



GENDER AND RESILIENCE

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Working Paper



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This paper focuses on 8 of the BRACED consortia, which are referred to by the name of their lead organisation.

The consortium led by NEF includes the International Institute for Environment and Development (IIED) and Innovation, Environnement and Développement en Afrique (IED Arfrique). Live-with-water is led by CRES and includes the University of Bonn, Swiss Tropical and Public Health Institute (TPH), Réseau des femmes pour le développement durable en Afrique (REDAF), Groupe Senghor, globalContact consulting (gcc), EAWAG Aquatic Research, BG Ingenieurs Conseils and Mandu Consulting. The consortium led by iDE includes SAPPROS, Rupantaran, RIMS Nepal, Renewable World, NTAG, Middlesex University, International Water Management Institute (IWMI), ADRA Nepal, CIMMYT and Netafim. The consortium led by Plan International Myanmar includes World Vision Myanmar, Alliance Coordination Unit, Action Aid, BBC Media Action, UN Habitat and the Myanmar Environment Institute. The consortium led by Mercy Corps includes the University of Nairobi, Makerere University, Uganda Land Alliance (ULA), Wajir South Development Association (WASDA) and TANGO International. The consortium led by Christian Aid (Burkina Faso) includes OXFAM Intermon, Meteo Burkina, Internews Europe, Alliance Technique d'Assistance au Développement

(ATAD), Action Contre la Faim (ACF), Kings College London, Met Office (UK) and Office de Développement des Eglises Evangéliques (ODE).

The consortium led by CARE International includes Tree Aid, Association pour la Redynamisation de l'Elevage au Niger, Idees Dubara and Moribeen.

The consortium led by IRD includes AMASSA Afrique Verte and Groupe de Formation and Consultation et Etude.

Contents

Executive summary	7
Introduction	9
Methodology	12
1. Conceptualising gender	15
2. Why gender matters in resilience programming	18
3. Geography, environment and gender relations	24
4. Assessing gender mainstreaming in resilience programmes	28
5. The integration of gender in BRACED resilience projects	41
6. Challenges to adequately addressing gender equality	46
7. Recommendations	52
References	56
Annex 1: treatment of gender in BRACED projects selected for review	64

List of tables

Table 1: BRACED project proposals reviewed in this paper	13
Table 2: A gender perspective on the impacts of climate change and disasters	22
Table 3: The distinction between practical and strategic gender needs	33

List of boxes

Box 1: The gender implications of environmental change combined with development trends in Senegal	26
Box 2. Gender mainstreaming	29
Box 3: Mercy Corps' experiences with resilience programmes in the Sahel	35
Box 4. Tools to support gender-sensitive resilience projects	40
Box 5. Checklist for monitoring gender outcomes in resilience projects in the Sahel	54

Executive summary

The contribution that external interventions make to individual, household and community resilience to climate extremes and disasters will largely depend on the suitability of those activities to the local context and the extent to which implementing agencies address existing social dynamics and power relations. Exploring the gender dimension of resilience to disasters and climate change encourages researchers and practitioners working in these fields to focus on people's different relationships to the environment and access to resources. It also encourages them to assess how projects aimed at managing risk and building resilience are affected by social norms, including those pertaining to gender-based inequalities.

This paper reviews different approaches to incorporating gender equality objectives into resilience projects and to monitoring gender equality outcomes. It uses a sample of project proposals from DFID's Building Resilience to Climate Extremes and Disasters programme (BRACED) and makes suggestions on ways to promote effective and consistent practice across the full range of projects. The methodology is twofold, involving a systematic review of how gender resiliencies are considered in the literature on disaster risk reduction and climate change adaptation and an analysis of project planning materials for eight of the 15 NGO projects being supported by BRACED.

The analysis of NGO approaches reveals different levels of ambition, from recognising gender-based differences to targeting gendered interests and ultimately transforming gendered power relations. Several challenges were however identified within the gender elements of these projects related to their design, operational feasibility and the practicality of monitoring.

The authors set out recommendations for the implementation of resilience-building projects with a gender equality lens, based on examples from the literature and the NGO project documentation. They emphasise in particular the need to analyse the connections between the 'mini-theories of change' concerned with the ambitious goal of transforming gender relations and the overall theory of change for the resilience project as a whole. In doing so, implementing agencies can improve the coherence, gender impact and effectiveness of monitoring approaches. This exercise will require a thorough examination of the two-way causal relationships between women's empowerment and community or household-level resilience.

Introduction

The impacts of climate change, extreme weather events and slow-onset disasters are acutely felt along gender lines (Sultana, 2013; Vincent et al., 2014). However, there has been slow progress regarding recognition of the social dimensions of disaster risk and climate change (Moosa and Tuana, 2014), despite decades of research by sociologists and geographers showing how disasters are founded in social structures (Fothergill, 1996). There is growing evidence of the numerous ways in which women, men, children, older people, people with disabilities and ethnic minorities are vulnerable to environmental shocks and stresses, as well as how they mobilise different capacities to build their resilience. Adopting a gender lens helps to achieve a better understanding of the different experiences of disasters between men and women but also between individuals within those groups according to their age, ethnic origins or sexual orientation. This is crucial for generating greater awareness of the social equality dimension of environmental problems and fostering social inclusion of marginalised or disadvantaged groups in disaster risk reduction (DRR) and climate change adaptation (CCA) policies and programmes.

GENDER refers to the social differences, roles and expectations accorded to women and men. These roles are learned, can change over time and are influenced by culture, education, class, economic and political environments, the media, crisis and conflicts (UNESCO, 2000)

GENDER EQUITY is the process of being fair when addressing the specific needs of women, men, girls and boys. To ensure fairness, strategies must often be available to compensate for women's historical and social disadvantages, which prevent

women and men from otherwise operating on a level playing field. Equity leads to equality (UNFPA, 2005)

GENDER EQUALITY refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women, men, girls and boys. Equality between men and women is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and an indicator of, sustainable people-centred development. (UNDP, 2014)

VULNERABILITY can be described as the characteristics and circumstances of a community, system or asset that make it susceptible to the damaging effects of a hazard (UNISDR, 2009).

ADAPTATION designates the adjustment in natural or human systems in response to actual or expected climatic stimuli or their effects, which moderates harm or exploits beneficial opportunities (UNISDR, 2009).

The BRACED programme supports 15 NGO consortia to build the resilience of people to climate and weather extremes in 13 countries in the Sahel, East Africa and South Asia.¹ These countries are characterised by high levels of disaster risk (Simonet et al., 2015) and are also considered to be fragile states, with many having experienced conflicts in recent years.² BRACED also has an explicit focus on the resilience of women and children:

- 1 BRACED countries are: Burma, Nepal, Ethiopia, Kenya, Sudan, South Sudan, Uganda, Burkina Faso, Chad, Mali, Mauritania, Niger and Senegal.
- 2 DFID Guide for applicants on the preparation of concept notes to apply for grants under the Building Resilience and Adaptation to Climate Extremes and Disasters Programme (BRACED).

*BRACED is expected to directly benefit up to 5 million vulnerable people, especially women and children, in developing countries by helping them become more resilient to climate extremes. In addition, through helping improve national policies and institutions to better integrate disaster risk reduction (DRR), climate adaptation and development approaches, we expect the programme to indirectly help many millions more.*³

The BRACED programme therefore offers a unique opportunity to conduct research on – and develop a deeper understanding of – some of the normative aspects of resilience, including gender and social inclusion dimensions (Bahadur et al., 2015).

A broad hypothesis of this research is that the contribution projects make to individual, household and community resilience will largely depend on the suitability of interventions to the local context, particularly in relation to the social dynamics and power relations that create differences in vulnerability. As a starting point for building equitable resilience, NGOs will need to understand patterns of gender and social relations in livelihood opportunities, vulnerabilities, capacities and adaptation practices, how these shape disaster impacts and the ways in which different household and community members respond to such impacts. Gender-sensitive analysis can also be used to explore the influence that gender dynamics and social power relations have on project implementation and impacts. Hence, research conducted under BRACED can usefully be directed at exploring the links between gender and social equality and resilience through the study of interventions to support both, focusing on project design through to implementation and then monitoring and evaluation.

³ www.gov.uk/international-development-funding/building-resilience-and-adaptation-to-climate-extremes-and-disasters-programme

Methodology

This paper has been prepared as a contribution – and introduction – to the BRACED research theme on gender and social equality. The specific objective here is to review explicit approaches to incorporating gender equality objectives, promoting gender-equitable processes and monitoring gender equality outcomes into resilience-building projects. For this study, we take a random sample of project proposals (eight projects were selected to reflect on the Sahelian contexts, East Africa and South Asia) and make suggestions as to ways of promoting effective and consistent practice across the full range of projects.

The methodology is twofold: a broad scan of the academic and grey literature covering the gender dimension of resilience in the context of disaster risk and climate change and a review of final project planning material, as contained in the grant applications for eight of the BRACED projects (Table 1).

This paper reviews the literature on gender and resilience using a broad lens to examine social inclusion, thereby not only looking at differences between men and women in resilience processes, but also at how other social identities shape people's capacities to deal with climate and weather extremes. This is important because it is not just gender that affects vulnerability and resilience, but how this intersects with other aspects of social identity, such as age (Carr and Thompson, 2014). The authors will go on to examine five BRACED projects selected at random from the cohort of projects in the Sahel and three from those in East Africa and South Asia. Overall, the aim is to provide a reference document that can be used to assess how gender and social equality is considered in BRACED projects, as well as identify knowledge gaps in the gender dimension of resilience.

Table 1: BRACED project proposals reviewed in this paper

CONSORTIUM LEAD	COUNTRY	TITLE OF PROJECT
Sahel projects		
Near East Foundation (NEF)	Mali Senegal	Decentralising Climate Funds: Building resilience of 750,000 vulnerable people by ensuring readiness of Mali and Senegal's devolved governments to invest global and national climate finance in public goods to meet local priorities.
International Relief and Development (IRD)	Mali	Increasing resilience to climatic stresses and shocks of 264,000 people in Mali, including those who are most at risk economically and physically.
Christian Aid (CA)	Burkina Faso	To develop transformational solutions to climate variability and disasters for 1.3 m people in Burkina by improving climate forecasting, behavioural change and sharing expertise and technology.
Consortium pour la Recherche Economique et Sociale (CRES) (project referred to as Live-with-water)	Senegal	Partnership to build climate resilience and improve the livelihoods of 960,000 poor and vulnerable people in urban settlements in Senegal through integrated flood prevention and water harvesting.
CARE	Burkina Faso Mali Niger	Building resilience without borders in the Sahel: Supporting 900,000 vulnerable women, children and men in Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger to adapt to climate extremes (BRWB).
Non-Sahel projects		
Plan (project referred to as the Myanmar Alliance)	Myanmar	Building the resilience of 356,074 people across Burma to climate extremes: saving lives, protecting livelihoods, improving institutional coordination, and influencing national policy.
International Development Enterprises UK (iDE UK)	Nepal	"Anukulan" – Developing climate resilient livelihoods for local communities through public-private partnership for 500,000 poor people in western Nepal that suffer from climate extremes and disasters.
Mercy Corps	Kenya Uganda	Programme for Resilient Systems to build absorptive, adaptive and transformative capacity for over 530,000 vulnerable individuals in Kenya and Uganda. (PROGRESS)

Sections 3 and 4 provide a conceptualisation of gender and summarise the rationale for why gender matters in programmes aimed at enhancing adaptation and resilience. Section 5 discusses the influence of the geographical context on gender relations and people's resilience, focusing on the BRACED countries. Section 6 then provides an overview of how gender has been integrated into NGO practices aimed at helping communities to deal with climate extremes and section 7 takes the eight BRACED projects as case studies and presents the context and the approach to gender taken by each. Lessons from the analysis of these case studies are summarised in section 8 and potential challenges in the implementation of BRACED projects are highlighted. The final section outlines a forward agenda for monitoring the effectiveness of different approaches to gender-sensitive programming for climate resilience.



1. CONCEPTUALISING GENDER

IMAGE:
ALEXANDRE
BARON

Momsen (2010: 2) defines gender as 'the socially acquired notions of masculinity and femininity by which women and men are identified'. Adopting a gendered perspective means giving consideration to the social differences between men and women and analysing their experiences in relation to places and their environments. Defining gender as a societal construct recognises that the diversity of social practices, beliefs, cultural behaviours, historical contexts and political structures all change the meaning of gender from one society to another and over time (McDowell, 1999).

“Men and women face different constraints in their daily lives and the predominance of patriarchy typically leads to the subordination of women”

Although addressing gender issues should not theoretically exclude attention to men and masculinities, there is a tendency to focus on women and their associated status, roles and power (or lack of) because, as Momsen (2010) argues, most societies, despite their pluralities, suffer gender imbalances to the detriment of women. Gender studies since the 1970s, largely inspired by feminist theories, have continuously stressed that men and women face different constraints in their daily lives and the predominance of patriarchy typically leads to the subordination of women, even though power relations can be experienced and expressed in different ways. Often what it means to be a woman is to be powerless; 'it is considered 'feminine' to be quiet, accommodating, and obedient' while 'it is considered 'manly' to exercise power-over, that is, to get others to do what you want them to do' (Koester, 2015: 3). In Burundi, male elites block legislation to grant women inheritance rights as a way to maintain a political settlement based on exclusionary land ownership (Castillejo, 2011). In Malawi, research has shown that women's specific priorities are often neglected in decision-making processes where male traditional elders exercise power over other individuals in the community, particularly women (Tilitonse, 2013). They do so, for instance, by drawing on expressions of women's subordination and exploitation, expecting them to perform songs and dances to glorify dignitaries and to provide sexual 'favours' to party leaders (Booth et al., 2006). In the vast majority of societies today, women are still

fighting for equal pay with their male counterparts when they occupy similar positions.

Giving attention to gender issues therefore involves focusing on the (in)equalities between men and women, along with the factors that cause them, in terms of their positions, needs and roles, specifically 'the household tasks and types of employment socially assigned to women and men' (Meer, 2007: 2). Furthermore, adequate attention to gender issues must be embedded in a wider recognition of social differences and power inequalities. As underlined by Dankelman (2010: 11), 'gender relations throughout the world entail asymmetry of power between women and men' which means that gender 'is a social stratifier, and in this sense it is similar to other stratifiers such as race, class, ethnicity, religion, place and age, that in themselves all affect gender roles and meanings'. A gendered perspective is not just concerned with women as an oppressed homogenous group, but gives equal consideration to differences between men and women, and between women (or men) themselves in terms of their status, roles, problems and needs and according to their social, cultural or geographical contexts (Carr and Thompson, 2014).



2. WHY GENDER MATTERS IN RESILIENCE PROGRAMMING

IMAGE: ERIC
MONTFORT

A focus on gender encourages researchers and practitioners in DRR and CCA fields to develop a deeper understanding of the consequences of disaster and climate change risk for people, not only according to their geographical location but also due to social roles and dynamics (Moosa and Tuana, 2014). It also highlights how disaster risk itself is shaped by social constructions of people's relationships to the environment and access to resources and therefore how projects to manage risk are affected by these social norms and constructs.

Social exclusion and climate vulnerability

Gender-based inequalities and social exclusion are key factors undermining people's and community's capacities to cope with and recover from disaster risks and climate events.

Socially constructed status, roles and norms are gendered and intersect with other social identities, such as age or ethnicity, to create unequal levels of marginalisation and access to assets between women and men, and girls and boys (Dankelman, 2010). The combination of power structures, intra-household dynamics, decision-making processes in and out of the home, as well as inequalities in terms of workloads, employment and income, restrict many women across the world from accessing and securing livelihoods and achieving control over their lives.

This undermines their ability to anticipate and prepare for major disasters and shapes their susceptibility and exposure to climate extremes (Enarson and Morrow, 1998; Sultana, 2013) (see Table 2 for a gender perspective on how climate change affects people's survival, livelihoods and rights).

“Gender-based inequalities and social exclusion are key factors undermining people's and community's capacities to cope”

Social norms and vulnerabilities in disaster-prone countries

Building and enhancing people's resilience requires an understanding of social norms and other societal factors that maintain gendered power inequalities in different contexts and curtail women and girls', as well as boys' and men's, abilities to reduce their vulnerability to environmental shocks and stresses. Harper et al. (2014: 2) define social norms as 'the informal and formal laws, beliefs and practices that help to determine collective understanding of what are acceptable attitudes and behaviours. As such, they can either drive processes of social change or act as brakes and barriers to such processes'. These social norms, and the way they may be detrimental for the status and well-being of certain gender groups, are likely to differ significantly between and within the Sahel region, East Africa and South Asia, where they intersect with different manifestations of conflict, political instability and resource scarcity. Oxfam's recent report on gender and resilience in the Sahel (Diarra Doka, et al. 2014) is one of the few available studies that reflect on the effectiveness of humanitarian interventions to enhance food security by looking at gender relations and norms in targeted communities.

Problems with gender-blind interventions

If vulnerability and capacity assessments (VCAs) ignore inequalities and people's different needs, projects may fail to enhance people's livelihoods and therefore their resilience. They risk further marginalising those who suffer from a lack of access to decision-making or who experience discrimination,

hence reinforcing inequalities between dominant and minority groups (Masika, 2002).

Climate change and DRR fields have typically attracted scientists, engineers and economists, all male-dominated sectors, shaping the way climate policies and projects are designed (Buckingham, 2010). Attention to gender thus serves not only to document differences of resilience practices and highlight inequalities but also to challenge existing male-dominated institutions and fields of practice.

“If vulnerability and capacity assessments (VCAs) ignore inequalities and people's different needs, projects may fail to enhance people's livelihoods and therefore their resilience”

Research under BRACED will explore the social norms and gendered power inequalities described above and how these influence people's experiences of their environment. Under the gender and social equality learning theme, research will look at how these norms affect the implementation of resilience building projects, along with how people's specific knowledge and skills in managing natural resources shape the coping and adaptation strategies of households and communities.

Table 2: A gender perspective on the impacts of climate change and disasters

CONSEQUENCES	DIRECT IMPACTS				
	ACCESS TO WATER	FOOD INSECURITY	HEALTH RISKS	DISASTERS	
				SUDDEN	SLOW-ONSET
<i>Examples of interrelated impacts</i>	Water shortages Pollution and salinization of water	Yield failure Famine Fish stocks decrease Food store at risk of extreme events	Increased malnutrition Calorie-deficiency/hunger Epidemics	Floods Landslides Storms	Prolonged droughts destroying yields
<i>Gender aspects</i>	More time and energy spent on water provision (household/agriculture) Increased work-burden for women who are primarily responsible for water collection	More time and energy needed for food production Increased work-burden for women, primarily responsible for cooking Women grow household-oriented crops on often less fertile land	Women lack access to (reproductive) health services Women bear the brunt of taking care of sick and older people Men suffer from mental disorders for failing to provide for their families Women expected to feed other family members before attending to their own needs	Women, men, girls or boys might suffer from higher mortality rates due to different gender roles and therefore different vulnerabilities and exposure	Women's needs and capacities often neglected Girls and boys dropping out of school to earn income
<i>Gender coping / adaptive strategies</i>	Marginalised people migrate	Organising rations Sending children to relatives Marginalised people migrate Reliance on relief Selling livestock Agroforestry	Reliance on traditional knowledge	Reliance on relatives and assistance from NGOs	Marginalised people migrate Praying/Relying on one's faith

(Table 2 continued)

INDIRECT IMPACTS				
CONSEQUENCES	INCREASED POVERTY	EXACERBATED CONFLICTS	INCREASED MIGRATION	AGGRAVATED SOCIAL INEQUALITIES
<i>Examples of interrelated impacts</i>	Food price spikes Decreased income generating and credit opportunities	Local/trans-boundaries conflict over water Upheaval due to food insecurity Environmental processes and services jeopardised	Local to national tensions Increased displacements of rural poor	Discriminatory social and cultural norms Violation of human rights: stress factor increases No/limited part in decision-making Lack of information Lack of access to education
<i>Gender aspects</i>	Women working in informal sector most affected Costs for household budget increase (e.g. buying water) Reduced expenditures for other livelihoods (school fees, health care)	Poorest women living in insecure environments most at risk Women and girls as primary victims of gender-based violence	Increase in female headed Households due to male out-migration Migrants have limited land rights and are excluded from land planning Many women have restricted mobility	Gender-based violence at household level and in conflicts Children, particularly girls dropping out of school No time left for education, training and income generation Marginalised groups' needs/priorities neglected
<i>Gender coping / adaptive strategies</i>	Borrowing money Taking children out of school Engaging in new income generation activities Women and adolescents forced into prostitution	Marginalised people migrate to hide or take refuge in (IDP) camps	Migration as a coping strategy e.g. to seek employment/other sources of incomes	Gender groups set up grassroots organisations Men, especially older men, likely to have influence over local governance

SOURCE: ADAPTED FROM WEDO (2008); WISNER ET AL., (2007); CARE (2010).



3. GEOGRAPHY, ENVIRONMENT AND GENDER RELATIONS

IMAGE:
ERIC MONTFORT

The vulnerabilities of BRACED countries to climate extremes are likely to be exacerbated by climate change as well as other economic problems, such as market distortions and food prices spikes. Along with this, ongoing ethnic, territorial and political conflicts have caused forced migrations, further tensions and increased competition over access to critical natural and physical resources (Gubbels, 2012; Dasgupta et al., 2014). Existing and increasing pressures over water, food and energy, and resulting conflicts may exacerbate population displacement both within and between countries, thereby increasing insecurity. Pressure over access to food due to climate change is likely to maintain political instability, particularly in Africa. Between 1980 and 2001, popular discontent over livelihood insecurity was a contributing cause of many of the 95 attempted coups, 33 of which were successful (Wisner and al., 2007).

These trends all have significant gender and social dimensions. Shifts in agricultural patterns may alter the gender-based division of labour, for example, leaving men and women with different levels of exposure to climate risks and opportunities in addition to unequal workloads (Rossi and Lambrou, 2008). Research in Kenya indicates that a combination of poverty, droughts and violence have forced some pastoral communities to sell their land and their livestock, in order to move into urban areas to find work. This has led to children dropping out of school to engage in income generating activities, with girls particularly affected (North, 2010). The Ministry of Education indicates that, in Niger, 47,000 children were obliged to abandon school in 2012 because of the food crisis (Gubbels, 2012). Boys and young men often leave school to seek paid work, while girls have to bear additional tasks at home, although evidence has also shown that they too work for cash when there is a drought (Swarup et al., 2011; Plan, 2013). One study in Turkana, Kenya also found an increase in women-headed households, whose vulnerability is higher than women who are married, because the former cannot own livestock if they do not have a son or cannot afford to employ a herder (Omolo, 2010).

“The Ministry of Education indicates that, in Niger, 47,000 children were obliged to abandon school in 2012 because of the food crisis”

The risk of gender-based violence could also worsen with increased scarcity of water in arid areas of developing countries where women and girls, forced to walk longer distances to fetch water and fuel, are more at risk of harassment and sexual assault

(Skinner, 2011; Pinheiro, 2005) (see Box 1). Gender-based violence is already prevalent in many of the BRACED countries, particularly in Sub-Saharan Africa, where 65.6% of women who have had a partner at some time have experienced intimate partner violence, well above the global average of 26.4% (WHO, 2013). In Uganda, Zablotska et al., (2009) found that approximately 34% of currently married women aged 15 to 24 had experienced physical violence, while 16% faced sexual coercion. Domestic violence has both immediate impacts on people's vulnerability (i.e. poor physical and mental health status, missing work, out of pocket expenditures for accessing basic services and replacement costs) and long-term impacts on outcomes, in terms of mental health and accumulation of education, skills and experience within the workforce (Duvvury et al., 2013).

Box 1: The gender implications of environmental change combined with development trends in Senegal

In Senegal, decreased rainfall has had a negative impact on water access, particularly in areas where there are no bore-wells, electric wells, nor any connection to a water distribution network. Even when wells exist, they have been drilled with a 45 to 50 meters depth due to the downward trend of the low water table, but sometimes they do not even reach the drawing level. This situation contributes to worse living conditions, impedes women's workloads (as they are primarily responsible for water collection) and changes people's livelihoods.

In parallel, increased demand for cash wages reshapes gender relations with women wanting to meet their needs and look out for their own interests as well as men's. Women support the livelihoods of their household both in terms of earning

and time spent on domestic activities. They constitute 66.8% of the unemployed population, although the absence of gender-disaggregated data hampers a realistic understanding of women's contribution to the economy. Despite changing social dynamics in which women are claiming more freedom and getting more politically involved, they remain dependent on the environment, the opinion of their husbands and the expectations assigned to gender roles in public life.

Source: Dankelman et al. (2008)

In South Asia, water shortages and sea-level rises are expected to exacerbate environmental degradation and compound water-related hazards. These hazards are seasonally experienced in monsoonal climates and transform water-related productive and reproductive tasks in agrarian societies (Sultana, 2013). Disasters often trigger changes in social dynamics, including the exacerbation of unequal gender relations manifested in the lack of land and property rights and rising gender-based violence towards women and girls (Fordham et al., 2006). A study conducted in Andhra Pradesh, India, found that when a family's crops were lost due to a disaster, the workload of girls increased from 3.5 to 6.5 hours a day (Krutikova, 2009).



4. ASSESSING GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN RESILIENCE PROGRAMMES

IMAGE:
GUILLAUME
COLIN &
PAULINE PENOT

Policy frameworks including gender

Gender sensitive policies and programmes recognise gender inequalities as an obstacle that may deprive one group of people of the same rights and opportunities as another more privileged group (with mostly women suffering from this lack/denial). These therefore promote measures to reduce gender inequalities and provide resources and services to address both men's and women's needs. The links between gender inequality and vulnerability to disasters and climate change have only recently been recognised in NGO programming and gender remains a separate field of policy and practice that has not been mainstreamed into other activities (Röhr, 2007; Dankelman, 2010; Fordham, 2012; Le Masson and Langston, 2014).

'Gender mainstreaming' refers to the integration of gender concerns within policies and projects in order to overcome issues of marginalisation, invisibility and under-representation, both in people's daily lives and within institutions (Dankelman, 2010) (see Box 2). For NGOs working on resilience, DRR and CCA projects, this entails giving consideration to – and actively promoting – gender equality across all interventions aimed at reducing risk and building capacities to cope with and adapt to climate extremes and disasters (see reports from UNISDR, 2009 and UNDP, 2010).

Box 2. Gender mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is not an end in itself but a strategy to achieve the goal of gender equality. Mainstreaming activities aim to ensure:

- The needs and interests of both women and men are taken into account systematically across all plans, programmes and projects and in an organisation's structure and management.
- Women as well as men participate in defining objectives and planning so that development actions satisfy the priorities and needs of both women and men.
- The goal of gender equality is central to all activities – research, advocacy/dialogue, resource allocation, along with planning, implementation and monitoring of programmes/projects.

The coordinating body for the social and economic policies of the United Nations (ECOSOC, 1997) further defines gender mainstreaming as:

[...] a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated.

However, gender mainstreaming has been criticised for seeking to integrate gender into existing agendas where it could be made invisible by a lack of political will (Hannan, 2000). Mainstreaming approaches tend to be seen as the responsibility of gender coordinators or gender focal points alone and often fail to link gender to other social relations. Compared to mainstreaming gender equality goals, rights-based approaches are sometimes seen as more suitable for orienting development practices 'towards social change in the interests of the vast majority who are excluded' (Meer, 2007: 75).

Gender mainstreaming in NGO practices

In light of the above, NGOs working under the BRACED programme are being asked to explain the impact of their intervention on the situation of women and girls and be clear on, firstly, how they plan to empower women and, secondly, the data they will collect to assess the impact of resilience-building activities on women and girls.

To explore this further and assess how NGOs are incorporating gender into their projects, the authors have developed a typology to examine different levels of ambition and explore the extent to which:

1. Projects recognise gender-based differences.
2. Projects target gendered needs.
3. Projects intend to produce transformations in gendered power relations.
4. Projects monitor and evaluate gender-related outcomes.

1. Projects recognise gender-based differences

DRR and CCA interventions tend not to recognise gender-based differences or seek to understand the implications of such differences for project outcomes (Fordham et al., 2011).

Typically, projects do not systematically separate needs and vulnerabilities of women and men; they assume households are male-headed and underestimate or overlook different people's skills, knowledge and capacities, while also not including beneficiaries' voices in the design of DRR projects (Fordham, 1998; 1999; 2012). Fordham further stresses that 'while gender mainstreaming has become a familiar exhortation, it is clear that it too often fails in practice' (Fordham, 2012: 435). This is especially the case among disaster managers operating from within the dominant paradigm assuming that hazard impacts are gender neutral. Similarly, the majority of climate-related projects fail to take gender differences into account (Leduc, 2009).

Hence, a first indicator of NGO engagement with gender issues in resilience projects is whether or not they carry out a comparative gender analysis. A gender analysis would enable practitioners to understand differential vulnerabilities, with capacities and their sources in the context where the project will take place. However, gender is often interpreted by development practitioners (especially when driven by donors' agendas and discourses) as a focus on women and a generalisation of women's vulnerabilities to disasters and climate change. Their argument is that this does not recognise the contextual factors or other social identities (such as age, ethnicity and class) that shape

people's resilience (Arora-Jonsson 2011; Sultana, 2013). Women and girls do face entrenched structural disadvantages in many societies, but focusing on women in isolation and not looking at their relations with men, boys and the wider communities, runs the risk of ignoring 'the relational nature of gendered power and the interdependency of women and men, and [to] paint a distorted picture of women's vulnerabilities, choices and possibilities' (Demestriades and Esplen, 2009). In addition, Shaheen Moosa and Tuana (2014) stress that 'a gendered focus on climate change must look not only at the vulnerabilities of women and of men, but also at the ways in which their knowledge and situations render them resilient'.

“NGOs may choose to improve people's access to *equal* opportunities”

2. Projects target gendered needs

Projects that recognise gender-based differences may intentionally target activities in order to address the particular needs of gender groups for the sake of equality. In other words, NGOs may choose to improve people's access to *equal* opportunities which sometimes necessitate targeting specific groups with special measures in order to compensate for the disadvantages they face (Leduc, 2009). NGOs may choose to work with both men and women but implement different activities in order to address different needs. A useful distinction is that of addressing women's and men's practical needs versus their strategic needs (or 'strategic interests') (Moser, 1993: 39⁴) (see Table 3).

4 Building on Maxine Molyneux's (1985) paper 'Mobilization without Emancipation? Women's interests, state and revolution in Nicaragua'.

Table 3: The distinction between practical and strategic gender needs

PRACTICAL GENDER NEEDS	STRATEGIC GENDER NEEDS
<p>Practical gender needs are the needs [people] identify in their socially accepted roles in society. Practical gender needs do not challenge the gender division of labour or women's subordinate position in society, although rising out of them. Practical gender needs are a response to immediate perceived necessity, identified within a specific context. They are practical in nature and are often concerned with inadequacies in living conditions such as water provision, health care and employment.</p>	<p>Strategic gender needs are the needs women identify because of their subordinate position to men in their society. Strategic gender needs vary according to particular contexts. They relate to gender divisions of labour, power and control and may include such issues as land rights, domestic violence, equal wages and women's control over their bodies. Meeting strategic gender needs helps women to achieve greater equality.</p>

SOURCE: MOSER (1993)

The fundamental difference is that if practical gender needs are met, the lives of women (or men) would be improved without challenging women's subordinate position in society, whereas if strategic interests are met, the existing relationship of unequal power between men and women would be transformed (March et al., 1999). Men also have strategic needs and interests, although these are often overlooked in development projects. As underlined by March et al., (1999: 20), men 'may aim to transform their own roles (in order to be able to take part in child-care or to resist conscription into a fighting force), or, on the other hand, they may resist women's demands for more control over their own lives'.

Focusing on improving women's well-being aims to compensate for their subordination, but there could be detrimental effects if this process excludes men and men's perspectives and needs (Flood, 2007). Their exclusion may provoke hostility and retaliation against project activities and may intensify gender inequalities, since women still have to deal with patriarchal power relations. In contrast, the inclusion of men can make interventions more relevant and workable if

they can engage in the renegotiation of gender relations and will also gain from increased gender equality. There is a tricky balance to manage, however, between involving men in gender and resilience programming and ensuring that they do not take over to maintain the status quo, to communicate a false sense of symmetry between women's and men's social positions, therefore weakening the impetus for justice for women.

“Men also have strategic needs and interests, although these are often overlooked in development projects”

The distinction between practical and strategic needs/interests is heuristic and not rigid at the level of project activities. A project geared towards improving water supply, for example, can be organised in such a way as to meet people's practical needs (e.g. access to drinking water) as well as to promote goals of empowerment (e.g. through favoring women's access to community water boards). Evidence in the literature suggests that women's increased access to income generating opportunities and employment have led to changing gender roles and relations, greater bargaining power at household and community levels and greater control over marriage decisions for younger women, as well as greater mobility and freedom.⁵

⁵ See review of links between employment and empowerment in Barrett et al., 2009 while Domingo et al., 2015 have reviewed global evidence on the processes of change that enable women to have substantive voice and leadership in decision-making.

3. Projects intend to produce transformations in gendered power relations

Contemporary development and resilience building practices are more comfortable talking about 'transformations' in power relations than in the past, and may choose to use language that is more political in character than 'strategic gender needs'. However, transformations in power relations face a number of obstacles. Women and other traditionally marginalised members of society experience unequal access to land, income, and others assets and rights (March et al., 1999) and those holding positions of power might not want the status quo to be transformed. In addition, those who are oppressed (c.f. Freire, 1993) might not realise their subordinate condition or want to challenge it if they are not able to articulate their strategic needs or to visualise a different order of power relations. Given these conditions, development practitioners often seek to transform unequal power relations by promoting people's *empowerment*.

Box 3: Mercy Corps' experiences with resilience programmes in the Sahel

Based on their research conducted in the Sahel region, Mercy Corps' recommendations for integrating gender in their resilience programming include:

- fostering increased access to and control of capital for transforming unequal relationships and systems
- empowering excluded and vulnerable groups through the engagement of gatekeepers and

- focusing on inclusion as a necessary social dimension for household and community resilience.

Source: Mercy Corps (2014)

We rely on the following definition of empowerment by Naila Kabeer (1999: 437): 'The expansion in people's ability to make strategic life choices in a context where this ability was previously denied to them.' Empowerment is about people -both women and men- taking control over their lives: having the power and capacity to claim their rights, set their own agendas, gaining skills, building self-confidence, solving problems and developing self-reliance (Rooke and Limbu, 2009). Accordingly, the UNESCO definition states that:

No one can empower another; only the individual can empower herself or himself to make choices or to speak out. However, institutions including international cooperation agencies can support processes that can nurture self-empowerment of individuals or groups.

This conceptualisation of empowerment points to an interesting dichotomy in the literature on women's empowerment and development (Eyben and Napier-Moore, 2009; Cornwall and Edwards, 2014): On the one hand, empowerment can be interpreted in terms of improving the access of individuals to assets and opportunities to meet their own personal needs, both practical and strategic (O'Neil et al., 2014); on the other, development interventions are expected to address the structural causes that deny gender groups' respective access and enjoyment of equal opportunities and rights. In practice, people's agency and structural changes are both necessary for the empowerment of marginalised (or disadvantaged) individuals to take place.

“A gender transformative approach is thought to produce more lasting development outcomes”

One example of this dual approach is provided by CARE's women's empowerment framework, which considers that, in order to achieve the sustainable empowerment of each woman, strategies must therefore simultaneously address 'the combined effect of changes in her own aspirations and capabilities, the environment that surrounds and conditions her choices, and the power relations through which she negotiates her path' (CARE, 2010: 4). Overall, a gender transformative approach is thought to produce more lasting development outcomes: 'from interventions that combine efforts to enhance access to resources, technologies and markets that understand and challenge the social context that enable inequalities to persist' (Jost et al., 2014:10) (see box 3).

For NGOs to contribute to people's empowerment, they must therefore accept and assume the radical intention to transform existing power relations (Alston, 2013). Development practitioners often come as external facilitators who can share knowledge of what change is possible, along with the potential to influence power relations, whether this is their intention or not (March et al., 2009). However, NGOs are often reluctant to implement projects that will modify social dynamics in the communities they aim to assist because of respect for local cultures or in trying to avoid conflict. As Vainio-Matilla (2011:11) argues: 'Since development is about the power to make decisions over the access to and control over the use of resources, anything that challenges how power is currently allocated, such as a suggestion that it may be necessary to re-allocate power, will cause conflict. Gender blindness is a way of avoiding this conflict'.

Projects are never neutral, as they reflect an organisations' values and priorities, but so-called neutral approaches usually fail to address the specific needs of gender groups and the constraints they face, leading to their concerns being overlooked (Leduc, 2009).

This useful distinction between addressing practical needs and fostering transformation of unjust power relations can be used to analyse BRACED NGOs' different levels of ambition and their intended outcomes for gender equality.

4. The project monitors and evaluates gender-related outcomes

A gender-sensitive monitoring and evaluation (M&E) approach can be used to assess the extent to which project outputs affect and benefit gender groups, how they address their respective needs, vulnerabilities and capacities and how they improve women's and men's wellbeing (Leduc, 2009). M&E of project outcomes will have to adequately reflect the gendered impact of the project and people's empowerment, including the extent to which the project challenges traditional power relations.

NGOs typically plan to collect gender-disaggregated data if they are using a gender-sensitive approach but this activity is not an end in itself. Gender-related outcomes (e.g. to improve women's active participation in DRR decision-making) and related indicator(s) (e.g. women-led grassroots organisations working on DRR at the community level or the number of women represented in local assemblies) must be clearly defined first, in order to determine what data is needed and how it will be collected and disaggregated by gender. Gender-disaggregated data can be used to ensure that VCAs, project planning and implementation; and M&E processes reflect and address the different needs of gender groups.

The Afghanistan National Solidarity Programme (NSP) evaluation report provides a useful example of gender-sensitive M&E (Beath et al., 2013). The NSP seeks to improve the access of rural villagers to basic services and foster local governance based on democratic processes and the creation of gender-balanced Community Development Councils (CDCs). The evaluation examines the mid and final-term impacts of NSP on villagers' access to services and infrastructure; on the economic welfare of villagers; on local governance; on political attitudes and state-building; and on social norms. It finds that the NSP helped improve the access of villagers to basic utilities (e.g. clean drinking water), particularly women's access to education, health care and counselling services. The evaluation also shows that mandating women's participation in CDCs and project implementation results in increased participation of women villagers in local governance and increased male acceptance of women's participation in public life. Other socio-economic impacts of NSP included increases in girls' school attendance and improved economic perceptions and optimism among women in NSP villages.

In the context of BRACED, collecting gender and age disaggregated data among beneficiaries would not only strengthen the evidence base on gender-differentiated resilience practices, it would also allow a better understanding of the effectiveness of NGO practices that have followed a gender approach. Provided a baseline survey was undertaken at the outset to document men's and women's (boy's and girl's) roles, needs, vulnerabilities and capacities, disaggregated M&E data can be used to help examine the impact of interventions on: (i) people's resilience and (ii) transformations in unjust power relations, as well as mutual reinforcement between the two outcomes.

Box 4. Tools to support gender-sensitive resilience projects

Oxfam (2014) has produced a guide to developing gender-sensitive indicators to measure process, outputs and outcomes (see also Doss and Kieran, 2014).

The Women's Empowerment in Agriculture Index (WEAI) also provides a useful example of a strategy to measure empowerment outcomes in the agriculture sector and to identify ways to overcome obstacles (USAID-IFPRI, 2012).

With CARE, the CGIAR (2014) produced a toolkit on participatory methods to address gender issues in the agriculture sector.

Oxfam's research on gender and resilience in the Sahel provides recommendations for gender-sensitive support in food crises as well as data collection tools, including interview and focus group discussion guides to explore gender relations and social norms (Diarra Doka, 2014).



5. THE INTEGRATION OF GENDER IN BRACED RESILIENCE PROJECTS

IMAGE:
JOSEP CASTELL

The nature of the material in the BRACED projects reflects the classic distinction in the gender planning literature between strategic and practical gender needs. This is inherent to the material and specifically to the challenge of linking resilience building to women's empowerment and gender equality. Many of the resilience-building activities being promoted in dryland areas, for example, directly address the everyday practical needs of women in climate-stressed communities – such as collecting fuel and water. At the same time, the structure of the proposal form explicitly asks the grantees to explain how the project will empower women, establishing a clear ex-ante assumption that some NGO activities will address power relations and meet some strategic needs.

All eight proposals⁶ reviewed for this paper propose of a mix of activities that address both 'practical' and 'strategic' gender needs according to the Moser gender planning framework. Activities geared towards addressing practical gender needs include three types:

1. Contributions to lowering time and labour burdens for household provisioning – with a particular focus on improving conditions for gathering fuelwood and water (e.g. consortia led by NEF, iDE UK).
2. Improving women's income streams and livelihoods (Live-with-water and the Myanmar Alliance).
3. Contributions to improving nutrition and food provisioning, focusing both on strengthening purchasing power and on social norms about distributing food within the household (the latter targeting more people's strategic interests).

The approach to strategic gender needs (or transformations in gender power relations) has the following three strands within the NGO proposals that were reviewed for this paper:

1. Promoting women's representation on community level action committees (consortia led by NEF, IRD, Live-with-water and the Myanmar Alliance) and otherwise involving women in planning and undertaking adaptation activities (consortium led by CA).
2. Seeking to engage men and community leaders in discussions about changing discriminatory social norms (consortia led by CARE and Mercy Corps).

⁶ The full list of organisations within the 8 consortia mentioned can be found in the Acknowledgements section on p.3, each project is referred to by the name of the consortium lead.

3. Increasing women's access to agricultural extension, land resources and credit (consortium led by CA). The proposal of the NEF-led project also indicates an intention to promote gender-sensitive budgeting in local administrations.

In general, activities aimed at meeting practical gender needs are planned more carefully throughout pathways to change than those referring to strategic needs. The assumptions underpinning the effect of activities designed to lead to changes in power relations are not clearly specified on the whole.

“Sometimes the approaches to women's empowerment read as somewhat optimistic”

The inclusion of a question in the project proposal form about how projects will empower women and girls, runs the risk of making applicants to go through the motions. It should be acknowledged that supporting the empowerment of women and girls is a big ask over a three year project whereas empowerment processes and outcomes might need generations to occur. This is less likely to occur when 'women's empowerment' is a sub-theme or a by-product and thereby not central to the project's theory of change (ToC). In two proposals targeting Sahelian contexts, there are limited links between the section on women's and girls' empowerment and the project's ToC.

Sometimes the approaches to women's empowerment read as somewhat optimistic. For example, some propose to challenge the barriers that prevent women to help to participate in adaptation interventions or engage male community leaders to redefine social norms and develop an equitable and supportive

environment in which women are empowered to make decisions. In a patriarchal society where unequal gender power relations underpin the male identity and sense of self, engaging men to change gender norms is clearly going to be challenging. This difficult task is often treated as an afterthought with a lack of explanation of the methodology required, while the somewhat easier task of building the resilience of livelihood systems has a more detailed focus in the majority of ToCs.

The proposal from the BRACED project in Myanmar shows a greater degree of depth in terms of ideas for promoting women's agency and measuring impact than many others. Attention to gender is clearly incorporated into the overall ToC for the project and the proposal addresses a much more complex set of operational problems in relation to adaptation than the Sahel proposals, due to the much greater range of relevant climate hazards. There are, however, two areas where it could be stronger: the monitoring framework focuses on outputs rather than outcomes and the case for gender action to strengthen community resilience is not made. This is the case for most projects; the ways in which gender transformations are expected to improve household or community resilience are not specified in any detail. This constitutes an opportunity for IPs, and the overall BRACED programme, to document the alleged correlation between social equality and increased resilience.

The BRACED consortium in Nepal addresses a very broad range of climate hazards for high altitude communities (floods, droughts, landslides, storms and glacial lake outbursts). It states that empowerment occurs largely through 'labour saving technologies', but also through women's representation in market planning committees. The approach to monitoring appears pragmatic with a workable set of indicators. Although the ToC does not establish a direct and clear read-across to the

'mini-ToC' on gender power relations. The proposal does outline a commitment to exploring connections between building resilience and women's empowerment – an idea that could be considered across all BRACED projects.

The BRACED Mercy Corps-led project operates in Karamoja in Uganda and Wajir in Kenya, with an approach built on promoting governance and continual learning. The aim is to work comprehensively with budget and planning systems and different levels of government, linking with communities. Activities aiming to foster gender empowerment are strongly integrated into the project's ToC. However, the significant challenge of trying to transform gender norms in Somali and Karamojong cultures must be fully acknowledged in order to adequately plan for approaches and activities required to achieving this transformation.

“The significant challenge of trying to transform gender norms in Somali and Karamojong cultures is not fully acknowledged”

The fact that the non-Sahel projects operate across vastly different cultural and ecological spaces – dealing with a much more varied set of climate hazards – makes it harder to draw general conclusions. Overall, however, these suffer from some of the same problems as the Sahelian ones, being somewhat over-ambitious about transforming gender relations and, at the same time, lacking clarity on how this will come about and also how this will build community resilience.



6. CHALLENGES TO ADEQUATELY ADDRESSING GENDER EQUALITY

IMAGE:
JUAN JIMENEZ
MARTINEZ

The BRACED project set reviewed here demonstrates an impressive resource base in terms of the range and quality of operational experience that the NGOs and their partners bring to the programme. Nonetheless, there are some challenges that need to be acknowledged from the start in relation to the gender equality elements, in order to be sure that project activities in this area are pragmatic and realistic from three perspectives: concept/design; operational feasibility; and practicality of monitoring.

The conceptual/design challenge

As discussed above, the majority of projects reviewed here do not establish a strong link between the overall ToC for the project and a separate or 'mini' ToC of the relationship between

gender empowerment and resilience. Doing this requires thinking through a potential two-way causality: dealing with the mechanism through which community level resilience building might act to strengthen gender equality; and the ways in which gender equality/women's empowerment might act to strengthen community level resilience. Neither of these links can be assumed to work *a priori*, so both directions of influence need to be investigated in context and with attention to social norms. Understanding how empowerment might act to strengthen broader dimensions of resilience is important, but establishing a clear link and coherence between the overall intervention model for building resilience and the ways in which the project will fulfill women's strategic and practical gender needs – and contribute to people's empowerment – is even more critical.

The design of the projects must rely on a clear understanding of context-specific gender norms and establish how the project activities intend to address, and even challenge, these norms in order to build people's resilience. A gender-sensitive VCA prior to the implementation (see, for instance, CARE's Gender Analysis Checklist⁷) can be used to inform practitioners about the roles of women and men and the gendered patterns of access and control over natural, socio-economic and political resources. This should guide the planning process.

Engaging with different gender groups and grassroots organizations from the beginning will help the identification and implementation of gender-equitable activities. If it is not possible to involve targeted communities directly in the planning process, the expertise of a women's organisation working in the sector, or at least the support of a gender specialist, should be obtained (Leduc and Ahmad, 2009).

7 www.careclimatechange.org/files/toolkit/Gender_equity.pdf

The operational challenge

Two kinds of goals are variously listed in the project documents in relation to transforming power relations: firstly, some projects outline ambitions of achieving fundamental changes in cultural gender norms over a short project lifetime and, secondly, many of the projects promote gender power transformations through women's engagement/participation in community institutions. The second aim is arguably less ambitious but it is still challenging and requires careful specification in terms of the model of intervention. Afghanistan's NSP has transformed gender dynamics in local governance but these changes were not identified until between five and 10 years after the programme started.

“The majority of empowerment activities require intensive and extensive village-level animation outreach”

The scale of operation of the projects considerably amplifies the 'operational' gender challenge outlined here. The eight projects reviewed here have an average intended population coverage of 657,500, with the largest anticipated as reaching well over a million beneficiaries. The majority of empowerment activities require intensive and extensive village-level animation outreach, particularly where changes in cultural gender norms are being promoted through reflection amongst men. It is important that the practicality of these elements of the project designs is 'stress tested' before activities begin at scale. It is better to set out to achieve attainable goals than to have to reduce ambition after a period of compromised effort.

The GROOTS report *Leading resilient development* (Fordham et al., 2011) emphasises that developmental process of disaster resilience-building must foster and build upon long-term interactions with locally-based grassroots organisations and their partners, including government institutions and networks of women's groups. If BRACED grantees aim to promote and sustain social change to reduce inequalities, they will benefit from working with both preexisting and newly constituted grassroots women's (and men's) groups. This should also be set out at the beginning.

A number of measures could therefore be put in place at the start to help guide implementation of gender equitable activities, particularly when collecting gender-disaggregated data (see Elias, 2013). These include:

- Ensuring there are sufficient funds to support gender-related activities and facilitate the participation of traditionally marginalised communities members.
- Establishing mixed-gender field teams.
- Identifying who the gatekeepers are in households and local communities and engage them as allies in the project (rather than focusing on women and bypassing men).
- Scheduling activities at times and places that are convenient for different gender groups.
- Making sure that field coordinators, facilitators and translators communicate with women and men participants in a language in which they feel comfortable.

- Managing group dynamics and promoting the equal participation of all participants.
- After discussions with women's and men's groups separately, bring groups together to exchange and learn from people's different perspectives.

The monitoring challenge

All of the NGO projects reviewed here outline their intention to collect disaggregated data at the intra-household level on a range of important areas (e.g. incomes, time budgets, asset holdings and expenditures). In the documentation, it is not clear exactly what that would mean but it could, for example, entail interviewing all members of the household (or at least all adult members). Alternatively, it might mean interviewing the household head and relying on his or her view of the disaggregated picture. The organisational demands of the former approach are vastly greater even if sampling techniques are used.

The aspiration to collect 'disaggregated data' is in fact pretty meaningless if only the household head is interviewed. It cannot be assumed that a male household head will know in detail the livelihoods of the female members of the household – even if it is assumed that normative bias will not cloud the answers. Furthermore, given the nature of the task of measuring the effectiveness of resilience interventions, there is a highly compelling case for some form of comparison group. It is hard to assess the quality of response to a shock and infer the effectiveness of the intervention to build resilience without looking at how communities outside of the project react to the same shock.

In short, the projects will need to develop a pragmatic approach that might, for example, involve the following steps:

1. Construct a sample of a size that the project M&E system can feasibly deal with and that includes both treatment and comparison communities.
2. Within that sample, interview one man and one woman in the majority of households in a given community (asking them to also speak for/answer questions on behalf of the other women and men in the household).
3. In one household per community, interview all the men and women in order to assess the difference between the data thus generated and the rest. If the data is significantly different, this evidence could be used to develop a formula to adjust the overall results.

Interestingly, the projects reviewed here did not on the whole seek to use perception data to measure empowerment outcomes. This is a relatively practical approach that can yield robust data on changing attitudes to, for example, the level of cultural acceptance of women in community leadership positions.⁸ Guidelines from Oxfam (2014), Doss and Kieran (2014) and CARE (2014) could support the identification of units of analysis and the development of indicators.

⁸ See, for example, the very clear results on 'empowerment outcomes' for women shown by the use of perception questions in the RCT study of the National Solidarity Programme in Afghanistan (www.nsp-ie.org/reports/finalreport.pdf)



7. RECOMMENDATIONS

IMAGE:
PAUL ARPS

The BRACED knowledge management component offers a unique opportunity to compare a set of 15 interventions in contexts that have broadly similar geographical settings. It will also examine how addressing gender issues will contribute to the enhanced resilience of individuals and communities to climate and weather extremes.

On the basis of the projects reviewed here, a set of key recommendations can be made to the NGOs being supported under the BRACED programme and others working on resilience projects:

- Early in the project lifespan, analyse the connections between the 'mini-theories of change' concerned with the ambitious goal of transforming gender relations and the overall ToC

for the resilience project. Use this exercise to adjust the project activities and design for greater coherence, gender impact and effectiveness of monitoring approaches. Include, in this exercise, a thorough examination of the 2-way causal relationships between women's empowerment and community/household level resilience.

- All planned activities, not just those geared towards empowering women and girls, should consider the gender angle of their implementation and impact. This entails consideration of how activities are addressing people's practical and/or strategic needs and whether or not they reinforce gender inequalities. A gender-sensitive VCA should be used to help inform project design and implementation.
- Undertake a 'reality check' on ambitions to achieve fundamental changes in cultural gender norms and women's empowerment. Do this at the beginning of the project and return to the issue at the end of the first year to ensure that these ambitions are realistic and programming approaches are effective.
- Consider systematic collection of data on perceptions to capture changes in gender relations. Data on the acceptability of women engaging in community level governance has produced some of the clearest results in the evaluation of Afghanistan's National Solidarity Programme (NSP).
- Check across the full range of projects that approaches to collecting disaggregated intra-household data are compatible and realistic.

In addition to the general set of recommendations outlined above, the existence of a large cohort of projects in the Sahel under BRACED creates a great opportunity for producing

a consistent schema for outcome monitoring. These projects will interact with similar ecological, cultural and production systems, along with types of climate hazards (predominantly drought), hence a set of generic questions can be asked of all these projects to ensure gender-based outcomes for resilience are captured in project M&E (see box 5).

Box 5. Checklist for monitoring gender outcomes in resilience projects in the Sahel

Does the project's baseline allow for monitoring changes in activities, perceptions and attitudes that relate to women's agency? For example:

- Changing views on women's role within the community.
- Changing views on women's role within the household.
- Changes in the activity profile of women.

Does the project's baseline allow for monitoring distributional issues within the household? For example:

- Are women and girls given less to eat of different kinds of food?
- In times of stress, does the responsibility for provisioning pass to mothers? What are the impacts at this point on women and children's access to food?

Does the project's baseline allow for monitoring changes in women's time budgets and labour burden? For example:

- Time taken throughout the year to gather fuelwood and the trend over recent years (e.g. through PRA exercises).
- Time taken throughout the year to gather water and the trend over recent years.

Does the project's baseline allow for tracking what happens to women's incomes and productive activities, by their own

account, through the life of the project? Does it allow this to be compared with the extent to which women and their children benefit from the common productive endeavours of the household as a whole (e.g. eating from the produce of the main family farm)?

What is the pattern of responsibility for cash expenditures for women and their children? When does the household or father pay for school costs, medical costs or clothing, and when does the mother have to find the money? Does the pattern change in times of crisis or stress? Does the project baseline allow for tracking changes in the pattern of responsibility for cash expenditures?

Does the project baseline capture asset holdings of women and how these compare with the overall holdings of the household and any assets held by individual men, particularly in terms of animals?

Does the project baseline capture women's access to land for farming/gardening so changes in this can be tracked?

Does the project baseline capture attitudes to gender and women's empowerment in local government institutions so that changes in this can be monitored?

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Annex 1: treatment of gender in BRACED projects selected for review

Near East Foundation

Decentralising Climate Funds – Building resilience of 750,000 vulnerable people by ensuring readiness of Mali and Senegal's devolved governments to invest global and national climate finance in public goods to meet local priorities.

The project aims to pilot 6 devolved funding mechanisms (500k each) to finance community-prioritised public goods investments that directly build the resilience of 750,000 local people (**targeting women and children**) to climate variability and extreme events. The aim is to improve readiness of local government to draw down – and national government to disburse – global climate finance in support of local adaptation. This will focus on the Mali Mopti and Senegal Kaffrien Regions, with IIED providing technical support.

Is gender difference mentioned and understood?	Does the project intend to target by gender?	Does the project intend to produce transformations in gendered power relations?	Approaches to monitoring and evaluation
<p>Differential impacts on women and girls analysed in terms of their roles in collecting fuelwood and as the backstops of household food security.</p> <p>Women and girls 'eat last'.</p> <p>Dwindling water access (groundwater and underwater resources) mentioned as well as loss of fuelwood.</p> <p>Impacts of migration to be investigated in the resilience assessments.</p>	<p>Yes ('women and children' specified as target group)</p>	<p>The project intends to promote gender differentiated action and responses but it is not clear how this will be done and structured.</p> <p>CAF committees to have 45% representation of women.</p> <p>Aspiration to link to gender sensitive budgeting (though it is not clear how).</p>	<p>Project to measure:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> transformations in women's knowledge, access to resources and participation in public decision-making attitudes to gender mainstreaming and changes in men and women's social capital, economic autonomy, political participation. <p>Resilience assessments to provide baselines, a 'family portrait method' and resilience monitoring.</p> <p>Not clear how changes in attitudes within formal institutions will be monitored.</p>

An ambitious set of goals on gender transformation that seems a little disconnected from the main planning frameworks. The ToC, for example, does not mention gender or the various measures listed to promote transformations in gender power. In short, the claims on gender may be over-ambitious given that they are not built into the main framework for impact (such as livestock mobility, grazing reserves, livelihood diversification and easier access to water).

IRD (International Relief and Development)

Increasing resilience to climatic stresses and shocks of 264,000 people in Mali, including those who are most at risk economically and physically.

This will focus on Koulikoro, Segou, Mopti Timbuktu and Gao. The project aims to help communities identify, reinforce and scale-up their unique adaptive capacities. Through community-led disaster risk management, BRACED will strengthen social cohesion, livelihoods and NRM. It will also strengthen local and national government.

Is gender difference mentioned and understood?	Does the project intend to target by gender?	Does the project intend to produce transformations in gendered power relations?	Approaches to monitoring and evaluation
Yes, but somewhat generically.	Yes, though precise activities not very clear	Yes, through livelihoods, community decision making and by engaging community leaders 'to help redefine social norms and develop a more equitable and supportive environment in which women are empowered to make decisions'. Optimistic?	The project plans to implement a comprehensive set of qualitative and quantitative monitoring measures to track impacts on the empowerment, inclusion and livelihoods of women and girls. There is an explicit intent to track the project's impact on the participation of women and girls in household and community decision making.

Christian Aid, Burkina Faso

Zamen Lebidi – To develop transformational solutions to climate variability and disasters for 1.3 m people in Burkina by improving climate forecasting, behavioural change and sharing expertise and technology.

The project aims to support local communities in developing and implementing their own resilience plans, based on improved access to climate information and forecasting.

Is gender difference mentioned and understood?	Does the project intend to target by gender?	Does the project intend to produce transformations in gendered power relations?	Approaches to monitoring and evaluation
<p>Yes – although description of the major project approaches is not gendered (and built around communicating climate information in a useable form to communities).</p> <p>There are references to food inequalities, labour burdens from fuel and water collection, and risks of violence during conflicts.</p>	Yes.	<p>Yes, although the language is appropriately modest and focuses on specific activities (e.g. developing climate info services which meet the needs of both men and women).</p> <p>No detail on how women will be empowered to challenge barriers to participating in adaptation interventions.</p>	<p>Thorough initial diagnostics through gender and power analysis.</p> <p>Each activity will have specific gendered impact measures (e.g. water resource intervention to be measured by reductions in labour time).</p>

It is worth noting that the monitoring framework specifies thorough disaggregation by gender on livelihood impacts. However, the outputs do not have any obvious link to the gender empowerment elements claimed for the project, which is also true of the ToC. There is also a lack of read-across between the gender empowerment elements and the resilience-building elements of the projects. Does building women's voice and power help make communities (or women) more resilient?

Myanmar Alliance (led by Plan)

Building the resilience of 356,074 people across Myanmar to climate extremes; saving lives, protecting livelihoods, improving institutional coordination and influencing national policy.

Burma has a more diverse set of climate hazards than found in the Sahel, including cyclones, storm surges, intense rains, flooding, extreme temperatures and droughts.

Is gender difference mentioned and understood?	Does the project intend to target by gender?	Does the project intend to produce transformations in gendered power relations?	Approaches to monitoring and evaluation
<p>Yes – although the diversity of environments covered and hazards concerned means that a coherent account of differential gender power relations and livelihoods is challenging.</p>	<p>Yes – through leadership training, savings and micro finance interventions.</p>	<p>Women's SHGs provide a forum for women to develop leadership skills.</p> <p>There is a plan to increase women's representation in village level decision making and governance.</p> <p>There is also a plan to promote the economic empowerment of women through work on asset ownership and credit access.</p>	<p>A good set of output indicators.</p> <p>Could be stronger on outcomes. (For example, do perceptions of women's capacity to engage effectively in community governance change over the lifetime of the project?)</p>

The emphasis on gender difference is strong throughout the project documents. Plan International has a long background in programming to help marginalised women and girls. There is a clear theme regarding empowering women and girls, plus integration of the gender components into the ToC.

The only remaining element missing is a sense of how the gender empowerment activities will act to strengthen community-level resilience. However, there is still a rationale for the focus on women and girls – through their greater vulnerability to climate impacts. This greater vulnerability is not outlined in detail, due perhaps to the variety of climate hazards and impact pathways. To map out differential gender impacts in context across all of these would require a lot of text on the detail.

International Development Enterprises UK

Anukulan – Developing climate resilient livelihoods for local communities through public-private partnership for 500,000 poor people in western Nepal that suffer from climate extremes and disasters.

Climate hazards are listed as droughts, floods, landslides, intense storms and glacial lake outbursts. Most of the activities are livelihood-strengthening, with a strong emphasis on supporting smallholder farming through public-private partnerships. A key institution will be the MPCs (market planning committees). This is termed the 'smallholder commercial pocket approach'. There will also be a strong emphasis on bringing together DRR and adaptation approaches (though what this will achieve is uncertain). Renewable energy, soil conservation and water elements will also be looked at.

Is gender difference mentioned and understood?	Does the project intend to target by gender?	Does the project intend to produce transformations in gendered power relations?	Approaches to monitoring and evaluation
Women's vulnerability is ascribed to lack of information, lower mobility and lack of influence on decision making. There are also less resources and reduced capabilities and opportunities.	Yes. In gender planning terms, a lot of the emphasis is on 'practical gender needs', particularly labour time.	Empowerment is to be achieved through labour and time saving technologies, through promoting 'equitable institutions'. All MPCs to be 50% women.	Baseline and disaggregated information to be used to construct a multidimensional index (WEAI) with five dimensions: Production (sole or joint decision making on agricultural production); productive resources; income (sole or joint control); leadership; and time allocation. Reading between the lines, the approach is pragmatic and the choice of indicators workable.

The ToC does not establish a direct and clear read-across to the 'mini ToC' on gender power relations. It would be interesting to map the connections, including what would it take to make 'provision of climate-smart technologies' through the private sector sensitive to gendered demand.

Under their 'understanding what works' output there is an explicit intention to explore the connections between building resilience and women's empowerment (under the rubric of a broader intention to look at links between social impact and resilience, which makes sense). This would be worth replicating across the whole of BRACED. It is also worth noting that collecting disaggregated intra-household data is obviously good practice, but potentially extremely demanding across a large target population. Most documents are not clear about how this will be done.

Mercy Corps

BRACED Mercy Corps – Programme for Resilient Systems to build absorptive, adaptive and transformative capacity for over 530,000 vulnerable individuals in Kenya and Uganda. (PROGRESS)

This is operating in Karamoja in Uganda and Wajir in Kenya. The approach is built on governance and continual learning. It claims to work comprehensively with budget and planning systems, along with different levels of government, linking with communities.

Is gender difference mentioned and understood?	Does the project intend to target by gender?	Does the project intend to produce transformations in gendered power relations?	Approaches to monitoring and evaluation
<p>Women are mentioned frequently in the context of agency and action. However, there is not a detailed account of gender difference in terms of local power structures or asset ownership. Section 4.7 goes into some detail about gendered division of labour in livelihoods.</p>	<p>Yes – although not clear in detail how.</p>	<p>Yes – through building women's asset base and through working with communities (particularly men) to change social norms to 'support, rather than inhibit, wellbeing during times of stress'.</p> <p>A range of ambitious integrated activities in relation to governance (e.g. gender budgeting) and community action have also been articulated.</p>	<p>No comparison groups – just broad commitment to monitoring in a disaggregated way, including a 'female empowerment index'.</p> <p>it is not clear if perception data will be included.</p>

The gender empowerment activities are strongly integrated into the project's ToC. A possible weakness is that the level of ambition of trying to transform gender norms in Somali and Karamojong cultures is not fully acknowledged, nor are methodologies for achieving this transformation outlined. The listing of main activities (5.4) looks too broad to be easy to implement.

Live-with-water partnership (led by CRES)

Partnership to build climate resilience and improve the livelihoods of 960,000 poor and vulnerable people in urban settlements in Senegal through integrated flood prevention and water harvesting.

The project will increase the resilience to flooding in urban settlements in three cities in Senegal, through improving infrastructure (e.g. sewerage treatment and waste management); policy (e.g. creation of district flood contingency plans); and capacity-building (training and awareness-building for key stakeholders and local populations, focusing on capacity building for women).

Is gender difference mentioned and understood?	Does the project intend to target by gender?	Does the project intend to produce transformations in gendered power relations?	Approaches to monitoring and evaluation
<p>The gender analysis focuses on women's and girls' disproportionate vulnerabilities, with little mention of their agencies and capacities.</p> <p>There are no mentions of men.</p>	<p>Yes – it mentions developing training and improving education of women. It does not seem to suggest that the development of new economic activities will build on existing capacities.</p> <p>There is no acknowledgment, however, of the potential impact on women regarding extra responsibility and workload.</p> <p>There is an intention to establish small businesses in waste management and urban gardening, with an overall aim to increase financial independence, but no specific explanation of how this might happen.</p>	<p>Empowerment initiatives are strongly aligned with addressing inequalities, such as through enhancing decision-making roles, training and establishing economic and financial independence. The proposal demonstrates a human rights background understanding, which could be bought out more in explaining empowerment processes.</p>	<p>All data collected will be disaggregated by age and gender, to determine the specific impact on women and girls. However, the methodology is not really explicit on the research methods being used and how the collected information will be analysed.</p>

The proposal links discriminatory gender norms to lack of resilience; however, the gender analysis focuses on women's and girls' disproportionate vulnerabilities, with little mention of their agencies and capacities. The language around empowerment appears problematic: 'Women will play an active role in the community advisory board, which will supervise and advise the implementation process. This will empower women by placing them in a new and more prominent decision-making role, strengthening their standing and responsibility within their community.' This suggests a rather top-down approach that does not take local, social and cultural norms into consideration and that assumes such changes can easily occur. There are no mention of the roles of local leaders and power-keepers to help facilitate this process for instance.

The proposal, however, refers to productive activities in the informal sector (e.g. waste management), which traditionally employs a high percentage of women, who are often overlooked in resilience-related projects.

CARE

Building resilience without borders in the Sahel: Supporting 900,000 vulnerable women, children and men in Burkina Faso, Mali and Niger to adapt to climate extremes (BRWB).

CARE and its partners aim to implement a project that combines improvement of climate information services, sustainable and climate-resilient livelihood options, gender equality and sustainable natural resource management.

Is gender difference mentioned and understood?	Does the project intend to target by gender?	Does the project intend to produce transformations in gendered power relations?	Approaches to monitoring and evaluation
Yes. The proposal also emphasises gender inequality as a barrier to achieving people's resilience.	Yes	<p>The project aims to promote women's empowerment through working with women and men, community leaders and relevant institutions to ensure equitable benefits. The proposal identifies an exhaustive list of concrete activities to foster empowerment, where gender considerations are mainstreamed in the design and implementation of interventions.</p> <p>The project adopts a transformational approach to building climate resilience, which aims to empower local stakeholders and tackle the underlying causes of vulnerability, including social and political marginalisation.</p>	<p>The project will not only collect sex-disaggregated data, but also aim to monitor women's empowerment through the gender-oriented components of the project, along with the differential impacts of the project on women as compared to men.</p>

The proposal emphasises Care's objective to promote gender equality in all the work they do. 'Equity is an underlying principle, with particular emphasis on gender.' The proposal successfully bridges the negative impacts of gender inequality on people's vulnerability to climate extremes and their limited capacity, in the context of the Sahel region.

CARE's approach relies on a well-known and established methodology: the Climate Vulnerability and Capacity Analysis (CVCA), a participatory process for analysing the impacts of climate change and the dynamics of vulnerability and adaptive capacity at the local scale, through dialogue within and between communities and other stakeholders. The approach includes a focus on differential vulnerability, especially gender, and acknowledges the importance of an enabling environment, incorporating lines of inquiry on capacity of institutions at all levels.

BRACED aims to build the resilience of more than 5 million vulnerable people against climate extremes and disasters. It does so through a three year, UK Government funded programme, which supports 108 organisations, working in 15 consortiums, across 13 countries in East Africa, the Sahel and Southeast Asia. Uniquely, BRACED also has a Knowledge Manager consortium.

The Knowledge Manager consortium is led by the Overseas Development Institute and includes the Red Cross Red Crescent Climate Centre, the Asian Disaster Preparedness Center, ENDA Energie, ITAD, Thomson Reuters Foundation and the University of Nairobi.

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The BRACED Knowledge Manager generates evidence and learning on resilience and adaptation in partnership with the BRACED projects and the wider resilience community. It gathers robust evidence of what works to strengthen resilience to climate extremes and disasters, and initiates and supports processes to ensure that evidence is put into use in policy and programmes. The Knowledge Manager also fosters partnerships to amplify the impact of new evidence and learning, in order to significantly improve levels of resilience in poor and vulnerable countries and communities around the world.

This paper has been awarded with the BRACED Knowledge Manager's SILVER Accreditation. The purpose of Gold and Silver Accreditation is to set apart knowledge and evidence that significantly advances understanding of what it takes to build resilience to climate and disaster extremes. To be awarded, publications are reviewed by an Accreditation Board whose aim is to identify BRACED funded products that significantly advance knowledge, thinking or practice.

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