ADVERSITY AND OPPORTUNITY:

GENDER RELATIONS,

EMERGENCIES AND RESILIENCE

IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

POLICY AND RESEARCH SUMMARY

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

ACRONYMS

3P&T-3D	Prevention, Protection, Promotion and Transformation in three dimensions
DCMA	Drought Cycle Management Approach
FDG	Focus Group Discussion
FGM	Female Genital Mutilation
FGM/C	Female Genital Mutilation and Cutting
GiE	Gender in Emergencies
HoA	Horn of Africa
HTP	Harmful Traditional Practice
IDP	Internally Displaced Person(s)
INGO	International Non-Governmental Agency
KII	Key Informant Interview
NGO	Non-Governmental Agency
PL	Puntland
PRIME	Pastoralists Areas Resilience Improvement and Market Expansion
SAA	Social Analysis & Action
SCS	South Central Somalia
SGBV	Sexual and Gender-based Violence
SL	Somaliland
SomReP	Somalia Resilience Program
SRRI	Strategic Regional Resilience Initiative
TCP	Traditional and Cultural Practices
VAWG	Violence Against Women and Girls
VSLA	Village Savings and Loan Association(s)
WASH	Water, Sanitation and Health

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

CARE Australia commissioned this study of gender in humanitarian and emergency contents (GiE) as a contribution to CARE's humanitarian and emergency strategy learning agenda. It aims to examine 'the opportunities and challenges in gender equality and women's empowerment in emergency contexts, and provide lessons for future humanitarian responses,' focusing on the Horn of Africa as a case study. In the longer term it aims towards a shared set of understandings, programming goals, and methods across CARE's programmes in the Horn of Africa, and in turn informing a gender-sensitive approach to CARE's resilience-based and emergency-oriented programming, and contributing to improved gender relations in the population groups addressed in the research.

The initial literature review and consultation phase concluded that discussion of GiE is complicated by the strong and well-founded perception that conventional understandings of 'emergency' (as rapid-onset disasters triggering short-term responses) are inadequate for addressing conditions in Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya in a sustainable manner, as the context is characterised by long-term structural crisis, overlain by periodic short-term emergencies such as drought or flooding, and are therefore also inadequate for promoting sustainable transformations in gender relations. At the same time, it was recognised that 'transformative change in gender relations and structures' is problematic to define, measure and to achieve. A 'continuum' approach, as suggested in CARE global approaches to gender transformation, would allow country research teams to explore the most appropriate routes to transformative change in the light of their specific conditions.

The study considers 'emergencies' as a component of a broader resilience approach. It understands 'gender' as 'relational' rather than exclusively women-focused, and 'gender transformation' as a long-term endeavour which needs to be planned for and implemented adaptively, in reference to the specific conditions of the context.

The field research focused on the following question:

How can CARE best contribute to positive changes in gender relations through its work in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia using a resilience approach, addressing both short-term responses and longer-term transformations?

Key sub-questions the study explores are:

What is the potential – and what are the constraints - for implementing CARE's Program Approach and Humanitarian Emergency Strategy in the Horn? What synergies can be found between resilience and gender transformation approaches, and what would a framework that integrated the two look like? What would CARE's resilience work in the Horn look like if a gender lens was applied systematically throughout the region?

A participatory methodology was adopted for fieldwork, based on focus group discussions and key informant interviews in six locations in Somalia, Ethiopia and Kenya, culminating in a regional 'reflections workshop'. Fieldwork sought to understand, through the eyes of respondents, what were the different *vulnerabilities and capacities* of men, women, girls and boys, and to understand how they viewed the changes in gender relations that their communities were undergoing and the strengths and weaknesses of individuals and communities in terms of their ability to cope with the shocks and stresses facing them. Respondents were asked what sort of changes to gender relations they had seen and hoped to see in future, and what role there might be for CARE and others in

encouraging such changes, in order to gain insights into the possibilities for 'gender transformation' in the study areas.

Findings provided rich insights into the situation of women, men, girls and boys in the study areas. In the perception of respondents, *important changes are taking place in gender relations*. The main trends noted by respondents across the three study areas as being particularly positive are:

- *Improved access to education for girls and a greater acceptance of the need for girls to be schooled.* The value placed on education by all respondents in all locations is one of the most striking findings of the research. 'Education makes women powerful' was a commonly expressed sentiment. Education is seen as being a stepping stone to employment and a means of acquiring skills needed in business or in professional work, a passport to greater prosperity and connectedness, and a better life in more general terms.

- *Women's increasing participation in economic activity.* Income-generation and small business activity is everywhere perceived as the key alternative to employment, especially for those with relatively poor educational attainment, and a major cushion for households against economic risk. To some extent, women are also increasing their access to key economic resources such as land and livestock. In parallel with this trend, some respondents noted an increased willingness on the part of men to share women's domestic labour, though researchers also noted that women-only focus groups tended to down-play the extent of this change.

- *Women are increasingly engaged in social and public life outside the home.* This includes participation in decision-making fora and election to public office, as well as membership of wider groups such as savings groups and other development-related structures.

The more negative corollary of these trends is that *men are tending to withdraw from their previous roles and responsibilities.* Rising levels of addiction to drugs and alcohol reflect this, a factor which all research locations were witness to.

In all six locations respondents identified more and better education opportunities for both boys and girls as fundamental to improving male-female relations, along with improving women's access to and control of resources, including ownership of livestock and other key resources.

They also wanted to see:

- increased flows of information to all, but especially to women, about economic opportunities;
- better health services, especially maternal and child health services and especially in isolated rural areas; men taking on more household responsibilities and women increasingly participating in decision-making, articulating their views and their grievances, and taking leadership roles;
- communities addressing the addiction issues that are so prevalent in all the study locations; improvements in the economic and political environment that would be needed to enable these changes, including enhancing employment opportunities for all, but especially for men and boys;
- increasing family income levels generally; reductions in tribalism and clan-based conflict; and, better collaboration between men and women to improve the living conditions and prospects of young people.

Respondents noted that CARE and other organisations have already contributed significantly to improving gender relations, for example by promoting advances in education, through training for entrepreneurship and livelihoods, and by organising micro-finance groups such as CARE's VSLAs. Various criticisms of NGOs, and other development actors, were expressed, including most commonly resentment of what many perceived as an unbalanced approach by offering support predominantly to women.

A gendered understanding of vulnerability and capacity

Reality is both different from and more complex than the common stereotypes of male dominance and female vulnerability, and findings need to be interpreted through a relational lens in order to resolve ambiguities. Men and women may be vulnerable, and strong, for different reasons at different times: male and female capacities and vulnerabilities also depend on each other and have to be understood in relation to each other rather than addressed separately.

The field work encountered many examples in which a women's vulnerability rose and fell with that of her husband or other male relatives, and the same is true in reverse. Moreover, multiple factors play in concert to create change: for example, strengthening women's economic capacity alone will not necessarily translate into real decision-making and political power, or the extent that women share responsibilities and hence depend on each other meaning one woman's increased engagement can mean another's additional workload. The field data gathered also raised questions about the relationship between vulnerability and capacity at the individual level, family and community level and that affecting social, economic and political systems.

Gender and resilience

Resilience emerges as a useful concept for gender transformation, and vice-versa. Applying a resilience lens to gender transformation enables it to be seen at three levels: absorption, adaptation and transformation. In this way it supports the identification of those in the community who are most likely to benefit or to be left behind, and the impact that this might have on the community as a whole.

- *Absorption:* what level of assets do women and men need, and have, to absorb shocks?

- *Adaptation:* to what extent are women and men able to adapt to progressive stresses ('bouncing back')?

- *Transformation:* have the pressures the community is under led to radical changes in gendered power relations, are they positive for women and girls, and how could this process be assisted?

Attempts to integrate gender and resilience at a conceptual and methodological level are at a relatively early stage in the sector as a whole, and the observations presented in this report should be seen as tentative. This presents opportunities for CARE to take a lead in developing a 'gender and resilience' approach as applicable to humanitarian work. This approach will need to recognise that encompassing the complexity of changing gender relations might require a resilience framework that takes into account qualities such as diversity, flexibility, or innovation, and how these, as well as economic, political and social factors, work to shape vulnerabilities.

Strategies for strengthening organisational capacity

The experience of conducting the GiE research led the research teams to identify a number of strategies for strengthening the capacity of organisations seeking to effect gender transformation in fragile contexts.

- *Intervention methodology*: given different perceptions and language between communities and humanitarian organisations around some aspects of gender change, methodologies in which the intervening organisation takes a facilitating role, promoting debate within the community, may be particularly effective. CARE has some experience of such methodologies, including the Social Analysis and Action (SAA) approach, and this could be more widely shared.

- *Knowledge management:* understanding context, recognizing the need for diversified responses to take contextual differences into account, is crucial. This implies that organizations working on GiE in the Horn need capacity to acquire, store, and consistently draw on in-depth information about the local context, as well as encouraging a culture of debate and learning within the organisation. Deploying staff to carry out research, as opposed to commissioning consultants, was shown to have advantages in terms of building on and extending staff's existing familiarity with the context and in terms of enabling staff to take part in debate about evolving policy

- *Linking humanitarian response and development* preparedness is critical in both humanitarian response and development, and this includes documenting, in advance of need, the condition and position of women, men, girls and boys, and the underlying factors that shape this, helping planners to foresee the possible long-term implications of interventions, whether short- or long-term.

The study provides the following recommendations for CARE and other development actors:

Recommendation 1*:* The gender approach adopted by CARE in the HoA country offices should emphasise the need to understand and document the capacities and vulnerabilities of women and men, girls and boys in context, as a prerequisite for all programming. In recognition of the relationship between vulnerabilities and capacities at the individual, family and community level and the affecting social, economic and political systems.

Recommendation 2: CARE International and CARE in the HoA should undertake research and monitoring with a view to further elaborating and testing approaches to integrating gender equality into resilience frameworks and developing a 'gender and resilience' framework that enables gender transformation to be seen at different levels and timescales.

Recommendation 3: CARE's Horn of Africa country offices should review the extent to which respondents' identified priorities for supporting change in gender relations and strategies to reduce vulnerabilities and strengthen capacities are reflected in current programming and forward plans.

Recommendation 4: Organisations operating in the Horn of Africa should seek to consolidate their local, context-specific knowledge of the areas they work in, making sure that staff are conversant with the forms of vulnerability existent in those communities, who are most affected by them, and how community members perceive the opportunities available to reduce these vulnerabilities.

Recommendation 5: Methodologies, like CARE's SAA, that privilege dialogue and discovery as a strategy for transformation should be monitored, documented, further developed, and expertise in them spread more widely across the region.

Recommendation 6: An active learning environment is essential if humanitarian organizations are to rise to the challenge of repeated and prolonged crises in the Horn of Africa. This means that communication, work-planning and financing and challenges to promoting shared learning within and between countries and organizations must be given priority in organizational development and restructuring.

Recommendation 7: CARE International should use its global knowledge resources to build up a sound knowledge base and analytical framework relating to gender and resilience. CARE in the HoA and other similar agencies should seek closer collaboration with each other in identifying gaps in knowledge and developing joint research around these and other relevant topics.

Caption: Kimiya Mohammed Ali (middle) leads the discusssion in a "Mother-to-Mother" group CARE has set up in collaboration with government health services in the East Hararghe district of Ethiopia to support mothers with young children during the extreme drought that has hit the country with El Niño in 2015. Members are identified by local health workers as particularly vulnerable mothers with children under the age of five. CARE experts provide practical information on how best to use available resources to keep children healthy and members share tips with each other on how to cope with the effects of drought. The group has met for five weeks and will continue to meet weekly for at least six months. PHOTO: Anders Nordstoga/CARE

SECTION 1: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background and impetus for the study

In line with its global commitment to gender equality and women's empowerment, in 2013 CARE International released its new Humanitarian and Emergency Strategy (HES), with the overarching goal of becoming a leader in the humanitarian field, having lasting impacts on the needs of poor women, men, boys and girls affected by humanitarian crisis, and being known for its particular ability to reach and empower women and girls in emergencies.

To this end, the HES proposes that gender equality become the higher goal of humanitarian work, as it is of its development arm. This development is an outgrowth of CARE's Program Approach, introduced in 2012, which seeks to bring humanitarian and development work into alignment with each other, around a clear anti-poverty goal.[1] As part of its strategy development, CARE has recognised the need to build its understanding and evidence base around good practice approaches, lessons for future programming and the impact of humanitarian and emergency response in relation to gender equality and women's empowerment.

The Gender in Emergencies (GiE) study contributes to this strategy development by examining how the HES can be implemented in the specific context of the Horn of Africa (HoA).[2] Commissioned in early 2014 by CARE Australia, the study's purpose is to 'contribute to CARE International's Gender in Emergencies learning and research agenda providing a comparative analysis of the opportunities and challenges in gender equality and women's empowerment in emergency contexts, and provide lessons for future humanitarian responses.'

The study adopted a two-phase process. Phase one was a literature review and consultation process which reviewed and refined the initial research question and elaborated a design for field research,[3] while phase two encompassed the conduct of the field research and the finalisation of the overall conclusions. The process was designed to provide opportunities for Horn of Africa (HoA) programmes to progress research on gender in the humanitarian field in ways that match country and regional plans and priorities, building on knowledge and perceptions of HoA staff and delivering outcomes that are useful to the HoA programme.

Through this process, the research question to be addressed by the study underwent a slight modification. Terms of Reference for the consultancy proposed as the overarching question for the study: *'What transformative change is possible in gender relations and structures in emergency contexts and through humanitarian and emergency response?'* This was modified as a result of phase one to the following formulation:

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[1] CARE International, 'The CARE 2020 Program Strategy' updated March 2014.

[2] Countries covered by the study are Ethiopia, Somalia and Kenya, which have in common a predominance (70-80%) of arid and semi-arid lands, forming the backdrop to a number of shared developmental challenges. South Sudan, while being formally included in CARE's Horn of Africa sub-region, was not included in the study as it falls outside this arid zone and as CARE was at the time responding to the worsening conflict and humanitarian crisis in that country.

[3] See Judy El-Bushra and Judith Gardner (2014) 'Gender and emergencies in the Horn of Africa: refining the task – report of the literature review and consultation exercise'.

How can CARE best contribute to positive changes in gender relations through its work in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia using a resilience approach,[4] addressing both short-term responses and longer-term transformations?

It is this revised research question that formed the object of the field research phase of the study, and is the overarching question addressed by this present report. Whilst the research exemplifies 'real life' opportunities and constraints as they apply in one particular region, it aims to build on this case study to generate insights for CARE International's methodological approaches to gender in its humanitarian response, as well as for the broader humanitarian sector.

1.2 The conceptual framework

Phase one found that CARE's Horn of Africa programmes have a strong focus on gender. However, staff identified as a challenge linking gender – and more particularly gender transformation – into work on emergencies and resilience. An improved ability to incorporate gender into resilience-based interventions emerged as the main expectation senior HoA staff had of this initiative. Consultations also suggested that a 'relational' approach to gender, understanding masculine and feminine identities as being constructed together in the context of the whole society, needed further exploration, and that support in taking up ideas such as Men Engage, which have been implemented by CARE in other regions, would be welcomed.

The conceptual framework, developed in phase one, responds to the concerns of key CARE staff by situating the study in the context of wider debates in the humanitarian sector concerning the way that gender – and more particularly gender transformation – is (or is not) linked into work on emergencies and resilience. The conceptual framework, outlined below, seeks to clarify key concepts framing the research.

1.2.1 Gender concepts and terminology

Gender as a relational concept

CARE policy describes gender as 'a social construct that defines what it means to be a man or woman, boy or girl in a given society'.[5] The emphasis in this study is on the 'relational' dimension of gender, i.e. that relationships between men and women are constructed together, in the context of the 'whole society'. A 'gender-relational' approach analyses gender identity in conjunction with other identity markers such as age, ethnicity or class, which, together with gender, delineate the axes of power within a community.

Important power differences exist *within* the categories of 'men' and 'women', and the pattern will vary from one community to another: both men and women may have both strengths and vulnerabilities, and these cannot be assumed to be the same from one context to another. A 'gender-relational' approach does not exclude a focus on women's empowerment, but rather extends it and sets it in a broad social context.

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[4] The original wording agreed as an outcome of phase one referred specifically to CARE's Strategic Regional Resilience Initiative (SRRI), but this has been amended to emphasise the importance of the resilience approach, in preference to the formal initiative, whose status currently appears uncertain.

[5] Explanatory Note on CARE's Gender Focus, 2012 p. 2.

CARE's gender terms

Women's empowerment, long identified as a major goal of both CARE's humanitarian and its development work, is seen as 'a core approach to tackle gender inequality'.[6] In CARE terms, it consists of 'the combined effect of changes in a woman's own knowledge, skills and abilities (agency), the societal norms, customs, institutions and policies that shape her choices in life (structures), and the power relationships through which she negotiates her path (relations)'. When women's empowerment is supported by men's engagement it has the potential to result in gender equality, defined as 'the equal enjoyment by women, girls, boys and men of rights, opportunities, resources and rewards'.

Gender transformation

In CARE terminology, gender transformation is the change or intervention needed to achieve gender equality. Gender equality is thus a broad and long-term goal, of a higher order than women's empowerment.

A gender transformative approach refers to 'program approaches or activities that seek to build equitable social norms and structures in addition to individual gender-equitable behavior'. In CARE terms, such an approach requires *both* women's empowerment *and* men's engagement, i.e. men's participation in processes designed to dismantle the structures that hold women back.

As suggested also in the mainstream literature, CARE insists that transformation must involve women themselves identifying barriers and acting to transform their situation, rather than 'being transformed' through the agency of external organisations.

In CARE's gender framework, interventions can be situated along a 'gender continuum', which defines the range of possible types of intervention according to their potential to effect change in gender relations.[7] Interventions range from being 'gender harmful' at one end of the continuum (referring to approaches that reinforce inequitable gender stereotypes, or dis-empowering certain people in the process of achieving programme goals) through gender-neutral, gender-sensitive, and gender-responsive, to gender transformative.

While 'harmful' programmes are clearly undesirable, CARE recognises that in practice much of its standalone work is likely to fall between 'neutral' and 'responsive' with cumulative and long term changes required for transformation. 'Gender equality' has nevertheless long been the overall goal of CARE's development work, and 'gender transformation' its most favoured gender programming goal. CARE's Good Practice Gender Analysis Framework outlines dimensions of change that are analysed in each context to inform the development of long term programs.

CARE's humanitarian work, on the other hand, has sought to focus on women's empowerment, since emergency situations have been considered to mean that a greater priority must be given to immediate assistance than to effecting social change. The Humanitarian and Emergency Strategy, however, introduces a radical change and makes gender transformation a goal of humanitarian assistance, putting forward plans for progressively stepping up organisational capacity to this end. Responding to the challenge thus set forms the key impetus for the GiE HoA study.

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[6] CARE's definitions of terms presented here are taken from the 'Explanatory note' op cit.
[7] Explanatory note p. 4.

The distinction between gender-responsive and gender-transformatory programming is a useful one, since it emphasises the desirability of aiming for long-term sustainable change in gender relations rather than merely being responsive i.e. sensitive to the *status quo*. In truth, any action has both a practical and a transformatory potential: what difference it makes to women's lives depends less on the nature of the action and more on how far women 'own' the action – for example, whether the initiative was instigated by them or by an NGO, whether they have opportunities for collective action with other women on the issue, and whether they have the organisational power to demand accountability from the authorities. [8]

Hence gender transformation is difficult both to achieve and to measure, and is inherently a long-term goal. For this reason phase one of the study adopted a reframed goal for phase two of identifying the *'positive changes* in gender relations' possible in humanitarian settings.

1.2.2 Emergencies and resilience

'Emergencies' in the HoA context

Regional staff strongly advised that the GiE research scope and focus needed to bear in mind two factors in relation to humanitarian response in the region:

- The HoA context is characterised by long-term structural crisis, overlain by periodic short-term emergencies such as drought or flooding. Conventional understandings of 'emergencies' as rapid-onset disasters need to give way, in HoA, to a broader, resilience-based understanding of humanitarian response.

- The specific challenge, therefore, is not only to respond effectively to disasters, but also, and in parallel, to address contextual factors (including political, economic, social and cultural structures) that contribute to the increasing frequency of disasters.

Background to CARE HoA resilience approach to emergencies

This view has been honed in CARE's experience of the severe drought-related famine experienced in the HoA region in 2011-2, affecting an estimated 13 million people. Evaluations of the global humanitarian response concluded that, although it was fairly effective in terms of saving lives,[9] it fell short in relation to the need:

- to respond adequately to the demands of slow-onset emergencies[10]

- to build resilience[11]

- and to minimise the impact on women and girls.[12]

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[8] Naila Kabeer (1994) *Reversed realities: gender hierarchies in development thought* Verso.

[9] Hugo Slim, (2012) 'IASC Real-Time Evaluation of the Humanitarian Response to the Horn of Africa Drought Crisis: Synthesis Report'.

[10] Lewis Sida, Hugo Slim, and Karen Ovington (2014) 'Evaluation of Australia's Response to the Horn of Africa Humanitarian Crisis, 2011'.

[11] ICAI (2012) 'DFID's humanitarian emergency response in the Horn of Africa' London, Independent Commission for Aid Impact.

[12] ICAI op cit.

CARE's own internal reviews reached similar conclusions, leading the organisation to reflect deeply on the goals and purpose of its intervention in the Horn (as it did elsewhere), and to the realisation that a radically different approach was needed if the cycle of repeated emergency responses was to be broken. In Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia, CARE concluded that a combination of climate-induced, politics- and policy-generated, and conflict-related, crises have resulted in a state of sustained and semi-permanent emergency, punctuated by occasional rapid-onset disasters such as flooding. Both types of crisis are heightened by, and contribute further to, the severe conditions in which the majority of the population lives.

CARE's understanding of resilience

On the basis of this reflection, CARE in the HoA Staff identified resilience as the overarching framework to be adopted in order better to address conditions in the arid lands, and resilience-building as the key programming strategy. CARE in the HoA defines resilience-building in the following terms:

'resilience building is the sum of…:

Reduced vulnerability to predictable shocks and stresses

- Ability to better withstand shocks - both productivity during drought periods/increasingly harsh dry seasons and contingency resources need to be addressed together

- Ability to recover from shocks (in a way that doesn't increase vulnerability or reduce ability to withstand future shocks)'[13]

This echoes DFID's definition of resilience as:

'…the ability of countries, communities and households to manage change, by maintaining or transforming living standards in the face of shocks or stresses - such as earthquakes, drought or violent conflict - without compromising their long-term prospects.' [14]

A CARE internal discussion paper further notes that the 'resilience agenda' has itself been critiqued for tending towards aiming simply to restore, rather than transform, the *status quo ante*, and stresses the importance of specifying how it might incorporate 'bouncing back better' – i.e. taking advantage of crisis to restructure unjust relationships - as the ultimate goal of resilience programming.[15]

CARE HoA's resilience programming to date

As a first step in developing a coherent regional approach to resilience, CARE in the HoA adopted a Strategic Regional Resilience Initiative to co-ordinate learning and policy development across the arid lands programming in the Horn. An early step under this initiative was to commission a detailed

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[13] CARE International Horn of Africa (n.d.) Strategic Regional Resilience Initiative (SRRI).

[14] DFID (n.d.) 'Defining Disaster Resilience: A DFID Approach Paper'.

[15] DFID (op cit), Chandler, David. "Beyond Neoliberalism: Resilience, the New Art of Governing Complexity." *Resilience* 2, no. January 2015 (2014): 47–63. doi:10.1080/21693293.2013.878544; CARE. CI Resilience Internal Discussion Paper, 2013.

proposal for a Drought Cycle Management Approach (DCMA). The resulting report[16] strengthens CARE's analysis of the climatic, political, and social factors contributing to continuing environmental crisis in the Horn, and makes recommendations for consolidating learning on this issue.

Country offices have also taken some steps to develop resilience programming.

- In Somalia, CARE is a member of the Somalia Resilience Programme (SomReP), a consortium of seven agencies aiming to enhance 'the resilience of households and communities to drought and related risks in Somalia'.[17]

- In Kenya, the Climate Change Adaptation Programme, Garissa, has undertaken research and advocacy around climate change adaptation in collaboration with CARE's Adaptation Learning Programme.

- The Ethiopia programme has initiated a number of pastoralist resilience projects including PRIME (Pastoralists Areas Resilience Improvement and Market Expansion), which stimulates pastoralist market systems and Partners for Resilience, a consortium of five organisations aiming to introduce long- and short-term measures to reduce disaster risks.

However, it is too early to say that resilience has been established as a systematic regional approach.

Resilience as an overarching approach within CARE globally

CARE's global Program Strategy[18] identifies resilience as a critical way of working for both development and humanitarian work. However, the practical application of this approach has not yet been fully worked through at the organisational level. For example its classifications of emergencies all relate to short-term immediate crises rather than slow-onset disasters.[19] Tools and support mechanisms for working in rapid-onset emergencies are further developed than those for contexts of protracted crisis, though this is gradually changing.[20] Moreover, adopting a resilience approach implies breaking down organisational silos that separate development and humanitarian work, a process which has been foreshadowed in recent CARE strategy developments[21] but which has not yet run its course.

1.3 Developing a gendered approach to resilience programming

The adoption of the resilience approach through SRRI, which mandates the development of capacity *both* to respond to immediate crises *and* to address the underlying causes of the propensity to crisis, creates a positive conceptual framework for exploring gender transformation: accordingly, phase two extended the original conceptual scope of the research question, so as to examine

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[16] Addison, S. (n.d.) 'Managing Drought Risk in the Horn of Africa: A Review Paper Prepared For CARE International. Unpublished Draft.

[17] SomReP. *Enhancing Resilience of Households and Communities in Somalia*, n.d.

[18] CARE. The CARE 2020 Program Strategy, 2014.

[19] CARE International (2012) 'Humanitarian Emergency Response Protocol: Emergency Type'.

[20] Interview 3rd June 2014.

[21] Notably 'The CARE 2020 Program Strategy' updated March 2014. For some path-finding examples of how humanitarian approaches can be integrated into an overall anti-poverty approach, see CARE Program Approach Coordination Team (2014) 'Successful experiences in using the program approach in humanitarian contexts to achieve lasting change'.

'emergencies' as a component of a broader resilience approach and explore how CARE's resilience work in the Horn might evolve under a gender lens**.**

The phase one consultation shows that a definitive conceptual framework for integrating a gender lens into resilience approaches in development and humanitarian work has yet to be developed. At the same time, CARE HoA's experience with resilience programming - including experience with integrating a gender lens - is at an early stage. The challenge for CARE's regional programme in the Horn of Africa is to generalise understandings and methods across the different countries of the region, across different sectoral initiatives, and across different staff levels.

While writing on the topic assumes that gender equality enhances resilience, there is to date a lack of empirical demonstration for how this happens. However, in theory, some synergies between the goals of resilience and of gender equality are in evidence. On the one hand, both are concerned to put in place responses at two levels simultaneously: resilience approaches deal with both rapid onset emergencies and longer-term underlying factors, while gender equality seeks both immediate improvements, and at the same time longer-term transformations, in gender relations.

In both cases, a combination of short-term and long-term approaches is necessary: short-term interventions might fail to address underlying issues, while at the same time, taking a long-term view may be futile unless steps are taken to relieve immediate distress. Whatever the time perspective on an intervention is, the challenge is to recognise unequal relations as comprising a complex and historically rooted system of interlocking economic, political and cultural factors. External interveners seeking to help people address these factors need to do so on the basis of deep analysis and consistent commitment over a long timeframe.[22]

In summary, the fieldwork phase of the study aimed to identify and unpack what is needed for CARE to contribute to 'change for the better' in gender relations. It focused specifically on what CARE staff identified as complex, emergency-prone contexts, requiring both short-term response and long-term transformation. The outcome is a shared set of understandings that will inform programming goals, methods and organisational adjustments across CARE's programmes in the Horn of Africa. This in turn will ensure that CARE's resilience-based, emergency oriented interventions are gender-sensitive and contribute to improved gender relations in the population groups addressed in the research.

1.4   Wider relevance of the study

The GiE research aims to explore contextual, conceptual and organisational constraints to achieving CARE's evolving Program and HES strategies in relation to a range of specific contexts within the Horn environment. In doing this it aims to contribute to the way CARE translates its strategies into concrete implementation approaches, methods and tools, as well as providing lessons and insights for the humanitarian sector more widely.

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[22] Hence 'the resilience of patriarchy', a phrase coined by Erika Cudworth in "Armed Conflict, Insecurity and Gender: The Resilience of Patriarchy?" *Resilience: International Policies, Practices and Discourses* 1, no. 1 (2013): 69–75. doi:10.1080/21693293.2013.768009.

Phase one of the study identified a number of specific areas which phase two should provide lessons for, in addition to its main focus on gender in humanitarian response contexts. These included:

- the practical, organisational issues as evidenced through the field study that may affect the humanitarian sector's ability to put its strategies into effect (see section 4.3 below).

- CARE's resilience agenda, and specifically the Strategic Regional Resilience Initiative (SRRI) and associated resilience-related initiatives in Kenya, Somalia and Ethiopia, all at early stages of being articulated and put into practice.

- CARE's global and local work on climate change.

- the ongoing regional and country presence reviews being undertaken during 2015.

- the relevance of CARE's experience in the Horn of Africa to other developments in the humanitarian field more broadly.

The phase one review and consultation identified these as being important landmarks on the research horizon which the study needs to keep in perspective.

1.5 Contents of this report

Sections two and three of this report summarise the conduct and findings of the field research which formed the central element of phase two: section two describes the research aims, methods, and choice of locations, while section three outlines findings relating to gendered vulnerabilities and capacities, opportunities for and constraints on the transformation of gender relations, and implications for country offices.

Section four explores the broader implications of these findings and their relevance for the various agendas which the research is designed to feed into, focusing particularly on exploring how 'gender' and 'resilience' could be brought more tightly together in conceptual frameworks relating to humanitarian and emergency work. Section five draws up the study's recommendations on what 'gender transformation' might mean in the Horn of Africa context and how agencies such as CARE might best approach such transformation.

Caption: Tuba Aliye, a mother of four in northeastern Ethiopia. The familiy is running out of food and has no access to clean water, because of the drought caused by El Niño. PHOTO: Terhas Berhe/CARE

SECTION 2: THE FIELD RESEARCH

2.1   Approach and methodology

The fieldwork phase of the study aimed to identify and unpack what is needed for CARE to contribute to 'change for the better' in gender relations. It focussed specifically on complex, emergency-prone contexts, which may be considered characteristic of the Horn of Africa and which require both short-term response and long-term transformation, in order to generate findings from which to develop a shared set of understandings to inform programming goals, methods and organisational adjustments across CARE's programmes in the Horn of Africa.

As noted, the research question for the fieldwork was: *how can CARE best contribute to positive changes in gender relations through its work in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia under the umbrella of the SRRI, addressing both short-term responses and longer-term transformations.*

Considerations underlying the design of the fieldwork process

Fieldwork design responded to the findings generated in phase one, and was intended to fit both the nature and scope of the enquiry and the size and nature of the geographical area concerned.

Discussion in phase one identified the need to build the research on the local realities of women and men, girls and boys. Drawing conclusions based on these realities, and employing local CARE staff, female and male, as researchers, constitutes the best strategy for bringing new and grounded insights to bear to the topic of the research. This was especially important to ensure that the study provided material that was of practical relevance to the participating CARE HoA programmes.

Phase one also identified several geographical areas where CARE HoA programmes are already carrying out relevant work and where field staff have important insights, drawn from their experience. This implied that the research process should be as participatory as possible in order to both capture staff experience and ensure application of the research insights in future. It also suggested that the research would need to be exploratory in nature, and would require open-ended and qualitative research methods and tools. Research questions were designed to elicit information needed to build up a gender analysis based on a 'relational' gender framework.

Components and tools

The field research had two components: the collection of interview material, and secondary data. Interview formats comprised focus group discussions (FDGs) and key informant interviews (KIIs). A generic FGD and KII question framework was devised by the consultants (see Annex 4). During planning workshops held with each of the country research teams, team members had the opportunity to review and modify or add to the questions both before and after trialling, as they saw fit. In practice, the generic questions were kept in all cases, with only minor changes to wording and in two cases, additional sub-questions added in order to pursue related interests of the country office team.

Secondary data consisted of official statistics and material from local authorities, reports from CARE and other NGO programmes, and published research about the areas concerned, its population, the main stresses and shocks it has undergone, and CARE's past experience in the area.   Secondary data was generated for and during the planning workshops and in follow-up to fieldwork, and compiled

into a context description for each research area. The two sources were consolidated into a country report for each country office, according to an agreed framework.[23] This allowed triangulation between the field-based FGDs and KIIs on the one hand and secondary data on the other.

A capacities and vulnerabilities approach

Fieldwork was designed with the intention of generating findings on gender inequalities and respondents' ideas for creating a more balanced gender relationship within their communities. It also sought insights into the linkage between gender relations on the one hand and resilience and transformation processes on the other. The question formulation used in interviews and the subsequent analysis of findings took a capacities and vulnerabilities analysis approach (see below Box 2.1), and broadly aimed to elicit respondents' views about the following:

- the main challenges experienced in the community i.e. stresses and shocks

- what different or similar stresses and shocks are faced by women, men, boys and girls

- what resources or opportunities are available for women, men, girls and boys to overcome these

- what types of people are most able to benefit from these opportunities

- who does less well

- what factors influence these outcomes

- how have gender relations changed in their lifetimes and what are the factors that influenced change (asked of older male and female respondents only)

- what would gender transformation look like for them in their context and how it could be achieved

- what role can an external organisation such as CARE play

- what interventions (CARE or other) have already made an impact on gender relations

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[23] Abridged versions of the country reports are presented as annexes to this report.

Box 2.1: What is a capacities and vulnerabilities analysis (CVA) approach?

CVA is based on the central idea that people's existing strengths (or capacities) and weaknesses (or vulnerabilities) determine the impact that a crisis has on them, as well as the way they respond to the crisis. A crisis becomes a disaster when it outstrips a society's capacity to cope In the long term, emergency interventions should aim to increase people's capacities and reduce their vulnerabilities. As such, CVA is a developmental approach to relief in emergencies.

The concepts of capacities and vulnerabilities are defined as:

Capacities: This term describes the existing strengths of individuals and social groups. They are related to people's material and physical resources, their social resources, and their beliefs and attitudes. Capacities are built over time and determine people's ability to cope with crisis and recover from it.

Vulnerabilities: These are the long-term factors which weaken people's ability to cope with the sudden onset of disaster, or with drawn-out emergencies. They also make people more susceptible to disasters. Vulnerabilities exist before disasters, contribute to their severity, make effective disaster response harder, and continue after the disaster.

The concept of vulnerabilities in the CVA framework is very different from the concept of needs as used in a disaster context... Immediate needs are often addressed by short term, practical interventions (such as relief food). Addressing vulnerabilities, in contrast, requires the long-term strategic solutions which are part of development work.

Source: Candida March, Ines Smyth and Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay, *A Guide to Gender Analysis Frameworks* Oxfam 1999

Steps in the process

While the above traces the broad approach followed for the study as a whole, in each country details were worked out at planning workshops, facilitated by one of the consultants, attended by a broad group of staff including, but not limited to, the research teams. The main purpose of these workshops was to ensure that the research would be designed with the maximum relevance to the country office and with the maximum participation of staff. The workshops engaged staff in the research process, prepared them for their active participation in it, and contributed to the detailed planning of the research process.

Specifically, the planning workshops:

- clarified the research aims and made decisions about the overall shaping of the research, which was conceptualised slightly differently in the different offices

- assessed existing background knowledge and identified gaps needing to be bridged

- tested and refined the draft interview protocols

- confirmed stakeholders to be interviewed and locations to be visited

- prepared the research teams in terms of the methodology and practice of qualitative interviewing

- planned fieldwork logistics

- allocated tasks, including oversight of fieldwork, report-writing

Broadly speaking in each of the countries where fieldwork was conducted the research process followed the same steps:

i.   2 – 3 day planning and preparation workshop (see above)

ii.   trialling the question framework and making necessary revisions

iii.   conducting the fieldwork and writing up interview notes

iv.   preliminary analysis and triangulation of material gathered and correlation with secondary with data

v.   in some cases, validation meetings were held with at least some representatives of the respondents and their communities

vi.   drafting of the country reports

vii.   participation in the regional findings workshop

Country teams came together with the consultants for a regional reflections workshop held in Nairobi in May 2015. Teams presented their findings to each other and to external commentators, and began the process of identifying commonalities, differences and emerging themes, enabling them to finalise their country reports. Each country report forms a case study describing the gendered dynamics of vulnerability and capacity in that locality, together with local perspectives and experiences on transforming gender relations, enabling country teams to draw conclusions about what approaches are likely to work best, in which contexts and with what organisational requirements.

Ethical considerations

During the fieldwork planning stage, teams were asked to identify the ethical issues they needed to consider in preparing for the consultations with community members, the conduct of the research itself and how the data collected would be managed. The minimum principles of ethical research practice expected of the teams were as follows:

i.   The data collection process should be designed, tested, reviewed and undertaken in a way to ensure integrity, quality and sensitivity to community culture and customs.

ii.   Potential participants will be fully informed of the purpose, methods and intended possible uses of the research. Any possible risks to participants will be identified and discussed beforehand.

iii.   The study will respect the confidentiality and anonymity of participants.

iv.   All participation will be voluntary and consultations undertaken at a time and place that is convenient for participants; individuals' verbal consent sought before any data is collected.

v.   Participants views and expression will be respected; what could be perceived as controversial or uninformed statements will go unchallenged.

vi.   Equal numbers of male and female participants will be sought and consultations will be conducted on a same-sex basis i.e. female researchers interview female participants. No-one under the age of 16 will be interviewed unless accompanied by their guardian or parent.

vii.   Interviewing language will be the participants' mother-tongue or a language they choose; where interpreters are needed they are instructed to translate the exact words of the participant rather than a version of them.

viii.   Digital recording will only be used with the explicit permission of the participants. Recorders will be turned off at any stage at a participant's request and recording will only resume with that participant's go-ahead.

ix.   The independence of the data collection must be clear, and any conflicts of interest or partiality must be made explicit e.g. identifying if an informant is a CARE staff member or beneficiary.

x.   The research findings will be shared and validated with participants, or a representative group of them.

Synthesis of findings

Presented in section 3 is a synthesis of the findings generated by CARE Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia staff research teams. The purpose of synthesising the rich volume of data collected is to compare the findings context by context so as to draw out significant commonalities and variance, allowing the formulation of some hypotheses in answer to the research question. The synthesis process has necessarily involved summarising what is highly detailed, often nuanced and context- and gender-specific data. The authors of this report fully acknowledge that not all salient findings will have been picked up in the time available and there is more to learn.

A further limitation to be borne in mind when reading the synthesis, is that the research documentation produced by the teams is uneven across the case-studies. For example, not all teams noted who said what e.g. male or female, young or old. This has meant some levels of comparative analysis, although desirable are not feasible at this stage. However, the raw data remains available and is a rich resource which if returned to would enable this kind of analytical gap to be filled. For the specific detail on each country case-study and the locations where fieldwork was conducted, please see the country office teams' research reports, summaries of which are provided in Annexes 1-3.

2.2 Implementation

CARE HoA Country Office Participation

The study generated strong interest within CARE HoA programmes. All three country offices approached - Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia - were keen and willing to participate, allocating staff and time for the purpose.

Selection of fieldwork locations

A major decision made by each of the planning workshops was on the locations of fieldwork sites. It had been envisaged that each country programme would select one project - a project that has

significant experience in gender from a transformative perspective - as the focus of research. As it turned out, each country team and their management chose to conduct the research in two sites, in order to generate comparisons. Table 2.1 provides an overview of the different fieldwork locations noting their most salient characteristics and features.

Table 2.1: Summary description of field research sites

	Somalia		Ethiopia		Kenya	
The field research locations	**Garowe** (host and IDP communities)	**Toghdeer, Sool and Sanaag regions**	**Dawe**	**Dalifage**	**Garissa** township and sub-county	**Kibra** (also known as Kibera)
Where?	Puntland	Rural and urban locations on Somaliland and Puntland borders	Afar State zone 5	Afar State zone 5	North-East Kenya	Nairobi environs (slum area)
CARE experience and context knowledge	Extensive, incl. response to 2011 emergency	Extensive, incl. response to 2011 emergency	Since2006: pastoralist girls, water, emergency No staff from Afar	None	Since 1992. VSLA, GBV, humanitarian (WASH, animal health and restocking/destocking). Livelihoods, climate change adaptation	Since 2004 VSLA, HIV, humanitarian
Physical environment and hazards	Urban, with rural hinterland (dryland) Fire hazard within IDP communities Flooding	Mainly rural (dryland) with some small towns Drought, flooding,	Very dry, but River Awash runs through Invasive vegetation Poor communications and infrastructure Encroachment of commercial agriculture	Very dry Invasive vegetation Very poor communications and infrastructure, no electricity supply, market or finance infrastructure	Urban, with dryland hinterland River Tana. Poor infrastructure Invasive vegetation Recurrent disasters both natural (drought, floods) and manmade (resource based conflicts)	Urban slum Housing, water, sanitation, refuse collection all extremely poor Fire Railway accidents Flash floods
Social/ economic environment	Host to large numbers of IDPs, tensions between IDPs and poor host communities	Pastoralist base, in various stages of settlement	Sedentary agro-pastoralist, 30% pastoralist migration	Pastoralist 93% migration	Agro-pastoralism Irrigation farming along Tana River	Service economy Overcrowding HIV 14%

	Youth migration High unemployment	and urbanization	Very low health and education indicators	High dependence on food aid Very low health and education indicators Resource-based conflict	High proportion of Somali refugees	Ethnically very mixed
Political environment	Capital city of Federated Territory of Puntland	Contested zone between PL and SL, + conflicts over resources	Government policy of pastoralist settlement	Administrative centre Government policy of pastoralist settlement	Major town of North-East Kenya, close to Somali border Politically motivated violence	Politically motivated (esp election) violence

Key considerations in the choice of location were: CARE's previous experience of working in the area, the team's existing context knowledge, and the need to cover a variety of physical, political and social environments. As Table 2.1 shows, the locations selected allowed a relatively small study to generate findings from a wide range of contexts, their similarities and diversities being characteristic of the HoA in general.

Interview respondents

In total over 611 people were interviewed for the study (247 in Somalia, 138 in Ethiopia, and 226 in Kenya) in 56 focus groups and 43 individual interviews. Table 2.2 below provides a breakdown of the female: male numbers consulted through the FGDs (data was incomplete for the KIIs at the time of writing).

Table 2.2 Female: male numbers of participants consulted through FGDs

Location		**Focus Group Discussion Participants**		
		Female	**Male**	**Total**
ETHIOPIA	**Dawe**	41	45	86
	Dalifage	17	23	40
PUNTLAND /	**Garowe**	62	51	113
SOMALILAND	**Toghdeer, S, S**	52	69	121
KENYA	**Garissa**	55	55	110*
	Kibra	55	55	110*

TOTAL	6	282	298	580

Note: Kenya figures are based on the reported average number of participants per FGD rather than recorded figures, which were not available at the time of writing.

Teams sought to consult with a wide range of stakeholders, female and male (see Table 2.2 above) from across the gender order, including CARE project participants (men, women, youth). KIIs were held with specific stakeholders such as local authorities, community leaders, businessmen and women, religious leaders and national level policy decision-makers and managers.

In each location separate FGDs were conducted with all-female, all-male groups, and as far as possible adults and youth were consulted in separate FGDs so as to minimise any age-related factors that might constrain free and open discussion of what is for some perceived to be a sensitive topic. Country research teams, each led by a team leader, documented these discussions as near verbatim as possible, in some cases backed up by audio recording. Teams then processed and analysed the data collected and synthesised it to generate the main findings.

2.4   Staff feedback on methodology

The consultants felt strongly that CARE national front-line staff were the most appropriate people to carry out the research, in preference to contracting in researchers. This was in part to ensure that their knowledge of the community feeds into and enriches the research; at the same time, their involvement in the design, conduct and interpretation of the research, and the process of team capacity-building in gender-related research and analysis, are essential if follow-up is to be meaningful and to result in sustained change.

This inclusive process, with country office staff directly participating and leading the fieldwork in their various contexts, was felt to be a valuable learning exercise by the teams, who felt ownership over the approach and findings. It was also well received by communities, especially since the research methods used enabled staff to communicate easily, further building the trust and understanding they already had with them.

Staff felt the research exercise provided an opportunity for them to gain experience of qualitative research methods, while also gathering information that was relevant to CARE programmes, especially since it enabled them to understand how communities perceive CARE's interventions. They learned that asking people for their opinion is one thing, interpreting it is another – as researchers, they learned to look behind what people were saying and gauge the meaning of apparent inconsistencies. The diversity of the participants enriched the process, and as did the qualitative approach to gathering information.

The difficulties encountered however included cultural differences and language barriers between research teams and communities in some sites. The process of having CARE researchers raised ethical considerations including the potential for raising expectations of community members of further support. Research teams sometimes found it difficult to know if participants were telling them what they thought they wanted to know. Not all staff undertaking the field research were fully versed in gender relations, making it harder for them to explain the issues fully and probe for more detailed answers. Some focus group sessions were found to be too long in some contexts conflicting with participants' family or religious duties, while in other cases there was some evidence of 'research fatigue'. In many cases the staff faced competing priorities and pressure from other work,

and they had limited time for following up and reflecting on the data collected. While the qualitative approach was appreciated, some felt they did need quantitative data as well.

These difficulties suggest that further research exercises of this sort would be beneficial in giving staff exposure and experience, thus enhancing knowledge and skills.

From the perspective of the consultants, the major constraint proved to be time and budget. With each of the country offices' choosing to conduct the fieldwork in two locations so as to maximise their benefits from the study, instead of just one originally envisaged, increasing the time needed for support and analysis of the data - an issue that had not been foreseen at the time of planning and budgeting. As a consequence, the rich volume of material generated by the study has not been as exhaustively analysed as it could have been.

Caption: Senko Kebele, Fogera Woreda. Fatima Mohemme weaving traditional Ethiopian shawls. She sells each shawl for 120 Bir and makes a profit of 20 bir. Her family can make two shawls a week, 26/07/2013. PHOTO: Josh Estey/CARE

SECTION 3: SYNTHESIS OF FIELDWORK FINDINGS

3.1 Interpretation: what the synthesised findings represent in terms of diversity and similarity of people and context

As already noted, the fieldwork engaged with a sample of over 600 people (almost equal numbers female and male) living in three countries in the HoA: Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia.[24] Taken as a whole, the sample represents some significant diversities as well as similarities:

Diversity of type of location

- urban city or large administrative centre inhabitants [e.g. Kibra, Garissa, Burco (Somaliland)]

- urban inner city high density informal settlement or 'slum' inhabitants [Kibra]

- small urban administrative centre residents [Garowe]

- peri-urban settlement residents [Garowe IDPs]

- peri-urban riverine residents [Garissa Malakote community]

- small rural centre [e.g. Dawe, Caynabo, Yufle]

- inhabitants of rural and remote pastoral settlements [e.g. Dalifage, Kalsheekh, Kiridh]

The above categorisation is by example rather than exhaustive, further discrimination could be made for example between locations with: secondary schools – no nearby schools, government electricity supply – no mains electricity, hospitals – no health facilities, tarmac roads – no tarmac roads or similar communications infrastructure etc. What it shows, however, is that the study has captured findings from residents across a diverse range of both urban and rural locations. This becomes especially significant where the findings show either striking similarities or differences in peoples' views, perceptions and attitudes.

Overall, the sample represents findings from somewhat more people who live in settled, urban and peri-urban locations than rural and remote settlements. The Kenyan data collected in Kibra's slum community in Nairobi provides the study with findings from an extreme of the urban spectrum.

Diversity of livelihood groups represented

- casual, skilled labourers and domestic workers

- artisans

- business and professional people (teachers, health workers, civil servants)

- micro business people and petty traders

- religious and other civil society actors including NGO employees

- holders of political and civil office

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[24] Research for Somali was conducted in two Somali regions – Somaliland and Puntland – which for the purposes of this study are regarded as constituents of Somalia. This does not imply any particular view on the political status of these regions.

- settled and former pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, farmers

- livestock and migration dependent semi-nomadic and nomadic communities

- students

- unemployed

Livelihood information about respondents was not systematically collected so the list above is indicative only and compiled from the observations noted by the teams at each FGD and regarding each key informant. More analysis of the raw data could potentially yield fe/male percentages per broad livelihood groups, but this is not possible from the case-study reports. What does seem worth noting is that the range of livelihoods practised across the sample as a whole is broad, evidence that the findings are drawn from people representing a mix of life experiences, work skills and educational backgrounds. What is less clear, but would be significant to know, is the extent to which this spread of experience is true of both female and male respondents.

Diversity of social and political status

- politically and/or economically marginalised urban and rural communities [IDPs, refugees, members of outcaste and minority groups]

- 'slum dwellers'

- IDP's host community

- Government officials and community chiefs and leaders

What seems significant to note is that in each location the research teams managed to capture findings from across the local gender order, interviewing women and men who identified themselves or were identified by others to be among the less powerful women and men as well as those who are recognised to have power and or influence within the community. Certain categories, like 'slum dweller' were found to have nuances not immediately obvious to outsiders.

For example, not all slum dwellers turn out to be poor and longing to be re-housed. Kibra, one of Africa's largest slums, has millionaires among its residents, people who have the means but the not the desire to live elsewhere. At the same time, it hosts over thirteen different language groups between whom there are some significant differences, though all are 'slum dwellers'. Some, because of their ethnic identity and political allegiance, enjoy greater security and power than others.

Religious and ethnic characteristics

Five out of the six case-study locations are home for largely or entirely Sunni Moslem populations. Only in Kibra are non-Moslems in the majority overall. This fact introduces an interesting possible interpretation to the findings: the extent to which the Kibra findings differ from all the other locations' could be interpreted as a measure of the extent to which we can suppose Islam is a critical influence on views and perspectives regarding gender equality.

Half of the study locations (Garissa, Garowe, Somaliland) are home to a predominantly ethnic Somali population, and whilst described as ethnically distinct from the Afar (the Ethiopian case-study population), the Somali and Afar languages share Cushitic origins. Social organisation of both groups is based on kinship lineages or clans, and both groups are pastoralist by tradition. Thus over 80% of

the sample have religious and socio-ethnic commonalities. The remainder are the sample from Kibra, about whom individual ethnic details were not collected for ethical reasons. However team members recorded observations indicate that Somali, Nuba, Luo, Kikuyu (i.e. both Moslems and Christians/others) were represented within the sample.

Limitations of the tabulated synthesis presented below

As far as possible, the data presented in the tables below has been disaggregated to show whether the issue was identified by women, men or both, young or adult. Where this information has not been made clear in the case studies, the issue is still included in the table but indicated as 'not made gender specific'.

In addition, the Somaliland fieldwork was undertaken across *seven* separate locations in the CARE Somaliland programme area, ranging from urban to remote rural. Inevitably there are some differences between the responses men and women, young and older, gave across these locations. An impression of these differences is available in the country report and fully captured in the raw data records. However, because there was generally more similarity than difference, for the purpose of the synthesis Somaliland data has been treated as one location.

3.2   The fieldwork findings

Fieldwork questions explored respondents' perceptions and experiences of the two interrelated parts of the fieldwork enquiry:

 The challenges (shocks and stresses) and opportunities experienced in the community and the gendered vulnerabilities to these challenges and capacities to resist and or overcome them, and the factors at play;

i)   What 'change for the better' in relations between men and women (gender relations) would look like, how this might be achieved, what role there might be for CARE;

In addition, in each location elderly respondents of both sexes were asked to describe how relations between men and women had changed during their lifetimes and what they attributed changes to.

3.2.1 What men and women identified as the challenges and opportunities in their communities

Tables 3.1 – 3.6 below synthesise and summarise the findings generated from the six fieldwork locations in response to questions about challenges and opportunities. The tables organise the data according to factors that can be classified as relating most directly to: the physical environment, social environment and political and motivational environment. Other classifications and inter-linkages may also be relevant but are beyond the scope of this report. During the FGDs and KIIs no categorisation was presented, leaving it open for the respondents to mention whatever issues they considered most important, in whatever order. The tables do not indicate the frequency with which an issue was raised but use what the country research teams reported to be significant.

Table 3.1 Synthesis of the challenges respondents identified facing their communities that are related to the physical environment

CHALLENGES		SHOCKS AND STRESSES RELATED TO THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT											
KEY ✔ noted by males & females ✔ not made gender specific ✔*m* only males ✔*f* only females ✔*ym* only male youth ✔*yf* only female youth ✔*KII* only key informants		Frequent drought / water shortage	Floods	Frequent food insecurity related to climatic shocks and stresses	Insufficient water and pasture to support livestock year round	Environmental degradation plus prosopis juliflora ('mathenge') encroachment in farming & pasturelands	Hardship of migration on people (esp. women and children) & animals	Farmland expansion resulting in reduced mobility, loss of pasture & water sources	Resource-based violent conflict	Lack of firewood and nowadays lack of wood to construct shelters	Pollution, lack of water, adequate sanitation and hygiene	Poor infrastructure and security measures	Fire hazard
Ethiopia	Dawe	✔	✔	✔	✔*m*	✔	✔	✔*KII*	✔	✔*f*			
	Dalifage	✔		✔	✔*m*	✔	✔	✔*KII*	✔	✔*f*			
Somalia	Puntland	✔		✔									
	Somaliland	✔		✔									
Kenya	Garissa	✔*m*	✔*m*	✔*m*		✔*m*							
	Kibra										✔*f*	✔	✔

Table 3.2 Synthesis of the challenges respondents identified facing their communities that are related to the social environment

CHALLENGES		SHOCKS AND STRESSES RELATED TO THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT												
KEY to who identified issue ✓ both males & females ✓ not made gender specific ✓*m* only males ✓*f* only females ✓*ym* only male youth ✓*yf* only female youth ✓ *y* youth male & female ✓*KII* only key informants		Illiteracy / low education level/ poor or lack of education Services [in Kibra only this relates to adults]	Issues relating to gender division of labour, inequality & HTP	Alcohol and or substance abuse e.g. qat [among Afar males linked to decreased cattle herds/ less work]	Resource-based & or other forms of violent conflict	Poverty & unemployment	Family breakdown and stress, [factors mentioned: Somaliland male irresponsibility; Garissa women's empowerment]	Physical insecurity / conflict targeting men and boys	Lack of access to basic services	Impact of repeated drought on mutual support system	Urban migration	Crime, S/GBV and VAWG	HIV and AIDS	Household resources depleted e.g from the costs associated with increase in *qat* consumption [Afar]
Ethiopia	Dawe	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	✓	✓				✓
	Dalifage	✓	✓	✓	✓			✓		✓				✓

Country	Location												
Somalia	Puntland	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	
	Somaliland	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	
Kenya	Garissa	✓*f+my*	✓	✓	✓	✓*f + ym*	✓						
	Kibra	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓				✓*f*	✓

Table 3.3 Synthesis of the challenges respondents identified facing their communities that are related to the political and motivational environment

CHALLENGES		SHOCKS AND STRESSES RELATED TO THE POLITICAL AND MOTIVATIONAL ENVIRONMENT							
KEY ✓ noted by males & females ✓ not made gender specific ✓*m* only males ✓*f* only females ✓*ym* only male youth ✓*yf* only female youth		Tribalism or clannism	Weak government	Politically motivated conflict	Lack of access to identity documents	Nepotism	Weak and informal land registration and management system	Lack of access to good climate-related information to assist development of locally acceptable adaptation options	Under-development of skills re. alternative livelihoods, especially entrepreneurial skills
Ethiopia	Dawe						✓	✓	✓
	Dalifage						✓	✓	✓
Somalia	Puntland	✓	✓						

Country	Site								
	Somaliland	✔	✔						
Kenya	Garissa	✔			✔				
	Kibra	✔		✔	✔Nuba	✔			

Table 3.2 Synthesis of the opportunities respondents identified available in their communities that are related to the physical environment

OPPORTUNITIES	RELATED TO THE PHYSICAL ENVIRONMENT				
KEY ✔ noted by males & females ✔ not made gender specific ✔m only males ✔f only females ✔ym only male youth ✔yf only female youth ✔KII only key informants	The local environment's natural resources	Infrastructure e.g. telecommunications and access to other urban centres	Abundance of the the weed, 'mathenge' is "a business opportunity"	Low cost of living: cheap food, housing and services	Income-generation opportunities (due to huge population and demands)
Ethiopia	Dawe					
	Dalifage					
Somalia	Puntland sites	✔	✔			

Country	Site	Expansion of and greater access to basic services	Existence & formation of groups and group membership	Clan-based community with mutual support system based on kinship	Traditional oral-based information-sharing communication system ('daguu')	Education facilities & services	Protection offered by traditional marriage arrangements ('absumma')	Religious leaders & mosques	The qat trade	Seasonal migration to find water and grazing	Family planning	Knowledgeable, educated and or skilled people locally	Exposure to information (e.g. about the wider world and opportunities)
	Somaliland sites	✓	✓										
Kenya	Garissa	✓	✓		✓ ym+ m								
	Kibra						✓	✓					

Table 3.4 Synthesis of the opportunities respondents identified available in their communities that are related to the social environment

OPPORTUNITIES		RELATED TO THE SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT											
KEY ✓ noted by males & females ✓*m* only males only ✓*f* only females only ✓*ym* only male youth only ✓*yf* only female youth ✓*KII* only key informants		Expansion of and greater access to basic services	Existence & formation of groups and group membership	Clan-based community with mutual support system based on kinship	Traditional oral-based information-sharing communicat-ion system ('daguu')	Education facilities & services	Protection offered by traditional marriage arrangements ('absumma')	Religious leaders & mosques	The qat trade	Seasonal migration to find water and grazing	Family planning	Knowledge-able, educated and or skilled people locally	Exposure to information (e.g. about the wider world and opportunities)
Ethiopia	Dawe	✓		✓	✓		✓			✓			
	Dalifage	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓			
Somalia	Puntland	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	✓				
	Somaliland	✓	✓	✓								✓	

Kenya	Garissa		✓ *KII*						✓		
	Kibra	✓	✓							✓	✓

Table 3.6 Synthesis of the opportunities respondents identified available in their communities that are related to the political and motivational environment

OPPORTUNITIES		RELATED TO THE POLITICAL AND MOTIVATIONAL ENVIRONMENT								
KEY ✓ noted by males & females ✓ not made gender specific ✓*m* only males ✓*f* only females ✓*ym* only male youth ✓*yf* only female youth		Government structure and or devolved government	Existence of I/NGOs and funding opportunities	National and civil society programmes and support schemes	Both men and women have voting rights	Free-market trade conditions	Peace and security	Access to land for settlement	Religious leaders to promote gender equality	'Beyond Zero' national mobile health scheme
Ethiopia	Dawe			✓				✓		
	Dalifage			✓				✓		
Somalia	Puntland sites	✓	✓ *y and f*		✓	✓	✓		✓	

	Somalilan d sites	✓	✓ y and f		✓	✓	✓			
Kenya	Garissa	✓y	✓ y and f						✓	
	Kibra	✓m	✓ y and f	✓f						✓yf

Observations on the challenges and opportunities identified by respondents

The overall relative homogeneity, pattern and distribution of the challenges identified by respondents evidence the extent to which in the HoA context, whether urban or rural, peoples' lives are challenged by long-term structural crises or stresses, punctuated by short-term emergencies or shocks such as drought or flooding (see section 1, 'Emergencies'). The findings reveal the complex and deeply testing nature of this kind of 'normality', this structural crisis. A detailed picture emerges of inter-related sources of stress (e.g. political nepotism, gender inequality, inadequate basic services, harmful traditional practices, resource based conflicts, substance abuse, family breakdown) combined with what, for pastoralists, might be the greatest stress of all, a degrading physical environment, in which they are no longer able to sustain their livelihood. The poverty trap scenarios delineated by these findings seem inevitable; fates only the more powerful, better resourced, physically strong, or resilient can avoid.

Unsurprisingly, for Kibra, challenges identified by respondents that are related to the physical environment are quite distinct from the other locations; and all result from human action or inaction, unlike the largely climatic-related factors mentioned in the other locations that are less easily brought under human control. Kibra is also the only location where HIV and AIDS, nepotism and politically-motivated violence were identified as challenges – this is interesting as secondary sources suggest that Garissa too struggles with similar issues but they were not identified as challenges. However, overall, and remarkably perhaps, Kibra and the other locations appear to have more challenges in common than they have differences.

Likewise, overall, findings suggest there is more agreement than disagreement between men and women over what constitutes a challenge or an opportunity in their community. Where the gendered differences do emerge (e.g. in Garissa where only male respondents identified challenges relating to the physical environment and only women and youth noted education and poverty related challenges; in Dawe and Dalifage where only women and girls noted the lack of firewood and wood in general as a stress) they may be explained, in part at least, by gendered roles and responsibilities or preoccupations.

Across the four locations where it is seen as an opportunity, the existence of I/NGOs and funding opportunities for income-generating projects is only identified by women and youth (male and female). The raw data from these locations provides quite strong evidence that many men feel threatened and or find themselves excluded from the development opportunities I/NGOs introduce to their communities.

With regards to S/GBV and VAWG, what the table does not show is the infrequency with which it was identified, in particular by men. The most glaring example of this is from the Kibra results, where secondary sources confirm that extremely high levels of S/GBV and VAWG exist. The raw data also informs us that the few men who did identify S/GBV as a challenge in their communities identified themselves as members of minority groups and therefore their womenfolk are most at risk of S/GBV (Puntland). The other group of men to identify the issue were all young, educated graduates involved in civil society work (Somaliland).

Since the data collected relates to 'a moment in time' rather than a longitudinal survey, it is not possible to draw conclusions with certainty about possible trends. However, particularly in the case of Somalia and Kenya, there are some indications that young men and women see the challenges and opportunities in their worlds somewhat differently to their elders (male and female),

particularly with regard to social relationships. This inter-generational difference may be minimal or it may be significant but with gender transformation in mind it seems something worth exploring further, in all the locations.

Respondents' thoughts about what constitute opportunities included some examples that perhaps illuminate human resilience, or a psychology of resilience. For example, the Afar respondents consider the ability to migrate as an opportunity, and also highly value maintaining core cultural practices for the cohesion and support they bring. Group membership (e.g. of VSLAs, CSOs) and the existence of such groups are seen to be critical factors in helping people navigate and overcome challenges in their daily lives. Likewise, networking and access to information from which to learn about or seize opportunities. But perhaps the opportunity identified that was least expected by the researchers is that men and women still see the natural resources in the world around them as an opportunity - despite the same physical environment being a source of increasing disappointment and hardship.

At the same time, by far the greatest number of opportunities respondents perceive to exist lie in the social domain and to a slightly lesser extent in the political environment.

3.2.2   Who respondents identify as most or least able to benefit from the opportunities available in their communities - vulnerabilities and capacities analysis

Respondents were asked to indicate which types of people, men and women, are best able to benefit from the opportunities identified, who does less well, and what they see as the factors affecting this. There were considerable differences between the six locations in terms of how they understood the concept of 'opportunity', and at the same time there were differences between men and women in five of the six in terms of the answers they gave.

- In Garissa, respondents differentiated over 20 separate categories of people in response to the question, with male and female responses concurring on just 4 of these 20 categories.[25] In Kibra, Garowe and Somaliland, over 10 categories were identified; in Kibra male and female responses concurred on two out of the ten. In Afar, both male and female respondents explained that the communal way of living and the culture of sharing and mutual support meant one could only really talk about the community as a whole, without referring to sub-sets within it.

- In the Kenyan sites, particularly Kibra, government and NGO funding and employment schemes targeting women and youth seem to be having an apparently strong impact in terms of offering 'access to opportunity'. Within the urban slum context of Kibra, male respondents perceived 'female youth' and 'women in groups' to be those most able to benefit from opportunities offered by government and development agencies. Adult women on the other hand identify 'young (unmarried) women' and 'male youth' as those with most opportunities. In contrast, Somalia/ Somaliland and Ethiopia respondents generally consider being a man brings greater

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[25] In Garissa, male adults identified those who benefit most from opportunities as children and women, as they are favoured by I/NGOs, and youth; those who benefit least are: the sick, elderly, orphans, widows, the landless. Male youth and female youth saw those who benefit as including: the unmarried, 'women not under the bondage of their husbands', and those with parents who stand to inherit. The least able to benefit include married women with unemployed husbands. Female adults saw those who benefit most are: boys, men, charcoal burners, women in business; those who benefit least are lactating mothers, pregnant women, very poor women, the idle.

access to opportunity than being a woman, and that both male and female youth tend to be disadvantaged.

- Across all the locations respondents identified the sick and pregnant and lactating women as among the least able to access opportunities; and in Kibra, old age was mentioned as a significant factor affecting both men and women's access to and enjoyment of opportunities. In fact, being over 35 years old was considered a constraint because most funding and support schemes are targeting the under 35s.

The case studies demonstrate that women, men, boys and girls in the communities targeted all face vulnerabilities of different sorts, and from a wide variety of different personal and contextual factors. At the same time, a converse range of factors, when present, can be seen to strengthen their capacities. In summary, respondents revealed five key points about capacities and vulnerabilities.

1. While gender roles and identities generate severe vulnerabilities for women, men also face vulnerabilities derived from their gender roles: In very broad terms, men are held to be responsible for the welfare of their families and communities and therefore to be deserving of superior rights and powers. Women's and girls' vulnerabilities derive from their being assigned to the domestic arena and from their general lack of access to economic or other decision-making powers outside that sphere. Girls face the additional disadvantage of being expected to be self-effacing and amenable, of being willing or obliged to accept to be exploited in terms of their labour and sometimes sexually. Men and boys, on the other hand, face the damaging economic and psychological effects of male unemployment and loss of assets, and hence the loss of their superior roles and status, as well as being targeted in violent conflict and exploited as part of the political strategies of more powerful men.

Table 3.7: Factors identified by respondents to influence vulnerability and capacity. Note: this is the aggregated set of factors. See country reports for location-specific details. Note: respondents were not asked to rank the factors they identified and they are presented here in no particular order.

	Factors increasing vulnerability	Factors reducing vulnerability and strengthening capacity
Considered relevant for males and females	Being orphaned	Being a member of a group e.g. VSLAs
	Being an IDP	Having social ties and links, including and beyond the family network
	Being illiterate	Being educated and literate
		Having access to information (e.g. about funding opportunities, meetings, self-help)
	Being a rural dweller without exposure to other ways of life e.g. urban life skills	Having had exposure to other cultures and urban life – being street wise

	Being a drug abuser	Having access to health care and education
	Being poor or lacking assets	Having wealth, land and or other assets
	Being elderly	Having occupational skills
	Being disabled	Having an able body
	Being from a minority or marginalised group	Being from an influential clan or family
	Living far from resources	Proximity to resources
	Being female	Being male
Mentioned as female specific	Being unmarried and over 30	Having a husband and children
	Early, arranged or forced marriage, especially to a man with low educational attainment	Having high social status: village chair, religious leader, politician, poet
	Being childless	Having support from father's clan
	Being a young mother with multiple children	Being an older woman with children
	Bearing the stigma of being a GBV and or rape survivor	Being in an I/NGO target group
	Being without sons	Having sons
	Being divorced or widowed or having no adult male in the household	Widow inheritance (Afar)
	Being wife of a khat chewer	Being the wife of a man with status
	Having a jealous, strict and or idle or irresponsible husband	Having a husband who contributes HH income
	Having adult sons	Being trained in marketable skills
	Lacking business know-how	Having a business and or business acumen
	Biological factors: menstruation, pregnancy, childbirth, breast-feeding	Using family planning [Kibra only]
		Being able to express themselves publicly

Mentioned as male specific	Lacking productive assets, land, grazing and or marketable skills	
	Unemployment	Having employment
	Being from a discriminated group or clan that lacks status	Tribal and political affiliation
	Social prejudice attached to men doing menial work	Having marketable skills
	Being polygamous	Having good leadership
	Being old without children	Being old and respected
	Having dependent children	Having children
	Being excluded from I/NGO target groups	Being from a diaspora
	Lacking leadership qualities	Having wisdom
	Living at risk from revenge killing and or resource based conflict	

2. Isolation is a key factor of vulnerability for both men and women: Perhaps some of the most salient findings from a programming perspective are how in the fieldwork locations, for both men and women, capacity is enhanced if a person, male or female, has good external contacts or is a member of a group (such as CARE's VSLAs), and, if they have good networks enabling them to connect with information about employment or other opportunities. Rural dwellers and those in isolated areas distant from towns miss out on such information networks, and are also disadvantaged, if they move to town, by not having had previous exposure to urban life. Significant too is that other factors considered to strengthen peoples' capacities are access to health care and education and exposure to other cultures.

3. Vulnerabilities can also be capacities, according to context and individual situations, and, vice versa, particular features may be either a disadvantage or an asset, or both. For example, having a partner and children enhances a person's status, male or female, and provides a stronger support network in times of adversity, though children may also be a source of stress, particularly for young mothers. The institution of the clan (a key component of the social structure in several societies in the region, including Somali and Afar society) can be an asset to clan members in that it offers both physical and social protection[26] (especially to men, and to a lesser extent the women who depend on them) whereas men and women from minority clans suffer exclusion and exploitation on the basis of their clan. The Afar system of social solidarity was assessed by the Ethiopia research team as an important safety-net, although they also noted that it tends to inhibit innovation and adaptation. At an individual level, marriage or cohabitation with a man may be both a form of protection and/or a potential threat for women. Likewise, women taking advantage of new opportunities to work outside the home and earn an independent income may add to their family's overall resilience, but

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[26] This is especially the case for men, less so for the women who depend on them. In Somali society, a woman may also feel torn between allegiance to her father's clan and to that of her husband, increasing her vulnerability.

generate vulnerabilities for their daughters, who often have to take on many of their mothers' household responsibilities, affecting their access to schooling and other activities.

4. Capacities and vulnerabilities of men and women are interdependent: As Table 3.7 above shows, the life chances of women and girls are affected by those of the men and boys around them, and vice-versa. Responses indicated that in the communities under study, unemployment amongst men increases the vulnerability of the women in their families. In particular, the exclusion of minority men adds exponentially to the vulnerability of minority women. In fact high levels of male unemployment, as well as high levels of male addiction to drugs and alcohol and other symptoms of male crisis, are multipliers of vulnerabilities for women, children and communities as well as for the men themselves. At the same time, the status of a family's females can significantly affect the life chances of males in that family. For example, some male respondents in the Somalia case-study identified 'having a caring daughter' as an important asset.

5. Girls and boys are as vulnerable, if not more so, than women and men: The situation in relation to the vulnerabilities and capacities of girls and boys is similar to but not identical with that of women and men (Table 3.8 below). Whilst respondents readily identified factors increasing children's vulnerabilities little was said about factors known or thought to reduce their vulnerability, and this was especially true of boys.

Table 3.8: Factors identified by respondents affecting the vulnerability and capacity of children

	Factors increasing vulnerability	**Factors reducing vulnerability and strengthening capacity**
Mentioned as relevant for all children	Having illiterate parents	Having educated parents or parents who value education
	Having parents who do not value education	Receiving encouragement from parents and or relatives
	Having divorced parents	
	Being orphaned	
	Child labour practices	
Mentioned as girl-child specific	Being a young female	Marrying into opportunity, greater freedom and status
	Living in a HH with men and boys who do not take responsibility	Enjoying male protection
	Being the daughter of a working mother	
	Social norms expecting girls to silent and passive, tolerate humiliation	Being vocal and asserting their perspectives and rights (except among the Afar where 'shy' girls are considered more eligible for marriage)

	Cultural favouritism towards boys	
	Lack of positive role models	
	Lack of exposure to urban life and technology (except among the Afar where 'modern' girls gain less respect)	Having direct access to information about locally available opportunities
	Living in remote rural locations far from education and health services	
	Being from a poor family and working in another household	
Mentioned as boy-child specific	Being a young male	Cultural favouritism towards boys
	Being the first born son (among IDPs)	
	Being neglected and a street-child	
	Being from a HH with depleted livestock resources – losing one's gender role	
	Having a sense of hopelessness and fear about the future – demotivation	
	Being dependent on one's mother i.e. lacking a provider father-figure	
	Being subject to pressure or coercion from one's older clansmen	
	Chewing khat	

Reflecting on this evidence, research teams identified two important implications for their work. Firstly, broad generalisations such as those made above provide important insights, but are not necessarily helpful when it comes to designing interventions for specific contexts. Vulnerabilities and capacities of women, men, boys and girls vary from case to case and cannot be assumed; rather, project designs need to be built on evidence about what vulnerabilities exist in each context. Indeed, what people consider to be a strength in some contexts could be a vulnerability in others: what constitutes vulnerability in one context cannot simply be read across to others. In Afar, for example, being shy and being protected from the influence of other cultures may enhance a girl's respectability and hence her marriage prospects, and being married gives her greater status and autonomy, especially freedom to undertake small business: in contrast, in other contexts speaking out and exposure to other cultures were identified as factors enhancing a girl's capacity.

Secondly, the nature of vulnerability as applied by external agencies is coloured by their own cultural perspectives, which may differ from those of the communities in which they work. The tendency of development and humanitarian agencies to focus on individual vulnerability is brought into question by the Afar case, where respondents emphasised instead *the vulnerability of communities and their internal cohesion*, whereby risks are spread amongst members. Thus the Afar response to the research question on 'who is most vulnerable?' was that this is not a relevant question in their community.

Another lesson learned in terms of the need for more nuanced analytical approaches to vulnerability is the issue of female-headed households. In Afar, as in Kibra, the notion of female-headed households, generally understood as households with no adult males, was questioned by respondents, who saw women as active household managers, whether there were men in their households or not. And some respondents considered that individuals *within* female-headed households might be better supported than those in male-headed households, even when the household as a whole was less advantaged in general terms.

3.3 'Change for the better' in gender relations

3.3.1 Respondents' assessment of how things have changed

There is no doubt that in the perception of respondents, important changes are taking place in gender relations. With some exceptions, respondents generally viewed these changes as positive, and welcomed them as moves towards increased gender equality.[27] Broadly speaking, the main trends noted by respondents as being particularly positive across the three study areas are:

- *Improved access to education for girls and a greater acceptance of the need for girls to be schooled.* This is part of a general growth in education facilities for all children and to a lesser extent for adults. As a result, literacy rates are getting higher and the gap between male and female literacy rates is narrowing. More particularly, to the extent that parents are not sending their girl children to school, this is increasingly because of lack of means to forego their household labour, rather than because of a rejection of education for them.

   Across all locations girls' education (and often boys') was unanimously identified as the key means to improve gender relations. Indeed, the value placed on education by all respondents in all locations is one of the most striking findings of the research. 'Education makes women powerful' was a commonly expressed sentiment. Education is seen as being a stepping stone to employment and a means of acquiring skills needed in business or in professional work, a passport to greater prosperity and connectedness, and a better life in more general terms.

- *Women's increasing participation in economic activity.* Income-generation and small business activity is everywhere perceived as the key alternative to employment, especially for those with relatively poor educational attainment, and a major cushion for households against economic risk. While there are still some husbands who resist the idea of the women of their households working – either in reference to 'traditions' of women being confined to the domestic arena or

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[27] It is worth noting that many of the individuals interviewed for the study were already connected with CARE in some way, for example by having participated in CARE project activities, and that this could have influenced this finding. However, even in study locations deliberately selected for the absence of a CARE presence, such as Dalifage in Ethiopia, similar sentiments were expressed.

through resentment at the threat of their relative autonomy – women are increasingly being accepted as family breadwinners. Women are increasingly targeted by financial services and training in marketable skills. To some extent, women are also increasing their access to key economic resources such as land and livestock. In parallel with this trend, some respondents noted an increased willingness on the part of men to share women's domestic labour, though researchers also noted that women-only focus groups tended to down-play the extent of this change.

- *Women are increasingly engaged in social and public life outside the home.* This includes participation in decision-making fora and election to public office, as well as membership of wider groups such as savings groups and other development-related structures. Moreover, most respondents recognised this participation as being a valuable asset and told researchers that the women concerned gain respect and influence. In Afar, where a norm of public reticence means that women still tend to cover themselves entirely when a man is passing, this is a diminishing trend. Interestingly, in all three countries respondents identified – and regarded positively – women who had the capacity and the means to be articulate and to play influential roles. Such women ranged from politicians in Dalifage, to poets, journalists and musicians in Somalia and Kenya.

- (The more negative corollary of these trends is that *men are tending to withdraw from their previous roles and responsibilities.* The reasons for this need further examination, but, the research team speculated, may be connected amongst other things to changes in the global economic and political order.[28] These have helped to reduce the significance of men's provider roles and given rise to what is sometimes referred to as a 'crisis of masculinity', in which men's practical uptake of their responsibilities is undermined by the psychological impact of the loss of role. Rising levels of addiction to drugs and alcohol are part of this process, one that all research locations were witness to.

  In the study areas, men say they are affected by the rise in women's economic and political roles outside the home, and their responses to this trend differed quite significantly. While men in all locations appeared to be more willing to acknowledge the reality of women's contribution than they might have been in the past, this does not necessarily mean that they are now willing to entertain the principle of equality. And for young men in Kibra, equality means young women who are earning taking their share of the financial burden for child-rearing, rather than expecting "men to foot the bill."

3.3.2 Respondents' hopes for the future

However, all respondents, older and younger, male and female, clearly felt that the above trends had not gone far enough, and when asked about their hopes for the future, said they wanted them to go further. Tables 3.9 and 3.10 below provides a summary of the kind of changes respondents said they would like to see happen in order to improve relations between men and women. The responses are arranged according to whether the changes are physical or material, relate to how the

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[28] Silberschmidt, Margrethe. "Disempowerment of Men in Rural and Urban East Africa: Implications for Male Identity and Sexual Behavior." *World Development* 29, no. 4 (April 2001): 657–671. doi:10.1016/S0305-750X(00)00122-4.

community is organised and governed, or attitudinal and motivational and letters in brackets denote where the finding is from.

The findings are indicative rather than definitive but they provide a useful insight into the kinds of issues, concerns and awareness felt by men and women in the study locations. As can be seen from the table, in all six locations respondents identify more and better education opportunities for both boys and girls as fundamental to improving male-female relations, along with improving women's access to and control of resources, including ownership of livestock and other key resources. Respondents wanted to see increased flows of information to all, but especially to women, about economic opportunities. They wanted to see better health services, especially maternal and child health services and especially in isolated rural areas.

They anticipated men taking on more household responsibilities; women increasingly participating in decision-making, articulating their views and their grievances, and taking leadership roles; and communities addressing the addiction issues that are so prevalent in all the study locations. They identified improvements in the economic and political environment that would be needed to enable these changes, including enhancing employment opportunities for all, but especially for men and boys, increasing family income levels generally, reductions in tribalism and clan-based conflict, and better collaboration between men and women to improve the living conditions and prospects of young people.

The context-specific and dynamic nature of gender relations is illustrated by the Ethiopia research team's findings, where respondents gave a distinct emphasis in their answers to this question. While it was clear from respondents' accounts that relations between men and women have changed significantly in recent times, in general Afar respondents found the concept of gender equality holds little relevance for their daily lives. Apart from key informants such as government officials, respondents had little to say about how relations between men and women might improve further. The team's conclusion was that "change in gender relations or equality is not considered a priority. The priority is survival."

Table 3.9 Synthesis of the policy-relevant changes respondents would like to see happen in order to improve relations between men and women in their communities

POLICY RELEVANT CHANGES RESPONDENTS WOULD LIKE TO SEE HAPPEN IN THEIR COMMUNITY IN ORDER TO IMPROVE RELATIONS BETWEEN MEN & WOMEN

Note: only factors identified by respondents in <u>more than one location</u> are included in this synthesis

KEY ✔ noted by males & females ✔ not made gender specific ✔*m* only males ✔*f* only females ✔*ym* only male youth ✔*yf* only female youth	Improve access to & quality of educat-ion for girls & boys	Increased awareness of girls' rights, ending discrimin-at-ion, encour-age-ing social integration	Ensuring equal access to informati on about opportun ities	Less tribalism / clannism and end to nepotism in relation to employm ent opportun ities	Addressi ng qat addiction (Puntlan d & Somalila nd), reductio n in alcohol & substanc e abuse (Kibra)	Women and men participa ting equally in develop ment initiative s	Rights of minoritie s and women and girls protecte d by functioni ng governm ent and judicial system	Better leaders hip	Increase d access by men to funding opportun ities – through NGOs, national schemes	Women's political participa tion increase d, in village committ ees & in leadershi p roles	Eradica t-ion of FGM/C	Endin g S/GB V	Improv ed infrastr uct-ure and access to basic service s, rural MCHs
Ethiopia Dawe	✔												
Dalifage	✔										✔		
Somalia Puntland	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔	✔				✔	✔	
Somaliland	✔	✔			✔	✔	✔			✔		✔	✔
Kenya Garissa	✔	✔	✔	✔				✔	✔	✔			✔
Kibra	✔		✔	✔	✔				✔	✔			

Table 3.10 Synthesis of changes at family and community level that respondents identified would improve relations between men and women

CHANGES AT FAMILY AND COMMUNITY LEVEL THAT RESPONDENTS WOULD LIKE TO SEE HAPPEN IN THEIR COMMUNITY IN ORDER TO IMPROVE GENDER RELATIONS												
KEY ✓ noted by males & females ✓*m* only males only ✓*f* only females only ✓*ym* only male youth only ✓*yf* only female youth		Parents nurturing their children to have positive values	Women and men working together for the sake of the youth	Respecting women as you would your mother (directed at males)	Women free to undertake traditionally male roles	Women owning livestock	Men take on more household responsibilities / more understanding by men of men's role in the family / shared roles and mutual appreciation & respect	Working women contribute to child maintenance costs	Embrace family planning	Increased family income, increased male employment opportunities	Increased leisure and recreational activities for young people male and female	Effective land policy and drought coping mechanisms in place
Ethiopia	Dawe											
	Dalifage											
Somalia	Puntland sites			✓								
	Somaliland sites	✓	✓			✓	✓			✓	✓	✓
Kenya	Garissa				✓		✓*f*		✓			
	Kibra	✓	✓				✓*ymf*	✓*ym*				

Respondents were asked about existing or on-going factors that can help bring about the changes they identified, and what in their opinion are the main obstacles. Table 3.11 below shows the responses collected by the Kenya research team (findings from elsewhere were incomplete on this question).

Table 3.11: Enabling and disenabling factors in improved gender relations as observed by Kenya respondents

Enabling factors	Disenabling factors
Existing empowerment funds	Illiteracy
e.g. National Youth Scheme	Wrong approach by I/NGOs [too incentives-based (Kibra)]
Existing organised groups	Drug and substance abuse
Community resources	FGM/C
Good governance / devolution	Early and arranged marriages
Good political will (Kibra)	Traditional and Cultural Practices
	TCP perpetuate harmful power relations (Garissa)

3.4 Participants' views on interventions by CARE and other development actors

Respondents were asked what they thought development actors could do to support the community to achieve the kinds of changes they would like to see happen to improve gender relations. In general, key informants had the most to say in response to this question. In all locations, respondents (male and female) considered that this was a legitimate role for external organisations, with the exception of a group of self-described 'religious women' in Garowe, who responded by saying: 'We do not need anything from CARE, because the harm of the international agencies outweighs their benefits; they lure our innocent girls from our homes with their wickedness,' thus underlining the need to recognise that women do not necessarily form a homogeneous group or share the same interests and perspectives.

In identifying what agencies could do, many urged greater efforts to be made in education and skills training, especially in preparation for employment and income generation, and especially greater efforts to support opportunities for youth. This was a particular concern in areas struggling with the challenge of youth migration. Other recommendations were around stronger advocacy for women's rights and support to victims of gender-based violence, including working with traditional and religious leaders to bring about change in gender relations.

Feedback from respondents familiar with CARE programmes suggests that CARE has indeed supported people to cope with shocks and to 'bounce back better', in particular through capacity-enhancing interventions in various sectors. CARE's work on VSLAs, on education, and on training for livelihoods and for entrepreneurship, was mentioned across the board as being well appreciated. VSLAs in particular were said to enhance women's capacity to cope with stress and shocks, although men expressed some resentment at being excluded from VSLAs.[29]

> **Village Savings and Loan's Associations** are self-selected groups of people, who save money each week, and use the funds that accumulate to finance small loans to each other. This simple form of banking can have a dramatic impact on members' ability to invest in income-generating activities and cope with erratic cashflow. There are also significant impacts on self-respect and social capital, particularly among women.

In the Afar region of Ethiopia, respondents noted that CARE and other NGOs have helped to improve material conditions, including contributing to a considerable reduction in 'harmful traditional practices', notably FGM, and the provision of potable water. It has also supported the introduction of alternative livelihood options for pastoralists threatened by climatic and other restrictions on their movements, especially by providing training and technical support for agriculture. In Kenya, respondents in Kibra acknowledged CARE's work on entrepreneurship training, and those in Garissa climate change adaptation.

Respondents also pointed out some of what they saw were the weaknesses of development practice. It was common in all locations for participants in focus groups – both men and women, but particularly men – to express doubt about the emphasis on supporting women and girls that they observed as being generalised within the development community. In Kibra, men were especially vociferous about this. This was not the only critique of international agencies voiced by respondents.

In Afar, for example, key informants expressed scepticism about how much INGOs can realistically achieve, given that most NGO staff are from outside the region, as well as the perception that many NGOs operate as businesses and are dominated by project-based work plans. In Kibra, respondents pointed to the negative impact of the NGO habit of providing funds as incentives for attending meetings, which they felt encouraged a mercenary approach to participation and was a hindrance to long-term development, while in Somalia there was a fear that repeated short-term project initiatives would likewise enhance dependency. As highlighted above, members of a focus group consisting of religious women in Somalia manifested a negative perception of NGOs and UN agencies for this same reason, voicing the fear that such organizations import western ideas.

The Ethiopia team observed that women and girls appear to be more empowered in Dalifage than in Dawe, in spite of the limited engagement of NGOs in the former. Although they interpreted this as being the outcome of particular conditions in Dalifage, the team also felt this finding highlighted how transitory the impact of NGO projects may be, even when documented improvements are recorded.

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[29] It is worth noting that CARE Somalia VSLA programmes do admit men. And in Northern Uganda has adapted the terms of VSLA membership to admit men, with what appear to be positive results in mobilising male support for the Northern Uganda programme as a whole. See CARE (2011). '*Roco Kwo* Transforming lives annual report 2011'. Kampala: CARE International in Uganda.

Caption: A mother carrying her child in West Hararghe, Ethiopia, where tens of thousands of people face food insecurity due to recurring droughts. Unstable weather conditions since 2011 especially challenge pregnant and lactating women who fear that they can't provide enough food for their children. PHOTO: Yonas Tafesse/CARE 2014

SECTION 4: IMPLICATIONS FOR GENDER IN HUMANITARIAN APPROACHES IN THE HORN OF AFRICA

The research question asked assumes that we should understand resilience as going beyond mere survival and strengthened ability to cope with shocks to being consonant with CARE's goal to promote fundamental sustainable changes in gendered power relations.

An analysis of the fieldwork findings suggests a combined, three-pronged approach will enhance CARE's expertise, knowledge and practice and further this long-term goal of gender transformation. The approach requires:

1. Applying a more nuanced understanding of gendered vulnerabilities and capacities to humanitarian approaches in the Horn

2. Incorporating a gender lens and gendered analytical framework in resilience programming

3. Addressing the organizational practicalities required to develop a gendered approach to humanitarian and resilience work in the region

This approach has relevance for practitioners beyond CARE, as this section seeks to illustrate. The expectation is that this approach will help humanitarian work in the Horn of Africa – both resilience-building and rapid response – to achieve greater relevance and coherence, and hence impact.

4.1 Applying an understanding of gendered vulnerabilities and capacities

4.1.1 The need for a nuanced understanding

At the simplest level, understanding *community* resilience requires an understanding of the capacities (and lack of capacity) of different *individuals within it* - female/male, young/old, urban/rural, educated/uneducated, rich/poor, able/disabled - to withstand stresses and shocks, and what opportunities exist locally or nationally which those with the capacity can access. The findings also show that neither capacity nor vulnerability is a static or univalent attribute. Rather, they can each be understood as one extreme on a spectrum along which the positions of individuals, families, and communities could in theory be mapped at any one time.

The findings outlined above about vulnerability and capacity as evidenced in the GiE field study raise questions about commonly-made assumptions regarding the relative vulnerabilities of women and men: reality is both different from and more complex than the common stereotypes of male dominance and female vulnerability. This suggests that understanding gendered vulnerability requires a nuanced and contextualized approach.

GiE field data shows unequivocally that across the board in the communities targeted by the research, being female presents exposure to deeper levels of vulnerability and to a greater range of factors of vulnerability than being male. This vulnerability is further intensified at particular times in a woman's life such as when pregnant or lactating. However, looking at the contextual detail shows that there is a fuller and more nuanced picture too. Clearly women are both vulnerable, and strong, for different reasons in different contexts and at different times of their lives. Men too are vulnerable – for example to violence from other

men, to discrimination as 'minorities', and to the psychological impact of poverty and unemployment. There are several other factors that emerge as significant in interpreting the findings.

- Male and female capacities and vulnerabilities have to be understood in relation to each other rather than addressed separately: our fieldwork encountered many examples in which a women's vulnerability rose and fell with that of her husband or other male relatives, and the same is true in reverse. Similarly, findings also suggest that boys' and girls' vulnerabilities may be linked to the gendered vulnerabilities of their parents.

- Women's economic empowerment appears at first sight to be a desirable trend and one that enables women both to cushion themselves against shocks and to raise their social profile, but its translation into real decision-making and political power cannot be assumed. Indeed, the success of micro-finance projects for women may indicate nothing more than men's relief at having fewer calls on their own pockets.[30] Structural and ideological changes of substantial proportions are needed if the real benefit of these shifts in terms of gender transformation is to materialise.[31]

- To the extent that women share responsibilities and hence depend on each other, one woman's empowerment often means another's (often her daughter's) additional work burden.

- The supposed vulnerability of female-headed households needs qualifying. Female-headed households may lack connections with power-holders, but dependents within such households may be taken better care of than those in male-headed households. In any case the designation itself, suggesting that only when there is no man do women take on household responsibility, is seen by some respondents as demeaning to all women.

Hence a blanket view of women as intrinsically vulnerable and men as automatically powerful fails to take account of the range of factors, both personal and structural, that affect a person's coping ability in real life. The lesson for humanitarian programming is that vulnerability is not straightforward: incorporating a relational gender lens in resilience programming will help to reveal and interpret ambiguities and nuances.

4.1.2 Interpreting changing patterns of vulnerability

What sort of changes in patterns of vulnerability might constitute transformation? Patterns of vulnerabilities and capacities tend to change with evolving circumstances, but these changes need to be interpreted with care, since what appears on the surface to be progress may merely be a rearrangement of social features whose underlying structures remain the same.

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[30] See Ahikire, Josephine, Christine Ampaire, and Aramanzan Madanda. *Changing Fortunes : Women's Economic Opportunities in Post-War Northern Uganda*. London, 2010 for evidence that in Uganda women's economic empowerment has not translated into their political empowerment; Izugbara, Otutubikey. "Gendered Micro-Lending Schemes and Sustainable Women's Empowerment in Nigeria." *Community Development Journal* 39, no. 1 (2004): 72–84, on the potential for micro-finance in Nigeria to keep women in poverty.

[31] This supports CARE's insistence that women's empowerment programming should be holistic and take into account the three dimensions of agency, structures and relations.

Paradoxically, while change in gender relations appears to be happening (with or without the intervention of NGOs) in key areas such as women's economic and political empowerment, in many respects the fundamental social and ideological structuring of society appears resistant to change – demonstrating the resilience of patriarchy.

The widespread phenomenon of male 'irresponsibility' as a response to poverty and conflict – men sinking into despair, idleness and addiction – needs further analysis to explain its foundations, but one could speculate that it reflects not so much a net loss of male power as a re-formulation, in response to changing conditions, of an ideology of male supremacy.

Similarly, what may be perceived as an opportunity for gender transformation varies across and within communities. There may also be differences in perception or emphasis between communities and interveners in respect of such opportunities. In the GiE study, increased access to education is generally seen by all consulted as the paramount opportunity, along with access to other basic services such as health care, while NGOs tend to prioritise changes that permit greater participation of women in economic and political spheres. What may matter most in assessing such differences is identifying concomitant factors such as what has driven the change, what has happened to male roles and responsibilities, who, if anyone has stepped in to carry or share a woman's domestic burden such as childcare, whether structural shifts in power relations between men and women are sustained through policy development or are merely temporary.

4.1.3 Respondents' strategies to reduce vulnerabilities and strengthen capacities

What do respondents believe could and should be done, and by whom, to reduce vulnerabilities and strengthen capacities? While responses confirmed the importance of taking contextual differences into account, they also revealed potential strategies that would have value across the board in terms of strengthening the resilience of individuals and communities.

1. The need for more equal gender relations was attested by almost all respondents, who recommended strengthening existing approaches to gender programming. A major component of this expressed need was better health services, especially maternal and child health services and especially in isolated rural areas. Respondents also saw GBV and SGBV as key factors of vulnerability for women and girls, both at times of crisis and in 'normal' times, and stressed the need to focus more specifically on GBV inside and outside the home, on dismantling the social norms that enable it, and on making stronger advocacy for women's rights and support to victims of gender-based violence. For many, this included working with traditional and religious leaders to bring about change in gender relations. They saw more and better education opportunities for both boys and girls as fundamental to improving male-female relations, along with improving women's access to and control of resources, including ownership of livestock and other key resources.

2. Education, education, education! Respondents in all sites placed extremely high value on education as key to 'bouncing back better'; on the one hand, it offers the possibility of more assured incomes and higher social status, while on the other it serves as an entry point into the connected, well-informed world from which many rural and illiterate urban people feel isolated, condemning them to economic and political exclusion. CARE's work in encouraging access to education was widely seen as one of its most important contributions, but respondents uniformly wanted more – more access for both boys and girls (especially girls), and better skills training for adult men and women.

3. More secure and more diversified incomes emerged clearly as a major priority amongst respondents. But equally clearly respondents recognized that this priority had social and political dimensions as well as economic ones. In terms of the social dimension, to take advantage of employment and small business opportunities that exist, people need to have skills, information, and supportive networks, which puts a high premium on education and connectedness to the 'modern' world. These requirements are important for both men and women, and surfaced in all study areas. Assessment of the political dimension was less prominent in fieldwork discussions. However, what was clear from context analysis was that the communities targeted in the research had little political capital to build on, and as such were either ignored or (more often) exploited by national-level politics – exploited for their natural resources, as with the commercial plantations along the Awash river in Afar, or as the mobilization of young men in election violence in Kenya.

4. Increasing connectivity: Isolation and exclusion appear to be common characteristics of all study areas and was felt acutely by respondents, both rural and urban. Distance from, and unfamiliarity with, urban life, linked to lack of transport and communications infrastructure in rural areas, was identified as a factor of vulnerability in the remoter parts of Somaliland, but even in Kibra, a crowded and bustling settlement attached to one of Africa's biggest metropoles, isolation from information and social networks plays a role in holding people back. Next to increasing employment opportunities, increasing connectivity to the 'modern' world (notably the world of education, employment and culture) was seen as the next main improvement sought by communities, especially the more distant and remote ones.

5. A household approach to vulnerability and gender transformation? There is little doubt that respondents perceive gender relations, though not gender ideology, are in the process of changing, mainly in the direction of more economic responsibility and greater access to the public sphere for women. This is arguably at least in part a response to changing global economic conditions, together with the influence of policy developments, and as noted above, not necessarily because attitudes to women's agency have undergone a radical shift. It was clear from some of the research sites at least that at household level and within families this change is generating some tension - amongst men, who harbour various degrees of resentment, and also amongst women, who are exasperated by being expected to perform both their 'old' roles in the domestic arena and their 'new' roles as breadwinners.

Sustainable strategies to reduce women's vulnerability would do well to look into these household dynamics (i.e. recognize the need to draw men along with them) and consider how support will affect the whole family rather than appearing to set men and women in competition with each other, as some men and women believe many development interventions do.

4.1.4 Resilience of individuals or systems?

Gender analysis brings to the fore the nuances of vulnerability and capacity of individuals, families and communities. However, field data gathered in the GiE research also raised questions about the relationship between vulnerability and capacity at this level and that affecting social, economic and political systems. For example, at a societal level, should we see the solidarity provided by clan identity as a positive asset, since it cushions clan members against shocks, or as a systemic vulnerability, since members of excluded clans get no such support and since even the solidarity may hold people back, potentially leading to dependency and a failure to innovate and adapt? At a household or individual level, is the possibility of women working outside the home and earning an income, and hence having greater personal autonomy, a positive thing, or should it be seen negatively in that could add to their work burden unless household-level roles shift? Or, could it be

that this autonomy limits their resilience, by cutting them off from sources of social capital – and hence security - in their households and communities?

And what of the vulnerability of whole livelihood systems: does it matter that the pastoralist way of life could be threatened by the very strategies that individual pastoralists are strengthened by, such as gaining an education, or buying land and engaging in agriculture? Indeed, the issue of education illustrates some of these dilemmas. While individual parents and children might see education as being a critical pathway out of poverty, at a systems level the risk is that education might serve to alienate its graduates from their original communities – and indeed this is the reality for many educated young people unable to find the jobs they expect and thus obliged, as they see it, to seek their fortunes through migration. Providing wider access to education might thereby undermine well-adapted livelihood patterns unless an 'education for resilience' approach can be developed.

4.2 Engendering programming for resilience

The rapidly-expanding discourse around resilience in the context of humanitarian work provides an opportunity for the GiE study to elaborate further on the applicability of resilience as a useful concept for gender transformation, and vice-versa.[32] What our discussion of vulnerability above suggests is that the links between the two operate at several levels.

4.2.1 Gender and the poverty trap

At one level, engendering the concept of resilience may simply mean recognizing that the differing vulnerabilities of men, women, boys and girls need to be assessed, and each strengthened, if community resilience is to be sustainably promoted.   This is relatively straightforward if we assume that resilience is essentially a matter of resources – that resilience-building is about supporting people to pull themselves out of the poverty trap.[33] Shocks require people to sell off some of their assets or to reduce their standard of living, for example by eating less or less good quality food. While this strategy may lead to survival, it is survival at a cost, since it erodes future survival capacity and hence keeps people forever struggling to overcome the constraints that face them.

Incorporating a gender lens asks whether the level of assets needed for survival is the same for women as for men, what degree of access they have to those assets, and how they are able to respond (whether merely coping or 'bouncing back better'). Such an analysis can be undertaken at individual, household and community level, on the assumption that the assets of the community are composed of the sum total of assets of its members. This would lead to the identification of context-specific policy and intervention responses that will extend both women's and men's assets and hence provide them – and hence the community - with greater buoyancy when confronting future shocks.

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[32] See particularly Mercy Corps recent work on gender and vulnerability: Mercy Corps *Rethinking Resilience: Prioritizing Gender Integration to Enhance Household and Community Resilience to Food Insecurity in the Sahel*. Portland, Oregon, n.d.

[33] This is the assumption made in a useful analysis of gender and resilience by Kumar, Neha, and Agnes Quisumbing. *Gender, Shocks, and Resilience*. Washington DC, 2014.

4.2.2 The dynamics of resilience

However, GiE findings suggest that we can go further than this, and that both resilience and vulnerability are more nuanced than an analysis based on assets alone suggests. Findings help us to understand how living with long-term structural and persistent crisis contributes to a process of exponential differentiation between those who have the wherewithal to cope and those who do not. Shocks affect different members of a community in different ways according to their status and their pre-existing condition.

Vulnerabilities compound each other: individuals or groups who are most disadvantaged in the original situation are often the ones who suffer most in subsequent shocks, since they are likely to have the fewest resources and the lowest levels of social and political capital to cushion any blows and provide opportunities for recovery. These groups are pulled into a downward spiral, successive shocks progressively reducing their capacity to cope and prosper, and their resilience becoming increasingly reduced. Meanwhile those whose status, relationships or knowledge enables them to benefit from the opportunities that exist can strengthen their resilience and emerge in upward spirals of positive change. A relational gender analysis, one which generates a full understanding of the factors of vulnerability, can support the identification of those who are most likely to benefit or to be left behind, and the impact that this might have on the community as a whole.

4.2.3 Incorporating power analysis and timescales for transformation

The review of gendered vulnerabilities above suggests that encompassing the complexity of changing gender relations might require a resilience framework that takes into account qualities such as diversity, flexibility, or innovation, and how these, as well as economic, political and social factors, work to shape vulnerabilities. It cannot be assumed that compounding the strengths and vulnerabilities of community members necessarily adds up to the resilience of a community: timescale and intensity also make a difference, and no community can be seen in isolation from other communities.

Bringing in a nuanced view of vulnerability helps to bring power dynamics to the fore, an area where resilience theory is famously said to be lacking, as well as combating the frequent assumption in resilience discourse that resilience is a 'good thing'.[34] In other words, a gendered analytical framework for resilience must take into account the 'resilience of patriarchy'.[35]

Resilience-building should address issues of inequality and injustice at all levels, including by advocating for institutional reform at the national and international levels. As the GiE research confirmed, power and wealth enable some individuals and institutions to mitigate risk to themselves and instead pass it down to the poor: 'inequality is hard-wired into crisis', as a recent report from Oxfam suggests.[36] And as the study has identified, national-level politics are a factor impinging on the resilience of communities in all three countries (for example, the limitations imposed on pastoralist lifestyles by the introduction of commercial agricultural schemes in Afar). A sharp analysis of power relations would raise the focus of attention from the household and community level and strengthen analysis of national and global factors in perpetuating crisis.

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[34] Béné, Christophe, Rachel Godfrey Wood, Andrew Newsham, and Mark Davies. *Resilience: New Utopia or New Tyranny? Reflection about the Potentials and Limits of the Concept of Resilience in Relation to Vulnerability Reduction Programmes*. *IDS Working Paper*. Vol. 2012. Centre for Social Protection, Institute of Development Studies, 2012. doi:10.1111/j.2040-0209.2012.00405.x.
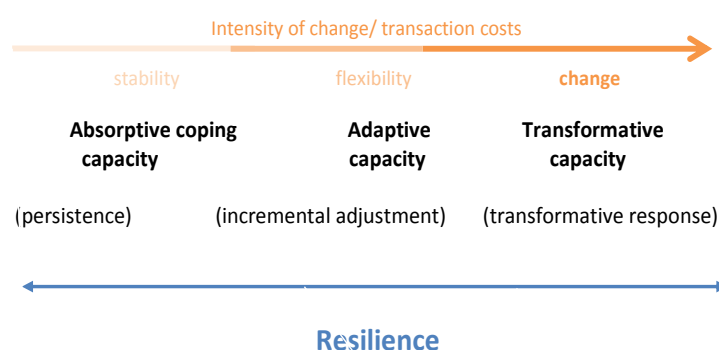[35] Cudworth, op cit.
[36] Hillier, Debbie, and Gina E. Castillo. "No Accident: Resilience and the Inequality of Risk" no. May (2013). http://www.oxfam.org/en/policy/no-accident-resilience-and-inequality-risk, accessed 20th June 2015, p. 3.

Raising women's income-generating capacity may have short-term benefits in lifting women and their families out of the 'poverty trap' and strengthening their ability to absorb shocks. However, if resilience frameworks are to enable people to go beyond absorbing shocks and 'bounce back better', resilience needs to be understood as being consonant with fundamental changes in gendered power relations.

4.2.4 A gendered analytical framework for resilience?

Newly-emerging ideas about different dimensions of resilience theory may offer a way of schematising a graduated approach to the transformation of gender relations. An example is the '3P&T-3D' (Prevention, Protection, Promotion and Transformation in three dimensions) analytical framework proposed by Bene et al.[37]

Intensity of change/ transaction costs

stability   flexibility   **change**

Absorptive coping capacity   **Adaptive capacity**   **Transformative capacity**

(persistence)   (incremental adjustment)   (transformative response)

Resilience

While it is not explicitly gendered, this framework has potential to be adapted for such a purpose, since it addresses some of the complex factors drawn out by the GiE research. It proposes three dimensions to resilience: absorptive capacity, adaptive capacity, and transformative capacity. Where there is relative stability, responding to shocks requires a community to be able to resist and absorb the blow, i.e. allowing it to persist in its existing form. To the extent that its existing form is no longer viable, the community must adapt flexibly, making incremental adjustments. If survival is no longer possible in spite of this adaptation, more radical transformation will need to happen. Considerations of vulnerability and social protection add a further dimension, bringing in individual variation and notions of power relations within communities and households.

The notion of transformation proposed here is different from gender transformation as CARE defines it. The latter is seen as a desirable end-point, and the favoured option amongst a palette of programming strategies. Transformation as described in this resilience framework, on the other hand, is the 'last resort' of a society under pressure.[38] Nonetheless, the contrast between these understandings of transformation could stimulate further discussion about what transformation actually means in specific circumstances. Does the former sort of transformation obviate the need for the latter, perhaps? More mundanely, the model could serve as a useful tool for plotting where on the resilience continuum a particular community is,

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[37] Bene et al op cit pp 21, 31.

[38] Interestingly, putting the two frameworks together could suggest that gender transformation may indeed be the factor that ultimately makes the difference between a community's survival and its demise.

and then for identifying what level of support is needed in order for women, men, boys and girls to maximize their capacities and hence minimize their individual and collective risk.

4.3 Strengthening the capacity of the humanitarian sector to deliver sustainable change

CARE is at the forefront of efforts in the HoA to develop resilience thinking appropriate for the region, and this includes incorporating a gender dimension into it. However, this is still at an early stage.[39] Work on this within CARE and other organizations has so far highlighted the particular vulnerability of women in dryland and pastoralist contexts and their consequent need for economic autonomy. As the above discussion has shown, however, there is room now to go further than this and refine both the concept of resilience and the understanding of the links between resilience and gender transformation. The absorption-adaptation-transformation continuum (see above) could offer significant insights into the support needs of specific communities and could throw light on the question of how gender relations change. To take advantage of this opportunity, organizations need to generate optimum capacity in terms of intervention methodology, knowledge generation and management, and organizational structuring.

Box 4.1: Some considerations on methodology for gender change

Social Analysis and Action is a facilitated process through which individuals and communities explore and challenge the social norms and practices that shape their lives and health.


4.3.1 Intervention methodology

A key question arising from the research is: who determines what constitutes vulnerability or empowerment? The Afar example is the clearest one in this regard: respondents found the term vulnerability difficult to understand, and resisted attempts to differentiate between different categories. However it was clear from other data that differentiation does exist in Afar and in fact is quite stark – the fact that women eat after men, for example, is a cogent indicator. In Somalia, the research team observed that respondents had clearly identified the various components of gender inequality, but had not 'named' it as such, demonstrating a discrepancy between the gender discourses of local communities and those of international agencies.

Findings such as these raise the question of how to mediate between the changes sought by international organizations and those prioritised by the community. To the extent that views prevalent at community level differ from those represented by the agencies and validated in global norms, how should the agencies negotiate this tension? How should they deal with the fact that not all community members hold the same views or share the same interests, and that some views may be crowded out by powerful voices?

Lessons drawn from the phase one literature review (see Box 4.1 below), and feedback from the GiE research teams, suggest that the best role for external agencies may be less one of explicitly promoting changes in behaviour and more a facilitating one, proposing dimensions of problems that people are not

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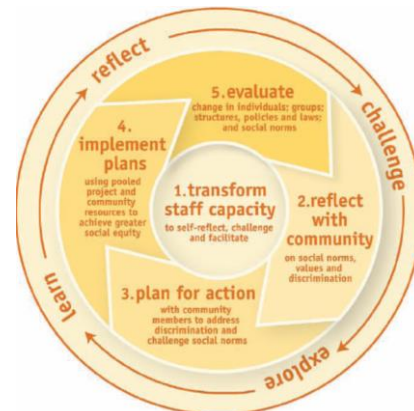
[39] The GiE study is perceived as part of a strategy to fill this gap.

able to see for themselves, providing channels for divergent interests to be given voice, and offering information to help people reach decisions about how they want to change. Approaches such as the SAA adopted widely in Ethiopia respond to this need by setting up community-level dialogue on problematic practices, and deserve more in-depth analysis and dissemination.

....organisations are most successful in working to change gender relations when the following factors come together:

- the external agency commits to accompanying the change process for the long-term
- change processes are driven primarily by facilitated dialogue between different sections of a community, in which different interests are brought into the open and challenge each other; this is the process whereby 'social norms' are shifted
- the process of change is a sequential one, i.e. it is not expected to happen overnight but proceeds in manageable steps according to locally made choices moderated by the external agency
- local dialogue is complemented by work at different levels to change the normative frameworks within which communities function (i.e. working with local authorities and governments to change laws and policies and to monitor their implementation
- the context is understood as being shaped by multiple factors, which reinforce each other in complex ways and which need to be unravelled together. These include culture, history, laws, media, economic and political relationships, and so on
- the approach is synergistic, and is integrated into actions in a range of work areas, including livelihoods, health, education, environment, and so on.

Source: El-Bushra and Gardner, op cit. p. 28

4.3.2 Knowledge management

One lesson learned from this exercise is that understanding context, and recognizing the need for diversified responses to take contextual differences into account, is crucial. This implies that organizations working on GiE in the Horn need capacity to acquire, store, and consistently draw on in-depth information about the local context.

The importance of building institutional knowledge

CARE's reflections on resilience to date[40] have identified various knowledge management issues as needing attention, including the need to break down barriers between development and humanitarian work, the need to utilise existing analytical and other tools,[41] the importance of maintaining and broadening access to project documentation and of preserving 'institutional memory' when staff leave, and the need to move away from dependence on project-based funding in order to create space for cultures of reflection and learning to flourish. These concerns tend to be shared by many similar agencies, and the experience of the GiE research confirms these needs.

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[40] See SRRI reports and Addison op cit, as well as SRRI progress reports such as CARE Strategic Regional Resilience Initiative (SRRI): 'Consolidated Progress Report July 2013 – March 2014'. CARE International, 2014.

[41] The Garissa CCVA appears to be a particularly relevant one for vulnerability analysis in pastoralist contexts of the Horn, and could usefully be disseminated in Ethiopia and Somalia: see *Climate Change Vulnerability and Adaptive Capacity in Garissa County, Kenya*, 2013. http://www.careclimatechange.org/files/CVCA_Kenya_Report__Final.pdf. Accessed 7th July 2015.

Staff engagement in monitoring and research

Further, the GiE research teams took the view that their involvement in the field research (as opposed to outsourcing research expertise) had significant advantages, especially in tapping the knowledge and interest of staff, which might not otherwise be utilized to the same extent. Commissioning external research expertise has a place, especially where new areas of work are being examined that staff are unused to addressing. However, this does not substitute for the consistent build-up of knowledge within staff teams through regular assessment and monitoring, around topics which form the basis of the organisation's essential policy and strategy orientations. Basic research techniques - such as the planning and facilitation of focus group discussions for example – can be widely mastered within staff teams, and can contribute effectively to this knowledge build-up. A further point of relevance brought up by research teams was the need for balance between qualitative and quantitative methods and data: greater experience of managing research should enable complementarities between the two to be managed effectively.[42]

Mastering gender concepts and capacity

Moreover, given the complexities of understanding gendered capacities and vulnerabilities discussed above, implementing effective interventions in gender and resilience requires a staff body which at all levels is familiar with debates and challenges surrounding these issues, is aware of how these are being discussed within the organisation, and able to apply this knowledge in context of their work.[43]

In this sense, investment in staff capacity – and especially investing in staff time for exchange and debate around programme developments – should be seen as key strategies to heighten an organisation's responsiveness to complex contexts, and hence make a significant difference to impact. Where on the continuums of gender equality and resilience does a particular community lie? Who are the vulnerable in the community and why? Strategic and practical questions such as these can be best addressed through debate and discussion, both within communities and within the teams that work with them.[44]

4.3.3 Linking humanitarian and development work

The concept of resilience has developed in part as a response to the divisions between humanitarian and development professions, and between short-term institutional responses and those with a longer-term perspective. What has the GiE study revealed about possible mechanisms for linking the two? In fact direct empirical evidence on this point was hard to come by, since not all research sites had had experience of both types of programming. This in itself suggests that a programming approach that focuses on continued presence in specific locations, rather than on activities spread across a range of varying locations, might have the advantage of facilitating the consolidation of knowledge and information, if no other.

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[42] Quantitative methods are often used at the outset of an investigation, when the parameters of the issue are still not well known. Getting the balance between qualitative and quantitative right depends in part on efficient keeping, sharing and application of project documentation and other secondary sources.

[43] The theory of 'wicked problems' (see Jeff Conklin, 'Wicked problems and social complexity' http://cognexus.org/wpf/wickedproblems.pdf accessed 24th June 2015), i.e. problems involving multiple perspectives by different stakeholders, suggests 'group coherence' within organisations confronting wicked problems is key to finding solutions.

[44] On the involvement of communities in the identification of CARE's strategic directions, see the experience of CARE Burundi in applying Appreciative Enquiry in programme design – De Boodt, Kristien. *Empowering Approaches for Understanding Empowerment*, 2007.

Beyond that, important lessons were learned about issues of vulnerability as it manifests itself in the Horn countries, and the way capacities and vulnerabilities contribute, or not, towards resilience. Perhaps the most striking finding in this respect is that the range of vulnerabilities is vast, and hard to comprehend from the perspective of an outsider. Consistently in the field component of the study, talking to community members amplified the teams' understanding of the challenges faced by communities as compared to their original assessment based on secondary sources.

It was also clear that understanding the complexity of vulnerability as manifested in different communities is key to establishing who within them should be supported and how. The relationship between individual, household and community vulnerability is complex and defies conventional assumptions. Most notably, findings underline the interdependence of individuals on others within their household and community – women depending on men, parents on children, family members on the household head, and vice-versa.

Thus in the immediate term, the best support agencies can give to vulnerable people in emergencies might be to support those who support them. Moreover, what works in terms of immediate practical support might not be what is needed to effect the longer-term transformation of power relations, as CARE's Humanitarian and Emergency Strategy requires. For example, supporting girls to assist their mothers to earn household income and hence raise the household's income-earning capacity (at the sacrifice of their education) might not be the best strategy for the advancement of girls' rights in the long term. However, negotiating these potential contradictions will depend greatly on knowledge of the community and of the specific conditions of different individuals.

In humanitarian work, then, preparedness is critical, and that preparedness includes documenting in advance the condition and position of women, men, girls and boys, and the underlying factors that shape this, helping planners to foresee the possible long-term implications of interventions, whether short- or long-term. Building on examples such as the CARE country level Gender in Briefs. The information to be gathered includes an understanding of how individuals and communities understand gender issues – how they perceive and discuss them, what changes they believe are happening, what their aspirations for future improvements are and where the practical, attitudinal and cultural barriers to those improvements lie. Organisations can best address the tensions between short- and long-term programming by overcoming the practical barriers (especially the time needed – by both staff and communities - to gather the needed information) to developing preparedness.

Caption: In West Hararghe, Ethiopia, erratic and insufficient rains damaged families' crops and livelihoods. Unofficial government sources disclosed that likely 150,000 people were in need of food supplies. Recurring terrible droughts since 2011 force animals to migrate to other parts of the country. PHOTO: Yonas Tafesse/CARE 2014.

SECTION 5: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Overview

This section presents recommendations for CARE's approach and methodology to GiE, for HoA programming strategies, and for organizational adjustment to CARE's HoA offices, finishing with suggestions for further research. Though oriented towards CARE International and its HoA programmes in the first instance, recommendations have relevance for the humanitarian sector more widely.

It is worth bearing in mind that the GiE study has skimmed the surface of a complex set of issues and that conclusions must therefore be regarded as tentative. Our overall recommendation is that CARE in the HoA take further action with a view to confirming (or not) and elaborating the major findings presented here and reviewing the recommendations for adoption where appropriate. Possible ways of doing this include:

- holding country workshops and a regional workshop to share the study's findings and to review its implications at country and regional levels, aiming to identify agreed practices, strategies and policies that arise

- using this study amongst other documents to generate a baseline and set of hypotheses, carry out an audit of its current interventions and structures (i.e. not only those marked 'gender') with a view to identifying where coherence with CARE's global approaches could be strengthened

- identifying further information needs and research required to deepen specific aspects of the GiE study conclusions and recommendations (see section 5.5. below for further comment on possible further research topics)

5.2 Recommendations on approach and methodology to GiE

At the conceptual level, the study leads to the view that the humanitarian community's expertise, knowledge and practice for gender transformation requires

- strengthened knowledge of gendered vulnerabilities and capacities as they are manifested in programme areas, and

- work to incorporate a gender lens and gendered analytical framework into resilience programming.

This approach will help humanitarian work in the Horn of Africa – both resilience-building and rapid response – to achieve greater relevance and coherence, and hence impact.

Gender analytical frameworks

The 'relational' gender lens described in section 1 and the Capacities and Vulnerabilities Framework introduced in section 2 both proved helpful in framing the field research, and helped research teams to recognize and record the nuanced and contextualized nature of vulnerabilities and capacities in their programme areas. A relational gender analysis, one which generates a full understanding of the factors of vulnerability, can support the identification of those who are most likely to benefit or to be left behind, and the impact that this might have on the community as a whole. Both of these frameworks are entirely consistent with CARE's gender equality approach though may not always be prioritized in practice: the practice is often to prioritise women in 'gender-responsive' or 'gender-transformational' programmes but to

ignore them in initiatives labeled 'gender-neutral'. The approach proposed here requires the condition and position of women and men, girls and boys, to be understood in context as a prerequisite for all programming.

Gender and resilience

The GiE study concludes that resilience is a useful concept for gender transformation, and vice-versa, and indicated some possible lines of development for such an analysis.

Bringing a resilience lens to understand gender enables gender transformation to be seen at three levels: absorption, adaptation and transformation. In this way it supports the identification of those in the community who are most likely to benefit or to be left behind, and the impact that this might have on the community as a whole.

- Absorption: what level of assets do women and men need, and have, to absorb shocks?

- Adaptation: to what extent are women and men able to adapt to progressive stresses ('bouncing back')?

- Transformation: have the pressures the community is under led to radical changes in gendered power relations, are they positive for women and girls, and how could this process be assisted?

At the same time, linking gender equality and resilience strengthens resilience as a concept, since it helps to bring power dynamics to the fore, an area where resilience theory is famously said to be lacking, as well as combating the frequent assumption in resilience discourse that resilience is always a 'good thing'. In other words, a gendered analytical framework for resilience must take into account the 'resilience of patriarchy'.

Attempts to integrate gender and resilience at a conceptual and methodological level are at a relatively early stage, and the observations presented in this report should be seen as tentative. It is to be noted, also, that resilience itself is still an object of debate in the humanitarian community broadly, and this includes within CARE. This presents opportunities for CARE to take a lead in developing a 'gender and resilience' approach as applicable to humanitarian work.

Recommendation 1: The gender approach adopted by CARE in the HoA country offices should emphasise the need to understand and document the capacities and vulnerabilities of women and men, girls and boys in context, as a prerequisite for all programming. In recognition of the relationship between vulnerabilities and capacities at the individual, family and community level and the affecting social, economic and political systems.

Recommendation 2: CARE International and CARE in the HoA should undertake research and monitoring with a view to further elaborating and testing approaches to integrating gender equality into resilience frameworks and developing a 'gender and resilience' framework that enables gender transformation to be seen at different levels and timescales.

5.3 Recommended strategies and priorities for HoA programming

Priorities expressed by respondents

Respondents in the field component of the GiE study were clear in identifying the programming priorities they see for CARE and similar organizations operating in the Horn. In summary these are:

1. Strengthening existing programming to meet women's practical needs and strategic interests

2. Continuing to encourage access to education and training for girls and boys, women and men

3. Promoting more secure and more diversified sources of income for women and men

4. Increasing connectivity to the 'modern' world of education, employment and urban culture

5. Recognising the tensions inherent in changing household dynamics as gender relations change in the direction of more economic responsibility and greater access to the public sphere for women.

Intensifying response to local realities

While the above strategies were common to all groups of respondents, the study also makes it clear that understanding the complexity of vulnerability as manifested in different communities is key to establishing who within them should be supported and how. Discussion in section 4 suggests a number of ways in which reality intervenes to subvert the stereotype of women's vulnerability and men's power – for example, the contrary vulnerabilities of men and the strengths of women, the interdependence of men and women in specific households, the reliance of women on other women to cope with increased responsibilities, and the different interpretations of 'vulnerability' between communities and supporting organizations.

This complexity puts local knowledge at a premium. From the programming point of view, it is important to develop a programming strategy that enables organizations to consolidate their knowledge of particular communities, for example by limiting its geographical coverage to selected areas where it has a long-term presence.[45]

Strategies for gender transformation

Researchers in the GiE study drew a number of conclusions from the field research which challenged some of their preconceptions of gender transformation work. Amongst these were the realization that perceptions of gender-related issues, as well as the language used in discussing them, differ between communities and humanitarian interveners. The best role for external agencies may be less one of explicitly promoting changes in behaviour and more a facilitating one, proposing dimensions of problems that people are not able to see for themselves, providing channels for divergent interests to be given voice, and offering information to help people reach decisions about how they want to change.

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[45] There are clearly risks to such a strategy, for example the risk of creating 'islands of salvation' outside which communities are left in distress. However, in conditions where gaining local knowledge is a priority, a geographically-focused programming strategy may have advantages.

Other lessons drawn by researchers included the importance of organizations committing to a long-term presence in a given area, the need to work simultaneously with communities and at the policy level, and the integration of 'gender programming' and other technical components of country office work.

Awareness of these factors is clearly manifested in CARE's HoA programming and examples can be found of actualising them in practice. For example, approaches such as the SAA adopted widely in Ethiopia model an intervention methodology which is based on community-level dialogue around problematic practices. Such experience deserves more in-depth analysis and dissemination. The challenge for CARE's regional programme in the Horn of Africa is not so much to identify effective methodologies, but rather to generalise understandings and methods across the different countries of the region, across different sectoral initiatives, and across different staff levels.

Recommendation 3: CARE's Horn of Africa country offices should review the extent to which respondents' identified priorities for supporting change in gender relations and strategies to reduce vulnerabilities and strengthen capacities are reflected in current programming and forward plans.

Recommendation 4: Organisations operating in the Horn of Africa should seek to consolidate their local, context-specific knowledge of the areas they work in, making sure that staff are conversant with the forms of vulnerability existent in those communities, who are most affected by them, and how community members perceive the opportunities available to reduce these vulnerabilities

Recommendation 5: Methodologies, like CARE's SAA, that privilege dialogue and discovery as a strategy for transformation should be monitored, documented, further developed, and expertise in them spread more widely across the region.

5.4 Recommended strategies for organisational development

As must be clear from the above, knowledge generation and knowledge management are key to an organization's capacity to contribute effectively to gender transformation in complex and fragile environments such as the Horn. Organisations working on GiE in the Horn need capacity to acquire, store, and consistently draw on in-depth information about the local context in order to feed into the design of long-term projects as well as to enable preparedness for emergencies.

Emergency preparedness

Preparedness includes documenting in advance the condition and position of women, men, girls and boys, and the underlying factors that shape this, helping planners to foresee the possible long-term implications of interventions, whether short- or long-term. The information to be gathered includes an understanding of how individuals and communities understand gender issues – how they perceive and discuss them, what changes they believe are happening, what their aspirations for future improvements are and where the practical, attitudinal and cultural barriers to those improvements lie.

Knowledge generation

Information such as that indicated in the above paragraph ought to be available in all offices as a pre-requisite for developing programming designs or for detailed activity planning. It can be built up over time

in various ways, including compilation of secondary or background data, regular documentation of project activities, and research into specific issues of concern, preferably in combination.

The GiE study has demonstrated that many advantages accrue from the use of staff as researchers. Advantages are both to knowledge generation (staff have personal experience relating to the areas concerned, whether they are from the area themselves or not) and to the staff (talking to community members amplified the teams' understanding of the challenges faced by communities as compared to their original assessment based on secondary sources, and this was true for both staff from the area and those from elsewhere). Research techniques can be widely mastered within staff teams, and can contribute effectively to knowledge build-up.

Learning culture and investing in staff knowledge

Implementing effective interventions in gender and resilience requires a staff body which at all levels is familiar with debates and challenges surrounding these issues, is aware of how these are being discussed within the organisation, and able to apply this knowledge in context of their work. Investment in staff capacity – and especially investing in staff time for exchange and debate around programme developments – should be seen as key strategies to heighten an organisation's responsiveness to complex contexts, and hence make a significant difference to impact.

Organisations working in the HoA are facing similar challenges and developing new approaches to them, and similar challenges can be seen in other regions with likewise various solutions being developed. Sharing experience within CARE's HoA region, with other regions, and other organizations, would be very enriching for all country programmes and projects.

Financing

There are of course opportunity costs to all of the above. In particular, when staff are expected to take an active part in knowledge generation and management, they may have less time to devote to delivering project outcomes, on which the continued work of the organization depends. Research teams engaged in the GiE research certainly attested to the time pressures arising from their participation, and this affected both the quality of the research and the delivery of their other work. However, the problem should not be seen only in this light, but also as a reflection of the 'tyranny of the funding cycle', whereby organizations struggle to build up sufficient reserves to allow a culture of reflection and learning to flourish.

It is beyond the scope of this study to identify solutions to this problem.[46] However, our findings do emphasise the priority which must be given to overcoming it. Organisations will not be able to address gender transformation in humanitarian responses effectively if they are unable to build up and maintain levels of knowledge and capacity at all levels that can guarantee a flexible and contextualized response to humanitarian crises, whether rapid-onset or slow-onset.

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[46] CARE's HES identifies it as a major constraint, to which solutions need to be found over the next five years.

Recommendation 6: An active learning environment is essential if humanitarian organizations are to rise to the challenge of repeated and prolonged crises in the Horn of Africa. This means that communication, work-planning and financing and challenges to promoting shared learning within and between countries and organizations must be given priority in organizational development and restructuring.

5. Suggested avenues for further research

Consolidation the findings from GiE

It must be said that the conclusions drawn in this study have come from a relatively small number of respondents spread across a wide variety of different contexts. It is possible that some bias has crept in to the extent that respondents were familiar with CARE's work. This means that collecting further evidence – from the same sites and from elsewhere – would be useful in confirming and corroborating the findings described here.

Documenting local gender discourses

An issue flagged by research teams was the differences in understanding of concepts such as 'gender', 'vulnerability' and 'empowerment' between community members and CARE staff. Some of these differences concern differences of opinion (as to what constitutes the end-goal of gender-transformation, for example) while others relate to discourse (the difficulty of describing what 'vulnerability' means, for example). Further study of knowledge, attitude and practice around gender relations in specific areas would be an important aid to future programming, as well as being a piece of 'action-research' that could form a transformation project in its own right.

Understanding the relevance of resilience

The most significant gap in understanding and knowledge that has emerged from this investigation relates to resilience, about which a large number of questions arise. What is the precise relevance of resilience to contexts such as the Horn of Africa? Should it only apply to arid lands or is it an equally relevant concept for other fragile contexts such as urban slums? Are there frameworks or tools emerging which would enable resilience concepts to be translated easily and effectively to project-based environments such as CARE's HoA country offices and project bases? How could a resilience approach be applied to work on service development (education, health), and what would it mean for agricultural or economic development? And most importantly, where does gender fit within such frameworks? What can gender concepts offer to an understanding of resilience, and how can resilience support the search for effective strategies for gender transformation?

Recommendation 7: CARE International should use its global knowledge resources to build up a sound knowledge base and analytical framework relating to gender and resilience. CARE in the HoA and other similar agencies should seek closer collaboration with each other in identifying gaps in knowledge and developing joint research around these and other relevant topics.

Caption: Senko Kebele, Fogera Woreda. Bederitu Tooaha, 38 and her husband Ambew Lai in front of the family's latrine. They have 7 children, four boys and three girls. They farm one hectare of land and grow maize, teff, millet, cabbage and beans. The family had two ox but one died 2 weeks ago. He is part of the local WASH committee. Before CARE arrived in their village the family would get sick two times a month. This ended up costing them 300 Birr a month for medical treatment, driving them into debt. But now life is better. The wife is chairperson of local health community and responsible for educating members about health and hygiene issues. She now collects water in a plastic jar, bought a mosquito net, washes hands regularly with soap, has built a latrine near the house and now they have a water point 10 minutes from their home, 26/07/2013. PHOTO: Josh Estey/CARE

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ANNEX 1: SOMALIA/SOMALILAND

1. Introduction

Of the three countries covered in the GiE study, Somalia/Somaliland was the most severely affected by the drought of 2011-12, owing to a combination of several factors: successive failed rains, increasing food prices, underdevelopment, poor governance, conflict, insecurity, and limited humanitarian access, especially in South Central Somalia. Around four million people were severely affected: 1.46 million were internally displaced within the country and a further million Somalis into Kenya and Ethiopia. CARE's emergency response consisted of interventions in the fields of water and sanitation, nutrition, non-food items.[47]

More generally, CARE's experience in Somalia is particularly focused on water and sanitation, livelihoods, education, sustainable environmental management, civil society development, peace building, conflict mitigation and governance and small scale enterprise development. Currently, the three main programmes are: Rural Vulnerable Women, Urban Youth, and Emergency Response. CARE is a member of SomReP (Somalia Resilience Programme), a coalition of seven international NGOS aiming to tackle the challenge of recurrent droughts and chronic vulnerability among pastoralists, agro-pastoralists, and peri-urban households across Somalia.

2. A brief sketch of the study contexts

Field research in Somalia/Somaliland was conducted in two locations: in Garowe, capital of Puntland, and in several sites around Burao and Erigavo, in eastern Somaliland. These locations provide contrasting features in terms of types of environment and livelihoods, and in terms of CARE's spread of programming.

Garowe

As the capital of Puntland Autonomous Region, Garowe's approximately 300,000 population includes a substantial urban middle class, as well as a smaller and wealthier managerial class and a number of poor neighbourhoods. In addition, Garowe is host to around 10,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) living in camps within and around the town. The latter have mostly sought refuge from insecurity in South Central Somalia, but also include ethnic Somalis originally residing on the Ethiopian side of the Puntland-Ethiopia border as well as some former pastoralists from rural areas around Garowe.

Members of the host community are substantially better resourced than the IDPs, having control over land and other resources such as housing, water supply management, political contacts and influence, markets, businesses and employment, and participating in civil society. Nevertheless, life expectancy is low at 50 years and more than 60% of the population fall into the 14-35 age bracket. The chewing of *qat* is an increasing problem, especially among men.

IDPs, on the other hand, have little power politically or economically, being mainly from the marginalized clans. They have few income-generating opportunities, and experience discrimination in accessing basic services or engaging with local government structures. IDP camps and settlements are congested, with limited access to basic services such as water, sanitation and quality education. Fire outbreak is a frequent hazard. IDP communities tend to have higher proportions of female headed and polygamous households,

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[47] AFTER ACTION REVIEW, CARE SOMALIA, 2011 DROUGHT AND DISPLACEMENT EMERGENCY, NAIROBI 2012.

and there are higher levels of drug addiction, malnutrition, early marriage and gender-based violence. IDPs are highly dependent on external aid.

As in many other parts of Somalia, kinship identity is highly influential in determining both political and economic influence and access, a factor which tends to exclude youth, women, and 'minority' clans. Decision-making is generally in the hands of older men, and youth under the age of 35 may not stand for elections to parliament. Many young men in Garowe are tempted by the lack of opportunity to undertake *tahriib* or migration to Europe and the Middle East. In relation to women, the current constitution of Puntland provides for no minimum quota for women's political representation. Women are discriminated against in formal employment and access to credit, pushing them to work in the informal sector, which requires little start-up capital.

Unemployment is high amongst both men and women, and adult female illiteracy remains widespread. As for minority clans, these generally control no land in the Garowe area: some are excluded from marrying from mainstream clans or from settling in the same areas, and hence are unable to access kinship-based networks providing access to political and economic opportunities. Young women from minority clans are especially vulnerable, particularly to sexual and other forms of abuse by majority clan members and local officials.

Somaliland

In Somaliland the research took place in seven locations between Burao and Erigavo. Between them these communities represent a population of around 500,000, and were selected to include both large towns and small settlements, rural and urban environments, and host and IDP populations, as well as communities that have, and have not, been targets of CARE interventions.

Pastoralism is the most widespread form of livelihood in these communities, although this lifestyle has been disrupted by changes to rainfall patterns and/or conflict, the two hazards being interconnected. The area includes territory contested by the governments of both Somaliland and Puntland. Furthermore, tensions around access to and control of water points, grazing land and humanitarian aid - especially food relief - arise as a result of resource scarcity, caused by prolonged drought and worsened by conflicts. While recurring drought is an ongoing problem, paradoxically flooding is also a frequent problem often giving rise to humanitarian emergency situations.

The combination of drought and conflict leads to an ongoing cycle of impacts, including loss of life (especially to men, who may be forced to take up arms to fight for their clan), loss of livelihood, loss of household assets, food insecurity, conflict over resources, school drop-outs, displacement, reduced access to health services, increased malnutrition, gender-based violence, disability, and loss of family. Population movement is an increasing aspect of life in the region: older men and women with resources tend to move back from the cities to their rural communities, while youth, on the contrary, tend to seek out urban centres in search of income generating opportunities.

Pastoralists are increasingly forced by loss of livestock to settle in towns and villages, attracted by the presence of water sources and the possibility of starting alternative income generating activities, often adding to the IDP population. Moreover, once pastoralists lose their livestock, the community experiences general decline in multiple ways: shop owners lose business; children are withdrawn from school and

teachers go without pay; women's roles as breadwinners increase as men's access to resources is lost, and drought adds to women's workloads when they are obliged to walk long distances for water.

Taken together, the two research sites in Somalia/Somaliland share a number of key long-term stress factors. In both areas, the effects of rainfall decline and violent conflict are compounded by poverty and high unemployment, outmigration of youth, and weak governance. These factors render them highly vulnerable to immediate shocks, of which the most common in recent years have been drought, floods, and incidents of insecurity.

3. Summary of stakeholder views

Stakeholders who participated in focus groups and as key informants included both men and women, elders and youth, IDPs and members of host communities, members of minority clans, teachers, members of civil society organizations, religious leaders and community representatives, businessmen and women, participants of CARE interventions such as Village Savings and Loans Associations (VSLA) members, peace committee members, women lawyers, university students, female members of a religious group, and employees of local and international agencies.

Challenges and opportunities facing communities

The combined analysis of the challenges facing communities in the two locations echoes the context description presented above, but also suggests a range of other concerns as well, as shown in table 1 below.

Table 1: Top ten most life-constraining challenges in Somalia/Somaliland identified by respondents

	Garowe	Somaliland
1	Weak education (poor quality, limited access, not free)	Lack of quality education
2	Illegal migration	Illegal migration
3	GBV (early marriage, rape, domestic violence)	Violence against women and girls
4	*Qat* chewing	*Qat* chewing
5	Scarce resources (income, poverty, access, etc.)	Poverty and food insecurity
6	Natural disasters (droughts, floods)	Drought, livestock loss
7	Clan structures	Clan discrimination, tribalism
8	Poor basic services (especially health, but also hygiene, security, shelter)	Lack of basic health facilities
9	Unemployment	Land disputes

10	Lack of effective government	Men's idleness

Particularly noteworthy is the priority given by respondents to poor access to and poor quality of education as a major disadvantage faced by the community, as well as references to unequal and abusive gender relations (including illegal migration and *qat* addiction, both predominantly affecting men and male youth).

Paradoxically, a similar range of factors also appeared as opportunities as identified by respondents. Thus clan solidarity appears as both a negative factor (exclusion of less powerful clans) and as a positive asset (a system of mutual support, mobilising the capacities of different members, for example the wisdom of elders, the resources of diaspora members). Likewise, the widespread use of *qat* is seen as a significant challenge, but as an asset to minority clans who earn a living from selling it.

Peace, security and the existence of civil society groupings (especially women's groups) were the most frequently cited opportunities, and respondents pointed out that education, though difficult to access, does exist.[48] Other sources of opportunity were cited as economic growth and infrastructure development, markets and business, the existence of natural resources including water, livestock and grazing land, government services and NGO interventions, the political system (elections, decentralisation) and the spiritual support of mosques and religious leaders. However, respondents pointed out that access to these resources is not equal, with poverty, illiteracy, rural isolation, minority clan identity, disability and gender discrimination (particularly discrimination against women) being key factors limiting people's enjoyment of these assets.

Vulnerabilities and capacities

Women: The research process enabled CARE Somalia to reflect on the specific vulnerabilities and opportunities of women, men, girls and boys in different settings, and on the sort of changes that respondents felt could improve gender relations by positively affecting the life of each of these groups. Findings indicate that women and girls have generally higher levels of vulnerability than men and boys. However, there are further significant differences, especially those between host and IDP communities and between powerful and minority clans. IDPs and minority groups face greater challenges in securing basic needs and hence in accessing economic, social, educational, political opportunities. Having a disability – either physical or mental – is also considered a vulnerability factor throughout the different groups.

Respondents suggested that the most vulnerable women are those who have survived GBV and are suffering from stigma related to rape, and those who are childless or resource-poor. Women's biological functions (giving birth, menstruation, etc.) also weaken their capacity to access opportunities. Further factors of vulnerability for women are being divorced or widowed, having no husband and thus lacking protection, having a husband who chews *qat* or who prevents his wife from working outside the home, being a young mother with several children, and not having male children. Also amongst the more vulnerable of women are those with low literacy, numeracy and income-generating skills.

Women tend to have limited participation in public activities, are generally excluded from decision-making both at household and community level because of exclusionary social norms, and get little support from their clans or from community representation. These factors hinder their access to resources and control of

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[48] NB Primary education is free in Somaliland.

assets, and affect their freedom of choice. Women's weak clan identity reinforces their lack of power. The widespread idleness of men (for example those who chew *qat*) adds to women's work burden and leads to high levels of gender-based and domestic violence.

Women with greater resilience appear to be those who can access assets and resources, those from the host community, and those whose husbands and families care for their wellbeing. Other factors that decrease vulnerability and increase opportunities for women in general were identified as: having wealth, assets and social status; having sons; being older, but with a family; being a member of an INGO target community group (VSLAs, etc.); being active in business and having business acumen; being married; being educated; belonging to a well-known and respected family, and being an orator (a singer, a poet, a journalist, etc.). Having a supportive family (particularly daughters) and a high-status husband, as well as having savings and being exposed to urban life, were also seen as assets for women. Access to information about locally available opportunities and having training in marketable skills was seen as a particular asset by IDP women, as was being a woman trusted by the community, being a religious woman or a woman activist, and having active politicians who are able to influence government activities in relation to IDP issues.

Girls: The vulnerabilities and capacities profile for girls is similar to that of women. However, life is particularly hard for orphans or girls who have few relatives, and for girls whose parents are poor or illiterate, and in which daughters are expected to provide support to their mothers. Girls suffer from cultural expectations that they will be silent and passive, and they may often feel unable to voice their needs. Some families fail to value education or to encourage their daughters in school, or prefer to send sons to school rather than daughters; others prevent their daughters from working because of a belief that working girls are not following religion. Rural girls face particular vulnerabilities since they lack exposure to urban life and technology, especially when they live in a remote location where even access to schooling and health facilities becomes a real challenge. Conversely, access to education and information are assets for girls. Some respondents considered that getting married was a better option for girls than school, since it offers an opportunity for a better status.

Men: Among men, the most vulnerable are those who belong to minority clans, who are unemployed, who are abusing *qat*, or who lack resources, skills, education and political influence. Other important factors include the threat of revenge killings, being old with no children, lacking marketable skills, and not being a target of NGO interventions. For men from higher status clans, prejudice against menial work limits job opportunities. IDPs are rendered more vulnerable by their lack of land ownership, while rural men lack exposure to other environments and are more likely to be affected by conflict and by the loss of livestock and limitations on grazing land. On the other hand, men have greater opportunities when they have children (especially if they have caring daughters), belong to a clan or family of status, are respected elders, or come from the diaspora, if they have marketable skills or experience of urban life.

Boys: The most vulnerable boys are those who are orphaned or neglected, street children, and those who have to work from an early age. The voices of boys and young men are not heard at community or clan politics level. Boys and young men are less valued than adult or elder men, have less decision-making power, and have limited political voice. The limited employment opportunities for young men leads to a sense of hopelessness, and being demotivated, in turn, further limits opportunities. Young male IDPs are particularly vulnerable if they are neglected and therefore have to work to support themselves, or if they abuse drugs. Boys and young men are vulnerable to pressure from clan decisions mobilising them for clan-

related conflicts, or to other forms of exploitation by older clan members. Respondents did not identify any factors increasing boys' capacity to access opportunities, except for the added value given to education.

Changing gender relations

Respondents noted a number of positive changes that have occurred in their lifetimes. In particular, women have acquired an increased role outside the house and beyond their nurturing and caring roles, and many women have become breadwinners, either by default (in female-headed households) or because men have withdrawn from their previous roles. To achieve this, women have developed new roles in the informal sector.   At the same time, girls have started gaining greater access to education (as have boys) and female literacy levels are rising. Women are increasingly participating in social and political life at different levels of society – for example attending public meetings and conferences, participating in community committees, and in some cases participating in politics. Respondents attributed these changes in part to the experience of other countries brought back by Somalis returning from the diaspora.

The main negative trend noted by respondents, however, was men's withdrawal from their previous roles and responsibilities. Men's roles appear to have changed significantly, since they no longer control the same level of resources (such as herds and family labour) as they once did, and since new resources such as employment or business opportunities are out of reach for many. Moreover, with women's increased access to employment and self-employment, men's role as breadwinner is starting to be usurped by women. Unemployment is high, and even where men are able to bring in an income, an increasing proportion of it is spent on *qat*.

At the same time, polygamous households in particular find it increasingly difficult to meet basic needs, and this fosters new tensions within such households. While gender-based violence is not new, respondents felt systems of justice functioned better in the past. Some noted that divorce is now more frequent since women are more independent and know their rights, while men are resisting such changes.

When asked what changes in gender relations they hoped to see in future, improvements in education provision, and especially girls' education, emerged as the major priority, together with provision of skills training. Respondents also hoped to see drought coping mechanisms in place and effective, rising household incomes, an increase in employment opportunities for men and boys, and greater access by women to resources such as ownership of livestock. They anticipated a reduction in *qat* consumption, and more equitable relations within the household, with men taking more household responsibilities and women participating in decision-making.

All respondents wanted to see a range of specific improvements in conditions for women, including a reduction in gender-based violence, and a functioning government and judicial system capable of protecting women's and girls' rights. Improving maternal and child-health services (especially in rural areas) was a priority, as was eradicating female genital mutilation (FGM) and reducing the rural/urban divide in terms of opportunities for girls. They hoped to see increases in women's political participation, with women's voices being heard and women fighting for their rights.

Respondents in general also emphasised the need for women, men and youth to participate equally in decision-making and in development initiatives, and for women and men to 'work together to produce a healthy youth community'. Increasing opportunities and structures for recreational activities and leisure, for

both girls and boys, was also suggested, and in general respondents desired to see a reduction in all forms of discrimination, whether based on gender, age, clan or livelihood.

4. Insights from the field research on the impact of interventions

The research revealed that CARE Somalia/Somaliland's interventions are widely appreciated by the community. This is especially true of those focusing on the education sector (with their attention on girls' and youths' access, retention and learning) and on CARE's VSLA approach. At the same time, some male FGD participants manifested surprise at being engaged in a discussion on gender issues, as this is often misinterpreted to mean addressing women's issues only, and as in their opinion CARE Somalia/Somaliland tends to target more women than men in many of its interventions. The focus group with religious women manifested a negative perception of NGOs and UN agencies, since they fear that such organizations import western ideas.

Participants were asked what they thought CARE could do to support the community to achieve positive changes in gender relations. Their first priorities lay in the areas of education and skills training, especially in preparation for employment and income generation, and in a range of activities supporting youth opportunities, particularly with a view to addressing the increasing challenge of youth migration. Their other main concerns were with advocacy for women's rights and gender equality, and with support to victims of gender-based violence. Some recommended that CARE should work particularly with power-holders such as religious leaders and traditional elders, to enhance their capacity to foster women's participation in development and education and to bring about change in gender relations.

5. Conclusions: directions for CARE Somalia/Somaliland programming

Findings threw up a number of surprises, which led the team to reflect on the implications for CARE's programme. One set of surprises related to the community's discourse around gender. No respondents used the term gender inequality to describe their challenges, suggesting that the term and the concept are unfamiliar to them, even though they did refer to factors of inequality and most women interviewed saw their gendered position as a challenge for them.[49] Some respondents critiqued NGO approaches to gender, underlining how prioritising women in interventions hinders men's capacity to access opportunities. They also underlined the 'relational' nature of gender as applying to women, men, girls and boys: for example, the majority of groups in both Somaliland and Garowe saw illegal migration (*tahriib*), mentioned as a challenge for the whole community, as a consequence of gender expectations placed on men and boys to bring in money for their families.

Many challenges were also mentioned as opportunities, suggesting that respondents were aware of new opportunities for positive change. For example, the team was surprised to see that, although the clan system is very much rooted into the country's social dynamics, the majority of respondents, both in Somaliland and Garowe, identified overcoming tribalism and clan-based dynamics as one of the changes they would like to see in the future, testifying to a willingness to affect the overall social structure of the country. Another change referred to by some respondents was stronger environmental protection, and in particular the eradication of charcoal production; they interpreted this as a gender issue, since charcoal is a

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[49] One group of (religious) women, however, did not feel held back by their gender; on the contrary, they felt NGOs were a harmful influence to the extent that they encourage women to engage outside the home, which is 'not where Allah chose them to be'.

source of income for many households, with men being involved in cutting trees, burning, and making and selling charcoal, often spending the income earned on *qat*.

While the programme currently seeks gender transformation through 'actively seeking to build equitable social norms and structures',[50] the team identified a number of areas where current programming could be strengthened:

- CARE Somalia/Somaliland could strengthen a gender approach that underlines gender as relational and addresses vulnerabilities of each group. This would include exploring the 'Engaging men and boys' approach introduced in other CARE country offices, in order to overcome discriminatory social norms rendering women and girls more vulnerable

- The Urban Youth Programme could intensify its attention to illegal youth migration (especially male youth who feel under pressure to migrate) as part of its strategy to empower youth

- Deeper consideration should be given in the design of new proposals to reducing the 'double victimization' of survivors of gender-based violence (GBV) as well as preventing GBV, focusing on building equitable social norms that prevent women and girls from being abused inside and outside their homes

- CARE Somalia/Somaliland could foster discussion on gender relations among different age groups as well as different genders. These discussions would promote open discussion, free from taboos and stereotypes, and aiming to shift the discourse from approaches based on culture and religion-based to rights based approaches. This possible strand of work might include fostering dialogue between male and female religious leaders and groups.

- CARE Somalia/Somaliland should work to explore the role and impact of local NGOs compared to INGOs in changing gender norms. The research in fact underlined a need to strengthen civil society as a driver of social change - advancing gender equality and also contributing to improving the rule of law and justice for women.

- CARE Somalia/Somaliland should take into account respondents' fear of dependency on short-term emergency support and their desire to see more long-term, sustainable support. The focus on disaster risk reduction and resilience should therefore be appreciated and continuous interventions in this direction should be envisaged.

The team's reflection also identified issues to explore further to guide future programming. These included the potential for the NGO sector to work on clan dynamics, the potential impact on gender equality of a functioning central government, and the possible protective effect for women of women's exclusion from clan decision-making. Finally, findings also suggested that female poets and journalists, being vocal and in the public eye, may have strong influence and be less vulnerable. What type of influence do they have, and how could this influence be utilized to facilitate a change for the better in gender relations?

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[50] 'Explanatory Note' p. 4.

1. **Introduction**

CARE Ethiopia has been working in Ethiopia since 1984. The program strategy, which started as humanitarian response to the 1984/85 drought, has grown significantly and moved into broader development programming. Currently CARE is operational in four regions (out of nine in the country) with six branch offices. Since the Program Approach and the selection of impact groups were introduced in 2009, programmes have included:

- Food security and resilience

- Water, sanitation and hygiene

- Nutrition, sexual and reproductive health

- Humanitarian response operations

- Climate change adaptation and DRR

Since 2010, charities and societies (including INGOs) operating in Ethiopia that obtain more than 10% of their funds from foreign sources have been disbarred from engaging in activities related to human and democratic rights, conflict resolution, peace, gender equality, rights of children and the disabled, and justice administration.

2. **A brief sketch of the study contexts**

Fieldwork for the GiE research took place in the Afar region, a dryland region in the north of Ethiopia characterised by high temperatures and scarce and erratic rainfall. The Afar ethnic group, the indigenous inhabitants of the area, are around 1.7 million in number and practice predominantly pastoralist livelihoods. Increasing frequency of low rainfall has led to changes in herd composition (now mainly camels and goats rather than the more diversified herds of the past) and to an increasing tendency to adopt agro-pastoralism (various combinations of pastoralist movement with settled agriculture). Government policy in relation to pastoralism is one of modernization, in practice implying sedentarisation. Commercial farming along the region's main river, the Awash, has encroached into pastoralists' rangelands and hence restricts their mobility, thus further threatening the viability of pastoralism as a means of livelihood.

Conflict with neighbouring groups and between Afar clans (mainly over access to land and other natural resources) has been frequent in the past but appears now to be reducing.

Afar Region scores poorly on a number of demographic indicators: for example primary school enrolment levels are the second lowest in the country, while adult education numbers are also low since government has only recently started providing it. Upper respiratory tract infection, malaria, and water-borne diseases are common. 75% of children in Afar suffer from anaemia, as compared to 44% in the rest of the country (itself an unacceptably high figure relative to WHO standards). Only around half of children under 2 have been immunised, as compared to around 90% in most other regions, and around one third of children are underweight. Owing to the low education levels in Afar, most staff of health and other government services are from outside the region. The sex ratio is 124:100, an extraordinary figure which may partly be explained

by recent in-migration of males from other regions seeking work, but which also suggests exceptionally high levels of female mortality.

CARE has been engaged in the Afar region since 1997, and it is the site of the Pastoralist Girls Program, with two key projects - the Social and Economic Empowerment of Pastoralist Girls and Pastoralist Afar Girls' Education Support - as well as some water development and emergency interventions. The emergency interventions have not incorporated significant emphasis or learning on gender, and hence no attempt to link the GiE study with emergency experience was made. CARE also leads the Partners for Resilience Program, which aims to strengthen community risk management through community empowerment and disaster risk analysis.

CARE's main methodological approach for gender and social development work is community dialogue using tools such as VSLA (Village Savings and Loan Associations, implemented under the Partners for Resilience Program) and SAA (Social Analysis and Action). A recent evaluation of VSLA[51] suggested that although it offers women new opportunities for engaging in business and improving relations within the household, its potential has in practice been limited by a number of contextual and organisational constraints. CARE has not yet measured the impact of SAA in Afar.

The study took place in two locations, Dawe and Dalifage, both in Zone 5 of Afar Regional State, one of CARE's two main zones of intervention. While Dawe is the site of interventions by CARE under the three programmes mentioned above (and a short-term drought emergency response in 2011), it has not been present in Dalifage. Dawe has gone further than Dalifage in transforming its means of livelihood to agro-pastoralism, with only about 30% of Dawe households migrating, and that only partially (each household leaving some members behind during migrations). It is better connected than Dalifage to the rest of the country, has better facilities, and has attracted a greater presence of NGOs. Dalifage, on the other hand, has remained primarily pastoral, although it has also attracted a small but growing urban population. Except for government offices, its facilities and infrastructure are less well developed, and social indicators are lower. Almost all households in Dalifage are registered to receive government food aid. However, the population of Dalifage, which is a zonal administrative centre, has a higher educational level. The profiles of the two sites are compared in table 2 below.

Table 2: Comparison of features of Dawe and Dalifage

	Dawe	**Dalifage**
Livelihood	Predominantly agro-pastoral with more agriculture work emerging in the last three years	Primarily pastoral except semi-urban areas around Dalifage city (5% of the 36,151 population)
		Almost 96% of the households receive food aid from government

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[51] Holly Ritchie (CARE, 2015) 'Towards Resilient Lifestyles? Women's Engagement in Pastoralist Livelihoods in Afar Regional State, Ethiopia'. Partnership for Resilience.

Migration	Sedentary: about 30% of households migrate partially	About 93% of households migrate during February and March
Infrastructure	Dry-weather dirt road connects with main road (in another region)	Bridge connecting town with closest market has been non-functional for over 3 years
	Electric power infrastructure (power lines) available, inconsistent supply	No electric power facilities
	Limited water supply	Limited water supply
	Primary and secondary schools, health post and farmers' training centre	Primary and secondary school located 4 km away
	Limited sanitary facilities	100% open-area defecation
	Weak market and finance infrastructure	No market and finance infrastructure
Environmental stress	Declining, erratic rainfall, scarce pasture and water, animal diseases but limited extension services, restricted mobility, invasive vegetation	Conflict, animal looting, scarce pasture and water, animal diseases but no extension services, restricted mobility, invasive vegetation
Education	High illiteracy rate	Lower illiteracy rate
Presence of other actors	About 14 NGOs work in the area	1 NGO works in the area
CARE-E's presence	Has been intervening since 2006	No intervention to date

3. Summary of stakeholder views

A total of 138 people were interviewed, in focus groups and in individual interviews. Focus group discussions were held with randomly selected groups of men, women, and male and female youth (married and not-married); separate individual interviews were carried out (locally, regionally and nationally) with government officials, clan leaders, NGO workers, and women in community level natural resource management.

Challenges faced by communities

Respondents found it difficult to articulate the different vulnerabilities of men, women, girls and boys, insisting on the general vulnerability of the community and stressing that the communal way of living and the strong Afari culture of sharing render distinctions irrelevant. Nevertheless the research team identified a number of ways in which the challenges of this harsh environment are experienced differently along gender and age lines.

The Afar region experiences two wet seasons per year (in March/April and in July to September) and two dry seasons (cold, October to February, and very hot, May-June). Respondents all reported that dry seasons are lengthening. In 'good' years, i.e. when rainfall is higher than normal, vegetation is abundant and animals are healthy, milk and butter are in plentiful supply and women's skin shines,[52] adults get together often and boys play games. In 'bad' years (now every other year, in the past once every 5-10 years), rainfall is low or non-existent, and time spent on migration is extended (though the area of migration is increasingly confined within the zone). The normal stresses that apply in an arid, pastoralist environment are intensified in 'bad' years. The main such stresses arise from the conditions of migration and from conflict, and from the limited availability of food. The impact of these varies along gender/age lines.

Migration: Decisions about when and where to migrate are taken at household level (though influenced by decisions of the wider clan): generally it is men and boys, accompanied by young women without children, who migrate with the larger animals, leaving women and children in the homestead with small stock. In severely dry seasons, however, the whole family may migrate together, giving rise to significant health problems, especially dehydration for children and the risk of unsupported delivery or miscarriage for women. Family members who stay behind, on the other hand, face the challenge of food security in the absence of the major part of their herds. When children are left behind so as to stay in school, this sometimes places high work burdens on older girls with smaller siblings; however, girls with no younger siblings have increased leisure at such times.

The building of the nomadic hut is women's responsibility. Appropriate branches need to be collected from the area where camp is to be struck, and respondents report that these are increasingly difficult to find. Fires are lit within the huts in order to keep insects away, leading to higher rates of respiratory illnesses for women, who tend to spend a large part of the day inside. During normal times, finding firewood and water is a daily challenge, in some places requiring girls to walk two and a half hours. The burden increases during migration, since communities permanently residing around the routes have already depleted forest resources. In Dalifage, a small number of young non-Afari men and women have begun to bring water on donkeys to the homes of those who can pay.

Little formal information is available about migration routes, such that NGO interventions (including CARE's VSLA programme for example) have no facility to migrate with the communities. Afar community members however share information through a practice known as *daguu*, whereby individuals communicate and share information as they meet. Information shared by men tends to be about climate, pasture, and migrations, often discussed at length while sitting under a tree, while women exchange information on the move about family health, market prices, and ceremonies.

Conflict: With increased scarcity of resources, animal looting and animal disease, comes conflict, and conflict over resources escalates during bad times. Government 'peace committees' set up to mediate such conflicts find that their negotiations are increasingly constrained as a result of land privatisation.

Afari men are armed, and are targeted during inter-clan conflict and conflict with outsiders. Boys are also targeted (whether armed or not) as they are considered a potential enemy in the future. Opinions of respondents differed on the issue of whether women and girls are targeted. Of the two neighbouring ethnic groups, the Oromo and the Issa, respondents say that the Oromo do not target Afar women and girls, but the Issa may abduct them, either for marriage and as a deliberate strategy of revenge, or as a temporary

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[52] Afar women treat dry skin with butter.

measure to prevent them from taking information back to their menfolk, in which case they will be released quickly. A recent case was recounted in which an Afar boy and girl were abducted while herding by an Issa raiding-party. The targeting of boys and men means that sometimes women and girls are tasked with bringing back animals that have wandered into the 'wrong' territory, with men and boys hiding behind bushes to ensure their safety.

Food availability: As a general rule, women and girls ensure that men and boys are served first, before they feel able to partake. The Afari diet is limited, often consisting only of milk, with or without corn bread: men and boys drink milk first, and women and girls drink what remains. Raw camel milk is a major nutritional source for men and boys: rules vary from place to place as to whether women may drink camel milk – and whether they may milk camels - or not, but invariably menstruating women may not drink camel milk. Afaris migrating with their herds generally take all their camels with them, so those who remain have no access to this resource.

It is also taboo for girls and women to eat or drink in view of men. The research team was taken aback by the exceptional strength of this taboo, observing intense anxiety amongst female respondents when taking refreshments during FDGs for example. Further research is needed to understand the impact of these restrictions on household nutrition. Although this reticence applies during normal and 'bad' times alike, it is likely to have more severe consequences during 'bad' times.

The specific vulnerabilities of female-headed households

Research by CARE and others in Ethiopia has identified the proportion of female-headed households (FHHs) in the country at large as around 10%, and indicates that such households have limited resilience owing to their reduced human resources.[53] Doubts about the applicability of these conclusions to the Afar case[54] led the GiE research team to investigate the specific vulnerability of FHHs during this fieldwork.

Respondents were puzzled when asked questions about FHHs, since they consider all households to be led by women, 'heading a household' being interpreted as 'managing the daily activities of the household' rather than 'providing'. However, widows may head households in the conventional meaning of the term too. Although Afar practise widow inheritance (by the husband's brother or other clan relative, commonly seen as a form of protection for the woman) the extent of the practice and changing patterns are areas for further exploration. A widow has the right to decide whether to re-marry or not; informants reported that their clans respect a widow's decision not to re-marry, and help out when she needs support, for example by managing their livestock during migrations.[55] Widows interviewed by the team saw no difference between their households and others in terms of social and economic barriers. However, most women engaged in petty trade (the main economic opportunity open to Afar women) rely on making and selling consumable products, which are increasingly being monopolised by government and their distribution controlled. This limits the possibilities for all women to engage in trade, and is likely to create ever-growing constraints for women who are the sole providers for their families.

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[53] For example, unpublished report by Jennifer Hodbod 'PRIME Baseline Synthesis Report', 2014.

[54] Most of the studies concerned have been conducted in urban and peri-urban contexts, while rates of urbanisation amongst Afar are generally lower than in the general population.

[55] However, clans do not tolerate re-marriage outside the clan, and a woman who undertakes this must leave the children of the deceased with the clan.

Opportunities

The Afar clan system appears to offer an exceptionally efficient social protection mechanism. Although Dawe respondents felt that clan solidarity is eroding somewhat in the face of recurrent climatic failures and as a result of proximity to Highland cultures, nevertheless it is still very strong in both locations. For example, households share responsibility during migrations: those who need to can leave their children behind with others, while households with no adult males can stay behind and consign their livestock to migrating families. Camels are managed by clan members in common, so that livestock-poor households may herd the camels of other clan members in return for accessing the milk for consumption and sale.[56] If a family loses its livestock, clan leaders will ask members to contribute animals to re-stock the herd, sometimes providing more than the lost livestock. It is this part of the support system which seems most challenged by the recurrent drought communities are facing. However the Muslim institution of *zakat* or alms-giving is still intact, and there appears to be collaboration between formal and informal structures to direct opportunities that come to the community towards the poorest households.[57]

The increasing extent and quality of government services, including health, education, water and electricity, are viewed positively as providing opportunities to Afar and making a real difference to their lives. Currently almost the whole population of Dalifage, and an unknown proportion of Dawe residents, are in receipt of food aid under the government food for work programme.[58] Although local authorities prepare lists of vulnerable families, on the basis of which quantities are designed, in reality this food aid is shared out equally amongst neighbouring families. Registration of land ownership by individuals or groups is new and as yet largely unrecorded in Afar, but is seen as a major opportunity as it enables increasing numbers of Afar to offset the climate risks affecting pastoralism by resorting to either rain-fed or irrigated agriculture.

Changing gender relations

Respondents were agreed that significant changes have taken place since the 1990s, with women's greater engagement in the public arena due to more educated women holding formal power positions, especially in government and NGO structures. Given the reticence normatively required of women, they acknowledge that their presence in, for example, local council meetings may not be as assertive as it might. However, respondents reported that they have different channels for getting their views known: in Dawe, for example, the district leader often arranges separate meetings with women to hear their opinions.[59] There was less

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[56] The Afars' shared access to natural resources has been recorded in previous CARE research. See CARE Ethiopia (2010). Productive Safety Net Programme Pastoral Area Pilot (PSNP-PAP): Livelihood/KAP Baseline Assessment Dewe Woreda, Afar, Ethiopia.

[57] For example, a clan leader said 'when NGOs provide trainings or meetings, since they pay per diem, we select those households who are poorer than others to attend, so that they can bring some money in.'

[58] The Productive Safety-Net Programme is a government initiative in which CARE is a partner: it provides either cash or non-cash transfers, conditional or non-conditional, to vulnerable households with and without able-bodied members, for a period of five years. PSNP is relatively new in lowland areas such as Afar, as compared to highland areas. A key issue in the implementation of this programme is the low level of graduation out of the programme, estimated in 2011 to be 10% (Berhane, G. J. et al (2011) 'Evaluation of Ethiopia's Food Security Program: Documenting Progress in the Implementation of the Productive Safety Nets Programme and the Household Asset Building Programme', Institute for Development Studies and the International Food Policy Research Institute, Brighton: IDS), and CARE is currently engaged in developing appropriate strategies for graduating households out of PSNP.

[59] Fiona Flintan, a gender and natural resources management expert in pastoral communities, suggests that forcing the inclusion of women in a highly patriarchal structure does not help women, nor achieve gender equality – Fiona Flintan (2011). 'Changing Nature of Gender Roles in Dry Land of the Horn and East Africa: Implications for DRR Programming'. Regional Learning & Advocacy Programme for Vulnerable Dry Land Communities-REGLAP.

agreement amongst respondents about changes at the household level. In this respect, men cited examples of ways in which they support their wives in carrying out 'women's' chores, whereas female FDGs denied having noticed any change in their workload. However, they agreed that technical advances and access to services such as potable water, grinding mills and transportation has made women's life easier.[60]

Afari men started to chew *qat* in the 1980s, and it has now become common to see them sitting chewing from noon to dusk as a daily routine. *Qat* takes up household resources: in a recent study, CARE found that male respondents viewed it as a priority, alongside food for the family and milk, while women saw it as the least of their priorities, but are reluctant to challenge men on the issue for fear of breaking up the family.[61]

Female Genital Mutilation (FGM) appears to be in decline in Afar, as in the rest of the country, although a reduced form is still rampant. Early marriage is declining, although the reasons for this are open to interpretation. Girls marry after their first period, and it may be that current environmental stresses and the ensuing lowering of nutritional levels, are delaying the onset of menstruation. However, education also plays a role, as parents will not normally take a girl out of school for marriage if she is doing well at school. Girls who are married and have had a child rarely return to school. However, the advantage of marriage for them is that married girls are considered 'adult', and have greater freedom to engage in petty trade or to join NGO projects.

Afar practise preferential cross-cousin marriage (*absuma)*, which is a key factor in the maintenance of clan cohesion and solidarity. *Absuma* arrangements apply between two defined lineages of a clan, thus cementing relations within the clan. The institution of *absuma* has the advantage of conferring marriage and its protection on all Afar as a matter of right, and also of ensuring a woman's protection, since her in-laws are also her family. However, the disadvantages are seen to be the prescriptive nature of the arrangement, which limits the choice of marriage partner, and the danger of young girls being exploited as wives of older men.

There is evidence that the practice is reducing, and that where it is maintained greater freedom is given to young people to select from a range of cousins rather than being allocated a spouse by their parents. Girls' education is also having an impact, since it encourages girls to postpone marriage and to exercise greater degrees of choice. Woven into the debates about *absuma* are fears about girls being unduly influenced by 'modern' ideas and urban lifestyles if they go away to school, as well as fears of sexual violence and the stigma of pregnancy. Debates about *absuma* place pressure on the relationship between mothers and daughters, since it is the mother's family to whom a girl will be married and who will respond badly if she refuses.

Essentially, Afar (both men and women) consider the ideal relationship between men and women is one of respect, rather than equality. This is reflected in the extreme reticence that characterises women's behaviour in the presence of men, and which still applies, even though to a lesser extent than in the past. In the 1980s, a woman who by chance encountered a man on the road would sit down and turn her back to him, covering her head, until he passed. This practice is declining, though women still turn their face away from a man passing. Girls are expected to be shy in front of female strangers as well as men, as the research team found out when girls covered their faces in focus groups and deferred to older women when

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[60] Older women reported that young women and girls have gone 'soft' and have an easy life, especially girls attending school, who do far less household work than in the past.

[61] CARE (2013). 'Household Decision Making in Pastoral Areas from Gendered Perspective'.

expressing opinions. Dalifage girls however were slightly less shy than those in Dawe, describing an empowered woman as being vocal, confident and able to speak her thoughts clearly in meetings. It is possible that participation in girls' club activities enable girls to be more self-confident.

4. Insights from the field research on the impact of interventions

In the absence of a mandate for NGOs to adopt rights-based approaches, it is nevertheless encouraging to see that NGO interventions have helped to improve material conditions in the Afar region. This includes a considerable reduction in 'harmful traditional practices', notably FGM, provision of potable water, and support to the introduction of alternative livelihood options for pastoralists threatened by climatic and other restrictions on their movements, especially the provision of training and technical support for agriculture. The introduction of VSLAs has proved significant as a means of motivating and supporting small business development.

Education and exposure emerged as key factors facilitating changes in the public sphere. Government has invested significantly in expanding education, health and other services, and the number of Afari men and women graduating from higher education institutions is increasing, despite a high level of still un-met need. It was surprising to hear an old woman in Dalifage describing the change as 'democracy'.

Surprisingly, women and girls appear to be more empowered in Dalifage than in Dawe, in spite of the limited engagement of NGOs in the former. This may be due to the fact that there are more women role models in public positions in Dalifage than in Dawe: both men and women look up to the few women in power for inspiration and as a sign of what is possible, many citing the examples of the head of the Dalifage Education Bureau and her mother, head of the Women, Children and Youth Affairs bureau, as evidence that men and women are equally competent to hold official positions, given the appropriate opportunities. It may also be relevant that the Afar clan most strongly represented in Dalifage is considered to be more powerful than that associated with Dawe, a factor that is likely to enhance the confidence and standing of both men and women in Dalifage. This finding is a reminder to be sanguine about attributing social change to NGO impact, given the multitudinous other factors at play.

The majority of respondents, both those from the community and key informants from government and non-government organisations, believed that NGOs do contribute to change, especially in relation to reducing harmful practices. At the same time, there is some scepticism within the government and NGO communities about how much NGOs can realistically achieve, given certain organisational weaknesses that are seen to be common amongst them. These include the fact that most NGO staff are from outside the Afar region, as well as perceptions of NGOs as being businesses and the project-based nature of their work-plans.

5. Conclusions

Although the two sites, Dawe and Dalifage are similar in terms of their culture and the environmental and infrastructural challenges they face, there are clear differences between them in terms of their capacity to overcome these challenges. In particular, Dalifage shows a more active engagement by government, while the NGO presence is stronger in Dawe. The pastoral way of life and the clan support system have been partially eroded in Dawe, but are still intact in Dalifage. Dalifage is home to a high number of educated people, and the clan that is based there is politically strong. These factors may have contributed to the

population's confidence and capacity to engage in public affairs, and its relatively strong record on female public engagement.

A key learning from the research is that Afaris see vulnerability as collective rather than individual or household-based.   The most significant vulnerabilities faced by communities in Dawe and Dalifage are:

- climate-related stresses and shocks and a lack of quality information that would assist the development of locally acceptable adaptation options

- under-developed skills in terms of the development of alternative livelihoods, and in particular a lack of entrepreneurial skills (perhaps the down-side of an egalitarian social protection system)

- the depletion of household resources resulting from various causes, including critically the increase in *qat* consumption

- a weak and informal land registration and management system

At the same time, the strong egalitarian clan support system does mitigate risk, and a growing young population has the appetite for change and alternative livelihood options. The existence of irrigable land around rivers in both Dawe and Dalifage, as well as rain-fed agriculture (mainly around Dawe), offers a new form of livelihood in agro-pastoralism.

This analysis suggests a number of ways forward for CARE programming. Firstly, working on agricultural development in a climate-adaptive and gender-sensitive way would be a transformative strategy, as would supporting the resilience of girls. Working to expand basic services such as education, health and water would have immediate impacts, as well as contributing to long-term transformation.

As indicated above, Afari views of development challenges differ in some key respects from those of government and NGO interveners. In particular, notions of vulnerability and gender equality are uppermost in the minds of interveners but of little concern to Afari respondents, who consider their society highly egalitarian. This finding has clear implications for the discourse of intervention at community level, as well as for staff recruitment policy. One avenue for CARE might be the development of a human resource strategy for the Afar region. It also raises important questions about what sort of changes CARE should support people in seeking, and about how to marry Afar concerns with strategies based on an external view of the challenges facing the community.

ANNEX 3: KENYA

1. Introduction

CARE International in Kenya (CIK) started operating in Kenya in 1968. From the onset, CARE's involvement in Kenya focused on emergency assistance, capacity and resilience building. Long-term agro-forestry projects were initiated, integrating environmentally-sound tree and land management practices with farming to provide diversification of agriculture. As early as the 1970's CARE was building synergies with local communities through initiatives such as the 'Harambee' movement – a self-help movement that rallied communities' finances and human resources for common good. CARE has always valued the participation and input of communities in the planning and implementation of programmes. This human-centred design has ensured that CARE remains strong and legitimate where it works.

In 1982, CARE began focusing on empowering women through income and livelihood generating programmes[62]. CARE started the first HIV/Aids education programmes in Kenya, in 1988 when the subject was still either largely unknown or a taboo. It launched a children's magazine in 1989 to discuss HIV/Aids prevention. This was further strengthened by the *Pied Crow Education* project in 1994 as a nation-wide children's education programme. Since 1992, CARE has worked with refugees displaced by famine and insecurity in the main refugee camps in Dadaab. CARE has been the lead humanitarian agency responsible for providing lifesaving assistance, food, water, sanitation and hygiene facilities, counselling centres for gender-based violence survivors and support in other sectors including education.

CARE has worked mostly in three geographical areas in Kenya: northern Kenya including Dadaab, Nyanza and Kibera in Nairobi. The areas of coverage were informed by the Government of Kenya's analysis of poverty[63], the extent of coverage by other international NGOs, and the deliberate choice to focus on areas with highest poverty and in places where partner agencies were not already present in scale. Through the Global Fund supported HIV project, CARE works in other parts of the country, but purely through partnerships with national and a few international NGOs.

2. A brief sketch of the study contexts

The Kenya research team opted to carry out fieldwork in two contrasting locations: Garissa, a major town in the arid Somali-dominated North-East together with parts of its rural hinterland - and Kibra, an urban slum in Nairobi. Both have been affected by political and economic turbulence. In both cases CARE has adopted chronically livelihood-insecure women and girls as its main impact group, owing to the critical gender issues they face.

Garissa

Garissa's arid environment suffers environmental degradation as a result of the refugee influx from neighbouring Somalia and because of unplanned settlements and charcoal burning. Infrastructure development is poor, with an inadequate road network, water scarcity, and a poor health and environmental sanitation system. The main livelihoods activities are pastoralist and agro-pastoralist, and include farming (crop and livestock), bee-keeping, small-scale fishing, small-scale business and charcoal selling.

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[62] CARE Canada Annual Reports 1982-1984.
[63] Geographic Dimensions of Well Being in Kenya Volume II

Unemployment levels are high and incomes generally low, as are literacy levels. Clan identity is an important determinant of access to services and opportunities, and is a factor in political division.[64] Of Garissa's 700,000 population, around half live below the poverty line. As a result of these stresses, the majority of the poorest have little capacity to withstand shocks, which in this context include droughts, flash floods, natural resource-based (pasture and water) conflicts, and more recently politically motivated violence.[65]

CARE has been working in Garissa since 1992, mainly focusing on humanitarian assistance, livelihoods, VSLA, GBV, and more recently on climate change adaptation.

Kibra

Kibra, one of the biggest informal urban settlements in Africa,[66] suffers from a host of environmental challenges including overcrowding and insanitary conditions (an open sewage system and inadequate refuse management) and poor access to clean water, health care, and clean energy. Crime, illiteracy and unemployment are high. The rate of HIV infection is 14 percent, almost double the national rate. A railway line passes through the settlement, enhancing the risk of accidents. Disease outbreaks, fires and flash floods add to the list of potential shocks.

The main sources of livelihood are commercial and service-related, and include hairdressing, small shops, private schools, pay toilets, sex work, food kiosks, water vending, vegetable stalls, pubs and urban farming. The population of Kibra is ethnically varied, being composed of representatives of all 42 of Kenya's ethnic groups. Unlike Garissa, in Kibra the dominant clans and tribes support the political opposition, while minority groups support the government. Kibra is subject to political upheavals and politically motivated violence, especially during election times, and young men in particular are victims of political exploitation.

CARE has been working in Kibra since 2004. Past and ongoing projects include financial inclusion, HIV&AIDS, and humanitarian interventions during emergencies. One reason for selecting Kibra for this study was that it may provide insights into the problems – particularly those relating to gender and emergencies - facing urban settlements more generally.

3. **Summary of stakeholder views**

The study encountered around 200 informants taking part in focus groups in Garissa, and about 120in Kibra. Selection of groups took age, gender, religion etc into account. FGDs were conducted separately for male, female and youth for both sites. Key informants included county officials, religious leaders and opinion leaders.

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[64] I.e. the larger and more dominant clans tend to follow the current governing party, whereas smaller clans largely support opposition groups.

[65] The Somali militant group Al Shabaab attacked Garissa University on 2nd April 2015, killing 147 people and wounding a further 70 (See http://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/apr/07/kenyan-families-mourn-best-brightest-garissa-attack accessed 29th May 2015). Attacks by Al Shabaab have continued in the Garissa area (see http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-africa-32881323 for example, accessed 29th May 2015).

[66] CARE researchers estimate the population as 900,000, but recognise that this figure is contested.

Challenges and opportunities facing the communities

Garissa and Kibra both face environmental challenges, though of a different nature. In Garissa, respondents reported experiencing both drought and flash floods. Environmental degradation is a key challenge: invasive plant species have progressively taken over good farming land along the river Tana since the early 1980s, and wildlife (including monkeys, giraffes and hippos) make incursions into farming land along the river, which has only been farmed since the 1990s. Livestock being grazed around the river also causes occasional damage to crops. Water resources are limited in relation to population numbers, and people often have to walk long distances to water sources. In Kibra on the other hand, residents are at risk of disease as a result of insanitary conditions, such as poor housing and the lack of clean water, toilets or refuse collection, and of poor infrastructural development (for example, poor roads which constrain women when attending maternal health facilities). In the view of key informants, poor and haphazard infrastructural development in the slums is attributable to poor planning by local and national government, as well as to population explosion in the slums over the past few years.

Both communities are threatened by political upheavals resulting from tribalism or clannism, which mediates access to employment and other economically important assets. In both communities, poverty and unemployment are exacerbated by exclusion, corruption and nepotism. In Kibra, participants in focus groups commented that local politics are built around ethnicity, with the result that leaders, once elected, will want to ensure that their ethnic community benefits from job opportunities or development projects. In particular, the minority Nubian community feels dominated by the Luo community, who have 'taken our land' despite the latter being 'outsiders' to the area. FDG participants of Nubian origin considered that solving the land problem is essential if they are to experience meaningful development.

Poverty and illiteracy were cited as factors limiting community members' access to basic services such as health and education. Respondents in Kibra cited lack of employment opportunities as the key cause of poverty, while in Garissa exclusion of minority ethnic groups (Malakote and other northern Kenya groups) from property ownership and, for the Somali community, the difficulty of obtaining identity documents, were also cited. Illiteracy was especially cited as a challenge in Garissa, where respondents noted that women and girls are held back in access to education, and drop out early owing to discriminatory attitudes and to the preference given to boy children. This leads to women having low self-esteem and not participating actively in development initiatives.

Insecurity is a major threat in both communities: in Kibra insecurity results from high levels of crime, and occasionally from election violence, while in Garissa the threat is more from resource conflict and more recently terrorism. Women particularly felt themselves to be at risk of rape and other forms of physical attack, especially if they are out at night. Drug/substance and alcohol abuse emerged as being especially common amongst youth, as reported in both study sites. Respondents in Kibra cited drug abuse as a key driver of crime, while in Garissa chewing *miraa* (*qat*) is widely practiced by men and was identified as being responsible for men's indolence.

On the other hand, programmes set up by national and local governments open up opportunities for development and employment, and devolution is expected to enhance these opportunities. Free primary education and various other educational projects are seen as an opportunity, and respondents made it clear that belonging to a group (such as CARE's VSLA groups) offered opportunities to address some of the challenges facing the communities. Respondents mentioned specifically initiatives such as the MPesa cashless transaction facility, government-sponsored development funds such as the Youth Fund and the

Women's Fund, and the Beyond Zero mobile maternal and child health clinics, as being significant assets for both communities. However, both male and female respondents claimed that such opportunities are more targeted towards women and youth than towards with men and older people generally.

Vulnerabilities and capacities

The Kenya study was particularly concerned with how people participated in community and development activities, and what might hold them back from this. Women and girls who were considered most disadvantaged here were those who are in poor health or disabled, or who for other reasons lack the physical capacity to engage in extra activities, for example pregnant or breast-feeding women. Orphaned girls, older women, girls married early, and women from minority tribes were thought to be similarly disadvantaged especially because of the low self-esteem that many suffer from: Garissa respondents in particular emphasized that single mothers are totally excluded by the community from participating in any development activity. Illiteracy is also a clear disadvantage when it comes to any form of public engagement. Lack of access to economic resources (for example property, credit facilities) is a key constraint that affects women in particular, since they tend to lack the wherewithal to set up small businesses. Sexual assault, rape and sexual harassment are said to be common, especially in Kibra, and levels of prostitution and routine transactional sex are high: for example women described how they were often expected to exchange sexual favours when applying for jobs.

Underlying all these constraints is the low status accorded to women in both communities, and the social roles assigned to them, which predominantly consign them to the domestic sphere and to domestic work, limiting their opportunities to go to school, be educated, or engage in the public arena. Women's participation in life outside the home, as well as their access to economic resources, is not a choice that they make themselves, but is rather dependent on the will of their menfolk. For example the idea of women owning property was found unrealistic – indeed laughable – in some FDGs: one participant asked 'how can a property own a property?'

There do exist women in both communities, however, who manage to take advantage of opportunities that exist and who acquire positions of influence in the community. Achieving this requires a woman to be wealthy and/or educated, and/or to participate in a group (for example, CARE's VSLAs). Educated women have greater knowledge and awareness about opportunities, are more aware of their rights, and better qualified to obtain employment, while women in groups also tend to be more enlightened, more aware of existing income generating activities and more endowed with resources to participate in developmental activities. Women active in local councils tend to be amongst the most influential, as do older women and religious women leaders. Women with children acquire status and tend to be listened to, though for some, bringing up children is too much of a struggle. Respondents in both communities thought that the most influential women are those who have a capacity to speak out publicly in an articulate way; women poets and artists were particularly mentioned.

Male focus group participants were of the opinion that men and boys are held back to the same extent as women and girls are, while women and girls agreed that some were, but not to the same extent. One of the most significant vulnerabilities faced by men and male youth is addiction to drugs/ substance and/or alcohol, mentioned by all respondents in both locations as being a factor that prevents men and male youth from engaging in economic activities or from upholding their family responsibilities. Boys and men also suffer from a lack of educational provision, and many feel they are discriminated against in employment because of their low levels of literacy. Illiteracy further prevents them from gaining useful knowledge that can be

applied in income generating activities such as farming or business. Polygamous men are considered to be less fortunate economically, since they have many mouths to feed. Men over 45 feel discriminated against, since most government assistance programmes are designed for younger men; similarly many men feel aggrieved that interventions, whether by government or by NGOs, are often targeted at women rather than men, which they feel is not only unfair but also a dangerous strategy since they will eventually rise up in protest.

Changing gender relations

Respondents noted that within living memory they have observed women gaining power as a result of education, and acquiring stronger voice at household and community level. Through groups such as VSLAs, women have acquired increased access to financial services. Women are now more likely to be involved in decision-making and to participate in politics.

Where they felt further development was needed was in terms of relations between men and women within the household, which is often characterized by conflict and tension. This includes a desire for greater sharing of roles between husband and wife, more appreciation by husbands of their wives' contribution, and stronger opportunities for women to air grievances. Respondents hoped to see more women taking leadership roles in society. They also believed that gender relations would improve if conditions for both men and women were enhanced in key respects, especially in relation to education opportunities for both boys and girls and better financial opportunities for all. Key changes sought for men in particular, but which would benefit the whole community, were a reduction in favoritism in employment based on tribe, clan and nepotism, and a reduction in alcohol and substance abuse. Some of these aspirations were thought to be within the power of the community to reach, especially those relating to awareness-raising on the rights of women and girls to education. Respondents thought that community members could go further to promote family planning. They wanted religious leaders to take a lead in addressing retrogressive cultural practices, as well as combating the discrimination faced by minority communities.

4.   Insights from the field research on the impact of interventions

Respondents were particularly appreciative of the existence of funds such as Uwezo and employment creation initiatives by the National Youth Service, though they would have liked to see them extended to all members of the community.   Group development such as CARE's VSLA programme was seen as being an asset to both communities. Respondents were particularly appreciative of CARE's work on entrepreneurship training and on climate change adaptation.

Less appreciated however was the habit of some NGOs (not CARE) of providing funds as incentives for attending meetings, which respondents considered to be a hindrance to meaningful change, as it discouraged participants from assessing the long-term benefits of the activity concerned. Comments were also received from men about the emphasis on women as targets for NGO interventions, which many men felt was both unfair to them and detrimental to the community.[67]

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[67] See Izugbara, Chimaraoke, Ronny Tikkanen, and Karin Barron. "Men, Masculinity, and Community Development in Kenyan Slums." *Community Development* no. March 2014 (2014): 1–13. doi:10.1080/15575330.2013.868816, which documents similar discourse among men in other Nairobi slums. In their interpretation, men are self-deprecating in acknowledging their own responsibility for the lack of progress in their communities, yet also see themselves as having *the* key role in community development, since women

5. Conclusions

The study concludes that gender influences people's sensitivity to disturbances, and that its influence operates in communities, in households, and among individuals, as well as culturally in terms of gender roles and responsibilities. For example, in Garissa, girls' and women's work burden in fetching water and firewood has increased with environmental degradation, making it more difficult for them to engage in livelihood activities. Flash floods along the River Tana have led to some farmers dropping out of agriculture, thus exposing their households and the communities to heightened food insecurity. Weed invasions have affected both men and women, men because many have had to set good farming land aside as a result, women because malaria – and hence their caring responsibilities - is on the rise as the weed is a breeding-ground for mosquitoes. Insecurity may have different direct effects on men and on women, with women and girls being more at risk of violence, particularly at night, while resource-based conflicts affect adult men more directly, since they lead to the destruction of their livestock. This in turn has indirect impacts on the whole community since it reduces dairy production and family revenues.

Men, women, girls and boys also perceive shocks differently, in accordance with their community roles – for example men talk about unemployment, or the environmental threats to farming, while women raise issues such as gender-based violence or time poverty. Male respondents perceive that some NGO and government programmes have themselves perpetuated gender inequality by biasing their programmes towards the girl child and women. Threats identified also vary with the type of environment: for example in urban areas women and girls are vulnerable to sexual exploitation and prostitution, while young men and boys are vulnerable to political exploitation and are lured into 'political hooliganism'. Injustices against minorities have also been brought out by this study, and the denial of rights and entitlements to these groups also contributes towards gender inequality among them.

Women in both study sites want to see changes that will address gender specific barriers, most importantly the roles and power relations that seem to limit women and girls in the community.   Men interviewed hope government and NGO approaches will be changed in a way that continues to ensure their dominant position over women. The essential problem is the patriarchal nature of the communities, that has given men power in decision-making and in resource ownership. The challenge for the Kenya team is to address this patriarchal power in such a way that brings empowerment to women without leaving behind men who require support.

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are inherently incapable of taking leadership. 'Gender equality' as advocated by NGOs is thus fundamentally at variance with their patriarchal world view.

Draft generic template for Focus Group Discussions (FDGs)

For refinement and confirmation in country planning workshops

Date:		Facilitator:	
Location:		Note-taker:	
Group:		Approx. number:	
Approx. age range	M, W or Mixed?		Code:

Comments from facilitators on factors affecting the discussion:

Facilitator's introduction: (to be modified)
CARE wants to see women and girls participating in development,[68] and benefiting from development, at an equal level with men and boys. But we believe that at present women and girls are being held back. Is this the case, and if so, how can it change, and what can CARE do about it? This is the question we are investigating in this research, and we are here to find out what you think about it.

1. What are the challenges this community faces? And what are the opportunities available to it? What types of people are best able to benefit from these opportunities? Who does less well? What are the factors affecting this?

2. Do you think that women and girls are held back from participating in and benefiting from development / opportunities available in this community? If so, in what way? Which women and girls are held back the most or is it the same for all? What are the reasons?

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[68] This may not be a useful 'hook' on which to hang the discussion: that is to be finalised during the workshop.

3. Do you think that men and boys are held back too? If so, do they face the same problems as women and girls or different ones? Is it same for all men and boys? Which ones are most held back and why?
4. What changes would you most like to see happening in the way women, men, girls and boys are able to develop and to take advantages of the opportunities available to them? What might help or hinder these changes? What could CARE do to support your community in achieving these changes?
5. FGDs with Older participants…During your lifetimes what has changed in terms of relations between women and men? What caused these changes? What improvements for you as women/ men have resulted? [note-takers note the timeframe referred to]
NB for note-takers: Please make a note below of any information you received in the meeting about other organisations operating in the area which CARE is collaborating with, or could collaborate with [this question is for CARE Presence Review]
N.B for note takers: note here any comments or remarks you heard about the effectiveness of CARE interventions and or other agencies' interventions.

Draft template for Key Informant Interviews (KIIs)

For refinement and confirmation in country planning workshops

Date:	Respondent's name:	
Location:	Position:	
Interviewer:	Approx. age	
Note-taker:	Sex:	Code:
Comments from facilitators on factors affecting the discussion:		
Facilitator's introduction: CARE wants to see women and girls participating in development, and benefiting from development, at an equal level with men and boys. But we believe that at present women and girls are being held back. Is this the case, and if so, how can it change, and what can CARE do about it? This is the question we are investigating in this research, and we are here to find out what you think about it.		
1. What are the challenges this community faces? And what are the opportunities available to it? What types of people are best able to benefit from these opportunities? Who does less well? What are the factors affecting this?		
2. Do you think that women and girls are held back from participating in and benefiting from development in this community? If so, in what way? Which women and girls are held back the most or is it the same for all? What are the reasons?		

3. Do you think that men and boys are held back too? If so, do they face the same problems as women and girls or different ones? Is it same for all men and boys? Which ones are most held back and why?
4. <u>KIIs with *older* key informant participants</u>…During your lifetimes what has changed in terms of relations between women and men? What caused these changes? What improvements for you as women/ men have resulted? [note-takers note the timeframe referred to]
5. Looking ahead, how would you describe the ideal way that men and women could live together in this community? What would they need to do to achieve this?
6. What sort of things hold women and girls back the most? Of these things, what is within the community's power to change? What are the most immediate issues to deal with? What should men and women do to address these? What are the blockages to change?
7. Some changes may have to come later. What changes do you think are needed and possible within the next, say, five years? What should men and women do to bring these into effect?
8. What initiatives are already happening to support your community in achieving these changes? What should CARE do to enhance these changes?
<u>NB for note-takers</u>: Please make a note below of any information you received in the meeting about other organisations operating in the area which CARE is collaborating with, or could collaborate with

ABOUT CARE

CARE works with poor communities in developing countries to end extreme poverty and injustice.

Our long-term aid programs provide food, clean water, basic healthcare and education and create opportunities for people to build a better future for themselves.

We also deliver emergency aid to survivors of natural disasters and conflict, and help people rebuild their lives.

We have 70 years' experience in successfully fighting poverty, and last year we helped change the lives of 72 million people around the world.

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The full report, including Country Annexes with findings and reflections from research teams in Ethiopia, Kenya and Somalia, is available at **www.care.org.au/gender-in-emergencies.**

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