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WOMEN, GIRLS AND DISASTERS
A review for DFID

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EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Women and men experience disasters differently. This review sets out evidence of the impact that disasters have on women, adolescent girls and girls. It identifies initiatives and investments that have been developed to address or mitigate these.

Available data, though limited, indicates that women are more likely to die than men after a large scale disaster. This is due to social and cultural reasons and existing gender norms, rather than biological ones (e.g. ones that suggest women are physically weaker than men). As gender norms vary by country and culture, in some contexts men may be more vulnerable because of their greater risk taking behaviour. However, women and girls tend to have less access to or control over assets, including the resources necessary to cope with hazardous events, such as information, education, health and wealth, their vulnerability is in general relatively greater than men's. It is inequities in the everyday, and not just in times of disaster, that create greater risk and reduce life chances for women and girls. Thus, action across the gender-disaster-development nexus is key to creating lasting change and resilience.

Another key measure is material loss. This is generally measured as loss of infrastructure, services and trade. Household loss, apart from housing and agricultural land, is seldom measured. As men tend to hold title to both, it is male losses that are recorded; those experienced by women, such as the loss of kitchen utensils and appliances, sewing machines and small animals, are seldom assessed, rendering them invisible. The poverty implications for women through loss of their productive assets, of their increased time spent in domestic/reproductive work post-event, and their increased dependency on male incomes, and the longer-term implications for girls arising from loss of education and future earnings, are largely unmeasured and thus unknown.

Women and girls also experience more intangible losses – e.g. the loss of health and well being. They are subject to a number of secondary or indirect impacts that arise from the event, including violence and trauma, pressure to marry early, loss or reduction in education opportunities, and an increase in their workload. Thus they may suffer a 'double disaster' and these more intangible impacts may be the real 'disaster' for women and girls.

The continued humanitarian-development divide hinders the adequate attention to addressing the double disaster women and girls face such as violence, and early marriage, since there is no continuation of service provision or service providers. Adolescent girls in particular currently slip through the humanitarian–development 'gap', as they grow up in the transition from relief through recovery. There is a need to 'embed' a gendered humanitarian response within existing development initiatives. However, there is also a need for those working in development to understand that Gendered DRR (GDRR) is primarily a development, not a humanitarian issue. They need to see disasters, not just as a risk to development, but reducing disaster risk as a long term development goal.

Violence against women and girls (VAWG) covers a range of acts including subordination, exploitation, disempowerment and deprivation, which may be triggered by or exacerbated by a disaster but generally resides in the everyday lived reality of women and girls. In the short term, humanitarian actions need to respond to violence and protect the vulnerable, while in the long term, Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) and development must tackle the root causes.

Women and girls also display a wealth of capacities before, during and after disasters. Although they are often denied the opportunity to engage in formal disaster risk reduction actions, evidence suggests when women are responsible for early warnings, for example, disaster losses can be substantially reduced.

The report identifies a number of gaps in response and makes recommendations for addressing them.

The period between now and 2015 is a critical period which will see the development of a new set of Development Goals, a successor framework to the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA2), and the promotion of the UK's International Call to Action on violence against women and girls in humanitarian settings. DFID, other donors and development and humanitarian organisations should use these opportunities to promote specific attention to the needs and interests of women and girls before, during and after disasters.

Specific actions for DFID to support the key recommendations made in the report include:

- Promote the systematic inclusion of generating gender and age disaggregated data and analysis in DFID-financed research and evidence investments (such as through the Humanitarian Innovation and Evidence Programme, and RED's climate change research);
- Make use of its current co-chairing role of the Consultative Group of GFDRR to promote greater focus on gender issues within GFDRR investments, including making sure its monitoring and evaluation framework specifically looks at the impacts its investments directly or indirectly have on women and girls;
- Promote integration of gender issues in disaster resilience-related programmes, including promoting/requiring the generation of gender disaggregated data and analysis, and the monitoring and evaluation of the specific impacts these investments have on women and girls;
- Promote greater attention to the specific needs, interests and roles of women and girls in the successor framework to the HFA and promote the resilience-linked target within Goal 1 of the HLP's illustrative goals, as well as continue to promote the inclusion of GDRR targets in the post-2015 framework;
- Explore how the International call to action on violence against women and girls in emergencies announced by the Secretary of State for International Development in March 2013 can promote these issues and secure necessary commitments from key humanitarian agencies, donors and NGOs to protect women and girls from violence;
- Use the Political Champions Group to promote this issue amongst the business practices of those within the Group and with others. Particular emphasis could be given to promoting this issue within its country and regional-level engagement, such as in Haiti, as well as its work with the private sector;
- Promote greater links between disaster resilience, preparedness and climate change adaptation teams in DFID on taking up these issues;
- Demand a much greater focus and attention during risk assessments on assessing the specific vulnerabilities faced by women and girls and the extent to which these are being addressed by governments, donors and agencies;
- Develop guidance (and resources) to support the inclusion of gender issues in DFID-financed, resilience-linked programmes (including in business cases) and into Country Office disaster resilience strategies generated as part of the embedding process;
- Develop a set of best practice case studies on how DFID or other donors/agencies have integrated gender issues in programmes.

Looking to the future, environmental stress, financial and food crises, migration and rapid urbanisation are all factors that will impact on the magnitude of future 'disasters' and how they are experienced by women and men, girls and boys and in turn disasters will have an impact on them. GDRR needs to be understood as a cross cutting issue and a key development concern.

INTRODUCTION

The aim of this review is to highlight the differential impact that disasters have on women and girls. It seeks to emphasise that there may be 'secondary' impacts for women and girls through changes to well being or increased time burden, for example, and highlights that they then may face a 'double disaster'.

It takes into consideration how the specific needs and vulnerability of women and girls are considered throughout the disaster risk management cycle by looking at the current response from key international agencies and organisations to address these issues. It aims to help better understand what the key gaps are and what actions DFID and others could take to address these. It aims to help inform DFID's approach to embedding a disaster resilience process in its country programmes, and, how it promotes disaster resilience internationally.

The focus of this paper is primarily on the gender aspects of disasters of 'natural' origin i.e. earthquakes, floods, etc. However, the overlap of disaster and conflict may worsen gender-related vulnerabilities and violence (UNDP-BCPR 2011). In such a contexts, the impacts on the economy, environment and women can be 'catastrophic' (Guerrero et al. 2000: 273; Plümper and Neumayer 2006). Haiti (see case study in the annex), typifies such linkages. Where relevant, conflict will be discussed as will climate change. However, given the scale of the issues involved, these areas warrant separate investigation to better understand the gender dimensions and if any cross cutting lessons are to be learned.

Rather than a review of gender and disasters, the Terms of Reference asked for consideration of the impact of disasters on women and girls. As such, while men will not be precluded from discussion, the focus will be on women and girls.

The concept of 'girls' is a contentious one. Within this are the notions of the girl child, adolescent girls and young women. Adult women may also be identified as young women, 'women', and the elderly. Where possible these different conceptualisations will be discussed. Child, adolescent and adult will be seen as stages in the life course and understood as fluid, rather than defined by age – since different cultures understand these different stages differently.

Adolescent girls at present fall through the gap between the humanitarian and development response and are a priority target group of neither. This is in part related to how girls are conceptualised and in part related to the humanitarian-development divide. In terms of the former, targeting of development and disaster relief and reconstruction projects tends to target women as beneficiaries either in their productive (income generating) or reproductive (mothering) roles. An adolescent girl who is neither worker nor mother is constructed by default as 'daughter' or as 'orphan'. During the relief period the focus then lies with supporting those who care for her, or finding someone to care for her. In the transition from relief to 'development', reconstruction projects similarly do not see adolescent girls as beneficiaries of aid, as they are taken to be dependents. As Bradshaw (2013b) notes "a 13 year old girl who survives an event effectively grows up in 'transition', and when development funding returns, girls of a disaster will be young women, and the bounded choices they were able to make, or had made for them, will have determined to a large extent their 'development' possibilities". Girls then present the most compelling argument for why a coherent, joined up response is needed (see Plan 2013 for discussion).

The report is divided into three sections. Section One considers the gendered impact of hazard events. It begins by noting the limitations in existing data aimed at measuring the impact, and in understanding how women experience disaster, risk and vulnerability more broadly. It then explores the basis for gendered vulnerability and risk, as well as women's

capacities and leadership. The section then presents a summary of existing knowledge on the gendered impacts of disasters, considering first traditional measures of 'disasters' – loss of life and material goods – before exploring more specific gendered impacts. The 'secondary' impacts on women and girls that arise from processes set in place by the event, or existing processes exacerbated by it, represent a 'double disaster' for them. The disaster losses felt by women and girls include violence, psychosocial impact, deterioration in sexual and reproductive health, early and forced marriages, trafficking, migration, insecure employment and increased poverty, as well as changes in networks and familial support and changes in self perception. The key impact felt by women may be an escalation of hours in the working day, which compounds the deterioration in mental and physical well being. The Section then considers the future and how future risks, such as those brought by urbanisation, migration and financial and environmental impact may further exacerbate the negative impact on women. It ends by highlighting the benefits to be gained by making Disaster Risk Reduction – DRR- initiatives all GDRR – Gendered Disaster Risk Reduction.

The second section looks at the current response to the challenges laid out in section one. It considers the international frameworks for DRR, development and climate change, and the recent shifts in policy and practice within DRR at the international and national level, and also in terms of DFID. It suggests there are positive moves: to embed humanitarian actions within development, to understand DRR as both a disaster and a development issue, and the gendering of disaster risk reduction and response. As the final section highlights, however, much is still to be done.

Section Three focuses on critical gaps and issues and after a short summary of the key gaps highlighted by the report it focuses on presenting recommendations in the themes of research and data gathering; initiatives to advance understandings of GDRR; and ideas for programming. It presents first a general series of recommendations before highlighting a specific role DFID could play to further GDRR.

SECTION 1 Gendered impact

1.1 Measuring the impact on women, adolescent girls and girls

It is important to note from the outset that there is little quantitative empirical evidence of the long term impact of disasters on the lives and livelihoods of people, and on national development prospects (UNISDR 2007a). Within this there is a lack of quantitative data available to measure the gendered impact of disasters, and the lack of large scale qualitative studies by which to better understand how disasters are experienced as gendered events.

Where it exists the evidence base tends more often to be qualitative. As gender was not the primary research topic of early studies of disasters, where it appears it tends to be included incidentally or as part of wider narratives or findings and has been critiqued as being 'anecdotal'. This critique has been addressed over recent years and there is now quite a large body of work that includes academic (Balgos et al. 2012; Bradshaw 2013a, 2004, 2002; Cannon 2002; Cupples 2007; Hoffman 1999; Enarson 2012a; Enarson and Chakrabarti 2009; Enarson and Fordham 2001; Enarson and Morrow 1998; Fordham 2011; Pincha 2008a, 2008b) and practitioner (Ariyabandu 2006; Ariyabandu and Wickramasinghe 2004; IASC 2006) literature, as well as networks for information and advocacy (including the Gender and Disaster Network, Global Gender and Climate Alliance, and the NGO Working Group on Women, Peace and Security).

Violence against women post event has been the focus of a number of studies (Brown 2012; Fothergill 1999; Houghton 2009; Jenkins and Phillips 2008). Because of social and cultural patriarchal³ norms around the world, violence against women and girls is part of the everyday experience for many. It is not solely associated with or triggered by an extreme event although disasters can exacerbate violence that is already there. There is a lack of adequate data on the incidence of violence pre-event. In part this is due to inadequate data collection and in part due to the fact many women and girls do not report the violence they suffer due to social norms that make such acts seem to be 'acceptable'. This makes measuring changes in levels of violence after an event very difficult. For the purposes of this paper it is helpful to consider violence against women and girls (VAWG) in a broad sense and to take as a model the new UK Government definition (UK Home Office 2013) of 'domestic violence' and abuse, which include incidents of: 'controlling and coercive behaviour, subordination, exploitation, disempowerment, deprivation' and encompasses physical violence and the threat of physical violence, and a range of types of abuse including, but not limited to, psychological, sexual, financial and emotional abuse. These are relevant in a disaster context and go much further than the physical and sexual violence that people typically associate with VAWG.

While the knowledge base on the gendered impacts of natural hazards remains limited, if growing, understandings of how events are experienced by girls and adolescent girls is still very limited. A limited academic literature exists focussed specifically on the experience of children (Jabry 2002; Anderson 2005; Peek 2008; Manyena et al. 2008). More recently girls and adolescent girls have received attention (Plan 2011) and issues such as sexuality are now being explored (Pincha 2008a, 2008b; Balgos et al. 2012; Gaillard 2011; Overton forthcoming). A forthcoming report by Plan (2013) brings together much of the existing literature around girls and adolescent girls and will help begin to address the existing knowledge gap. Many of these more recent resources are based on in-depth interviews, key informant interviews or focus group discussions. They provide rich description and allow voices to be heard and women's experiences of disaster to be expressed, but generally lack

³ Patriarchy is a system of unequal social, sexual and economic relations between the sexes, which produces and maintains men's authority and power over women (Buck 1992).

the large numbers and robust sampling that some policy makers demand in order to be convinced a 'problem' exists.

In this context the works by Neumayer and Plümpfer (2007), and Plümpfer and Neumayer (2006) are of particular note. The researchers constructed indicators of disaster magnitude and women's socio-economic status and explored how these relate to the size of the gender gap in life expectancy. They concluded that in countries where a disaster had occurred, where the socio-economic status of women is low, more women than men die or die at a younger age. They did not (and could not) explore existing gender disaggregated data sets on disaster deaths as these do not exist. Even the Emergency Events Database (EM-DAT) does not hold data disaggregated by gender and generation; not because they do not choose to or are unaware of the need for such data, but because the organizations who provide data for the database do not collect it (Fordham et al. 2007). Studies such as those by Neumayer and Plümpfer highlight that socio-economic status and gender matter, but more importantly highlight the need for data to be disaggregated by gender and generation in order to understand and address this. Pieces of research such as these are more acceptable to those who seek 'objective' data and distrust some gender work because of its perceived subjective advocacy basis. Ironically perhaps, the statistical analyses become some of the best advocacy tools because they are seen to have been largely conducted outside the gender research field.

On the ground, the Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action (ALNAP) is a source of evaluations of humanitarian interventions. Although their guide to 'real time evaluations' suggests the inclusion of 'cross-cutting themes' such as gender, social exclusion and access (ALNAP 2009: 19), their evaluations are not necessarily gendered. When data around impact is disaggregated it is often of the 'women and children' variety; that is, treating women and children as a single category for measure. The data is rarely placed in context to give a sense of the meaning of the figures. For example, UNICEF UK's (2008: 22) 'Our climate, our children, our responsibility' report stated that in floods in Uganda in 2007, '80 per cent of the 200,000 people forced from their homes were women and children' - is this a disproportionately large number or does it just reflect the normal population dynamics in that context? Most often we simply do not know.

Few large scale quantitative studies exist that seek to actively explore gender issues. A notable exception is the 'Social Audit' – a national survey initiated by civil society organisations post-hurricane Mitch in Nicaragua which provides empirical data on changes in rates of violence against women and psychosocial impact post-event, for example (CIET-CCER 1999a, 1999b).

A number of organisations, most notably within the United Nations system, have attempted to quantify the socio-economic impacts of events. These typically use a mix of methods using secondary data analysis, key informant interviews and participant observation (see for example ECLAC 1991; ESCAP 2011). The post-Mitch study commissioned by ECLAC included a specific focus on the gendered socio-economic impact of the hurricane (Bradshaw and Arenas 2004). This study is also typical in suggesting baseline data that should be collected before an event, as well as suggesting key variables that could measure the specific impact on women, and monitor any change in gender roles and relations. Despite the recommendations of such studies, data remains limited in nature, confined to post-event and not disaggregated by gender. The recent study sponsored by OCHA and CARE exploring gender and generation in humanitarian response, found that despite widespread agreement on the importance of 'Sex and Age Disaggregated Data' (SADD)⁴, humanitarian organisations are still not collecting this data (Mazurana et al. 2011).

⁴ While there is a call for SADD to be collected, we prefer the use of the term 'gender disaggregated data' rather than 'sex disaggregated data', as gender clearly denotes social rather than biological

Summary:

- It is imperative that already recognised good practice guidelines such as to collect gender and age disaggregated data are implemented;
- Existing studies that recommend pre- and post-disaster variables which would be useful to better understand and measure the impact of disasters on women and girls, need to be revised and implemented;
- Longitudinal studies should be undertaken both across the disaster 'cycle' and some time after the event to better understand disaster dynamics and long term impacts;
- Our understanding of violence against women and girls must be considerably broadened and can be used as a learning tool for better understanding gender inequality.

1.2 Gendered vulnerability and risk

Vulnerability is generally defined as the diminished capacity of an individual or group to 'anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from' the impact of a natural or human-made hazard (Blaikie et al. 1994; Wisner et al. 2004). The root causes of this vulnerability lie with the lack of access to the resources that allow people to cope with hazardous events – such as income, education, health and social networks. This access may be gendered, in that women and girls in general tend to have less access to, or control over, assets than men and boys. Vulnerability may also be related to the roles women and men play in society. Sometimes it is the men who are more vulnerable due to their socially constructed roles as providers and protectors that place them in situations of higher risk. While in most societies men are assumed to be the main income earner, or play the key 'productive' role, women have a 'triple burden'. Typically, women (and especially poor women) juggle triple roles simultaneously: a reproductive role (this is mainly related to childbearing/rearing responsibilities, and domestic tasks); a productive role (this is paid work or subsistence/home production); and a community managing role (these are voluntary, unpaid roles carried out in and for the community) (Moser 1993). These roles add to women's vulnerability through making them time poor and have implications for their health etc. Since reproductive and community roles do not generate an income they are little valued, this coupled with the fact women's jobs generally pay less than men's, means women may be poorer and have less voice than men in the home and the community.

Vulnerability is seen to be closely linked to poverty with the suggestion that poor households are the least able to recover and rebuild livelihoods and that a 'disaster' can push the poor into destitution. Within households women's responsibility for unpaid care work can make them dependent on men for access to economic resources, and may heighten their relative economic vulnerability. Being a woman in itself does not lead to vulnerability; what leads to vulnerability are the unequal, gendered power relations which limit women's access to and control over resources. That is, vulnerability to an event is not based on sex or biological differences between men and women, but rather due to how society constructs what it means to be a man or a woman (see below) – what roles they should play and how they should behave.

While it has been suggested that 'women always tend to suffer most from the impact of disasters' (UN/ADPC 2010: 8), a recent empirical study highlights that it is where gender inequalities are high that women are more likely than men to be vulnerable to the negative effects of hazards (Neumayer and Plümper 2007). Not all women are vulnerable all of the time and vulnerability is defined by the intersection of gender with characteristics such as class, ethnicity, and sexuality among others; as well as the interaction of age/life course. For

construction and thus provides the opportunity (rarely realized in practice), to collect data on those who choose not to identify as male or female and also on sexual preference. There are many locations of course where it is neither safe nor legal to do this.

example, adolescent girls living with their parents are generally dependent on the decisions made for them by their parents, including decisions that will impact on their access to resources for resilience, such as education and health, now and in the future. Young women with male partners have been shown to have less access to and control over household assets than older married women, both before and after events (Bradshaw 2001b). However, the 'elderly' are once again considered to be vulnerable, particularly widows reliant on male family members for their 'protection' against the economic and social stigma of living alone.

While it is important to take into account the different characteristics of a woman when determining vulnerability, care needs to be taken that erroneous assumptions are not made. One group often highlighted in the literature as particularly vulnerable is single mothers/female heads of household since they are seen to be amongst those most asset-poor and 'have been found to be among those most affected by natural disasters' (DFID 2004: 3). There is little empirical evidence to support such an assertion, since disaggregated data is scant, and the assumption rests on the contested assertion that female heads are the 'poorest of the poor' (see Chant 2003, 2008 for discussion). Care also needs to be taken that understanding vulnerability as a product of the intersection of gender, generation and other characteristics such as disability or race/ethnicity, does not result in checklists used in a cumulative fashion to predict who will be 'most' vulnerable. For example, post-Hurricane Katrina research highlighted that the assumption that women over 65 years of age would be more vulnerable to the negative impact of the hurricane was not borne out. What was important in understanding impact was the twinning of race and gender (Willinger and Knight 2012). Furthermore, as the risk of disaster is a product of both hazard and vulnerability, in many ways checklists of vulnerability are nonsensical without a hazard to which to relate them.

The Pressure and Release (PAR) model (Blaikie et al. 1994) presents two sides that collide, making a 'disaster'. On one side is the hazard; it is important to know about the risks raised by a specific event, but even more important is the need to understand the other side, which identifies the root causes of vulnerability, dynamic pressures and unsafe conditions that impact, often disproportionately, upon women and girls, turning a natural hazard into a 'disaster' for them.

Summary:

- Not all women are vulnerable all the time and it is not biological difference that defines vulnerability but social constructions of gender roles and relations, and the power inequalities they produce. This suggests a focus on reducing gender inequality prior to an event to be an important tool for disaster risk reduction and resilience building.

1.3 Gendered capacities and women's leadership

While women's vulnerability has become assumed, their capacity to not only respond individually but collectively to hazards is less well documented. The invisibility of women and girls was highlighted when UNISDR took as its focus for the 2012 International Day for Disaster Reduction: 'Women and Girls - the [in]Visible Force of Resilience'. While often depicted as dependent on heroic men (often Western military personnel and male relief workers arriving to 'save' them), women do take actions to save themselves and others. A study on post-Mitch Nicaragua documented how women, as the water rose, helped to save people and possessions, actions recognised by both women and men. However, women's actions even here are constructed in post-event narratives as helping men in their rescue attempts and even this help was often forgotten over time (Bradshaw 2001b). Typically, women's actions are associated with rescuing other women, children and the infirm – not men. Yet, Fordham's (2006a) study highlights that through engagement in local level DRR women come to understand they can take a lead role at all stages, including by rescuing

men. Women's engagement in early warning systems and other preparedness activities can reduce the need for them and others to be 'rescued'.

When warning systems do not take into account gender differences, the consequences can be great as the 1991 Bangladesh Cyclone demonstrated. Early warning information about the cyclone and the floods was transmitted by men to men in public spaces, rarely reaching women directly and in part explaining why five times more women than men died (Skutsch, 2004; Ikeda 1995). Even had the message been transmitted effectively, in some cases women and girls would still have died in greater numbers because many women require permission from male relatives to leave the home (discussed further below). In general, however, research suggests that women are more likely to receive and act upon early warnings (Fothergill 1996; Fordham, 2001; Enarson, 2006), if they have the opportunity to do so. Buvinić (1999) suggests that part of the reason why La Masica in Honduras reported no deaths after Hurricane Mitch lay with the fact that women had been educated in, and were in charge of, the early warning system. Women have their own social networks, often formed through parenting and caring roles, which make them best able to identify those at greatest risk in the community. Social networks and social capital are also important resources to help respond to a crisis in the short and medium term. Girls too can be important communicators of risks and risk management options especially in terms of communications with parents, adults or those outside the community (Plan UK 2010).

As risk is a subjective notion, and as both the understanding of risk and the risks faced are gendered and generational, it is important that women and girls are involved in analysis of risk to effectively ensure risk reduction. For example, fieldwork by Fordham and Plan International in El Salvador in 2008 (Fordham 2008) aimed to determine what Plan development project workers understood as a child-centred, gendered, disaster resilient (CCGDRR) community. They identified: being prepared, knowledgeable and organized; having the capacity to face up to risks and stand on their feet in the face of an emergency without the need for another institution coming to help; capacity to coordinate/link with other institutions; participation of boys and girls. Many of these key components were then revealed as now extant within their most successful project communities, which include a majority of women and girl children as active members of emergency preparedness committees. One community member who began Plan training in emergency preparedness in 2002 as an adolescent girl, now works as a community facilitator herself and has very different life chances to the ones she might have had.

The Huairou Commission and GROOTS International are NGOs active in facilitating action by women in disaster and development. They develop strategic partnerships and linkages among grassroots women's organizations, and operate as flexible networks to link leaders and groups in poor rural and urban areas in the South and the North. Among many initiatives they have facilitated is the Swayam Shikshan Prayog group's work in Tamil Nadu in which women in two tsunami-hit districts organized themselves to address a 'health gap' in post-disaster provision. Another includes the Comité de Emergencia Garifuna de Honduras in which grassroots women-led organizations performed, not only rescue functions but longer term developmental work (seed bank provision for food security, safe housing construction, etc) and engagement with political processes at several levels (Fordham and Gupta 2010).

The Community Practitioners Platform for Resilience is a collaborative initiative led by the Huairou Commission and GROOTS International at the invitation of UNISDR and inaugurated in 2010 with support from SIDA (Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency). The Platform has a major focus on advocacy and partnering between community based organisations, especially grassroots women's groups who have successfully scaled up local level initiatives, local and national government, and multilateral agencies. Their recent survey (Huairou Commission 2013) of 603 community leaders living

and working in poor, disaster-prone communities in Bangladesh, India, Indonesia, Nepal, the Philippines, Sri Lanka and Vietnam, demonstrated programmes and projects have been more successful when communities have partnered with local and national governments. In all these initiatives women's leadership has been notable. Furthermore, women proved to be greater communicators of DRR, training their peers to a greater extent than men in the communities with 58 per cent carrying out peer to peer exchanges compared to just 18 per cent of men (Huairou Commission 2013: 35). A specific example from the survey report (Huairou Commission 2013: 46) identifies the benefits of linking a range of stakeholders at the local level. The partnership between the Sundar Pokhari community and Sarangkot Village Development Committee (VDC), and the National Network for Women in Community Resilience (NNWCR) and Lumanti Support Group for Shelter - a national network linking over 500 women across 16 different community based organisations - with local government in Nepal, resulted in the provision by local government of financial support to deal with a locally identified severe water shortage and landslide problem.

These and other examples show how women and girls have been enabled to develop the confidence to access resources, negotiate with officials concerning household and community needs and priorities, and to develop capacity to assume leadership roles.

As women are key actors in community management, they have key skills to contribute in a range of preparedness, DRR and resilience building activities. In practice women are already involved in these activities but often these are not named as 'disaster' related but presented as related to such things as community health initiatives (Fordham 2009). A series of case studies of grassroots women-led DRR and resilience building initiatives (Fordham and Gupta 2011) reveals the close community ties and (the socially constructed) altruistic behaviours which women display even at the most basic subsistence levels. Organized grassroots women from around the world have been engaged in rescuing, rebuilding, planning and recovery efforts; developing enterprises and strengthening social capital.

Summary:

- While women and girls have been recognised as a 'vulnerable' group their capacities to respond to events and to be drivers of risk reduction are less recognised. Building women's and girls' resources for resilience will help reduce disaster impact in the future.

1.4 Establishing the gendered impact of disasters

Impact is generally measured in terms of loss of life and injury and/or material loss. Perhaps the most obvious evidence of women and girls being more vulnerable to natural and human made hazards would be if larger numbers of them die during disasters. While reliable fatalities data, disaggregated by gender and generation, is still largely missing (Mazurana et al. 2011), it has been suggested that women, boys and girls are 14 times more likely than men to die during a disaster (Peterson, 2007). For example, during the cyclone disaster in Bangladesh in 1991 it is reported that 90 per cent of the 140,000 fatalities were women (Ikeda 1995 cited in IUCN 2004), and recent GFDRR data suggests, women accounted for 61 per cent of fatalities in Burma as a result of Hurricane Nargis, and in Banda Aceh, as a result of the Indian Ocean Tsunami, the figure was 67 per cent, but with some locations showing a much higher rate). Reasons for this disparity in death rates here and elsewhere are linked to life cycle factors, such as pregnancy and breastfeeding and also to women's general health with undernourishment lowering their physical strength to respond (Oxfam 2012). However, while biological differences based on the sex of those caught up in the events are important, studies highlight women's lesser ability to save themselves is a key factor, and this is based on social constraints such as: the necessity for women to be accompanied by a male family member outside the home; the care role of women - in particular, the care of children and the elderly slowing down their escape; physical restrictions on movement from clothing and even long hair; and lack of practice in useful

physical exercise such as swimming and climbing trees (Chowdhury et al., 1993; Oxfam 2005; WEDO, 2008). In other words, the key constraints are not biological but based on 'gender' and arise from the socially constructed roles of women and men, and the social norms that govern their behaviour.

Ironically concerns around safety may also have a role to play as many parents in Bangladesh consider cyclone shelters to be unsafe for girls and prefer to leave them at home rather than expose them to the potential harms that arise from shared sleeping and sanitary facilities (Plan 2011). Since the Indian Ocean Tsunami, the general opinion has been that it will be women and girls who are more likely to die in an event, but it is recognised that this vulnerability is linked to social constructions of gender rather than biological differences. This is nowhere more apparent than in slow-onset events such as drought and famine, where gender preference may mean girls are denied food and other resources for survival ahead of boys, resulting in Sen's '100 million missing women' (Sen 1990).

However, in some cultures and situations, men may be more likely to die, especially in sudden onset events, again due to socially constructed gender roles. Gendered ideology and gendered practice give rise to systematic gender differences in the perception of risk (Gustafson 1998), and men may display more risk-taking behaviour than women explaining why men accounted for 7 per cent of all road traffic deaths in 2002 (Waldron et al., 2005). In Latin America cultural ideas of maleness may mean men exhibit more risky behaviour (Bradshaw 2004), which may help explain why more men than women were said to have died post-hurricane Mitch (Gomáriz 1999). Jonkman and Kelman's (2005) study of UK and European flood fatalities also points to the role of risk-taking by men. In another context, Klinenberg's (2002) study of the 1995 Chicago heatwave pointed to the surprising finding of excess male deaths but also the importance of race/ethnicity and other social factors (not risk taking or perception per se) as part of the causation. However, in the European heatwave of 2003 it was once again women who were more vulnerable but not just any women - those aged 75-84 years were more vulnerable (D'Ippoliti et al. 2010).

The fact that women and children make up the majority of those in refuges is also often used to suggest a feminised impact. However, this might in fact illustrate the opposite, and that it is women and children who leave for, and reach a 'safe haven'. During Hurricane Katrina 'evacuation by division' was noted (Haney et al. 2007) with women and children leaving while men stayed behind to protect property or ensure their job security and fulfil their provider role. This being said, it is estimated that 40 per cent of those that did not evacuate during Katrina were physically unable to leave or were caring for a person with a disability (Davis and Rouba 2012) – suggesting a feminised, and highly vulnerable, population of 'stayers' also exists often unable to leave due to carer roles for the elderly, ill and disabled.

It is clearly a complex process and not reducible to a simple, single variable. In Australian bushfires, men are most often killed outside while attempting to protect the home and other assets, whilst most female and child fatalities occur while sheltering in the house or when fleeing (usually too late) (Haynes et al. 2010; Whittaker et al. 2012). Eriksen et al. (2010: 340) have found that bushfire management is not gender neutral but is largely considered to be 'men's business' and is "an important agent for maintaining traditional gender roles and power relations" which ultimately puts everyone's lives at risk. For example, as Tyler and Fairbrother (2013: 118) argue, it is hegemonic masculinity in rural areas in Australia that underpins the persistence of traditional gender roles and behaviour; staying to defend the home is socially privileged and masculinised, compared to early evacuation, which is feminised.

In other research (Finucane et al. 2000; Fothergill 1996) white males are likely to rank a variety of risks significantly lower than women or minority groups. Lack of information,

education and engagement with preparedness activities means women when faced by a perceived risk often do not know when to act or how to act on warnings (Tyler and Fairbrother 2013) but when warnings are in the hands of women casualties overall are dramatically reduced (Buvinić 1999).

Impact is alternatively measured through material losses. Post-disaster assessments do not conventionally include estimates of direct financial losses to households or the private sector but tend instead to focus on damage to infrastructure, public sector provision, utilities and housing stock (Lal et al. 2009). Holland's (2008) typology of household losses (see Table 1) suggests that the 2004 Navua flood in Fiji had direct costs overall of about F\$13 million and attributed almost 50 per cent to the direct losses incurred by households.

Table 1: Holland's (2008) Typology of Household Losses

Direct:	
	Material losses (damage to/loss of housing, possessions) resulting in financial harm
	Physical harm arising directly from the event (injuries sustained)
	Income losses (inability to work because of health problems, inability to reach work, damaged premises etc)
	Costs of evacuating
Indirect:	
	Physical harm arising following the event (such as diarrhoea from lack of access to clean water)
	Disruption to power, transport etc.
	Intangible losses such as trauma.

In this context the main issue is around what is measured and how it is measured. Losses recorded tend to be land and large 'productive' resources such as mechanised farming equipment, large livestock such as cattle, as well as housing. All tend to be owned by men. Losses to daughters and sons of 'non-productive' assets, including school clothes and books will generally not be recorded, despite such losses having an impact on the lives of young people in the short and longer term as they add to the obstacles preventing the return to education post event (Plan 2013). Loss tends to be recorded at the household level rather than gendered losses within households being noted. In terms of material loss, it is not then possible to compare men and women, but rather the comparison is female-headed compared to male-headed households. Women's livelihood losses, such as small livestock and chickens for example, are less often recorded; and items used for domestic or, so called, 'reproductive' activities, such as ovens and cooking utensils etc., tend not to be recorded. However, losses to women can be substantial in terms of their opportunity cost. Post-Mitch estimates suggested the value of losses in subsistence egg production alone was between US\$90,000-US\$120,000 per month, immediately after the event (Bradshaw 2004).

Both men and women can suffer loss of income generating activities but women's 'productive' losses may be longer term than men's. A study post-Mitch highlighted that despite a higher proportion of female heads of household than male heads being provided with aid to re-establish farming, the women were less likely to have sown the following year thus suffering two years of losses (CIET-CCER 1999a, 1999b). Another study post-Mitch (Bradshaw 2002) highlighted the increase in the number of households dependent on one, male worker after the event. It suggested that women living with a male partner did not resume their productive/income generating work but instead focussed on reproductive/domestic activities, with activities such as cooking and cleaning requiring more time due to damages to homes and services. They were also the most active in

reconstruction activities, participating in projects in the community. It was not clear if women were so heavily involved in reconstruction because they had no productive work, as income generating activities were disrupted by the hurricane, or they were not engaged in productive work because their involvement in reconstruction meant they had no time for undertaking income generating activities. Young women with male partners were both less likely to be involved in productive work after the event and less likely than older women to be involved in reconstruction. In contrast, women heads were both more likely to continue with productive work post-Mitch and to be involved in reconstruction. The medium term 'loss' for women partners was then an independent income, while for women heads of household, loss is measured in time and possible secondary health and well being impacts (Bradshaw 2002). This highlights that, within a location, women are not an homogenous group, and loss is felt differently by different women.

In contrast research in Düzce after the 1999 Marmara earthquakes, revealed that men lost their traditional role as sole breadwinner when their jobs and businesses were destroyed while women and girls found employment in normally taboo locations outside the home. The shift in work patterns since the earthquakes also led some men to re-evaluate their contributions to feminised household chores when they observed the high workload being experienced by their wives and daughters (Kümbetoğlu et al. 2005). However, for other women, their poor levels of education before the earthquake limited the extent to which they could 'break the walls surrounding them' (Ozsoy et al. 2010: 105) and find employment outside traditional female reproductive roles. Highlighting once again that pre-event assets are important in determining post-event outcomes.

Summary:

- Who dies or is displaced during a disaster event is linked more to social constructions of gender rather than biological differences between men and women;
- How material losses are measured - the lack of gender and generational disaggregated data and the continued use of the 'household' as a singular unit of assessment - hides differential losses within households and between the genders and generations;
- The focus should not be on highlighting equality of losses but how loss is experienced differently by women and men, and women and girls. This is an equity, or equality with fairness, argument.

1.5 The double impact of disasters on women and girls

'Secondary' disasters are events triggered by a 'natural' hazard that cause collateral damage, such as a fire sparked by an earthquake. Since a fire may cause more damage to properties and threaten lives more than the earthquake itself, the term 'secondary' does not refer to scale but rather to sequencing. More recently, social research has highlighted that secondary disasters are not only physical but can be social events also. Discussion of 'secondary' disasters raises the question of what is the 'disaster' – the physical impact and loss of land and possessions, or a less tangible social impact such as higher levels of violence and poor mental health. The discussion below suggests the notion of 'disaster' needs to be re-conceptualised if gendered risks are to be addressed, since the 'real' disaster for women and girls is the 'secondary' impacts felt in intangible changes to well being or increased time burden (see Bradshaw 2013a). Thus it might be better to talk about the 'double' disaster women and girls may experience – the event itself and the events triggered by the event.

Violence Against Women and Girls (VAWG)

The recent G8 'Declaration on Preventing Sexual Violence in Conflict' highlights that VAWG is starting to be taken seriously at all policy levels. While sexual violence often is the focus of discussion in conflict and disaster contexts, physical violence continues to be an issue,

and emotional violence may also be important post event. Here all types of violence will be implied by the term VAWG. Similarly the threat of violence as much as actual acts of violence will here be implied by VAWG. The threat of 'domestic' violence or violence in the private sphere keeps women in the home, while the construction of the 'public sphere', outside the home, as populated by dangerous unknowns, further constrains women's movements and actions and limits their life choices. It is also important to note that violence post event may include less well documented, or perhaps less acceptable to document, incidents of violence against children at the hands of their parents, including their mothers (Enarson 2012b). There is little information on how boy and girl children's experience of familial violence is shaped by disaster.

The 2012 World Disasters Report noted that while violence in a disaster context might be complex, it is not inevitable; rather it is predictable and preventable (IFRC 2012a: 120). Once again, data on the prevalence and incidence of violence is patchy and often unreliable. One study that sought to quantify changes in violence was the Nicaraguan Social Audit (CIET/CCER 1999a, 1999b). This national level survey of low income communities affected by Hurricane Mitch asked respondents if they felt violence against women had increased, decreased or remained the same after the hurricane. The data offered no clear answer: 21 per cent perceived an increase; 32 per cent thought it has stayed the same; and 34 per cent saw a decline. Women's groups highlighted that whether violence went up or not was not the point, since levels were too high already – with over 30 per cent of women suffering physical partner abuse during 'normal' times (Ellsberg et al. 2000).

Theoretically we might expect to see an increase in violence or that violence has become more visible post-event (Merton 1970). However, from the start, authors noted that for violence to increase there must be other factors present; that is, the disaster in itself was not enough to 'cause' violence (Barton 1970). It could be argued that disasters, or their aftermath, reveal existing actual levels of violence or the potential for violence. Those who are displaced and forced to live communally may continue to carry on their private lives in public, including violence. It may be the case that the levels of violence increase due to the frustration felt by men unable to fulfil their socially constructed gendered roles of protector and provider. It may be the case that the nature of violence changes, with higher levels of stranger violence as social systems and structures of protection break down. As Bradshaw (2013b) notes: "if the violence and exploitation suffered by women and girls is due to the event then this is the 'disaster' for them, if the violence and exploitation suffered by girls is exacerbated post-disaster then this is a disaster risk for them"; suggesting that the notion of 'disaster risk' needs to change, since the risks to women and girls who survive natural disasters are human made – in the form of violence and abuse.

Large scale 'refuges' such as the football stadia used post-Mitch in Honduras and post-Katrina in New Orleans have been blamed for high levels of sexual violence by 'unknowns' (Delaney and Shrader 2000; Dynes and Rodríguez 2007). Displaced people's camps have displayed similar high levels perhaps most recently in post-earthquake Haiti (Duramy 2011). A survey in Lugufu refugee camp and surrounding host villages near Tanzania's western border with DRC, found refugees were twice as likely to have sex with 'high-risk' partners, two-and-a-half times more likely to have experienced forced sex and three times more likely to have engaged in transactional sex (IFRC 2012a: 91). There are reports that the fear of sexual violence against their daughters is so pervasive that families would rather send their girls elsewhere than have them live in a shelter, limiting their access to services that might be beneficial to them such as psycho-social support (Plan 2011:17). Moreover survivors of sexual violence have generally been neglected in standard models of humanitarian aid delivery (Le Pape and Salignon 2003). The profound effects of rape on women and girls have received little attention in the longer term, as the focus tends to be on seeking to expose the identities of and/or prosecute the perpetrators rather than ensuring the continued well being of the survivors. The continued construction of humanitarian response as short

term means, in the medium term, the needs of the survivors of violence fall into the 'gap' between relief and development. Again, this suggests the necessity of a better, broader and more holistic understanding of violence against women and girls.

While sexual violence and forced sex is often assumed to increase more post-event this may be as much perception and/or be due to media constructions as much as actual circumstances (see Haiti case study). Data to support the situation is still lacking both before and after an event. The highest risk to women and girls may remain that posed by intimate partners such as spouses/close family, rather than strangers. A study in IDP camps in northern Uganda found women were eight to ten times more likely to experience violent assault by their husband than by a stranger. Over half the women reported physical abuse and over 40 per cent reported forced sex by their husbands in the preceding year, compared to five per cent who reported rape by a stranger (IFRC 2012a: 85).

It is important to note that impacts experienced by women and girls such as sexual violence, early marriage and trafficking, are not new phenomena that begin with the natural hazard. Women and girls suffer sexual violence at 'normal' times, in their everyday lives. It is important to make sure that post-event violence is not constructed as an abnormal, extraordinary reaction to the disaster situation – violence should not be considered 'normal' or acceptable but nor can it be considered something that is not the norm for many women. Post-event, humanitarian actions can respond to the practical need for protection, but to reduce the disaster risk of violence against women and girls needs a longer term strategic development focus (Bradshaw 2013b).

Summary:

- VAWG needs to be tackled post-event through provision of protection but it is also a known 'disaster risk', and addressing the structural causes of violence – in its broadest sense - should be part of the disaster risk reduction and development agendas equally.

Psychosocial Impact

Disasters are assumed to bring further distress to those with mental health issues and to provoke emotional distress in those that have not suffered previously. Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) is one well known, although contested, post-disaster disorder and one increasingly recognised as an issue in the developing as well as 'developed' world context. However, recent research questions the applicability of this diagnosis, particularly in the non-western context (PTSD Research Quarterly 2009), and demonstrates how reports of impact can vary dramatically (Norris 2009). Those who critique the 'medicalisation of distress' (Summerfield 1999) highlight the different ways different individuals and cultures may experience and display symptoms of trauma (Norris et al 2001). The IFRC suggests addressing psychosocial needs should be based on the principle that most acute stress problems during emergencies are best managed without medication, following the principles of 'psychological first aid' (IFRC 2009).

However, the interaction of long term conflict and rapid onset 'natural' disaster can provoke severe psychosocial response. The study by CIDEP (1999) post hurricane Mitch in El Salvador noted that the hurricane had severely damaged the areas previously suffering from long years of armed conflict, and had the effect of reviving the traumas of violence and loss, and that the impact was more severe for children. Young people may also display different symptoms to adults, and there is variation between the very young and adolescents (Hamblen 2006). Boys' behaviour tends to be more aggressive and anti-social, and they may take longer to recover. Girls are more verbal and show more distress. However, while the literature suggests the majority of children and adolescents will eventually cope successfully (Benight and Bandura 2004), for some, there will be an increased risk of higher levels of anxiety and depression compared to children who have not experienced a disaster.

In gender terms across the globe in 'normal' times there are greater numbers of women than men in therapy, on psychiatric medication, or in mental hospitals (Ussher 1992; Chesler 1972). This may suggest there will be a disproportionately negative impact on women post-event. Caution needs to be exercised when evaluating mental health data, however, as history demonstrates that women have been diagnosed as 'ill' for displaying attitudes considered radical at the time or actions that are outside the gender norm (Showalter, 1985).

A study in Nicaragua that asked people about the 'emotional impact' of hurricane Mitch, found one or more people reported being emotionally affected in 50 per cent of households that had suffered loss of life (compared to 24 per cent of other households); 74 per cent of those who reported being affected were women (CIET/CCER 1999a, 1999b). Research in the occupied Palestinian territories also points to men and women having different experiences of the same event, finding that while men experience more traumatic events, exposure is associated with more severe psychiatric disorders among women (Punamäki et al. 2005). There may also be differences between women. For example, in the Nicaraguan study, a smaller number of female heads and of young women living with a male partner reported someone emotionally affected than adult woman with male partners.

Why women may suffer more or more severely is less to do with them being women than to do with their position and situation in society as women. A study from Tamil Nadu (Kumar et al. 2007) showed PTSD was higher among individuals with no household incomes and those who were illiterate. Because women tend to occupy a lower socio-economic position than men, they may be more susceptible to psychological problems. Emotional health is also related to physical health and, once again, due to reproductive health risks and the social and economic limitations around dealing with these, women tend to be less physically well than men.

In contrast to PTSD, Post-Traumatic Growth (PTG) suggests positive change is possible after a traumatic event or recognises that at least people often feel a mixture of positive and negative emotions (Calhoun and Tedeschi 2004). This was something Fordham (1998) found after floods in Scotland and Cupples (2007) found among women survivors after Hurricane Mitch. The research suggests some people find positive changes arise from struggling with the aftermath of trauma, for example, greater intimacy and compassion for others, feeling personally stronger, and a deeper appreciation of life. One woman survivor of the Marmara earthquakes in Turkey in 1999 reported that the changes in opportunities post-earthquake were so profound that she had 'adopted a new identity' (Ozsoy et al. 2010: 103) while Overton (forthcoming) notes the importance of Katrina in the decision of adolescent girls to 'come out' and to be happier living 'out' as lesbians.

Summary:

- The psychosocial impact of disasters may be gendered and generational but how symptoms are displayed may depend on the culture in question and may not always be negative;
- Who is impacted, and how, is likely to depend in part on existing socio-economic as well as health inequalities.

Deterioration in Reproductive and Sexual Health

Health may be impacted directly by the event, through physical injury as well as emotional trauma, and can cause long lasting if not permanent damage to health and well being. Indirect health impacts will include water borne infections, for example, through limited access to clean water supplies, increased incidence of malaria, through greater exposure to mosquitoes, and general ill health associated with poor nourishment from the lack of access to food or income to buy food. While women and girls may suffer more from ill health linked

to access to resources such as food and income, given their lower entitlements to these resources, they also face specific health issues related to their sex.

According to the United Nations (UNFPA 2010) about 63,000 women were pregnant in Haiti when the earthquake struck and prior to the earthquake the country had one of the highest maternal mortality rates in the world. Their access to pre and post-natal care was further lowered by the event suggesting increased levels of maternal and child mortality. As nursing mothers are particularly susceptible to malnutrition and dehydration this might be assumed to have provoked further mortalities and morbidity. However, the lack of reliable data prior to the event and the lack of centralised, systematic records post event mean that there is no available data to test this hypothesis. Women with young babies found themselves sharing shelter with distant male relatives or men they were not related to in Kashmir, Pakistan, after the October 2005 earthquake and many stopped breastfeeding due to feelings of discomfort breastfeeding in this context.

While the WHO suggest a core package of minimum reproductive health interventions (Minimum Initial Service Package - MISP) should be put in place in emergency settings for reproductive health in crisis contexts, there is limited awareness of this and limited funding. Even as late as 2005 in the Indian Ocean tsunami response, 'hygiene kits' for women, while provided, were under resourced. The UN were able to provide around 25,000 but had to appeal to donors to provide 100,000 more (Nobel de Silva 2006). In this instance, the contents of the kits were locally sourced but products supplied from overseas may not be culturally appropriate, since manufactured sanitary towels may not be used in some cultures, for example. Privacy issues and cramped living conditions following the 1998 floods in Bangladesh, and the Indian Ocean tsunami led to problems such as perineal rashes and urinary tract infections (UTIs) due to damp menstrual rags (Ha-Redeye 2006).

The lack of access to contraception can also raise issues for future unplanned births, especially in the context of increased sexual assaults and rape (see above). Sexual assaults have not only psychosocial implications but also physical ones with a rise in, often untreated, STIs. Issues around sexuality are seldom discussed in the emergency context but those women, girls, men and boys living outside the heteronormative⁵ expectations of a society may be vulnerable to assault and discrimination as well as having their specific sexual health needs go unrecognised. The specific needs of adolescent girls in particular may be ignored if they are classified as 'children' rather than young women and this conceptualisation may mean their sexual and reproductive health needs are not met. A recent report by the Women's Refugee Commission and Save the Children noted that while relief agencies focus on providing food, water and shelter for refugees in emergencies, the sexual and reproductive health needs of young people, particularly vulnerable girls, too often sit at the bottom of the check list – or don't feature on the list at all (cited in UNFPA 2013).

Summary:

- The reproductive health needs of women are still often not fully met, while the sexual health of young unmarried women and adolescent girls, and those who do not fit within heteronormative expectations, may be at particular risk.

Early and Forced Marriage

Forced and early marriage is an existing 'problem' across the world and more prevalent in developing countries. One out of seven girls marries before the age of 18 in the developing world (UNFPA 2012). There are many negative impacts of early marriage including impacts on young women's health, including deaths in childbirth, and impacts on education and employment opportunities and thus it limits their future choices (Plan 2011). It is also likely to affect the children of these girls where they give birth at an early age as they are at an

⁵ Heteronormative refers to a culture which conforms to heterosexual standards as the norm.

increased risk of delivering low-weight babies, not to mention halting their own physical development.

An increase in early marriages post-event has been suggested to have occurred post-disaster in Haiti, Pakistan and in various countries impacted by the Indian Ocean tsunami. Lacking macro level data, the existing evidence comes from agencies and INGOs working in the areas (see Plan 2013) and there has been no systematic follow up study to assess the extent of the problem or its longevity. Early marriage may also be associated with slow onset 'disasters' and food insecurity with girls being exchanged for food, and this may increase as part of a climate change [mal]adaptation' strategy (Deen 2010).

Summary:

- There is a need for a systematic follow up study to assess the extent to which early and forced marriage occurs post-event, with change measured against baseline data, and to provide support via specific projects aimed at young women living with male partners.

Loss of Education for Girls

Disasters cause disruption to schooling in a number of ways not just through damage to infrastructure but also teacher absenteeism and damage to access routes for students wishing to attend. The loss of school uniforms, books and other supplies may be a key barrier for returning to school if parents cannot afford to replace these. After Cyclone Aila in Southern Bangladesh in 2009 many schools were still inaccessible one year after the event which meant that children could not attend school and girls were identified as particularly vulnerable to missing out on their education. Willingness to school girls is far more strongly determined by income and the broader costs of education, than is the case for boys. There is also an opportunity cost to leaving girls in school and they may be withdrawn from education either to take the place of their mothers if they have died or migrated, to take over housework if their mothers need to go out to work or engage in reconstruction activities, or to help with housework and childcare given the difficult circumstances makes these tasks more arduous and time consuming. The negative impact on their performance from their reduced time for learning due to post-disaster chores may be compounded by stress and trauma. Girls may also be forced to leave school to help support their families, and there is an increased fear that they will enter unsafe employment such as sex work and begging. Once again, empirical evidence to demonstrate the extent of this is lacking however.

Summary:

- The importance of income and costs, including opportunity costs, in determining girls' access to education needs to be recognised and responded to.

Poverty, Insecure Employment and Trafficking

It is often suggested that disaster can push the non-poor into poverty and the poor into destitution, but once again data to substantiate how the depth of poverty increases and/or the impact over time, is largely missing. Indeed at national level a large scale event can lead to poverty figures improving such as was the case post-Hurricane Mitch. This is due to the influx of international aid, which may be coupled with debt relief, changed migration flows post-event, and the simple fact that the poor may be disproportionately more likely to die during the event (Linneker and Quirós Viquez, 2005:15). At a micro or household level, however, the impact of a hurricane or flood on those living in poverty can be severe.

Holland (2008) estimated that floods in Fiji in 2004 brought an estimated loss of F\$4815 per impacted household. Given the average household income was F\$3500 a year, this clearly would have forced many families to fall below the poverty line if no external assistance was provided to counteract this. While the loss per person was calculated no estimate of the differential loss for women and men was provided, nor by sex of the household head. As noted above, the losses women suffer to their asset base may go unrecorded and while

often considered to be part of women's domestic or 'reproductive' work, assets such as cooking utensils may also have been used to generate income via making food to sell in the streets or door to door. Women's longer term poverty status is dependent on their access to income generating activities post-event and how quickly these can be re-established. If they cannot be re-established women may be forced to become dependent on the income of a male partner or relative, or be forced to turn to insecure employment 'opportunities'.

It is often suggested women and girls post disaster will be forced into sex work, however, sufficient (reliable and robust) studies do not exist to support the extent of this outcome. GSDRC (2013) suggest the post-earthquake period in Haiti was linked with a rise in the number of women and girls engaging in sex work. In May 2011 UNHCR conducted several focus groups with women and adolescent girls in a selection of IDP camps. Based on the testimonies of participants, the study found that the practice of women and adolescent girls engaging in 'transactional sex' in Port-au-Prince was 'widespread' (UNHCR, 2011). The 2012 World Disasters Report (IFRC 2012a) provides several other examples of 'transactional' or 'survival' sex following disasters and conflict where women and girls are coerced into providing sex in exchange for food and other relief items or 'protection'. However, it is not clear the extent to which levels of such sexual exchanges increase post-event, or if the nature of these change in terms of with whom women engage in sex, or which women engage in such transactions. In a study in Sierra Leone in 1999, 37 per cent of those involved in sex work or transactional sex were found to be under the age of 15 (IFRC 2012a: 82).

The forced movement of women, girls and boys across boundaries for work, including work within the sex industry, is also a phenomenon noted post event. Trafficking may increase but it is important to note that the forced movement of children and adolescents by their parents for financial gain may be widespread in some cultures. Given the international reaction to such practices they may become more clandestine after an event or change in their extent and nature. It is difficult to say with any certainty the extent of the problem during 'normal' times, nor the increase an event may bring.

Summary:

- There is a need for systematic follow-up studies to assess the extent to which transactional sex and trafficking occurs post-event, the mechanisms for its occurrence, if and how this changes with the event, and with change measured against baseline data and over time.

Migration

There is often a fear that whole families will migrate post-event but more generally one or two people from a household leave in search of work. Following Hurricane Mitch large-scale migration of male heads of households was reported (Delaney and Shrader 2000) with men hoping to find employment and send remittances back to their family. There is little information about the impact of migration on men and women post disaster, and even less on children and adolescents. It has been suggested that women who are left behind when men migrate may suffer a double impact from male migration. They may be left waiting for money that may never arrive, as the general literature around migration suggests some men may never send money or may start a new life and new family elsewhere. This may be compounded by the fact the household may have sold what little they had to finance the migration, leaving the woman without any means of survival. On the other hand, in localities long adapted to male out-migration, women and girls may find greater opportunities as they engage in non-traditional activities due to the absence of males. An example might be in Muzzaffarabad, Pakistan where males have long migrated for work and women and girls have greater freedom than they otherwise would (Fordham 2006).

However, research from Nicaragua highlights the dangers in assuming it is men that leave (Bradshaw 2001b). Women may also migrate, perhaps because they may more easily find work in the service sector, for example. This may place a burden of domestic work on adolescent girls, perhaps taking them out of school to become the full time carer in place of their mothers. However, the Nicaraguan study demonstrated that while both men and women migrated post-event, for both, this tended to be temporary and most returned due to the lack of economic opportunities outside the community.

Migration patterns of men, and women and children may be staggered in time. For example, it was men who arrived first at the Libyan borders seeking refuge at the beginning of the Libya crisis; while some weeks later children (often unaccompanied) and then women (some of whom had been trafficked into Libya prior to the conflict) began to arrive (IFRC 2012a: 64). Thus, family separation and later reunification can be a protracted affair placing women and children at higher levels of risk.

Summary:

- While migration is often a preferred 'coping strategy' post-event the impact on those women and girls who migrate is little studied, and even less recognised are the implications for those women and girls left behind.

Changes to Networks and Family Support

There may be a loss of friendship and kinship networks post event for adults, adolescent and young girls and boys. The ability to restore networks may be more difficult for girls as parents may be more protective of them and not encourage them to go 'out' and meet new friends (IFRC 2012a). The games played by young girls may be less social than those played by boys and the daily activities of young and adolescent girls may not allow new friendships to form, especially if they have no free time due to household chores. This may leave girls more isolated and without emotional support post-event. This may have important consequences for their physical well being and for their survival in future events, since in post-flood Pakistan girls staying close together were able to support each other and this improved their safety (IDMC 2011).

For women loss of networks may have implications for childcare and hamper women in engaging in income generating activities. While women may have better and wider social networks than men, their ability to effectively transform good networks into tangible resources may be less than a man's. For example, a woman's ability to help others may be tempered by her ability to access household resources if she has limited personal resources, that is, to negotiate with men (Bradshaw 2013a). Accounts from testimonies in Haiti revealed that the earthquake destroyed women's social support network, thus increasing their vulnerability to violence (Duramy 2011). On the other hand calling on familial networks for support may allow the reestablishment or re-enforcement of familial power relations, which further remove agency and control from women in particular (Hoffman 1998).

More positively, disasters are also seen as 'windows of opportunity' and may open up new networks of support or pathways to previously unattainable opportunities. In remote villages in the north east of Pakistan, the influx of NGOs and other support after the 2005 earthquake presented some adolescent girls and boys with chances to leave the confines of the village to attain education or other support (Ahmed and Fordham forthcoming).

Summary:

- Social and familial networks are important forms of support for adolescent girls and women and how they change and the implications of these changes for their emotional and physical well being is not known.

Change in self perception

Horton (2012) suggests a less well-recognised consequence of disasters might be women's perception of a loss of status and dignity. From research in Haiti she notes women in camps spoke of how the trauma of the earthquake was compounded by the 'inhuman' conditions in the camp, in particular the lack of privacy and poor sanitation. The media coverage, which constructed men as violent criminals and women as prostitutes meant the women's desire for respect and dignity was also undermined. This was something also found post-Katrina where African American women impacted by the hurricane may have suffered from being constructed as undeserving recipients of benefits long before the event (Sterett 2012). Bradshaw (2002) found in post-Mitch Nicaragua that among female heads of household, despite them continuing with their reproductive and productive roles and taking on an active role in reconstruction, recognition of their own contribution to the household had fallen, and they were more likely to name an adult son as the main contributor. While women with a male partner were more likely to recognise their own contribution after Mitch, their partners did not share this view. In contrast, as noted above, for some young women post-Katrina the changes may have been positive with women feeling more able to live their lives and sexuality more openly (Overton forthcoming). Cupples' (2007) and Fordham et al's (2007) research in very different parts of the world (Nicaragua and Pakistan respectively), also highlights the subjective nature of events and how 'disasters' should not necessarily be understood as negative events for all women but also as 'windows of opportunity' in which women find their prospects have changed radically; at least for a time.

Summary:

- How women's and girls' perception of self is changed by an event remains an issue to be explored, and how response and reconstruction impact upon this is still largely unknown.

Time burden

Perhaps the biggest impact on women and girls is the escalation of hours in the working day. The roles people play in society are socially constructed and gendered. Typically, women (and especially poor women) juggle triple roles simultaneously: a reproductive role; a productive role; and a community managing role (Moser 1993). Women often find themselves having to spend more time in reproductive activities (because that work has become more difficult post-disaster), having to continue in or to find productive work, and are also increasingly targeted for reconstruction; spending time rebuilding homes, livelihoods and communities.

The elongation of an already long working day may have a negative impact on women's health and well being and a knock-on effect on their daughters' well being if they have to step in to help their mothers. Girls, especially adolescent girls, may find an escalation in time spent 'helping' in these three 'adult' activities, and if they also remain in education, this will result in their having four roles to juggle with potentially negative consequences now and into the future.

Summary:

- Women's already long working day may become even more elongated through added time needed to fulfil their three societal roles (reproductive, productive and community) or added activities within these roles;
- Less widely recognised might be the effect on adolescent girls who may have to juggle time spent in gendered productive, reproductive and community management roles and their role – promoted and supported by aid agencies - as 'school girl', blurring further their dual identity as adult/child.

1.6 Exogenous factors affecting women's and girl's disaster risk in the future

Climate change and environmental degradation, large scale migration and rapid urbanisation, and continued processes of globalisation may all affect women's and girls' vulnerability in the future. Moreover, the recent economic and financial crises cannot be seen in isolation from the food, fuel, water, environment/climate, human rights, and care crises noted across the globe (AWID 2012). All these crises will potentially have a greater impact on women and girls. For example, the 'feminisation' of migration means that increasingly it is women, including those with children, as well as young women, who move to cities in countries other than that of their birth. Undocumented migrants and/or those that do not speak the host language may be at particular risk during natural hazard events, being unable to understand warnings, or fear the consequences of going to official state shelters, for example. Studies suggest even in established migrant communities perception of risk of a hazard such as flooding in the 'first world' may be low, given the experience of more extreme events 'back home', meaning migrants are less likely to respond to warnings (Riyait forthcoming). The fact that urban living may include cramped and precarious housing may add to their risk.

While disasters are often thought of as events within the natural environment, the built environment is an important consideration, and increasingly so. In 2012, UNDP developed a methodology for risk prevention in urban settings recognising the increasing importance of urban areas in the context of growing populations and climate change. While climate change is a contested notion, there is a general consensus that change is expected to be the 'norm rather than the exception' when it comes to extreme events such as floods, cyclones and wildfires (O'Brien et al. 2008). This has suggested the need for populations to adapt to new climates, and 'adaptation' is the term used to describe the steps taken to cope with changed climatic conditions (ISDR 2009) or to moderate harm and exploit any opportunities to benefit from climate change.

Given their lower asset base, women farmers may be most affected by climate change, and while having knowledge of how to adapt, they may be least able to adopt appropriate adaptation strategies (Nelson et al. 2002). For example, women farmers may already be farming the least productive land, have less access to scarce resources such as water and inputs such as drought resilient seeds, and less access to technical knowledge and support. However, it is also noted that because of this lack of access to resources on a daily basis, they may have learned to be more adaptable to crisis than their male counterparts. Women have been shown to be the key to surviving economic austerity such as that imposed by Structural Adjustment Programmes – often to the detriment of their own well being. Similarly, women's relationship to the natural environment, dictated by lack of access to 'modern' resources, gives them a good knowledge of sustainable practices. While women may have good adaptation strategies, they will have less access to the resources needed for adaptation, or the ability to mobilize. In particular their lack of decision making power in the household and beyond may mean the adaptation strategies they propose will not be heard and adopted. One consequence may be that the financial and environmental crises will restrict the life chances of girls, for example, through limiting access to schooling now, and access to productive land and employment in the future.

Summary:

- Due to existing inequalities of power, women and girls may be the most impacted by exogenous shocks that bring both environmental and financial crisis. This may make them both best placed to design appropriate adaptations and least able to put these in place, further exacerbating inequalities for girls in the future.

1.7 The benefits from focussing on women and girls in disasters

The efficiency or 'Value for Money' rationale is a key one driving calls to invest in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) with the oft quoted justification that a dollar spent on DRR saves seven dollars in economic 'development' losses. If development losses are to be avoided, and if women are more vulnerable to disaster loss as suggested by the evidence presented above, then drives to promote the role of women and girls in disaster response and risk reduction could be justified in 'value for money' terms also. At the same time including women and girls in all the stages of the disaster 'cycle' can improve the outcomes or bring 'efficiency' gains. For example, as noted above, educating women in and ensuring women control early warning systems can reduce the impact of hazardous events substantially.

In development programmes the benefits of involving women in projects is well accepted. Based on evidence that suggests that societies that discriminate by gender tend to experience less rapid economic growth and poverty reduction than societies that treat males and females more equally it became understood by actors such as the World Bank that social gender disparities produce economically inefficient outcomes (World Bank 2001). Investing in the education of girls for example, is based on the fact that 'educated, healthy women are more able to engage in productive activities, find formal sector employment, earn higher incomes and enjoy greater returns to schooling than are uneducated women...' (WBGDG 2003: 6). The World Bank notes that 'gender sensitive' development strategies "contribute significantly to economic growth, as well as equity objectives" (World Bank 2002) and as the World Bank Group Gender Action Plan of 2006 notes, reducing gender inequalities is then 'smart economics' (World Bank 2006). At the same time it has been recognised that women are efficient providers of goods and services to others and, for example, women are the preferred providers of 'social protection' in programmes such as Conditional Cash Transfers (CCTs) designed to reduce poverty in the short and longer term; programmes which are increasingly being utilised in post-disaster settings (Heltberg 2007; Vakis 2006). However, the focus on women as 'beneficiaries' of resources in CCT and other programmes has been critiqued for its efficiency rather than equality rationale (Bradshaw 2008; Molyneux 2007). Rather than resources being provided to promote gender equality, women are being targeted with resources because they are seen to use them more efficiently than men. Critics suggest this 'instrumentalist' approach, while reducing poverty and bringing economic growth gains, will not fundamentally change the position and situation of women since the policies are not designed to explicitly address the structural causes of gender inequality.

While gender equality is good for growth, economic growth does not necessarily lead to social justice and advancing gender equality requires strengthening different dimensions of women's autonomy, not just their economic autonomy, but promoting political autonomy and full citizenship, freedom from all forms of violence, and sexual and reproductive autonomy (Alpizar Durán 2010). As Jackson (1998) noted in the late 1990s, poverty reduction programmes targeted at women became equated to gender equality projects, yet, the assumption that poverty reduction programmes automatically bring gender equality can be challenged. She pointed to the need to 'rescue gender from the poverty trap'; highlighting if gender equality is the goal then gender equality programmes and projects are the only means to achieve this goal.

There is still much work to be done to equalise access to, and opportunities in, the disaster management professions and actions (Wraith 1997; Enarson 2001; Smyth 2005; Fulu 2007). However, while many women are denied opportunities to take on leadership roles in formal management organisations, they are perhaps more evident leading on environmental management for sustainable development and climate change activities (Dankelman 2002) or in voluntary capacities (Enarson 2001). Furthermore, the work of women before and after a disaster event may pass unrecognised as simply 'what women do' (Enarson 2001; Fulu 2007) (see further discussion below).

Thus there is a complex mesh of disaster and development concerns which reinforce the position that reducing disproportionate impacts on women and girls in disasters, and building resilience at a range of scales, will not be achieved through a technical quick fix approach to meet immediate practical needs, but by a more strategic and holistic understanding of, and engagement with resilience enhancing activities represented by the 'assets pentagon' – social, human, physical, financial, natural – from the sustainable livelihoods framework (DFID 2011c).

Summary:

- While including women and girls will improve disaster response and reduce disaster risk, unless DRR and response activities specifically address gender inequalities they will not change the situation and position of women, and thus not fundamentally change women's and girls' disaster risk or, more positively, lead to or ensure their resilience.

SECTION 2 The response

Introduction

There has been a discernible shift in the gender and disaster discourse since the 1980s. The first wave of gender and disasters research began slowly in the 1980s, building on advances in understanding coming out of the development context. At this time the focus was on recognition – to make women visible in disasters; to increase their access to the public domain; to satisfy their practical disaster needs. In this conception, women were seen as vulnerable, passive, helpless victims, lacking agency⁶. Women were the problem. In a second wave of gender and disasters work in the 1990s, the focus was more on redistribution of power, equity, and satisfying women's strategic interests. Women began to be seen in terms of their capacity and agency, and men were the problem. A third (and current) wave returns to notions of recognition, but it is both women's resilience and men's vulnerability which are recognized. Additionally, there is a broadening of understandings of gender to include greater awareness of the need for gender and age appropriate interventions and, most recently, sexuality and sexual orientation is emerging as a key concern among researchers at least, although it is still to be widely accepted in disaster policy and practitioner circles.

How this wider gendered discourse has, or has not been integrated into policy and practice will now be discussed.

2.1 International community

International frameworks

The development, disasters, and climate change frameworks have tended to be discrete and separate entities with the MDGs, the HFA and the UNFCCC each making some mention of the other, to a greater or lesser extent. As Mitchell and van Aalst (2008b: 1) have noted, overall while there is significant overlap between the practice and theory of DRR and CCA there is limited 'coherence and convergence' in institutions, organisations and policy frameworks. They note in particular that both struggle to be incorporated into development planning and this aspiration is slowed down by 'duplicated activities, ineffective use of resources and confusing policies'. They conclude that the DRR (and the CCA) agenda suffers from a 'lack of political influence and human capacity' necessary to get adaptation and risk reduction onto the mainstream development agenda (Mitchell and van Aalst 2008a). However, discussions of the post-2015 development agenda have seen a greater focus on climate change and sustainability has been placed as central, as evidenced in the recent report from the High Level Panel (HLP 2013). While DRR is not included as a specific goal in the HLP's 'illustrative goals', the inclusion of a target focussed on building resilience and reducing deaths from 'natural disasters' within Illustrative Goal 1 – to end poverty – is an advancement. The report does have a clear gender rhetoric (see also Bradshaw et al. 2013) and more ambitious gender targets are proposed in Goal 2 – to empower girls and women and achieve gender equality. While there are clear signs of progress, it is important this is sustained into the final framework in 2015.

Gender is now generally seen to have been 'mainstreamed' into all of the international development agencies. While, in principle, gender has long been mainstreamed within the UN system, in practice it struggles to achieve results. The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted in 1979; its aims were to enhance equality between men and women and set out a number of areas on which governments are obliged to take action. Despite the high profile of gender as a development concern within the UN, the omission of key gender issues – notably sexual and

⁶ Agency is the capacity to act independently, to make choices, and transform society through our own actions.

reproductive rights and violence against women – from the Millennium Development Goals, and the lack of a specific focus on equality and rights more generally, was seen by many gender activists as questioning the extent to which gender is mainstreamed within the UN. The HLP report and the ‘illustrative’ goals it proposes do address these concerns, in that VAWG is a target within the gender goal, for example, while sexual and reproductive health is explicitly mentioned in the health goal. However, it is yet to be seen if the gender rhetoric of the report will be translated into the final set of goals that will shape the post-2015 agenda.

Gender priorities were integrated into the report of the World Conference on Disaster Reduction, January 2005 in Kobe, Japan and the Framework for Action 2005-2015: Building the Resilience of Nations and Communities to Disasters: now abbreviated to HFA (Hyogo Framework for Action). In the opening section, the HFA states that a gender perspective should be “integrated into all disaster risk management policies, plans and decision-making processes, including those related to risk assessment, early warning, information management, and education and training” (HFA 2005: 4). However, while it has been suggested that this provides the ‘most explicit reference to gender of any other international policy frameworks for DRR’ (see UNISDR 2009) it is not without limitations. Most importantly its call to integrate gender into all areas of DRR did not result in gender being integrated even into the HFA itself, and in the remainder of the document gender/women are mentioned only twice: once when discussing early warning systems and once when discussing the need to ensure equal access to appropriate training and educational opportunities. This suggests a lack of real commitment to adopting a gender perspective that has not changed much in the intervening years.

The third edition of the United Nations Global Assessment Report on Disaster Risk Reduction: From Shared Risk to Shared Value: The Business Case for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR 2013) makes scant mention of gender matters; in fact the word ‘gender’ is not mentioned at all; neither is ‘girl’; and ‘women’ is mentioned three times in 288 pages. The three occurrences of ‘women’ are all in the same place: They concern the after effects of the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011 in which employment for women recovered more slowly than for men, due to the slow recovery of the female-dominated food processing sector, while the many new employment opportunities in the construction sector were mainly for men. This is disappointing considering the 2011 Global Assessment Report (UNISDR 2011: 3) had previously noted that gender was still not being adequately addressed in disaster risk reduction

Participants at the International Conference on Gender and Disaster Risk Reduction in 2009, noted that gender “remains a marginalized issue in the current national and international negotiations around DRR and climate change adaptation” (cited in UNISDR 2009: 7) and that gender considerations have been “hardly applied as a fundamental principle in policy and framework development” (ibid). A survey in 2010 by ISDR asked over 1500 DRR professionals if a list of themes and issues were areas of specialism and which areas needed more expertise (UNISDR 2011b). Analysing the results shows that the theme that scored lowest on both expertise and recognition of the need to strengthen knowledge of this area was ‘gender’ with only 13 per cent suggesting they had expertise in the area and yet only 13 per cent suggesting it was an area that needs more expertise (Bradshaw 2013a). It seems that there is still a long way to go to convince DRR professionals of the importance of adopting a gender perspective.

Despite the call to ‘mainstream’ gender into DRR and response in the HFA, later United Nations’ platforms and meetings have continued to observe that women’s role in DRR and climate change adaptation initiatives is still not being recognized in practice (Aguilar 2009: 10–11; UNISDR 2011b). In recent years, governments and non-governmental organisations have increasingly incorporated gender frameworks into their planning for disaster relief

responses (Horton 2012). However, implementation of these gender guidelines often conceptualise women in limited, essentialised terms as mothers charged with protecting others, or as 'weak' women needing protection (Bradshaw 2013a; Pittaway et al. 2007).

More hopefully, Resolution 56/2 'Gender equality and the empowerment of women in natural disasters', was submitted by Japan and adopted at the 56th Session of the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW) in 2012. This resolution, proposed one year after the Great East Japan Earthquake, amongst other things, requests all relevant United Nations entities to ensure that a gender perspective continues to be mainstreamed into all aspects of disaster risk reduction, response and recovery. It incorporates recommendations for enhancing the integration of gender equality in a more holistic way; pointing to the need to recognise the many roles of women; highlighting protection and rights, capacities, leadership, livelihoods and the need to for gender-balance in the humanitarian professions (CSW 212). It is to be hoped that regular evaluations will measure the extent to which this bold vision has been realised.

Summary:

- Gender has entered the macro development policy environment as evidenced by the HLP report and illustrative goals, which also see the environment, climate change and conflict all take a more central stage;
- The HLP report and goals do not explicitly present DRR as a goal, rather building resilience is a means to ensure fewer fatalities, and constructed as important to ensure the goal to 'end poverty' is met;
- While gender mainstreaming has entered the disaster rhetoric, gender is far from mainstreamed in policies and gender is still not part of mainstream disaster risk reduction and response practice.

Policy initiatives

This section provides a short analysis of a few 'core' players. The selection of these was based on the analysis of a number of documents and initiatives that summarise humanitarian and DRR actions (see Kellet and Sweeney 2011; Suhrke and Ofstad 2005; GHA report 2012). Available documents for the core players identified from this analysis were then reviewed.

The review suggests there has been a move by the key humanitarian actors to seek to include DRR in their work, and development actors are looking to 'embed' humanitarian response into development. The latter addresses the need for a joined up response, something of particular importance for women and girls living with violence, and adolescent girls more generally, who at present fall between the humanitarian-development 'gap' (Plan 2013). Building on this, the aim for the future must be to construct DRR as a development issue since, while humanitarian response can provide short term relief, reducing impact in the future demands longer term development initiatives to reduce vulnerability and build resilience.

A number of actors are seeking to link gender, development and disasters. Oxfam provides an example of an INGO that is involved in disasters and development and an example of good practice in gender terms with its 'Gender and DRR learning initiative' - a nine-month initiative to build the skills and commitment of staff and partners on gender equality and DRR that began in July 2012. A recent initiative by the Japanese government aims to raise awareness of gender and women's rights in disaster risk reduction and to generate commitment for action to promote gender and women's rights in DRR. Funding to developing countries for DRR falls within the 'Initiative for Disaster Reduction through ODA' of the Japanese government, thus it is 'embedded' within development. Of the four elements contained in this initiative, number three is focussed on incorporating a gender

perspective into all aspects of cooperation on disaster reduction, suggesting recognition of Gendered DRR as a development issue.

More generally there has been a move by all the key actors to take into account gender within disaster risk reduction and response or to promote Gendered DRR (GDRR). Most agencies and organisations now promote a gender focus in their work, although these are at varying stages of development and presented in various ways. The IFRC suggests that gender equality is an 'integral part' of the IFRC's goal to promote respect for 'diversity and human dignity', and to reduce 'intolerance, discrimination and social exclusion.' Thus, for some humanitarian actors gender is subsumed under the general notion of humanitarianism and women and girls are included as part of the core principle of preventing and alleviating human suffering wherever it may be found. Other agencies have taken a more checklist approach, for example OCHA has seven 'Minimum Gender Commitments'. To complement this they have produced various useful toolkits including one on resilience, one on Gender Based Violence and one stressing the need to collect data disaggregated by gender and age. In 2013, OCHA will implement a newly endorsed Gender Equality Policy. It aims to roll out the OCHA Gender Toolkit to build capacity of OCHA Staff in how to mainstream gender (OCHA 2013). The UNDP also have commissioned training materials and manuals and have sought to ensure gender representation is present in wider disaster and development initiatives it coordinates, such as the Caribbean Risk Management Initiative (CRMI). However, a review by the gender commission of the CRMI suggests, despite the rhetoric, the inclusion of gender in the work of the initiative remained weak.

Concerning coordination within humanitarian action more generally, the major reform of humanitarian coordination in 2005 resulted in the Humanitarian Reform Agenda, and the creation of the Cluster Approach. This was first applied following the 2005 earthquake in Pakistan. Clusters are groups of humanitarian organizations in each of 11 main response or service sectors of humanitarian action, and including several cross-cutting issues of which gender is one. The Protection Cluster (UNHCR leads) includes a number of specific areas with designated focal point agencies. At country level, child protection and gender-based violence are typically organized as "sub-clusters". The most recent (second) evaluation (IASC 2010) records that coverage of humanitarian needs has improved in some thematic areas and, depending on the country context, this includes gender-based violence and child protection. However, where the cluster approach might impact women and girls more negatively includes the lack of participatory approaches by most response clusters. There is also ineffective inter-cluster coordination and more importantly in this context, little integration of cross-cutting issues. Multidimensional and cross-cutting issues are said to be neglected in most assessments and are not sufficiently taken into account in the humanitarian response in the case study countries. Thus, despite a number of gender, women and girl child initiatives worldwide⁷, the picture is a patchy one.

Summary:

- While the rhetoric of gender mainstreaming has now been adopted in humanitarian, development and DRR actions, GDRR in practice remains limited; even more limited is the move to focus on adolescent girls yet they present a compelling case to be included and a compelling argument for the need for a joined up response.

Project initiatives

This section refers briefly to just two project initiatives: the IASC Gender Standby Capacity (GenCap) and the Gender Marker tool. Some reference will be made to the Protection

⁷ Including for example the Gender Annex produced for the 5th Asian Ministerial Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (2012) which called, amongst other things, for evaluations of DRR initiatives to be carried out through independent research and disseminated publicly in order to provide some level of accountability around gender.

Capacity Standby Project (ProCap) but space restrictions preclude a more extensive discussion.

GenCap

The IASC Gender Standby Capacity (GenCap) project seeks to build capacity of humanitarian actors at country level to mainstream gender equality programming, including prevention and response to gender-based violence, in all sectors of humanitarian response. It does this by maintaining rosters of senior experts to be deployed to countries in emergencies. The primary goal of GenCap is to ensure that humanitarian action takes account of the different needs and capabilities of women, girls, boys and men. It is a critical element in the integration of cross-cutting issues such as gender in the cluster approach. An evaluation by Steets and Meier (2011) found that while GenCap advisers had made an effective contribution to raising awareness and increasing the understanding and acceptance of gender, institutional follow-up tended to be weak (largely because there is no clear institutional leadership for gender in humanitarian action) and this resulted in little concrete change on the ground.

ProCap

The Protection Capacity Standby Project (ProCap) works on a similar model to GenCap by deploying senior advisors on protection to emergency situations. 'Protection' is drawn quite widely but includes child protection, sexual violence and human rights violations of various kinds. The Steets and Meier evaluation (2011) was similarly mixed in terms of project success. They did note that some ProCap advisors had made an important contribution and even breakthroughs at times. However, they too struggled to mainstream protection into the work of the humanitarian organizations they studied. Follow-up and thus sustainability was stronger compared to GenCap which the evaluators interpreted as being because institutional leadership for protection is clearer in most situations.

The Gender Marker Tool

For gender and to a lesser extent child protection issues, there are two sides to the problem of implementation: one is a hearts and minds issue – persuading resistant practitioners that there is a problem in the first place (or at least a problem of sufficient urgency to be included on rapid response deployments); secondly there is a knowledge and information gap in those who are, or might be, persuaded. The Gender Marker Tool primarily addresses the second of these concerns and to a lesser extent the first.

The Gender Marker is a tool that measures whether or not a humanitarian project is sufficiently inclusive of a gendered approach such that it will ensure women and men, girls and boys will benefit equally, or if the project is capable of advancing gender equality. It has been taken up by several UN and non-UN agencies. For example, the IASC Gender Marker (GM) is required in all Consolidated Appeals Processes (CAPs) and other humanitarian appeals and funding mechanisms (UNOCHA 2011). The IASC have prepared various 'tip sheets' such the IASC 2012 GBV Prevention and Response Gender Marker Tip Sheet and the IASC 2012 Child Protection Gender Marker Tip Sheet to support its more targeted exploitation. Beyond the UN, OXFAM (as just one example) have plans to develop their own version (Dico-Young pers. comm. 2013).

According to Foran et al (2012: 235) the marker has a dual role: firstly as a 'measuring' device, as it measures or tracks funding and resource allocations and their results in humanitarian projects; and secondly through its 'enabling' role as it 'strengthens the capacity of humanitarian teams to understand how their interventions can and should meet the needs of, and engage with, female and male beneficiaries of all ages throughout the project cycle' (pp235-236).

A little less positively, GenCap Advisers regard the Gender Marker tool as a ‘useful entry point’ for engaging with Clusters on gender equality and gender-based violence but a major drawback of the Gender Marker is the poor follow up throughout a project’s life and at its end (Foran et al 2012: 238; Dico-Young 2013). This assertion is supported by findings from the Humanitarian Response Index (HRI) (DARA 2011b) whose research on twenty-three of the world’s main donor governments and nine major crises provides the headline: ‘Gender a Low Priority for Many Donors and Actors, Leaving Gaps in Responses’ (DARA 2011b: 1). They also note that: ‘few donors actually monitor and follow up on how gender is addressed in programmes they support. Donors have enormous potential to influence the sector by requiring their partner organisations to prioritise gender in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of programmes, ensuring that aid is not discriminatory and meets the different needs of women, men, girls and boys equally’ (ibid).

Summary:

- Project tools and activities can be very useful in raising awareness and in ensuring gender inclusion in project proposals. However, they are just the ‘first step’ (Foran et al 2012: 245) or one step in, what must be, a much larger strategy.

2.2 National level

For national actors (specifically governments), as with international actors, there has been a paradigm shift towards an increasing focus on disaster risk reduction and this is key to providing the environment to begin to address the gendered impact of future events. For example, the Indian National Policy on Disaster Management (NPDM) represents a shift from a ‘relief centric response’ to a ‘proactive’ prevention, mitigation and preparedness-driven approach aimed at conserving development gains as much as minimising loss of life, livelihood and property (Government of India-UNDP Disaster Risk Reduction Programme 2009-12). This ‘disaster-proofing’ development approach rests on value for money reasoning to promote DRR and may be most apparent in countries with repeated events where disasters can clearly be seen to be part of daily life and of ‘development’. While useful to get common agreement on the importance of DRR, it does construct DRR as a means to an end, rather than a goal in itself. ‘Disaster proofing’ development arguments do not present lack of development as producing vulnerability, but rather disasters as producing a lack of development, and this has implications for policy and practice (Bradshaw 2013a).

In general, moves to mainstream gender into DRR have borne limited results. This may be due to the policy itself not being strong enough. For example, India’s five year plan states it works towards ensuring that the ‘most vulnerable’, including women and girls have ‘enhanced abilities to prepare, respond, adapt and recover from sudden and slow-on-set disasters and environmental changes’. However, rather than presenting an overarching gender perspective reviewing the NPDM shows two mentions of gender/women; around ‘vocational training’ and around awareness raising to increase engagement of vulnerable groups in preparedness/post disaster. In other cases gender is within the policy but the practice has been the problem. For example, gender has entered as a cross cutting issue within the various governmental instruments for DRR in Bangladesh, yet it is often ignored especially by government agencies (Nasreen 2011). To effectively mainstream gender requires political will at all levels.

Some national initiatives have sought to be more ‘participatory’ in their design and implementation and this is another way in which gender and women and girls can enter the policy and programme discourse. Indonesia’s National Platform for DRR seeks to provide a multi-stakeholder forum, for discussion, cooperation and advocacy, which is also aimed at promoting the country’s progress on HFA. Similar forums have also been established at the local level and working groups on various topics have been formed. However, participatory processes alone cannot ensure engendering occurs, and a review of the documentation does not suggest gender and women were targeted specifically. In Bangladesh it has been

noted that there are large numbers of organisations active in the fields of gender and DRR, and a considerable number of development partners have been supporting the effort of the Government of Bangladesh to carry out gender and DRR related activities. The issue here is not the lack of gendered actors but that in most cases they work in isolation, and it has proved difficult to create a common platform (Nasreen 2011). Lack of a common voice can limit the extent to which there is a clear national level discourse, however, as the case of South Africa demonstrates, a strong and united gendered voice can also cause problems. Pelling and Holloway (2006: 26) note that processes of stakeholder consultation were characterised by strongly opposed interest groups and ideologies and that gender politics added to tensions between the framework drafting team and the national department which temporarily delayed completion of the framework and its possible resourcing. Such tensions also arose when incorporating gender into national and regional disaster response initiatives of civil society in the countries of Central America post-hurricane Mitch. These were not only between gendered and non-gendered groups and drafting teams, but also within the women's movement. Some elements of the women's movements were not inclined to engage in 'mixed' spaces from the outset, precisely because of the lack of openness to gender issues they felt they would encounter (Bradshaw and Linneker 2003).

While women's groups have organised for DRR at a local level (see Fordham and Gupta 2011), it should not be assumed that women would want to be involved in DRR at national policy or project level. For example, while women and women's organisations were key responders post-Mitch in all the countries impacted by the hurricane, and were integral to the civil society coordinating organisations that emerged, this involvement at national level did not extend from response to mitigation. This is perhaps due to the more 'technical' or hazard centred approach to mitigation, or perhaps because the priorities of women's groups lie with issues still not central to the DRR discourse such as sexual and reproductive rights and violence against women (Bradshaw 2009). It is also important to ensure that where women are included in outside/top down interventions for DRR, that they themselves benefit from this inclusion. Programmes that only target women as participants in projects or as recipients of resources may change gender *roles* – that is they broaden the roles that are considered to be part of women's mothering roles to include early warning, for example - but they do not alter gender *relations*. If the new role is seen to be part of a woman's mothering role or constructed as 'women's work' it does not automatically or necessarily improve the status of women. For some this type of inclusion of women in development as deliverers of services to others has resulted in a 'feminisation of obligation and responsibility' (Chant 2008) placing women at the 'service of' development policy agendas (Molyneux 2006). What this means in practice is that women are assuming greater liability for dealing with poverty and ensuring well being and have progressively less choice other than to do so. The lesson to be learned is that how women are included in DRR is important, and care needs to be taken to ensure women themselves benefit from their inclusion.

Summary:

- 'Disaster proofing' development arguments do not present lack of development as producing vulnerability, but rather they present disasters as producing a lack of development, and this has implications for policy and practice;
- Similarly just including women in DRR projects does not make them gendered nor bring gender equality gains;
- To effectively mainstream gender requires political will at all levels and the active involvement of many groups and actors. The willingness of women's groups and movements to engage at national level may be low unless their priorities such as VAWG are also recognised as priorities for DRR;
- When promoting gender, care needs to be taken to ensure there is not merely a feminisation of obligation and responsibility, and that women are served by, as well as serving, the disaster response and risk reduction agendas.

2.3 DFID's past and current investments in helping to address these issues

'Joined up' working on gender, disaster and development is a dynamic policy and practice space currently. The notion of working across sectors and interest areas is widely accepted in principle but all interested parties – DFID included – are still struggling with robust methods to do this. However, new policies and initiatives are changing and being created on a regular basis.

DFID's Humanitarian Policy Document (DFID 2011a) recognizes that there is still work to be done in ensuring, for example, that needs assessments are disaggregated by gender and age and that the specific needs of women and girls are addressed in all projects they fund. The violence against women and girls (VAWG) agenda is also highlighted here. However, most often 'women and girls' seem to be terms dropped in rather than addressed in a meaningful way. Similarly, with the DFID approach to resilience (DFID 2011c), the terms 'gender' and 'girl' do not feature at all and 'women' are mentioned four times. DFID's (2004) 'Adaptation to climate change: Making development disaster-proof' key sheet uses images of women working but makes just one mention each of gender and women throughout. These are short documents it is true but nevertheless, there were perhaps missed opportunities to make sure the messages conveyed are meaningful and not just ticking the expected, and parallel, boxes. The DFID (2011c) Defining Disaster Resilience Approach Paper does stress the need to integrate disaster resilience with the full spectrum of development issues plus climate change and conflict prevention which is a useful potential weapon against silo working and thinking (see Critical Gaps section below) but happens too rarely in practice. For example, DFID's (2011b) 'A new strategic vision for girls and women: stopping poverty before it starts', sets out four pillars for action: Delay first pregnancy and support safe childbirth; Economic assets direct to girls and women; Getting girls through secondary school; Preventing violence. However, it does not mention disasters, emergencies, crises, or shocks; although it does mention security. Clearly, not every topic can be mentioned every time but the dominant messages still need to consider these linked areas if resilience is to be the result. What this short review shows is that gender-disaster-development (plus climate change-conflict) linkages are not made routinely. This is also the case when 'Operational Plans' are considered, but these also suggest positive ways forward as indicated in a brief review of two such plans – both of which are 'first tier' countries in DFID's recent initiative to 'embed' humanitarian actions into development.

A review of the 'Operational Plan 2011-2015 DFID Bangladesh, August 2012' suggests a focus on strengthening people's 'ability and opportunity to earn, to improve their quality of life, to participate in decision-making, and to increase their resilience to natural disaster and climate change'. The poorest 10 per cent of the population, those living on less than 30 pence a day, are targeted in both urban and rural areas. The Operational Plan has a 'gender annex' with a focus on education, reproductive health, economic empowerment and VAW; unfortunately, there is nothing here on DRR. A joined up approach would need to see disaggregated targeting, VAW is mentioned as an aspect of quality of life and DRR is mentioned in the gender 'annex'. A review of gender within DRR in Bangladesh suggests it is recognized as a cross-cutting issue within government plans. The problem is it is often ignored especially by government agencies (Nasreen 2011). In 2011 Ministry of Women and Children Affairs (MoWCA) was included in the actions around the national plan and the MoWCA included gender and disaster issues in the National Women's Advancement Policy – which suggests some joined up working is already taking place at governmental level. One study of the situation suggests there are also 'large numbers' of organisations active in the fields of gender and DRR in Bangladesh and a 'considerable number' of development partners have been supporting the effort of the Government of Bangladesh to carry out gender and DRR related activities. However, it notes that in most cases they work in isolation, and it has proved difficult to create a common platform (Nasreen, 2011).

Bangladesh then suggests a good opportunity to promote Gendered Disaster Risk Reduction (GDRR) programmes if it built on the advances made to date.

In terms of the Operational Plan for Nepal, again there are clear positive signs but opportunities are also missed. In the 'vision' statement it notes the programme will 'ensure poor people are more resilient against climate change and natural disasters, so that vulnerable people are not thrown back into poverty by one event' – thus the link between 'development' and disasters is drawn but it is not gendered. In the context section the differences in opportunities for men and women are recognised with a focus on lack of paid employment. The very next point raised focuses on the vulnerability of 'the poor' to climate change but no links are drawn to employment and it is not gendered. Yet the 'headline results' include 'Number of people with increased climate and disaster resilience' and this is disaggregated by gender. The plan also notes DFID will support innovative surveys and data collection in climate change, job creation, access to justice, and access to finance. It notes it will be guided by the state's plans, where they exist and the two examples given are the National Adaptation Programme of Action on climate change, the Gender Based Violence Action Plan. What does all this mean? There is real scope here for joined up working but at present there is no overarching focus on GDRR, just actions that will add to this. This is a really important start, but more needs to be done. The notion of resilience building might provide some common focal point to link the development and disasters actions.

If DFID continues to pursue a resilience agenda then the combination of gender-disaster-development (at least) must be seen as foundational to success and must be reflected in all its policies and plans.

SECTION 3 Critical gaps and issues

3.1 Summary Discussion

Reducing the impact of disasters on women and girls cannot be solved by disaster based actions alone. It is inequities in the everyday, and not just in times of disaster, that create greater risk and reduce life chances for women and girls. Thus, action across the gender-disaster-development nexus is key to creating lasting change. A gap still exists between 'humanitarian' actions and the resumption of 'normal' development programmes. While 'reconstruction' fills this gap to some extent, the continued distinction between the actions and actors means there may be many different actors involved over a period that may last from 6 months to three years, suggesting a lack of continuity and follow up on post-event problems with long term consequences, such as VAWG. The lack of continuity is particularly acute for adolescent girls who then grow up caught between relief-reconstruction-development, and because of the different actors involved, often fall between the gaps. While short-term humanitarian actions are still necessary, as reviews of progress on the HFA note, DRR is not a humanitarian issue. At the national and international level, some headway has been made to re-conceptualise DRR as a development rather than a humanitarian issue, but more still needs to be done to convince development and DRR professionals of this. At present, the efficiency argument is being used to promote DRR, constructing it as a means to achieve other development goals/protect development gains. While this 'sells' DRR, care needs to be taken to ensure that DRR is seen to be an important goal in itself, as well as a means to achieve a wider development end.

Similarly, women have been constructed as the efficient means to bring about social protection in social policy terms and a similar discourse could help promote gendered DRR. However, it is important to ensure gender equality is not used just to justify women's inclusion in DRR as efficient providers of services, a move which would place them at the 'service' of the DRR agenda. Rather, DRR needs to be properly 'gendered' – seeing gender equality as a means to bring about DRR and as a standalone goal of DRR. The notion of 'disaster' needs to be re-conceptualised if gendered risks are to be addressed, since the 'real' disaster for women and girls is often the 'secondary' impacts felt in intangible changes to well being or increased time burden. The notion of 'disaster risk' also needs to change, since the risks to women who survive natural hazards are human made – in the form of violence and abuse. However, VAWG is often too narrowly understood and can better represent the range of impacts and constraints on women and girls if defined more broadly as the UK Government has recently done with its domestic violence definition. Just as anti-poverty programmes should not be seen to be the same as gender equality programmes, so involving women in disaster risk reduction should not be assumed to bring gender equality benefits. Reducing the vulnerability of women and girls to disasters requires the same policies and principles as improving their development well being – that is, explicitly addressing gender inequality and the manifestations of this such as VAWG.

A critical gap remains in terms of evidence. Gender and age disaggregated data is a persistent lack and affects what can be said with conviction concerning the gendered nature of disasters.

3.2 Recommendations

Research and data gathering

- It is imperative that already recognised good practice guidelines, such as to collect gender and age disaggregated data, are implemented;
- Studies exist that recommend pre- and post-disaster variables which would be useful to better understand and measure the impact of disasters on women and girls, and these need to be revised and implemented;

- Longitudinal studies should be undertaken both across the disaster 'cycle' and post-event to better understand disaster dynamics and long term impacts;
- Measurement of material losses must include gender and generational disaggregated data; the continued and uncritical use of the 'household' as a unit of assessment hides differential losses within households and between the genders and generations;
- The poverty implications of losses experienced by women and girls post-event need to be explored over time and the impact of targeting resources to women on their well being monitored and evaluated;
- There is a need for a systematic follow-up study to assess the extent to which early and forced marriage occurs post-event, with change measured against baseline data, and to provide support via specific projects aimed at young women living with male partners;
- There is a need for systematic follow-up studies to assess the extent to which transactional sex and trafficking occurs post-event, the mechanisms for its occurrence, if and how this changes with the event, and with change measured against baseline data and over time;
- There is a need to study, the impact of post-event migration on women and girls and the implications for those women and girls left behind;
- More research is needed on the role of social and familial networks of support for adolescent girls and women, how these networks change, and the implications of these changes for emotional and physical well being;
- How women's and girls' perception of self is changed by an event remains an issue to be explored and how response and reconstruction impact upon this is still largely unknown.

To further these aims DFID can:

- Promote the systematic inclusion of generating gender disaggregated data and analysis in DFID-financed research and evidence investments (such as through the Humanitarian Innovation and Evidence Programme, and RED's climate change research);
- Make use of its current co-chairing role of the Consultative Group of GFDRR to promote greater focus on gender issues within GFDRR investments, including making sure its monitoring and evaluation framework specifically looks at the impacts its investments directly or indirectly have on women and girls;
- Promote integration of gender issues in disaster resilience-related programmes, including promoting/requiring the generation of gender/sex disaggregated data and analysis, and the monitoring and evaluation of the specific impacts these investments have on women and girls.

Understandings of disasters and Gendered Disaster Risk Reduction (GDRR)

- Reducing gender inequality prior to an event is the most important tool for disaster risk reduction and resilience building;
- DRR and response activities must specifically address gender inequalities if they are to change the situation and position of women, girls and adolescent girls in particular;
- Our understanding of violence against women and girls must be considerably broadened and can be used as a learning tool for better understanding gender inequality;
- Gender mainstreaming must go beyond disaster rhetoric and be part of mainstream disaster risk reduction and response practice;
- DRR must be constructed as a development issue since, while humanitarian response can provide short-term relief, reducing impact in the future demands longer term development initiatives to reduce vulnerability and build resilience;
- The international policy frameworks and initiatives to tackle climate change, promote development and reduce disaster losses must be better integrated and within this gender should be a cross cutting theme and gender equality seen to be a key goal in itself, as well as a means to achieve these goals.

To further these aims DFID can:

- Promote greater attention to the specific needs and roles of women and girls in the successor framework to the HFA and promote the resilience-linked target within Goal 1 of the HLP's illustrative goals, as well as continue to promote the inclusion of GDRR targets in the post-2015 framework;
- Explore how the International call to action on violence against women and girls in emergencies announced by the Secretary of State for International Development in March 2013 can promote these issues and secure necessary commitments from key humanitarian agencies, donors and NGO to protect women and girls from violence;
- Use the Political Champions Group to promote this issue amongst the business practices of those within the Group and with others. Particular emphasis could be given to promoting this issue within its country and regional-level engagement, such as in Haiti, as well as its work with the private sector.

Programming

- When promoting a gender focus, care needs to be taken to ensure that this improves the situation and position of women and does not merely add to their work load; and that women are served by, as well as serving, the disaster response and risk reduction agendas;
- It needs to be recognised that simply including women and girls in DRR projects does not make them gendered nor bring gender equality gains, for gender equality to be achieved, programmes and projects need to be implemented that have this as their goal;
- Women's and girls' capacities must be recognised, not just their vulnerability status. Building women's and girls' resources for resilience will help reduce disaster impact in the future;
- The reproductive health needs of women must be fully met; including recognition of the sexual health of young unmarried women and adolescent girls, and those who do not fit within heteronormative expectations who may be at particular risk;
- The importance of income and costs, including opportunity costs, in determining girls' access to education needs to be recognised and responded to;
- VAWG needs to be tackled post-event through provision of protection but it is also a known 'disaster risk'. Addressing the structural causes of violence – in its broadest sense - should be part of the disaster risk reduction and development agendas equally;

To further these aims DFID can:

- Promote greater links between disaster resilience, preparedness and climate change adaptation teams in DFID on taking up these issues;
- Demand a much greater focus and attention on assessing the specific vulnerability faced by women and girls during risk assessments and the extent to which these are being addressed by governments, donors and agencies;
- Develop guidance (and resources) to support the inclusion of gender issues in DFID-financed, resilience-linked programmes (including in business cases) and into Country Office disaster resilience strategies generated as part of the embedding process;
- Develop a set of best practice case studies on how DFID or other donors/agencies have integrated gender issues in programmes.

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Appendix 1: Haiti case study

Haiti's January 2010 earthquake killed some 200,000 (although figures are disputed) and displaced one million people.

The earthquake's devastating toll was magnified by Haiti's dependent position in the global economy, its history of neocolonialism and authoritarian governance, deep class inequality, and embedded racism and sexism. Indeed, long before the earthquake, the 80 per cent of Haiti's population who live in poverty were experiencing a longer term, more insidious type of disaster (Horton 2012: 296).

It is to be noted from the outset that the reports of poor conditions faced by Haitian women post-earthquake should not be understood as only a product of the earthquake but a 'continuation and intensification of historical patterns of inequality and discrimination' faced by Haitian women (Horton 2012). Gender inequalities reflect unequal distributions in human development more generally: those countries with an unequal distribution of human development also experience high gender inequality. Among the countries doing particularly badly in both human development and gender inequality is Haiti (UNDP 2010a: 7). Overall women enjoyed less access than men to productive resources, social services and civic affairs. Prior to the event 26 percent of all women and girls (15+ years old) had been victims of sexual and gender-based violence. Among young people, 18 per cent had experienced sexual violence during their lifetime, with 15% of males reporting experiencing sexual violence and 22 per cent of females (Gomez et al., 2009: 509). Sarah Martin reported on sexual exploitation and abuse in UN peacekeeping missions in West Africa and Haiti, (Martin 2005) and attributed these to 'a hyper-masculine culture that encourages sexual exploitation and abuse' in the male dominated response to disaster situations. It is a 'boys will be boys' attitude that has primarily to do with 'problems of abuse of power' and only 'secondarily [with] problems of sexual behaviour' (Martin 2005: 5).

Existing patterns of gender-based exclusion and discrimination, and of sexual and gender-based violence were amplified by the earthquake. However, while some of this 'amplification' was an increase in the number, regularity and severity of occurrences the 'amplification' was also a visibilisation of the situation by the world's media. GSDRC (2013) suggest some experts caution that although violence against women is widespread, its prevalence has been sensationalised and overstated in the news media. A similar occurrence was found post-Katrina which may be linked to a racialised media coverage of events.

IFRC's Safe Spaces assessment (IFRC 2012a) identified a number of risk factors for those displaced after the Haiti earthquake. In particular, the more limited freedom of movement of women and girls, and their much reduced social networks. After dark, women and girls rarely left the shelters. As reported elsewhere, violence was a part of daily life and its occurrence was widespread: 'in the home, camps, schools, streets, transport stations, work, discos and carnivals' (IFRC 2012a: 53).

It is violence that perhaps personifies the popular image of post-earthquake Haiti, with the media constructing men as sex predators and traffickers and generally as with criminal intent. Reports do suggest high levels of violence but there is no systematic study on which to base this and no real base line by which to compare it. This is important since several studies conducted prior to the earthquake documented the high levels of sexual violence against women and girls in the public and private realms. As such, the violence identified might at least in part be an existing violence revealed through the shift from private to public living as the camps stripped away the walls that made violence invisible. However, this is questionable since one study suggests seventy percent of the respondents said they were more concerned about sexual violence after the earthquake than before (CHR&GJ 2011).

There are also no studies that seek to explore and understand the violence, and as with all such events there has been no long term study charting how violence changes over time. What is documented is violence against women in many forms. Many women and girls reported having been beaten by men out of rage. While some reports suggest the men were partners or known to the women e.g. neighbours or relatives, there are equal reports that the highest incidences were of 'stranger' violence. The lack of clarification around the perpetrators of the violence highlights the lack of a systematic recording system, or even an agreed definition of known/unknown. This is also the case in terms of the nature of the violence and although rape has been a focus of concern some reports suggest that physical aggression is actually a more common form of violence against women overall (d'Adesky and the PotoFanm+Fi coalition, 2012).

Sexual violence at the hands of 'unknowns' was high with around 14% reporting either rape or unwanted touching or both (Rosenberg 2011). Stranger attacks, and sexual attacks may both be more common among adolescent girls while women may suffer physical violence at the hands of partners. There were also reports of child rape.

Reports from civil society organizations suggest many victims did not receive medical care after being assaulted because of lack of information, long waits, the impossibility of paying for transportation to reach assistance, and the fear of stigmatization. Other accounts included women who approached the police for help and received the response that "there was nothing they could do" (See Inst. For Justice and Democracy in Haiti, *supra* note 41).

The camps that were to be a safe haven for many were far from that. A UNHCR study with women and adolescent girls in a selection of IDP camps found that the practice of women and adolescent girls engaging in 'transactional sex' in Port-au-Prince was 'widespread' (UNHCR, 2011). Many camps were overcrowded and lacked safe accommodation and adequate sanitary facilities to allow proper privacy for women and girls. Serious shortcomings in lighting the camps also made women and girls vulnerable to aggression and violence at night (Duramy 2011). This meant incidents of sexual violence occurred both during the day and at night, mostly inside the victims' shelters or on their way to collect water. It is not surprising that more than sixty percent of the participants in one study believed that women and children are less protected and safe in the camps compared to the informal settlements in which they had lived before the earthquake (INURED 2010).

Despite the cluster approach which should have ensured greater coordination, cross-cutting issues were poorly handled which created major problems. Clusters acted reactively to food distribution practices which created extreme security risks for women and also, once again, a lack of gender-segregated sanitation facilities (Steets et al 2010: 57).

Given all this, it is not surprising many people wanted to return to their former homes as soon as possible, not least since the lack of formal land title left 'their' property open for institutional as well as individual land grabbing (Herard 2011). While some agencies actively worked against this, UNhabitat supported a policy of 'safe return,' whereby people are assisted in returning to their places of origin, after they are assessed for risks, and made safer through appropriate repairs and urban planning. There is no evidence around who could/could not who has/has not returned to their former homes but post-Katrina highlights that young women often find it difficult to return, with the age demographic of New Orleans having aged since the hurricane due to non-returnees.

After the event the Haiti Government's Post-Disaster Needs Assessment (PDNA) was to form the blueprint for reconstruction. However, while providing information on the vulnerabilities in Haiti's economy, infrastructure, governance system, environment and social services, and suggestions how to rebuild, it was suggested critical voices were 'noticeably

absent' from the process: those of Haitian civil society, and especially those of women (Haiti Equality Collective 2010) and children (Plan 2010). The Haitian Government PDNA comprised eight themes in total; the PDNA only addresses gender explicitly in one theme—that of “Cross-Cutting Issues.”

That being said Horton (2012) notes, as has been found elsewhere, the post-earthquake period saw a new surge in grassroots networks of women that drew on the tradition of ‘one helping the other’ to respond to practical needs rather than any gendered aims. However, as time progressed there were claims that the high rates of violence and the ‘victimisation’ of women was used by organisations to gain access to aid funding (Horton, 2012). This echoes suggestions post-Mitch that some gendered NGOs are able to profit from agencies seeking to be seen to be addressing gender concerns or ‘mainstreaming’ gender within their projects (Bradshaw and Linneker 2003).

However, despite this, many projects remained un-gendered. For example, despite the Bank’s own gender policies and action plans, few World Bank and IDB grants to Haiti were seen to be explicitly gender sensitive (Zuckerman et al 2010, supra note 13, at 1). Moreover where a gender component was called for it was suggested donor governments generally did not really monitor if the organisations did fully integrate a gender component in their programmes. Interviews conducted for the 2011 Humanitarian Response Index (HRI) suggested organisations were able to copy and paste the same paragraph in the gender section of every proposal with nobody complaining (Dara 2011a)

A more positive example is that of Plan International, who, in partnership with UNICEF, initiated a consultation with almost 1,000 children and youth across Haiti for their own PDNA. The context for children is, as the PDNA notes, that children’s rights in Haiti are in a poor state. Children are exposed to violence of many kinds in their schools and families. Half a million children do not attend school and almost a quarter million have to work – often ‘in conditions comparable to slavery’. Children generally and girl children in particular lack the opportunity to control matters that affect their lives. In rural environments girl children are particularly vulnerable to gender based violence (Plan 2010: 27). This opportunity to speak and be listened to showed that children and young people felt and expressed strongly their wish to learn how to protect themselves through better preparation for disasters but also, altruistically, to have a greater role in helping raising awareness of public safety issues and policies, and in learning (page 22).

While the earthquake revealed violence against women as a major issue, what is being done to address this in the longer term is not clear. Many organisations withdrew after the reconstruction period was ‘complete. For example DFID noted they would ‘exit from disaster risk reduction work’ in Haiti by March 2012, when DFID’s commitment of £2 million following the 2010 earthquake was to have been delivered. Yet DRR is a long-term commitment. CARE suggest three years after the earthquake a ‘web of political gridlock, donor fatigue and chaotic property laws’ continues to stall rebuilding. They highlight their work with USAID on a 5-year program to help ‘Haitians strengthen their own institutions and community efforts’ that protect women and girls from violence and abuse, including the establishment of solidarity groups for women and girls, creating a safe spaces for discussions of sexual and reproductive health, gender-based violence and family planning (CARE 2013). It is not clear how widespread such longer-term programmes addressing violence against women are.

On the occasion of the two-year commemoration of the Haitian earthquake, 12 January 2012, the UN Secretary General’s Special Representative on Disaster Risk Reduction, suggested “The tragedy helped to create a greater global understanding of the importance of disaster risk reduction in contexts of rapid urbanization, seismic risk, population growth and widespread poverty. It confirmed that the authorities need to take the subject of risk reduction seriously” (UNISDR 2012)

Haiti received a grant of \$500,000 from the GFDRR for the implementation of a 3-year National Program for Vulnerability Reduction to Natural Hazards. The World Bank suggested Disaster Risk Reduction has become a key priority in Haiti's development programs (see GFDRR 2013). While the UNDP as part of its DRR work supported the establishment of crucial infrastructure resistant to urban risks as a means of further strengthening the resilience of the communities, including developing a methodology for risk prevention in urban settings. The document 'Urban Disasters—Lessons from Haiti' also stresses the need to avoid building back the same mistakes as before, if DRR is to succeed but it also acknowledges that government incapacity makes this objective rather daunting (Clermont et al 2011).

An indicator of Haiti's inability to address its seismic risk is the fact that the country only has one earthquake engineer. In the absence of such professionals, non-'professional' local level initiatives have been promoted. UNDP, conducted a mapping in eight high risk neighbourhoods of Port-au-Prince and more than 9,000 students and 500 teachers were educated about earthquakes and tsunamis. No data was given concerning whether girls were targeted. Where women were mentioned, it was in terms of reforestation projects in the South. The urban/built environment nature of reconstruction might then have led to some exclusion of women, who are more traditionally associated with the natural environment, confining them to rural projects (UNDP 2013).

Overall, the lives of the majority of women and girls prior to the earthquake were characterised by poverty and violence, and reports suggest that this may have both increased and intensified post-event, with camps not providing the safe haven promised. While in the short term there was recognition of VAWG as a serious problem, longer term programmes to address this were not widespread. In the move from relief, to reconstruction, to mitigation women and girls seem to have fallen between the gaps.