2024) Today.," March 14, 2023, <https://www.facebook.com/100064312704615/posts/792481409572275/?mibextid=oFDknk&rdid=zzP6gwJpoNYyBwZx>.
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