

Gender approaches in climate compatible development: Lessons from Peru



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Summary

The majority of studies on gender and climate change have been conducted in rural contexts, pointing to clear evidence gaps with respect to climate compatible development interventions that integrate a gender approach in urban areas. With the aim of contributing new evidence on the subject, this study asks how climate compatible development interventions in urban areas have integrated gender approaches. It seeks to respond to the question by analysing the outcomes, opportunities and challenges of this process, based on the experiences of Risk Management and Climate Change Adaptation Networks in Peru. Known locally as GRIDES, the networks have been operating in different regions of the country for the past 20 years. The study concludes that a gender-based approach to climate compatible development is fundamental for achieving transformational change.

Main findings

What does a gender-sensitive approach to climate compatible development mean in Peru's urban context?

In Peru in general, women's participation in development is viewed as constituting a gender approach. This was found to be the case in terms of the approach adopted by the GRIDES networks. After closer examination, it was also observed that some development actors have a reasonable understanding of how climate change affects men and women in different ways, including how gender roles and power relations contribute to urban vulnerability to climate change.

For the most part, development actors are open to improving their understanding of gender-based approaches. In the case of GRIDES, the gender approach was progressively integrated into actions as members received capacity-building on gender issues at the insistence of donors. For some GRIDES members, understanding that socially constructed roles and differences affect access to, and control over resources by men and women – thereby limiting their capacity to respond and adapt to climate change and disasters – opened the door to a new spectrum of analysis and a greater diversity of potential interventions that embrace a more holistic approach. Through these processes, GRIDES members became more aware of what gender equality represents and requires.

What is the evidence of the relevance of gender-sensitive programming in climate compatible development to promote and achieve people's empowerment?

A clear appreciation of gender-based approaches was expressed during discussions with GRIDES members and other key actors. For example, GRIDES members felt that integrating this approach into disaster risk management improved implementation, because women are authoritative and trustworthy sources of information who share useful, reliable and precise data.

The GRIDES networks demonstrate that gender sensitivity can empower and build the capacity of women involved in climate compatible development processes. In particular, women GRIDES members regard access to knowledge as a source of power. As a result of learning about climate change, they feel that they can respond better to disasters and contribute more effectively to their families and social groups, thereby reducing their vulnerability.



What socioeconomic, political and cultural factors constrain or favour (i) gender-sensitive approaches in the context of climate compatible development? (ii) men and women's ability to tackle climate related risks in urban contexts?

For gender-based approaches to have a real impact in climate compatible development interventions, strategic planning is fundamental. Incorporating gender as a cross-sectional objective, without providing a clear description of concrete actions, actually creates an obstacle to implementation and makes it impossible to measure any kind of progress. This challenge can be observed in the Peruvian public sector, as well as in the GRIDES networks.

The effectiveness of including a gender approach in climate compatible development processes is still limited in Peru, given that few initiatives, including GRIDES, carry out a gender-differentiated vulnerability assessment. This exercise is crucial for ensuring context objectives, strategic actions and indicators, since these are basic elements of the gender approach.

The relation between gender and climate compatible development in urban contexts is not widely understood among development actors working in these fields. For example, strengthening capacity and competencies among GRIDES members initially focused on disaster risk management and was broadened to include climate change. However, gender issues were not incorporated in the same way. As a result, GRIDES members still find it difficult to identify the links between climate compatible development and gender, even when considering a differentiated vulnerability analysis.

Despite the complexity and quantity of constraints, it was possible to identify factors that favour gender-sensitive approaches in the context of climate compatible development. These include broad acknowledgement that men and women are equally capable of playing active roles in development. However, there is currently a lack of policy guidance and budget to build people's potential in this respect. During discussions, respondents asserted that projects incorporating a gender-based approach produce better outcomes.

Does a gender-sensitive approach enable better climate compatible development outcomes, and if so, in what way?

Women who are empowered and assume leadership roles contribute to gender-based approaches and to the outcomes of climate compatible development interventions. In the case of the GRIDES networks, the gender approach has been understood, and taken the form of women's participation in decision-making. Women's participation has resulted in gender, as understood by GRIDES members, being included in the agenda for discussion and, in turn, integrated into local development plans. Had the gender approach not been discussed, even implicitly, by GRIDES networks, gender would not have been included in regional plans related to climate compatible development.



In general, it is recognised that interventions with a gender-based approach achieve better outcomes than gender blind processes. GRIDES members possess first-hand knowledge of this since they believe that adopting a gender-based approach leads to more accurate assessment. They report that taking a gender-based approach has enabled them to consider the different roles played by men and women in disaster prevention. In addition, attention to gender allows for better analysis of the roles played by men and women and the respective physical, political and economic causes of vulnerability and autonomy. Generally, better

analysis – particularly through vulnerability assessments – results in first-hand climate compatible development interventions having a stronger impact and impact evaluations being more robust.

Key recommendations

- Promote a more transformative gender approach that is not limited to including women in decision-making, but also aims to reduce distinct vulnerabilities and gender gaps, thereby re-orienting and strengthening development processes.
- Social development processes, including climate compatible development initiatives, are not external or indifferent to gender issues. Consequently, the design of climate compatible development initiatives should include transforming power relations and reducing vulnerabilities and gender gaps, from the baseline study to the evaluation stage.
- Climate compatible development initiatives in urban areas should be strengthened by mainstreaming a gender approach. In order to achieve more effective policy and plans, better information and training is required on relations between gender and climate compatible development in urban areas, especially for practitioners and policy-makers.
- Strengthen skills among civil servants to analyse, programme and evaluate policies and strategies relating to climate compatible development and the impact on the lives of men and women living in urban areas. Furthermore, these skills should be basic requirements for certain jobs.
- Special agencies are not required for overseeing the integration of gender approaches into development initiatives. The focus should be on improving access to and use of appropriate tools for doing so. Recommended materials include conceptual frameworks and tools provided by the United Nations at international level and national plans developed by the Peruvian Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations, so as to ensure that regional and local development plans are compatible with an integrated gender approach.
- Spaces for developing urban plans and projects provide an excellent opportunity to deliver training on gender.
- Donors should establish explicit requirements for gender approaches to be integrated into the climate compatible development interventions that they fund. Likewise, they should play an active role in designing, planning, executing and monitoring the results of these processes, in order to understand how they contribute to climate compatible development and gender equity.
- Gender approaches should be included in university courses and research agendas related to social and environmental sciences, in order to improve understanding of the causes of vulnerability and the context that needs to be changed.

1 Introduction

Every development initiative includes, either explicitly or implicitly, an understanding of how to promote a particular kind of development and, in many cases, the implications for gender relations. As such, this research asks how climate compatible development interventions in urban areas have integrated gender approaches. The study seeks to respond to this question by analysing the outcomes, opportunities and challenges of the process, based on the experiences of three case studies carried out in India, Kenya and Peru. This report presents evidence collected from the Peruvian case study, which focused on risk management and climate change adaptation networks, known locally as GRIDES.

A literature review carried out as background research to this project identified various knowledge gaps relating to gender-based climate compatible development interventions in urban contexts.¹ Based on these findings, four research questions were developed to guide the research. These questions are pioneering, in the sense that they aim to generate new knowledge on the advantages of incorporating a gender approach into climate compatible development interventions.

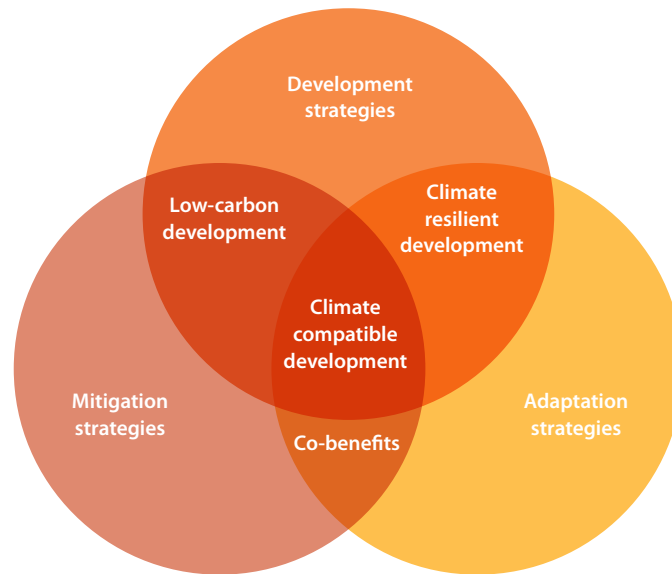
Gender equality and climate compatible development

Climate compatible development involves transforming development pathways to face the climate problem head-on. It moves beyond the traditional separation of adaptation, mitigation and development strategies. Climate compatible development processes adopt strategies and goals that integrate the hazards of a changing climate with opportunities offered by lower CO₂ emissions, at the same time building resilience and promoting development.² As such, this concept implies integrated development processes that promote social transformation towards more equitable gender relations. However, in practice, the issues of climate compatible development and gender are often addressed separately.

Around the world, many different initiatives, policies, plans and projects are being developed to tackle the impact of environmental degradation and extreme climate variability. At the same time, other interventions are being implemented with the aim of reducing and eliminating gender disparities. However, the majority of these interventions are carried out independently of each other, despite some recognition that the environment can impact men and women in different ways. On the one hand, extreme climatic events tend to be associated with populations living in poverty, because these groups are the worst affected. On the other hand, interventions that aim to diminish gender inequalities tend to focus on issues of sexual and reproductive health, as well as on economic empowerment. Such a scenario was observed clearly in the early stages of this research project, during attempts to identify potential case studies.

Existing literature asserts that climate risks are heightened in urban areas that experience fast and unplanned growth. These cities are highly vulnerable due to a range of factors, including the construction of precarious households in zones at high risk to common and extreme weather related events. Such areas are usually inhabited by poor people who migrated from rural areas and, in doing so, increased their vulnerability. According to the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP),³ climate change increases poverty and discrimination by negatively affecting progress towards gender equality. For example, by exacerbating the conditions under which there is already unequal distribution of resources, climate change could cause traditional gender roles to resurface or consolidate. As a result, it is expected that climate change will have a particularly damaging impact on vulnerable populations.⁴



Figure 1. Climate compatible development

Source: Mitchell and Maxwell (2010)⁵

The United National Population Fund (UNFPA)⁶ observes that “studies show that natural disasters have a disproportionate impact on poor populations. In emergencies and humanitarian crises, women and young people are especially vulnerable to sexual violence and coercion”.

Similarly, Stern indicates that: “Around the world, environment changes and deterioration negatively affecting the entire population (pollution, natural disasters, climatic weather, water shortages) have proven to adversely affect women and children in a particular and different way. Due to economic, cultural, ethnic or social reasons, women and children are in a position of vulnerability”⁷

These affirmations have opened up new lines of enquiry, as has growing awareness of how gender violence, mostly against women, has increased during recent large-scale disasters, even though victims do not always report the events.

It is important to acknowledge that the risks and impacts of disasters and climate change are accentuated for vulnerable populations, and that gender disparities should be tackled head-on in order to avoid making the impact even greater. For example, some studies reveal that during heat waves in urban areas, mortality rates associated with increases in vector-borne diseases are higher among women, due to their responsibilities around the home. Similarly, women are more exposed to disasters because many are unable to swim or, in some cultures, because they cannot leave the home except in the company of a male family member.⁸⁻¹¹

The Peruvian context

Peru has a population of more than 30 million, with 55.5% of people living in 32 cities that have experienced rapid growth over the past decade. Women make up 70% of the total national population living in poverty.¹² Within this context, climate change is expected to have a severe impact on Peru, which is considered the third most vulnerable country to

climate change in the world.¹³ One example of how the country has already been impacted is the loss of 35% of its tropical glaciers located in the northern Andes.¹⁴ Peru is affected by hydro-meteorological events (72% of emergencies are produced by heavy rains, floods, droughts, frosts and hailstorms) and by the El Niño phenomenon (ENSO), the effects of which could be heightened by climate change.¹⁵

In Peru, climate vulnerability exists alongside significant gender inequalities, which are visible in high rates of illiteracy among women (9.3% of Peruvian women over 15), macho and patriarchal stereotypes, high rates of gender violence and different salaries among groups with the same level of education.¹⁶ Women also work longer hours – on average, men work 50.46 hours a week while women work 75.54 – including unpaid household chores. Although policies have been approved to guarantee women's rights,¹⁷ many women continue to live in conditions of poverty and extreme poverty. Some 30.4% of women do not earn an income and receive a lower salary than men doing the same work.¹⁸ Women often suffer precarious work conditions, have poor access to social benefits, and services to help them in their task of caring for others in their homes or in the community are scarce or inexistent.¹⁹

Poor populations living in urban areas often build precarious houses in peri-urban belts or very close to rivers or dry creeks. Substantial quantities of water can pass through these areas during rainy periods and they provide a natural course for downpours and rock and mud slides. Women heads of household carry out household chores, informal trading or informal work and the majority are single mothers. In general, men are mostly engaged in productive work, while women assume the main responsibilities in the home, which include preparing food and childcare, alongside their productive work.²⁰ As such, a traditional division of labour between genders can be seen to exist in both urban and rural areas of Peru. It is likely that this situation deprives or reduces women's opportunities for human development.

Achieving gender equality is a responsibility shared between different government levels. Therefore, one of the most important political commitments made at the 20th Session of the United Nations International Climate Change Conference (COP 20), held in Lima in December 2014, was to draw up national plans on gender and climate change to be implemented by regional and local governments. One of the key documents on the issue is the Work Programme on Gender and Climate Change in Lima. This establishes an activity plan to promote gender sensitivity in climate change policies and practices. Inspired by various discussions on gender in 2014, the Peruvian Government made the ambitious decision to develop a National Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change (PAGCC) – a single effort among South American countries.

In recent years, Peru has also introduced political initiatives aimed at promoting gender integration in development across the country. These include approval of the National Law on Equal Opportunities between Men and Women in 2007, the development of the National Plan for Gender Equality 2012–2017 (PLANIG) and the Climate Change National Strategy 2014. However, despite such advances in the development of public policies, strategies and plans, the gender approach is often ignored and objectives do not respond to the specific needs of women, men, children and the elderly.²¹ For this reason, the key goal of the Plan of Action on Gender and Climate Change – which has yet to be officially approved – is to incorporate gender into national policies and initiatives related to the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions and climate change adaptation.



2 Research methodology

2.1 Conceptual framework

The main features taken into account in interpreting the information gathered during research were gender, gender approach and climate compatible development. These are briefly described below.

Gender: According to Johan Scott's²² definition, gender is a constitutive element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, the symbolic system that gives value to what is considered 'typical or appropriate' for each sex. By 'sex', we mean the biological differences between men and women. This category does not analyse the social sense of the differences and their effect on the exercise of rights.

Gender approach: This is an analysis framework that enables us to recognise gender differences in order to rectify the imbalances, inequities and injustices to which one gender may be subjected. The gender approach allows strategies to be designed to achieve equal rights for women and men for access and use of goods and services, such as health, education, information, decision-making and salary. While the gender approach does not exclusively refer to women, it mostly focuses on improving living conditions for them and their empowerment. This is because women generally experience more difficult and vulnerable social and economic conditions. The following classification of the gender approach is especially useful for the analysis of policies, plans and projects, as it provides comparable elements between experiences.²³

Box 1. Gender approach typology

Gender-blind = Project description/proposal does not refer to any particular gender aspects or differences between men and women.

Gender-aware = Project description shows an awareness of gender issues by mentioning differences that need to be taken into consideration, but actual activities do not follow a gender approach consistently from design to implementation to monitoring and evaluation (M&E).

Gender-sensitive = Project follows a gender-sensitive methodology (gender analysis, gender-disaggregated data is collected, gender-sensitive indicators in M&E etc.) and aims to promote gender equality.

Gender-transformative = Project follows a gender-sensitive methodology, aims to promote gender equality and also to foster change and challenge gender discriminatory norms and/or root causes of vulnerability to climate change and of unsustainable development. In other words, the project seeks to address the underlying causes of environmental or development issues.



It is important to note that that these gender approaches are not mutually exclusive, and that approaches can be used at different stages, or simultaneously.

Climate compatible development: This concept is defined as a development model that minimises the risk caused by climate impacts, while maximising opportunities for low-carbon development and enhancing population resilience. This involves implementing strategies in the face of climate change hazards and opportunities. Climate compatible

development refers to development processes that adjust to climate change, for which political commitment at all government levels is crucial in order to adopt strategies to reduce emissions, promote development and increase resilience (triple gain).²⁴

2.2 Research questions

The research outlined in this study aims to find out how interventions for climate compatible development implemented in urban contexts incorporated the gender approach, and describe the results, constraints, opportunities and difficulties. For this purpose, four research questions and their respective sub-questions are given below.

2.3 Research design

The study was conducted using cross-sectional,²⁵ retrospective²⁶ and comparative design, adopting qualitative methodology by developing in-depth interviews and focus groups. It also considered information from secondary sources by reviewing and analysing documents and reports from GRIDES networks and others, related to political impact, such as ordinances of regional or local governments.

The qualitative methodology enabled the study to gauge how a gender approach helps (or does not help) to obtain better outcomes in GRIDES interventions. For this purpose, the research sought, in the first analysis, to identify if the gender approach was considered or not in GRIDES's practice, and if so, how. The study revealed how gender-related issues were incorporated into the GRIDES agendas, how actors underpinned these issues in advocacy and incidence actions, and what the impacts were.

The research method determined that the sample should be defined in number and composition at the same time as collection and analysis. Therefore, the selection of key respondents was based on their potential contribution to research, according to the theoretical sampling methodology proposed by Glaser and Strauss.²⁷

Annex 1 gives further details of the research design.

Table 1. Research questions

Research questions	Sub-questions
<p>1. What does a gender-sensitive approach to climate compatible development mean in different urban contexts?</p>	1a. What roles do men and women play in urban livelihood strategies, and how are these changing in the context of climate change?
	1b. What differences can be found in rural and urban areas with respect to how gender intersects with climate change?
	1c. How does gender-sensitive programming differ in urban and rural areas?
	1d. Can findings and theories about gender and climate change rooted primarily in studies in rural areas be applicable in urban areas as well?
<p>2. What is the evidence of the relevance of gender-sensitive programming in climate compatible development to promote and achieve people's empowerment?</p>	2a. What evidence of the usefulness of gender-sensitive programming in climate compatible development can be identified?
	2b. How is knowledge about the differential nature of vulnerability to climate change being applied in practice?
	2c. To what extent is the need for deep societal transformation with respect to gender roles, women's rights, etc., recognised by the project? And how is it taken into account?
	2d. To what extent are climate change projects that seek to integrate gender taking gender expertise into account? What are the sources that are being drawn on to inform project design? To what extent are the recommendations from gender and development literature being considered?
<p>3. What socioeconomic, political and cultural factors constrain or favour:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • gender-sensitive approaches in the context of climate compatible development? • the ability of men and women to tackle climate related risks in urban contexts? <p>How do we use these insights to support gender-responsive climate compatible development policies and actions?</p>	3a. At what level should gender, climate change and development be addressed? Who is responsible for taking this on?
	3b. Are there hidden agendas behind the approaches taken, or not taken, by UN agencies, NGOs or other groups?
	3c. What are the existing barriers to effective participation of local communities, particularly women, in decision-making in activities related to disaster risk reduction, post-disaster recovery, adaptation and mitigation in urban settings?
<p>4. Does a gender-sensitive approach enable better climate compatible development outcomes and, if so, in what way?</p>	4a. Are the findings regarding women and men and their distinct experiences and perceptions of climate change translated into policy, institutions and projects?
	4b. How do we ensure that the knowledge, information, skills, expertise and experience of urban women and men can contribute to climate compatible development goals?
	4c. What concrete compensatory/corrective measures have been adopted and/or institutionalised to respond to women's frequently greater vulnerability to climate change? At what level (local to national), and at which scales do the drivers appear to be influencing these developments?

Source: prepared based on Schipper and Langston (2014)²⁸

3 Case study: Risk Management and Climate Change Adaptation Networks (GRIDES)

This research involved reviewing various projects in Latin America to analyse the impact of the gender approach in a particular case. The aim was to identify an intervention that integrates the climate compatible development issue and the gender approach, and which takes place in urban areas.²⁹ The experience of the Risk Management and Climate Change Adaptation Networks (GRIDES) in Peru was selected as a case study. These networks emerged in the 1990s, with the support of international cooperation, in response to the disastrous effects of El Niño, which periodically occurs in the Pacific.

Documentation and various consultations were reviewed, together with the GRIDES former national coordinator. The conclusion reached was that although the GRIDES networks did not have an explicit gender approach in their design, this approach was evident in the discourses and activities of some GRIDES members. In this sense, the approach was considered to be a gender aware intervention.

Therefore, in the case of Peru, the GRIDES experience serves as a case study to generate evidence and practical recommendations for public policy management and actions of other relevant actors related to the importance of the gender approach in climate compatible development processes.

History of GRIDES

In the 1990s, in the light of Peru's high vulnerability to climate phenomena and climate change, Practical Action encouraged the establishment of GRIDES in the regions hardest hit by El Niño, with the support of some non-governmental organisations (NGO) and international technical cooperation agencies, such as Labor, Minga, Oxfam and Predes. In the first instance, GRIDES focused on disaster risk management, but since 2014 the networks have included issues directly related to climate change.

Thirteen GRIDES were created in the country (see Figure 2), several of which are still operating, despite having no external funding. GRIDES are inter-institutional networks that create opportunities to meet and exchange information among relevant actors. They aim to influence decision-makers in governments, especially at regional level, so that these can learn about and incorporate disaster risk management into their plans and policies. In some cases, the GRIDES were born or strengthened, in others, this was achieved through the initiative of local NGOs.

GRIDES beneficiaries include their own members, public servants and local and regional government officials, universities, research institutes, civil society organisations and other institutions developing activities related to humanitarian response and promotion processes for disaster risk management in local areas.

Due to the different dynamics of GRIDES in each city, and due to the limited time available to conduct the research, it was decided to choose two GRIDES for analysis out of the 13 well-developed GRIDES in the cities of Huaraz and Cajamarca.



Figure 2. GRIDES presence and distribution

Source: Practical Action

Situational context of the Ancash and Cajamarca urban areas

(A) Weather hazards

With a long history of disasters in the Ancash and Cajamarca departments, these territories are vulnerable to various hazards. Table 2 shows the main weather hazards in the two regions.

Table 2. Main weather hazards in Ancash and Cajamarca

Hazards	Ancash Region	Cajamarca Region
Alluvium	X	
Flood	X	X
Frost		X
Drought		X

Source: prepared by the author

Alluvium

The White Mountain Range, with a concentration of snow-capped mountains, includes the department of Ancash. As a result, Huaraz city is very prone to snowmelt floods. The greatest danger relates to lack of maintenance of the containment slopes, the population's vulnerable location, the lack of pipeline and inadequate cleaning of the waterways that form the riverbeds and streams crossing the city or flowing near them. However, Cajamarca suffers no such risk, as the Black Mountain Range passes through it and has no glaciers.

Flood

Floods are common in the Ancash and Cajamarca valleys. Their impacts tend to be higher because the populations are located in low areas, around streams and riverbeds. Ancient canals are used as solid waste landfills. Huaraz city is located on a moderate slope from east to west in the foothills, and on land near the alluvial fans flowing into the sea. The Cajamarca region has a very high level of flood risk in the fluvial-alluvial inter-Andean valleys and the department plains. It is anticipated that the impact on livelihoods and communities settled in this location will intensify, because floods will increase by 10mm,³⁰ according to rainfall forecast, by 2030.

Frost

The Cajamarca region is one of the most vulnerable to frost in all Peru. This has led to low food security and a higher rate of morbidity and mortality, especially for girls, children and the elderly. The latter generates a considerable rate of school dropout and absence. In both Huaraz and Cajamarca, women are more affected by this, since men's education is favoured over that of women, and because women are given the role of taking care of sick relatives.

Drought

Areas at high risk of drought are those which, at certain times of the year, have rainfall levels that are below normal rates, causing water shortages and affecting the agricultural cycle. In the future, temperature variations are expected to cause considerable drought and damage to population's livelihoods.

(B) Vulnerability factors

In addition to weather hazards, both regions have the same vulnerabilities:

- Urban design, materials and construction techniques that are incompatible with risk conditions.
- Critical poverty expressed in child mortality, and lack of health and medical services for the entire population.
- Limited capacity to respond in a timely and effectively manner to the population, especially people suffering poverty and extreme poverty, without minimum economic conditions to survive and recover.
- Scarce water storage systems.
- Lack of road infrastructure and services, health, education, sanitation, electricity networks, roads and telecommunications.
- Low protection of the population, related to the limited availability of existing services.
- Precarious infrastructure of irrigation dams and reservoirs.

In recent decades, studies^{31–33} conducted at Antunez de Mayolo University identified the presence in Ancash of arsenic in waters coming from deglaciation areas, and in Cajamarca in the water from upper basins, with mining activities moving thousands of tonnes of rock. This could present a serious public health problem, because arsenic is highly carcinogenic. Although not directly related to climate change in the case of Cajamarca, the presence of arsenic is a highly important and sensitive issue for communities in both locations. Cajamarca



inhabitants claim that summer brings no rain. The water comes from the upper basins, whose water systems recharge through marshes, pastures and fog systems, as well as through lagoon seepage. The decrease or disappearance of these recharge areas, caused by mining expansion, agriculture or drought, would leave this region with no water at all.

(C) Gender gaps

Climate change represents a serious hazard to people in conditions of poverty and inequality, such as women in the Peruvian case study. In both regions, the identification of various population indicators prove that women are the most vulnerable group. Table 3 summarises some indicators.

Table 3. Sources of women's vulnerability in Ancash and Cajamarca

Indicator	Ancash		Cajamarca	
	Women	Men	Women	Men
Women and men without their own income, 2013	33.3%	12.5%	46.6%	17.1%
Employment–population ratio by sex, 2013	63.5%	79.0%	65.5%	83.2%
Women and men's average monthly income from work, 2013 ³⁴	S/ 730,8	S/ 1188,7	S/ 608	S/ 974
Women / men income ratio, 2013	61.5	–	62.5	–
Illiteracy rate for women and men over 15, 2013	14%	4.1%	21%	7.3%
Average years of study for women and men over 15	9.3	9.6	8	8.5
Number of maternal deaths per 1000, 2014	16	–	31	–
Percentage of teenage pregnancy (women between 15 and 19), 2013	9.5%	–	19.4%	–
Women and men with chronic health problems, 2013	–	–	25.4%	15.8%
Husband or partner's physical violence against women, 2013	29.1	–	24.7	–
Number of deaths of women caused by their partner or former partner, 2013	4	–	4	–
Women and men in agricultural production, 2012	35.2%	64.8%	35.6%	64.4%

Source: Maria Teresa Arana based on INEI (2013)³⁵, ENDES (2014)³⁶ and MINSa (2015)³⁷

Main objectives of GRIDES

Based on GRIDES's internal documents, such as annual plans, meeting notes and presentations for various events, the general objectives at the Ancash and Cajamarca GRIDES include the following: (i) to strengthen the capacity of member organisations so that they incorporate risk management strategies; (ii) to promote citizen participation and inclusion

regarding children's and gender issues; (iii) to impact regional risk management policies. Table 4 elaborates on those objectives.

Table 4. Objectives of GRIDES

Ancash GRIDES	Cajamarca GRIDES
General objective	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To contribute to the appropriation of the disaster risk management approach within institutions and the creation of alternatives to reduce risk at local government level. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To be a space to reflect upon and motivate different social actors to incorporate the risk management approach into institutional life and to define advocacy strategies at local, regional and national levels, thus contributing to regional sustainable development.
Strategic lines	
<p>Skills development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop skills to provide risk management proposals and climate change adaptation at regional level. To strengthen authorities' and society's skills to reduce their risks, respond in case of emergency, and integrate risk management into the development process as prevention culture. <p>Dissemination and awareness</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop dissemination campaigns at local, regional, national and international levels, and include disaster risk and climate change issues in the public agenda. Raise awareness among the general public about risk management and climate change impacts on livelihoods. <p>Incidence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> To influence public policy proposals aimed at incorporating risk management into regional government planning. To promote debate, exchange of experiences, methodologies and training and provide proposals for risk reduction in policies and development projects in each local government. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> To develop and strengthen skills of member organisations and other social actors, and spaces for consultation. To contribute with methodologies to include risk management in the planning process, participatory budgeting and public investment projects. To promote concerted action between regional and local government bodies, universities and research centres, as well as among social actors and their organisations. To promote the implementation of information and knowledge management systems to improve decision-making on integrated land management. To promote a higher discernment capacity in development agents for analysis and commitment in disaster risk management, through education and communication strategies.

Source: prepared by the author

The general objectives of both GRIDES clearly establish that their work focuses on incorporating disaster risk management as an approach in local, regional and national government administration. Both also consider disaster risk management, climate change mitigation and adaptation, as well as the implementation of management systems of information and knowledge.

4 Research results

4.1 What does a gender-sensitive approach to climate compatible development mean in different urban contexts?

Results summary

- Although there is no explicit intention to incorporate the gender approach, a de facto gender approach is evident through the participation of actors. Particularly in the Peruvian GRIDES case study, the gender approach is visible in the conduct of some members and in some training initiatives.
- The presence of women in project activities is wrongly considered as evidence of adoption of the gender approach. Several GRIDES members pointed out that the gender approach was present, because women participated in their activities.
- Some GRIDES members identify different vulnerabilities between men and women, as the latter are more affected by disasters and climate change due to their reproductive and homemaking role in poorly located households that are vulnerable to disasters.
 - Women are more often tasked with taking care of relatives.
 - Houses located in riverbeds generate greater risks and impacts for women, due to their role as homemaker.
 - Men migrate to seek new job opportunities, abandoning the family as a result.
- The urban population recognises a distinct vulnerability, but mainly in rural areas, considered the worst affected by climate disasters.
- GRIDES members also consider promoting gender equality, e.g. seeking similar access to education and skills for decision-making between men and women. With this in mind, some members have tried to have an impact on local policies.

Incorporating the gender approach into GRIDES

Although there has been no strategic planning to incorporate the gender approach, the work of GRIDES can be considered a gender aware intervention. In some cases, the incorporation of the gender approach results in its inclusion in the public agenda through the synergistic action of women's organisations that make up GRIDES. This is reflected in regional and local management instruments, such as the Regional Strategy Plan, the Concerted Development Plan and the Regional Strategy for Food Security, which have included projects proposed by women and with beneficial components.

In Ancash, the presence and support of NGOs positively influenced an understanding of the gender approach. However, despite the issue being incorporated into the regional agenda, coupled with small changes in access to female education, gender discrimination is still prevalent in urban areas:

"In urban and rural areas, they have deeply rooted cultural patterns regarding people's behaviour. The roles between men and women are strongly differentiated: reproductive roles for women and productive roles for men. It is deeply rooted, it is part of their culture, part of their idiosyncrasy. Thus, universities have a larger population of men than women and the percentage of men attending undergraduate education is higher than that of women" (Woman, GRIDES implementer, Lima).

In Cajamarca, the role of peasant patrols and their female leaders stands out in spaces such as GRIDES. The patrols began in the 1980s as anti-theft and anti-terrorism strategies and gradually included women's participation (mixed patrols or female patrols) and the promotion of environmental issues, especially to protect water resources. Urban female or mixed patrols have become important opportunities to empower and protect Cajamarca women. Although there is still no research referring to their role in climate compatible development processes, these patrols should be considered important opportunities for the empowerment of women, and deserve to be studied and considered in climate compatible development local interventions:

"Bambamarca (a Cajamarca district) is the most organised place there is. It has male and female patrols. The women patrol participates equally in a project. They decide and we train them because the government is not going to do everything" (Man, civil servant, Cajamarca)

Women patrols manage the gender approach adequately and they have promoted subtle changes, along with other local organisations, which are likely to prove beneficial for all in the long run:

"Gender is structural, it can change and is actually changing. Now, patrol committees require the participation of women leaders to make decisions. Before, women's participation was minimal ... Now everyone should have a secretariat for women's affairs. It is implemented through the patrols, not by regional provisions, but by patrol initiative" (Man, civil servant, Cajamarca)

Female participation as gender approach

The perception of incorporating the gender approach remains strongly linked to a 'female presence'.³⁸ GRIDES networks initially aimed to reduce gender-driven vulnerability and considered that working with women was enough to generate a gender approach. In this regard, they promoted the participation of women's organisations and women leaders in urban and rural areas. Some members mentioned that they always considered the gender approach in their interventions and therefore conducted different activities for men and women.

Besides, donor institutions supporting the creation of GRIDES had not institutionalised work on environmental issues that integrated the gender approach. The gender topic was considered something extra, of which to take account in GRIDES work. However, this enabled a more active search to be conducted of the participation of women's organisations, which greatly helped GRIDES to develop gender awareness.

Indeed, women's participation in GRIDES was pivotal because it enabled women to access knowledge, which is a source of empowerment. Women GRIDES members interviewed recognised that knowledge of climate change helped them to respond better in case of disaster, contributing more to their family and social group, thereby reducing their vulnerability. While not everyone agrees with these opinions, the main conclusions in both GRIDES regarding women's participation and gender approach include the following points:

- Initially, the gender approach was not incorporated into the GRIDES, due to poor coordination between environmental issues and gender in civil society or the State, despite the fact that Peru signed the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change 1992 (UNFCCC) and has committed to implementing the 1997 Kyoto Protocol (in force from 16 February 2005). On the other hand, the Peruvian feminist movement focused its agenda on regulatory and institutional changes to recognise sexual and reproductive rights, ignoring the environmental issue.
- Effort to incorporate this approach focused on involving men and women alike, both in GRIDES and in organised activities. GRIDES members consider that the gender approach can be analysed by knowing how many women benefitted from attending the workshops.



Although the idea that 'gender' is equal to 'woman' underlies this perception, it also plays a leading role in disaster contexts.

- GRIDES members agree on the fact that interventions that include a gender approach are better than those without one, mainly because they have better diagnostics and because they consider the different roles of men and women in prevention activities.

These findings are consistent with the fact that the issue of gender is generally associated with women, so the gender approach should be 'de-feminised'. It should be understood that gender concerns both men and women. Both are affected and their development opportunities are limited if conditions of inequality remain. For instance, tolerating men's irresponsibility helps to maintain a status quo, which affects women and keeps very high levels of disaster vulnerability.

Roles and differential impacts by gender

In Ancash and Cajamarca, women and men perform tasks that allow them to meet their basic needs and those of their families. Therefore, their roles are divided along highly traditional lines. During interviews and focus groups, it became clear that reproductive roles are assigned to women³⁷ and that there is widespread machismo in men, even though women entered the paid labour market some time ago. This leads to differential vulnerability between men and women. It is evident that climate change reduces agricultural production or that crops are lost, and in this case men migrate looking for work while women stay and take on new responsibilities; they become single or 'abandoned' mothers when men fail to return:

"The woman tackles the problem directly, and if there is no resources to eat, she picks medicinal herbs, sells them in the market, buy what she can, works in the city as a maid or vendor and returns home with food" (Man, GRIDES member, Huaraz).

Rural men may have to migrate to towns and other parts of the country to seek a better paid job. This male migration pattern is higher during drought (no rain during summer, which occurs between June and September in the Andes). Often, the men never return, thereby abandoning their families and increasing the number of single mothers.

These extreme weather situations also represent a certain change of gender roles, as women now have to meet the family's basic needs:

"The woman is the one that is ancestrally at home. She looks after the children, feeds the family, etc. Today, if there are no resources, women also migrate and the children are abandoned until they are 7 to 8 years and start working in the city" (Man, GRIDES member, Huaraz)

It is noteworthy that other factors apparently associated with migration, such as access to paid work and a higher education rate among women, are not considered like that; they are rather associated with extreme situations such as poverty and neglect, and it is worse in case of disasters. That is why women are identified as most vulnerable.

The GRIDES have operated in urban areas and their members – who have been interviewed – live in urban areas. They believe that climate change and disasters affect them indirectly, and the ones directly affected are the rural population. They recognise that rural women are the most affected, especially when food is scarce or inadequate. This forces women to seek income in the city – often leaving their children alone, who will eventually also need to work:

"Women's work activities have increased. I even think they are more prone to diseases" (Man, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

In recent decades, climate variations have been identified, for example indistinct seasons, unusual rainfall patterns and the occurrence of hail in areas where it was previously never seen. Excessive rains cause flooding in lower parts of the city and affect crops such as maize and wheat, favouring the growth of fungi in the countryside. In other cases, higher temperatures rot food that is prepared outdoors, which did not happen before due to the cold weather. Interviewees said that one of the central climate change problems is less rain which, combined with mining activities,⁴⁰ generates water shortages for both human consumption and agriculture. This leads to a reduced supply of agricultural products and higher prices in cities. Those considered to be the worst affected were older women in rural areas, with more restricted access to water:

“Climate variability is affecting mainly rural areas with high temperatures, frost, drought, reduced harvests and loss of seed kept for years, and undermines the economy in the rural world” (Man, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

The GRIDES members are well aware of climate change implications and weather intensification phenomena such as El Niño: extreme temperature, more rainfall and hailstorms, more intense and extensive rains affecting houses, roads, trade and agricultural and livestock activities, undermining the economy and food not only for peasant families, but also for urban families, where women are the most affected by the work they do at home. For example:

“Women are more prone to respiratory diseases due to their permanent contact with cold water” (Man, GRIDES member, Huaraz)

Another effect of climate change is the onset of health problems caused by solar radiation, which is perceived to affect everyone equally. However, few acknowledge that this means more work for women, who ensure that family members are less exposed to sun radiation. Women are the ones who check that everyone has caps or applies sunscreen, and this is considered part of their reproductive role:

“It is us women who have to notice changes because we take care of food, the children’s health, we check if the family puts on sunscreen for protection against ultraviolet radiation. The mum is the first one on this. Dad, the man of the house, also has to commit to that, but the first person expected to notice and do something about it is us women” (Woman, civil servant, Cajamarca and Woman, GRIDES beneficiary, Cajamarca)

Men’s responsibility and participation, even as parents, is not considered relevant in housework since women are the ones who ‘are supposed to’ do it as the family caregivers. It is therefore evident that women are the ones most affected by climate change, since household chores are increasingly tiring and affect their health.

“[Climate change] increases women’s workload, with more negative emotional burden, more diseases, more concerns due to their reproductive role” (Woman, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

Despite this recognition of differential gender vulnerability, there is little evidence of how this expands the existing gender gaps between men and women, or how it increases unpaid work for women.

Besides, in many cases, a differential vulnerability is not even recognised between men and women, because it is perceived that climate change affects families in general, and everyone equally:

“Climate change affects men and women equally. Floods affect drivers on the road and women who go out with their brooms to sweep . . . women are the ones who have to rush with their brooms and sweep up when it rains because the man is out working. But when it comes to traffic roads, there is a much greater impact affecting those who are driving” (civil servant, Cajamarca)

Discussion

The research confirms the perception that risks, disasters and climate change affect women and men differently due to their different gender roles. In terms of access to basic social goods, resources and property rights, literature shows that social inequalities can be linked to more physical vulnerability in women, due to extreme climate phenomena.^{41–43}

However, despite this differentiated perception, there is no criticism of the way things are, and somehow, the status quo is accepted. In this sense, Schipper⁴⁴ believes that this is so as not to blame anyone for inequalities and prevent radical changes in the underlying social context. Therefore, it could be said that the absence of differentiated strategies involves not questioning or changing gender inequalities.

4.2 What is the evidence of the relevance of gender-sensitive programming in climate compatible development to promote and achieve people’s empowerment?

Results summary

- GRIDES’ greatest achievement has been including disaster risk management and climate change adaptation in government plans.
- Although the gender approach was not systematically incorporated into GRIDES activities, its members were trained in this feature. In addition, women were included in decision-making on disaster risk management and climate change adaptation issues, achieving greater equality in the representation and stronger empowerment, showing how climate change had affected their lives. Hence, the strongest participation in GRIDES came from women leaders trained in the gender approach. A gender approach was implicit in proposals to governments on which they would have an impact, so these are the best proposals for climate compatible development processes.
- However, the limited capacity of vulnerability differentiation by gender means that generally GRIDES members have not made proposals for innovative change on the issue.
- At the time of the inquiry, there was no relationship between climate compatible development processes and gender in local government discourses and policies.

Positioning the gender approach in the GRIDES agenda

While GRIDES does not incorporate the gender approach systematically, networks have managed to raise members’ awareness of gender issues. However, GRIDES members claim that methodologies were not developed to mainstream this approach. According to both the Ancash and Cajamarca GRIDES, gender issues were not taken into account in the GRIDES programme, and it was not done systematically, since this was not a goal or because climate change affects everyone equally. It is important to mention that in some cases, although the

approach was not planned, the analysis of interventions was present, differentiating men's and women's activities.

Some of the sensitised GRIDES members clearly know that adopting a gender approach would generate changes. However, they claim not to have sufficient skills to set out strategies and indicators allowing them to measure the achievement of goals. Therefore, they contributed to the incorporation of the gender approach in climate change strategies, but only as general outlines, which did not translate into specific actions. This is revealed in the review of such plans, in which only the words 'gender' or 'gender approach' are mentioned, but without further reference to what they mean and how they develop into action.

Since GRIDES are inter-institutional coordination networks, convergence spaces were created for environment related issues, for example by GRUFIDES (in Cajamarca), Labor, Minga, Oxfam and Practical Action, who launched an introduction to gender approach. On the other hand, organisations which traditionally promoted the gender approach and women's empowerment in their programme agendas (Poverty Fighting Board) gradually began addressing environmental issues.

"GRIDES has played or is playing a very important role in the gender issue because it has brought together many professionals from different instances" (Man, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

This way, GRIDES gradually became gender-sensitive and recognised that men and women in GRD processes are affected differently because of their gender, as opposed to 'natural' reasons. The synergistic action of different GRIDES actors is identified as positive, in order to address the disaster and climate change risk issue from a gender perspective. GRIDES are ideal inter-institutional coordination spaces, where the gender approach can be integrated into climate compatible development processes. In this regard, one GRIDES member claims:

"When we work on the Environmental Education Plan, we advocate for gender approach, i.e. equality between men and women for greater access to education. Also, the Regional Plan for Food Security focuses on women's disadvantages and strategies are created to improve women's skills, so they are better prepared to make decisions, and to participate in these activities" (Woman, GRIDES implementer, Lima)

These three factors – participation of empowered women, training for members and institutional diversity – appear to have made a substantial contribution to the planning documents of local governments, where GRIDES exerted influence to include outlines that consider the gender approach.

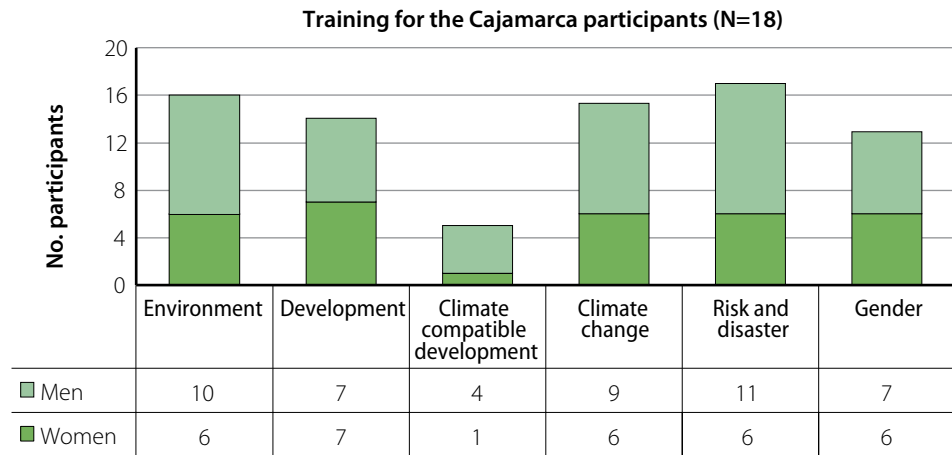
Gender training improved members' approach

GRIDES members received training in various topics, including gender (see Tables 5 and 6). Of the 18 interviewees in Ancash, only three men and two women participated in gender training, and of the 18 interviewed in Cajamarca, seven men and six women participated in gender training.

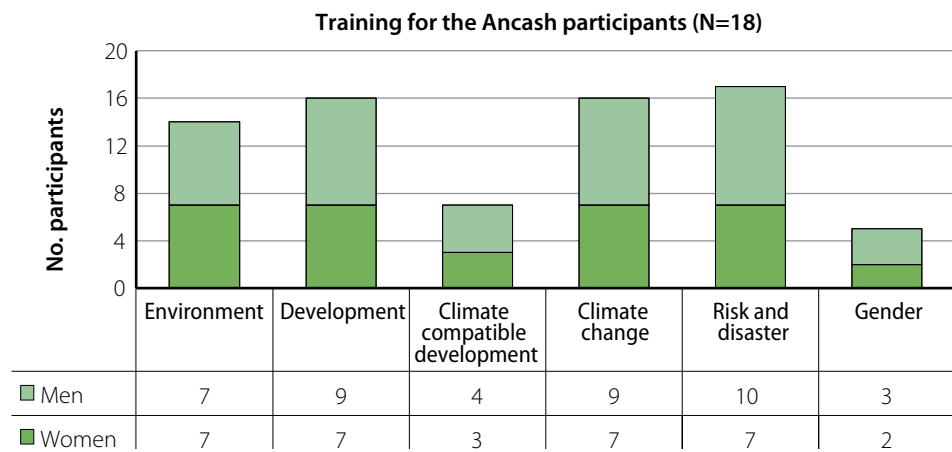
A link can be seen between the training level and the degree of gender sensitivity of the proposals promoted by GRIDES members. However, the rationale behind this relationship was not elaborated on.

It therefore seems likely that interventions considering gender training can achieve better outcomes in helping to mainstream the gender approach into climate compatible development processes.



Table 5. Training topics by gender in the Cajamarca GRIDES

Source: prepared by the author

Table 6. Training topics by gender in the Ancash GRIDES

Source: prepared by the author

Low capacity for transformative proposals

The weak differentiation of vulnerabilities by gender among GRIDES members in Ancash and Cajamarca limits their capacity to propose and build intervention strategies to reduce those vulnerabilities and strengthen their capacity to carry out climate compatible development processes that can benefit the entire population. This assertion is based on the identification of basic gender knowledge by GRIDES members during interviews. For research purposes, six areas relevant for GRIDES are considered and shown in Figure 3.

These basic areas of gender knowledge helped to identify the gaps in advocacy and incidence actions needed to mainstream the gender approach in different scenarios, and contrast it with the study's assessment of sensitivity levels of interventions from a gender perspective. It should be borne in mind that this is only a first explanation and approach regarding basic knowledge areas to promote mainstreaming the gender approach into climate compatible development interventions.

The qualitative assessment of the aforementioned criteria showed that neither GRIDES has adequate conceptual and programmatic management to mainstream the gender approach (see Table 7).

Figure 3. Knowledge areas of gender approach

Source: prepared by the author

Table 7. GRIDES members' knowledge level of the gender approach

Criterion	GRIDES					
	Ancash			Cajamarca		
	Low	Medium	High	Low	Medium	High
1. General division of work, by sex	x				x	
2. Access to and control of resources and benefits		x			x	
3. Participation in decision-making	x			x		
4. Practical needs and gender strategies	x			x		
5. Limitations and opportunities, by sex		x			x	
6. Men's and women's organisational capacity to promote equality	x			x		

Source: prepared by the author

Documentation on the contents of training and developed skills is limited or almost non-existent. For example, it was observed that respondents could not recognise or go beyond the links between climate change and gender vulnerability. Further, the constant rotation of GRIDES members does not allow for continuous knowledge accumulation and management. This is not part of their objectives as GRIDES, but the need is recognised by their members in both regions.

Government discourse and policies linking climate compatible development and gender

Most respondents believe that the different government levels (national, regional and local) work alone with different planning, which is poorly organised. They also believe that the

same thing happens between government sectors. There is no governmental discourse linking climate compatible development and gender, because these approaches take time to materialise. As a result, respondents mention that the planning and management of regional policies have not managed to mainstream the gender approach.

Regarding the vulnerability of lone or abandoned urban women, respondents think it is the duty of local authorities to develop protection measures:

“There are many women who live alone with their children. Where are they going to build a house? What are those policies or what government do we have? They have been given land on river slopes and streams that will fall on them” (Woman, GRIDES beneficiary, Cajamarca)

It is the responsibility of local authorities to give authorisation to build houses in areas with rivers or streams. This situation is a source of concern, due to the presence of poor peri-urban populations, who have occupied dry riverbeds with potentially disastrous results, due to the El Niño phenomenon.

As for priorities to provide humanitarian support in disaster situations, only Huaraz (Ancash) seems to take pregnant women into account. They would be the first ones to evacuate, but Huaraz does not refer to other vulnerable groups.

In both GRIDES, local government officials who were interviewed think that integrating women in their activities means taking a gender approach. They claim that they included the gender approach because the regional government (GORE) – from its Economic and Ecological Zoning Office and the National Meteorological and Hydrological Service (SENAMHI) – implemented control stations, 40% of which were run by women, who are considered more reliable workers. In the same vein, they claim that men’s and women’s participation was encouraged in activities by including grassroots organisations, including women’s groups. However, the mere presence of women does not guarantee that an intervention is gender-sensitive. Nor does it change unequal gender relations.

Discussion

Although the process to integrate the gender approach into GRIDES is progressively advancing, research confirms what Tacoli et al. (2014)⁴⁵ point out – the existence of significant gaps in the understanding of differential climate change impacts and their implications on public policy. In the case of GRIDES, the research confirms that the gap exists, because climate change impacts are generally considered to be gender neutral, without analysing that the conditions and situations of men and women of the same sociocultural environment in the same time period are different, depending on gender roles imposed by the sociocultural group.

The research also confirms the point made by Schipper and Langston (2014)⁴⁶ on the need to include the gender and development experience as a requirement for project design. The Peruvian case analysed shows a lack of strategic programming to include the gender approach, which results in uneven progress of proposals. The GRIDES networks included risk management in the territorial policies agenda for Ancash and Cajamarca – proven by the approval of regional policy documents. However, this was not the case for specific gender strategies, or redistribution of gender relations, aimed at making them more equitable, just and supportive.

Knowing that socially constructed differences between men and women affect access to and control of resources, as well as their responsiveness, opens an analysis spectrum that would lead to more effective interventions. As pointed out by Arora-Jonsson (2011)⁴⁷ and Alston



(2013),⁴⁸ “unless gender equality is addressed, policies and projects to address gender in climate change will not be effective.” In this sense, the implementation of regional policies on disaster risk management may have to be assessed in terms of its effectiveness.

4.3 What socioeconomic, political and cultural factors constrain or favour: – gender-sensitive approaches in the context of climate compatible development? – the ability of men and women to tackle climate related risks in urban contexts?

How do we use these insights to support gender-responsive climate compatible development policies and actions?

Results summary

Limiting factors

Political factors:

- Politically, the advantages of working on climate compatible development with a gender approach are barely visible.
- Government bodies have difficulties incorporating the gender approach in climate compatible development processes due to various factors, including:
 - lack of political will
 - uncoordinated work in the execution of policies implemented by various government sectors
 - officials with limited skills in gender and environmental matters
 - poor knowledge of management tools to ensure mainstreaming of the gender approach into climate compatible development processes in a practical and coordinated manner
 - constant staff rotation, which does not allow for continuous and consolidated processes.

Socioeconomic and cultural factors:

- Many believe that women’s presence is synonymous with a gender approach.
- A gender approach is not included in the academic training provided to professionals working in environmental sciences.
- There is a perception that gender is only a women’s issue, and is highly theoretical.
- Woman and their work are undervalued.
- There is a persistence of traditional, sexist and patriarchal ways on gender relations and decision-making.
- There is a perception that climate change affects everyone equally.
- Lack of environmental citizenship.
- Few feel responsible for addressing climate compatible development using the gender approach.

Favourable factors

- There is widespread recognition that women and men are equally capable of being development actors, but there are no policies or resource allocation to develop these skills.
- Some people already recognise that problems arising from extreme conditions in the environment can affect women and men differently.
- The discourse recognises that incorporating the gender approach into development projects produces better results. In particular, GRIDES members highlighted this point.
- The presence of local NGOs and international cooperation facilitates the promotion of a gender approach through women’s training and empowerment.

Lack of knowledge, training and awareness

The GRIDES members believe that it is difficult to understand the gender approach, as applied to disaster risk management and climate change adaptation in urban areas, due to lack of training and awareness.

On the one hand, the gender approach is not included in academic training for engineering, health or economic sciences. There is limited access to literature and communicational educational materials that would provide knowledge of how interrelationships take place among gender, disaster risk and climate change in urban areas. That is because such material is not available in Spanish, or does not apply to the Peruvian context.

On the other hand, the gender approach is perceived as a 'women only' topic, based on the view that climate change affects everyone equally, regardless of gender, ethnicity or age. Furthermore, high rates of violence, unequal distribution of unpaid household chores, gaps in access to education and lower wages for women prove that women are still undervalued and machismo is present in Peru:

"Women are not valued. We are used to seeing women work and suffer, but we do not value their work. Women play a very important role in society. They are at the core of the family, so the gender approach must be born there, at home, in the communities, in the towns. They are mostly uneducated people who do not know the work women do, do not value them and what is worse, they mistreat them" (Man, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

Political factors

There is widespread recognition that women and men are equally capable of being development actors, but there are no policies and resource allocation to develop these skills in their specific potential. Equally, there is no in-depth understanding of the impact that roles and gender discrimination have on local development:

"They do not understand the meaning of gender approach and its implications on climate change" (Woman, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

It is important to mention that the GRIDES work dates back to 2005 and does not consider the work of the Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations since 2015. This ministry, along with the Ministry of Environment, has developed workshops with regions, with a view to actively creating the National Plan on Gender and Climate Change, which is expected to be approved by 2016 and observed after the presidential and congressional elections of that year.

Locally, GRIDES members point out that authorities' reluctance is reflected in the fact that they are unaware that reducing gender gaps and the impact of disasters is part of their mandate. It is also reflected in the low budget allocated to informing the public or promoting women's participation:

"Governments do not call us and on the other hand we have financial constraints to attend training events" (Woman, civil servant, Cajamarca)

All the evidence points to the fact that the interaction of two structural factors hinders the integration of a gender approach in climate compatible development processes: the unwillingness of public officials and lack of clarity on how to mainstream the gender approach.

“The main difficulty is that at discourse level of the gender approach, the tools to programmatically include the gender approach have been worked on very hard and very little. There is too much theorising, but there is little information when asking ‘how do I put this in practice’... There is confusion between gender and inclusion, and women’s inclusion or participation. When in reality it is not like that. It has to do with power relations” (Man, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

A political factor also comes into play here, and is difficult to surmount. Working on climate compatible development through a gender approach would generate inconspicuous advantages. The authorities prefer investments in physical infrastructure to those in education, because illiteracy rates are not readily visible. The same applies to climate compatible development and the gender approach. For local politicians, prioritising strategies to reduce gender-differentiated climate change impacts may produce scant political gain and will require a long time to show results.

Moreover, in Peru, each regional government is autonomous and has the power to establish regional priorities and plan spending. In this context, prioritisation of national public policies, such as the ones promoted by the government regarding climate change and gender, can be downgraded by regional and local governments. It should be noted that the Ministry of Economy and Finance (MEF) currently has no national standards requiring regional governments to include the gender approach when preparing their budgets and projects.

Another factor to consider is the lack of an effective system to attract the participation of local women’s organisations. The closest system might be the participatory budget⁴⁹ (public management tool where local governments and civil society organisations in concert prioritise the investment of public resources in projects) which, according to several respondents, has become a “mechanical process that actually does not empower the people”. This is because after budget preparation and approval, there is generally no accountability.

“These involvement processes require being in contact with organisations, encouraging citizen participation, and all these issues are difficult to implement because they are not permanent activities” (Man, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

There is also a certain mistrust regarding the implementation of participatory processes, which could become a barrier to the effective involvement of local organisations, particularly those of women, in decision-making regarding disaster risk reduction, post-disaster recovery, adaptation, mitigation and development in urban contexts.

Overall, it is clear that the gender approach has not yet been adopted by public institutions. As such, respondents categorially claim that, at government level, there are several limiting factors to promoting the gender approach in climate compatible development processes: lack of political will; officials’ poor training on how to incorporate disaster risk management with a gender approach and how to implement it; continuous staff turnover, which prevents continuity; poor sectoral coordination and duplication by different government levels; and the undervalued work and role of women in society.

Economic factors

The above factors are compounded by the fact that women have limited access to money, and this limits their training opportunities:

“Man has always managed the finances. For example, to bring women, we often had to knock on doors for transport fares” (Woman, GRIDES beneficiary, Cajamarca)



Poverty also limits time available for learning, reflecting, planning and developing actions related to mitigation and adaptation, or mechanisms for building resilience to climate change. Poverty restricts access to training opportunities for people, especially women, since their time is severely restricted by the two jobs they have: income-generating activities and household chores.

Difficulties when incorporating the gender approach into GRIDES dynamics

Besides not having explicitly included the gender approach in their work guidelines, the GRIDES networks have also faced other limitations, which make it difficult to address gender. These include:

- Gender roles and social and structural subordination patterns of women, which determine the form and opportunities for women's participation.

"When men get sick with bronchitis or pneumonia, and do not have as much strength as women, (no matter what they have) they get up to do their chores. Even when there is rain or overflowing rivers, we are the first ones to leave the house" (Man, GRIDES member, Huaraz)

"The role of the mother in the house, for example, is to feed her children. If there is no water, she will figure out where to get it, while the man is doing other things" (Man, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

- The need to consolidate and disseminate knowledge of men's and women's different vulnerabilities in climate compatible development processes and of their potential for resilience.
- Lack of gender-sensitive indicators revealing progress and achievements of their advocacy work, interventions, results or research.
- Lack of environmental citizenship, so that the issue is not included in various forms of education and training, where it would be relevant:

"The decrees and laws could be more specific regarding gender definition. It must be actively included in the academic programmes of risk management and climate change" (Man, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

Actors responsible for addressing climate compatible development with a gender approach

A review of all the information led to the conclusion that hardly anyone feels responsible for addressing climate compatible development with a gender approach.

On the one hand, civil society believes that all government levels are responsible for addressing climate compatible development with a gender approach, but there are no defined policies in this regard,⁵⁰ so they claim that their role continues to be important. On the other hand, local government officials believe that gender issues are the responsibility of ministries in coordination with regional government. For their part, regional officials believe that gender issues are the responsibility of NGOs that receive foreign financing, displaying them in their publications to influence public governance.

Some officials believe that gender is a synonym of discrimination, and should not be included in disaster risk management and climate change. This occurs because they are unaware of differentiated vulnerabilities or social construction involving gender. As a result, they identify the Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP) as politically responsible, in coordination with other sectors, such as the Education and Health Ministries.



Other participants agree that the issue must be comprehensively addressed by various state sectors, including the Ministry of Housing through its regional and local operators, as well as by the Poverty Reduction Committee. All government levels are responsible for this; especially at national level this includes the Ministry of Environment (MINAM), the Health Ministry (MINSAL), the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion (MIDIS) and the Education Ministry (MINEDU).

“On the climate change issue, direct responsibility falls on the Ministry of Environment, the regional government through certain managements. But I think we all are responsible for mainstreaming the gender issue. I mean there are direct responsibilities, but I think we are all responsible to make this country a little more equitable” (Man, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

Discussion

Research shows that one limiting factor for incorporating a gender approach in climate compatible development processes is lack of political will and the social and cultural patterns of decision-makers. Tacoli (2014)⁵¹ has also shown that policy-makers disregard the implications that climate change has for the lives of women and men. Addressing climate change is relatively new to the Peruvian public administration, which still lacks effective strategies for mainstreaming gender approaches in mitigation and climate change adaptation interventions.⁵²

Mainstreaming a gender approach questions the status quo, and generates resistance to change. For that reason, it is very difficult to include specific gender or redistribution strategies in climate change policies. Schipper and Langston (2014)⁵³ claim that recognising the existence of socially created gender differences and discrimination would be the same as suggesting the need to eliminate those trends that are so deeply rooted in sociocultural norms that it is impossible for society to imagine a world beyond discrimination. In this sense, incorporating a gender approach is a socially and culturally complex process that questions the socio-cultural organisation of society itself. It is an institutional and personal process.

4.4 Does a gender-sensitive approach enable better climate compatible development outcomes, and if so, in what way?

Results summary

- Interventions that take a gender approach are recognised as being better than those without, because they can be more effective and because preliminary diagnoses are more accurate and reliable, in addition to defining vulnerability situations that are differentiated between men and women. The GRIDES members in Ancash and Cajamarca value women’s participation and have therefore undertaken some strategies to promote their presence.
- The analysis of relevant documents collected by the GRIDES members and the agencies before they conducted advocacy and incidence actions, indirectly showed the impact achieved in local politics, even though the official documents on climate change or disaster risk management have no gender approach:
 - women and men have equal rights, but different needs
 - some plans begin to recognise a distinct vulnerability that affects women more acutely
 - women are recognised as key agents to share knowledge in disaster prevention actions

Valuing women's participation

GRIDES encouraged the participation of men and women alike, so the schedule for most activities was adjusted according to women's availability. Some of the meetings were held on Saturdays or Sundays or even in the evenings, so that women could attend:

"Women's participation makes it more relevant, richer, and there are more complete results when we work with women, because they give you more detailed information, because they are the ones facing the day, so they are more active. They are the ones who suffer directly because of problems such as lack of basic sanitation, lack of food, lack of water, lack of basic minimum services. Obviously, there are also men with the same problems, but the woman is the one who directly reflects the information in more detail and experience. So yes, their participation is vital" (Man, GRIDES member, Huaraz)

Women's participation in GRIDES is valued in the preparation of various regional government management tools:

"All GRIDES members participate with their vision and mission, and most are women who have participated in the process and have understood that they are more sensitive to the issue on the relation between gender and climate change" (Woman, GRIDES implementer, Lima)

Incorporating the gender approach in plans

There are differing views on the intention of impacting public policies through a gender approach. Some believe that the GRIDES networks do not seek to integrate the gender approach:

"The GRIDES have not done much to take into account women's and men's different experiences, or their perceptions on climate change in policies, institutions and projects, because it was not their goal" (Woman, civil servant, Lima)

On the other hand, some GRIDES members claim that it was important to include the gender approach in regional management instruments:

"Gender is always mentioned when a management tool is built, and sometimes we put the concept there For me, gender approach, adaptation approach, climate change mitigation are cross-sectional approaches and must land in action, activities and development tools" (Man, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

This shows that GRIDES networks do not have a single unified discourse about their impact, because individual perceptions vary from one region to another among the GRIDES institutions, or according to each person's sensitivity and theoretical knowledge.

However, GRIDES certainly have a strong impact in shaping certain policy guidelines at regional level, as well as operational plans and concerted development plans. This was corroborated by a detailed analysis of each document mentioned.

An analysis of relevant documents led to indirect proof being established for the degree of achieved impact. This documentation was collected by the GRIDES members and bodies before advocacy actions were conducted.⁵⁴ The analysis involved using specific instruments to identify whether the gender approach had been included. The elements compared included development vision, approaches, strategic objectives, and implementation and monitoring. Although the official documents related to climate change or disaster

risk management have no gender approach, some impact was discernible due to the following factors:

- women and men have equal rights, but different needs
- recognition of a distinct vulnerability that affects women more acutely
- women are recognised as key agents to share knowledge in disaster prevention actions.

As mentioned earlier, GRIDES have helped to develop management tools that rarely consider the gender approach. Nonetheless, their inclusion signifies progress. The documents analysed reveal that when the purpose of improving women's situation is included, there are no further details of how the relations of power would change, nor of their position as regards vulnerability and having fewer development opportunities.

The documentation also shows that, in general terms, there are no specific corrective or compensatory measures to be implemented or scheduled that would address women's differential vulnerability to climate change. However, it is interesting to see that the GRIDES members may be considering this issue as a pending task, taking the vulnerability analysis as the starting point.

Results of incorporating the gender approach

Regarding the outcomes of GRIDES actions, there are reliable references on the contribution to building the risk management strategy and climate change adaptation and to positioning it in regional and local political agendas. There are also references on openness to women's participation in the various spheres:

"Women in the urban area have assumed a greater role and although the GRIDES have not been the only ones who has contributed, there has been contribution to women's empowerment"
(Woman, GRIDES implementer, Lima)

The GRIDES networks are recognised as having empowered organisations in disaster risk management issues with gender, environment and food security components:

"The GRIDES included risk management and women's participation in the various spaces in the regional and local political agenda" (Woman, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

It is also acknowledged that there has been an impact on introducing the concept of disaster risk management into areas such as participatory budgeting⁵⁵ and public social investment projects⁵⁶ (public management tools managed by regional governments to promote local development). This has been done in several regions, such as Cajamarca, Tumbes, Lambayeque and San Martín. However, these spaces of public policy management did not sufficiently address the gender issue, because the guidelines do not result in specific actions to measure their impact.

As a result of GRIDES being gender aware, several members developed sensitivity and ability to incorporate a gender approach into their work. The impacts identified in the population as a result of the GRIDES networks adopting gender-sensitive interventions could not be directly verified. But GRIDES members themselves identified the following achievements:

- Recognition of the vulnerability of women and other groups, such as pregnant women, disabled people, the elderly and children.
- Empowerment of organisations in risk management, with gender, environment and food security components.
- Women of GRIDES institutions were sensitised and trained in climate change and disaster



- risk management and were empowered within their homes.
- Recognition of the leading role played by women in disaster contexts.
- Incorporation of the gender and climate change issue in governance arrangements.
- Articulation of government and civil society institutions so that disaster risk management is more comprehensive.
- Creation of civil defence community committees seeking men's and women's participation to select brigade members aware of public policy on risk management.
- Influence on the creation and training of community civil defence committees so that they are made up of men and women, who in turn replicate mixed-sex approaches in their broader networks.
- Improved access by women to participation and decision-making spaces.

Evidence of the impact of action programming on climate compatible development with a gender approach

The GRIDES networks aimed to influence decision-makers in preparing and approving regional and local political management documents on disaster risk management and climate change adaptation. The networks took the number of approved regional and local policies as impact indicators. As previously noted, some included references to the gender approach, but did not specify its implications. There was no evidence of impact assessments of approved policies impacted by the GRIDES networks. This certainly is an important and pending task, as it would help to identify the level of success of the proposed policies and the outcomes of the gender approach.

The GRIDES members consider that it is important to analyse how to consider differential vulnerability in development plans. This is because there is great interest when the plans are approved, but when the time comes for implementation, those plans are left drifting or are not considered a priority:

"Sometimes it is more about theory, meetings, roundtables to talk about risk and disaster management, and the gender approach, but everything remains theory. Implementation needs to take place, as well as concrete actions" (Man, GRIDES member, Cajamarca)

This generally occurs with changes of political authorities – every five years in the case of national government and every four years in the case of local government. That is because the technical teams that had been sensitised and trained no longer work in the new administration, so social capital is lost, preventing continuity of the process.

Level and scales of effective incorporation of a gender approach into climate compatible development

Incorporating a gender approach at all levels – from local to national – is considered strategic. This should include civil society institutions, through resource allocation and capacity-building of women, so as to exert pressure from the bottom up. One of the GRIDES strategies was to establish agreements with universities to leverage students' actions:

"They seek to ensure the success of projects as they involve women in dissemination, education campaigns, and even the issue of productive projects, and involve women to choose from them" (Woman, civil servant, Cajamarca)

However, in general terms, it is agreed that it is more effective to work at local level, because national policies do not translate into programmes that help to promote climate compatible development. It is also considered that, by taking a watershed approach, there can be greater



impact of the climate compatible development process at community level, and from there it can spread to local and regional levels – though a larger budget will always be necessary.

“You have to start from the bottom, where one has more permeability and people are more willing to listen, to get involved at community level, and from community levels we can move forward towards local, provincial, regional levels” (Woman, GRIDES implementer, Lima)

Discussion

As observed by Otzelberger (2011),⁵⁷ adoption of the gender approach contributes in various stages of project implementation. In the case of GRIDES, the gender approach is primarily valuable at the diagnosis stage, helping to identify different vulnerabilities and differentiated knowledge. It is considered that the diagnoses are more accurate when they include both men and women’s knowledge on the impact of climate change, its risks and the mechanisms available to deal with them.

5 Conclusions

This study describes how interventions for climate compatible development implemented in urban contexts have incorporated a gender approach and explores their outcomes. In the Peruvian case, the research concludes that taking a gender approach in climate compatible development processes is key to achieving transformative change. Generally, the presence of leading and empowered women improves the gender approach and climate compatible development outcomes. Besides, there could be a reverse causality relation between the benefits of a gender approach and its promotion.

Overall, the gender approach has been understood as, and taken the form of, women's participation in decision-making spaces. Women's participation has resulted in inclusion of the gender approach, in the case of the GRIDES analysed, as a discussion topic in their agenda and in local development plans. If a gender approach had not been included in the GRIDES discussion, even implicitly, the issue would not have been included in climate compatible development related regional plans.

What does a gender-sensitive approach to climate compatible development mean in different urban contexts?

1. Generally, incorporating the gender approach in an intervention is considered by actors as ensuring the presence of women in activities. This was clearly seen in the GRIDES experience. However, deeper inquiry reveals that some actors have a greater understanding of how climate can affect men and women differently, their different roles and their positions of power.
2. The GRIDES networks did an important job in coordinating risk management and climate change within regional management public policy. They do not consider the gender approach explicitly. However, the participation of some members meant that the exercise became a gender-sensitive intervention, when recognising different forms of impacts of disasters and development processes on men and women. This has become even more evident since mid-2000, because the political agenda previously focused on gender issues related to individuals' sexual and reproductive rights, with no link to disasters or climate change.
3. In general, actors driving development processes are open to improving their understanding of gender approaches. In particular, the process of integrating a gender approach in GRIDES advanced progressively, to the extent that they received training and donors requested actions showing a gender approach. Members became aware that constructed differences affect men's and women's access to and control of resources. For some of them, it opened up the spectrum of analysis and possibilities for more comprehensive interventions. As a result, the GRIDES networks became increasingly gender aware. This seems likely to continue, because since 2014, national policy proposals on climate change and gender have been prepared (such as the National Plan on Gender and Climate Change, in preparation), leading to potentially increased demand for training of social movements and the Government.
4. The urban population recognises a differentiated vulnerability mainly in rural areas, which are considered to be the most seriously affected by climate disasters. There are clear examples of differentiated vulnerability, because negative impact of disasters and climate change are more evident in the case of women, due to their reproductive and homemaking roles in households that are vulnerable to disasters. Contributing factors include the facts that:
 - Women are more often tasked with caring for relatives.

- Houses are located in riverbeds, which generates greater risks and impacts for women, due to their role as homemaker.
- Men migrate to seek new job opportunities, abandoning the family as a result.

What is the evidence of the relevance of gender-sensitive programming in climate compatible development to promote and achieve people's empowerment?

5. The discourse clearly values the gender approach. In the case of GRIDES, including the gender approach in disaster risk management enriched their actions with more useful and reliable information provided by women. These are regarded as valid and reliable sources, who not only provide information, but also accuracy.
6. Gender awareness has led to empowering and training more women in climate compatible development processes, in this case, GRIDES interventions. Women who have been trained claim that access to knowledge is a source of power and that knowledge of climate change makes them feel able to offer a better response in case of disaster, and to contribute more to their family and social group, thereby decreasing their vulnerability.
7. There might be a reverse causality relation between the gender approach benefits and its promotion. There are processes that can facilitate gender inclusion in climate compatible development. These include small improvements in education statistics favouring gender equality and community organisation models – such as female or mixed urban patrols – which are important empowerment and protection spaces for Cajamarca women, enabling them to participate and make decisions about their lives, in so doing impacting the climate compatible development processes. In turn, this generates a number of benefits resulting in climate compatible development with a gender approach, and creates a virtuous circle.
8. There is always an implicit gender approach in climate compatible development interventions. This is evident in the case of GRIDES, because although the gender approach was not incorporated in its creation, its members were trained and women were included in decision-making on issues of disaster risk management and climate change adaptation, empowering these women in the process. As a result, there was an implicit focus on gender in proposals made to governments, since the GRIDES networks' greatest achievement was to include disaster risk management and change climate adaptation in government plans.

What socioeconomic, political and cultural factors constrain or favour: – gender-sensitive approaches in the context of climate compatible development? – the ability of men and women to tackle climate related risks in urban contexts?

How do we use these insights to support gender-responsive climate compatible development policies and actions?

9. Strategic programming to include the gender approach in climate compatible development interventions is key to their subsequent impact. Incorporating the gender approach as broad outlines, without describing specific actions, hinders application or assessment of progress. This is a difficulty found both in public administration and in GRIDES networks. In the case of GRIDES, lack of programming caused uneven progress of their proposals. It was evident that GRIDES sustained work resulted in the inclusion of risk



management in subnational policy. But these regional policy documents did not include redistribution strategies between men and women to make them more equitable and just.

- 10.** Some climate compatible development processes in developing countries involve public officials who believe that climate change and disaster risks affect men and women equally, and that analysing the problem from a gender approach is not necessary. The case of GRIDES confirmed this. Cajamarca and Ancash professionals with expertise and capacity in disaster risk and climate change require awareness raising and training to mainstream the approach in climate compatible development processes.
- 11.** Information should be broken down by gender to show the differential vulnerability between men and women due to their different access to and control of resources. This information would show how political, social and cultural factors determine men's and women's responsiveness or inaction in case of natural disasters.
- 12.** The sustainability of including gender approaches in climate compatible development processes is still fragile, because vulnerability is not analysed differentially by gender. This would help to set objectives, strategic lines and indicators to mainstream the gender approach.
- 13.** The relation between the gender approach and climate compatible development processes is not easily perceived by actors leading climate compatible development processes. For example, capacity and skills development of GRIDES members initially focused on disaster risk management, and it was relatively easy to extend these to climate change. However, this has not happened with gender-related issues. For GRIDES members, it is still difficult to recognise the climate compatible development links with gender differences, even with different vulnerabilities.
- 14.** Continuity is key in climate compatible development processes taking a gender approach. The GRIDES case showed that despite recognition of the importance of the gender approach, constant changes of policy-makers and GRIDES members made it difficult to accumulate knowledge and experience.
- 15.** Some limitations to promoting gender in climate compatible development are related to political factors and include:
 - Politically, the advantages of working on climate compatible development with gender approaches are likely to be inconspicuous.
 - In government agencies, it is difficult to incorporate the gender approach in climate compatible development processes for a number of reasons including:
 - lack of political will
 - insufficient training of officials on these issues
 - poor understanding of the approach
 - limited access to or knowledge of practical tools
 - constant staff turnover which prevents continuity.
 - According to the interviewees, mainstreaming and general guidance has not led to concrete actions to implement the approach or to measure the specific indicators of its impact.
- 16.** Some limiting factors to promote the gender approach in climate compatible development are related to socioeconomic and cultural factors and include the facts that:
 - The gender approach is not included in the academic training of relevant professionals.
 - There is a perception that gender is only a women's issue, and very theoretical.
 - Women and their work are undervalued.
 - Machismo is prevalent.
 - There is a perception that climate change affects everyone equally.
 - Lack of environmental citizenship.
 - Hardly anyone feels responsible for addressing the climate compatible development from a gender approach.

- 17.** Despite limitations, some favourable factors were identified in helping to promote the gender approach in climate compatible development. These include:
- Widespread recognition that women and men are equally capable of being actors in development, though there are no policies or resource allocation to develop these skills.
 - Recognition that development projects that incorporate a gender approach have better outcomes. In particular, GRIDES members have highlighted this fact.
 - Knowledge of climate change creates greater opportunities to respond effectively to disasters and contribute to the family. Therefore, knowledge is perceived as a source of power to reduce vulnerability.

Does a gender-sensitive approach enable better climate compatible development outcomes and, if so, in what way?

- 18.** Interventions that include a gender approach are recognised as being more effective than those that do not. The GRIDES members broadly agree on this point. The gender approach allows for better diagnoses and digs more deeply into the causes of the various vulnerabilities and autonomies: physical, economic and political. With better diagnostics – specifically vulnerability studies – climate compatible development interventions generally have a better impact. Also, good diagnostics allow for robust impact assessments.
- 19.** Generally, the presence of empowered women leaders improves the gender approach and the results of climate compatible development processes. For example, GRIDES members in Ancash and Cajamarca have launched strategies to have a more active presence of such women.
- 20.** An analysis of relevant documents, collected by the GRIDES and bodies that previously conducted advocacy actions, indirectly showed the impact achieved, as follows:
- Women's participation in decision-making in climate compatible development leads to greater efficiency because they provide better information to diagnose situations of vulnerability.
 - There is recognition of a differentiated vulnerability that deeply affects women.
 - Women are acknowledged as being key agents to share knowledge on disaster prevention actions.
- 21.** The gender approach in climate compatible development processes is key to proposals for powerful change. For example, when GRIDES members fail to differentiate climate vulnerability by gender, they also fail to make proposals for gender transformative change or are unable to ensure that these are included in public plans. This is probably one of the reasons that, at the time of the research, there is no relation between climate compatible development and gender processes in local government discourses and policies.

6 Recommendations

This section answers the question: **How can we use the lessons of this research to support climate compatible development policies and actions that take gender issues into account?** It also offers general recommendations from the study, as well as considerations aimed at the various development actors: government, civil society and academia.

General

1. Social development processes, including climate compatible development initiatives, are not external or indifferent to gender issues. Consequently, climate compatible development initiatives should be designed in consideration of how they transform power relations and reduce vulnerabilities and gender gaps, from the baseline study to the evaluation stage.
2. The gender approach needs to be 'de-womanised' and understood more accurately as a process that concerns both men and women.
3. Climate compatible development initiatives in urban areas should be strengthened by mainstreaming a gender approach. In order to achieve more effective policy and plans, better information and training is required on the relationships between gender and climate compatible development in urban areas, especially for practitioners and policy-makers.

Central government

4. The National Gender and Climate Change Plan of the Government of Peru should be promoted at all levels. Integrating gender into climate compatible development initiatives is a matter for public policy and should be addressed at this level, since nothing is gender neutral. Straightforward management tools and impact indicators should be developed to support the mainstreaming of gender into environmental issues, according to regional requirements.
5. Internal knowledge management practices should be promoted in order to maintain and increase institutional capacity relating to gender and social development.
6. Capacities and skills among civil servants should be strengthened to analyse, programme and evaluate policies and strategies relating to climate compatible development and their impacts on the lives of men and women living in urban areas. Furthermore, these skills should be basic requirements for certain jobs.

Local government

7. All regional and local development initiatives should contemplate the Gender and Climate Change Plan is being promoted by the Ministry of the Environment and the Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations.
8. There is no need for special agencies to oversee the integration of gender approaches into development initiatives. It is more effective to improve access to and use of appropriate tools to support the design, implementation and evaluation of concrete, practical measures. Recommended materials include conceptual frameworks and tools provided by the United Nations at international level and those developed by the Peruvian Ministry for Women and Vulnerable Populations.



9. Spaces for developing plans and projects provide an excellent opportunity to deliver training on the interlinkages between gender and climate compatible development issues, for example those documented in existing literature on rural areas and the findings and recommendations of this research.

Civil society and international cooperation

10. It is important to develop a good understanding of government processes, in order to complement and strengthen these efforts by proposing viable projects that are well aligned with national and regional plans, especially the Gender and Climate Change Plan. In so doing, practical measures can be promoted to reduce vulnerability towards climate change in urban areas, support climate compatible development and mainstream gender into climate compatible development processes.
11. The participation of existing women's groups in climate compatible development initiatives should be promoted in urban areas. Women's access to spaces for political participation in urban contexts, such as GRIDES, should be strengthened. Likewise, participation of women's groups, such as the 'ronda feminina', should be encouraged in design, planning, decision-making and evaluation processes related to urban policy and programmes.
12. Donors should establish explicit requirements for gender approaches, to be integrated into the climate compatible development interventions that they fund. Likewise, they should play an active role in the design, planning, execution and monitoring of results of these processes, in order to understand how they contribute to climate compatible development and gender equality.
13. It is important to continue to support GRIDES in order to capitalise on progress to date, and to strengthen their approaches and actions from a gender perspective, including ensuring at least 50% membership and leadership by local women. It is also critical to evaluate the impact of the regional policies that have been influenced by GRIDES and assess their workplans, to ensure that they integrate and evaluate gender-related objectives and indicators, thereby strengthening the capacity of GRIDES members as representatives of civil society.

Academia

14. Gender approaches should be included in university courses and research agendas related to social and environmental sciences, in order to improve understanding of the causes of vulnerability and the context of inequality, which often limits the effectiveness of climate compatible development.
15. Areas for further research include: analysis of differential vulnerability in urban areas; identifying the characteristics of climate-vulnerable populations in peri-urban areas; post-disaster gender violence; the impact of climate compatible development projects on power relations between men and women and on gender gaps; impact analysis of female participation in local development planning and policy; and gender gap trends in cities that are highly vulnerable to climate change.

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Annex 1. Research design

The study was conducted using a cross-sectional,⁵⁸ retrospective⁵⁹ and comparative design, adopting a qualitative methodology by thoroughly developing interviews and focus groups. The study also considers information from secondary sources by reviewing and analysing GRIDES documents and reports and others referring to GRIDES political impact, such as regional or local government ordinances.

The qualitative methodology enabled the study to gauge how a gender approach helps (or does not help) to obtain better outcomes in GRIDES interventions. For this purpose, the research sought, in the first analysis, to identify if the gender approach was considered or not in GRIDES's practice, and if so, how. The study revealed how gender-related issues were incorporated into the GRIDES agendas, how actors underpinned these issues in advocacy and incidence actions, and what the impacts were.

1. Sampling

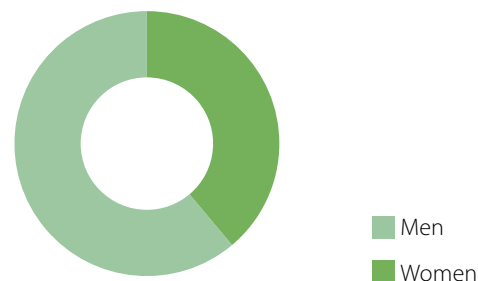
The research method determined that the sample was defined in number and composition at the same time as data collection and analysis, so key respondents were selected according to their potential contribution to the research, and in keeping with the theoretical sampling methodology proposed by Glaser and Strauss.⁶⁰

In Cajamarca, seven women and nine men were interviewed, and seven women and nine men were interviewed in Ancash.

The interviewees were between 19 and 65 years old. Figure 3 shows participant distribution by sex, according to region. In Ancash, most women were between 35 and 55 years old, while men were distributed equally among the 35–65 years old age group. In Cajamarca, the women interviewed were of different ages, but most were between 55 and 65 years old, and most of the men interviewed were between 35 and 45 years old.

Figure 3. Ratio of women and men interviewed in Cajamarca and Ancash

Interviewees in Cajamarca and Ancash (N=18)



Source: prepared by the author

Overall, it was found that the GRIDES members are well-educated people, most of them having a Master's degree. In both cities, Cajamarca and Ancash, all men and more than half the women interviewed had some graduate diploma.

2. Information collection techniques

The study favoured qualitative information, and did not seek quantification, so the number of interviewees decreased in each of the study areas. The sample is not representative from the statistical point of view, but consists of a small number of people deliberately selected for their potential contribution to the research. In this regard, women and men over 18 were interviewed, and were selected using the following criteria:

- they integrate or have integrated GRIDES
- they belong to the community or to the organisations represented by GRIDES
- they are or have been decision-makers at local or regional level, before GRIDES conducted advocacy and incidence actions; and
- they have participated in projects that promoted GRIDES's existence and validity, both as implementers and contributors.

The information was gathered using qualitative research techniques, such as in-depth interviews, group discussions and analysis of relevant documents, such as reports, minutes and statements.

Semi-structured in-depth interviews

In-depth interviews allowed information gathering to analyse the interviewees and identify their roles and networks within GRIDES. The interviews were conducted using differentiated semi-structured interview guides, according to the following key respondent groups:⁶¹

- Group 1: GRIDES members
- Group 2: Local or regional decision-makers
- Group 3: Executors and donors.

The interviews were conducted through smooth and cordial dialogue, explaining the research purpose and relevance. The informed consent form was provided, and it was read and signed by the respondent. This explains the research objective and the reason for the interview being recorded. Simple language explained how the information would be used and handled, and it was indicated that research results would be published and translated into English.

Discussion groups

There were two mixed discussion groups (men and women, one in Ancash and one in Cajamarca) that shared consensus and local discrepancies on incorporating the gender approach into the work of each GRIDES studied. The discussion groups included women and men GRIDES members, each with an average of seven people. The research objective was explained and informed consent forms were handed out. A semi-structured guide was prepared to guide the discussion.

The group discussion took place in three stages: The first defined general topics of the research. This guided the entire discussion. The second stage addressed four central research questions that were discussed, and which favoured the expression of ideas, feelings or actions. Finally, the sub-questions were shared with the group in the form of short sentences, as a starting point for detailed discussion.

Collecting secondary information

In June 2015, the research team travelled to the cities of Huaraz and Cajamarca. Scheduled interviews were conducted in those locations. In some cases, schedules had to be changed because of the varying time availability of the interviewees, especially municipal authorities or officials. They agreed and developed new interviews, which were considered relevant for the

Table 8. GRIDES documents collected

Ancash	Cajamarca
1. Concerted Regional Development Plan	1. Regional Development Concerted Plan
2. Regional Programme for Equal Opportunities and Gender Equality	2. Regional Plan for Equal Opportunities
3. Regional Governance Agreement	3. Regional Governance Agreement
4. Progress of the Climate Change Regional Strategy 2014	4. Regional Environmental Policy, Plan and Agenda
5. Regional and Local Ordinances	5. Regional and local ordinances
6. Food Security Regional Strategy	6. National Defense Regional Plan
	7. Risk Management Regional Plan
	8. Plan of Action for Regional Risks and Disasters
	9. PIP Preparation and Assessment Modules incorporating Risk Analysis Associated to Disaster (PAT Cajamarca)
	10. Regional Mobilisation Plan
	11. Regional Plan of Action for Children

Source: prepared by the author

information they would provide.

Respondent confidentiality was guaranteed through an alphanumeric code located in each of the informed consent forms, in the corresponding interview guide, in the recording and in the digitalisation.

3. Information processing and analysis

After conducting and recording the discussion group interviews, these were transcribed and tabulated in analysis matrices, so as to organise them, identify issues, concepts and propositions, and extract a level of synthesis for analysis according to the questions. Then, relations between the findings and emerging propositions were established.

4. Methodology limitations

The research has limitations, to be considered in the subsequent revision and use of this report and conclusions:

- Since the methodology used in the research is predominantly qualitative, the analysis is based on interviews and focus groups, and the knowledge generated may not apply to other people or other places. In other words, the results may be unique to the people included in the research study. Nevertheless, due to the methodology used, it is safe to say that the results are internally valid.
- The volume of data allows for the revision of enriching details for analysis, but because of this the analysis itself, the interpretation and the identification of key messages require a great deal of time.
- An additional challenge in the fieldwork was lack of interest shown by some respondents in possible research. This was chiefly evident through their absence from meetings. However, the collected sample shows a representative share of actors for the target scope of the study.

Annex 2. Gender gaps in Ancash and Cajamarca

National statistical reports prepared by the National Institute of Statistics and Computing (INEI), reported the following.

We see more participation of women in the economy and more wealth generation (from 1997 to 2013, the activity rate of women increased from 54.7% to 64.5%, unlike the activity rate of men, which only increased by two percentage points, from 80% to 82%). In the case of the Ancash region, in 2013, the participation rate of women was 65.7% and 81.4% for men; 38.5% less in women's income compared with men. In the Cajamarca region, the activity rate of women was 67.4% and 85.6% for men and women's income was 37.5% less than that of men.

Besides, in 2013, some 32.2% of 14-plus-year-old women did not have their own income. This figure was almost triple that of men (12.2%). It is also shown that the largest gap occurs among rural women, where 48.3% of them do not have their own income, while for men, the figure is 14.1%. In the Ancash region, 33.3% of women do not have their own income, compared with 13.3% for men. In Cajamarca, the number of women without their own income was 46.6%, compared with only 17.1% of men. This fact is important because economic independence is one of the cornerstones of women's empowerment.

Another gender gap is reflected in the fact that women bear a greater total workload, focused primarily on household chores (taking care of food, water and care for children, the elderly, disabled or sick people). In addition to their responsibilities as remunerated workers, women are in charge of caring, i.e. they devote a significant amount of time to caring for others, housekeeping and carrying out activities associated with the day-to-day running of the family.⁶² Statistical data from 2013 show that Peruvian women work 9 hours and 15 minutes more than men each week. Of the total 75.54 hours of work, 39.28 are dedicated to unpaid housework and 36.27 to paid work. By contrast, on average, men dedicate more time to paid work. Of 66.39 hours of total work, only 15.54 hours are dedicated to household chores, while 50.46 hours are dedicated to paid work. Women also receive less income from work. In 2013, at national level, their average income was 30.3% less than that of men: women's income is 38.5% lower than men's in Ancash and 37.5% less in Cajamarca.⁶³ The gap is even greater in rural areas, where women receive an income of 44.6% less than men, compared with 32.6% less in urban areas.

Women also have lower access to education, and this undermines their autonomy and family well-being. Clear examples of this are higher rates of illiteracy and lower average rates of schooling. By 2013, illiteracy had affected 9.3% of over 15-year-old Peruvian females, a figure that is three times higher than that of men (3.1%). This situation is worse in the countryside: In Ancash, female illiteracy is 14%, while male illiteracy is 4.1%. In Cajamarca, female illiteracy is 21%, while male illiteracy is 7.3%.

Nationwide, average rates of schooling are lower for women. In 2013, over-15-year-old Peruvian females had an average 9.9 years of schooling (equivalent to completion of the third year and the beginning of the fourth year of secondary school), whereas men of the same age group completed an average of 10.3 years of schooling, i.e. the fourth year and the beginning of the fifth year of secondary school. The situation is even worse in the regions: in Ancash women have an average of 9.3 years of schooling, compared with 9.6 for men. In Cajamarca, women only have an average of 8 years of schooling, while the average for men is 8.5. Although the difference between men and women in years of schooling is a little over a year, the gap in the illiteracy level among women nationwide, as in both regions, is higher in women and is related to the poverty level: In 2014, nationwide, women in the poorest quintile (quintile I) had a higher illiteracy rate at 25.2%, compared with 8.5% for men. In other words, for every group of one hundred 15-year-olds, 25 women and 9 men cannot read or write.⁶⁴

In the area of health, maternal mortality and teenage pregnancy are two reproductive health factors that have the greatest impact on women's life and development opportunities. According to the figures

reported by the Peruvian Health Ministry, in 2014, some 411 maternal deaths occurred in Peru, including 16 in Ancash and 31 in Cajamarca.⁶⁵ In 2013, teenage pregnancy rates were 13.9% on a national scale, with 9.5% in Ancash and 19% in Cajamarca.⁶⁶

The gender gap regarding chronic health problems has a greater impact on women. Some 39.6% of women reported some permanent ailment, a rate that is 8.5% higher than that of men (31.1%). There was also a rapid increase in chronic diseases in women, at an annual rate of 23.2%, higher by 2013 (it increased by 16.4% for women and 13.3% for men between 2007 and 2013). Although many diseases afflict men and women alike, the latter can be affected differently. The World Health Organization (WHO) states that women's work, inside and outside the home (double shift) endangers their health due to long working hours, exhausting their bodies and weakening their immune systems, exacerbated by depression and physical and psychological violence.

One of the most dramatic forms of discrimination against women involves violence against them. In all its expressions, violence limits the ability to respond and act in the event of unexpected events, such as disasters, and isolates victims from their social networks. The Inter-American Convention on the Prevention, Punishment and Eradication of Violence against Women (Convention of Belem do Para) recognises that such violence is "a manifestation of historically unequal power relations between women and men", and defines it as "any act or conduct based on gender, which causes death or physical, sexual or psychological damage or suffering to women, both publicly and privately".

According to ENDES (2011),⁶⁷ psychological violence against women is more prevalent at national level. Some 65.6% of women said that their husband or partner had some form of control over them, 22.6% had experienced violent situations through humiliating verbal abuse in front of others, and 21.3% said they had been threatened by their husband or partner. Regarding physical violence by a partner, 38% of women reported having undergone some form of physical violence by their husband or partner.

Traditional gender roles and gender gaps increase women's vulnerability in natural disaster and adverse climate change situations. For this reason, the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP)⁶⁸ recognises that there is a close link between gender equality and resilience to disasters and states that in "countries where gender discrimination is tolerated, women and girls are particularly vulnerable to natural hazards. This is reflected not only in the percentage of women and girls who die, much higher in these countries than in others, but also in the incidence of gender-based violence – including rape, trafficking and domestic violence – which increases exponentially during and after disasters."

Women, girls, boys and men have different vulnerabilities, and these vary according to their ages and socioeconomic strata. Therefore, how they live and face disasters is different, as is their resilience. It is undeniable that when gender discrimination is tolerated, women and girls are particularly vulnerable to natural hazards.⁶⁹ Therefore, the percentage of women and girls who die, and the incidence of gender-based violence (domestic violence, including rape and trafficking) increases exponentially during and after disasters.

Generally, disasters bring more responsibilities to girls and older women, as they assume most of the unpaid work (care, food and water for households, among others). However, it is important to note that crises caused by natural disasters can be seen as opportunities to correct gender disparities. For example, UNDP⁷⁰ claims that: "the application, during the aftermath of disaster recovery, of programmes that are sensitive to women's needs and consider them equally in recovery efforts, can contribute to questioning the deepest-rooted prejudice towards women. On the contrary, if women and girls are left out of disaster planning or risk reduction measures, talent will be wasted, as well as skills and knowledge of 50% of the population and the needs of those most affected are less likely to be met".

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