

The Gender Landscape of Canada's Non-Profit Disaster Response Sector

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1. Introduction

Gender disparity is evident in the implications of disasters on women versus men. Women face systemic inequality in social conditions such as poverty, lack of childcare and affordable housing, and domestic violence, amongst others, which results in a disproportionate impact on them when a disaster strikes (Enarson and Haworth-Brockman, 2008; Enarson and Fordham, 2001). This in turn results in a slower recovery. As a result, Canadian international disaster/emergency response work done either through government funding or through not-for-profit organizations often has requirements for detailed gender-sensitive protocols, programs and/or approaches (Government of Canada, 2015; Red Cross Canada, 2017; Salvation Army, 2017; St. John Ambulance, 2017). In 2015 Global Affairs Canada (GAC) has set gender equality as one of its three cross-cutting themes and priorities for international humanitarian aid including disaster and emergency response abroad (Government of Canada, 2015). This is specifically relevant for non-profit organizations interested in international humanitarian assistance (IHA) with funding from the department, as they must provide evidence of their capacity for upholding gender equality in the humanitarian context (DFAIT, 2014)¹. While Canada requires gender-sensitive approaches to be explicitly addressed in the international stage, it is not apparent whether similar priorities exist within the non-profit sector domestically.

¹ GAC requires NGOs applying for funding for International Humanitarian Assistance (IHA) to initially meet ten minimum requirements before even being considered for IHA funding (Foreign Affairs, Trade and Development Canada, 2014). These 10 minimum requirements do not explicitly include Gender considerations. If the NGO believes they meet the ten minimum requirements, then they are required to fill out an Institutional Profile where they must prove in section three: Additional Information and Documentation under Humanitarian Assistance Capacity that they meet 1. Humanitarian Assistance Capacity, 2. Adherence to Established International Codes of Conduct and Standards, 3. Experience in International Humanitarian Coordination, 4. Gender Equality Capacity in International Humanitarian Contexts, 5. Environmental Sustainability Capacity in Humanitarian Contexts and Risk Management (2014).

A report prepared for the Public Health Agency of Canada, Centre for Emergency Preparedness, points out the necessity of “more gender-sensitive approaches to disaster risk management” within Canada (Enarson and Haworth-Brockman, 2008). Non-profit organizations in Canada are often one of the first on the scene when a disaster or emergency ranging from personal to large scale strikes, alongside the municipality. Red Cross Canada, Salvation Army and St. John Ambulance are the largest of those organizations responding to local and national disasters in Canada, with long histories dating back the late eighteen hundreds (Red Cross Canada, 2017; Salvation Army, 2017; St. John Ambulance, 2017). Given the important role of the non-profit sector and these organizations in particular, in local disaster response, and the dearth of literature on the extent of a gendered emphasis in the Canadian non-profit sector, this project explores the extent of gender-sensitive programming offered by non-profit organizations involved in disaster response within Canada².

The literature has pointed to effective gender sensitive program delivery requiring diversity in the makeup of staff within an organization (Department of Environment, Land, Water & Planning, 2016; Enarson, 2008; Public Health Agency of Canada, 2008). Canada’s public sector is categorized as having been historically male-dominated, with a masculinized workforce and work culture (Ha-Redeye, 2006; Wilson, J, 1999; Braedley, S, 2009; Enarson and Haworth-Brokeman, 2008). While women continue to be a minority in the emergency management field, we are currently witnessing a shift in emergency management in Canada (and abroad) with more women entering the field in various roles across all sectors (Enarson and Haworth-Brokeman, 2008; Krajewski and Peterson, 1999; Macqueen, 2009). The Ontario

² This study did not assess the effectiveness of the gender-sensitive programming as it was beyond the scope of the study. Through this research I sought to gain a better understanding in terms of the programming offered (if any).

Association of Emergency Managers has noted these changes within their board as well. In 2014, 90% of the board members were men over the age of 40, and in 2016, 60% are women and 80% are under 35 years of age (OAEM President, personal communication, May 26, 2016). Enarson and Haworth-Brockman (2008) posit that the increasing amount of women in emergency management roles is likely to result in “a workforce as sensitive to gender as to age and other determinants of vulnerability and capacity” (Pg. 2). In light of this, this research project also explores whether the shift away from the historical masculinized emergency management landscape exists in the non-profit sector, resulting in a more gender equitable sector, and whether this has an impact on the nature of programming offered.

Given the gaps in the literature when it comes to both local disaster gender-sensitive policies and women in the emergency management workforce I believe my research can shed some light on these issues. Furthermore, I hope my research can bring some new knowledge forward about the interrelation of gender in disaster response and the emergency management workforce in Canada.

This research project will use Canadian not-for-profit employees’/volunteers’ perceptions and historical data to study whether the historical male-dominated emergency management landscape present in the public sector is perceived to be present in the non-profit sector. Further, it will seek to understand whether the concern for gender sensitivity in international work is also perceived to be present domestically. And lastly, how these two issues are perceived to interact in the field. Definitions for key terms can be found in the following literature review.

2. Methodology

I chose to interview employees and volunteers from Red Cross Canada, Salvation Army and St. John Ambulance within the organizations' Disaster Management/Response departments because these three organizations represent the largest not-for-profit organizations in Canada. Further, I have chosen the above mentioned non-profit organizations due to their long histories in Canada and their prolific roles in local Disaster Management. The Red Cross was established in 1896 and operates over 300 branches in Canada with over 20,000 volunteers serving 2 million Canadians annually (Red Cross Canada, 2016). The Salvation Army has a long history in Canada, in 1882 they were established and now operate in 400 communities across Canada, serving 1.85 million Canadians every year (Salvation Army Canada, 2016). St. John Ambulance was established in Canada in 1884 as a First Aid Training organization and has expanded to include disaster response operating 100 branches across Canada (St. John Ambulance, 2016). St. John Ambulance is the smallest of the three organizations due primarily due to their vision as being the "premier first aid training and community service organization in Canada" (St. John Ambulance, 2017). The only service SJA offers in Disaster Management is First Aid in emergency/disaster situations³.

Given the research design I used criterion sampling to find participants. Further convenience sampling was used in the beginning stages to gather the participants through contacts I had with the local Red Cross Guelph branch. From there I used the Snowball strategy as those participants I interviewed gave me further contacts to approach. Primarily for the Salvation Army and St.

³ For more fulsome organizational profiles please visit the respective websites at: redcross.ca, salvationarmy.ca and sja.ca.

John Ambulance with the use of criterion sampling I used cold calling to find employees in the Disaster Management departments.

I conducted one-on-one, 1 hour semi structured interviews with seven participants from Red Cross Canada, two from Salvation Army and two from St. John Ambulance for a total of eleven participants. The interviews were conducted over three months from February 2017 to April 2017 either in person at a coffee shop, at their office or over the phone. Nine of those interviewed are from Ontario- three from the Greater Toronto Area, four from the Cambridge-Kitchener-Guelph-Waterloo-Wellington County Region and two are from Ottawa. Two participants work from Victoria, British Columbia but work for the Red Cross National office. In total, six of those interviewed work at the national office, five from the Red Cross and one from the Salvation Army. Eight of the participants are employees of the organizations, two are volunteers and one has both been an employee and a volunteer. Seven of the participants have over ten years of experience in the non-profit sector, four participants have extensive international disasters/humanitarian crises experience. Six of the participants were male and five were female.

Throughout the interview process I made sure to remind myself of my own assumptions and made sure that the interview questions were as unbiased and objective as possible to minimize the impact I could have on my participants' responses. The one-hour semi structured interviews included six open ended questions starting with more basic questions like what their role is within their organization, how long they've been in the role and building to more complex questions such as asking participants if they could comment on observed gender make-up within

their own organization/office etc. I transcribed each interview from recordings taken at the time of the interview. Further, I included actions (where possible) and inflections made by the participants in the transcriptions to show differences in tone of voice such as emphasis or to provide context for words or phrases. I have horizontally analyzed the data to establish common themes and vertically to establish outliers and differences in the data. I used a combination of a priori and emergent coding to isolate the main themes—sub themes. Through coding I was able to deepen my examination of the nuances in the connections between the main themes and sub themes through examples directly from my data.

3. Definition of Key Terms

In the following literature review I will firstly provide an analysis of key definitions from the literature crucial to understanding this research moving forward. Subsequently, I will be exploring the historical gender roles in the emergency management workforce then moving towards a nuanced understanding of gendered organizations that provides context for the Canadian landscape. Further, I will discuss the historical gender roles of women in emergency management/response, where they are now and how leadership and gender interact within it. Lastly I will discuss how gender-sensitive approaches to emergency management/response developed abroad, then locally to a smaller extent. Lastly I will review how women in Canada are faring and how this interacts with the gendered landscape of emergency management/response in Canada.

Many of the terms I use throughout this research paper have been and can be interpreted in many ways. While some researchers provide long, specific definitions for the terms they use, most do not. Their meaning can be extracted from the way they discuss their research topic. It should be noted that throughout this paper I do not address gender fluidity, sexual identity or sexual orientation as it is beyond the scope of the research.

Gender is commonly defined in government related studies or organizational published documents, among other key terms in the literature. The most extensive definition can be found from the United Nations Women website as follows:

[Gender] refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialization processes. They are context/time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a women or a man in a given context. In most societies there are differences and inequalities between women and men in responsibilities assigned, activities undertaken, access to and control over resources, as well as decision-making opportunities. Gender is part of the broader socio-cultural context. Other important criteria for socio-cultural analysis include class, race, poverty level, ethnic group and age (UNWomen, 2018).

The definition above goes into detail about all the factors that may affect gender creation and the interaction between gender as well as within each gender group. Conversely in *Understanding the Importance of Gender and Leader Identity Formation in Executive Coaching for Senior Women*, Skinner (2004) defines gender as “the attitudes feelings and behaviours that a given culture associates with a person’s biological sex”. This definition was taken from Eagly’s book *Sex differences in social behaviour: A social-role interpretation* (1987). This definition lacks the nuances affecting gender that is noted by the UN Women’s definition largely due to its creation before the increased understanding and research into gender over the past thirty years.

In the report *Gender Mainstreaming in Emergency Management: Opportunities for Building Community Resilience in Canada* written by Health Agency of Canada, Centre for Emergency Preparedness and Response (2008) they define gender quite loosely as the:

central organizing principle of all societies and the basis of the everyday routines and social interactions of women and men, boys and girls around the world. This social fact makes gender inescapably part of the social fabric made visible in disasters. Gender differences in personality, intimate relationships, mental and physical health, kinship networks, work and workplaces, social roles, and community life are dramatically in play when families and communities struggle to cope with the unexpected (p.8).

This definition is especially relevant to my research due to its emphasis on how gender differences becomes increasingly evident during a disaster/emergency event. In Persaud's (2012) *Gender and Security: Guidelines for Mainstreaming Gender in Security Risk Management*; she provides the following definition:

Gender refers to the social differences between females and males throughout the life cycle that are learned, and though deeply rooted in every culture, are changeable over time, and have wide variations both within and between cultures. Gender, along with class and race, determines the roles, power and resources for females and males in any culture (p.10).

This definition is especially important due to its use of the word power to note the difference in control each gender has. Unfortunately, this definition misses the important factors included in the UN Women definition affecting gender such as economic status, poverty level and age.

Rather than providing a specific definition of gender, other literature simply alludes to a meaning when gender is discussed (Braedley, 2009; Deher, 2003; Enarson, 2001; Enarson and Fordham, 2001; Gritti, 2012; Krajewski and Peterson, 1999; Mello and Souza, 2003). Gritti (2005) in *Building Aid Workers' Resilience: why a gendered approach is needed*, addresses a similar issue that Persaud (2012) researched but fails to provide a specific definition. Gritti suggests that a lack of emphasis on gender in the promotion of aid worker resiliency in mental health has resulted in less resilient aid workers. Through her emphasis on the “macho culture of denial” (p.451) and through noting gender differences in security risk between male and female aid workers. Owen (2013) notes differences in the way in which genders communicate in Incident Management teams in Australia, often to the detriment of female workers due to the invasive hegemonic masculinity, but no definition is provided. Of note, in *What Women Do: Gendered Labor in the Red River Valley Flood*, Enarson (2001) is arguing for a critical examination of gender labour in disasters and to move away from the disaster analysis that was up until that point for the most part ‘gender-blind’ which had resulted in a gap in understanding of the disaster experience. While no definition was provided for gender, this explicit emphasis on gender in the disaster experience is vital to greater understanding of gender in general, in disaster situations, and for improved disaster response/management at every level and sector, inclusive of the non-profit sector that my research is interested in.

Gender-Sensitive is a term I use throughout my research and while rarely explicitly defined throughout the literature, is vital to understanding the current state of the disaster/emergency management non-profit sector. One exception I came across in my review of the literature is Persaud's (2012) *Gender and Security: Guidelines for Mainstreaming Gender in Security Risk Management*, where she specifically defines gender sensitive security risk management as follows:

Within this framework gender consideration are an integral part of decision-making throughout the overarching philosophy...this framework recognizes the different inequalities, specific security needs, experiences, issues and priorities of women, men (and LGBTI). Acting on this awareness, the agency aims to adequately reduce the level of risk and achieve equitable levels of security for their male and female personnel (p.52).

Ignoring the security specific aspects of this definition, gender sensitivity can be easily applied to a more general understanding vital to understanding how to integrate this phenomenon into disaster/emergency management/response.

While the Health Agency of Canada, Centre for Emergency Preparedness and Response (2008) does not explicitly define this term, it does use it freely and interchangeably with 'Gender-Based' throughout their *Gender Mainstreaming in Emergency Management: Opportunities for Building Community Resilience in Canada* report. It is used to promote the need for gender-sensitive approaches in Disaster/Emergency Management. For example, on

reducing gender-based vulnerabilities specific to “Men and Masculinity”, this report provides examples such as “gender-sensitive disaster mental health outreach to men living in stressful conditions...targeted risk communications highlighting gender norms that expose men to harm...” (p.17) etc. Further, the gender-based vulnerabilities for women are highlighted in stating that “women are disproportionately exposed to poverty with the attendant risks of dangerous shelters...women are likely to remain in temporary accommodations longer than men...” (HAC-CEPR, 2008). This awareness as noted in Persaud’s (2012) definition of gender-sensitive, is exactly what the Health Agency of Canada, Centre for Emergency Preparedness and Response is addressing in the above examples. While the literature in this field rarely explicitly refers to gender-sensitive as a framework for addressing differing gender experiences, many offer ways to consider gender that can be understood as gender-sensitive approaches. Enarson and Fordham (2001) in *From Women’s Needs to Women’s Rights*, argue “a political case for explicitly addressing gender equality in the Treaty on Human Rights” (p.133). This statement embodies the gender considerations explicit in the definition for gender-sensitive. In the terms defined ahead it becomes evident that gender-sensitive, while it may not be not explicitly stated, is an integrated ideal of the definitions.

Stemming from the above example where gender equality is referenced, it too should be expounded. **Gender Equality** is a term often used throughout the literature but, rarely defined. It is also used in conjunction or interchangeably with **Gender Equity** even though these terms do not mean the same thing. Gender Equality is interpreted in slightly different but important ways throughout the literature. The Health Agency of Canada, Centre for Emergency Preparedness and Response’s Report (2008) on gender mainstreaming in Canada, offers a right’s based definition:

Women and men, girls and boys enjoy the same status in society. Gender equality means that they all equally realize their full human rights and potential to contribute to national, political, economic, social, personal and cultural development, and to benefit equally from them, regardless of their gender (p.65).

A similar, less expansive definition for gender equality can be found in the Australian Department of Environment, Land, Water & Planning's (ADELWP) (2016) *Women in Fire and Emergency Leadership Roles- How Can We Improve the Gender Balance?* Alternatively, Persaud (2012) provides a definition that includes an emphasizes on equal access to “opportunities, resources and rewards” (p.14) but goes further to emphasize that “equality does not mean that women and men are the same but that their enjoyment of rights, opportunities and life chances are not governed or limited by whether they were born female or male” (p.14). The definition by UNWomen's (2001) publication on *Important Concepts Underlying Gender Mainstreaming* provides two distinct ways in which equality is sought stating that:

Equality between women and men has both a quantitative and qualitative aspect. The quantitative aspect refers to the desire to achieve equitable representation of women—increasing balance and parity, while the qualitative aspect refers to achieving equitable influence on establishing development priorities and outcomes for women and men. Equality involves ensuring that the perceptions, interests, needs and priorities of women and men (which can be very different because of the

differing roles and responsibilities of women and men) will be given equal weight in planning and decision-making (p.1).

This definition provides an interesting way to understand equality with its twofold approach. The bias of ‘development’ processes and indicators to the United Nations is evident in the definition above. A vital fact that UNWomen (2018) Definitions on their website points to the fact that “Gender equality is not a women’s issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women” (p.1). While this statement can seem somewhat obvious, it is crucial to emphasize that when gender considerations are ignored, every gender loses out— which can be seen in the gender-sensitive approaches example above. In Gritti’s (2015) research regarding building aid workers’ resiliency, she argues that it is only until recently that power relations, roles and gender identity has been included in dialogue on gender and development due to its historic emphasis on women/girls on the receiving end of aid. While gender equality is never explicitly stated throughout her research, this example is one of many that exemplifies the ideals of gender equality ((Braedley, 2009; Deher, 2003; Enarson, 2001; Enarson and Fordham, 2001; Krajeski and Peterson, 1999; Mello and Souza, 2003).

In the definition of gender equality by UNWomen (2001), they make an interesting disassociation from gender equity in stating that:

Gender Equality is the preferred terminology within the United Nations, rather than gender equity...[it] denotes an element of interpretation of social justice, usually

based on tradition, custom, religion or culture, which is most often to the detriment to women (p.1).

This distinction was made following the 1995 Beijing Women's conference. This is noteworthy moving forward as some of the literature does provide a distinction between gender equality and equity. HAC-CEPR report (2008) provides the most in-depth definition found stating that

Gender Equity is:

The process of being fair to women and men, girls and boys. To ensure fairness, measures must often be taken to compensate for historical and social disadvantages that prevent women and men, girls and boys from otherwise operating on a level playing field. Treating everyone identically can perpetuate rather than remedy inequality. The guiding principle of gender equity is to create equal outcomes for women and men, girls and boys (p.65).

While UNWomen note their belief that equity may result in less equal circumstances for women, HAC-CEPR (2008) report notes gender equity as the means for achieving gender equality. A similar definition is taken by the ADELWP (2016) Report and goes further by providing examples of gender equity as “salaries, affirmative action, [and] sexual harassment policies” (p.66). This distinction may exist but, it should be noted that this could be understood as being included within gender equality and therefore does not necessarily require a separate definition depending on your understanding.

Gender Mainstreaming is a relatively new term that touches on many of the aspects of the definitions discussed above and describes more of an official way to structurally implement gender equality. Persaud (2012) uses the United Nation Economic and Social Council's definition stating that:

Gender Mainstreaming as the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in any area and at all levels. It is a strategy for making the concerns and experiences of women as well as of men an integral part of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres, so that women and men benefit equally, and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal of mainstreaming is to achieve gender equality (p.53).

Gender Mainstreaming was first introduced through the intergovernmental mandate in the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995 (Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women-UN, 2001). While gender mainstreaming has not been imposed on governments by the UN, it has been adopted as a key global strategy in support of gender equality (Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues and the Advancement of Women-UN, 2001). This definition is mirrored in the report—*Gender Mainstreaming in Emergency Management: Opportunities for Building Community Resilience in Canada* (2008). This report was written building on international efforts, among those being the International Strategy for Disaster Reduction, and the Canadian gender and disaster conferences hosted in Vancouver (1998) and Cape Breton (2006) that emphasized the need for gender mainstreaming (HAC-

CEPR, 2008). This report by HEC-CEPR (2008) highlights the need to implement gender mainstreaming across all sectors and organizations in Canada through specific targets such as having lead women's organizations take an active part in addressing gender disparity at the national and provincial levels, building capacity through providing staffing to conduct risk assessments to recognize trends affecting gender locally, through providing financial and human resources to include gender sensitivity in resources and activities for the public through websites, courses, exercises and many more.

An interesting example of gender mainstreaming is found in Österlind and Haake (2010) article on *The Leadership Discourse Amongst Female Police Leaders in Sweden* where they argue that while Sweden is the only country that has incorporated gender mainstreaming policies nationwide (but specifically in the police force), it is yet to be successful. They found that a male-dominated culture is ever present in the police force, resulting in low percentages of women in managerial positions (2010). Gender mainstreaming generally describes the structural implementation of ways to reach gender equality and is vital to the following literature review and research.

4. Literature Review

Dr. Elaine Enarson has largely shaped the way we discuss gender in emergency management. She has pioneered ideas regarding the necessity of considering the role of gender in emergency management, disaster and response in Canada, and across the globe (EPI Global, n.d). In her paper *Through Women's Eyes: A Gendered Research Agenda for Disaster Social Science* (1998) she emphasized the need for disaster research to include a focus on gender and how it permeates all aspects of disaster response. This includes everything from the response organizations themselves, to program delivery and how disasters affect populations around the globe (1998). In addition to the work of Enarson, the majority of the papers in the literature that discuss emergency management or emergency services and gender interaction specifically, at least allude to the various way in which historical gender roles and/or development has played on the current state of affairs (Parkinson, Duncan, Hedger, 2016; Braedley, 2007; Enarson, 2010; Enarson, 2001; Enarson, 1998; Enarson and Scanlon, 1999; Hughes, 2010; Marrow and Enarson, 1996; Marrow and Enarson, 1998; Owen, 2013; Ha-Redeye, 2006; Wilson, 1999).

4.1. Historical Gender Roles in the Emergency Management Workforce

Enarson (1998), Phillips (1990) and Wraith (1996) explicitly articulate that leading disaster organizations globally were created from, and grounded in, the historically male, masculinized institutions of the military, civil defense and engineering. As such, they have been shaped by a historically male workforce and culture that is likely to have an impact both on how a response is planned and implemented, as well as on the experience of women entering the emergency management field (Enarson 1998; Phillips, 1990; Wraith, 1996). In Canada, the

development of women's rights has created a similar situation as noted above (Enarson and Haworth-Brockman, 2001; Enarson, 1998; Brown et. al., 2010).

In order to fully understand the role of gender in emergency management it is important to first gain an understanding of the history of women's rights in Canada, to provide context for how gender relations have developed the way they have. Firstly, it should be noted that women were not recognized as 'persons' under law until 1929, and all peoples, including women, of all minorities including Indigenous women and men were not given the right to vote until 1960 (Government of Canada, 2017). Further, the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms which gives all Canadians the right to "equality, equal opportunity, fair treatment, and an environment free of discrimination on the basis of sex, sexual orientation, marital status and family status" was not included in the constitution until 1977 (Government of Canada, 2017). As these rights were granted and then protected, it increased the rate at which women entered the public sphere (Acker, 1990; Enarson, 1998; Enarson, 2001).

4.2. Nuanced Understanding of Gendered Organizations Provides Insight to Canadian Context

Acker (1990) argues in her paper *Hierarchies, Jobs, Bodies: A Theory of Gendered Organizations* that modern institutions around the globe were founded by men and for men. While political legislation both across the globe and in Canada use language that addresses humans as 'persons', this person being referred to is a man, as women did not have the same rights as men at the time when these legislations were enacted (Government of Canada, 2017).

Historically women's roles were in the private sphere at home as wives and mothers taking care of the household (Acker, 1990; Enarson, 1998; Enarson and Fordham, 2001). Alternatively, Acker argues that men's role was in developing the public sphere through government, the creation of organizations and by being a part of the public workforce. Acker argues that through this gendered historical process these institutions, organizations, organizational structures etc. are not gender neutral, and are indeed male—masculinized (Acker, 1990; Enarson, 1998). This nuanced interpretation of gender has been largely ignored in the literature where disaster organizations are accepted as gender neutral spaces where male and female stereotypes are enacted, not enacted upon as Acker argues with two exceptions which will be discussed below (Parkinson et. al., 2016; Braedley, 2007; Enarson, 2010; Enarson, 2001; Enarson, 1998; Hughes, 2010; Krajeski and Peterson, 1999; Marrow and Enarson, 1996; Marrow and Enarson, 1998; Owen, 2013; Ha-Redeye, 2006; Wilson, 1999).

A few research papers conducted one on one interviews with women in emergency management or response organizations in regards to gender. Given Acker's argument, experiences women face in this field can be better understood with the examples below. The Australian government commissioned a report to understand the barriers facing women looking to take leadership roles in fire and emergency (Parkinson et. al., 2016). The barriers identified in this research was familial responsibility, women given higher standards than men, women not taken seriously, the 'boy's' club, male privilege and generational sexism (Parkinson et. al., 2016). Similar findings were reflected by Owen (2013) while researching gendered communication and public safety in incident management in Australia. Owen found that the masculinist culture resulted in women being less involved in decision making, less comfortable

speaking up and less comfortable asking questions which could result in a safety risk if clarifications of instructions or information is misunderstood (2013). While Österlind and Haake (2010) researched female leadership in the Swedish police she identified the masculinized culture as a barrier for women being able to attain leadership roles in the police. Huges (2011) analyzed the current literature on Female Sheriffs in the USA and found a similar issue as noted above, that structural discrimination can explain the lack of female Sheriffs.

While Reddick (2008) did not specifically study emergency management/response personnel he surveyed USA city managers and found that the majority of city managers were more likely to be educated, middle aged men. Krajeski and Peterson (1999) in studying the role of grassroots, local women in emergency response situations found that formal organizations tend to overlook this group of women due to their lack of formal training and marginalized existence in society. Krajeski and Peterson argue for their increased involvement as knowledgeable, community leaders with transferable skills. Wilson (1999) mentions Acker's (1990) observation, where she studied white female emergency managers in Florida USA County offices and found that gender is constructed in the daily work processes through some tasks unnoticeably defined as masculine or feminine. Wilson (1999) adds to Acker's (1990) paper in stating that gender relations are many simultaneous processes and not just one process. Braedley (2007) also identified Acker's (1990) work on gendered organizations as a means to understanding her research on Toronto, Ontario firefighters and the interaction of care work in a heavily masculine and masculinizing context. However, Braedley's work recognizes that the current, deep-seated masculinized culture of firefighting in Toronto and the relationship to the care work they provide limits the success of dismantling gender inequalities; her research is

primarily based in understanding the inner workings of individual male firefighters and how they can unite both aspects of intense masculinity and care work within themselves individually. Whether in government, or the non-profit or private sectors, women face many barriers in the emergency management/response sector due to their gender.

4.3. Historical and Current Role of Women in Emergency Management

Throughout the literature it is noted that women are often portrayed and expected to be passive, victims or only shown if they are doing gender non-conforming activities (Acker 1990; Enarson, 1998; Owen, 2013). This was something that occurred in the media coverage of the Red River Valley Flood where only women were shown as being rescued by men, displaying traditional emotions such as crying, cooking for the men doing the work, or passively watching the flood waters rise (Enarson, 1998). Moreover, women who were doing gender non-conforming activities such as female soldiers or Winnipeg's mayor were also given media attention (Enarson, 1998). This is also noted by Owen (2013) in a more recent article where she discusses the continued stereotype that women are passive victims of disasters despite the research and findings that women are ideally situated in communities to lead and organize recovery. This is a phenomenon we see repeatedly even as society progresses towards more inclusivity, where regardless of findings that women can also do an excellent job within emergency management, they are often unsupported and viewed through the lens of outdated stereotypes (Acker 1990; Enarson et. al, 2010; Enarson, 2008; Owen, 2013; Krajewski and Peterson, 1999; Wilson, 1999).

4.4. Leadership, Gender and Emergency Management/Response

Throughout the emergency management/response and gender literature there is very little research on the interaction of leadership and gender. It has been often stated that emergency management/response organizations were generally developed out of civil defence, military or engineering which has resulted in a very strong ‘command and control’ legacy within these modern organizations (Acker, 1990; Enarson 1998; Österlind and Haake, 2010; Owen, 2013; Krajewski and Peterson, 1999; Wilson, 1999). This legacy of male domination in the emergency management/response sector has resulted in male defined leadership within this sector but also across the board as Acker (1990), Enarson (1998); Österlind and Haake (2010), Owen (2013), Krajewski and Peterson (1999) and Wilson (1999) argue. Österlind and Haake (2010) sought to understand the experience of women in the Swedish Police in leadership positions due to their low numbers in a country with high political will and policy for gender equality. They challenge the idea that a feminine leadership style exists at all and instead favour an intersectional approach that is less command and control and more transformative in nature (Österlind and Haake, 2010). Outside of this specific study there has been some research on leadership and gender more generally. Through a study of eleven senior management women, Skinner (2014) argues that executive coaches need to address gender issues as it pertains to leader identity formation for greater success due to organizational contexts where male defined leadership prevails. In fighting male defined leadership, Skinner (2014) merely suggests naming the issue that women face as senior management in organizations while Österlind and Haake (2010) suggest a more revolutionary take by refusing to accept ‘feminine’ leadership as a term at all and therefore not accepting male defined leadership either. Deher (2003) goes further in his exploration of the determinants of female representation at the top of organizational hierarchies,

through arguing that a lack of diversity (female) at the top of an organization could lead to poor and costly decisions, and could create loss of key demographics in customers. Additionally, Deher's (2003) argument ties into Etkin and Nirupama's (2009) study on Ontario emergency manager's perspectives. In their findings in risk perception they found that perceptions of risk differ across various lines such as culture, class and **gender** (Etkin and Nirupama, 2009). Bringing Deher (2003) and Etkin and Nirupama (2009) together we find support for increased diversity at all levels but especially at the top of organization for the betterment of society.

4.5. Historical Gender-Sensitive Programming Development

Enarson and Scanlon (1999) argue that disaster social scientists in the developed world have been much slower to study how the differential effects of disasters on women and men compared to their counterparts. This discrepancy can be attributed to the less devastating effects exhibited in developed nations compared to those in developing nations. This has resulted in less research into how gender constructs are challenged, changed and interact with other social markers during crises in more developed nations like Canada. This lack of attention paid to the lives of women in developed nations may be due to a lack of visibility. Anderson (1994) argues that the visibility of women's lives in developing nations is higher due to higher rates of exposure to risks and hazards, and that this has resulted in a focus on gender in development work for non-profit organizations. This can be seen in the incorporation of gender issues to non-profit organizations training manuals and materials in the 1990's for Oxfam, International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, United Nations various groups and through some scholarly focus on gender in famine research and other women across the globe (Downs et al, 1991; Eade and Williams, 1995; Walker, 1994; Vaughan, 1987; Von Kotze and Holloway,

1996 in Enarson, 1999). It seems however that these gendered issues are not addressed in similar documents meant for use in developed nations (Enarson, 1998; Enarson et al, 2010; Brown et. al., 2006) More recently Gritti (2015) and Roth (2015) argues that most of the discussions about gender and development has been on the recipients of aid abroad and not on the workers themselves that come from developed nations, despite the importance of mental well-being of international aid workers. Further, the Canadian Government has specific gender requirements that non-profit organizations must adhere to when applying for government funding for development or disaster relief work abroad (DFAIT, 2014). Similar programming does not exist within Canada from the Canadian government (Government of Canada, 2015).

These gender requirements noted above may be understood as gender sensitive programming at the international level. This term is defined in the key terms, however, it is rarely discussed in the literature in regards to Canada, with a few exceptions. Enarson and Haworth-Brockman (2008) continually argue for the integration of gender sensitive approaches to emergency management/response in Canada throughout their paper *Gender Mainstreaming in Emergency Management*. They provide concrete ways to integrate gender sensitive approaches through reduction of gender based vulnerabilities. This paper states that statistically women in Canada make up the majority of “...low income, senior, persons with disability, and other at-risk populations” (p.11). Further, Enarson and Haworth-Brockman (2008) point to international incidents where women were statistically affected more than their male counterparts such as in the Indian Ocean tsunami and the Pakistan earthquake, as indicators of the need to approach emergency management/response through a gendered lens. It is noted above that most organizations that respond to emergencies abroad have policies requiring gender sensitive

approaches, a stark difference to the Canadian context. Enarson and Haworth-Brockman's 2008 paper was the only one that specifically discussed ways to reduce male vulnerabilities through the following examples: mental health initiatives targeting men in first-responder roles pre, during and post emergencies, support services for men in care provision roles like single fathers or disabled partners, targeted mental health messaging that discusses gender norms that may expose men to harm due to lack of seeking out help, destructive coping strategies and so on.

Additionally, Persaud (2012) discusses the importance of gender sensitive approaches to security management in international responses. Specifically noting that throughout her research she found that women were perceived to be more at risk of sexual harassment, gender-based violence and general harassment and that women were generally more exposed to security threats (Persaud, 2012). While also noting that in some settings men are perceived to be more at risk to be targeted for kidnapping, tribal feuds or political or ethnic reactions, depending on the in country context of religion, culture, politics etc. Which is suffice to say that gender sensitive approaches mean that the gendered nuances that may affect our everyday lives are not forgotten during times of crisis.

4.6. Current State of Women in Canada

The overall state of women in Canada has been reviewed in the Report on the *Progress on Women's Rights in Canada* following the Beijing Declaration in 2014. This report states that while women in Canada have made great strides with some of the highest healthy life expectancies in the world and an increase of six percent in tertiary education, these advancements have first of all not been felt equally by all women and secondly has not translated

to economic equality (Brown et. al., 2006). This report points to the fact that during the 1980's-1990's Canada was ahead of the curve with top scores on the UN gender equality indices, but it has since fallen to the mid-twenties. This is reflected by the fact that women only make up one in four senior managers and that women living in poverty has increased over the past twenty years, sitting higher than men living in poverty (Brown et. al., 2006). While this report does not explicitly emphasize under developed nations' gender issues, it does emphasize the need for developed countries to look at the state of gender critically and look to make positive change (Brown et. al., 2006).

4.7. Gendered Landscape of Canadian Emergency Management/Response

As mentioned above the development of legislations and Women's Rights in Canada allowed for the proliferation of men in the public sphere and women in the private sphere (Brown et. al., 2006; Enarson et. al, 2010; Enarson, 1998; Government of Canada, 2017). There has not been much research on gender and emergency management/response in Canada specifically. The most relevant and current articles I found are reports either done by the government or were records of proceedings on conferences in Canada about this topic with one exception of Enarson and Scanlon's study on gender in the 1997 Red River Valley Floods in Manitoba (Enarson et. al., 2010; Enarson, 2005; Enarson, 1999; Scanlon, 1998; Provost, 2006). At the conference held at Cape Breton University- Gender and Disaster in Canada: New Thinking, New Directions (2006) it was argued that a gendered approach to disaster relief should be the new benchmark both in organizational structure and in response. Further, Enarson and Haworth-Brockman *Gender Mainstreaming in Emergency Management* (2008) training module emphasizes the need for all organizations involved in disaster response in Canada to integrate

gender-sensitive emergency planning. Among many other examples they suggest creating new resources such as gender focused fact sheets on disasters, gendered risk communication messaging and awareness materials, training modules for both women's organizations and emergency managers on gender issues, as well consulting subject matter experts in gender, a gender review of existing emergency management policies across jurisdictions, in order to create a more resilient population (Enarson & Haworth-Brockman, 2008). While there has clearly been advocacy for gender issues to be included both at the organizational and response level within Canada, beyond these reports I could not find any recent studies on these issues. Much of the remaining literature peripherally notes the importance of gender research and emphasis in developed nations. It does not, however, highlight or suggest the multitude of reasons why it has not been studied until now (Parkinson et. al., 2016; Owen, 2013; Österlind and Haake, 2010; Huges, 2011).

Enarson and Scanlon's (1998) research on gender roles throughout the 1997 Red River Valley Flood in Manitoba is the most recent study found on gender and disaster within Canada. It highlights the historical gender inequality experienced in Canada and the importance/need for increased research in this field. Enarson and Scanlon (1998) found that gender roles became more cemented and excessively disadvantaged women during the crisis both in the public and private spheres. Male power in decision making during the disaster increased as did female domestic work. Furthermore, while social class, ethnicity, life stage and family history stayed relatively the same during the flood, it was gender where the differences became increasingly prominent (Enarson, 1998; Scanlon 1998). They also note that while gender inequalities in the developing world mean that for example women and girls are already malnourished when a

famine strikes and have less resources than their male counterparts; this is not the case in the developed world, the gender inequalities become subtler but still persist as was seen in the above study (Enarson, 1998; Scanlon, 1998).

4.8. Recent Professionalization of Emergency Management/Response

Multiple sources within the literature argued that the disaster management/response field was increasingly professionalizing, as it moved away from its military, civil defence—male dominated roots allowing for an increase in women’s involvement (Drabek, 2004; Enarson and Haworth-Brockman, 2010; Wilson, 1999). In the Canadian context, Enarson and Haworth-Brockman’s in *Gender Mainstreaming in Emergency Management: Opportunities for Building Community Resilience in Canada* that as emergency management professionalizes it is the ideal time to integrate knowledge of gender relations and gender issues into emergency management/response organizations (2008).

In analyzing the literature, the role of historical gender roles and how it has shaped and defined the public and private spheres to this day is incredibly important to understanding gender within emergency management/response in Canada. Further understanding the barriers both women and men have identified within the field are central to moving forward any study on this subject. Given the gaps in knowledge of the current state of emergency management/response in Canada and the minimal knowledge gained abroad I am interested in researching and understanding the gendered landscape of emergency management/response in Canada.

Specifically, in the non-profit sector as it has become apparent that with their development and disaster work abroad, gender has taken a pivotal role (Downs et al, 1991; Eade and Williams, 1995; Enarson, 1999; Enarson, 1998; Scanlon, 1998; Gritti, 2015; Walker, 1994; Vaughan, 1987: Von Kotze and Holloway, 1996 in Enarson, 1999).

5. Analysis

In the following analysis you will find a summary of my key research findings. Firstly, I will discuss the participant's perception of change in gender representation amongst employees and within the volunteer base overtime. I then discuss the participant's perceptions of the needs of clients, where I found a very interesting understanding of 'need' that was often linked to gender through culture, domestic violence and or privacy considerations. From there I discuss the existing or lack of gender sensitive programming, and how the Canadian Red Cross' existing gender sensitive programming developed. This leads to a discussion on the differing ways in which participants perceive gender, the gendered language used to describe different types of employment and how participants discussed gender equality in employment or volunteer positions. Lastly, I provide an extremely poignant summary of the long-term experiences of female participants within disaster management.

5.1. Perceptions of Change in Gender Representation Amongst Employees

Seven of the eleven research participants discussed with me a perceived shift from a male-dominated environment to a more female-inclusive environment overtime in the organizations where they work or volunteer. James, who has worked at the Salvation Army for over ten years, said that he had "seen a shift in recent years" in the Disaster Services Division, explaining that "three of our nine [division leads] are female whereas when I started it was all males." (Interview 10). In fact, Nicolas discussed an explicit attempt by the Salvation Army in one province in Canada, where they identify females working within the organization to support and train them as a result of their realization that they were a very male-dominated organization.

Research participants from other organizations did not discuss such explicit attempts at equalizing the gender landscape. We see examples of this shift in other organizations in this study.

The change in gender representation seems to be most pronounced in the Canadian Red Cross (CRC). Eleanor explained that when she first started with the organization over twenty years ago, it was male dominated at all levels, from volunteers to the board and CEO. In stating:

I would tell you that over 23 years I think the organization has changed. I would tell you that 23 years ago there was very little female presence on our senior leadership team. So you know organizationally our board presidents had almost exclusively only been men etc. So you know when you look at the leadership within the organization I think 23 years ago we were quite a typical organization. Today I think you'll see a much better balance we have we definitely have more females on our senior leadership than we do males at this point in time. (Interview 3).

In more recent years, Eleanor asserts that the organization reflects a mostly female dominated organization across the board. This perception is confirmed by Amanda, who has been with the CRC for just under five years. According to her, “there has been a pre- pretty good split [in gender makeup]. I haven't noticed more men; you know what I mean?”. (Interview 1).

Quantifiable data attained through personal communication with the Chief of Staff at the Canadian Red Cross and cross referenced with the website where possible, confirms this finding. At the national level in the Disaster Management office, there are double the number of female employees than male employees in the Vice-President Disaster Management Position, Director-Programs and four leaders under this section, Capacity Building Director, Preparedness for Catastrophic Response and Finance. Provincial/Territorial leads across the country have female leadership represented three times higher than male leadership. Within Ontario, the gender

makeup of the organizational Disaster Management program is equally represented at the high level. While quantitative data for each of the regional leads in Disaster Management were not attained, participant interviews seem to confirm that female domination, or at least equal representation, is typical of the Canadian Red Cross. When discussing the recent creation of a national task force that includes both provincial and cross program representatives, Natalie from the Red Cross mentioned that comments were made on how the task force were “all women”.

She explains:

I know that traditionally emergency management is masculinized - you know predominantly males and in leadership roles, but it's certainly the opposite experience [now]. We have to actively search out to make sure that gender, all genders, are represented in the work that we're doing (Interview 7).

Despite these developments, however, it should be noted that the Chief of Canadian Operations who is responsible for in-country response and disaster management activities is currently a male, and has held that position for at least the past fifteen years (Canadian Red Cross, 2018).

The shift in the gender makeup of the employees of these organizations is also reflected in the volunteer base.

5.2. Perceptions of Change in Gender Representation in Volunteers at Canadian Organizations

Frank from the Canadian Red Cross has had just under ten years of experience with the organization and had this to say about their volunteer base:

So over 65 [years old] I'm seeing a lot more males. I joke that their wives want them out of the house for a bit, so they're doing a bit of volunteering

but in general they have a lot of from that generation. They tend to be about 60% of them tend to the workers where their wives may have stayed at home or had kids, or had you know jobs that maybe they weren't directly relatable to the Red Cross... so we see a lot of guys coming from warehousing, logistics, so they can actually slide right into warehouses and logistics umm it's a natural fit for them. And that way there's not a huge learning curve, just have to learn our fundamental principles and wear a red vest and they're good to go. Umm 25-45-55 it's fairly well balanced [in gender]. I would say out of all the NGO's that I've been a part of there's a lot more women in leadership roles than I have seen in some of the other NGO's that I have worked with (Interview 2).

Frank is noting a perceived generational gap in gender representation in the volunteer base he has had contact with. After Nick's seven years with Saint John Ambulance, he notes a similar shift in gender representation in leadership roles. He notes that while he always perceived a general sense of equality when it came to gender makeup he's "seen more of ah um female stepping into the roles of officer roles, so looking after the proponents to what Saint John does" (Interview 8). This is an interesting finding that will be further considered in the following section.

5.3. Perception of Needs of Clients

When asked about the disaster response services provided by each of the non-profit organizations, participants were found to perceive service requirements in a generally uncritical and uncomplicated way. Helen from the Canadian Red Cross states, "They [clients] have very definite basic needs that are usually in our response mandate i.e. shelter, food, you know basic clothing" (Interview 6). Frank, also from CRC, emphasizes these basic needs noting that "most of the ones we get called to for emergency response team [is] housing. Clothing usually comes up a few days later. **So it's the bare necessities - what people need now**" (Interview 2). Randall

emphasizes this point by stating that clients, regardless of being female or male, “essentially need food, clothing, shelter” (Interview 4). Nick who volunteered with both CRC and St. John Ambulance concurs: “their [the clients] immediate needs are you know, they need a place to go, they need shelter” (Interview 8). Kaden from the Salvation army makes a similar point to Randall from CRC in stating, “we really don’t take anything into consideration when we assist other than a simple needs assessment” (Interview 11). St. John Ambulance (SJA) is an organization that is primarily focused on first response (First Aid) whether that be in an emergency or not (CITE). Sam explains that if “somebody’s hurt or sick and they need help, they need assistance right now, [SJA] offer[s] that assistance pre hospital, pre ambulance” (Interview 9). Sam’s quote reflects the fact that there is generally little to no perception of differences in needs based on gender by participants.

An interesting departure from this basic needs approach is described by James, who made a similar point as Randall but emphasized “emotional crisis intervention support” or “emotional and spiritual care” as a service often offered on top of the basics (Interview 10). He discusses this at length earlier in the interview due to the Salvation Army’s Christian roots. Emphasizing that this Christianity is “at the heart of why we do what we do, it’s about loving your neighbor, so if people are hurting that’s where the Salvation Army wants to be” (Interview 10). Something else that Randall notes is that when the Salvation Army first started in 1865, it was one of very few churches that allowed women to speak at church and be pastors. Given the Salvation Army’s divergence in its establishment both in faith and relative gender parity versus the CRC and SJA’s establishment, may be indicative of why the emotional and spiritual care is at the core of their basic services. This is an interesting departure due to the fact that none of the other participants,

including Kaden also from the Salvation Army mention this kind of care as a basic need provided like those of shelter, clothing and food. The only aspect that comes close to this kind of care is with the CRC in their Safety and Well-Being section which is only activated at larger responses—where a large focus is on the psychosocial wellbeing of clients.

5.4. Gender Balance in Volunteer Deployment

Across the organizations interviewed, participants discussed the aim of having gender balance in volunteer deployment. Sam indicates that St. John Ambulance attempts to provide gender equality when they deploy their volunteer base, which is done in pairs in both training and deployment stating “typically if we can we will try to have a male and a female responder” (Interview 9). While this is highly dependent on availability of volunteers, Sam states that he “personally tried to match it up to have male and female at all times particularly the overnights” (Interview 9) which may indicate a personal attempt in gender sensitivity versus an organization wide consideration. Nick, the other participant from SJA did not discuss the deployment method at all.

This was at times mentioned with the CRC participants as well. Frank stated that “we try and make sure that in situations...with our clients that we do have multiples, so at least two women two men” especially in situations with vulnerable populations (Interview 2). Frank goes on to note that this decision is based on the client demographic whether culture or social have anything to do with the vulnerability or why the client is there. A more in-depth analysis of the interaction between gender and culture is discussed in the next section.

Kaden from Salvation Army also notes a similar consideration in a slightly different perspective. He explains that “if we’re building a team, that team needs to reflect the community in which it serves...I mean sure gender plays a role but so does you know cultural background, language...so it’s important that you get a mix” (Interview 11). Both Kaden and James (also from SA) state that during a response they are sensitive to issues of two volunteer males approaching a female client or vice versa and notes that they try to teach sensitivity to that kind of thing. This point leads us to another overwhelmingly common theme when discussing gender sensitivity in response which is cultural considerations.

5.5. Culture and Gender Considerations in Client Services

When discussing gender considerations or needs of clients, nine out of the eleven participants across all three organizations mentioned cultural issues as a combined factor. When Eleanor from CRC was asked what kind of needs she saw with the people who seek Red Cross services, the first thing she said was “I think the biggest area where we run into it is when you cross the gender component with [the] cultural component...that’s where we have to be cognizant” (Interview 3). She was the only participant that brought up this connection right away and with so much certainty.

An example often given across all the organizations in cultural sensitivities is of male-female interaction restrictions and being sensitive to that (Interview—James, Hannah, Sam, Eleanor, Natalie, Helen, Kaden). James from SA makes an interesting point when he states that it’s “the cultural sensitivities of people coming from some cultures for example I wouldn’t be allowed to talk to you as a male talking to a female right? So, making sure our people know that

sensitivity ah we've got to talk to the husband or father, whoever right? Or get another female volunteer to talk to the female right?" (Interview 10). James was the only participant to explicitly state the fact that in emergency response situations, it is the volunteers and employees that are working for the clients' comfort which includes being sensitive to cultural and gender considerations.

Another unique perspective came from Sam from SJA, who on top of volunteering with SJA also teaches First Aid for SJA and CRC. In his teaching of First Aid he explained that he always asks the class what they would do in a situation where either for a cultural or religious reason there is a restriction on a male responder touching a female client (or vice versa). He goes on to explain that he gets a variety of responses but that he suggests finding a family member or a member of the same sex that the responder could coach in administering first aid. While this is not something that is included in the official First Aid course, this is something Sam teaches due to his immense experience. It was very interesting to see how often the participants discussed culture and gender together and how that shaped their response.

5.6. Domestic Violence and Privacy Considerations in Client Services

In terms of client needs often gender is only brought up when linked with other complicating factors such as culture, violence or privacy issues. While culture was by far the largest factor discussed in relation to gender considerations, it is important to note the other perceptions when it comes to gender. While Eleanor immediately mentioned culture, the second impacting issue with gender she noted was domestic violence in stating "the other piece that I would tell you, where we've seen some considerations is a disaster provides a perfect avenue

when you're dealing with a situation of familial violence...because a disaster creates a space for people to in some cases disappear...and in many cases those individuals are female..." (Interview 3). What Eleanor is alluding to here is that during a disaster, it may create the opportunity for those experiencing familial violence to get away from that violence by getting to a shelter where their identity can be protected, allowing them a chance to get away from that violence. The issue of domestic violence or abuse was also brought up by James and Hannah from SA and CRC respectively unfortunately their correlation with gender was less distinct.

Eleanor alludes to the privacy protocols and how they interact with gender considerations above. She goes on to state that while the CRC makes sure that their folks know the protocols in regards to privacy issues but goes on to state that CRC must abide by all federal, provincial and territorial legislation in regards to the Privacy Act. Eleanor mentions this when discussing the interaction of gender and violence. This is something that James from SA also noted in stating:

Even with our day to day shelters it's always protocol of where we do the same thing in evacuation centre or whatever...right don't won't say yes this person is staying in the shelter...because it could be somebody that there's an issue that they don't want to [be] known, right. If there's a domestic issue or something like that.... There's always those kind of protocols for folks (Interview 10).

This is an interesting place where gender, violence and privacy all come into play together in a response and it is possible to see the way the participant's perceptions lead them to each of these issues as the interview progressed. Further, these compounding factors could be understood as unofficial forms of gender sensitive considerations being implemented on a case by case basis.

5.7. Gender as a Cross-cutting Theme Versus Policy—as Size of Response Increases at CRC

When discussing the Disaster Management/Response services provided by The Canadian Red Cross, it was often noted that gender equality is a cross cutting theme across the organization both locally, nationally and abroad. Natalie notes this in stating “I think that we have sort of looked at gendered not only as a cross cutting theme but in terms of specific services [in Safety and Wellbeing]” (Interview 7). Hannah states “If we’re talking operation I would just say in general...gender considerations” (Interview 5). While this is mentioned time and time again I was only able to find published reports or strategies identifying this theme based on international response by the Canadian Red Cross (CRC, 2016; CRC, 2015).

It is evident from the above analysis of services offered that they are often at a very small scale. As is noted in the Canadian Red Cross’s volunteer position name for the local response of *Personal Disaster Assistant* (Canadian Red Cross, 2018). Particularly with the CRC participants it became evident that as the emergency response grew in size, from personal to larger scale—so did the formal gender sensitive considerations. Whether this was done through the creation of a new operational section or through a Security standpoint.

Hannah, Helen, Natalie, Eleanor and Frank from CRC all discussed the Syrian Response as one of the first places that gender sensitive protocols/policies were officially integrated through a new operational section called Safety and Well-Being within the Disaster Management section. Natalie explained that this section of a disaster response is only activated in a level 3 to 5 where the CRC will be involved in both the relief and recovery support. She goes on to state that

“we [CRC] don’t activate, we just don’t have the capacity at the moment to activate for levels 1 and 2” (Interview 7). Both the Syrian Crisis Response (2015-16) and the Fort McMurray Wildfires (2017) were considered a level 3 or above and this new section was activated. When asked for details of the Syrian response—Eleanor, Natalie and Helen emphasized the female and child friendly spaces created. Further, Natalie notes a slight oversight as time wore on that “we had activities for men recognizing through time...[that] they had perhaps not received as much services as have others and therefore were sort of negatively impacted in terms of their wellbeing” (Interview 7). This is an important observation in terms of how this new program is continuing to evolve and learn from some perceived biases of vulnerability and what ‘gender considerations’ means. This is further alluded to by Helen when she notes that that this new Safety and Well-Being section has been “operationalized in Syria and then in a big way in the Alberta Fires and it is I think a big piece in clients being able to express their fears, express their concerns and have access to helping supports when they’re not thinking clearly and not really processing properly. I think it’s been a major addition to quality of how we do client support” (Interview 6).

This idea is emphasized by Eleanor’s observation that tailoring the operational context in terms of the population their working with is vital. For example, in terms of the Syrian Response understanding the religious background of a large portion of the population as Muslim, she said “it would be a great thing to have separate spaces for women and for men, if they wanted to go be with you know other women or other men” (Interview 3). This is an excellent example where special and gender considerations come together to create a tailored response.

Helen provides more insight into the 2016 Fort McMurray response in terms of Safety and Well-Being noting that “It is a very broad service which basically looks at everything from lets make sure we have a child friendly space in a shelter or in a reception centre...all the way up so the parents know they’re kids can go colour over at that table and they can at least ask the questions in a sane manner you know? All the way up to having interviews in quiet rooms” (Interview 6).

The Fort McMurray response was a place where the Safety and Well-Being section was really able to expand due to the CRC’s intense involvement in both the relief and especially the recovery effort that at the time of interviewing the participants (March-May 2017), was still active. Amanda—Security Advisor for CRC notes that during both the Syrian Crisis Response and the Fort McMurray Wildfires she was brought in to assess the security situation. She notes this in stating “for me a gendered approach to security is recognizing that you know we were it’s not just about the sex it’s about and obviously we know gender is about roles and other things but it’s about you know how do we understand all of different individuals needs and try to accommodate as best as we can” (Interview 1). She goes on to articulate that while Security has been a part of the CRC’s international response for a long time now, there is an increasing interest in formal security domestically as well. It should be noted that participants often described gender considerations in terms of accommodations for women and children only—which could have alluded to perhaps a knowledge of women and children’s increased vulnerability or stereotypical understanding of gender as women’s issues. It is evident that while the progress in gender considerations in Canadian disaster response at the CRC may be small, it

has the potential to grow and become a more permanent part of the national disaster response framework.

5.8. Ways in Which Participants' Perception of Gender Varied

When the participants were asked to discuss the gender makeup of their organization, many discussed their thoughts citing the historical development of emergency management work, or some discussed the stereotypical differences in gender interest in specific jobs in the emergency response world, while still others had very little to say about the gender differences and had a rather uncomplicated view of their gender experience. Throughout my interviews I asked about gender makeup and gender sensitive considerations to understand how the participants understood these concepts. It was interesting to see how each participant talked about gender.

Five of the eleven participants—four from CRC and one from SJA, referenced either gender non-binary, transgender or inclusive language using the LGBTQ shorthand, usually when discussing client services. Natalie from CRC brought up the fact that she hadn't reflected on the LGBT aspect of the Syrian Crisis Response throughout our discussion and noted that it was done through training personnel as well as providing safe spaces for those clients. She goes on to state that "...we had I mean they were never activated but the interim lodging sites had gender neutral bathrooms in the shelters which wouldn't have necessarily happened in other well certainly not in other responses that I've been on" (Interview 7). Additionally, Hannah notes that the location of the gender neutral bathrooms in her shelter for the Syrian Response in a different part of the country were given to the security along with the location of the male and female bathrooms as

well as a consideration of spatial distance between the bathrooms in terms of safety. These two observations illustrate the important impact the Safety and Well-Being section is already making in terms of gender considerations in localized response.

Eleanor mentions a similar sentiment in general terms stating “when you look at it from that perspective of creating those safe spaces for individuals regardless of male, female, bi, transgender etc. If you create safe spaces for people, it’s a psychosocial support and that is what the benefit of really thinking carefully about how you execute your program” (Interview 3). Echoing this sentiment, Frank notes that while on a response abroad (USA) there were some political issues ongoing in terms of gender neutral bathrooms. And given this climate, they were careful to keep entirely neutral stating that “there was no questioning as far as male, female or trans” (Interview 2). These kinds of statements often go hand in hand with statements of creating literal ‘safe’ spaces, which is only one kind of gender sensitive consideration, potentially missing many others that could be integrated to create an overall better experience for those individuals.

5.9. Participants use of Gendered Language

I encountered an interesting phenomenon when discussing the gender makeup—with multiple participants referencing ‘soft’ skills or the ‘fluffy’ stuff in reference to women in social services work. Eleanor notes that while she perceives that the CRC likely has more women than men employed, she also notes the reason she believes this to be so is due to the fact that

We’re [CRC] helping people and that tends to speak to that social services type of environment. And so, the work that we do is not running into burning buildings and it’s not driving ambulances and you know, I’ll

be very incorrect here it's not, it's not the toys and the toys tend to attract the men. It's more the people and the people tend to attract the women (Interview 3).

She goes on to state that “it's that social services humanitarian fluffy stuff right....and we [in reference to men in emergency services] went into buildings and save people...and you guys well you do soft stuff” (Interview 3). While Eleanor states this in reference to how she perceived the humanitarian side of emergency response was understood when she first started her career over twenty years ago, it is indicative of a more widely accepted dichotomy in emergency response referenced by other participants. Natalie who works in the newly created Safety and Well-Being section of the CRC references the psycho-social support as ‘fluffy’ when discussing her interest in how the integration of Disaster Management and Safety and Well-Being will function. Helen who also uses this language in describing her motivation to work in the humanitarian sector notes that “it is about making a difference and it is about that general curiosity in how does culture impact recovery I think as well so it's that side, it's the softer side of operations” (Interview 6). Further, Amanda within her own sector of security notes that at times “there's a whole soft skills side to security, which is all of our interpersonal communications...so again it's not a big wall, it's not barbed wire it's not that stuff. It's the soft skills” (Interview 1). Similarly, when discussing the demographics of volunteers Frank who's been with the CRC for about seven years and has served on multiple responses in Canada notes that perhaps the reason for the generation X volunteers being more often men is that “...there was more of a feel in that time that maybe women were more I don't know nurturing or caring , men seemed to go towards more stem careers as well as industrial, so NGO's were more the cushy fluffy things that weren't necessarily geared towards men” (Interview 2). The words used to explain the differences

between the sectors in disaster management and their own experiences is indicative at times of a binary gendered world view.

5.10. Participants' Insistence on the 'Best Person for the Job'

Throughout the interviews I had five participants say something along the lines of, 'it's about the best person for the job'. Sam from SJA with over seven years with the organization notes that as a first aid provider organization they have never come across any issues with gender in terms of their volunteers noting that everyone is trained to the same base level regardless of gender. Further, Frank from CRC notes that "it's the right person for the right job, it doesn't matter who that person is" (Interview 2). Interestingly, Randall who has only been with the CRC for a year and a half mentioned a similar idea noting "it's whoever is the best person for the job and if they've got the skills we'd be more than happy to have them" (Interview 4). This idea is echoed by Eleanor as well when she states "that wherever the best person is that's where the job goes" (Interview 3). Amanda, from a security stand point notes a similar idea in stating that "I just focus on staff personnel, safety and security is my position...we do not discriminate" (Interview 1). Here Amanda is articulating that what matters in her position is ensuring the safety and security of her personnel, while there may be considerations given to certain assignments abroad due to discriminatory laws abroad, providing a thorough contextual overview and informed consent is what she does to ensure full knowledge of her personnel. This was a phenomenon that was discussed by participants, regardless of how little or a lot of time they had spent with the organization. Further, there can be a link seen between this phenomenon and the phenomenon of participants describing client needs generally being devoid of gender

considerations that occurred throughout the interview process described in the second part of the Analysis.

5.11. Participants Long-Term Experiences as Women in Disaster Management

Eleanor has been with the CRC for about twenty-three years and has had the opportunity to witness the shift from a male-dominated environment to a more inclusive one. This experience was discussed in part one of the Analysis. Eleanor was also able to explain what it was like to work in that male dominated environment when she first started, in stating:

The emergency response world tends to be more male dominated and as a female sitting around many of those tables over the last 23 years it's been interesting. Because, originally when I started my career, contribution was not always well received because it's predominantly was at the time a very male dominated environment. And a very macho male dominated environment. If you weren't in uniform and you weren't a guy you didn't have much to say. (Interview 3)

Eleanor then goes on to explain how she was able to prove herself to the largely male dominated group, which is best understood through her own words:

...through building strong relationships and I think *that* was the key you know the expertise, the knowledge etc. was recognized and that afforded a different level of conversation with my external counterparts, let's put it that way. So you know I think a lot of it was yes having to kind of push my way in but doing so in a way that was effective in gaining credibility and trust which I think was at the core of the issue in the first place because it was like 'oh well it's a it's that social services humanitarian fluffy stuff right? (Interview 3).

This is a very telling quote where Eleanor exemplifies the struggle she went through to be taken seriously. While it seems she was being diplomatic in her stating "let's put it that way", it is evident that Eleanor had to fight to be taken seriously within the emergency management sector.

Another example of this kind of experience was with Amanda with her work in security abroad. She discussed that when she first started working within the security sector in international responses she was often the only women in security. She also discusses having to prove herself in those situations in stating:

But, there's at one point a very there's a bit more of a tight knit former military group that does security that never did humanitarian assistance so they don't quite understand the work we do, they kind of, at the early stages would kind of just relate to each other. So that, that was a bit hard...it's having that additional pressure to really to prove anything, but we also do is that no no we are competent to do this job, it's not what you think it is. It's often a question being second guessed as a woman. Or decisions being second guessed or recommendations being second guessed. I felt...in the early stages that was common. And I still think I'm sure it still happens but now there's a lot more women in security so it's amazing. There's A LOT more like it has changed dramatically in the past seven years. (Interview 1).

Amanda notes the increase of women in the security sector since she started working in it seven years ago. Further she notes her struggle to prove herself in much the same way Eleanor had to, while in a slightly different sector and locale they both encountered similar issues.

A divergent example would be Natalie's experience with her relatively new role (a year and half in the role) in Safety and Well-Being with CRC where she mentions that while she knows that traditional emergency management is masculinized, her experience is in fact the opposite. Natalie believes that the reason for the majority of women is due to the professions from which this section draws from—social work, teaching and nursing. Which are all professions that generally draw more women than men. She notes a particular recent experience where she states “we convened a national task force which includes cross provincial and cross program representatives who meet on a regular basis to...consolidate and direct and define the strategy and framework and tools, and we just...had our first official meeting yesterday and they

were just commenting on that it's all women" (Interview 7). She notes that in this section they have to actively recruit all genders to make sure they are represented. These kinds of experiences were extremely insightful in learning what it is and was like to be a woman in the non-profit sector in disaster management/response.

6. Discussion

The purpose of this research was to firstly explore the extent of gender-sensitive programming offered by the three largest not-for-profit organizations involved in disaster response within Canada (Canadian Red Cross, Saint John Ambulance and Salvation Army). Secondly, the research was aimed at exploring whether the shift away from the historical masculinized emergency management landscape that exists in the public sector also exists in the non-profit sector, resulting in a more gender equitable sector, and whether this had an impact on the nature of programming offered.

My findings show that over sixty percent of the participants, whether employees or volunteers, discussed a perceived shift from a male dominated environment to a more female-inclusive environment through time in all three organizations. Those that witnessed this shift had been at their respective organization or in the sector in a different capacity between four and twenty-three years. Most participants from all three organizations stated that client needs are general with no gender sensitive considerations, with an emphasis on the basic needs of food, shelter and clothing. Much of the unofficial gender sensitive programming was discussed at a smaller scale, where notably many participants mentioned individualized needs service delivery. Meaning that the participants discussed service delivery on one person individually at a time, their unique needs were understood one at a time instead of a more generalized approach. Markedly, the Salvation Army (SA) included emotional and spiritual care as part of their 'basic' service provisions. James from SA discussed that often it was women who sought this kind of care, but then later backtracked on these comments stating that all genders may require this service, although males tend to be more stoic while females tend to be more overtly emotional

(Interview 10). Gender sensitive programming at the local level was often discussed in light of culture, domestic violence or privacy, all of which served as a catalyst for gender sensitive considerations. It was also found that just under half of the participants practiced deploying volunteers in pairs with one male and one female (where possible), in order to better serve the client.

The CRC is the only organization that has gender equality as a cross cutting theme that is aimed at the integration of this theme (The other cross cutting themes CRC has are violence prevention and beneficiary accountability) across all aspects of the disaster management program. Moreover, the Canadian Red Cross, was found to have a high level of gender equality within their current employee base. It was also the only organization to be found to offer a quasi-official gender sensitive programming for disaster response through their newly created Safety and Well-Being section within their disaster management operations, applicable only at a level 3 disaster and above. When discussing this new section, the CRC participants explained the gender sensitive programming in terms of creating safe spaces in shelters or lodging situations for women, children and only a few mentioned the safe spaces for men or any considerations beyond that. Despite these developments within the CRC, two of the female participants from the CRC that have been with the organization for more than seven years discussed the struggle to prove themselves within the sector due to the large male majority.

The way in which gender is understood and talked about is fundamental to the integration of a more gender equitable sector and on the implementation of gender sensitive programming. When I use the term ‘non-binary’ I mean a perceived understanding by the participants of gender

as a spectrum versus the binary—male and female understanding of gender. While the discussion of non-binary genders was beyond the scope of the study it was very interesting to see participants have a more complex understanding of gender. Only five of the eleven participants, when discussing gender, did so in a non-binary manner, often when noting potential vulnerabilities for clients or when affirming non-discriminatory practices in hiring. There was also a noted tendency to use stereotypically gendered language to describe differences in occupations or aspects of the disaster management/ response sector. When discussing these differences, forty-five percent of participants used words like ‘soft’ or ‘fluffy’ to describe humanitarian work versus the emergency services operations work (like firefighters, police, paramedics).

The following section situates these research findings within existing literature.

6.1. Research Findings and Existing Literature

In my first finding, more than sixty percent of the participants, whether employees or volunteers, discussed a perceived shift from a male dominated environment to a more female-inclusive environment through time in all three organizations. This was a phenomenon that I was interested in investigating in the non-profit sector due to the existing knowledge in the literature of the shift away from a historical masculinized emergency management landscape in the public sector (Parkinson et. al. 2016; Braedley, 2007; Enarson, 2010; Enarson, 2001; Enarson, 1998; Enarson and Scanlon, 1999; Hughes, 2010; Marrow and Enarson, 1996; Marrow and Enarson, 1998; Owen, 2013; Phillips, 1990; Record of Proceedings: Ha-Redeye, 2006; Wilson, 1999; Wraith, 1996). Further, the detailed experiences of two participants in having to prove

themselves in an environment that was largely male in emergency management ties in directly to the above finding. The literature on barriers to women entering the emergency management field including women in police, fire service, public safety, communications and emergency management due to familial obligations among other things are reflected in my findings (Österlind and Haake, 2010; Owen, 2013; Parkinson et. al., 2016; Wilson, 1999). My findings agree with the literature that this historical masculinized emergency management existed in the public sector, and now in the non-profit sector. Given the lack of published research on the non-profit sector in general and in emergency management/response specifically, this finding provides basis for future initiatives. Such as the implementation of formalized record keeping at the non-profit level in gender makeup and organizational charts in an aim to allow for study of the data, as well as increased research into how gender parity may contribute to service delivery etc.

Based on what was shared by interview participants, the practice of gender sensitive approaches to disaster management are seemingly random and lack a cohesive effort in the non-profit sector. This results in variable and potentially ineffective outcomes. For example, while almost half of all participants practiced the deployment of volunteers in pairs of one male and one female, this gender-sensitive practice is unique in light of the finding that most participants from all three organizations described client needs without mention of gender sensitive considerations, other than on a client-by-client basis. Furthermore, the use of stereotypical language in describing the humanitarian side of response versus the operations side of it (i.e. firefighters, police and paramedics) such as ‘soft’ and ‘fluffy’, highlights entrenched gender inequalities. The use of these words to describe what was stereotypically a sector of the job

market with mostly women or men are subtle forms of inequality that may be perpetuating stereotypes.

As argued by Enarson and Haworth-Brockman (2008), there is a need for all emergency management/response organizations in Canada to integrate gender-sensitive emergency planning. The fact that there was very little to nothing in way of formal gender sensitive programming at the local level found in the current research, compounds the need for increased integration and research into gender sensitive programming. Although one participant mentioned emotional and spiritual care as part of the basic set of client needs, it emphasizes psychosocial care that can be understood as part of gendered care. The finding that gender sensitive programming was only discussed in terms of culture, domestic violence or privacy issues serves to corroborate this call for increased gender sensitive programming to be included across the board and not only in 'special' circumstances that may otherwise support stereotypical gendered response. Even CRC, the organization that can be considered the most forward-thinking with respect to these issues, has must to improve.

While CRC includes gender as a cross cutting theme, the fact that the Safety and Well-Being section is only implemented at the higher levels of response means that there is an inherent loss of service to the client. There needs to be a formalized process for including gender sensitive programming or considerations by all departments. Moreover, CRC participants who had experience with the operationalization of the Safety and Well-Being section, stated this gender sensitive considerations were mostly done through the implementation of safe spaces for women and children. Few, however, mentioned men friendly spaces and anything more complex than

those safe spaces. Due to the lack gender sensitive programming, the nuanced ways gender dynamics are strained, ingrained or reverted to during emergencies results in missed opportunities to assist clients and may perpetuate or silence client crises. This is reflected in Enarson and Scanlon (1998) research on the 1997 Red River Valley Flood in Manitoba, where they found that gender roles became more ingrained and excessively disadvantaged women while also entrenching male stereotypes that can be damaging as well. While there could be a potential correlation between increased gender equality and the implantation of a program that focuses more on gender sensitive programming, future research is required to draw any real conclusions from this.

The way in which gender is understood and talked about is fundamental to the integration of a more gender equitable sector and on the implementation of gender sensitive programming. In finding that just under half of the participants when discussing potential vulnerabilities of clients mentioned gender in a non-binary way was important due to the complexities that can be found in implementing gender sensitive programming. While this was beyond the scope of this research, I believe it is an important and potential future research area. It is comforting to see at least some of the participants complicating the binary standards of gender because implementing gender sensitive programming requires these kind of complicating of standard ideas.

6.2. Limitations

There were a few limitations of this study, the primary limit being on the number of participants involved. I was only able to interview eleven participants, seven of which were from the Canadian Red Cross and two from the Salvation Army and Saint John Ambulance. This

resulted in more findings and insight into the Canadian Red Cross than the other two organizations. Furthermore, due to the time constraint I could not interview an even amount of male and female participants from each organization which I believe could have provided a more robust and insightful research project. While this was already mentioned above, gender non-binary aspects of gender sensitive programming and gender makeup was beyond the scope of this research. However, I believe the inclusion of this aspect of gender could have provided a more wholesome picture of the current landscape of the non-profit sector. Lastly, this research only looked at gender as a factor affecting disaster based on research by Enarson and Scanlon (1999) who found in their own research that gender was the most volatile factor during disasters. However, this research did not look at other factors such as race, socioeconomic status, age etc. in how they interact with disasters. Further, the lack of access to long-term employee records and organizational charts for all organizations meant I could not analyze it as part of my research with more depth. This was a particular problem for the Canadian Red Cross as their records are kept in Ottawa and after numerous failed attempts to gain information via telephone it became apparent that travelling to Ottawa would have been the only way to attain these records.

While my research for the most part was in line with what was found in the literature or at least confirmed in some cases what was speculated on in the literature I believe there are many more avenues this research could be expanded and deepened to gain a greater understanding of the current gender landscape of emergency management non-profit sector.

6.3. Future Research

An interesting area for additional research is the potential correlation between increased gender equality in the workforce and the effect that it may have on the changes or implementation of gender-sensitive programming in emergency management/response. This is a key area for future research given my findings from the CRC, where a new section—Safety and Well-Being was created out of a perceived need from the Syrian Crisis. And where a majority female workforce is driving new gender sensitive policies and programming. Another area for future research is through the implementation of various gender sensitive programming and studying the outcomes or satisfaction of clients. This may be done through some of the recommendations from Enarson and Haworth-Brockman *Gender Mainstreaming in Emergency Management* (2008) publication such as gender focused fact sheets, gendered awareness and gendered risk communications, reviewing gender policies across jurisdiction's and many more. The gendered fact sheets could for example include risks that specifically women or men face during emergencies due to societal gender roles.

More gender sensitive approaches could look like understanding the particular risks each gender generally faces during emergencies and address those specifically in awareness campaigns, messaging, emergency plans, gender sensitive training of all personnel across all organizations that interact with the public in emergency situations, internal reviews of gender policies and how each organization addresses the gendered nuances in providing services to clients in emergencies etc. This could be as simple as providing menstrual products to clients in a

way that does not require them to ask for it or ask for it in a public space in front of other clients, or the provision of all different kinds of menstrual products and that it all be done in way that allows the client to maintain as much normalcy, dignity and privacy. Another example of gender sensitive programming is finding ways to address the high number of mental health issues men face compared to women through targeted approaches to this issue (Enarson and Haworth-Brockman, 2008). It is through these kinds of specific, targeted approaches to gendered emergency management/response where it is possible to make a positive impact on society as a whole for better emergency preparedness, response and recovery.

7. Conclusion

Through this research project I was interested in exploring the gendered landscape of Canada's non-profit disaster response sector. Specifically, I wished to examine whether the historically male-dominated emergency management landscape that is well documented in the public sector has permeated the non-profit sector. Furthermore, I was interested in understanding whether the ingrained concern for gender sensitive approaches is also perceived to be present domestically. Lastly, I sought to understand how and if these two issues were perceived to interact by those working within non-profit organizations. I examined these questions using the experiences and perceptions of the employees and volunteers of the three largest non-profit organizations in Canada: Canadian Red Cross, Salvation Army Canada and St. John Ambulance.

My examination of the literature made it apparent that the historical establishment of disaster management/response and its subsequent evolution both in Canada and abroad has had a massive impact in the way the sector exists today (Ha-Redeye, 2006; Wilson, J, 1999; Braedley, S, 2009; Enarson and Haworth-Brokeman, 2008). In particular, the corresponding evolution of traditional gender roles in Canada has meant that both the establishment of gender sensitive approaches to local disaster management/response and gender equality in employment are still lacking in Canada's non-profit sector (Government of Canada, 2015; Red Cross Canada, 2017; Salvation Army, 2017; St. John Ambulance, 2017).

Through the eleven interviews I conducted I found that the historically masculinized emergency management/response, which has been fairly well documented in the literature

pertaining to the public sector, to also be present in the non-profit sector. This finding is important to the literature as there is a significant gap in research on the non-profit sector in general, but more specifically in the field of emergency management/response in Canada. Moreover, my findings emphasize the female experience within a masculinized emergency management context, where participants discussed having to prove themselves to the majority male group. Additionally, I found that the way in which gender was understood as a concept had a large impact on how participants perceived the gendered landscape of their positions in the non-profit disaster management/response sector. Lastly, the interrelation between the gender landscape of the employees/volunteers and gender sensitive approaches was found in the CRC's creation of the new section of Safety and Well-Being, which boasted a perceived largely female employee base, providing gender sensitive approaches to disaster management/response.

My findings point to a need for future research in this area to further support increased gender equality and gender sensitive approaches to disaster management/response, in order to create a sector that provides gender sensitive disaster management services to Canadians across the country by a diverse workforce.

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