Enhancing resilience of women to hazards through mainstreaming gender into Disaster Risk Reduction policies in Botswana

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Abstract

The absence of a gender perspective in Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) is a matter of serious concern for both research and practice. This is despite overwhelming evidence that women are disproportionately affected by disasters. During the past decade, there has been a worldwide alarming increase in the impact and frequency of disasters, especially hydro-meteorological hazards (heavy rain storms) as a result of climate change. It is estimated that two-thirds of the world's disasters are related to climate change (Mitchell and van Aalst, 2008:1). Likewise, Botswana is currently experiencing an increase in the number of localised disasters climatological as well as non climatological disasters, which hardly reached global headlines, but silently and persistently eroded the capacities of Batswana to survive and prosper. However, these disasters did not affect people equally. Women, especially those in rural female-headed households were profoundly impacted the most. In Botswana and other developing countries, existing and entrenched social inequalities contribute to the disparity in vulnerability. As a result Women are at a greater disadvantage, even before a disaster strikes, due to the implications of inequalities and how they manifest and influence existing historical, social, cultural, economic and political conditions in Botswana.

Generally, there is paucity of research on sex and gender differences regarding vulnerability to disasters. The limited data available suggests a pattern of gender differentiation in the various phases of disaster risk reduction. While studies in DRR include gender as demographic variable, they provide only basic information on gender, but do not engage in any thorough explanation or analysis of women's experiences in a disaster situation. The purpose of the present study was to investigate the effects of disasters on women in Botswana and provide concrete recommendations on how to address the *practical* (food, shelter, income) and *strategic* (human rights, skills and leadership training) gender needs and interests of women, without necessarily alienating men. This would help realise Vision 2036, the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction and the Sustainable Development Goals. To achieve these goals, it was posited that gender issues should be mainstreamed into DRR.

Based on the premise above, the study examined the origins and the evolution of the concepts of disaster, gender and mainstreaming. It also examined best international practices in these fields. Such practices were analysed and discussed from within a global perspective and operationalised to Botswana's context. Following a qualitative design, the research used focus group discussions of households affected by disasters and subject-matter specialists (practitioners, scholars, politicians, traditional leaders and activists) to collect data.

The findings confirmed the differential vulnerabilities between men and women and their differing adaptive capacities regarding disaster situations. These capacities were found to be influenced largely by culture and its institutional frameworks. The study affirmed the central role played by culture and institutions in marginalising women.

Key words: disaster risk reduction, climate-change adaption, gender, mainstreaming, women, social vulnerability, resilience, sustainable development, Botswana

Declaration

I, **Nkosiyabo F. Moyo** hereby declare that the PhD Thesis entitled "**Enhancing resilience of women to hazards through mainstreaming of gender into disaster risk reduction policies in Botswana"** is my own work, that all sources used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references, and that this Thesis was not previously submitted by me or any other person for degree purposes at this or any other University.

Signature **Date**

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Abbreviations

AFDB	African Development Bank
ALNAP	Active Learning Network for Accountability and Performance in Humanitarian Action
BCWIS	Botswana Core Welfare Indicator Survey
BDF	Botswana Defence Force
BOPA	Botswana Press Agency
BPC	Botswana Power Corporation
BPFA	Beijing Platform for Action
CBDRM	Community Based Disaster Risk Management
CCA	Climate Change Adaptation
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism programme
CRED	Centre for Research on the Epidemiology of Disasters
CSO	Central Statistics Office
DDMC	District Disaster Management Committee
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
EM-DAT	Emergency Events Database
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
GAD	Gender and Development
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GDI	Gender Development Index
GeAD	Gender Affairs Department
GGI	Gender Gap Index
GM	Gender Mainstreaming

GRB	Gender Responsive budgeting
HFA	Hyogo Framework for Action
HIV/AIDS	Human Immunodeficiency virus /Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
ICT	Information and Communication Technology
IFRC	International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
M & E	Monitoring and Evaluation
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
MFDP	Ministry of Finance and Development Planning
MLGRD	Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development
NDMO	National Disaster Management Office
NDRF	National Disaster Relief Fund Order
NGOs	Non Governmental Organisations
MNIG	Ministry of Nationality, Immigration and Gender Affairs
NAPAs	National Adaptation Plans of Action
NPDM	National Policy on Disaster Management
NPGAD	National Policy on Gender and Development
NDRMP	National Disaster Risk Management Plan
PAR	Pressure and Release Model
SADC	Southern African Development Community
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
SMS	Short Messaging System
UB	University of Botswana
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme

UN-ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council of the United Nations.
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNISDR	United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction
UN Women	United Nations Women
VDC	Village Development Committee
WCDRR	World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction
WAD	Women and Development
WHO	World Health Organisation
WID	Women in Development

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1. Introduction

By nature, disasters are highly disruptive, debilitating and affect all people regardless of aspects such as gender, age, health status, ethnicity, religion and socio-economic status (Plumper and Neumayer, 2007:1). However, not all people are affected equally. Ngcamu (2011:169) points out that children are the most affected by disaster (93.4%), the elderly second most (77%), followed by women (75%). Although children and the elderly were found to be the most affected, women as victims of disaster are the primary focus of the present study. The rationale for selecting women is that they are custodians for both children and the elderly in everyday and in disaster situations (Oxley, 2012:12). In certain situations, this care is also extended to men such as when they are sick.

It is the assumption of the present study that women in Botswana also are affected disproportionately by disasters based on previous studies (Horvorka, 2012:878; BOPA, 2012:6). Botswana's total population comprises 52% females and 48% males (CSO, 2011:1). Women in Botswana and globally are mostly in the majority, however, they enjoy limited power and resources compared to men (Le Masson, 2013:295). In this regard, women also have less capacity to manage disasters. In most instances, it is a lack of resources due to strong patriarchal cultures that contribute to conditions which make women more vulnerable than men (Branisa et al., 2012:252; Alston, 2014:290). This situation becomes more relevantas threats from hazards increase due to climate change. This increases the risk of disasters which undermines development (Laska et al., 2008:15). To attain set Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and Vision 2036, it is paramount to engage and empower those with reduced a lower capacity due to their vulnerability. Full engagement and participation of all stakeholders, including women, is a means of building capacity and minimising vulnerability is required to reach these goals.

It is, therefore, necessary to examine factors that marginalise women (which contributes to vulnerability) and how such impediments could be mitigated for women, in order to strengthen their capacity to reduce disaster risk adapting to disasters. Vulnerability to disasters is mostly situational, not a permanent condition, and therefore can be addressed (Baker, 2009:117). Even though they are vulnerable, women have inherent capacities to minimize risk manage disasters and other threatening everyday-life

situations. Women with enhanced resilience also experience improved quality of life for the families as well as the community at large. There is, therefore, a need to channel efforts to those that have limited resources, and recognise their efforts. This would help make them more resilient to disasters.

The inclusion of gender in disaster risk reduction (DRR) and climate-change adaptation (CCA) is a relatively new concept in both practice and research (World Bank, 2010:3). To date, limited research has been undertaken in this field, especially in developing countries (Hemmati and Rohr, 2007:5). In most instances, gender issues are considered secondary and often ignored in research and practice in this regard (Oxley, 2012:12). The purpose of the present research was, therefore, to give prominence to gender issues in DRR/CCA by exploring the capacity of women and using these findings to help improve policy in order to as a way of strengthen the resilience in the face of disasters.

This introductory chapter firstly examines the orientation and problem statement, which lays the foundation for the thesis. Subsequently, key research questions and objectives are discussed. These are followed by the theoretical statements, that will be used as, the perspectives or lenses through which the research problem will be viewed and analysed. The chapter also presents and discusses the research methodology and its components, the contribution of the study, and outlines the structure of the thesis.

1.2. Orientation and Problem Statement

There is a common misperception that everyone is affected equally by hazards and disasters (Plumper and Neumayer, 2007:1; Ray-Bennet, 2018:33). Research points to the fact that in most instances women are the individuals most affected (Enarson, 2000:4; Mehta, 2007:9; Plumper and Neumayer, 2007:1; Oxfam, 2008:1; UNISDR, 2009:24). Omari, (2010:9) argues that women's vulnerability to disasters sprout primarily from gender inequality rather than gender difference. Such inequality often worsens in times of crisis and disaster (Plumper and Neumayer, 2007:1). Women often have less capacity than men to take preventive actions against hazards and to recover from disasters once it has struck (Figueiredo and Perkins, 2012:189). This was found to be due to the existence of unfair social, cultural, economic and political conditions created by gender inequality (Horton, 2012:305).

However, males have an increased risk of morbidity and mortality due to their social role as protector and defender of the household (Plumper and Neumayer, 2007:1). They also

are more likely than women to participate in search-and-rescue operations which threat to their welfare (Dankelman, 2008:2; Ripley, 2008:1). Ripley, (2008:1) reported that, in floods that devastated the United States of America (USA) in 2008, as many as 75% of the people who were killed in search-and-rescue operations were men.

The limited studies undertaken in Botswana on disasters and gender, point to the same assertion, namely that women are indeed more vulnerable to hazards and disasters than men (Hovorka, 2012:878). Anecdotal evidence also seems to corroborate this view (Moswete and Lacey, 2015:611). For instance, in 2009, the presence of high numbers of women and children were visible in the temporary evacuation centres within the Okavango and Chobe areas (NDMO, 2009:11). Furthermore, the guest speaker at the annual commemoration of the International Disaster Reduction Day 2012 in Shakawe, Botswana pointed out: “Following the floods in the Okavango sub-district in 2009, 164 out of the 235 affected households were headed by women” (BOPA, 2012:6).

A further study determined that even for vulnerability to disasters during childhood, more girls felt the impact of drought than boys (Babugura, 2008:148). During drought years, girls carry out heavier workloads such as fetching water. This also exposes girls to additional threats because the journey is usually undertaken alone and unprotected, increasing therisk of attack or rape (Babugura, 2008:148). Similar studies such as Omari (2010) relating to climate change emphasise the marginalised role and vulnerability of women and girls.

Omari (2010:38) also found that because of women’s differential productive and reproductive roles and limited control over productive resources, they were more likely to experience adverse effects from climate change than men. This is particularly relevant as more than 50% of households in rural Botswana are headed by females (CSO, 2011:1). Furthermore, subsistence arable farming, which is most affected by reduced rainfall and climate-related low yields, is predominantly a female led activity (Moalosi, 2007:41). Omari’s study also found that women’s workload for reproductive and productive needs was likely to increase significantly, which further reinforces poverty (Omari, 2010:9).

In Botswana, socio-cultural factors inhibit women’s participation in the economy (Hovorka, 2012:875). These factors include traditionally ascribed productive and reproductive roles and lower levels of skills training and this give men more dominance

over women (Moalosi, 2007:41). In this regard, the lack of women's participation in the formal economy inevitably makes them more vulnerable to disasters. Women and men have well-differentiated roles in Botswana, and women usually have a subordinate position to that of men.

In disaster literature this subordinate is reflected in media and literature with womenportrayed predominantlyas helpless victims awaiting rescue by strong, armed men (UNISDR, 2009:5; Parkinson, 2011:17). However, this sentiment is being challengedWomen's life experiences and social networks, when afforded skills and resources, can be plied into emergency preparedness, response and recovery (Enarson, 2010:2).

Since the Fourth UN World Conference on Women (1995), Botswana has taken major strides in advancing women, even though there still are gaps and constraints (WAD, 2000:16). These advances were made to incorporate gender equality in the areas of health, education and employment. However, little or no progress has been made to engender disaster risk reduction (UN System in Botswana, 2007:33). Moreover, Botswana still has to domesticate the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW, drafted by the UN General Assembly in 1979), to suit the needs of Batswana (WAD, 2000:16). Botswana recently (2017) signed and acceded to the revised Southern African Development Community (SADC) Protocol on Gender and Development of 2016 after agreeing on targets and indicators. The protocol calls for the empowerment of women and promotion of gender equality through enactment of gender sensitive legal instruments and programmes (Revised SADC Protocol on Gender and Development, 2016:17). Moreover, at continental level, Botswana also signed Agenda 2063, which provides for the empowerment of all Africans regardless of gender, ethnicity and socio-economic status and also makes specific reference to negative impacts of climate change (African Union, 2015:8). The adoption and domestication of these legal instruments would help reduce gender inequalities and support the empowerment of women in the country (Beijing Agenda for Global Action, 2009:1).

Botswana's laws and policies do not discriminate on the basis of gender. The Constitution of the Republic of Botswana guarantees equal rights to men and women alike (Botswana Government, 1966:15). Accordingly, in 2015, Botswana revised and adopted the National Policy on Gender and Development. The National Policy on Gender

and Development (2015) specifies equal treatment for women in the public and private sectors. Similarly, the National Policy on Disaster Management (1996), although silent on gender issues, seemingly does not discriminate against women. For its part, the original national framework, Vision 2016 (replaced by Vision 2036), states that no one should be discriminated against on the basis of gender, age, religion or creed, colour, national or ethnic origin, location, language or political opinions (Vision 2016 Council, 2002:12). Nevertheless, It is clear that women in Botswana continue to suffer from discrimination because of institutional practices and deep-rooted social and cultural attitudes, which respond extremely slowly to progressive policy and legislative reforms (Botswana MDGR, 2004:40; Women's Affairs Department 2004:39).

Men are still treated as the heads of families and granted guardianship rights over women and children (Cailleba and Kumar, 2010:332). Moreover, despite introducing the Abolition of Marital Power Act (2004), women married under Customary Law still are not covered by the legislation that abolishes marital power (Cailleba and Kumar, 2010:332), which grants women equality in a marriage, especially regarding access to property and land (Abolition of Marital Power Act 34, 2004:1). On 12 October 2012, the High Court of Botswana issued a landmark-decision upholding women's inheritance rights. This included the right to inherit a family home, despite customary law practices. Setswana custom prescribes that the family home is inherited either by the eldest or the youngest son (Zeldin and Johnson, 2012:1). The court held that the unwritten tribal law that afforded that right only to the youngest-born sons contravened the country's Constitution, which guarantees gender equality (Zeldin and Johnson, 2012:1).

Despite these valiant attempts to address gender inequality, the gender gap still exists. However, much ground is still to be covered. DRR studies, particularly in developing countries, show a general lack of gender mainstreaming into DRR (Le Masson, 2013:295). According to Briceno (2002:9), gender mainstreaming in DRR implies: firstly, fostering awareness about gender equity and equality to help reduce the impact of disasters; and secondly, to incorporate gender analysis in disaster management, risk reduction and sustainable development to decrease vulnerability. Similarly, gender mainstreaming requires focus on existing social structures of gender relations, which often cause the unequal status of women (Rosenberg, 2011:12). The focus should also be on the systemic and systematic discrimination against women, which limits their capabilities and renders them vulnerable to natural hazards (Kottegoda, 2011:5). The

available evidence is largely anecdotal, drawn from the observations of individual researchers from within other study fields (Bradshaw, 2004:8).

The need to mainstream gender into DRR is highlighted further in the (Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA), Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction and other UN protocols including the Beijing Agenda for Global Action Gender Sensitive DRR, the Economic and Social Council (UNECOSOC), and Resolution 1997/2 (International Conference on Gender and DRR, 2009:1; Khailani and Perera, 2013:616). Effective gender mainstreaming in DRR requires legal and policy reforms aimed at transforming gender relations into equitable forms and guaranteeing women equality in terms of dignity and rights (Kottegoda, 2011:5). According to Dimitrijevics, (2007:34) the necessity of mainstreaming gender into DRR for an optimal outcome is thus recognised increasingly as a global strategy to achieve gender equality. Failure to mainstream gender into DRR, will result mostly in neglecting the damages, needs, and priorities of women within society (Crowley, 2011:20). In this regard, urgent action should be taken to reduce the risk of disasters before it strikes and to deal with underlying gender inequalities that leave people vulnerable to disasters (UNISDR, 2009:2; Jones, 2010:3). Equal and active participation of women and men in DRR would make significant progress in striving to achieve the SDGs, Vision 2036 goals, and the Sendai Framework SENDAI FRAMEWORKgoal of building the resilience of nations and communities to disasters (UNISDR, 2009:2).

The goal of mainstreaming DRR is to ensure the advancement of women and the achieving of gender equality (UN Women, 2012:8). Mainstreaming DRR is not an end in itself, but a strategy and a method to help bring about gender equality and change (UNISDR African Regional Strategy 2004:4). Promoting gender equality for participation in DRR interventions also requires that women are empowered to make decisions by which they can protect their lives and livelihoods (UNISDR African Regional Strategy, 2004:4).

In the short term, the process of mainstreaming DRR can be expensive, difficult and time consuming, but in the long run, it could be highly beneficial for the country (UNISDR 2009:2). This arduous process involves gender-responsive budgeting, as well as incorporating gender-related DRR policies, plans and strategies across all levels of government – both national and local and sectors (UNISDR, 2009:2). Such measures may prove costly for national governments (World Bank, 2012:55). Mainstreaming seeks

to ensure equal participation of men and women that help build resilience to disasters, thus leading to sustainable development (UNISDR, 2009:2).

Even when limited to programmes and projects, successful implementation of mainstreaming gender into DRR has shown some positive results (Padgett and Warnecke, 2011:537). It helped reduce vulnerability among women to disasters and enhanced their resilience (Felima, 2009:15). This has demonstrated in Haiti, Myanmar, Peru, Sri Lanka and India (Assam, Tamil Nadu, Orissa, Uttar Pradesh, Gujarat, Delhi and Maharashtra) (UNISDR, 2009:14). In the Philippines, two laws were developed to establish a legal basis for mainstreaming gender into climate change and DRR policy (World Bank, 2010:3), however, the outcomes of this initiative are still to be documented.

1.2.1. Problem Statement

Despite being the majority of the population, women in Botswana are powerless and are many instances more adversely affected by disasters than men (Ngcamu, 2011:169). Yet to date there has been little or no formal inquiry into challenges faced by women in disaster situations and their concomitant resilience in Botswana. According to existing literature, gender and disaster studies are mostly from the developed nations, that is, North America, Europe and Asia and there is very little data from Africa especially Southern Africa (Stromberg, 2007:202; Maripe and Maundeni, 2010:2). It is, therefore, critical that a study be conducted in Botswana (Southern Africa) as disaster risk, and resilience are culturally and location specific (IFRC, 2016:17). Botswana has over the years amended some of laws and policies to be gender sensitive, however, this has not translated into action. Despite the amended statutory instruments, the country continues to experience gender inequalities. It is evident that there is a gap between policy and practice (Wisner et al., 2011:3). There is therefore a need to bridge the gap through provision of practical solutions to this national problem. Within the context of Botswana, efforts to bridge this gap will be made through attempts to mainstream gender into DRR policies. To understand the complexities faced by women in disaster situations in Botswana, it was imperative that a qualitative study be conducted to investigate the causes of gender inequalities in DRR within the context of Botswana. Therefore, the problem under investigation is, how can gender mainstreaming be engaged to address the lack of gender equality within DRR in Botswana.

In light of the discussion presented in the orientation and problem statement, the following section delineates key research questions and objectives as well as theoretical statements. Later on, these key questions are formed into chapters.

1.3. Key Research Questions

To investigate the lack of gender equality in DRR in Botswana, the research addressed the following questions:

- What is the theoretical grounding to mainstream gender into disaster risk reduction?
- What does mainstreaming gender into disaster risk reduction entail?
- What are the undelying causes forgender ineequality in disaster risk reduction within Botswana?
- Why is it necessary to focus on gender in DRR and resilience to disasters?
- What are the internationally accepted best practices for mainstreaming gender into disaster risk reduction?
- Which policy and statutory reforms should be made to mainstream gender into disaster risk reduction within Botswana?

1.3.1. Research aim and objectives

The aim of the study was to investigate the causes of gender inequalities in disasters within the context of Botswana, and recommend appropriate policy and statutory reforms. In line with the above-mentioned aim, the objectives of the thesis were as follows:

1. To examine, investigate and establish the theoretical grounding to mainstream gender into DRR.
2. To identify and critically evaluate key issues on the importance of mainstreaming gender into DRR, and determine factors of social vulnerability that cause women to be affected more than men by disasters.
3. To investigate and critically analyse the underlying causes of gender inequality in disaster risk reduction within Botswana.
4. To identify and synthesise critical factors that link gender with DRR and resilience.
5. To determine the most appropriate internationally accepted best practices to mainstream gender in disaster risk reduction.

6. To recommend policy and statutory reforms best suited for mainstreaming gender into disaster risk reduction within Botswana.

1.4. Central Theoretical Statements (CTS)

The CTS represents the lens or the perspective to which the study will be investigated. This study is guided by three theories; social vulnerability, capability and gender.

According to the Social Vulnerability theory disasters are produced by a complex mix of social, cultural, political, and economic forces that cause people's vulnerability to hazardous environments (Militzer, 2008:10; Pincha, 2008:19; Yoon, 2012:824).

Similarly, Capability theory posits that in several societies around the world, women are discriminated against by law and by custom, rendering them amongst the most vulnerable and disadvantaged groups in society (Ajibade et al. 2013:1716; Bankford and Froude, 2015:77; Ray Bennet, 2018:28). Despite being vulnerable, women have capabilities which can be enhanced to the benefit of themselves, family and community (Schlosberg, 2012:452).

Gender analysis is a diagnostic tool used to overcome inefficient allocation of resources that is driven through policies and other statutory instruments (National Policy on Gender and Development, 2015:4). Most DRR policies have an inherent male bias (Neumayer and Plumper, 2007:3). Public agencies and bureaucracies tend to institutionalise the power asymmetries attached to differences between genders (Eerdewijk and Davids, 2014:304). Therefore, such policies tend to be ineffective instruments for implementing gender policies (Brown and Langer, 2015:49).

1.5. Research Methodology

The present study employed a qualitative research approach. This type of research methodology is typically used to answer questions about the complex nature of phenomena. This is often done with the purpose of describing and understanding it from the participants' point of view (Tavallei and AbuTalib, 2010:571). Several scholars argue that quantitative research is problematic, seeing that it is not possible to examine the complexities of social processes. It also tends to remove people's experiences from the context of their lives (Nieuwenhuis and Smit, 2012:126). Quarantelli (cited in Fothergill, 1998:24) further argues that scholars need to branch out from common research methods and use unorthodox techniques. He goes on to suggest that scholars should conduct in-depth, qualitative research in order to obtain a better understanding of

women's lived experience in disasters, within their specific context. A qualitative design is typically used when subtle issues such as gender differences, race, and economic status become a matter of concern (Tavallei and AbuTalib, 2010:571).

Tavallei and AbuTalib (2010:571) further point out that qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive, subjective, impressionistic and diagnostic. This approach interprets the data, after which it draws conclusions about their meaning in a personal and theoretic sense (Gay et al., 2006:113). The study adopted a wide range of data-gathering techniques. These entailed in-depth interviews, focus groups and observation, and insight was sought through structured, in-depth data analysis (Nieuwenhuis and Smit, 2012:126). One of the qualitative research's greatest strengths is the richness and depth of explorations and descriptions of the data (Nieuwenhuis and Smit, 2012:126). Thus, for the present study, qualitative research methodology helped the researcher respond adequately to the critical factors causing gender inequalities in DRR.

1.5.1. Literature study

The purpose of the literature study was to identify specific gaps in previous research. This provided a framework for the importance of the present study as well as a benchmark to compare the results of this study with other findings. Available literature at national, regional and international level was consulted to guide the research. These included: academic journals, periodical, books, conference and seminar reports as well plans, policies and laws covering disaster risk management in Botswana. The scholarly literature was sourced through Google scholar and EBSCOhost based searches

1.5.2. Empirical study

The research study was exploratory and descriptive and launched from a grounded theory. In selecting a sample, the study used the purposive sampling method. This method is considered the most representative of a given population (Gay et al., 2006:113 and Creswell, 1994:120). In other words, the researcher selected a sample using his/her experience and knowledge of the group that are targeted (Gay et al., 2006:113). This technique was used to select participants whom the researcher identified as thoughtful, informative, and who could articulate their experiences of the research topic and setting (Merriam and Simpson, 1995:112).

Qualitative studies work with smaller samples than is the case with quantitative research (Gay et al., 2006:113). In this regard, an average of eighteen (18) participants were

selected. These were mostly women who have experienced natural disasters. The participants were interviewed in each of the areas where disasters wereprevalent, namely Kgatleng, Mahalapye, Bobonong, Tonota, Mogoditshane and Moshupa District/Sub-Districts. Other participants included twenty (20) professionals and traditional leaders who dealt with DRR and gender issues on national, district and local levels. These participants were from government and non-governmental organisations (NGOs), as well as political and tribal structures.

The present study reviewed public documents and conducted in-depth, semi-structured interviews with the above-mentioned participants. In addition, data was collected using the direct observation method. The study sampled six focus groups from the disaster-prone areas. Focus groups entail group discussions organised to explore a specific set of issues such as people's views and experiences about a researched phenomenon (Kitzinger, 1994:15).

Face-to-face, one-on-one structured interviews were conducted with professionals in their offices. Using a structured interview format allowed the researcher to pose the same questions to the participants, in such a way that the necessary information was elicited (Merriam, 1998:81).

To ensure credibility and validity of the research findings, the study sought to engage in data triangulation.This entailed a process in which multiple methods of data collection are used to attain as complete a picture as possible of what was being studied, and to cross-check the information (Gay et al., 2006:113). Triangulation helped prevent the study's findings from simply becoming the results of a single method, an only source, or an individual investigator's biases (Cresswell, 1994:174).

In addition, during fieldwork, the researcher used observation as a tool to examine the implementation of policies and strategies that address gender equality in the field. This was done by observing activities focused on gender including training, workshops, seminars and conferences. Observation allowed the researcher to collect data systematically and unobtrusively, without being absorbed entirely in the activity, which made it easier to analyse the data objectively (Merriam and Simpson, 1995:159).

1.5.3. Ethical considerations (Ethics Number NWU-0112-13-S7)

Participants were requested politely to take part in the data-collection process rather than being cajoled or pressured. If a respondent had reservations, he/she was kindly excused.

No one participated in the study against his/her will, and financial disbursements were neither promised nor made to the participants.

Respect for the participants was also cultivated in the research team. The rights and interests of all participants were protected and ensured. The information gathered from the participants was kept confidential, and information on how, when, where, and with whom the data would be used, was shared with participants. Views about potential advantages, or disadvantages for participating in the research process was managed carefully. This was mostly done to ensure affected families/households did not develop false expectations about humanitarian support or intervention. Failure to communicate clearly with affected families participating in the study could not only compromise research results but, in some cases, also the safety and security of the affected families themselves. Participants were asked to sign consent form indicating their willingness to participate in the study. This was done in accordance with North West University (NWU) ethical regulations in research.

1.6. Contribution of the Study

The literature on gender and disasters emphasises the importance of including gender considerations in disaster risk reduction. These studies do not, however, explain reasons or factors causing more women than men to be affected by disasters. The purpose of the present research was to identify theunderlying factors that caused women to be vulnerable to disasters in Botswana, and determine how these issues could be addressed in a developmental context. This study revealed that Batswana women used Setswana traditional faith mixed with Christian faith to perceive and cope with disasters. Moreover, Batswana women did not support each other in politics despite showing a lot of compassion to each other when affected by disasters. Mainstreaming of gender into DRR provides possible answers to help reduce the impact of disasters. Although certain policy documents illustrated political commitment to mainstream gender issues into DRR, no tangible or sustainable results had emerged, apart from ad hoc activities (UNISDR, 2009:2). As a result, mainstreaming often remain at the level of rhetoric rather than action (UNISDR, 2009:18).

There is thus insufficient knowledge to build communities that are more resilient and equitable in the face of disasters. The study furthermore provided guidance for policy makers and programme planners to develop gender-fair laws, policies and practices in DRR. Thus, the study sought to influence policies at national and local levels on gender

and DRR. The research could also help facilitate the full participation of women in decision-making about sustainable development and management of disaster reduction, at the various levels in society. In addition, the study add to the international body of knowledge in the field of gender-neutral policies, especially in developing countries. In this regard, the present study paved the way for further studies of this nature within the broader framework of disaster risk reduction.

1.7. Organisation of the Thesis

In order to respond to the overall aim of the study, key research questions were turned into chapters and similar questions were merged. The study is presented in ten interrelated chapters.

- Chapter 1: Introduces the thesis, and examines the orientation and problem statement. Furthermore, the chapter covers the aim of the study, the key research questions and objectives. These are followed by a brief discussion on the employed research methodology as well as basic ethical considerations. The chapter concludes with the contribution of the study to the body of knowledge in gender and disaster risk reduction.
- Chapter 2: This chapter addresses the following objective; to identify key issues on the importance of mainstreaming gender into DRR and determine factors of social vulnerability that cause women to be affected more than men by disasters. Provides a review of existing secondary literature and further presents a gap analysis of the research. The chapter investigates the origins and the evolution of the concepts of disaster and DRR, underlining the anthropogenic nature of such incidences. Prominent theories and concepts in the fields of DRR and gender are discussed in the international sphere as well as Botswana's context. Additionally, weaknesses and strengths of these grounding theories are examined.
- Chapter 3: This chapter continues to address the objectives identified in chapter 2; to identify key issues on the importance of mainstreaming gender into DRR. and determine factors of social vulnerability that cause women to be affected more than men by disasters. The focus is on the disproportionate impact of disasters on women. The chapter further discusses the symbiotic relationship between DRR/CCA and gender and how these are linked to Sustainable Development Goals.
- Chapter 4: This Chapter discusses two research objectives which are; to investigate the causes of gender equalities in disaster risk reduction within Botswana and identify

critical factors that link gender with DRR and resilience. The chapter examines the DRR institutional and policy framework in Botswana. A discussion of vulnerabilities and resilience of women in every-day and disaster situations and DRR in Botswana, concludes the chapter.

- Chapter 5: The chapter address the following objective; to examine the theoretical grounding for the study of mainstreaming gender into DRR. The Chapter provides a detailed discussion on the on the evolution of the concept of gender mainstreaming (GM) as a policy strategy to advocate the inclusion and participation of women in DRR/CCA and in the various areas of the economy. The focus falls on the three GM implementation models: integrationist, agenda setting and transformative. The chapter concludes by examining the influence of the WID and GAD approaches in driving the development of gender- sensitive statutory instruments in Botswana.
- Chapter 6: The chapter address the following objective; to determine the most appropriate internationally accepted best practices to mainstream gender in disaster risk reduction.The Chapter provides insight into best practices and lessons learnt by mainstreaming gender into DRR, which are accepted globally, including the SADC region. The chapter further explores how other countries had managed to mainstream gender into development and DRR, which resulted in reduced gender inequalities and fostered economic growth.
- Chapter 7: The chapter address the following objective; to recommend policy and statutory reforms best suited for mainstreaming gender into disaster risk reduction within Botswana. The Chapter discusses institutions as sources of power and of gender inequalities.The chapter furthermore examines institutions and accompanying policies to empower women and reduce gender inequalities in Botswana. The chapter assesses gender policy types and outlines in terms of weaknesses and strengths.
- Chapter 8: Examines the methods and instruments that were used to collect data for the study. The qualitative research methodology is presented and discussed as most appropriate approach to elicit the views and perceptions of those who have been affected by disasters. Furthermore, sampling techniques, the population and areas of study are outlined.
- Chapter 9: Reports on the interviews with focus groups, namely households affected by disasters and professionals. The chapter analyses and discusses empirical findings of the study – in terms of themes and sub-themes.

- Chapter 10: Draws conclusions from the findings and make recommendations for further research on the topic.

1.8. Conclusion

In conclusion, much has been written in the past about the way in which disasters affect men and women as groups differently. In practice, however, DRR still often pays lip service to gender concerns. The present study explored the reasons why women were more vulnerable than men in Botswana. This was done with a view to develop better undestanding to institutionalise gender mainstreaming in DRR in Botswana.

Promoting gender equality does not only benefit women and the society at large, but can also support efforts to advance sustainable development and the goals of Vision 2036. Mainstreaming of gender into DRR policies serves as a strategy for reducing vulnerability and disaster risk and supports efforts to help women build resilience in the face of adversity.

CHAPTER 2: DISASTERS, GENDER, SOCIAL VULNERABILITY AND CAPABILITY: THE INTERFACE

2.1. Introduction

This chapter addresses the following objective; to identify key issues on the importance of mainstreaming gender into DRR and determine factors of social vulnerability that cause women to be affected more than men by disasters. The purpose of this chapter is to review existing literature by examining research studies on the research topic. Additionally, the chapter aims to identify and discuss theoretical frameworks and models supporting the area of study. By examining these frameworks and models the research problem will be discussed. A trans-disciplinary line of thinking will be used to explore the subject area. Jackson (2002:497) explains that the trans-disciplinary approach allows the investigator to explore issues that will not ordinarily be answered by a single discipline of the social sciences. Tierney (2007:520) advocates disaster risk reduction (DRR), due to its recent emergence as a basic field of study and its multi-disciplinary approach. It is critical for this approach to borrow theories from other well-established fields such as anthropology, development and sociology, in order to enrich itself. As a result, DRR is not only diverse in its engagement of stakeholders but combines different approaches in an attempt to reduce the risk of disaster (Gaillard and Mercer, 2013:95).

The study primarily utilises multiple theoretical frameworks that focus on aspects such as gender, social vulnerability and capability in the context of disasters. The aim is an in-depth assessment of factors that may cause gender inequalities in Botswana and how vulnerability is increased, especially for women. Laska et al. (2008:11) is of the view that perspectives of feminism, social vulnerability and capability are dominant paradigms used to understand the anatomy of disasters.

According to Enarson et al. (2007:131), these approaches complement each other by investigating comparable concepts such as power relations, vulnerability, resilience, empowerment, and social change, which are critical for the present study. The thorough investigation of these factors will in turn inform decisions in social policy aimed at empowering women without necessarily disempowering men. The mentioned scholars conclude: DRR scholars argue that disasters disrupt the normal functioning of social systems. In concert, the theorists of gender, social vulnerability and capability, aptly poses the question, “Whose social system, and who is affected?” (Enarson et al., 2007:131). Thus, these three mentioned theories are used to explore the root causes of

gender inequalities before, during, and after the disaster has occurred (Ajibade et al., 2013:1715). In sum, the three theories argue that disasters by nature are socially constructed (True, 2013:83).

Furthermore, this chapter examines the gender concepts and their significant contribution to the development of the DRR agenda and the reduction of gender inequality. Since 2005, this field has shown a steady rise in popularity. Women's activism has, likewise, gained an increasingly high and respected profile since the Beijing Platform of Action in 1995 (Alexander and Davis, 2012:2). Gender equality, or women's empowerment, and DRR are both rapidly evolving fields, in both policy and implementation, at local, national, and international level (Briceno, 2002:4; Gupta and Leung, 2011:2).

Laska et al. (2008:11) argue that DRR and feminist/gender disciplines may have evolved independently. However, several academics indeed have used the feminist theoretical perspective to study the impact and effects of disasters and climate change. These researchers strongly view gender as a primary organising principle in most societies. Therefore, it provides an essential lens for viewing the impacts of disaster and climate change (Akerkar and Fordham, 2017:218). According to MacGregor (2010:124) the feminist's social research on DRR sheds light on the gender dimensions of climate change and disasters. This insight enables policy-makers to develop gender-sensitive policies. This is based on the view that attempts to deal with these hazards but exclude gender analysis in its intervention, will be insufficient, unjust, and therefore unsustainable.

The chapter also focuses on the vulnerability and resilience of women, as their specific needs, choices, voices, and potential are often taken for granted in pre- and post-disaster situations and in adaptation to climate change (Akerkar and Fordham, 2017:218). As mentioned previously, the neglect of women's issues by both DRR/CCA practitioners and researchers inevitably leads to the development of gender-biased programmes and policies. As a result, the input of these marginalised women is not considered, even though women form a majority of the population (Mukuna, 2015:207; Akerkar and Fordham, 2017:218). Kim and Kim, (2011:391) add that a thorough comprehension of these gender-inequality issues will produce insights that will inform policies better on where gender-specific considerations might contribute to DRR/CCA in vulnerable communities.

To comprehend the three theories (gender, social vulnerability and capability) and to contextualise them, it is important to discuss the origins and definition of the concept of disaster and hazards. In the light of this, the following section discusses the history and causes of disasters without neccesarily focussing on women.

2.2. Disaster as a Concept

Throughout history, disasters have devastated humans. In efforts to to make sense of these phenomena humans have tried to examine and understand their causes and origins. They were catergorised as divine intervention, acts of nature and the result of anthropogenic causes (Furedi, 2007:483). These perspectives influenced the definition of the disaster as well as shaping how disasters are dealt with (Dahlberg et al., 2015:47; O'Brien, 2018:2). Science brought much needed relief to affected people as there was a generic understanding that measures could be put in place to lessen the impact of disaster (Ginige et al., 2009:23; Fraley, 2010:669). As a result, proposed interventions were geared toward solving engineering problems leading to the disaster (Fraley, 2010:669).

It was not until the 1970s, that disasters were ascribed an anthropogenic nature (Manyena, 2012:327). This thought evolved to become the modern-day DRR, which was advocated in Hyogo, Japan, in 2005 (UNISDR 2005:3). This school of thought emphasises that disasters are neither natural, nor acts of God, but should be seen as a result of people's vulnerability (IFRC, 2014:48). Although difficult to measure and establish (than engineering solutions), it was found that social inequalities determine the impact of the disasters, especially in developing countries with its widespread poverty.

The term disaster is taken from the Greek word *dus,* which means bad, and *aster* referring to a star (Quarantelli, 1985:44). Thus, the word disaster is the translation for the word combination, 'bad star'. This explanation derives from an astrological theme referring to the demolition of a star as a disaster or a calamity blamed on an unfavourable position of a planet. Over the years, the word and the concept of disaster have evolved, with scholars defining it differently (Quarantelli and Dynes, 1977:24). The disaster field of study was characterised by considerable confusion over terminology. This could be attributed to the large variety of disciplines (development, anthropology, sociology, etc.) involved in the field, each with its own perspective (Julca, 2012:509).

Quarantelli's (1985:44) broad definition of disaster includes the physical aspect, social impact, and political factors. This definition concludes that a disaster is a catastrophe, which overwhelms the coping capacity of a community or people (Furedi, 2007:483; Williams, 2008:1120; Ginige et al., 2009:23; Fraley, 2010:669; Manyena, 2012:327). Quarantelli's definition is elaborated on by the International Federation of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies (IFRC). Their version describes a disaster as an interaction between a hazard and the human population, where the latter are unable to reduce the risk and the impact of the event (IFRC, 2005, cited in Helmerand Hilhorst, 2006:1). Botswana's National Policy on Disaster Management (1996) and the National Disaster Risk Management Plan (2009) adopted the UNISDR versions which explains a disaster as:

> "*A serious disruption of the functioning of a community or a society involving widespread human, material, economic or environmental losses and impacts, which exceeds the ability of the affected community or society to cope using its own resources."* (Republic of Botswana, 2009:9).

This definition presents disasters as phenomena which occur rapidly and affect the day-to-day functioning of a community. The affected community has inadequate capacity to cope with the crisis, and therefore, requires external intervention.

The definition of disaster varies across countries and this combined with the colloquial use of the term to describe 'something bad' contributes to confusion in policy praxis. For purposes of the present study, the UNISDR definition that was also adopted by the policy documents in Botswana, will be used since it is recognised universally (UNISDR, 2009:2).

To understand fully the concept of disaster, it is imperative to discuss hazards. The following section discusses hazards and it relation to disaster. Although distinct, the two concepts are often used interchangeably.

2.2.1. Significance of hazards

UNISDR (2009:21) defines a hazard as

> "*A dangerous phenomenon, substance, human activity or condition that may cause loss of life, injury or other health impacts, property damage, loss of livelihoods and services, social and economic disruption, or environmental damage".*

For an incident to be defined as a disaster there has to be interaction between a hazard and human population thereby causing destruction to the lives and livelihoods of the community. In order to reduce disasters, we must understand them and use this to reduce risk.

The National Policy on Disaster Management, (1996:4) and the National Disaster Risk Management Plan, (2009:13) point out that disasters refer to hazards incurred from natural origins such as earthquakes, floods, storms, wild land fires and drought. For the purpose of the present study, hazards shall refer to the aforementioned. These incidences exclude, among other matters, terrorist attacks, war and riots (Zahran et al., 2008:2).

Severe climate settings often turn these hazards into disasters (Helmer and Hilhorst, 2006:1; O'Brien et al., 2006:65; Solecki et al., 2011:135). The IFRC, (2005, cited in Helmer and Hilhorst, 2006:1), adds that in the past ten years, climate-related disasters accounted for 90% of the total global disasters and for 60% deaths, and most of these disasters occurred in least-developed countries. Climate change and variability are phenomena that compound the risk of natural hazards. There is a strong likelihood of an increase in heavy rainfall in certain parts of the world. This tendency may cause extreme flooding, while other regions may experience low or no rainfall, which lead to prolonged drought and famine (IPCC, 2007:5). Both insufficient and excessive rainfall can result in lack of food security and loss of livelihoods, in certain instances, even loss of lives (Zunckel, 2010:4).These conditions force countries to allocate resources for adaptation (Van Aalst, 2006:15). Climate change affects geographical zones differently. Usually the least developed countries are worse off, which also applies to its inhabitants (Crowley, 2011:20). As the case is with other disaster risks, climate- related ones also tend to magnify gender inequalities (UNDP, 2008:89). Consequently, it weakens the coping or adaptive capacities and the resilience of people, particularly marginalised groups such as women (Solecki, et al., 2006:65). The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) echoes these views by stating that, due to limited coping capacities, marginalised groups are more vulnerable to climate-related risks and other stresses (IPCC, 2001: section 2.8).

In the light of the discussion of the definition and origin of the concepts of disaster and hazards, the following section examines the socio-economic impact of disasters and the role of development in either reducing or increasing risks.

2.2.2. Increase in the frequency and impact of disasters

Hardly a day goes by without a news report on some disaster occurring around the world. There are notable disasters that, over the years, have affected humankind. For example, in 1755 an earthquake destroyed Lisbon and killed an estimated 60 000 out of a population of 275 000 people (Stromberg, 2007:199). Recent disasters include the Hurricane Katrina in 2005; earthquake in Christchurch New Zealand, 2010; and the earthquake and tsunami in Japan, 2011 (Hewitt, 2013:2). The impact and frequency of these disasters have increased over the past 20 years (IFRC, 2014:24). This is the case, despite progress in technology, improvement in institutional frameworks and the allocation of specific resources to deal with disasters (Hewitt, 2013: 2). For example, during 2005 in the USA, disaster damages from Hurricane Katrina were estimated at $81.2 billion in insured losses. The devastation affected an estimated 1 504 million individuals, mostly women and children below the age of 16 years (McComb et al., 2010:560). The 2011 earthquake disaster in Japan recorded economic losses of approximately $171-183 billion, and the cost for recovery from the disaster was expected to reach $122 billion (Pagano 2011 cited in Norio et al., 2011:38).

Furthermore, as a result of the mentioned disaster in Japan, the global financial markets fluctuated (Norio et al., 2011:38). These damages were immense for both these countries, which boast the largest economies in the world. The impact might have been worse, if a disaster of similar magnitude occurred in developing countries. This is because these nations have more pronounced gender inequalities, poor governance and lack the commitment to resources for dealing with disasters.

In South America, disaster losses caused by Hurricane Mitch, dubbed as the ‘storm of the century’, were astounding. The incident affected an estimated 1.5 million people in Honduras, and economic damages were estimated at $3.79 billion. In Nicaragua, economic damages were approximated $987 million and over 850 000 people were struck by the same disaster (Delaney and Shrader, 2000:20). Before the disaster, the two countries had a debt of $10 billion, and had to service a joint debt from $2.2 million per day (Abramowitz, 2001:133). The impact of these disasters seems to have reversed development gains by several years.

Countries in Sub-Saharan Africa also are not exempt from disasters leading to economic damages. UNISDR Africa (2009:10) reports that 96 disasters occurred in 2008. These include 44 floods and 9 droughts, which impacted approximately 16.3 million people.

Economic costs were estimated at $1 billion. Botswana has also been affected by such debilitating events. It is estimated that during the floods of 1999/2000, which affected 23 of the 30 districts, 13 people died. Economic losses were recorded of more than $100 million (UNISDR, Africa, 2004:54). This is unaffordable to a country with a per capita growth of the gross national product (GNP) to just above 4% (Apronti, 2012:1). The World Bank, (2012:55) sums up the situation by stating that disasters are becoming costlier. Thus, countries should invest in effective strategies that reduce disasters.

Although disasters have become exponentially more frequent over the years, the number of casualties has decreased, except in Africa, which still witnesses high death tolls (Stromberg, 2007:202). The impact of disaster is felt more in developing regions of Africa, Asia and Latin America, as opposed to the so-called First-World regions (Julca, 2012:501). Africa's vulnerability to disasters can be attributed to natural factors such as severe weather. Nevertheless, most of the factors are self-inflicted. These include aspects such as rapid population growth, poor communication, deficient development infrastructures, high levels of corruption, gender-insensitive social policies, and ethnic conflicts. This includes fixated cultural values that entrench men's dominance over women (UNISDR, 2009:8).

Despite enjoying more resources and capacity, the developed countries have not been spared disasters as well (Stromberg, 2007:202). The USA, Japan, Germany, and the UK are among these countries that recently were struck by disasters of varying magnitude (Hewitt, 2013:2). However, contrary to developing countries, these nations experience lower mortality risks from natural hazards. The reason is that they allocate resources to reduce the impact of the hazard, and have more efficient governance structures in place (Stromberg, 2007:205).

Developing nations, on the other hand, cannot afford to implement similar measures to prepare for disasters, or mitigate its effects. This is due to weaker capacity and lack of resources (UNISDR, 2009:8). The assertion that developing countries lack resources may be unfounded, seeing as they seem to have access to more natural resources than developed nations. The actual issue is that the developing nations seem to have misplaced priorities. For most of them combating disasters is not a main focus. This approach is illustrated by the limited or lack of budgets for dealing with the impact of hazards.

Furthermore, at household level, inequalities increase susceptibility. Marginalised people typically have a poor health status. They cannot afford adequate housing, live in high-risk or flood-prone areas, and overcrowding is the norm. Financially, their income is low and extremely unreliable. Thus, the inhabitants do not see the urgent need for disaster-risk reduction (Stromberg, 2007:206). Their immediate concern is with life-sustenance needs that determine the survival of an individual or family.

2.2.3. Disasters as anthropogenic phenomena

Oliver-Smith (1996, cited in Pournik, et al., 2012:1) categorically states that natural disasters does not exist. Rather, all disasters are anthropogenic (from human origin) and often involve social factors. Smith (2006:1) explains that it is generally accepted among DRR practitioners and researchers that there are no natural disasters. Instead, human action or inaction turns hazards into disasters (Pournik, et al., 2012:1). O'Brien et al. (2006:65) concur that disasters are a direct result of human actions and developments that increase the risk of such maladies. These were the result of insufficient human planning and execution (Stromberg, 2007:199). If corrective action had been taken before the hazard occurred, the disaster would have likely been averted. Similarly, Parsons et al., (2016:2) point out that hazards do not always cause disasters, especially in areas where individuals have high resilience, it is poor or weak resilience on the part of individuals that turns hazards into disasters.

Such human-made disasters indeed can be prevented, and its impact can be minimised (Coleman, 2006:5). Most of the times, these developments ignore the risk-reduction measures. For example, failure to adhere to building codes and inadequate maintenance of storm-water drainage may lead to disasters, especially flooding. It should be emphasised that, while the occurrence of a hazard cannot be prevented, the effects of such afflictions can certainly be mitigated (Fordham, 2011:834). Although hazards may have a natural origin, the way in which societies have developed or underdeveloped, increases the risk for such disasters (Valdes, 2006:3; O'Brien et al., 2006:65). This trend can easily be observed in developing countries where the focus falls on response and relief at the expense of prevention (Hillier, 2013:2). This factor, coupled with poor governance in certain countries, exacerbates the impact of disasters (Valdes, 2006:3).

To mitigate the impact of disasters, a paradigm shift is needed. This includes the strengthening of institutional arrangements (Manyena, 2012:328). The aim of the proposed response by social policy, should not merely be to restore the community to its

condition before the disaster. Instead, such policies should be employed to create social change by building inhabitants' resilience (Baker, 2009:115).

The previous section discussed the action and inaction of humans as the primary cause of disasters. As a result of this, it is those vulnerable that are most affected by the disaster. As indicated, women are amongst the most vulnerable group.

2.3. Gender as a concept

It is thus necessary to focus on women in order to identify the risk factors and plan ahead to minimise these impediments. In the light of this it is critical to define the concept of gender. The origins of the concept of gender are discussed later in the thesis when examining gender mainstreaming.

United Nations Women, (2012:1) refers to gender as:

> *The socially constructed attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female vary widely from place to place. Gender defines social and cultural expectations about what behaviour and activities are allowed, what attributes are valued, and what rights and power one has in the family, community and nation. For example, in one society women may be expected to focus on the family's domestic needs while men engage in the formal paid workforce, whereas in another, both men and women may be expected to contribute to the family's cash income.*

Gender should not be confused with "women". Lawanson, (2010:5) posited that the concept of gender is not limited to distinguish the male from the female species, but extends to assessing the relations between them (Lawanson, 2010:5). Gender inequality implies that women and men occupy the same status, enjoy equal opportunities (fairness/equity) and are afforded full human rights. Furthermore, both should realise their potential to contribute to and benefit from national, political, economic, social, and cultural development. (Mohammed and Abdulquadri, 2012:2). Thus, gender refers primarily to power relations between male and female individuals (Ajibade et al., 2013:1715). It defines roles and responsibilities of persons in society. It is critical as factor which is used to allocate or restrict how power is distributed in social setting. Power is a defining factor which restricts access to resources, participation in decision making and general position in the social context. Gender-based power relations are compounded further when gender interacts with other variables such as age, marital status, ethnicity, religion, refugee status and disability (Pincha et al., 2008:19). The patriarchal lens

through which society views women relegates them to a subordinate status in social, cultural, economic and political spheres (Enarson et al., 2007:131).

2.3.1. The Gendered impact of disasters

Data from disasters have documented that there is a discrepancy in the impact of hazards across gender lines. Gender inequalities and women's vulnerability to disasters were demonstrated in a study by Soroptimist International of the Americas (2011:20). They found that in 141 countries, deaths in disasters were linked directly to women's economic and social rights. Conversely, in societies where women and men enjoyed equal rights, disasters caused the same number of deaths in both sexes. Moreover, an estimated 80% of the deaths that resulted in one of the worst recorded Indian Ocean tsunami disasters in 2004, were women (Kottegoda, 2011:2). Patriarchal structures in the Asian communities, which controlled and constrained the lives of women and girls, played a significant role in increasing the impact of the disaster on females (Blouet and Bulit, 2012:2).

Women continue to be relatively at risk because, apart from existing gender inequities, they are among the poorest and least mobile citizens. In addition, they have less access to resources while bearing increasing family responsibilities, especially after a disaster has struck (Ndenyele and Bardurdeen, 2012:330). When disasters occur, women are more likely to suffer higher fatalities than men, bear greater burdens of domestic labour, and endure slower rates of recovery. Females also are more likely to report high post-disaster stress, and are more exposed to male violence during and after the incidents (Kottegoda, 2011:2). Even before a disaster strikes, women are at a disadvantage, due to being marginalised in society (Blouet and Bulit, 2012:2). Disasters inherently disempower and aggravate women's marginalised condition, especially for those whose control over vital resources is reduced further (Ndenyele and Bardurdeen, 2012:331). Disasters typically worsen gender inequalities and deepen the vulnerability of population groups who have fewer resources and less political power (Herstadt, 2010:5). Gender influences people's vulnerability to disasters and exposure to risks (Crowley, 2011:20).

In a range of countries, from the most to the least developed, gender inequality appears to be the norm. A further factor became apparent during the disaster by hurricane Katrina in New Orleans. It was found that most of the victims trapped in the hurricane were African-American women with their children. This is the poorest demographic group in

the USA, having the lowest incomes or incomes that were seasonal or insecure (Laska et al., 2008:14). In Asia, it is reported that women represented an estimated 61% of affected deaths in Myanmar after Cyclone Nargis in 2008, 70% in Banda Aceh, in the Asian tsunami of 2004, and 91% in Bangladesh during Cyclone Gorky of 1991 (World Bank, 2012:2). Similarly, during the 2010 Haiti earthquake, more women were at risk of death because Haitian women customarily remained at home to take care of young children, or were likely to be working in or around the buildings that collapsed (Blouet and Bulit, 2012:2). Blouet and Bulit, (2012:2) also found that 56% of the total displaced population in the sites under investigation, were women; 80% of the women who participated in their study resided in rented dwellings, which were destroyed or seriously damaged by the impact of the earthquake.

Studies conducted in Africa show the same pattern. In a study by Onuaha (2008:1912) women were found to be the hardest hit by pipeline disasters. Onuaha (2008:1914) further identifies four variables accounting for Nigerian women's vulnerability: the spatial nature of the incidence; feminisation of poverty; low level of education and access to information; and political marginalisation. In effect, prior to disasters, women occupied a fragile position due to the patriarchal structure of the Nigerian society, where they had additional burdens as caregivers to the elderly, children and the disabled (Onuaha, 2008:1914).

Similar results were found in Kenya. A study conducted on the effects of drought in that country, investigated the time available to women for productive activities such as farming, and recreational activities such as spending time with their family. The study found that times for these activities were reduced significantly by poverty and recurring drought (Ndenyele and Bardurdeen, 2012:329). Furthermore, 90% of those attending post-disaster consultation meetings were women, seeing that men had migrated to the urban centres in search of employment (Ndenyele and Bardurdeen, 2012:329). Women had to shoulder the entire responsibility for their families, thus worsening the conditions of poverty (Ndenyele and Bardurdeen, 2012:329). Moreover, women had limited access to and less control over resources (Ndenyele and Bardurdeen, 2012:330). The study also points to the fact that the effects of disaster are more visible on women than on men.

Studies were also conducted in South Africa and Mozambique on the flooding of the Umgeni River in Kwazulu-Natal and Xai-Xai respectively. These studies indicated that the most vulnerable households were those headed by single women (Berg et al.,

2001:5). Von Kotze (1996:25) reported that women were the most vulnerable. This was due to various factors: women generally are poorer than men, they have less access to and control of resources, and several traditions and laws have restricted women's means to become independent and occupy positions of power.

Nuemayer and Plumper (2007:2) indicate that the biological and physiological difference between sexes are unable to explain large scale differences in mortality rates. Differential impacts of natural disasters on female relative to male life expectancy not merely by recourse to different physical exposures and biological or physiological gender differences but also by the differently socially constructed vulnerabilities that derive from the social men and women assume, voluntarily or involuntarily, as well existing patterns of gender discrimination.

The previous section discussed the the concept of gender and the gendered impact disasters. The following section discusses how both sexes view disaster risk. The two view risk differently.

2.3.2. Women view risks differently than men

Mostly, DRR/CCA policies do not acknowledge the fact that women and men have different perceptions of risks (Ray-Bennet, 2018:33). It is particularly critical for policy research and practice to address this factor. Seeing that women's risk perceptions differ from those of men, women mostly avoid behaviours that are risky. In most instances, women are extremely cautious in their approach, as opposed to men (Edvardsson-Bjornberg and Hansson, 2013:219). Understandably, females view risk more seriously than males, seeing that individuals of the former sex are more vulnerable and will adopt coping mechanisms to mitigate the situation (Eckel and Grossman, 2008:2).

Basher (2008:943) points out that gender blindness and gender-based norms prevent accurate understanding of risk processes. This deficiency makes it difficult to formulate effective policy responses that can address and reduce risks of disasters. Gender-blind policies thus may also increase society's vulnerability to disasters and climate change. This tends to broaden the gender gap (Swai et al., 2012:66), seeing that such policies fail to tackle the root causes of gender inequality.

Gender-blind and patriarchally influenced policies do not only disadvantage women, but men as well. For instance, men are more often involved in high-risk emergency response activities for which they may not have the necessary skills and equipment (Dankelman,

2008:2). This condition is influenced strongly by cultural values, which depict men as the protectors and defenders of their household (Ripley, 2008:1). In their endeavour to fulfil these social roles, men put their lives in unnecessary danger. The socio-economic role of men as breadwinners adds pressure, seeing that society expects of males to provide for their families, regardless of their economic status (Maclean, 2013:456).

In certain situations, disasters create unemployment through closure or liquidation of factories and industries, or worse still, employees' may lose their lifetime savings. In the absence of stringent mechanisms for disaster recovery and insurance, such men may end up taking loans or over-borrow as response to the predicament. Some may desert their families, or even migrate to urban areas in search of employment. This leaves the women the difficult task to take care of the family in the absence of the men. Furthermore, when men are under pressure to fulfil these roles, it may lead to alcoholism, suicide, passion killings, and gender-based violence (GBV). This could be the result of their frustration in failing to meet the societal expectations (Nishio et al., 2009:248).

In patrilineal societies such as Botswana, the stereotype that depicts men as strong and 'macho', may discourage them from seeking emotional support (Skinner, 2011:16). As a result, there is a dire shortage of formal psycho-social support or intervention programmes for such men. The few existing programmes are primarily geared toward HIV/AIDS, for example, the Men's Sector and the Society for Men against AIDS (Maundeni, 2004:43). The reason for this anomaly is that patriarchy teaches men to be powerful and in control at all times. This tends to alienate men from women, and further strains gender relations between the two sexes.

Men need to accept that they also are vulnerable to stressors such as disasters and climate change and thus also need support. Interestingly, this type of institutional support exists only for women, especially in developing nations such as Botswana. For example, numerous organisations offer support to women and girls in need. Among these organisations are: the Kagisano Women's Shelter and Women Against Rape (WAR), Emang Basadi, Metlhaetsile Women's Information Centre, Young Women Christian Association (YWCA), and others not mentioned here (Phorano et al., 2005:196). These organisations offer critical support to women and sometimes are sources of anti-men discourse.

The following section discusses the three theories which anchor this study namely; Gender, Social Vulnerability and Capability.

2.4. Underlying Theoretical Perspectives-

2.4.1. Gender inequality and vulnerability

The following subsection points out inter-sectionality between gender and the field of DRR. Furthermore, the focus is on the overall contribution of gender theory to DRR. The doctrine of gender has evolved with time and refers to power relations between men and women (Militzer, 2008:22). Even though Gender theory is viewed as a doctrine promoting women exclusively, it is actually more encompassing since it argues for men's rights as well (El-Bushra, 2007:145). Chegwe, (2013:67) asserts that gender theory is a system that seeks to understand the conditions of women and provide appropriate intervention by developing gender-sensitive statutory instruments that guarantee equality between men and women. This theory takes a fundamentally sociological approach and investigates how gender affects the modern interstate system, where women are seen as vulnerable victims of disaster (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2013:417). The following assertions are held by this theory;

- Gender is socially defined and can reflect inequality
- Limit /facilitate access to resources, political power, decision making and social participation
- Unequal access is reflected in the creation of conditions that inhibit an individual's ability to rebound from adversity.
- Gender inequality contributes to vulnerabilities

Unequal power relations increase levels poverty and thereby the vulnerability to disaster among these marginalised groups, which include women (Tschakert and Machado, 2012:276). Consequently, women tend to have less resilience and are more vulnerable to disasters than men, seeing that the latter are overburdened economically. Women have to work harder and, in most cases, put in extra hours to feed their families. Their social responsibilities also increase since men are hardly available to provide assistance to women (Byers et al., 2016:148).

In reaction to situations similar to the above, gender activists pressed for the reformation of repressive laws and traditional customs, which polarised the two groups (Shearer, 2012:64). Due to these reforms, women currently are able to challenge the status quo.

The reason is that they have acquired the skills and knowledge which allows them to compete with men on an even playing field. Even though there still are inequalities, seemingly improvement have been made in specific areas due to these reforms (Maclean, 2013:456). However, thus far women still experience difficulties. Gender theorists vow that, for women, the struggle will continue until gender inequalities have been abolished. In this regard, Chant and Sweetman, (2012:518) adds that gender theory entails more than a fight for equal numbers with men. It implies a struggle for equality, the advancement of women, and the realisation that women have equal rights to men (Thurairajah, 2011:6).

Through the process of ghettoization, men cultivate political control and economic exploitation of women (Alston, 2014:291). Ghettoisation is described as the process where men and women in the same occupation perform different jobs (Kiarie and Amir, 2014:12). This unequal assigment of men and women systematically hinders women from achieving parity with men (Erlank, 2008:132). Kiarie and Amir, (2014:12) challenges the ghettoisation of feminism and argues that studies of economic life must consider gender constraints on men as well as women in both the household environment and wider society. Arora-Jonsson (2014:10) supports the views by Kiarie and Amir (2014:12). She calls for the inclusion of women in actions addressing environmental issues, especially in DRR and climate-change adaptation (CCA). Women should be involved in committees and local organisations and, most importantly, in labour markets.

Cuomo (2011:690) concurs with other scholars such as Walby and Gutteridge, that to attain gender equality, the full participation is needed of institutions, government and private sectors as well as NGOs and individuals at international, national and local levels. This should be done by implementing robust gender-responsive programmes. To recapitulate on the views above, Hyndman (2008:1) recommends that a gender and development approach should be adopted for the common understanding of social change in DRR and CCA. In light of the discussion above and to suggest a holistic approach on the problem as stated in chapter 1, the present study also considered the views and opinions of men.

It should also be noted that no theory is without its flaws. Therefore, it is imperative to adopt a generic view toward gender theory. This will allow inclusiveness as the various theories tend to complement each other. During the development of her theory, Walby (2011 cited in Gutteridge, 2012:564) concludes that Gender theory has taken new

directions to the extent that its antagonists argue it is presently lifeless or invisible. The new strategy is less visible, distinct and effective by empowering women through the development process that Walby terms ‘gender mainstreaming’ (Gutteridge, 2012:564). This concept is covered in detail in the following chapters.

As mentioned previously, the study combined three theoretical frameworks in its analysis of the problem, namely that of gender, social vulnerability and capability. This subsection discussed gender theory as a driver for social change and its endeavour to bring about gender equality in society for the betterment all, regardless of gender. The second part below focuses on approaches regarding social vulnerability and capability on disasters and climate change.

As mentioned previously, the study combined three theoretical frameworks in its analysis of the problem, namely that of gender, social vulnerability and capability. This subsection discussed gender theory as a driver for social change and its endeavour to bring about gender equality in society for the betterment all, regardless of gender. The second part below focuses on approaches regarding social vulnerability and capability on disasters and climate change.

2.4.2. Social Vulnerability and the creation of Disaster Risk

This subsection discusses the theory of social vulnerability as it relates to DRR/CCA and gender. The following subsection defines the concept of vulnerability, its relation to women as a social group, and how it interconnects with hazards.

This theory argues that disasters are not natural, but people’s relation to resources or decision-making processes makes them susceptible to the impact of disasters and climate change. To deal with the causes of disaster, it is necessary to address social inequalities in society. Numerous social factors increase individuals’ vulnerability to disasters. These entail primarily: gender, class, age, level of education, political affiliation, religion, disability (Turner, 2010:55). For the purpose of this study, these variables will be considered as constant, with the focus on gender. The following social factors that affect women in pre, during and post disaster situations are shown in Table 2.1.

Table 2.1: Summary of key issues that affect women pre- and post-disasters.

KEY ISSUES IN GENDER AND DISASTER PHASES	ISSUES	EXAMPLE
Pre-disaster	Vulnerability-risk perception	Pregnant/ lactating women Men in search & rescue Willingness to evacuate
Emergency	Coping strategies	Mobilising social networks Temporary migration Selling household goods
Rehabilitation	Needs and priorities Social composition Creation of new vulnerabilities	Agriculture vs. health Greater female leadership Sexual/ physical violence Alcohol/aggression
Reconstruction	New gender roles Gender relationships	Land tenure changes New domestic roles "Women's" programmes and male exclusion

Adopted from: Delaney and Shrader (2000:14)

It is important to first define the concept of vulnerability before discussing social vulnerability which is central to this sub section.There are no single, all-encompassing definition of the concept of vulnerability in DRR/CCA research. However, certain overlapping definitions can be pointed out (Heltberg et al., 2009:90). Numerous, definitions have been brought to the fore, for instance, Bankoff (2007:1050) recognises that certain groups may be disadvantaged in their lives due to unequal access to resources, which exposes them to risks. Similarly, several scholars argue that vulnerability is often associated with certain kinds of production structures that place certain groups at risk (Zahran et al., 2008:2). In this regard, Turner, 2010:572) provides a more holistic definition, by elucidating vulnerability as,

> *"The characteristics of a person or group that affect their capacity to anticipate, cope with, resist and recover from the impact of a natural hazard."*

The only common understanding among these definitions seems to be that vulnerability is a concept that focuses not only on the hazard itself, which includes the physical or

engineering faults, but on the social causes of disasters as well (Zahran et al., 2008:2). The neglect of socially-created vulnerabilities may be because it is difficult to measure these, while it is easier to assess the costs of damages to a building or road (Yoon, 2012:824). The mentioned social inequalities normally occur after a disaster has struck. Thus, the occurrence of a disaster crystallises the broader social issues in a society such as gender inequalities and poverty (Turner, 2010:572). This underlines the complexity of a disaster and its related issues, which cannot be addressed in isolation (Mileti and Gailus, 2005:159).

Furthermore, vulnerability focuses on people and responds to questions why disasters affect certain groups more than others (Yoon, 2012:825). The reason often is their lack of power, knowledge and skill to make critical decisions. In this case, women are known as caregivers, producers, and active within the community (Cutter et al., 2009:21).

The Asian tsunami and the Haitian earthquake among other disasters exemplify women's unequal access to resources, which made them more vulnerable. This also explains the high number of women who were affected (Ruwanpura, 2008:326). In short, disasters affect those with limited access to resources or who have no resources at all, in contrast to individuals enjoying plentiful resources (Turner, 2010:572). Kambon (2009:109) even suggests that the incorporation of the vulnerability theory in gender analysis can strengthen the process of DRR and its approaches to reduce gender inequalities. The adoption of the vulnerability approach will further strengthen DRR and address vulnerability concerns, which often are ignored before the disaster, but get full recognition afterwards (Cutter et al., 2003:248).

As indicated in the previous subsection, the consideration of social factors in disasters is critical when aiming to reduce gender inequalities. The social vulnerability theory was used in the present research to elucidate the social construct of disaster. The research thus adopted the conceptual framework of social vulnerability (SV) as the entry point to study the social impacts of hazards (Ruwanpura, 2008:327).

2.4.2.1. Social vulnerability: relevance to gender, DRR and climate-change adaptation – vulnerability and resilience concepts

Before specifically examining social vulnerability and its contribution to the DRR literature, it is important to define the concept. Zahran et al. (2008:2) provides the following definition:

Social vulnerability describes all the factors that determine the outcome of a hazard event of a given nature and severity. Social vulnerability encompasses all those properties of a system independent of the hazard(s) to which it is exposed that mediate the outcome of a hazard event. This may include environmental variables and measures of exposure.

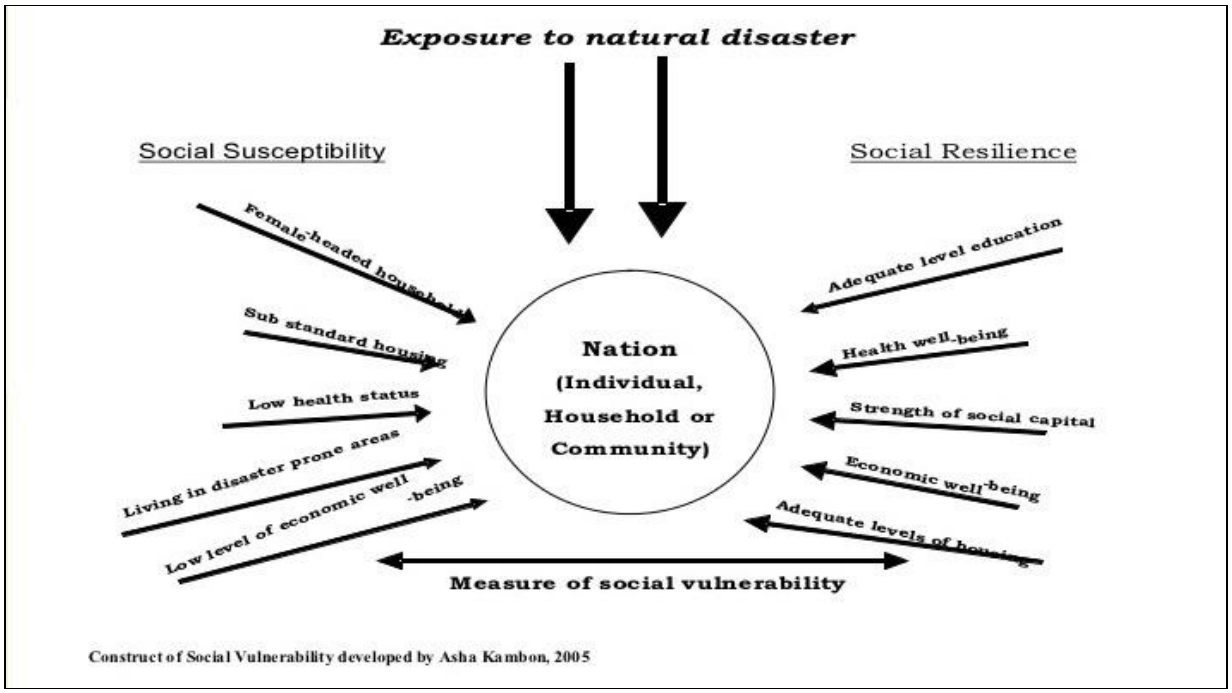
A critical analysis of SV helps explain factors that cause diverse communities to experience the same disaster event differently. Such a description is necessary to reduce the impact of a disaster (Yoon, 2012:824). Thus, SV is defined by the existence of certain social traits that increases individuals' vulnerability to hazards, and affect their ability to bounce back, or 'bounce forward' (resilience) after the disaster (Provost, 2006:17). Zahran, et al. (2008:2) points out that geographical areas with higher percentages of socially vulnerable or disadvantaged populations have a more definite chance of people being affected by hazards. The concept of resilience is dicussed in detail in chapter 4.

In addition to geographical location, social vulnerability is exacerbated by factors such as inadequately built homes, socioeconomic context and the failure to anticipate risk (Cutter et al., 2003:243). Accordingly, causes of SV are accentuated by underlying social conditions that often are unrelated to the hazard itself (Weichselgartner, 2001:87). According to Cannon et al. (2003:5), SV describes a complex set of characteristics that include the following aspects of an individual:

- initial wellbeing: nutritional status, physical and mental morale;
- livelihood and resilience: asset pattern and capitals, income and exchange qualifications;
- self-protection: the degree of protection afforded by capability and willingness to build safe homes, use safe sites;
- social and political networks and institutions: social capital, the role of environment in setting conditions to take precautions against hazards, including people's rights to express their needs and of access to preparedness.

Figure 2.1 below depicts factors that increase vulnerability and marginalisation at household, community and national level.

Figure 2.1: Key issues that cause women's vulnerabilities to disasters



Adopted from: Kambon (2005:36)

For a critical understanding of the social vulnerability theory, it is necessary to 'dissect the anatomy' of a disaster. True (2013:83) views disasters as events that are not once-off, but rather the result of susceptible political, socio-economic developments which are humanly constructed. She adds that the impact of a disaster depends on a society's overall capabilities and resources (True, 2013:83). Thus, a lack of resources magnifies a society's divisions and inequalities and makes the inhabitants vulnerable to disasters (Schlosberg, 2012:452).

Akerkar (2011:47) argues that the word 'natural' should be omitted from the concept of disaster. The reason is clear: disasters are not natural; it is the social vulnerability of people that makes them susceptible to hazards. Shearer (2012:64) challenges the prevailing notion that disasters are unfortunate events beyond human control. She maintains that the impact of hazards can be prevented. True, (2013:83) sums up by postulating that the occurrence and extent of disasters are shaped by three basic variables namely; magnitude and type of disaster, exposure and susceptibility.

Akerkar (2011:12) advocates the use of SV to analyse the differential disaster impacts and its implication for DRR as well as recovery strategies since these are expected to

produce innovative policy approaches. For this reform to be a success it requires the commitment of government to engage in activities that deal with inherent inequality and prejudice (Cannon et al, 2003:18). The developing of robust policies and strategies should be underpinned by an understanding that government's role is to protect and uphold the rights of its people. On the other hand, citizens have to acknowledge that social protection is a right for which they bear the duty. If necessary, they should mobilise to demand that these rights are delivered effectively (Akerkar, 2011:12).

Shearer (2012:71) explains that the best policy responses often incorporate various forms of knowledge. This should include traditional knowledge, which people in most cases view as inferior to scientific research. Shearer (2012:71) further points out that indigenous knowledge is comparable since it is, like science, consensual, replicable, generalisable, incorporating, and to a certain extent, experimental and predictive. In this regard, Provost (2006:16) in her analysis of Hurricane Katrina provides an example of the success of understanding SV and knowledge of the local environment. She indicates that the successful evacuation of disaster victims was due to the positive contribution of indigenous knowledge and skills about the issue of vulnerability. Enarson et al. (2007:131) emphasise that a successful DRR policy and strategy need to build on processes focusing on the interests of vulnerable groups. This will enable these groups to 'bounce forward', and will reduce their social vulnerability in future disasters.

Accordingly, reforms in DRR policy should aim to protect the rights of the socially-vulnerable groups in pre-and post-disaster situations (Akerkar, 2011:47). However, women are often excluded from policy-making roles in reconstruction and planning pre-and post-disaster. Should women be included in the decisions, they could find ways to prevent and protect the members of their communities from the worst effects of future disasters (True, 2013:79). Effective social policies should exclude paternalistic and patriarchal tendencies within the society. Such policies should not only be gender neutral, but also target and include other vulnerable groups as well (WAD, 2009:21-23).

There is very limited (or lack of) discussion on consequences that disasters and climate change hold for the genders. As a result, there is insufficient mobilisation of women to inform the policy and practices in these fields. Most countries carry on their 'business-as-usual' approach (Hemmati and Rohr, 2007:5). This approach does not only impede the development of women but stymies progress in the countries that have adopted this regressive approach. It is evident that socio-economic, cultural and political factors

influence a community's or an individual's vulnerability to a disaster. Therefore, it is critical that a proposed DRR policy should include the voices of the designated marginalised groups, evidently including women (Peterson, 2012:6).

Rose (2011:98) points out that a clear way of enhancing women's coping capacity is to build their resilience. Resilience and vulnerability were first introduced as scholarly terms by the sustainable-development framework (Jordan, 2018:3). Since then, the terms have been adopted by the DRR/CCA, where they play a critical role in shaping these fields of study (Gupta and Leung, 2011:2). Twigg (2009:8) argues that the two concepts figuratively can be considered opposite sides of the same coin, with resilience as the head (positive aspect), and vulnerability as the tail (negative). Gaillard (2007:523) asserts that *resilience* focuses on people's ability to cope with the disaster. *Vulnerability,* in turn, entails the harmful factors that impede people's capacity to cope with the disaster. Both terms are determined by the same demographic variables. Athough related, vulnerability is not the antonym of resilience, the two complement each other (Peek, 2008:20).

For purposes of this study, resilience is given more prominence as opposed to vulnerability as it it protrays women in positive light, that is, their capacities to prepare and respond to disasters and not their weaknesses. Moreover, labelling women as a vulnerable group makes them more vulnerable and renders them powerless and therefore cannot get themselves out of this predicament without the assistance and support of men (Baker, 2009:120; Callieba and Kumar, 2010:331). This paternalistic type of thinking not only fails to address gender concerns but exacerbates the inequalities caused by climate change and disasters. Thus, the two need to complement each other in managing risks and they both need each other's unique skills and knowledge to combat disasters. Resilience is a highly contested concept by policy makers, academic, and practitioners (Jordan, 2018:3). As such numerous definitions have been proposed and some of these are discussed below.

Twigg (2009:8) and Manyena et al. (2011:418) describe resilience as the capability to move forward and back to normality in the fastest time, with minimal disruption in the daily operations of the affected individual or population. Resilience can be measured at either personal/individual, family, community or even at national level (Peek, 2008:20). However, this definition of 'going back' has often been criticised of reverting to the status quo that made the individual to lose their capacities and appears to be addressing the symptoms rather that the causes (Viverita et al., 2014). Furthermore, going back is the

antithesis of building back better (discussed later in the study) as recovery phase interventions might be as effective for women and thus perpetuate further marginalisation. Bouncing forward should be given more prominence as it is has positive outcomes and digs deep into the causes of the disaster. That is to say, resilient women should move forward swiftly from the disaster situation with minimal disruption of their lives. Scholars have conceptualised resilience in different ways throughout literature (Ainuddi and Routray, 2012:26). The most common definition of resilience in the context of disaster is provided by the UN/ISDR, 2002 (cited in Khailani and Perera, 2013:616). According to this definition, “Resilience is the capacity of a system, or society that is potentially exposed to a hazard, to adapt to it by resisting or changing so that it reaches and maintains an acceptable level of functioning and structure.” Women’s capacity for building resilience from hazards are shaped by their social, cultural, economic, and political roles. Therefore, DRR policies need to adopt a holistic approach by building the capacity of vulnerable groups of women and entire localities to adapt and remain resilient when confronted by disaster shocks (World Bank, 2012:55). For these policies to be effective they need to address the underlying factors that cause vulnerability (Jordan, 2018:3).

Similarly, UNISDR provides a more holistic and comprehensive definition of the concept. UNISDR, (2012:2) defines resilience as the ability to resist, absorb and accommodate and recover from the effect of hazard in timely and efficient manner. Viverita et al. (2014:22) augments the UNISDR definition and concludes that resilience is a function of vulnerability and preparedness (and this includes factors such as social, community capacity, economic, institutional and infrastructure). These factors are sources of power and for society to enhance resilience, the marginalised (women) have to be empowered. These systems or institutions as sources of power are discussed in chapter 6.

In order to survive the impact of a disaster, resilient communities can choose to preserve the social structures that they had before the disaster, or accept minimal or more extensive transformation (Miller et al., 2010:5). Resilience is thus connected strongly to the notion of change (Gaillard, 2007:523; Miller et al., 2010:5; Manyena et al., 2011:418). Gaillard, (2007:523) identifies changes that may occur in a community after the disaster. These may include the following: economic, socio-cultural and technological changes.

2.4.2.2. Operationalising the concept of resilience

As observed from the definitions discussed in the previous section, resilience is a difficult and complex concept to define and to operationalise. In order to measure resilience scholars have come up different models and frameworks, for instance, there is the Disaster Resilience Index (DRI) which measures ratio of preparedness (the capacity to over-come disaster) to vulnerability- exposure to disaster (Kusumastuti et al., 2014:339). The World Risk Index (WRI) measures exposure, susceptibility, coping capacity and adaptive capacity (Parsons et al, 2016:3) Similarly, Lazarevski and Gjorgon, (2017: 80) succinctly discussed the Climate Disaster Resilience Index (CDRI) which has five indicators namely;

- Physical (electricity, water supply, sanitation, solid waste disposal, internal road network, housing and land use, community assets, warning system and evacuation)
- Social (health status, education and awareness, social capital)
- Economic (income, employment, households' assets, access to financial service, savings and insurance, budget and subsidy)
- Institutional (internal institutions and development plan, effectiveness of internal and external institutions, and networks, collaboration and coordination)
- Natural (hazard intensity and frequency)

The purpose of these analytical tools is to monitor implementation of agreed disaster resilience targets and indicators with a view to transform DRR policy (Lazarevski and Gjorgon, 2017: 80). Altogether, Beccari (2016:1) identified 106 such composite indices for measuring resilience. It should be emphasised that none of these made direct reference to gender/women. In this regard, The Economist Intelligence Unit developed the South Asia Women's Resilience Index (WRI). The WRI adopted by nations of Japan, Pakistan, Bhutan, Sri Lanka, Nepal, India, the Maldives and Bangladesh assess the country's ability to withstand and recover from disasters (The Economist Intelligence Unit, 2014:5). The index identifies 4 indicators /measures, which are somehow interrelated to the previously discussed CDRI, the primary difference is that WRI is gendered and seeks to address the socio-cultural and economic obstacles that affect the resilience of Asian women namely;

- Economic – availability of resources makes it easier for a country to prepare and respond to disasters access to credit, employment opportunities for women;
- Infrastructure- reliable infrastructure development allows for better mitigation and evacuation, enables faster recovery from disasters;
- Institutional –effectiveness of institutions to plan for disaster risks, gender sensitive Legal framework, property rights, GBV, participation of women disaster planning and in decision making; and
- Social – access to education, health and freedom to move freely without interference.

In the light of the discussion of the gender and social vulnerability theories, the following section examines the capability approach. This approach is built around the notions of recognition, choice and opportunities.

2.4.3. Capability Approach Strengthens Participation of Women

Complementing the gender and the social vulnerability approaches is the capability approach. This latter approach was coined by Sen, and strengthened by Nussbaum. The Capability Approach is driven by functionings and capabilities. A functioning describes a person's achievements, that is, resources and activities and attitudes poise, knowledge, a warm friendship, an educated mind, a good job (Gardoni and Murphy, 2010:631). While capabilities are the opportunities like freedoms that people have to achieve the lifestyle that they have reason to value. Oliver-Smith (1996, cited in Pournik, et al., 2012:1) To differentiate the two concepts, Sen (1992) cited in Araya and Chung, 2015:136) uses the example of a person who starves as a result of fasting versus one who starves because of lack of access to food In terms of functionings, both persons would be at the same level of deprivation, while a focus on opportunity would portray a more realistic vision of people's ability to achieve the things that they value (Frediani, 2010:175). It does not consider women's income or access to the labour market alone as determining factors to cause vulnerability (social injustice), as is the case with certain socio-economic approaches. The capability approach goes further and examines the existence of human rights, freedom of opportunities, and the community's choices (Schlosberg, 2012:452). To Sen and Nussbaum, a community's well-being is defined and gauged by these capabilities. Thus, vulnerability to disasters and climate change is caused by a lack of freedom and recognition (Kumar et al., 2005:27).

This condition is compounded by restricted mobility as well as a lack of shelter, education and food insecurity (Dong, 2008:78; Gardoni and Murphy, 2010:631). Disasters and climate change erode these human capabilities. This condition increases vulnerabilities and deepens gender inequalities further (Kumar et al., 2005:27). The lack or nonexistence of these capabilities by women, often leads to various forms of gender inequality. This condition comes to the fore through poverty, subservience and the inability to live self-fulfilling lives (Holland, 2008:331). These mentioned factors do not allow women to live life to their full potential.

By creating a conducive environment cultivated by a gender-responsive policy, women have equal access to power and opportunity, and are able to live self-fulfilling lives without fear and favour (Dong, 2008:78; Araya and Chung, 2015:136). Furthermore, the approach examines issues that are of substantial value to the community. The two scholars, Sen and Nussbaum, further maintain that emphasis should not be on access to or the availability of resources, but on how these resources enable communities to function. (Schlosberg, 2012:452). Policies should, therefore, be designed to address these vulnerabilities caused by lack of opportunities and choices on the part of women (Gardoni and Murphy, 2010:631; Schlosberg, 2012:452).

In dealing with vulnerabilities, women should be involved in the design and development of DRR/CCA policies. This will satisfy their need for recognition and utilise their participatory capabilities (Tschakert and Machado, 2012:282). Women's participation and recognition allows them to develop additional knowledge and skills, which increase their resilience and capabilities to deal with disasters. By adopting this approach, women holistically can improve their well-being (social, economic, political) and act as powerful agents for change in their homes and respective communities.

The capabilities approach does add a new dimension to the causes of gender inequalities. However, this approach falls short in responding to the critical issues of marginalisation and patriarchy. Thus, this approach remains abstract with insufficient empowering mechanisms (Ponge, 2013:67). Despite these efforts, women continue to be more vulnerable than men when having to face disasters (Alam and Rahman, 2014:78).

2.5. Conclusion

Disasters impact on the lives and livelihoods and their frequencies is increasing. This is costly for developing countries like Botswana. The impacts of these disasters are gendered. There is an urgent need to address this problem. Mainstream social research, including DRR and CCA, tend to neglect gender. To address this knowledge gap, the gender, social vulnerability and capability theories were adopted for the present study. These theories argue that women's rights are also inalienable human rights, and that disasters are not technologically constructed or failures of engineering processes, but the result of socially-constructed inequalities. These social inequalities leave communities vulnerable to the impact of disasters and climate change. Thus, gender as a primary organising principle in a society must be considered in policies and practices involving DRR and climate-change adaptation (CCA). To build resilience of women in disaster situations it is important that DRR/CCA policies and programmes deal with the patriarchal policies within society, which have been identified as the primary cause of gender inequalities.

The following chapter (chapter 3) exmines concepts of gender, DRR and CCA and their link to sustainable development.

CHAPTER 3: DISASTER RISK REDUCTION AND THE MAINSTREAMING OF GENDER: THE KEY TO SUSTAINABLE DEVELOPMENT

3.1. Introduction

This chapter continues to address the objectives identified in chapter 2; to identify and critically evaluate key issues on the importance of mainstreaming gender into DRR and determine factors of social vulnerability that cause women to be affected more than men by disasters. In order to address these 2 objectives the chapter examines the tripartite relationship of DRR, gender, and sustainable development.

The chapter discusses the relationship between development and hazards and how these two aspects may combine to cause disaster. The focus moves on to the importance of gender in DRR and the likely consequences of not considering it. This is followed by a discussion on sustainable development and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs)/Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). The concern in this regard is that, in DRR practice and research, the needs and experiences of women have been, and continue to be, overlooked or marginalised (Fordham, 2011:834). The discussion's main focus is on how gender can be mainstreamed with DRR at policy level, and what the effect would be, both on DRR and sustainable development in Botswana. Sustainable development can only be possible by incorporating DRR proactively into policies and strategies that reduces disaster risks, rather than addressing symptoms (Gowdy and Salman, 2007:339).

In this regard, the integration of gender analysis into DRR/CCA is key to attaining the sustainable development (MacGregor, 2009:11). As discussed in chapters 1 and 2, disasters and associated issues can be considered of human origin. Thus, to solve these problems, a deeper understanding is required that transcends engineering solutions (Tierney, 2007:506; Shearer, 2012:64). Disasters are by nature highly complex and the solution lies with policies and programmes that promote equity and justice (Gowdy and Salman, 2007:339). Furthermore, the advent of technology provide humans with new knowledge about hazards, and improved skills with which to manage it. As a result, people are in a better position to plan proactively for disasters. However, technology is not an answer on its own to deal successfully with gender inequalities worsened by disasters and climate change. To deal with this problem comprehensibly, social inequalities have to be considered coupled with the effects of technology. These

inequalities involve gender, class and ethnicity. Keeping social inequalities in mind is paramount as these continually place marginalised groups at a disadvantage. It should be remembered that these groups are vulnerable, even before the disaster has struck (Mileti and Gailus, 2005:159; Tapsell et al., 2010:11).

Furthermore, this chapter investigates the causes of vulnerability. Thereafter, it proposes measures that could be adopted to strengthen the resilience of women and the community at large to the devastating impacts of disasters and climate change. The chapter concludes with a discussion on DRR practices and gender inequalities as it is found in Botswana.

The focus of this section is to discuss the socio-economic impact of disasters and the role of development in either reducing or increasing risks. The section also discusses benefits from adopting a proactive approach to development through DRR, in contrast with the (costly) reactive paradigm.

3.2. The Link between Development and Disasters

Development is generally defined as the process of economic and social advancement in terms of qulity of life (Pournik, et al., 2012:1). It is critical to discuss development as it marks advancement and progress. Development is driven through creation of infrastructure such as schools, hospitals and transportation and also through provision of social services for the population in health, sanitation, and utilities including communication. Disasters do not only affect people, animals and the environment, but development as well (O'Brien et al., 2006:65). Immediate implications can be seen in the physical destruction of critical public infrastructure such as schools, hospitals, roads, businesses and private structures such as residential houses. In addition, disasters can interrupt or prevent service provision and also destroy livelihood assets. This undermines the health and the well being of the affected. Community. Disasters can have immediate implications for development as well as undermining development in the longer term.

For an effective and efficient response to disasters, governments in most instances divert funds allocated for development to address the immediate needs of the affected population (Ostergaard, 2004:3). This is, however, costly for countries that already are battling with issues of human and economic development. The end result is an increase in the levels of poverty and deepening gender inequalities (Bendimerad, 2003:57).

Disasters can erase years of development. Poorly planned and executed recovery strategies can also increase future risks (O'Brien et al., 2006:66). Thus, it is critical that developments – especially new ones – do not increase risks in the community, particularly for the vulnerable groups. Such a situation may prove costly to the social and economic development of the country (Bendimerad, 2003:58). As was pointed out previously, disasters increase women's responsibilities and family chores. In addition, the disasters often leave these women in poorer health, and in poverty thus deepening gender inequality. This increases susceptibility to hazard impacts. This also increases their vulnerability to social crimes such as domestic violence, sexual harassment, prostitution and forced early marriages (Nishio et al., 2009:248).

However, Ostergaard, (2004:3) indicates that disasters do not only affect developments negatively. It also can create opportunities for building improved and risk-free developments. This, in turn, will not only promote positive development. The ultimate goal would be an equal and just society where all groups enjoy 'the fruits of their sweat' (Hewitt, 2013:2).

It is important to take into account Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) when designing and planning for development project. Failure may inevitably lead to increased disaster impact, that is, loss of lives and livelihoods. The following section discusses the importance of DRR as the driver to equitable and sustainable future.

3.3. The Role of Disaster Risk Reduction

The Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA), and afterwards the Sendai Framework for Disaster Risk Reduction Sendai Framework formally developed the concept of DRR as a proactive strategy to minimise risk. This paradigm shift emerged due to a growing concern that the socio-economic costs of disasters were reversing hard-earned years of development (Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:40). For countries to sustain their development, they had to adopt an approach that reduces vulnerabilities and risks, and simultaneously protects their achievements (UNDP, 2004:25). The HFA proposed five broad priority areas, whereas the Sendai Framework focuses on four such areas accompanied by seven global targets and specific indicators (Sendai Framework, 2015:3). Therefore, the Sendai Framework is easier to monitor and evaluate, unlike the HFA with its broader, immeasurable statements. The Sendai Framework further focuses on the engagement of stakeholders. These are the marginalised groups such as women. It further recognises

the fact that Government cannot implement DRR on its own, and requires the contribution of the private sector and the NGOs.

The origins of DRR lie in an approach centred on dealing with hazards, and based on reacting to events within the framework of paramilitary civil defence (Stromberg, 2007:199). Von Kotze (1996:26) argues that, similar to a shift from curative medicine to primary health care, disasters should be viewed increasingly in terms of its relationship to development. Instead of dealing with the effects of hazardous situations, there is an urgent need to address the causes of disasters proactively. DRR is underpinned by a more pro-active approach to inform, motivate and involve people in all aspects of society (Nishio et al., 2009:248).

Successful DRR should help governing bodies to create disaster-resilient communities, while ensuring new developments do not increase vulnerabilities (Mercer, 2010:249). For its part the UNDP (2014:3) is on point by warning that if DRR is not integrated into development, the impact of disasters will continue to grow exponentially. Governments must guard rigorously against the creation of new risks. Chang, (2014:1) emphasises that proactive preventive measures deliver far more benefits than reacting to a disaster after it struck. Furthermore, DRR frees up development resources that normally are channelled to response and relief. This is done by reducing people's needs and their dependence on relief and recovery (Islam and Walkerden, 2014:286).

Well-designed DRR measures are not only highly effective, but less costly than the reactive disaster-management approach (Hillier, 2013:2). Inadequate investment in DRR does not only incur losses but also necessitates costly emergency responses and relief operations. The UNDP (2014:3) estimates that, since 1991, donors have spent an estimated $69.9 billion in response and relief to disasters, and only $13.5 billion on risk reduction. Consequently, UN Secretary General, Ban Ki Moon, is equally concerned that economic losses from disasters currently are out of control. Thus, as a matter of urgency, governments should join forces in dealing with disasters (Hillier, 2013:1).

Put succinctly, by protecting development investments, DRR help societies accumulate wealth in spite of hazards (Thomalla et al., 2006:30). Accordingly, developing nations such as Bangladesh, Cuba, Vietnam, Madagascar and Mozambique, significantly could reduce the impact of meteorological hazards, for example, tropical storms and flooding. This was done through improved early-warning systems, disaster preparedness and

other risk-reduction measures (Schipper and Pelling, 2006:25). As a further prominent example, China spent approximately $3.15 billion on reducing the impact of floods, thereby averting losses estimated at $12 billion (Schipper and Pelling, 2006:25).

In light of the strategies above, UNDP (2014:3) stresses that DRR is a no-regret investment approach that protects development and should be adopted by governments worldwide. Investing in DRR can be costly in the short term, but the long-term benefits are significant (UNISDR 2009:4). The World Bank estimates that for every dollar invested in DRR, between four and seven dollars are saved in the long run (UN, 2010:10). Given the example of Peru, it is reported that integrating DRR into development led to a cost-benefit ratio of 1:37 (UNISDR 2009:36). Thus, for just a few cents more on each dollar of investment, new health clinics can be built to withstand natural hazards, in order to stay operational during the crisis, when needed most (UNISDR 2009:4).

It is evident that, to a certain extent, DRR has recorded successes in creating wealth by protecting development and reducing risks. However, limited success if any, has been achieved in reducing or abolishing gender inequality. It rather seems that the inequality gap is increasing (UN, 2010:10; Arora-Jonsson, 2011:747). This may be attributed to the fact that current DRR practices does not address underlying patriarchal structures, which create social vulnerability. Therefore, it should be emphasised that the gains made in this case, were by the typical, traditional DRR type of approach that is not necessarily gender-sensitive. Moreover, limited studies, if any, do analyse the cost benefits of mainstreaming gender into DRR. It should be noted that the impact of these disasters could have been lessened if DRR strategies were in place to promote gender equity and equality. Thus, more lives and dollars could have been saved by introducing gender-sensitive DRR strategies.

Fordham (2011:838) asserts that in order for DRR to attain gender parity, countries must recognise and deal with the gendered nature of disasters. Furthermore, women should be included in both in pre- and post-disaster actions if integration of gender is to be introduced successfully into DRR. Women have proven to be highly resourceful and can make a meaningful contribution to the development of their societies. Such women are not helpless victims as they generally are perceived (Briceno, 2002:7). For societies to end inequality, three actions need to be taken (ADRC-Natural Disasters Data Handbook, 2003:23):

- men should recognise women as equals;
- women should be understood and involved as a useful resource;
- females should be engaged fully in development processes.

Adhering to these three proposed actions will ensure that bias based on gender is relegated to the past. This may seem an uphill task within developing countries. The reason is that basic topics such as equality are not discussed freely since it challenges the male-dominated status quo. Factually, many view the discussion of this subject as taboo. Liberal men who involve women in decision-making processes may be discarded as 'weak'. For the strategy to handle gender inequality positively, the involvement of men, especially liberal males, are crucial to the process (Bacchi and Eveline, 2010:199; Mulyasari and Shaw, 2013:2141). However, their involvement should be circumspect, as this could merely perpetuate male dominance.

Discrimination based on gender, handicaps women from managing disasters proactively (True, 2013:82). For example, it is reported that in Bangladesh most women who drowned in the cyclone floods of 1991, suffered that fate due to socio-cultural practices. Custom forced them to wear long garbs, which did not allow them to move swiftly during evacuation. Additionally, women did not have basic swimming skills, and were not allowed to evacuate their homes without authorisation of the men who happened to be heads of household. These cultural conditions caused women to suffer the most (Nelson et al., 2010:55).

Furthermore, in certain developing nations, cultural norms obstruct women from benefiting directly from relief services. This is because these customs do not recognise women as head of the household, even when they are the providers (Fothergill and Peek, 2004:91). Customs elevate men to the status of head of the house, whether they are capable to occupy that position or not. Consequently, a male member of the household determines the amount and the type of relief that should be given to a woman (Nelson et al., 2010:55). This lead to the obvious neglect of women's interests in relief services (Enarson et al., 2007:155; Hines, 2007:64).

Much as men may have the interests and needs of women at heart, their dominant position in society does not allow them to represent women objectively. Only women themselves can determine their needs. Furthermore in the USA, Ripley, (2008:1) reports that traditional norms allow men to obtain disaster loans easily, while women have to

struggle to get such services. This is despite the fact that women are the home-makers (Nelson et al., 2010:55). Likewise, Ruwanpura, (2008:334) adds that the norm of *purdha* (segregation of men and women), which is common in the Asian region, does not allow women to participate in the decision- making processes. Therefore, women have limited or a lack information on how to prevent a crisis or save themselves and their families when they face such a situation. Briceno, (2002:7) and Ruwanpura (2008:334) suggest that, to empower women, they need to be involved in decision-making regarding the development of DRR action plans.

Although women often are subjugated during disasters, they do possess skills to take care of their households, even during emergency situations (Nelson et al., 2010:55). These responsibilities are magnified, particularly when men are not available as they need to fulfil double roles. In other words, they perform gender roles as men, and execute their own specific roles as individuals. Miller et al. (2010:5) point out that men by themselves cannot survive the hardships accompanying disasters. Men need the input of women to survive. For instance, they need women for emotional support, provision of food and medical supplies, and other basic needs. As an example, Schwoebel and Menon (2004:2) found that in the refugee camps in Ethiopia where women were separated from their spouses due to the disaster, men's nutritional levels dropped. The reason is that they did not have the time nor skills to prepare their own meals.

While women can easily fit into the roles fulfilled by men, the opposite does not apply. Women seem to have all-round survival skills, which men lack. Women also seemingly adapt better than men. Thus, the two aspects complement each other regarding the managing of risks, and both need each other's unique skills and knowledge to combat disasters effectively.

Disasters also erode the economic capacities of women, Nelson et al. (2010:55) reports that, after the disaster caused by Hurricane Mitch, women lost most of their productive assets. This drove them to take up low-paying and informal jobs mostly in the agricultural sector, which also often are not able to recover from a disaster. Moreover, after a disaster, women lose their jobs because the sector that has engaged them is vulnerable as well and has closed down or they have to take care of additional household responsibilities. This also can be attributed to women's overall skills in the market which makes them less saleable than their male counterparts (Miller et al., 2010:5). As a result, they end up by accepting less secure and menial jobs as they have limited choices.

Additionally, women take these jobs out of desperation to support their families. Similarly, Alston (2006:157) in her study on Australian women's experience of drought, asserts that women's position in society shapes the way they view themselves, and society in general. Often women are viewed as subordinate to the needs of the farm and family. Nevertheless, these women put in more effort to ensure their families succeed on their farms in the face of adversity. Thus, despite such impediments, women have risen above men to champion development in their respective countries. To an extent these women have reduced the gender-equality gap. However, there still lies extensive work ahead. As stated by Briceno (2002:7), women are agents of change. Therefore, countries need to strengthen their capacity to strive toward a risk-free society. In this regard, disasters provide women with the opportunity to challenge the status quo, namely the socio-economic practices and institutions that perpetuate male dominance (Thurnheer, 2009:79; Saadi and Sharmin, 2012:80).

The subsection above discussed DRR and the overall social and economic benefits of implementing the strategy. The following section discusses sustainable development as a policy strategy to reduce disaster risks and achieve economic growth. The section will further discuss the relevance of sustainable development for gender inequality. The abolition of discrimination based on gender is expected to help achieve sustainable development goals.

. **The key to achieving Sustainable Development Goals (SDGS)**

Sustainable development, as a policy strategy aimed at building resilience and reducing poverty levels, formally came into being at the World Summit in Johannesburg, 2002. This initiative later was followed up at New York in 2005 (Quental et al., 2011:15). At these forums, governments committed themselves to develop their people and reduce poverty levels (Silveira, 2006:86). As a result, sustainable development was adopted widely as a policy strategy, especially by developing nations, NGOs, and other role-players (Bass, 2007:10; Halsnaes, et al., 2008:202; Ross, 2009:33). Building on the Millennium Development Goals (2000-2015), the Sustainable Development Goals (2015-2030) were formulated by the United Nations. The SDGs focus on similar areas to the MDGs, namely poverty, health and gender equality. The adoption of SDGs by UN member countries was intended to drive inclusive economic growth (UN Women, 2015:26). Ross, (2009:33) asserts that, for sustainable development to succeed as a

strategy, countries first need to take stock of previously attempted development efforts, and why these efforts actually increased people's vulnerability to disasters.

The SDGs were adopted in 2015 and succeeded the MDGs (2000-2015). The MDGs set out eight main goals, which included gender equality and empowerment of women and girls, but excluded DRR. SDGs focus on 17 main goals and 69 targets. These goals include of DRR, gender equality and climate-change adaptation. The following goals are relevant for the present study:

- *DRR:* is covered explicitly by Goal 7, "Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all", and highlighted further in Goal 11, "Make cities and human settlements inclusive, safe, resilient and sustainable."
- *Climate change:* is highlighted by Goal 13, "Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts."
- *Gender:* is presented by Goal 5, "Achieve gender equality and empower all women and girls" (UN, 2016:5-9).

As mentioned previously, it is difficult to determine the success of these goals since they were adopted recently (2015). However, weaknesses of the SDGs can only be inferred from the MDGs, seeing that they share a broad goal and vision of sustainable economic growth.

However, despite these goals and efforts, women continue to suffer disproportionately from structures of male hegemony. In response to this condition, certain activists in Africa have adopted the defiant slogan taken from people with disabilities (PWDs): "Nothing about us without us" (Franklin, 2008:422). These advocates argue that the achieving of sustainable development and SDGs will only be a pipedream without the full involvement of all stakeholders. Similarly, Hillier (2013:1) coined the term 'leaving no one behind'. This called for the countries to invest in ending gender inequality, and thereby influence economic growth. This notion is also emphasised by UNISDR's mantra, "DRR is everybody's business".

Abu-Ghaida and Klasen (2004:4) observe that countries failing to meet the MDGs/ SDGs on gender inequality, miss out on economic growth and the opportunity to reduce rates of child mortality and malnutrition. This, in essence, merely perpetuates the condition of poverty as well as vulnerability to disasters and climate change.

Conversely, gender equality reduces poverty and builds resilience, which contributes to sustainable growth (Jones et al., 2010:10). Garcia-Moreno et al., (2005:1282) even suggests that countries should also address violence against women in order to attain the SDGs. Violence against women is a clear impediment toward reaching gender parity. In addition, legislation should be enacted that protects women from violence and guarantees equal property and inheritance rights (O'Brien et al., 2008:196). Thus, SDGs, DRR and gender were not only viewed as symbiotic, but cross-cutting and should, therefore, be considered jointly (Schipper and Pelling, 2006:23). These frameworks also should be coordinated into an interrelationship of SDGs, DRR, CCA (Paris Agreement) and gender, to maximise its implementation on the ground.

3.4. Gender equality and development

Despite attempts by countries globally to reduce marginalisation based on gender, gender inequalities seem to be increasing (UN, 2010:10). Gender equality does not necessarily imply 50/50 for men and women in all spheres of life (Derbyshire, 2002:6). Rather, it means recognising that one group is more dominant than the other, and that society and government must play an active role in abolishing inequalities. Moreover, both genders have specific needs and aspirations and their own ways of contributing to the economic development of the country. In this regard, the Revised SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2016:17) describes equality as the equitable sharing of benefits, rewards and opportunities between women, men, girls and boys.

Gender inequality impacts directly on development. Scholars argue that the wider the gender-inequality gap in a country, the less likely an increase in economic growth, seeing that available resources are not mobilised fully. According to this criterium, seemingly no country has achieved gender equality as yet, with developing countries worse off (Tarr-Whelan, 2010:2; Dorius and Firebaugh, 2010:1946). Dako-Gyeke and Owusu, (2013:481) analyse the gender situation in Ghana. They note that countries where there are large gaps of gender inequalities, experience high levels of poverty, malnutrition, illnesses and vulnerability to disasters and climate change. The gap seems to be widening in developing countries. In these contexts, customs, values, stereotypes and perceptions still play a critical role in preventing women access to decision-making processes (Lovekamp, 2003:2). As a result, these women are more vulnerable to hazards and recover slowly from disasters (Ketlhoilwe, 2013:159).

King and Mason (2001:73) reiterates that gender inequality impacts directly on development, as economic growth requires the equal participation of both men and women. Currently, most developing countries are operating at a reduced capacity, seeing that the other half (women) is not engaged fully in the process. Gender inequality weakens the quality of governance in a country and thus the effective implementation of development policies (UN, 2010a:11). Through research in Bangladesh, Lovekamp (2003:4) posits that the integration of women into DRR creates an opportunity for social change in the form of equality for women, and ultimately their empowerment.

The fair sharing of power is a prerequisite for gender equality since male structures often use it to marginalise women, which also impedes economic development (Johnsson-Latham, 2007:67). It is critical that power is distributed evenly in society. When a group possesses power, it makes them more knowledgeable and skilful in handling critical information. An example would be early warning messages that make people more resilient and less vulnerable to natural shocks. However, in strong, established patriarchal systems, power is a weapon that often is used to marginalise weaker groups. In such situations, it becomes difficult to concede to certain demands that women make. Similar views are echoed by anti-corruption strategies. The view is that equality will help reduce levels of corruption, seeing that women are less likely to take risks on issues that will have negative consequences for their families (Beneria and Sen, 1982:164; Klasen and Lamanna 2009:95). It should be emphasised that corruption is one of the detrimental effects that directly hinder economic growth in developing countries (Shah, 2006:3).

The previous section discussed the importance of implementating Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) as a strategy to reduce risk and gender inequality. Similarly, the following section discusses Botswana's national framework, Vision 2036.

3.5. Supporting Vision 2036

Vision 2036 builds on Botswana's first national agenda, Vision 2016 which can into being in 1996 and elapsed in 2016. The Vision supports the SDGs, Africa's Agenda 2063 and Paris Agreement to ensure that national aspirations are simultaneously aligned with global and regional targets.This is a transformational agenda which defines Batswana's aspirations and goals. The aim of Vision 2036 is to transform Botswana from an upper middle- income economy to a high-income country by 2036 (Vision 2036:1). This growth must be inclusive and sustainable. The Vision has four intertwined pillars;

- Sustainable economic development
- Human and social development
- Sustainable Environment
- Governance, peace and security

Vision 2036 recognises the central role played by DRR and gender in reaching Botswana's goals. As a result, DRR and climate resilience are captured under the Sustainable Environement Pillar, while gender equality is under Human and Social Development Pillar. The Vision further calls for the inclusion of DRR/CCA and gender in development planning processes. Reducing existing as well as future risk is an intergral part of the Vision.

Similar to the SDGs, Vision 2036 puts sustainable development at the core. Botswana's Vision 2016 (1996:45) points out that, for the country to achieve sustainable development, it needs to take into account the preservation of the environment and renewable resources. This should be done by empowering the youth and women. Similar views are echoed by the current national framework's Vision 2036, which emphasises the sustainable use of natural resources to improve the lives and livelihoods of Botswana. Moreover, the two frameworks promote the prudent use and the equitable distribution and enjoyment of all natural resources in the country.

The previous section discussed global, regional as well as the national sustainable development agenda. Vision 2036's emphasis is sustainable use of natural resources and this is central to gender equality as women largely depend on the environment for a living. The following section discusses women's vulnerability due to their dependence on the environment.

3.6. Women and sustainable environment management

According to the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (Principle 20), women have a vital role in environmental management and development (UN, 1992:4). Since the Rio Declaration, feminists globally have embraced the challenge to protect the environment and its inhabitants for the benefit of future generations (Jones et al., 2010:10). The full participation of women in the process of sustainable development is important to help preserve the environment (Conroy and Berke, 2004:1381). Answers to the questions on the environment do not lie with scientific and technological fixes (Johnsson-Latham, 2007:7). The focus should rather be on humans' relationship with the

environment and the central positioning of women in the development process within society. Arora-Jonsson, (2014:10) points out that women depend significantly on the environment, by the need to collect water and wood as well as through activities such as subsistence farming. According to eco-feminists such as Banford and Froude, (2015:171) women have more reason to be environmentally conscious, seeing that they depend on the environment for their livelihoods. In short, gender equality enhances sustainable development and is a prerequisite for its existence (Franklin, 2008:420).

For the results of development to be realised, governments must ensure there are reforms that guarantee equality of rights. This means it allows all citizens alike to participate and contribute to the positive development of the country (Nagpal, 2013:30). This is affirmed by Principle 1 of the UN Conference on Environment and Development's Rio Declaration. The clause states that sustainable development should recognise the equal contribution of all to the development process and should also be people-focused. The general aim is that humans should live in harmony with the environment (UN, 1992:1). This is expounded by the Beijing Platform of Action (BFPA), which posits women as central players in the process of sustainable development.

3.7. Conclusion

Most of the disasters that occur are a result of human action or inaction (Bempah and Oyhus, 2017:107). It is the developments that have been made that affect the people more than the hazard itself. In most intances, these development do not take into account disaster risk. It is therefore, critical to consider DRR when putting up these development. The adoption of DRR will reduce the impact of the disaster by saving lives and livelihoods thus attaining SDGs and Vision 2036.

In this regard, gender equality becomes a precondition for sustainable development. For countries to attain sustainable development, power and access to resources should be distributed equitably and the evironment should be protected at all costs since women's livelihoods are depedent on it. In sum, although the implementation of the concept of sustainable development has been weak, its ideals have been well appreciated by marginalised groups, due to its promotion of equality (Bass, 2007:13).

The following chapter critically examines DRR implementation in Botswana as well as this strategy’s gender-neutral policies and programmes.

CHAPTER 4: DISASTER RISK REDUCTION PRACTICE IN BOTSWANA FROM RHETORIC TO ACTION

4.1. Introduction

This Chapter discusses two research objectives which are, to investigate and critically analyse the causes of gender equalities in disaster risk reduction within Botswana and identify and synthesise critical factors that link gender with DRR and resilience. The chapter provides a critical understanding of the implementation of DRR vis-à-vis issues of gender inequality in Botswana. It also discusses the institutional framework and relevant policies and the need to enact legislation that will streamline and unify DRR, particularly at national and district levels. The chapter primarily discusses the root causes of gender inequalities and the inherent resilience of women to shocks and not necessarily their vulnerabilities as these have been dealt with in the previous chapters. Mogstad, (2016:28) cautions that this inherent resilience must not be overplayed as it may lead to complacency and lack of action the part of government and stakeholders in bridging the gender inequality gap. By focussing on enhancing women's resilience will not only benefit women themselves but families, communities and the nation at large. The Chapter closes with a discussion of the operationalising the concept resilience through the proposed adoption of common disaster resilience index indicators. The study notes limited data on women and disasters in Botswana.

4.2. Impact of Disasters in Botswana

According to the Population and Housing Census of 2011 its total population was 2 024 904, comprising 989 128 males and 1 035 776 females (CSO, 2011:1). The INFORM Risk Index (2017:1) indicates that Botswana has total index value of 2.9 and this is the third least at-risk country in the SADC region after Mauritius and Seychelles. This Risk Index primarily measures the country's exposure to drought and floods and the level of vulnerability together with coping capacities of individuals (INFORM Risk Index 2017:1). The Risk Index does not provide a comprehensive list of prevalent hazards in Botswana. Additionally, Botswana is often labelled as Africa's 'shining example' of good governance and seemingly better off than other middle-income countries (Collier and Goderis, 2007:4; Apronti, 2012:38). This may explain why Botswana continually experiences less impacts of disasters, as compared to similar countries with inefficient governance.

According to the National Policy on Disaster Management (1996:1) and the National Disaster Risk Management Plan (2009:6), Botswana experiences localised seasonal hydro-meteorological hazards such as drought, flooding, wild land fires, and lately storms seems to rank the highest (NDMO, 2013:16). Only a limited number of disasters that struck Botswana reached global headlines. The exception was the flooding during 1999/2000 that affected 23 of the 30 Districts. Thirteen people died and the nation suffered economic losses valued at more than $100 million (UNISDR-Africa, 2004:54). Similarly, between 1980 and 2012, it is estimated that 1 340 496 people were affected by disasters, and 22 lost their lives as result. Botswana's economic losses are low, compared to other SADC countries, for example, Mozambique, usually regarded as highly prone to flood disasters. Nevertheless, both mentioned countries are estimated to have suffered economic damages of approximately $100 million and $500 million respectively during the flood disaster of 1999/2000 (UNISDR Africa, 2004:54; EM-DAT, 2015). The losses and costs incurred by these events are considerable. Therefore, a succession of such 'minor' disasters may increase the risk, and eventually culminate in major disasters (O'Brien et al., 2008:196; Hillier, 2013:2). These disasters silently and persistently erode capacities of the Batswana to survive and prosper, and thereby achieve the SDGs, Agenda 2036 and Vision 2036. It is, therefore, critical that such incidents of disaster should be addressed holistically. Failure to deal with disasters comprehensively may lead to stunted economic and social growth (Maripe and Maundeni, 2010:2). It is the responsibility of Government to protect citizens from risky situations caused by disasters (Chhotray, 2014:218). Although, also not specific to disasters or hazards, Section 3 of the Constitution of Botswana stipulates that it is the state's responsibility to protect its citizens regardless of race, place of origin, political opinions, colour, creed or sex, and guarantee the right to life of all (Republic of Botswana, 1966:5). This Constitution (Section 3) further guarantees equality between men and women (Machacha and Alexander, 2010:140).

Table 4.1 below provides an overview of the social and economic impact of localised disasters in Botswana.

Table 4.1: Natural disasters in Botswana from 1980 – 2014: Overview.

No of events:	15
No of people killed:	687
Average killed per year:	22
No of people affected:	1 340 496
Average affected per year:	43 242
Economic Damage ($ X 1,000):	5 000
Economic Damage per year ($ X 1,000):	161

Adopted from: EM-DAT (2015)

In addition to natural and human made hazards, Botswana faces climate change and variability challenges, as is the case globally, and Africa in particular. This is the case, although Botswana's overall gas emissions (CO2) are low (Omari, 2010:5). These mentioned challenges inevitably increase poverty and destitution. This includes reduced access to water and loss of assets since resources are diverted to deal with impacts of climate change (Ketlhoilwe, 2013:154). Particularly vulnerable to the impact of climate change are mostly women, who generally lack the resources to cope with or adapt to climate change (Wamsler et al., 2012:68). For instance, unprecedented increase in mean temperatures has led to the desertification of certain areas in Botswana. This worsened the domestic fuel crisis as mostly women depend on firewood for cooking and other chores (Solecki et al., 2011:135).

Furthermore, due to climate change there has been an increase in health-related diseases such as malaria, which also affects mostly women. These are due to unprecedented increases in temperatures. In Botswana, malaria usually is found in the northern part of the country, due to its higher precipitation. However, there seems to be a shift as incidences of malaria are also reported in the southern region (Omari, 2010: vii). This situation is complicated further by the existence of the HIV/Aids epidemic, which affects women's numbers in the labour-market process (Phaladze and Tlou, 2006:24Ketlhoilwe, 2013:154; Alexander, 2013:1221). Again, the women are the most vulnerable to these conditions. This applies even more to the health-related impact. It

was found that women suffer disproportionately to men as reduced crop yields ultimately cause poor nutrition standards.

In the same vein, a study was done in 2013 by Zinyengere et al., (2013:122) on the impact of climate change. This study recorded a decline of 36% for maize, and 31% for sorghum cereals in the Sand Veldt region, and 10% for both maize and sorghum in the Hyena Veldt. This implies worrying prospects for Botswana, for which maize is its staple food, and the country has extremely limited financial resources. Such a situation impacts directly on food security in the country, which exacerbates the vulnerability of people in lower socio-economic groups such as women.

From the discussion above, it is clear that disasters have a significant negative impact on the economy and the people. Therefore, DRR should be a national priority. The regular occurrence and costs of disasters calls for the mainstreaming of gender into DRR at all levels of development planning (NDMO, 2013:11). Mainstreaming should include even women at grassroots level who, in certain instances, are too impoverished and illiterate to voice their views.

4.2.1. DRR Policy Framework in Botswana

The two primary DRR working documents in Botswana are the National Policy on Disaster Management (1996) and the National Disaster Risk Management Plan (2009). These documents address the various aspects of disaster risk management in the country (NDMO, 2013:2). Furthermore, the National Disaster Risk Reduction Strategy (2013-2018) emphasises the need for a well-planned and focused implementation of DRR in the country (NDMO, 2013:2). The National Strategy on DRR (2013:30) mentions gender as one of the cross-cutting issues that must be considered in DRR planning. The strategy does not state explicitly how gender equality will be accomplished.

The Africa Regional Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction (2004:9) urges countries to commit a part of their budget to DRR initiatives. Despite this advice from the UNISDR, Botswana (similar to most developing countries) still does not have a budget for DRR. Although insufficient, in neighbouring countries such as Namibia and South Africa, local municipalities do allocate a portion of their budget to DRR (Botha et al., 2011:46). To remedy the lack of a DRR budget, the National Policy on Disaster Management (1996:16) provides for the use of available resources. However, this approach leads to complacency and reactive managing of risks. For example, line Ministries do not view

DRR as a core function, rather as the primary responsibility of the NDMO. The result is a lack of budgeting and commitment by relevant sectors (Holloway, 2003:35). The fact that the government of Botswana does not budget for DRR, shows a lack of priority and commitment to sustainable development in the country (Botha et al., 2011:50). The NDMO should rather be viewed as a coordinator and a driver of the whole process, not the sole implementer. The process is confused further by the fact that, in certain occasions, the NDMO plays the role of implementer and not coordinator, for example in managing the effects of floods and storms.

Furthermore, the National Development Plan 10 2009-2015 (MFDP, 2009:306) seemingly confirms the link between DRR/CCA and sustainable development. This is evident from a statement urging that development should be more sensitive to the impact of climate change. In this regard, DRR should be integrated into development planning. Without proper planning, insufficient adaptation to climate change may impact heavily on the country's long-term development. Botswana does not have a specific law that provides legal support to DRR. Currently, implementation of DRR initiatives is supported by several sectoral pieces of legislation and policies, which sometimes do not focus specifically on DRR. Thus, the lack of a unitary legislation holds a challenge for the implementation of DRR in the country. In addition, the NDMO is not empowered to make appropriate decisions, especially when a disaster seems imminent. This institution was not established through an Act of Parliament but rather by a Presidential Directive and therefore does not have a legal standing. This makes it weak in implementing its mandate. The NDMO depends on ascribed power and its strategic location in the Office of the President to influence decisions.

Furthermore, legislations for specific sectors are not clear on when, how, and who should declare a disaster. The country relies on the Emergency Powers Act Cap 22:04 to declare a disaster. However, this legal instrument is not geared specific to disaster situations. There is a need for a comprehensive legislation dedicated to DRR and the strengthening of existing institutional structures guiding responses to disasters and reduced risks (NDRMP, 2009:6). The country is in the process of enacting a unitary DRR legislation. It is envisaged that the new legislation and the proposed National Policy on Climate Change will be gender responsive (NDMO, 2013:30). For its part, the National Policy on Gender and Development (2013) falls short in incorporating DRR, whereas, to a certain some extent, it does refer to CCA and sustainable development. In one of its

strategic objectives, the policy states the following: government should recognise the different capacities, needs, and experiences of both men and women when developing strategies and programmes for climate-change adaptation (National GAD Policy, 2013:11).

On the international front, Botswana is one of the signatories to the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action of 1995, which calls for the abolishing of gender inequalities at all levels (Beijing PFA, 1995:1). In addition, the country also ratified the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), and, as mentioned previously, it is in the process of domesticating this instrument (National GAD Policy, 2012:2). According to WAD (2000:5), Botswana has made huge strides in bridging gender inequality. However, inexplicably the country has fallen short in ratifying the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (1995). It is only recently that the country signed the Revised SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2016). For Botswana to sustain its economic growth, stakeholders should cultivate an environment in which all are treated equal and this includes ratifying international instruments. As a result, Botswana may stand to lose on the progress it has achieved if it fails sign some of these Protocols (Robert, 2008:8, cited in Botlhale, 2011:66). Botswana has implemented several mechanisms to improve the position of women in the country. These range from the creation of institutional frameworks and the enactment of legal instruments that eliminate discrimination against women (Omari, 2010:6).

4.2.2. The effects: linking women's needs with those of other groups

Due to the line ministries' failure to budget for DRR, government is often compelled to divert funds earmarked for development, for response activities during disasters (Ketlhoilwe, 2013:154). In responding to disaster occurrences, the NDMO uses the National Disaster Relief Fund Order (NDRF), which forms part of the Finance and Audit Act of 1996. According to section 2 of the NDRF, the purpose of the Fund is to provide financial assistance to victims of natural disasters. This Fund is used primarily for purposes of relief and recovery (NDRF, 1996:1). However, all the working documents are not gender sensitive.

Laska et al. (2008:15) is highly critical of the DRR policies like the NDRF which are meant to empower women. The problem is that these policies often 'lump together' the needs and concerns of women with those of children, which implies that women are regarded

as ‘children'. These types of condescending policies ignore the fact that women’s needs differ from those of children, and thus it promotes male dominance (Nhamo, 2014:166). The approach presupposes that by taking care of men’s concerns, the needs of women and children are inevitably included, seeing that they are dependents of men.

A case in point is the Botswana’s National Disaster Relief Fund Order (1996), and the Revised National Policy on Destitution (2002). The aim of these policy frameworks is to provide relief to affected households. However, it does not, for example, provide women-specific relief packages such as female hygiene towels. Relief packages are standard, regardless of gender and age. Such packages are made up by relief workers who, in most instances, are male workers and are strongly influenced by patriarchy. Due to male dominance of relief work, women may find it difficult to request for assistance (Thurairajah et al., 2011:3). Moreover, when relief is not distributed equitably to beneficiaries, this often leads to an unruly and disorganised relief situation (Alexander, 2013:1221). As a result, these women may suffer in silence. In response to this predicament, women may expose themselves to social vices such as prostitution, forced early marriages, human trafficking, and dropping out of school and work. This would be their strategies to take care of their specific needs, which are not covered by these policies (Babugura, 2008:148; Parkinson, 2011:7).

In conclusion, for Botswana to reduce risks for disasters and to continue with positive economic growth, the country needs to adopt a gendered approach to development. Failure to engender laws and policies may reverse the developmental gains. Geisler, (2006:69) posits that to end marginalisation, relevant laws must be promulgated to address the problem. The development of such laws or policies will cultivate a change of culture and perception, which seems to be lacking in Botswana currently (Moalosi, 2007:41).

The following section discusses the impact of disasters on women and their ability to withstand such hazards (resilience/adaptive capacities) in the context of Botswana. The section discusses practical cases illustrating resilience of Batswana women.

4.3. Bouncing Back and Moving Forward: Resilience of Women in Disasters

This section discusses the resilience of women in disaster situations. It should be emphasised that not all women are vulnerable to disasters, and women are not always the victims. Although, often potrayed by most scholars and practitioners as vulnerable to

disasters and climate change, numerous women have shown that they can be highly resilient in the face of hazards (Schwarz et al., 2011:1138). The most affected are the following: female-headed households that live in rural areas; those with a lack of income, limited education, and no working children to support them; the elderly women; or those who suffer a disability (Ajibade et al., 2012:10). Natural or human-made hazards challenge the coping capacities of vulnerable groups, especially women (Sultana, 2010:45; Raredon, 2011:14). It is important that women guard against hazards affecting them and their livelihoods (UNISDR Editorial, 2013:3).

Despite these challenges together with HIV/AIDS, women's life expectancy has surprisingly continued to increase overtime compared to men. For instance, life expectancy for males is 63.3 per cent and women is at 68.1 per cent (WHO, 2015:1). Although the gap is seemingly insignificant, women in Botswana tend to outlive men. This illustrates women's overall resilience and their never say die attitude to life, disaster and other situations.

Despite being vulnerable, women in Botswana over the years have demonstrated their power and character in disaster situations. Thus, indeed they have not been passive victims waiting to be saved by men or humanitarian agencies (Fulu, 2010:854; Raredon, 2011:75). To take care of their households during hard times, women often take on other economic activities to supplement their incomes (Lovekamp, 2003:5). Women also have a culture of saving. Often their earnings become handy during situations of disaster when men’s incomes are depleted due to job loss (Enarson, 2000a:6). For instance, in response to the tsunami that occurred in Asia (in 2004), women showed strength and character by taking care of their families and the homeless members of the community, and by restoring the disrupted social services (Fulu, 2010:854). Likewise, despite being marginalised, women played a critical role in stabilising their families, communities and the country as a whole after the earthquake in Haiti (Raredon, 2004:17). Furthermore, African women mainly are considered the backbone of the rural subsistence economy; it is their productive work that sustains families and communities (UNISDR, 2002:6). Batswana men and women have different coping capacities, men prefer going to the cities in search of jobs, while women are forced to stay behind taking care of families. Limited employment opportunities in rural areas, recurrent disasters and the effects of climate change which erode their subsistence livelihoods makes women to find alternative ways of taking care of their families and communities. Although at times some

of these adaptive capacities are unorthodox. The Zulu phrase *'wathinta abafazi wathinta imbokodo'* (you strike a woman, you strike a rock) has over the years come to symbolise the resilience, courage, resourcefulness, adaptable to any given situation or environment and strength of women, in Southern Africa, including Botswana, Africa and globally (Mogstad, 2016:28). In certain instances, women seem to cope better than men in disaster situations, seeing that they are more accustomed to such events. However, this does not mean that appropriate interventions should not be adopted to assist women. Intervention from government and other humanitarian organisations should be timely, failure to adhere risks undermining the resilience of women (Ajibade et al., 2012:10). Although, at times humanitarian intervention may be viewed in good light, if not properly timed it can create a dependency syndrome, thus affecting women's capacities. According to empirical research, women are first line of defence when it comes to responding to disasters (Alam and Rahman 2014:78). There is a need to strengthen women's existing adaptive capacities through empowerment initiatives aimed at increasing their resilience to disasters. Such initiatives are crucial to help reduce the impact of disasters, and overall achieve sustainable development.

4.3.1. The Role of Informal/Formal Structures in enhancing women's resilience

In response to natural shocks, Batswana women have their own coping mechanisms, which they use before external intervention by authorities. To examine the resilience of Batswana women in disasters it is critical to discuss in the context of informal and formal structures. It is the informal structures that still contributed immensely to the strengthening of women's adaptive capacities (Sallu et al., 2010:5). This is notwithstanding the fact that they still are highly represented in the informal sector, which offers less job security and limited wages (Botlhale, 2011:66). However, this tendency does not improve the economic situation of women. Due to their participation in the informal sector, most women do not earn a pension that provides them with security to guide them during difficult times. As a result, women become poorer and more vulnerable to natural shocks when they are unable to keep on working (Hovorka, 2012:875). Moreover, these conditions are detrimental to women since they lack power and control of their jobs (Moswete and Lacey, 2015:611). As a result, women are overburdened with responsibilities both at home and at work. Eventually, they fail to own the means of production such as their male counterparts (Botlhale, 2011:66). Therefore, these women mostly are left to depend on male counterparts who often exploit them (Stromquist, 2000:429). Relegation to the informal sector and micro-projects will not do women, and

the nation at large, social justice. As is the case with men, women need to be engaged in larger and more life-defining initiatives. This will help to reduce the gender gap between the two sexes.

Despite this, Batswana women have proven to be resilient in their lives.To cope with the devastating impact of disasters, Batswana women as part of their prescribed gender roles anticipated and preserved food and seeds during good harvests (Ngwenya et al., 2017:38). These food items were then used during disasters when food stocks were limited. Additionally, they fetched wild foods and this improved child malnutrition and food security (Motsholapheko et al., 2014:123). These food items were at times sold to supplement family's income (Legwaila et al., 2011:173). With the adoption of drought non resistant seeds, women have not been able to preserve these seeds as they are not re-usable (Ketlhoilwe, 2013:154). This has in a way affected their resilience as they are compelled to purchase seeds every year and this is costly to them. Thus, for Batswana women to strengthen their coping capacities they need to adopt resilient and flexible livelihoods. When the family's resilience to shocks fail, they resort to the extended family or communal system of *majako or mafisa.* For instance, there was the traditional *majako* system, according to which one family will assist the family in need, therefore, there was little need for external intervention. This was also coupled with the spirit of self-reliance *(boipelego)*, which is the cornerstone of the Batswana culture.

Similarly, those households with limited resources where assisted by other members of the community through Setswana *mafisa* system to re-stock, milk or even use the cattle to plough and for transport (Seleka et al., 2007:14). The assisted family could when fully recovered from the impact of either return the same number of cattle to the owners or they could keep them and the family was to reciprocate the gesture to another family with limited resources. In a way, this helped reduce the impact of disaster on women.

Likewise, a case study by Ketlhoilwe, (2013:153) in Botswana, further illustrates the resilience of women. The study reveals that women used cash from the proceeds of products made from natural resources. This was done to save and provide new entrants with start-up income, which empowered them to improve their lives and survive beyond subsistence standards. Similar such cases have also been observed in the Okavango (Basketry), Thamaga (pottery) and Oodi (weaving) (Lenao and Basupi, 2016:36). These informal support systems were not only for income generating but also for the provision of emergency relief to the affected family (Seleka et al., 2007:14). Conversely, there is

evidence to suggest that this spirit of togetherness is slowly waning. Several factors contribute; namely Modernisation and the blind adoption of western culture which inculcates individualism at the expense of neighbourliness and community solidarity.

According to Hammami, (2012:8) traditional Setswana setup as over the years changed as communities are now mixed and heterogenous. As such, bonding in such communities is rather difficult. Additionally, there seems to be too much dependency on government financed social safety nets (Lenao and Basupi, 2016:38). Such support has created dependency on government as communities are now reluctant to engage in agricultural and other income generating initiatives which they previously used to build their resilience capacities. The unnecessary intervention by government through handouts erodes the informal support system and the spirit of self reliance (*Boipelego*) which the country has guarded so jealously for many years (Seleka et al., 2007:14). This has also contributed to decreased levels of inherent resilience of communities. Due to this dependency syndrome, Batswana now look up to government for assistance without even exhausting their existing capacities (Ketlhoilwe, 2013:153). With this attitude, communities now hardly lift a finger to assist themselves and others. This is even contrary to the official definition of a disaster which calls for the overwhelming of an individual or communities' capacities before external assistance can be sought. Although individualistic, in most instances members (women) from affected communities do show solidarity toward one another when faced with adversity (Seleka et al., 2007:14).

Thus, numerous studies worldwide, demonstrate the high resilience of women in situations where they need to adapt to either disasters, or climate change (Ruwanpura, 2008:334; Shenk and Covan 2010:964). Women has shown this resilience in extremely trying circumstances, and conditions in which gender inequalities are the order of the day. From these selected studies, it can be deduced that more could be achieved if women were treated equal to men. In sum, communities that have multiple coping mechanisms to spread the risks, tend to be protected more and show stronger resilience in incidents of disaster and climate change (Ketlhoilwe, 2013:159). It can be summed up that women who lack resources and social coherence, were affected more by disasters and took longer to recover from the disaster (Zhou, 2007:20; Gupta and Leung, 2011:2). Similarly, failure to recover from disaster, may be due to such factors as; ineffective disaster-recovery programmes by government; and stringent laws that regulate the use of natural resources such as thatching grass (Schwarz et al., 2011:1138).This means

that women easily can get caught in a vicious cycle with increased vulnerabilities and perennially are affected by natural shocks.

When women are empowered, or their resilience strengthened, there tends to be a ripple-effect in their individual, family, community lives, and in the country at large. This involves social, economic and political growth (Sallu, et al., 2010:9). The resilience of women in situations of disaster and climate change would help lessen the pressure on families, the government and other humanitarian organisations when considering relief assistance (Rose, 2011:99). Schwarz et al. (2011:1138) suggests that, to strengthen women's resilience, there has to be solidarity within the community, social cohesion and proper guidance by government. This will allow a collective response to the disaster, where each member of the community look after the other's interests. Due to a lacking a social support system, currently societies show limited social cohesion, which often is substituted by individualistic tendencies that work against resilience. Additionally, for the concept of resilience to be effective it should be seen from the lenses of the affected (locals) and not top down as is the current case. That is to say locals should define pertains to their resilience.

For Botswana or even the SADC Region as whole to enhance women's resilience from disasters it should adopt a similar framework to the WRI (discussed in chapter 2). The WRI could be used as a guide to develop socio-cultural indicators that are common in the country/region. At present, the resilience of women in disaster situations is not measured. It is, therefore, difficult to measure the successes of the initiatives that have been put to enhance resilience. However, caution should be taken when using these models as they are still at fledgling stage and they have not been tried and tested (Sajah et al. 2018:862).

Although Batswana women are to some extent resilient to disasters as demonstrated by the previous section. It is important to discuss some of the critical factors that affect their capacities to manage disaster risk. The following section discusses the primary causes of gender inequality in Botswana which inevitably increases women's vulnerability to disasters. The section concludes with a discussion of some of the solutions to tackle gender inequality, that is, political will, quality education and gendered national and local budget.

4.4. Primary Causes of Gender Inequalities the Case of Botswana

Women all over the world share similar issues that make them vulnerable to disasters and climate change (Militzer, 2008:25). Ackerly and Attanasi (2009:543) make it clear that women worldwide face similar problems regardless of their colour, socio-economic status, cultural or political affiliation. According to Kusumasari (2015:287) women are a close-knit homogenous societal group. This is not because of their biological composition, but due to their universal oppression by the same patriarchal forces (Fitri–Kafaah, 2013:16) This same homogenous group is often labelled by rightists and other oppressive groups as powerless, exploited, sexually harassed, and/or emotionally weak (Weir, 2008:127). In spite of this collective strength, and as indicated in Chapter 1, women are the most vulnerable to disasters after the elderly and children (Ngcamu, 2011:169). Even though women are said to be homogenous they are such subtle differences which are culturally, geographic and country specific. This section will primarily address some of the root causes of gender inequality that erode women's resilience to disasters with specific reference to Batswana women.

Despite its recent economic progress and socio-economic advancements, Botswana continues to struggle with gender-based inequities. Moreover, the gap between the 'haves' and 'have nots' evidently increased over the years. According to the CIA (2009, cited in Dougill et al., 2010:9), Botswana together with Namibia and South Africa presents the most extensive gaps in wealth, as calculated by the Gini index. According to the data on 2002/2003 from the UNICEF, the wealthiest 20% of Batswana earn 67% of the total income, while the poorest 40% of households earn only 11% (UNICEF annual report, 2011:6). Moreover, the UN Gender Inequality Index (GII) Report (2016), Botswana has a ranking of 95 out of 188 countries in 2015. The GII measures three aspects of human development, that is, reproductive health, empowerment and economic status. These rankings seem extremely low for a country that prides itself to be a 'beacon of democracy'. These forms of disparity also heighten women's vulnerability to disasters and climate change (Ahmed and Fajber, 2009:30).

The worrying statistics above, point to the fact that the most women, particularly in rural areas, form part of the poorest 40% in the country. Women are the weakest in terms of their economic contribution (Dube, 2003:149). Marginalisation can still be observed mainly in the areas of the economy, education, politics, agriculture, and health. Botswana's record regarding gender equality is less than impressive. Thus, Botswana

women lag behind in development, especially regarding decision-making processes (Mookodi and Fuh, 2004:33; Kalabamu, 2006:239). As the case is with a typical African or developing society, Setswana culture is influenced strongly by traditional norms where males are viewed as heads of families, and women as subjects who are subservient (Hovorka, 2012:875). Previously, women were not allowed to vote, own property, or even have formal employment. The general traditional view was that women's place was in the kitchen (Kalabamu, 2006:239). However, most of these regressive laws and policies have since been amended or abolished. Ackerly and Attanasi, (2009:543) are of the view that gender inequality is rooted deeply in cultural practices that men currently exploit to promote themselves at the expense of women.

This state of affairs may be attributed to the deeply entrenched patriarchal system both at home and at work and in business. Although Batswana women are not discriminated when it comes to issues of access to land, it was not until recently that they were, restricted from inheriting property (Kalabamu, 2006:239). For instance, in the 2013 case of Mmusi and others versus Ramantele and others, which challenged patriarchal laws that barred female children from inheriting, especially if they are younger than the male sibling (Geisler, 2006:76; Van Allen, 2007:103; Jonas, 2013:229). Likewise, most land in Botswana is customary allocated and commercial banks do not accept customary grants as collateral for loans, as such most individuals especially women have to apply for a common law lease to convert the property (World Bank, 2015:48). This is disadvantageous to women as the process is costly, tedious and in most instances are not well-informed of such procedures. Land is an integral part of women's lives and livelihoods and any unnecessary bureaucratic procedures further erodes their coping capacities.

ACCION International (2009, cited in Gobezie, 2011:1) reports that women account for more than 50% of the global population, yet they own a meagre 1% of the total world resources. The global trend is replicated in Botswana, where ownership of cattle is regarded as a symbol of social and economic power. In this regard, 62% of women do not own cattle, compared to 33% of men who do not, while women own more goats and chickens, which indicate a lower status (Oladele and Monkhei, 2008:3; Hovorka, 2012:878). In other words, women thus own less cattle, which also is a major source of income and power. In Botswana, ownership of cattle defines the social status of an individual or family (Hovorka, 2012:875). Conversely, they are more involved in the

poultry business, which is less respected and admired and is principally at subsistence level (Moswete and Lacey, 2015:611).

In this regard, Setswana culture does not allow women to vie equally with men for positions of authority in society. As a result, there is a limited number, of women (if any) in both the private and public sectors (Geisler, 2006:76). In such an unjust structured environment, women are barred from challenging the authority of men. This status quo is endorsed further by the male-dominated colonial legacy, which most African countries inclusive of Botswana adopted during their independence (Hovorka, 2012:875). These traditional, adopted systems continue to subjugate women through unequal power relations. These systems need to be dealt with to avoid increasing gender inequalities in the country.

Accordingly, unequal allocation of resources often leads to marginalisation as purchasing power is diminished, which may lead to poverty. As a developing country, Botswana's poverty is feminised (Botlhale, 2011:66). Although women in Botswana contribute 40% of the cash economy, a significant proportion of them still occupy low and insecure jobs or no jobs at all (Ntseane, 2010:38). The situation of feminised poverty is worse for those female-headed households in rural areas, as compared to men. The Botswana Literacy Survey 2014 Report indicated that 78% women are beneficiaries of the government's poverty eradication and other social programmes (Statistics Botswana, 2016:48).

The mentioned paradoxical situation (women in the majority, but with less power) is, in certain instances, encouraged by gender-blind fiscal, education, health, and other social-service policies and traditional practices (Midgley, 2007:613). In general, Botswana's policies seem to take a narrow view of women's overall contribution to the economy and to society as a whole. These policies do not consider the continually changing roles of women, which overburden them at home, in their work, and within the community. For instance, due to the HIV/AIDS pandemic coupled with climate change, women must fulfil the double role of caregiver and being reproductive, while men choose to perform the productive role only and this gives men time engage in activities of economic value and also to explore further opportunities (Ntseane, 2010:38). This also gives men the opportunity to enhance their life skills that are critical in managing disasters such masonry and other vocational expertise as they have an abundance of free time. According to Actionaid, (2017:4), women take on three times as much unpaid care work as men. Women work harder and, in most cases, put in extra hours to feed their families.

Their social responsibilities also increase since men are hardly available to provide assistance to women (Turner, 2010:572). Similarly the African Development Bank (AFDB), (2011:14) indicates that, in Botswana, women are 58% more likely than men to be unpaid family workers. Evidently, this does not recognise the difficult task that women accept by taking in and providing for the sick at home. Consequently, their productivity levels fall due to home-related stress and poor eating habits (Bonanno et al., 2007:674). In contrast, males may not be affected at work since they are not the ones taking care of the sick at home.

Moreover, Botswana's annual national budget, which determines who gets allocated financial resources, is gender blind, and mentions neither men nor women. In other words, it ignores the different, socially-determined roles, responsibilities and capabilities of men as well as women (Botlhale, 2011:68). Furthermore, the inadequate representation of women at political level, especially in Botswana's National Assembly where budgets are approved, is also a major challenge. Even in 2014, women comprised 8.06% of the members of the legislature (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014:1). The numbers are too limited for them to make any meaningful impact in a male-dominated legislature. The inadequate representation of women at decision-making level, leads to the low prioritisation of women's concerns. Typically, these concerns are considered together with those of men, which are in most instances not pressing.

However, despite their increased recognition and participation in the employment sector, women do not enjoy full human rights. In the work environment, they are often confronted with issues of sexual harassment and rigid working conditions (Omari, 2010:6). In some cases, men in positions of power judge females on their physical appearances more than their skills (UNDP, 2012:5; UNDP, 2014:6). Therefore, women who are physically more appealing (those 'with better looks') will most likely climb the corporate ladder faster than more efficient ones (Jyrkinen, 2014:175).

Botswana has a relatively small private sector, and the government is the largest institution to employ and empower of women. Therefore, not surprisingly, more women are employed in the public sector. However, their engagement in the employment sector is confined mostly to situations where they still report to their male counterparts who overall are the superiors (Sernau, 2014:191). This is a clear indication that much progress is needed to help break the glass ceiling that disempowers women.

In certain cases, women employees even were discouraged from becoming pregnant as this was considered counterproductive (Turnier et al., 2009:1294). Even worse, at times their payment were deducted when they went for maternity leave (UNDP, 2014:6). In Botswana, the status quo remained until 2010, when the Public Service Act provided for the full payment (3 months) of maternity leave for all officers (Public Service Act, 2010:1). However, there still no paternity leave men as is the case in some European countries such as Sweden, Iceland, Denmark among others (Robila, 2014:7). These family friendly social policies allow both parents to bond with their children at an early age and also evenly distribute the heavy domestic workload on women thus allowing them to participate other critical areas of the economy thus enhancing their resilience (Actionaid, 2017:3).

It should be noted that, although discriminatory laws were amended, certain cultural practices, stereotypes, and attitudes remained, which seemed to work against the amended laws. These structural aspects continued to prop up the status quo, which strengthened men's control over resources and development. These entail issues such as combating gender-based violence, or HIV/AIDS (Kilby and Crawford, 2011:19). As a result, the rift between men and women tends to widen. The reason is men's perception that women want to usurp their position in society (Botlhale, 2011:68). This causes men to become extremely defensive and protective of their positions. Thus, to tackle these issues, collective efforts are needed by women regardless of race and class (Weir, 2008:112).

Fitri–Kafaah (2013:16) critiques the oppressive patriarchal culture for encouraging women's complacency to being led by men. Women continue being overshadowed by men and their success is usually linked to men. Most of the time, recognition of women is specifically linked to being a wife to a man and not independently from men. This situation is not helped by such stereotypes or perceptions like such archaic adages as "behind ever successful man is a woman", this means that women must stand behind their men, not beside them and definitely not in front of them (Moswete and Lacey, 2015:611). The problem is that women were expected to stand behind or follow a man. As a result, women are handicapped in development and everyday life. Therefore, when disaster strikes, women suffer as the weakest among the weak people.

The previous section identified and discussed patriarchy as the primary causes of gender inequalities in Botswana. To address this challenge, the following subsection discusses

the importance of political will in the transformation of social policy. For the integration of gender and DRR/CCA policies to succeed, a strong political commitment is needed that is willing to effect change. Through democratically elected processes, politicians influence the allocation of resource and set the tone for the country's priorities in development. However, political will on its own is insufficient; support is needed from the relevant stakeholders, including women themselves. Through women's active involvement and participation, change will be realised. The subsection further discusses the need for the adoption of quality education.

4.4.1. Political will to ensure the implementation of gender policies

For societies to close the gender gap, there must be political commitment, true leadership, adequate resources, and proper evaluation of the current policies and programmes (Hankivsky, 2008:80). Politicians define and guide the developmental agenda of a country (Wisner et al., 2011:3). Political power and influence prioritise development issues and allocate resources, which in most instances are scarce commodities (Ginige et al., 2009:561). DRR as a new social policy area in Botswana competes with established sectors such as health, education and agriculture, and usually attracts the least attention (Wisner et al., 2011:3). This may be since DRR outcomes are long-term based, compared with those of health and education (Healy and Malhotra, 2009:387). The political powers determine the agenda for the national budget (Wisner et al., 2011:9). What is included in the national budget, may not necessarily be the most topical or pressing need of society.

It is in the governing bodies' interest to invest in developmental issues that reduce risk (Ginige et al., 2009:561; Wisner et al., 2011:3). As mentioned previously, these developmental needs or issues are critical since they determine the survival of the elected political powers. Electorates typically judge politicians on how responsive they are to the former's needs, not for well-funded initiatives to prevent of mitigate disasters (Healy and Malhotra, 2009:387). Similarly, for social policies to deal effectively with issues of inequality, the government of Botswana needs to demonstrate a political will (Williams, 2008:1116). However, political will as such is not enough. In certain cases, social policies are formulated without being gender sensitive, which may only widen the gender gap (Skinner, 2011:4). Thus, the government of Botswana needs to implement and enforce statutory instruments for society to attain gender equality. Mostly, such implementation is inadequate. This may be due to inadequate resources, or lack of

commitment by the governing bodies. Successful implementation of these policies requires full-out commitment from the relevant stakeholders, including politicians and women.

The problem is that investments in pre-disaster initiatives can be difficult since results do not occur immediately and sometimes are hard to measure (Healy and Malhotra, 2009:402). This may cause governing bodies to shift their resources to those priorities that are more visible and topical. A typical example is investing resources in situations with political instability, poverty, people living with disability, or HIV/AIDS (Seck, 2007:16). These issues are often prioritised at the expense of education, health, and commerce, which break the poverty cycle and hold long-term gains in increasing the adaptive capacities of women (Mitchell et al., 2010:9).

It can also be a challenge to a developing country such as Botswana to retain political interest for continuous financial support in DRR, which has a low disaster-risk profile. Such a low profile often breeds complacency among politicians and technocrats since few disasters are occurring. As a result, there is no dedicated budget for either DRR or CCA. Funding meant for DRR/CCA, is often channelled to the priority areas described above. Such inadequate political will can best be explained by the existence of a reactive and costly relief budget. Governing bodies need to change their mind-set towards DRR and should allocate resources accordingly. According to the World Bank, (2010:124) for every dollar invested in DRR, between four and seven dollars are saved As discussed previously, it is, therefore, cheaper to invest in DRR than in disaster relief.

To sustain the unstable political will, it is critical to have NGOs and other pressure groups that continually engage government and politicians (Wisner et al., 2011:27). Such groups complement the government's efforts in DRR/CCA. Their engagement provides checks and balances, should government fail to provide humanitarian assistance by, for instance, focusing overly on internal conflict or political turmoil.

Focusing on political commitment to transform issues of gender and DRR, the following subsection examines factors that contribute to gender equality, that is, quality education.

4.4.2. Quality education – key to reducing gender inequality

Education is key in improving the lives of women, not only in Botswana, but globally (Asimeng-Boahene, 2006:717). Regarding the gender inequality caused by inadequate enrolment of girls, the following instruments apply: UN's Sustainable Development Goal

4: ‘Ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all’, and Botswana‘s Vision 2036 (part of Pillar 2) of Education and skills development. These two instruments complement each other to address the marginalisation of girls in the education system.

Enrolment rates in Botswana have been increasing steadily, not only for girls, but for boys as well, at primary school have reached 100% and girls accounted for more than half of these in 2004 (BMDG, 2004:15; Dickerson et al*.,* 2015:4). Despite this achievement, there appears to be a disparity between educational development and economic opportunities for women/girls as they continue to be disproportionately affected by poverty and natural shocks (Tabulawa, 2011:436). Although the difference between the two sexes in literacy appear to be insignificant, the situation on the ground is more dire as women have to work harder to stay at school due to challenges such as HIV/AIDS and the unpaid care burden. Additionally, in situations where the children have lost both parents, chances of the girl-child dropping off school are higher than that of the boy-child since she has to remain at home to take care of her siblings (Dickerson et al*.,* 2015:4). Although there is equality in education and basic education is free in Botswana, girls who drop out of school, especially at secondary level find it hard to return to school to complete their studies due to social stigma associated with teenage pregnancy. Literacy empowers women and allows them to challenge prejudices that they face on a daily basis. As well as access to higher paying jobs.

Additionally, education policies seemingly also are not gender-responsive enough. It is found that girls still lag behind in science-based subjects such as Engineering, Information and Communications Technology (ICT), and Medicine (Asimeng-Boahene, 2006:720). There also is a perception within society that girls are unable to excel in the technical science subjects such as mathematics, chemistry and physics (Mpuchane, 2002:133-134). Instead, they enrol in the programmes of the social sciences and Humanities, which pay less, and perpetuate the subservient, caring, motherly role of women (Asimeng-Boahene, 2006:717). Although the enrolment of girls is higher in both primary and secondary schools, and at tertiary level, their participation in science-related subjects is extremely low. For example, at the University of Botswana, the enrolment of female students in the Faculty of Science for 2002, was 28% and 12% in engineering and technology respectively, while Humanities and Social Science accounted for more than 50% of the total enrolment (Mpuchane, 2002:133-134).

Moreover, in instances where girls outperform boys in the science fields, they tend to have lower confidence levels than boys (Tabulawa, 2011:436). This condition affects their level of success at school, and later in their careers (Asimeng-Boahene, 2006:717). For Botswana to sustain its economic growth, it needs to invest in involving more females in science and technology since these study fields determine and shape the economic growth of a country (GAeD, 2015:16). Presently, the country depends largely on expatriates mostly from the rest of Africa to provide science and technology services, which makes it unsustainable for Botswana (Tabulawa, 2011:436). Given the opportunity and the right skills, women also can excel in the technical fields as their male counterparts do. The country needs the full participation of women/girls in not only the science-based fields, but in all areas of the economy. In sum, the rather weak un-sustained efforts on women empowerment by government inevitably leads to heightened differences between the two sexes during disaster periods. Moreover, amended laws and policies failed to address systems that promoted patriarchy. The argument is that for women to be liberated, or better still for Botswana to reach gender parity, it is necessary to wipe out patriarchy (Mekgwe, 2008:14; Norwood, 2013:225).

4.5. Conclusion

The Chapter revealed that Batswana women have an inherent resilience to disasters and other adversities that they experience on a daily basis. For instance, Batswana women have managed to support each and their families through informal social structures without the involvement of government. Government and other stakeholders need to strengthen these social networks in order to empower women, thus bridging the gender gap. Despite, Batswana women's resilience, they still marginalised and vulnerable. In order to reduce the inequalities caused by these disasters driven by deep patriarchal systems, it is critical to deal proactively with the root causes of gender inequalities. This could be achieved by eliminating factors that exacerbate vulnerabilities and strengthening of women's capacities to respond to disasters. The Government of Botswanaand other humanitarian actors need to formulate gender sensitive frameworks and that minise the negative impact of disasters (Viverita et al., 2014:17). To reduce the gender gap caused by disasters, there is a need to harmonise and strengthen the two Policies namely the National Policy on Disaster Management and the National Policy on Gender and Development. Furthermore, seemingly DRR/CCA and gender equality are still operating parallel to each other in the country. To this end, these two policies lack robustness to address gender inequalities in Botswana.

Thus, to help achieve the SDGs, Sendai FrameworkAgenda 2013 and Vision 2036, in a sustainable fashion, engendering DRR should be an urgent priority for the governing bodies in Botswana. The following chapter discusses the evolution and the concept of gender mainstreaming.

CHAPTER 5: THE EVOLUTION OF GENDER MAINSTREAMING AS A POLICY STRATEGY TO REDUCE GENDER INEQUALITY

5.1. Introduction

The Chapter seeks to address research objective which is; to examine, investigate and establish the theoretical grounding for the study of mainstreaming gender into DRR. The previous chapter examined and discussed how existing inequalities marginalise women and how their inherent resilience made them to pull through albeit the difficult conditions The Chapter identified patriarchy as the main driver to gender inequality. This situation (gender inequality) is exacerbated by the effects of disaster and climate change. As a result, this impacts on the economic growth of the country and the attaining of Vision 2036, Agenda 2063 and the SDGs. In order to address patriarchy and its accompanying effects (disasters and climate change, radical policy strategies are necessary to address this pressing problem. It should be mentioned that there are numerous similar policy approaches that address gender equality such as *Women in Development* (WID) and *Women and Development* (WAD). However, the present study proposes gender mainstreaming as part of *Gender and Development* (GAD)/ *Gender Environment and Development* (GED), as a possible policy strategy to address the marginalisation of women in Disaster Risk Reduction/ Climate Change Adaptation (DRR/CCA) within Botswana. The mentioned approaches mainly are from the fields of development, politics and sociology, and are not specific to DRR/CCA. Nevertheless, the study will attempt to contextualise these approaches for the field of DRR/CCA

This chapter firstly focuses on the policy approaches of WID, WAD and GAD and how they eventually lead to the origins of gender mainstreaming. Additionally, the concept of gender mainstreaming is discussed, identifying its strengths as well as weaknesses. The chapter concludes with a discussion on gender mainstreaming in Botswana and its overall performance in dealing with gender inequality.

Regarding policy approaches, feminists initially opted for the more conservative WID approach. This approach seeks to reduce gender inequality through an in-depth analysis of women's interaction with the development process. The approach further argues that to reach parity in society, women need to be involved in the development process. Building on the work by WID, the (GAD) approach came into existence. GAD criticises WID for being too conservative and falling short in tackling patriarchy, the root cause of gender inequality. In this regard, the approach clearly is women-centred. Focusing on

deep-seated cultural issues that marginalise women, GAD introduced the concept of gender, which include both men and women. GAD later developed the more robust and transformational gender mainstreaming, as a policy strategy to address the increasing gender inequality in societies.

5.2. Approaches to address Gender Inequality

5.2.1. Women in Development (WID)/WAD

According to Debusscher and van der Vleuten, (2012:319) the women-in-development (WID) approach came into being when women from developing countries became disgruntled with modernisation, which they felt marginalised them in the development process. They argued that reforms which excluded women tended not to improve their lives and that of society in general, but instead worsen their conditions (Zwart, 1992:17). Furthermore, they asserted that development cannot be complete without their involvement, and they had a part to play in developing their countries. Inspired by the ideology of liberal feminism, adherents to this approach points out that women had been left behind in development, despite their countries enjoying economic successes (Ackerly and Attanasi, 2009:124).

In this regard, women argued that modernisation had alienated them from their original roles in which they depended on agriculture for a living (Debusscher and van der Vleuten, 2012:321). This was to the advantage of men as it helped them entrench their power by owning the economic resources (Sarker, 2006:49). As a result, women became poorer and powerless contrary to men. Thus, feminists believed the only way out of this predicament was to challenge the status quo. Women's powerlessness and poverty was deemed to be the result of years of male dominance. In response, WID argued for the integration of women into the male-dominated power structures and approaches women's issues within the context of development (Sarker, 2006:49).

The mentioned powerlessness could be addressed through a strategy that focus only on women, or as it is often referred to in the present day, by the affirmative-action approach (Ackerly and Attanasi, 2009, 124). Such an approach prioritises the interests of women as the historically disadvantaged group. Affirmative action or the quota system, may be advantageous to a certain extent, however it has the major weakness of not being based on merit. Affirmative action tends to place women in token positions where they are not only weak, but lack the power to transform policies. The effect of tokenism is that women are not being taken seriously by their male counterparts. Such a response may increase

acrimony between the two groups as men may become more defensive in order to guard their position in society (Bauer and Burnet, 2013:110).

The WID approach is credited with the establishing of institutional frameworks in different countries, which helped promote women's issues (Derbyshire, 2002:8). These include the women-specific policies and strategies and the women's units or departments. According to Women 2000 (1992:2), WID considers women as equal partners in the development of their countries and not passive recipients who depend on men for a living. This approach also views women as a homogeneous entity and underlines the fact that their role in the informal and formal economic sector determines the survival of their households, and the country as whole (Zwart, 1992:16).

However, it must be pointed out that women are not a homogenous group as WID purports. They rather are a heterogeneous group in terms of factors such as socio-economic status, race, class, ethnicity, religion, and literacy level (Lazzeri, 2009:328). The primary point of departure is that issues for women in developing countries differ from those in the developed world (Debusscher and van der Vleuten, 2012:321). The reason is clear: women from the rural areas face different challenges to their urban-based counterparts. There is a need to treat these groups of women differently. Rural women are the most vulnerable to disasters as their poverty rates are also higher than those in urban areas as they have lesser opportunities (World Bank, 2015:68). Treating them merely as a homogenous group, tends to cloud injustices toward women. Similarly, certain women can be considered as self-sufficient, economically autonomous, and equal, or even superior to certain men (Samarasinghe, 2014:36). Therefore, the one-size-fits-all type of approach does not seem to hold in this case.

Consequently, WID came to be known as the 'add-women-and-stir' approach since its policies and programmes merely added women into the mix (in development) (Debusscher and van der Vleuten, 2012:321). This became apparent through the type of policies and programmes that were developed. For instance, Botswana, after ratifying the Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination (CEDAW) in 1996, formulated the National Policy on Women in Development. This policy sought to handle the situation of women in an integrated and multi-sectoral manner (WAD, 2000:2). In addition, the appropriately named Women's Affairs unit was established with the main aim to drive policies and programmes that promoted women.

Women in Botswana, in defiance of the status quo, formed powerful women's pressure groups such as Emang Basadi, which in Setswana literally means, 'Stand up, women'. This group pressurised government to repeal certain disagreeable sections of legislation and practices that marginalised women (Geisler, 2006:76). Consequently, laws that discriminated against women were amended (Refer to table 5.1) and this resulted in the slight increase of women becoming involved in the political, public service and private sectors (Republic of Botswana, 2004:36). Those that benefited were mostly the urban elite. In contrast, the majority of women living in the rural areas, benefited a little, or not at all.

Regarding DRR, the approach of WID is often credited for its identification of women as a vulnerable group and its calls for interventions targeting women since they have specific needs that often are ignored (Samarasinghe, 2014:36). Moreover, WID practitioners argue that relief policies and programmes should pay attention to the design and planning of safe evacuation areas. They should also provide for the specific needs of women such as personal hygiene, sanitation and privacy. Relief resources should be distributed equitably according to needs, and not biological makeup (Aboobacker and Nakray, 2011:22). Previously, the deeply entrenched patriarchal system of humanitarian assistance distributed relief to male households as it was assumed that they were the primary providers of their families (Schwoebel and Menon, 2004:2).

As mentioned above, the WID approach view women as a homogenous group. Therefore, this approach provided blanket coverage to all women without necessarily targeting those whom were affected. In addition, it advocated women-centred relief and recovery programmes, which in turn, discriminated against equally affected men (Samarasinghe, 2014:36). Likewise, the WID approach also gave way to the formulation of reactive disaster management policies, nationally and globally, which recognise the indispensable role of women in development. These later evolved into DRR policies (Liang, 2011:16).

Similar to the WID approach, is the concept of women and development (WAD). The WAD paradigm is more critical about women's involvement in development than the WID approach (Zwart, 1992:16). It argues that, for the conditions of women to improve, universal changes are necessary in society providing women's access to resources and development (Podems, 2010:7). This was an indirect attempt by WAD to deal with existing power relations, as power is related to access of resources. Although, more

decisive than WID, WAD also failed to touch on cultural dimensions of inequality, which contribute directly toward the ownership and control of the means of production. Thus, WID/WAD fell short in addressing the marginalisation of women as these approaches do not make an in-depth analysis of into the dominant patriarchal systems.

5.2.1.1. Criticism of the WID/WAD ideology

Furthermore, the WID/WAD ideology did not state how and at which level women should be involved in development. Moreover, it gave limited attention to the culture and legal instruments responsible for the marginalisation of women. As a result, these two approaches tended to benefit more elite women who could assert their demands, than rural, uneducated women who were mostly poor. Consequently, women's positions in society remain subjugated to the interests of men. However, the WID/WAD approaches did make an impact by focusing on women's lack of resources, and argued for the inclusion of women in decision-making processes (Samarasinghe, 2014:36). In addition, the two approaches further recognised women's rights as human rights, which helped increase women's participation in the political and civic spheres (Sarker, 2006:63). It can be stated that the WID/WAD approaches did offer an important first step toward mainstreaming gender into development planning and DRR/CCA.

The following section builds on the contributions of the WID/WAD ideology, and discusses GAD's approach for addressing gender inequality.

5.3. Approaches to address Gender Inequality: Gender and Development (GAD)/ Gender Environment and Development (GED)

In response to the deficiencies in the WID/WAD ideology, the Genderand Development (GAD) paradigm emerged to address the root causes of women's marginalisation (Zwart, 1992:17). Similarly, a majority of Third-World feminists were generally displeased with both the WID/WAD theories. They argued that these two paradigms were too conservative and did not focus on the needs of women (Samarasinghe, 2014:31).

The primary objective of the GAD approach is to accelerate the change in focus from women to gender in terms women's development initiatives (Debusscher and van der Vleuten, 2012:321). In this regard, GAD used the catch word 'gender', which includes men as well (McIlwaine and Datta, 2003:370). This inclusion of men in the process surmises that the two genders have a common understanding of issues of equity and social justice (Folke, 2004:5). The engagement of men allows for a deeper understanding

of the power dynamics and male supremacy, even in situations where women seem to be in control of resources (Mohyuddin and Begum, 2014:8076). Adherents of the perspective argue for the deliberate surrender of power by men and related entities, and the redistribution to marginalised women and concomitant institutions (Baldwin, 2012:18). Thus, the full engagement of men in the fight for women's equity and social justice is viewed as inevitable. Any contrary reform would not only be detrimental to men, but to women as well.

The GAD paradigm effectively focuses on women as an entity to the socially agreed relations between the sexes (INSTRAW, 2000, cited in Baldwin, 2012:18). According to GAD, gender equality does not necessarily imply equal numbers, that is, 50/50 of both sexes respectively in all processes. Nor does it accord the same treatment to both women and men (Derbyshire, 2002:6). GAD simply advocates a just and free nation where there is no marginalisation by one group over the other and where all enjoy their full rights and work together for the common goal of developing their country (Mohyuddin and Begum, 2014:8076) .

There should not only be increased participation of women in development, but also equal representation, especially in critical areas of the economy. Numbers as such do not suffice, only the quality of representation. Women argue that they needed to be afforded equal opportunities to men in the development of their country (Tripathy, 2010:114). Similarly, gender equality stands for the fact that men and women are different in their own unique ways, and complement each other in their contribution to development (Baldwin, 2012:18). This ideology argues that inequality should not be tackled by women alone. All the relevant stakeholders should be involved, namely government and non-governmental organisations together with the private sector. All parties should participate fully in the process (Chant and Sweetman, 2012:518).

According to its advocates, the GAD paradigm provides a holistic viewpoint that examines critical factors that marginalises women, namely social, economic, political, environmental and cultural. The view also questions the status quo that oppresses women, and it seeks practical solutions to gender inequality (Tripathy, 2010:114; Samarasinghe, 2014:31). In addition, the approach investigates hidden sources of control and power, subtle complexities of culture, ethnicity, and organisational dynamics, which otherwise may not be perceived (Mohyuddin and Begum, 2014:8076). GAD further examines the confusion created by the coexistence of various customary and statutory

legal systems in several countries. It also highlights the tendency of men manipulating these systems to the disadvantage of women (Chant and Sweetman, 2012:518).

The GAD approach challenges the notion that gender relations are natural. Adherents argue that relations between men and women are socially constructed (Tripathy, 2010:114). As in the case with disasters that are human-made, it is, therefore, critical to note that any human creation can be corrected by humans themselves, albeit through struggle and pain. In other words, the socially constructed problems that were responsible for the injustices of women could be reversed through appropriate gender-sensitive and responsive strategies. This approach strongly holds the view that it has the means to bring an end to gender inequality. The approach further emphasises that equity should not only be defined in terms of development but applied to all spheres of life that marginalise women. The reason is that equity is a goal and outcome of gender mainstreaming (Narciso and Henriques, 2010:51).

The GAD approach further views women as agents of change who are keen to improve the lives and livelihoods of their societies by being actively involved in the various processes that discriminate against them. This include the following: the long existing, strong socio-cultural structural structures; discriminating laws and practices; lack of involvement in the decision-making processes; and, in general, limited access to relevant resources (Militzer, 2008:58). As agents of social change, women are expected to work collectively to realise their untapped potential. This could be achieved by intensifying their struggle against patriarchy and other dominant forces (Tripathy, 2010:114).

The tsunami of 2004 illustrates the existence of dominant patriarchal structures. For instance, after the disaster which occurred in Asia, women in Sri Lanka were not considered as heads of their families (Tripathy, 2010:114). Consequently, relief supplies were rationed to men only. Although the Sri Lankan law is silent on which gender should act as head of the household, their culture does not recognise women as head (Mohyuddin and Begum, 2014:8076). A woman can only act as head of the family in cases where she is divorced, widowed or single (Thurairajah et al., 2011:3). This disregard of women as heads of households does not only apply to Sri Lanka, but to most developing countries, including Botswana. In the light of this deficiency, NGOs and other pressure groups in Sri Lanka argued for the creation of gender equity and equality programmes.

The aim, thus, is to empower women by making them aware of the patriarchal structures that discriminate against them. Women realised the need to involve men to ensure success for their programmes. From their side, men began to understand that, for their families and societies to develop, they required the full involvement of women (Militzer, 2008:59). Thus, the tsunami and similar cases indicate that the investment in the GAD approach may lead to a decrease in vulnerability, not only of women but of families, and societies as a whole. This insight, coupled with efficient management of natural resources, may further lead to economic growth and improved quality of life (resilience) for all citizens (Razavi, 1997:1118).

5.3.1. Weaknesses of the GAD/GED ideology

The GAD approach is accepted more widely than the WID approach. Nevertheless, GAD is often criticised for its top-down approach, and for not doing enough to include men in its interventions (Mohyuddin and Begum, 2014:8076). Gender is often viewed as synonymous with women and not with both genders (Militzer, 2008:59). The inclusion of men in gender issues remains at a rhetorical and abstract level (Thurairajah et al., 2011:3). This is evidenced by the type of policies and programmes that were implemented (Baldwin, 2012:18). For instance, despite GAD emphasising the need to involve men, a majority of policies and programmes in DRR/CCA and development still focus on women alone (Militzer, 2008:59). These policies should be gender sensitive, without singling out women.

A further weakness is that these policies focus more on the immediate needs of women, as opposed to dealing with issues strategic to them (Bedford, 2007:6; Fordham, 2011:835). This may be due to the fact that the GAD approach is more concerned with bringing solutions to the daily bread-and butter issues that affect the lives of women (Militzer, 2008:59). In an attempt to rectify certain weaknesses of this approach, the GAD paradigm evolved into the Gender Environment and Development (GED) approach to recognise the critical role women fulfils in the sustainable management of natural resources (Narciso and Henriques, 2010:51). The GED approach improves on the GAD ideology by providing gender parity. It takes into account that a majority of women are not only rural-based but depend totally on the environment for a living. This takes place through specific chores such as fetching firewood for cooking; bathing and washing; warming the house during winter; and agricultural production (Opare, 2005:91; Felima, 2009:10). It is important that marginalised women control the resources which affect their

lives and livelihoods directly, seeing that this makes them more resilient during difficult times – for example, in disaster situations.

GAD as an ideology is often criticised for not being fully applicable in emergency situations of disasters, where time and saving lives are paramount (Govinnage, 2005:47-48). On the contrary, during times of emergency, the GAD approach can easily demonstrate its relevance since gender concerns should be considered fully in both operations of response and relief. Disasters tend to crystallise gender inequalities in a society. By using both the participatory and rights-based approaches, this ideology is able to respond equitably to needs and requirements of affected people (Chang, 2014:19). Failure to recognise these concerns may result in neglecting the needs of women, which increases their marginalisation.

Furthermore, in cases where the GAD paradigm is adopted, it is diluted politically, thereby losing its feminist intention (Tasli, 2007:25). Furthermore, GAD is often criticised as too radical in its approach to promote gender equality in most societies (Rathgeber, 1990:494). On the other hand, this approach critically examines the more unobtrusive factors of women's productive and reproductive contributions. If these factors go unchecked, it can increase the marginalisation of women.

Even though the WID and GAD approaches have different goals, the two can be considered complementary, but not identical. In other words, the WID approach agues for the sole empowerment of women, while the GAD ideology includes men. It also argues for the redistribution of power by giving women access to resources and decision-making processes. In sum, it can be explained that WID focuses on the economic development of women, while GAD takes a broader, inclusive approach to development by focusing on empowering marginalised groups in the various sectors of society (Razavi and Miller, 1995:15). Both the WID and GAD ideologies covered significant ground in closing the gap of gender inequality. Nevertheless, these model's intentions were not translated into actions. As a result, women lagged behind in most spheres of development. This is apparent by the continued marginalisation of women.

In light of the weaknesses found in the WID and GAD ideologies, the concept of gender mainstreaming was conceptualised to complement and enhance these approaches. Gender mainstreaming is not a separate approach, but forms part of GAD (Tasli, 2007:25). This entails an awareness strategy that seeks to intensify consciousness at

the various societal levels by closing the gender gaps, while at the same time helping to reach sustainable economic growth (Tiessen, 2011:719).

The following section focuses on the contribution of the Beijing Conference to gender mainstreaming and to gender equality. The Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing China in 1995, presented a watershed for issues of gender equality at international level. The issues raised at this Conference, later reverberated worldwide as gender equality reforms. The section also discusses the concept of women empowerment as adopted by the Conference.

5.4. Advancing equality 1995 Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA)

The United Nations' Fourth World Conference on Women, held in Beijing in 1995, also known as the Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA), was one of a series of conferences examining issues involving women through a gender lens. The BPFA was preceded by other equally land-marking conferences in Mexico City in1975, Copenhagen, in 1980 and Nairobi, in 1985 (Tarr-Whelan, 2010:3). These international conferences addressed the issue of discrimination against women based on their gender (Loots and Witt, 2005:54). Conferences that ensued were aptly called Beijing +5 or +10, et cetera, based on the anniversary of the first Conference in 1995.

To address gender concerns holistically, the BPFA compiled a detailed action plan outlining 12 key areas to strengthen the socio-economic and political empowerment of women (Roberts, 1996:240). This action plan challenged a number of the old and regressive practices that violated women's rights (UN Women, 2014a:83). For instance, women did not have the right to own or inherit property, or even for access to micro-lending loans (Cailleba and Kumar, 2010:332). The BPFA asserted that in order for countries to attain gender parity, they should place women's rights at the centre of their policy reforms (Bunch and Fried, 1996:200). Additionally, nations were urged to ratify and domesticate the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) to ensure adherence to women's rights and eliminating discrimination to accessing resources on the basis gender (Copelon, 1995:6). Accordingly, it was argued strongly that women should not merely be fully engaged in the developmental process, but should also be afforded equal opportunity in the various social spheres.

5.4.1. The shortfalls of the Beijing Conference

The BPFA and its ensuing conferences did record a form of success. However, women still do not enjoy full rights and remain powerless domestically, nationally and internationally. This may be attributed to the fact that the compilers of BPFA did little to involve men. This may have aggravated certain men and other interest groups who viewed these attempts as reverse discrimination. This indeed proved to be a major downfall of these initiatives. The result is continued dominance of cultural practices and statutory instruments that perpetuate the marginalisation of women to favour men. These shortcomings had the potential to derail the BPFA's implementation and a number of its gains. In this regard, the former Secretary General of the UN, Mr. Kofi Annan, explained that the success of the Platform was hampered by several factors. These include the following: a lack of concrete targets, monitoring and evaluation procedures; inadequate resources, especially in developing countries; attitudes, beliefs and stereotypes; conflicts and wars; economic instability and disasters (Hijab and Wilg, 1995:5).

For the Platform to keep making a positive impact on the lives of women, these and other related issues should be dealt with as a matter of urgency. Addressing gender inequality at global level, has been a challenge since most of the UN commitments are not binding for member states (Cailleba and Kumar, 2010:332). Likewise, the lack of a holistic approach in implementing the resolutions, also impeded the process. The reason was that the intended objective to achieve socio-economic and political change, proved to be a larger challenge than expected (Tarr-Whelan, 2010:3). As a result, the dominant traditional values and norms continue unchecked (Loots and Witt, 2005:59). Certain gender analysts even argue that few programmes indeed have succeeded in bridging the gap between men and women (Baldwin, 2012:18). Most of these programmes manage to support the status quo, which encourages the traditional caring and subservient gender role for women. In certain instances, this type of approach has led to the further marginalisation of women. Therefore, it is critical to note that reforms should also factor in gender concerns, seeing that it helps achieve gender equality and levels the playing field between the sexes (UN Women, 2014a:83).

5.5. The emergence and evolution of gender mainstreaming as policy strategy to reducing gender inequality

Aiming to address the increasing gender inequality gap and the non-responsive policy strategies, gender mainstreaming was proposed (Bedford, 2007:6). In a number of

countries such as Canada, this is also referred to as gender-based analysis (Militzer, 2008:59). This strategy gained prominence in 1995 at the Beijing Conference (Samarasinghe, 2014:32). This approach was first adopted by international organisations such the World Bank, the UN and the ILO and developed nations covering most of Europe, Canada, New Zealand, and Australia (Oates et al., 2011:1; Rosenberg, 2011:8).

In accordance, African countries and other developing nations later joined the gender-mainstreaming approach. However, African countries adopted the approach without necessarily contextualising it (Rosenberg, 2011:8). Such a direct importation of the strategy proved to be a major weakness to its implementation in African societies (Tiessen, 2011:719). Despite these teething problems, this is considered the most contemporary approach to help promote gender equality (Eveline et al., 2009:200; Jacquot, 2010:121). The issue at hand is that existing policies on gender equality are not effective enough to reduce segregation and ensure equal opportunities to women (Oates et al., 2011:1). It was found that mostly these ineffective interventions were either gender blind, insensitive, biased or neutral.

In certain instances, this approach was often confused with integrating gender, or even the add-and-stir approach, which was popularised by the WID ideology (Oates et al., 2011:2). This is incorrect. Typically, integration implies combining two or more issues while they maintain their distinctiveness, whereas mainstreaming entails mixing together issues in order to become a single unit (Conway and Schipper, 2009:228). La Trobe and Davis (2005:10) expand on this notion. They explain that the word mainstreaming is derived from the metaphor depicting a small, isolated flow of water drawn into the mainstream of a river where it will expand to flow smoothly without loss or diversion (Samarasinghe, 2014:32).

Furthermore, although the literal explanation seems to be straightforward, mainstreaming as a concept is often difficult to explain, appreciate and put into practice. As mentioned above, usually the preceding approaches were perceived as ‘add and stir’. Thus, gender concerns were belatedly incorporated in the planning processes. As a result, this strategy failed to make real impact on the lives of women (Chang, 2014:19). In other instances, gender concerns were incorporated only after major decisions had already been taken on policies, strategies and allocation of resources (Tasli, 2007:25).

The aim of gender mainstreaming is to reduce gender inequalities by empowering women. This is done by transforming institutional and legal structures, gearing them to deal with gender issues (Grzybek and Rochon 2008:6). Furthermore, gender mainstreaming as the cornerstone of female empowerment, also impacts the overall economic and social development of nations (Zachariassen, 2012:481). Gender mainstreaming was the revolutionised strategy aimed at including the 'common enemy', that is, men. Thus, gender mainstreaming deals with the re-engineering or overhauling of development policies to make them responsive to gender, and to advance equitable distribution of power between the two sexes (Verloo, 2000:3).

The power relations mentioned above, can be manifested through goods such as time, money, and services rendered. The approach seeks to distribute power evenly to all citizens, regardless of their sex. This is done by questioning the institutions and legal frameworks that govern current society. Gender mainstreaming does not simply mean 'adding up' numbers of women in decision-making. Neither does it implies 'going 50/50' in development programmes. The focus should be 'going an extra mile' and incorporating a gender approach in developmental processes that provide equal opportunities for both men and women (Daly, 2005:434; Waal, 2006:209). This strategy tackles gender equality at policy level and seeks to incorporate gender in the relevant policies (Zachariassen, 2012:481). In this regard, gender mainstreaming requires unconditional commitment from governments and stakeholders, in order to be effective (Adusah-Karikari and Akuoko, 2010:98).

5.5.1. The theory and concept of gender mainstreaming

The concept of gender mainstreaming has been defined widely by different scholars and practitioners. A number of researchers attempted to be specific and direct, while others chose the broad focus (Prugl, 2010:447). However, most seem to concur with the definition given by Resolution 1997/2 of the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. This resolution defines gender mainstreaming as follows:

> *… process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that*

> *women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality* (UN, 1997:3).

Other similar definitions expand on the definition above by the UN. For instance, the European Union defines gender mainstreaming as:

> *The (re)organisation, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equity perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels, at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy making* (Council of Europe, 2004:13; Moser, 2005:581).

A number of researchers simply describe gender mainstreaming as the aspect of development policy dealing with the assimilation and inclusion of cross-cutting issues of development planning (Conway and Schipper, 2009:228). However, this definition does not slot in with the UN more holistic focus, which refers to the inclusion of both men and women into the designing, planning and implementation of policies, programmes and projects.

In the context of DRR, the UNISDR describes this aim as follows:

> *[F]ostering awareness about gender equity and equality and to help reduce the impact of disasters and to incorporate gender analysis in DRR and sustainable development, to decrease vulnerability* (UNISDR, 2002:5).

The United Nations Strategy for Disaster Risk Reduction's (UNISDR) definition above is holistic and topical by synthesising issues of awareness creation, vulnerability and sustainable development. In the context of DRR, “mainstreaming gender into DRR” describes the process of fully incorporating gender into DRR policy and practice (Khailani and Perera, 2013:626). This means radically expanding and enhancing DRR and gender. The aim is for these elements to become part of normal practice and be institutionalised fully within a country’s development agenda. This will also help confront institutional norms and practices that negate women’s interests.

By combining these two elements, it underlines the fact that gender concerns and DRR become a single entity. In other words, they work collectively in terms of a new unity, to attain equality and equity. Zachariassen, (2012:481) describes equality as giving people equal opportunities and equity is fairness in every situation. Furthermore, this means that DRR/CCA should take into account gender concerns during pre-and post-disaster

situations. These concerns should represent the needs and interests of women and men. Such needs should be catered for at the various stages of policy-making: planning, implementation, monitoring, evaluating, and review. By using the participatory bottom-up approach, these gender concerns can be translated into policy and cascaded to grassroots level, where projects and programmes are implemented (Eerdewijk and Davids, 2014:307).

A clear deficiency of these definitions, is that none describe precisely how gender mainstreaming should be achieved and how equality should be attained (Caglar, 2013:338). Moreover, member countries were not as evident on the implementation of the UN policy directive (Waal, 2006:209). This further complicates the policy strategy since adherents are not clear about its methodology. In sum, none of the definitions discussed above, specifies what type of equality would be achieved by mainstreaming gender.

It is a known factor that both public and private entities are gendered. Thus, for gender inequality to be solved efficiently, these entities have to be dealt with, seeing that such institutions have the tendency to reproduce forms of inequality (Verloo, 2001:4; Prugl, 2009:176; Eerdewijk and Davids, 2014:304). These structures at times resist change. However, once they have become involved, transformation on gender issues may occur more readily. The understanding is that gender equality can only be achieved through gender-sensitive policies and programmes (Grzybek and Rochon 2008:8).

Furthermore, the mentioned entities are known to be sources of power making critical decisions and policies that affect the lives of both sexes in society (Mukhopadhyay, 2014:365). The control of bureaucratic institutions usually lies in its power to influence policy decisions. In most instances, discrimination against women occurs through these decisions, which, therefore, need to be dealt with. If the focus could fall on policy decisions, this may help promote the empowerment of women and elimination of gender inequality. However, merely amending or reviewing existing policies will not be as helpful. What is required is a radically transformation of most policies, seeing that they seemingly ignore gender equality (Eerdewijk and Davids, 2014:304).

The ultimate aim is to eradicate gender inequality altogether, and not merely reproduce inequality or maintain the status quo (Zalewski, 2010:23). It is, therefore, essential to transform practices, norms and values that help sustain and reproduce gender

inequalities. This implies an extensive project that will not be achieved in the short term. Furthermore, this should be a continuous sustainable process, in which gender objectives are highlighted permanently (Krizsan and Zentai, 2006:136). In such a crucial exercise, there is bound to be numerous challenges from various quarters as people often find it difficult to embrace change. Thus, there is a need among the role-players for full commitment and perseverance to the process. It is also crucial that gender mainstreaming should not only be considered as an 'additive' to policies and programmes. The strategy should be institutionalised if it were to record successes (Allwood, 2013:43-44).

Preceding policies promoting equality, either adopted the bottom-up, or top-down approach (Mohyuddin and Begum, 2014:8076). Conversely, the strategy of mainstreaming sets the agenda for issues to be solved by engaging all relevant role-players. This involves all women at the different societal levels, not necessarily only those already included in the bureaucratic policy-making process (Squires, 2005:14). Through their voices, women become part of the mainstream since they participate on an equal footing with men to develop policies that affect women (Horton, 2012:306). Once mainstreamed, it becomes highly likely that women would be accepted as equals to men (Lyle-Gonga, 2013:210).

The strength of gender mainstreaming also lies in the fact that it is accepted by politicians from both the right and left (Mohyuddin and Begum, 2014:8076). The reason is that it appeals to pressure groups from both sides of the political spectrum, and is based on a pluralistic ideology that recognises the distinctiveness of the sexes (Allwood, 2013:44). Gender mainstreaming also often is used to break middle ground between feminists and antagonists by taking into account views from both sides. In this sense, the strategy is employed to make feminist ideologies more palatable to those who may oppose their doctrine (Palmary and Nunez, 2009:65).

It should be emphasised that gender mainstreaming is not an end in itself, but a method to achieve gender equality and equity. It is evident that gender mainstreaming is no longer viewed as a partisan or ideological issue, but a pragmatic and increasingly routine approach to help bring about gender equality within society. For gender mainstreaming to transform society fully, it needs to adopt more of the gender-equity approach, rather than focusing exclusively on gender equality. The reason is that the focus on equity levels the playing field, and simultaneously empowers women (Keleher, 2013:113). As a result,

this strategy currently is the preferred public policy for the new millennium (Allwood, 2013:44). For mainstreaming gender, seven basic steps need to be followed. These steps are outlined below.

Figure 5.1: Steps for successful gender mainstreaming.

Adopted from: Benson and Twigg (2007:14)

5.5.2. Criticism of gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy

Gender mainstreaming became popular among international organisations such as the United Nations and European Union, national governments, NGOs and the private sector. Nevertheless, as is the case with previous such strategies, it has certain shortcomings. Gender mainstreaming adopted the more unorthodox style of top-down approach instead of the popular and pragmatic bottom-up approach. This deficiency, is compounded by the fact that the policy strategy is not binding to member states and remains a so-called 'soft law' or commitment (Grzybek and Rochon, 2008:6; Oates et al., 2011:2). Pragmatically it is difficult to enforce or sanction mere commitments. As a result, a number countries have adopted the strategy but showed less willingness and commitment to realise it.

The policy strategy also seems to be imported directly from Europe to developing countries without necessarily customising or domesticating the content and application. Thus, this strategy fails to focus on socio-cultural aspects that differ from those in Europe

(Jauhola, 2010:38). As a result, countries adopted their own methods, which led to outcomes of varied success (Walby 2005:321; Moser, 2005:585).

These mentioned weaknesses of gender mainstreaming, merely perpetuated the oppression of women, often with devastating results (Keleher, 2013:113). Women are overburdened, both at home and at work; and the effort that they put in is not commensurate with their remuneration. Moreover, social ills such as gender-based violence (GBV) as well as vulnerability to disasters and climate change, are the order of the day.

In Europe, for instance, where the policy strategy originated, it has enjoyed limited success and failed to transform the social strata as promised. This is despite the legal and institutional support that was put in place and the apparent political will (Stratigaki, Alston, 2013:2). Within South African society, a number of the community-based organisations (CBOs) that have adopted the strategy did not allocate sufficient time and financial resources for its successful implementation, as was expected (Botha et al., 2011:46). This led to the reversal of a number of gains that had been made previously (Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:41). Similarly in Ethiopia, most of the government ministries mainstreamed gender into their development processes, but due budgetary and inaquate domestication, this strategy also did not translate into positive results (Oates et al., 2011:2). This state of affairs is exacerbated by further factors. For example, gender concerns are not a priority to governments and are given weak mandates and positions by resorting mostly under the human resources function, instead of acting independent and reporting directly to the Chief Executive or Permanent Secretary (Whitehead and Lockwood, 1999:2).

Nevertheless, to address gender inequality effectively, gender mainstreaming should follow a holistic approach that take specific cultures into account (i.e., being culturally specific). Countries need to contextualise this strategy in accordance with their own local conditions to respond to their unique and culturally specific needs.

In light of the above-mentioned shortfalls of mainstreaming, the following subsection discusses the strengths of this policy strategy.

5.5.3. Strengths of gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy for gender equality

As is the case with other policy approaches informed by the social sciences, gender mainstreaming has its particular flaws. However, the strengths of the strategy far outweigh its weaknesses. Although gender mainstreaming has encountered resistance in certain quarters, it has recorded success by reducing gender equality, and its impact is clearly visible (Arora-Jonson, 2011:744). Gender mainstreaming success stories are discussed in the chapters that follow.Thus, it can be asserted that, currently, there is growing awareness worldwide on gender issues than before, and strong institutional and legal frameworks are in place. This transformation has been achieved through a strong political will, which focuses on increased allocation from the budget and improved management of information on gender equality (Moser, 2005:585). This has resulted in the reduction of gender inequality and the increased empowerment of women (Adusah-Karikari and Akuoko, 2010:96).

Thus, gender mainstreaming has the powerful potential to transform and integrate gender inequalities on a global, national and domestic level (Eveline et al., 2009:200; Hankivsky, 2013:629). This policy strategy does not seek to replace specific non-gender responsive policies; instead it complements and transforms existing policies (Arora-Jonson, 2011:744). In this way, it is seemingly more cost-effective than other strategies since it does not call for a complete overhaul of existing discriminatory policies and practices. Such an overhaul may prove too costly for developing countries, which may not have the resources, nor finances. In addition, gender mainstreaming enjoys overwhelming global and national support and acceptance. This support coupled with its inherent potential to empower women, sets gender mainstreaming apart from preceding policy strategies (Grzybek and Rochon 2008:8).

Therefore, for gender mainstreaming to succeed, it must be cultivated into the various levels of development, namely household, community and national. In the first instance, this strategy should be spearheaded by the government through policy guidance and direction (Government of Botswana, 2015:1). These policies should focus on addressing cultural issues that enhance gender inequalityHowever, the mainstreaming should be made the responsibility of all sectors of society, both private and public, and the international community (Arora-Jonson, 2011:744). In addition to a strong legal basis and well developed and resourced institutional framework, the policy strategy must also have concrete plans for a monitoring and evaluation framework (Conway and Schipper,

2011:228). This would allow the constant tracking of progress on gender equality, and regular amendments of the policy in accordance with the changing environment, if necessary.

Furthermore, the above-mentioned process must be supported by gender-segregated data. This will strengthen the analysis of the policy, programmes and projects based on gender (Arora-Jonson, 2011:744). Segregated data is essential as it informs the policy makers and other relevant stakeholders of policies and programmes that still discriminate against women. Gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) is also vital to account for the needs and interests of marginalised women (Botlhale, 2011:62). Failure to fund the strategy adequately, may lead only to the further marginalisation of women. The introduction of certain conditions will help pave the way to achieve the goal of gender equality. This would be attained since women would be empowered to participate in decisions that affect their lives directly.

In light of the discussion above, it is evident that gender mainstreaming puts into perspective the issues surrounding the segregation of women in societies, and provides positive responses to gender inequality (Grzybek and Rochon 2008:10). A clear gain is this strategy's robust nature and its adherence to democratic principles promoting full engagement of all citizens, including women. This includes women's participation in the decision-making processes, especially at the policy level of design, implementation and evaluation (Horton, 2012:306).

In light of the discussion of the concept, strengths and deficiencies, the following section discusses the twin-track approach which drives gender mainstreaming aimed at attaining gender equality. Furthermore, the section discusses the key model that is used to drive gender mainstreaming.

5.6. The twin/multi-track approach to gender equality

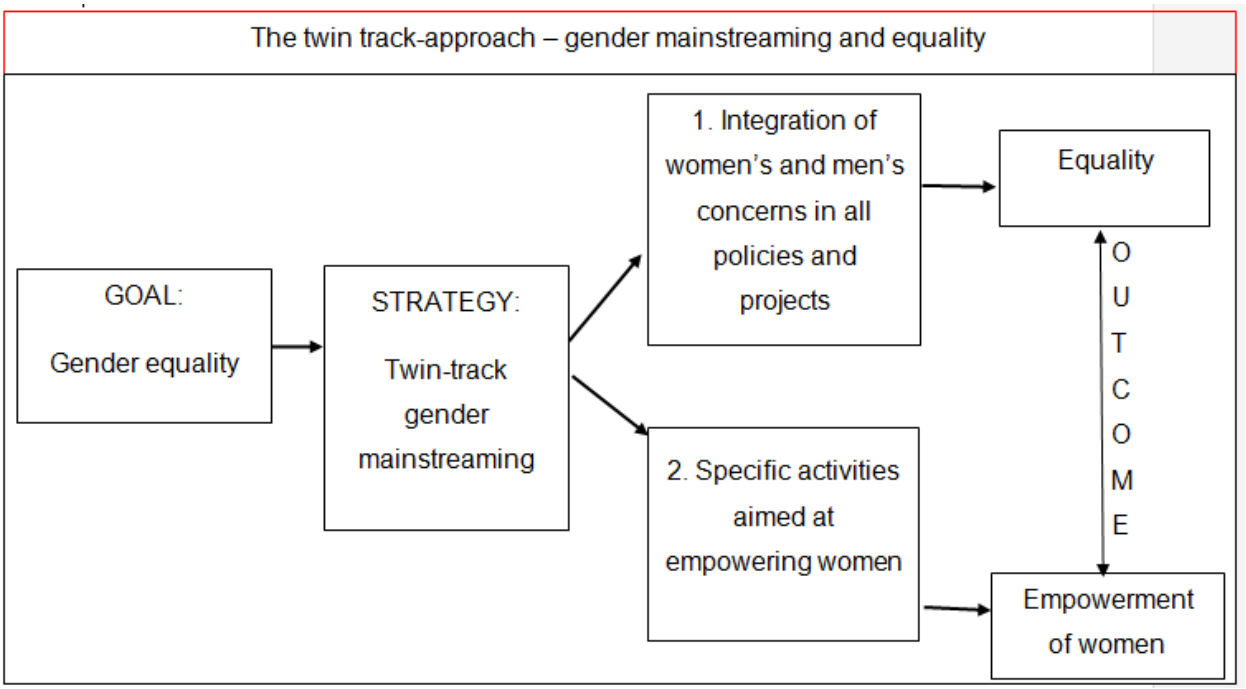
Issues that face women daily and in their lives in general, are by nature highly complex and interrelated (Baldwin, 2012:18). In most instances, issues that affect women are addressed simply through strategies that call for the increase in their access to services and resources (Madsen, 2012:581). In addition, in situations where gender is often said to have been mainstreamed, the rights of women tend to fall off the radar (Horton, 2012:306). This is due to the perception that the matter is being taken care of; therefore, no further action is necessary (Otzelberger, 2011:8). Such a lopsided strategy ignores

the institutions such as the traditional structures, which are the sources of power and often directly responsible for the gender inequalities in society (Baldwin, 2012:18).

Gender inequality cannot be eliminated merely by making resources and services accessible to women. This requires robust institutional and strategies that are specific for the context, and are responsive to the interests of the marginalised (Grzybek and Rochon 2008:10). In light of this need, a twin-track approach to gender mainstreaming was adopted. This approach involves the integration of gender into the development process, which includes the relevant policies and projects (Horton, 2012:306). It also means undertaking specific initiatives aimed at empowering women as the most effective way to attain gender equality.

The strategy contains two parallel parts. The first aspect deals with the integration of prominent issues into development planning (Baldwin, 2012:18). In other words, policies, programmes and projects should be analysed to ensure the interests of both sexes are taken care of. This would help minimise the disadvantage to marginalised women and uplift them (Madsen, 2012:581). The second aspect examines issues of women's empowerment as a marginalised group (Otzelberger, 2011:8). In essence, this means adhering to women's rights and projects specific to women's interests should be conducted to empower them (Watkins, 2004:9; Moser, 2005:3). This strategy tackles power from the root cause, namely at the level of beliefs, practice and distribution, and provides feasible targets and indicators (Otzelberger, 2011:8). The ultimate goal of the twin-track approach is to ensure power and resources are distributed equitably through reformed social structures (Madsen, 2012:581). The outcome of these parallel, yet intertwined tracks is to empower women, and simultaneously attain gender equality. Figure 5:2 gives a diagrammatic depiction of the components for a twin-track approach.

Figure 5.2: Components of a twin-track approach.



Adopted: from Moser (2005:3)

In light of the discussion above on the twin-track approach, the following section discusses the concept and practice of empowering women as vehicle for gender equality. The second aspect of the approach is covered by the discussion on gender mainstreaming.

5.6.1. Empowerment: closing the gender gap

In an attempt to end to gender inequality, the BPFA called for the empowering of women through proactive intervention strategies by member states (Ali, 2010:10). These member states were reminded that if they wish to achieve sustained economic growth, they need to empower women, especially in the rural areas, seeing that this group are more vulnerable to natural shocks. Women should be considered as equal partners in developing their countries. However, the problem is that over the years, women's empowerment has proven to be a difficult concept to define and operationalise.

For a clearer understanding of women's empowerment, it is necessary first to define and discuss the concept of power. The concept of power involves one group's domination over or subjugation of another group (Alam and Collins, 2010:19). Normally, those groups in society that lack resources, skills and other capacities, are deemed powerless (Weir, 2014:30). Men use this power to marginalise women, and it could be in the form

of institutions (mostly culture) and legal frameworks. Tasli, (2007:30) identifies three types of power namely: power to, power with, and power from within.

'Power to' or 'power over', refers to women's ability to make their own life choices and pursue their own goals, even when dominated by men (Tasli, 2007:32). Due to such domination, women are given extremely limited choices to make critical life decisions, for example, where to live, what and how to build, when to relocate, or evacuate in times of disaster (Kabeer, 2005:13). Men traditionally make decisions on behalf of women. This results in women depending on men, because women lack the necessary power (Alam and Collins, 2010:19). Having no power or choice means compliance with the decisions made by men. Thus, non-compliance may result in sanctions and abuse, or even violence, against women (Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:41). Additionally, lack of power to make decisions often results in forfeited economic opportunities and thus deepening poverty within the family set-up (Alam and Collins, 2010:19). Thus, decreasing women's coping capacities.

Secondly, 'power with' refers to collective power of the social group. This type of power unites the group through a common cause and goal (Tasli, 2007:32). In their quest to end domination by men, women join forces regardless of their race, class, or ethnicity, and struggle against the common 'enemy' (Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:41). As a collective entity instead of individual or isolated persons, women have the ability to reverse their powerlessness (Sernau, 2014:153). This oneness promotes social cohesion and enhances women's resilience to disasters. For instance, it happens when families learn to provide social support to the affected families (Alam and Collins, 2010:19).

Thirdly, 'power from within' entails the spiritual and mental force that is driven from the inner person and relates to issues such as self-esteem, self-respect, self- acceptance, assertiveness and self-confidence (Tasli, 2007:33; Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:41). This type of power goes hand in hand with the 'power to', and gives women the ability to make critical life decisions. Women need to be assertive to make those decisions since the survival of their families depends on them as the primary caregivers (Stromberg, 2007:206). Thus, women need the three interrelated types of power to end domination of men and in the process, enhance their resilience to disasters and other natural shocks (Sernau, 2014:153).

5.6.2. Definition of empowerment and its origins

By discussing the three types of power, the previous section also examined the factors surrounding empowerment. Naturally, power forms an integral part of empowerment (Tasli, 2007:34). As the case is with power, empowerment is a complex concept and at times confusing to practitioners and scholars. However, a form of consensus was reached on the concept, which is captured by Morton II et al., (2013:35) who describes empowerment as follows:

> *[T]he ability to increase one's capacity to define, analyze, and act upon one's problems. Empower is a reflexive verb; groups and individuals can only empower themselves. For empowerment to happen there must be a belief that people have a right, even if they are oppressed, to express themselves.*

This definition seeks to redress the injustices against women, and brings parity to the situation. Empowerment addresses the origins of dominance of one group over another one. The aim is to find practical solutions to the problem. This allows the discriminated group the voice and power to influence decisions (Morton II et al., 2013:35). It is all about enhancing their capacities that women did not have due to oppressive legislation and culture (Sernau, 2014:153). Additionally, empowerment is a process and not an end in itself and therefore will not be achieved overnight (Lele, 2011:28). It is often argued that empowering both men and women has net positive results for societies as a whole (Alam and Collins, 2010:19). For instance, it is estimated that the country's GDP could increase by 9% and 13% for developed and developing countries respectively (Tarr-Whelan, 2010:3). Both men and women will be participating equally in the economy. Moreover, it is estimated that private companies that have women in managerial positions had 34% higher return rate than companies with fewer women, while investment in the health and care sector is also likely to employment from1.2% to 3.2% (De Henau et al., 2017:5). It is, therefore, essential to empower women as they are major contributors to economic growth. However, this is not an easy task since advocates often encounter issues of a dominant tradition coupled with strong resistance from men's pressure groups (Tasli, 2007:53). Women have to be prepared to take on these challenges if they are to succeed in this struggle.

From earliest times, women have been subjected to processes of discrimination, which negated their full participation in the decision-making processes, due to a lack of power (Alam and Collins, 2010:19). For women to compete on an even footing with men, it is

necessary to distribute power evenly. This would help them gain control of resources and institutionalised power. In the process, women need to challenge men's seemingly unlimited powers, which they have been holding over the years. The fact is that power is institutionalised and men often use religion and culture to inculcate tolerance and subservience (Lele, 2011:28). Such types of institutions and practices require proactive reforms. Empowerment should target those vital areas of the economy where women significantly can add their voices, together with building the relevant capacity and transfer of skills. These resources will help women attain political, social, economic, cultural and environmental power and freedom (Morton II et al., 2013:35). As a result, marginalised women would be enabled to hold their governments accountable for systems that prejudice them. This would also help them express their desire for an environment where they are able to think and act freely, exercise choice, and fulfil their potential as equal members of society (Thurairajah, 2011:6).

For women to be empowered, they need self-commitment, an inner drive to accomplish this goal, and a willingness to transform their lives (Morton II et al., 2013:35). The BPFA argues that women's empowerment should not only take place at international level, but be adopted at the various levels of government and NGOs, as well as the family and personal spheres (Loots and Witt, 2005:56). In response to the call to empower women, most developing and developed countries adopted institutional reforms that accelerated the representation of women in the decision-making processes (Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:41).

The BPFA can be critiqued for the strong influence of patriarchal structures (Tarr-Whelan, 2010:3). However, this Platform functioned as a catalyst for the development of further instruments. These included the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and People's Rights on the Rights of Women (AU, 2005), and the revised regional SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (SADC, 2016). These instruments were prominent in the empowerment of women, especially at political level. Evidently, it is at political level that critical decisions are discussed that affect women's lives. Due to the pressures from BPFA and Africanised instruments, African women have been more visible both in the public and private spheres, and female positions of power have increased over the years (UNDP, 2014:6).

The development of these instruments did yield positive results in countries such as Rwanda and South Africa. Accordingly, Rwanda reports that it has the highest number

of women in the world (68 %) represented in the National Assembly (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014:1). Similarly, South Africa has included 42% of women in its National Assembly (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014:1). However, the same cannot be said of Botswana. After the general elections in 2004, the country experienced a sharp decrease in women's representation within the National Assembly, from 11% and 3%, thus dropping below the 30% target set by the SADC Protocol (Geisler, 2006:78). However, there has been a slight increase although insignificant from the 3% from 2004 to 8.06% in 2014 (Inter-Parliamentary Union, 2014:1).

Thus, despite an increase in the number of women serving in Botswana's Parliament, there are fewer women in Cabinet than ten years ago (Botlhale, 2014:820). These figures are too low for a country that often presents itself as a striking example of democracy and good governance (Collier and Goderis, 2007:4; Apronti, 2012:38). Evidently, a number of gains regarding women in positions of authority have been reversed. On the other hand, the country has seen women enlisted in the army, a move that was long overdue (Mophuting, 2003:3). Botswana had been lagging behind in this area. Furthermore, the country has also witnessed an increase in the number of women occupying positions of influence in both private and public sectors (De Henau et al., 2017:5). Women have also entered the male-dominated traditional structures such as *Bogosi* (Chieftaincy), the example stands out of Kgosi Mosadi Seboko the Paramount Chief of the Balete Tribe (Mookodi, 2004:57).

The SADC Protocol's aim is to eliminate gender inequality across all sectors of the economy. However, Protocol's quota of 30% has been criticised for comprising more of the public than the private sector (De Henau et al., 2017:5). This implies that more women were empowered within the public sphere than the private sector. This has led to a loss of ground in the strategy to empower women. The point is that the majority of women in the SADC region are rural-based (thus, not empowered) and are involved in the informal and private sectors (Malinga et al., 2005:39).

It can be said that the Beijing Conference to a certain extent managed to change people's attitudes toward stereotypes that depicted women as passive individuals depending on their male counterparts for a living (Robert, 2008:8, cited in Botlhale, 2011:66. In contrast, women are increasingly seen as agents of transformation who can bring about change in their communities, especially those who are poverty stricken and usually affected by disasters (Ikeda, 2009:70). Women's empowerment can be enhanced through

continuous and purposeful education, which leads to the control of resources and their full participation in politics. This connects with the saying, when one educates a woman, a whole nation is educated (Lele, 2011:28).Moreover, empowered women are reported to make better and informed policy decisions than men, by focusing on the well-being of their families and society at large (UNDP, 2013:12).

5.6.3. Disasters and the empowerment of women

As discussed previously, disasters and climate change tend to disempower women and other marginalised groups, seeing that these events erode their coping and adaptive capacities (UNDP, 2014:6). This stress on women's coping capacities together with existing and dominant patriarchal structures, exacerbate gender inequalities in society (Sultana, 2010:45; Raredon, 2011:14). Inherently, this increases women's vulnerability to natural shocks (Ajibade et al., 2013:1722). Such shocks seemingly multiply the abject conditions of women. In certain instances, these type of shocks, also are an opportunity to improve the conditions of certain marginalised groups (Kimani and Kombo, 2010:11). For example, during the recovery period, countries may take positive measures by introducing reforms that improve the lives of women and other marginalised groups.

If not managed properly, however, the impact of these natural shocks can in fact buttress power relations between the sexes (Schipper and Pelling, 2006:24; Patt et al., 2009:3). Moreover, if proposed interventions fail to consider gender analysis, they run the risk of being less effective, thus increasing women's vulnerability to these mentioned shocks (Ibarraran et al., 2010:13; Edvardsson Bjornberg and Hansson, 2013:217). Thus, it is imperative that interventions should be crafted carefully, when keeping in mind the sensitive and unique nature of women's needs. The empowering of women through active and full participation in the decision-making processes is key to deal effectively with gender inequality, and thereby help reduce the impact of these natural shocks.

Furthermore, empowering women can strengthen their resilience against the impact of climate change and disaster since they will be well equipped with knowledge and skills to manage these events effectively (Mulyasari and Shaw, 2013:2139). In particular, the empowering of women becomes useful during the crucial phases of disasters and climate-change. These phases are prevention, mitigation, preparedness, response, and recovery. Evidently, strong-willed and independent women are needed to help plan coping strategies against devastating hazards (Terry, 2009:170).

In light of the above, empowering women can help decrease the impact of disasters and climate change through improved DRR and adaptation techniques (Sultana, 2010:45; Raredon, 2011:14). This may lead to economic growth, and sustainable management of the environment and its natural resources (Baumwoll, 2008:72; Ikeda, 2009:70; Terry, 2009:170). Empowerment further strengthens women's self-esteem since they are enabled to take charge of their lives confidently and independently during disaster situations. The self-confidence gained from their wealth of knowledge and skills as active participants in the decision-making processes, make them less vulnerable, and more resilient to disasters (Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:41).

For empowerment to yield positive outcomes, governments should play a leading role in creating a conducive environment which recognises basic equality and the upholding of human rights (Ikeda, 2009:70). However, for empowerment to succeed where other strategies failed, it should not be made the government's sole responsibility. All relevant stakeholders, including women, need to propose concrete actions and plans on the effective empowering of women (Terry, 2009:170). A conducive environment with progressive legal and policy frameworks with solid actions plans collectively may help lessen the gender gap and thus decrease vulnerability (Resurreccion, 2013:40). In turn, this may increase women's resilience to disaster and the impact of climate change (Ajibade et al., 2013:1722). Therefore, it is crucial that policy frameworks should factor in women's unique contribution to development. Only through their commitment and full participation in the processes, can women be empowered (Habtezion, 2012:2).

If women were not to participate enough, the policies and programmes may not be as effective. Such an outcome may reverse existing gains in reducing gender inequality. For this strategy to succeed, it also is critical that a compromise should be reached in power relations between the sexes (Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:41). Men, if they do not compromise, thus stand to lose more in the process than women do. In turn, men need to cooperate with women to strengthen their own resilience as men can be vulnerable themselves in the face of disasters. Patriarchy tends to build a false sense of security in men. It may create the perception that men are more 'manly', and thus less vulnerable to disasters (Ajibade et al., 2013:1722). To the contrary, in certain instances men tend to be more vulnerable.

Education both on a formal and informal level, is also key in equipping women with the necessary knowledge and skills to combat gender inequality (UNISDR, 2008:9). There

is strong evidence to suggest that empowered women are critical partners in achieving SDGs and Vision 2036 (Habtezion, 2012:2). Likewise, empowered women create an environment with improved health, economic growth, and education outcomes for their children, families, and society in general (Alston, 2013:355). Improved socio-economic outcomes have a direct impact on the social harmony of society. Such outcomes also are linked directly to a decrease in general crime and in crimes targeting women.

The process of empowerment makes women economically and socially independent However, it has its downside. Rural women who suddenly are empowered, are bound to abandon relationships they deem abusive, and this may increase divorce rates (Sernau, 2014:153). It may also create vulnerable, single motherhood, leading to increased poverty levels. These mothers will depend on a single income to take care of their children and struggling families (Hankivsky, 2005:978-79). For these mothers to cope with lower incomes, they may need to occupy supplementary jobs, which leads to longer working hours. Working longer hours also means that women are unable to participate in community gatherings such as the *kgotla.*The previous section discussed the Beijing Platform of Action where women's issues too centre stage and the concept and role of women empowerment in enhancing resilience to disasters, this section narrows the discussion to the discourse on DRR/CCA as such.

5.7. International Legal and Policy instruments for Mainstreaming Gender into DRR and CCA

The DRR and gender issues gradually emerged on the global agenda after decades of women's marginalisation (UNISDR, 2009:4). The reason for this positive development was the strong advocacy from both fields (DRR/gender). The call to mainstream gender into DRR began globally, as evidenced by various international instruments. For this policy strategy to be effective, it had to be cascaded to the lower levels, especially national, community-based, household and individual (Jacquot, 2010:122).

In this regard, various international instruments have highlighted the importance of reducing women’s vulnerability and empowering them to be resilient in the face of natural shocks, and in the process, improve their socio-economic conditions. For instance, Principles 6 and 20 of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development both emphasise the importance of reducing women's vulnerability as key to attaining sustainable development (United Nations, 2012:45; UN Women, 2014a:12).

Similarly, the Yokohama Plan of Action 4 (UN, 1994) broadly advocated for a safer world and women's empowerment, help making them less vulnerable to the impact of disasters and climate change (IFRC, 1994:11). It should be noted that this Plan of Action through its adoption of the WID ideology, underlined the need to include women in the decision-making processes (Liang, 2011:33). The post-Yokohama approaches also adopted the all-inclusive gender approach guided by the GAD strategy. Further conferences held in Honolulu (2001), and Hawaii (2004), supported the inclusion of gender concerns in DRR and urged future conferences that they should consciously mainstream gender into policies and practices (Bradshaw, 2004:4).

Globally, efforts to mainstream gender perspectives into DRR began in Turkey in 2001 (Tarr-Whelan, 2010:3). At this conference, it was recommended strongly that governments and its stakeholders should make the following aspects an integral part of sustainable development at all levels: sound environmental management, risk management, and gender equality (Ali, 2010:10). Furthermore, they should review or enact laws that recognise women and men as equal partners in the household and in development (UN, 2001:15).

The enactment of proactive and gender-sensitive laws was to create awareness of gender issues. The aim also was to help strengthen women's resilience to disasters. The reason is that they would have improved access to resources and participate in the decisions that affect their lives and livelihoods (Tarr-Whelan, 2010:3). This aim was strengthened further by formulating the Hyogo Framework for Action (HFA) in 2005. This was a ten-year working document endorsed by 168 national governments, including that of Botswana (HFA, 2005:4). The HFA seems to be the first document in disaster-risk reduction at an international level that include the concept of gender mainstreaming (HFA, 2005:4). The HFA was replaced in 2015 by the bolder and measurable Sendai Framework for Action 2015-2030. These mentioned frameworks are expounded briefly in the subsection below.

5.7.1. The HFA and the Sendai Framework: Gender Equality in DRR

The HFA did not include gender as one of its five priority areas. However, it did refer to the symbiotic relationship of gender and DRR, and the need to integrate the two fields (UNISDR, 2013:5; UNISDR, 2015:4). The HFA provided a conducive and enabling platform to reduce the marginalisation of women, which is worsened by disasters and climate change (HFA, 2005:4). The HFA was explicit in its reference to gender, but still

failed to affect the full integration of women into DRR. Its call to mainstream gender into DRR remained at a rhetorical level, seeing that it did not include gender as one of the five priority areas of action (UNISDR, 2013:5). In reaction, certain countries decided against prioritising gender concerns in DRR and CCA (Hillier, 2013:2).

It is thus evident that the failure to prioritise gender concerns in DRR, showed a lack of true commitment from the UN and its member states. However, the same does not apply to the Sendai FrameworkThis instrument made gender one of its priority areas of action and recognised the critical role women played in DRR (Sendai Framework, 2015:8). In this regard, the Sendai Framework explicitly identifies the critical and indispensable drivers of the DRR process. These are, namely women, children, people with disability, the elderly, the indigenous, migrants, and academics (WCDRR, 2015:20-21). The inclusion of these critical, and often marginalised, groups in the DRR process will certainly help reduce the impact of hazards on the vulnerable groups, and build the community's resilience to such shocks.

The call to mainstream gender into DRR, was received positively throughout Africa. This may be because the impact of disasters was felt stronger in Africa, compared to other equally developing continents such as the Americas and Asia (Holloway, 2003:30). Faced with the problem of disasters and climate change, and accompanying issues such as poverty and HIV/AIDS, Africa had to adopt robust policy reforms (UNISDR, 2009:12). Africa thus indicated the highest achievements in gender mainstreaming at government level (UNISDR, 2009:12). This may be because the ground work has been laid already by women's gender activist groups (WCDRR, 2015:20-21). This work helped increase the awareness of gender issues in DRR. Thus, countries could report progress on gender-related matters, especially in the annual HFA country-progress report and at the World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction (UNISDR, 2009:16). This was a positive and encouraging development. However, these initiatives did not necessarily lead to positive results, as women are still affected by disasters and being marginalised further. This may be due to the remaining strong influence of patriarchy in Africa, which tends to influence policy decisions (Fitri–Kafaah, 2013:16). For improved results, African states need to address patriarchy, strengthen implementation and monitoring, prioritise disaster and gender issues, and allocate financial and human resources to the process.

According to the Global Assessment Report on Disaster Risk Reduction 2011 (GAR), Botswana is one of the few countries that did not indicate progress on gender and DRR

(UNISDR, 2011:83). Botswana resorts under countries such as Antigua and Barbuda, Bolivia, Georgia, Lesotho, Mauritius, Mexico, Monaco, occupied Palestinian territories, Paraguay, Saint Lucia and Togo (UNISDR, 2011:83). These countries reported the least progress in HFA priority 4 on reducing underlying risks for disasters (UNISDR, 2011:84). From these reports, it can be deduced that the countries scoring the lowest (including Botswana) have put in little (if any) effort to reduce vulnerabilities and strengthen the resilience of marginalised groups such as women, children, elderly, and people with disabilities. Perhaps these efforts have been undermined again by strong patriarchal systems. The fact that women and other vulnerable groups were not included in the GAR reports, may be a clear indication of a flawed policy direction at local and global level. This means that the impact of disaster is likely to affect the vulnerable groups more than the others (Fitri–Kafaah, 2013:16).

The same applies to the formulation of the HFA. There was insufficient consultation with local actors, a fact that is illustrated clearly by its lack of local focus. The HFA originally advocated the strengthening institutions at various societal levels (HFA, 2005:4). However, this aim did not realise. The primary focus of the HFA is on national level, which discards the fact that most vulnerable people live in rural areas where most of the disasters occur (GAR, 2011:125). In addition, the HFA places limited emphasis on involving and strengthening grassroots organisations, which are critical to the mobilisation and empowerment of women (Sendai Framework, 2015:8). These grassroots organisations themselves do not have the capacity to assist locals. Those organisations that did participate did so out of their own volition.

It is further evident that states should commit more resources to the local level, allowing for capacity building and awareness (GAR, 2011:125). It would seem the HFA represents the interests of national-based technocrats who, in most instances, are out of touch with the reality on the ground. Moreover, the HFA seems to focus strongly on disasters at national level that have high impact, creates headlines or makes news, but not as much on localised incidents. This moves the focus away from disadvantaged low-risk countries such as Botswana that may not necessarily experience these major disasters, but regularly face localised incidents that aggregate to large disasters (NDMO, 2013:16). Such localised disasters do not allow women to recover fully (Kottegoda, 2011:2). The reason is that they occur intermittently, unlike national disasters that are highly irregular.

As a result of these localised disasters, poverty levels tend to increase and the gender gap is likely to widen.

Furthermore, the HFA did not have a clear-cut implementation strategy, or monitoring and evaluation mechanisms (Lazarevski and Gjorgon, 2017: 80). In response, countries adopted their own localised strategies, which in most instances were ineffective. The process was frustrated further by the lack of indicators and major milestones by which to measure and accomplish the HFA respectively. However, these and other challenges mentioned about the HFA seem to be covered by the Sendai Framework. The vast differences in the levels of developed DRR's institutional and legal frameworks illustrate this point. For instance, certain countries focused on strengthening the policy and legal frameworks, while others used their energy for reactive contingency planning (Kottegoda, 2011:2). It was found that a number of countries are still using the outdated disaster-management approach, as opposed to the more effective and radical DRR (GAR, 2011:125).

This lack of a clear-cut implementation strategy was exacerbated by the fact that most countries failed to desegregate their data (Sendai Framework, 2015:9). As a result, countries found it difficult to capture the precise levels that indicate vulnerability and resilience in its women. This eventually only strengthened institutions and legal frameworks that were not gender-sensitive and did little to address gender concerns during disaster situations.

It can, therefore, be concluded that gender issues in DRR are not given the appropriate platform (GAR, 2011:125). In this regard, governments need to take urgent action to help build the resilience of women in the face of disasters and climate change. Certain policy documents do show political commitment to mainstreaming gender issues into DRR, However, to date, there are no concrete results, with the exception of a few unplanned, ad hoc activities (Kottegoda, 2011:2). As a result, mainstreaming has remained at the rhetoric level (Jones, 2010:3; UNISDR 2009:18). Furthermore, the Sendai Framework is seemingly more radical in its focus as the preceding HFA, but appears to be an extension of the old instrument, and not vigorous enough to effect real change (Lazarevski and Gjorgon, 2017: 80).

5.7.2. Climate change and UNFCCC's input in gender mainstreaming

As was discussed previously, UNISDR produced the HFA and the Sendai Framework, as well as the primary working documents on climate change. These are the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Kyoto Protocol, and the recently adopted Paris Agreement (2015). The Paris Agreement acknowledges the fact that women are represented inadequately in the relevant structures. Therefore, the Agreement advocates gender balance as well as the empowerment of vulnerable groups (women) in its implementation (UNFCC, 2015:21). However, the same cannot be said of Convention and the Kyoto Protocol, which keep silent about strengthening the resilience of women against climatological hazards. It is, however, more disturbing that gender concerns are not integrated in the socio-economic programmes, for example, the market-based approach of the Clean Development Mechanism programme (CDM) (Parikh, 2012:2).

The CDM programme entails an agreement under the Kyoto Protocol. This Protocol allows developed nations, also called Annex 1 countries, to generate credits for mandatory reduction of emission targets United Nations, 2013:4). This is done by investing in a variety of low emissions projects in these nations (Prouty, 2009:514). The objective of the CDM is reducing carbon emissions, whilst simultaneously, promoting sustainable development and economic growth (Parikh, 2012:2). The CDM is meant to benefit not only developing nations, but also women who are more vulnerable to the effects of climate change (Wisner et al., 2007:9; Dankelman, 2008:18). As a result of this exclusion, women are marginalised further since these programmes do not target them directly. The fact that gender is not included in the CDM, does not discourage member states from adopting resolutions that recognise the need to empower women and reduce gender inequality. This provision requests nations to include women in the decision-making processes at all levels, especially those relating to climate change (Aguilar, 2009:61; United Nations, 2013:4).

The UNFCCC also falls short in incorporating a gender perspective. However, it has adopted gender equality as a guiding principle in developing National Adaptation Plans of Action (NAPAs) United Nations, 2013:4).These NAPAs report on developing nations' capacity to adapt in their fight against climate change (Dankelman, 2008:19). However, these agreements are not enforced. Therefore, certain countries may opt not to include gender in their NAPAs, which may be detrimental to the agenda of gender equality (Adem

and Guta, 2011:27). As noted previously, this may also lead to the formulation of ineffective, gender-neutral policies and programmes, which do not cater for the needs of marginalised women.

In this regard, a review by UNFCCC of 41 countries indicates that instruments such as NAPAs, national development plans, and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) are not well aligned (Saito, 2013:827). These programmes need to 'talk to each other' in order to utilise resources optimally. A lack of synergy may only perpetuate vulnerabilities and increase levels of poverty for women and other marginalised groups in these countries. Eventually, this leads to the negation of gender concerns and the continuation of social programmes that are not inclusive. Besides no alignment of plans/strategies, there also is no readily available data and research on climate change and gender in the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) Assessment Reports. According to Rohr (2007:6), the IPCC currently does not conduct empirical research, but reviews existing research. This makes it difficult to include the themes of climate change and gender in the IPCC Report.

It is necessary that UNFCCC recognises the critical role women play in climate-change adaptation (CCA). This could be done by first integrating gender into the annual negotiation processes, and then consider global frameworks such as the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which are central to gender concerns. Disasters and climate change often continue the marginalisation of women in terms of human rights. However, through the intervention of the CEDAW, women's rights can be recognised fully (Sasvari, 2010:17). Such recognition will help women employ better strategies in adapting to DRR and climate change. These strategies will strengthen their resilience further.

The integration of gender concerns into CCA was also furthered by establishing the Global Gender and Climate Alliance (GGCA) at the Bali Conference of the Parties to the UNFCCC in 2007 (Aguilar, 2009:61; Sasvari, 2010:17). The GGCA attempted to include the gender perspective in climate change, seeing that this notion was conspicuously absent from the annual UNFCCC negotiation talks. Similarly, existing climate-fund interventions assumed that it would be able to address gender inequalities connected to climate change, without necessarily targeting women (Arend and Lowman, 2011:3). Interventions equitably should target both sexes, but leaning toward women, seeing that they are marginalised and deserve equal opportunities (Saito, 2013:827). It is important

to note that not all men are resilient to disasters and climate change. It was found that certain men are even more vulnerable than women, and require support. The inclusion of men in the gender-mainstreaming process does not compromise the struggle against gender inequality. This is rather a way to show men that they are part of the problem, but also the solution. Thus, they need to change and view the world through a gendered lens, contribute positively.

Women comprise approximately 90% of the population in the rural areas, where, in developing countries, they contribute 60-80% of the food production (Aboud, 2011:2). Despite this immense contribution, women are still represented inadequately in the planning and decision-making on climate change (Saito, 2013:827). However, the participation of women has become more visible in the annual negotiations surrounding climate change, although there still needs to be more progress. The increased representation of women needs to translate into action and the formulation of gender-sensitive and responsive policies and programmes.

The following section discusses models/types that propose gender mainstreaming as approach to tackle gender inequality.

5.8. Implementation Models for Gender Mainstreaming

According to protagonists, gender mainstreaming can be categorised into three basic models, which can be used to institutionalise the strategy. These models entail the following: integrationist, agenda setting and transformative (Verloo, 2005:348). All three models are essential to achieve equity and equality, which is the ultimate goal of gender mainstreaming.

However, the transformative model differs little from the agenda-setting approach, to warrant a detailed discussion in this thesis. The two models are interrelated and complement each other, though they are not equivalents. Therefore, the discussion will focus on only the first two mentioned models to drive policy strategy.

5.8.1. The integrationist model

Similar to WID's add-and-stir approach, the integrationist model advocates the introduction of a gender perspective in existing policies and institutional arrangements. It also provides a means to improve efficiency while pursuing existing policy goals (Dimitrijevics, 2007:7). This model mostly appeals to the conservatives who are unwilling to accept radical change. The integrationist model audits policies and practices, and

assesses its impact on women (Alston, 2008:129). This model is successful in raising awareness of gender-equality issues in the institutions, but does help transform these organisations (Zachariassen, 2012:481).

The integrationist model shows certain positives, for example, by introducing gender perspectives into existing policies (Alston, 2008:129). However, it has a clear weakness by failing to challenge existing policy paradigms (Zachariassen, 2012:481). Moreover, the model does not make an in-depth analysis of the root causes for equality issues. Thus, it falls short in providing concrete solutions to gender inequality. As a result, this model has limited, if any, possibilities to lessen the gender-equality gap, seeing that there are no radical transformation of policies which discriminate against women (Alston, 2008:129).

5.8.2. The agenda-setting model

Contrary to the integrationist model, the agenda-setting model calls for the transformation and reorientation of policies, and involves women in the decision- making process where they can establish their priorities (Sainsbury and Bergqvist, 2009:229-230). As the name implies, this model sets the gender agenda through involving all relevant stakeholders. The model shifts focus from women to the institution, due to a belief that gender inequality is institutionalised through policies and programmes (Zachariassen, 2012:481). Through these institutions, dominant male power and patriarchal relations are entrenched.

On the negative side, this model falls short in tackling certain informal cultural institutions, which have entrenched male-centred power and are responsible for the marginalisation of women (Sainsbury and Bergqvist, 2009:229-230). These institutions often are governed by unwritten customary laws, which are difficult to legislate against (Cuomo, 2011:690).

it is critical to examine how this approach can be institutionalised at all levels to improve capacities of vulnerable women.

In the light of the discussion on the models of gender mainstreaming, the following section explores the relevance of the WID/GAD ideologies and gender mainstreaming in Botswana, and examine the resultant policy strategies focusing on gender inequality.

5.9. The Influence of WID/GAD Approaches on Gender Policy in Botswana

To operationalise the concept of gender, Botswana responded by revising the National Policy on Women in Development (1996) with the National Policy on Gender and Development (2015). This policy provides guidance, direction, and coordination to help achieve gender equality in the country (Government of Botswana, 2015:1). In accordance with the paradigm shift from WID to GAD, the Department of Women's Affairs upgraded to the Gender Affairs Department (GeAD). Likewise, the Department's mandate proactively shifted away from focusing on women only. The Department took cognisance of the fact that proposed policies and programmes should be non-discriminatory. It should thus include both sexes, while distinguishing that each group has different needs, interests, perspectives and access to resources and power (Government of Botswana, 2015:6).

GAD further aimed more operationally efficient and reach out to the rural populace, who are mostly women. This was done by establishing offices at the district level (GeAD, 2013:1). However, this has not yet produced positive action, as programmes and projects continue to target only women and a few men. As a result, men withhold support since they view such programmes as belonging exclusively to women and not addressing gender. Males often view such programmes as reverse discrimination (Ndletyana, 2008:5).The GAD ideology and its concomitant policies and programmes, therefore, have a limited effect in dealing with gender inequalities in Botswana.

Despite the above-mentioned weaknesses of the GAD approach, Botswana has over the years managed to improve the conditions of women. This outcome is underlined through the various existing national and international oversight bodies. According to the Global Gender Gap Index of 2012, Botswana's overall ranking has been fluctuating between 66 and 77 out of 135, from 2006 to 2012 (Hausmann, 2012:9). However, the reasons for this continued fluctuation could not be established. Similarly, in 2014, Botswana emerged as the fourth highest exponent of gender-equality policies in Africa with an average of 72.3% on the Ibrahim Index of African Governance (IIAG, 2014:1). These relatively high rankings are maintained through a strong political will and by ratifying internationally binding instruments such as the CEDAW. This instrument provides guidelines for countries on initiatives that domesticate and streamline local statutory instruments and socio-cultural practices (Callieba and Kumar, 2010:331). Although it took Botswana a long time to domesticate the CEDAW, the process commenced in 2014, and the

expectation is to complete it by 2019 (Government of Botswana, 2015:6). It is envisaged that the domestication of the CEDAW may further decrease gender inequality in the country.

5.9.1. Implementation of gender mainstreaming in Botswana

Other than the Constitution of the Republic of Botswana, and Vision 2036, a limited number of critical policy documents refer directly to gender equality and equity in Botswana. Examples are the National Population Policy (1997), the Revised National Policy for Rural Development (2003), and the Land Policy. In the same vein, Parliament in 2015, passed the National Policy on Gender and Development. Furthermore, several international instruments, together with government's commitment, were instrumental in the adoption of gender mainstreaming. These were instruments such as the BPFA, the CEDAW, and regional platforms, for example, the Dakar African Platform for Action on Women (1994), the Durban Declaration on Gender Mainstreaming (2002), Agenda 2063 (2015) and the revised SADC Protocol on Gender and Development (2016). These instruments made extremely significant contributions to the empowerment of women in Botswana.

In light of the achievements above, the National Policy on Gender and Development, (2014:1) indicates that gender mainstreaming has been piloted in 2002/03 in the following ministries: Finance and Economic Development, Investment, Trade and Industry, Nationality, Immigration, and Gender Affairs and Local Government and Rural Development. Later it extended to Education and Skills Development, Agriculture and Health. As stated previously, Botswana has enjoyed reasonable success in promoting gender equality and empowering women, especially in the areas of employment, health, and education (Callieba and Kumar, 2010:331). The areas of focus have been mostly gender-based violence, HIV/AIDS, and poverty. As a result, other areas such as DRR and climate change, did not feature (UNDP, 2012:6).

On the downside, however, the lack of progress on gender equity and equality can be attributed to the existence of strong attitudes, perceptions and the dominant patriarchal values, which still need to be addressed (Machacha and Alexander, 2010:140). Although the exercise to mainstream gender began in earnest in 2002/2003, its full impact is yet to be realised at all levels of society in Botswana.

The year 1997 was a watershed moment for Botswana since most of the statutory instruments that discriminated against women were amended. In a way, this step enhanced the mainstreaming of gender in policies, programmes and projects. In general, these laws provide equal opportunity for all citizens, regardless of gender. Table 5.1 below presents the most prominent Acts that were amended to address social injustices against women.

Table 5.1: Gender amended statutory instruments.

Discriminatory statutory instrument	Amendment	Year of amendment
The Mines and Quarries Act	Permits women to work underground/in mines	1996
The Married Person's Property Act CAP 29:03)	Secure women's ownership of property	1997
The Abortion: Penal Code Amendment (CAP 08:01)	Consider the abortion practice of women	1997
The Deeds Registry Act (CAP 33:03)	Secure women's freedom of recognition regarding registration	1997
The Administration of Estates Act (CAP 31:01)	Secure women's rights of ownership to property	1997
The Employment Act (CAP 47: 01)	Secure equal employment opportunity of women as a labour force	1997
The Deserted Wives and Children Protection Act (CAP 28:03)	Ensure the protection of deserted wives from any violence by partners	1997
The Adoption Act (CAP 28:01)	Promote adoption rights for women	1997
The Matrimonial Clause Act (CAP 29:06)	Secure women's equal rights in marriage	1997
The Criminal Procedure and Evidence Act	Allowed for the hearings of sexual offences cases, mandatory HIV/AIDS testing for sexual offenders and recognition of sexual harassment as misconduct	1997
The Penal Code	Provide a gender-neutral definition of rape.	1998
The Marriage Act (CAP 29:01)	Improve the status of women in marriage	2001
The Citizenship Act	Permited women married to foreigners, to pass their citizenship on to their children, e.g., Attorney-General v. Dow, Appeal Court	1998 and 2004
The Abolition of Marital Power	Give both partners in common-law marriage equal powers in the family	2004

Adopted from: WAD (2009:21-23)

Documented successes of this approach can further be attributed to numerous factors, which include the review of laws and initiatives such as the formulation of the National Policy on Women and Development (1996), the establishing of a National Council on Women (1999), development of a Gender Advocacy and Social Mobilisation Strategy (1999), appointment of focal persons in government ministries (2000), and the compilation

of a disaggregated gender database for senior officials in the public and private sector (Callieba and Kumar, 2010:331).

The introduction of these initiatives paved the way for the introduction of women in institutions such as the army, which previously barred women from enrolling (Government of Botswana, 2015:6). Apparently until then, Botswana was the only country in the SADC region that had not integrated women into its defence force (Mophuting, 2003:2). Additionally, NGOs and learning institutions such as the University of Botswana, Botswana College of Agriculture, and the Public Service College, continue to play a pivotal role in empowering women, mainly through advocacy and training (WAD, 2004:4). Similarly, other sectors have joined in the impetus for gender mainstreaming to improve the conditions of women in Botswana. In this regard, the Botswana Power Corporation, for instance, has recognised energy as paramount to gender equality. This is because women use electricity for cooking, washing, lighting and other domestic chores. As a result, the draft National Energy Policy (2011) was formulated to empower women and other marginalised groups, and to provide improved access to affordable energy to the Batswana (BPC, 2011:13).

Although not adequate as yet, Botswana continues to mainstream gender into policies and programmes. However, much more could be achieved if the strategy considered distinct cultural aspects of Botswana. The current approach focuses on legal and statutory instruments, which although superior, are not contextualised to Botswana. In other words, the same approach could be used in another national setting, and still achieve results. In addition, there is still significant input needed in areas such as DRR and climate change, seeing that the mentioned hazards and natural disturbances continue to affect not only women, but the Batswana as whole. Thus, there is an urgent need to mainstream gender, which would help reduce vulnerability and build resilience among the marginalised groups, including as women, in Botswana.

5.10. Conclusion

From the discussion above, it is evident that gender mainstreaming is more robust and transformational than the previous WID/GAD policy strategies. Thus, gender mainstreaming has the potential to make a more positive and sustainable impact on gender inequalities in Botswana (Conway and Schipper, 2011:229). For this policy strategy to impact the lives of women within society, there should be a strong political will and commitment from all relevant stakeholders. The focus should be on utilising financial and

human resources, and a willingness to embrace change. It also requires a changed attitude in the institutions and individuals, especially in disposing of certain cultural stereotypes.

By mainstreaming gender into development processes and DRR/CCA policies, programmes and projects will be defined more accurately. The reason is that these policies will cater equally to the needs and interests of both sexes. In the long term, this will help to improve the capacities of women in preparing and responding to disasters, well-being of families and the country as a whole (Council of Europe, 2004:14).

Mainstreaming of gender concerns is the way forward, seeing that women are the future to sustainable economic growth. In light of the preceding discussion on the evolution and concept of gender mainstreaming, the following chapter (chapter 6) discusses a number of good practices from the strategy and DRR/CCA, as it is implemented globally.

CHAPTER 6: GENDER MAINSTREAMING IN DRR/CCA: GOOD PRACTICES

6.1. Introduction

The chapter addresses the research objective which seeks to determine the most appropriate internationally accepted best practices to mainstream gender in disaster risk reduction. The previous chapter discussed the evolution and the concept of gender mainstreaming as an applicable and effective policy strategy to reduce gender inequality. This chapter expands on the theme by discussing the practical aspects of gender mainstreaming. The major purpose is to examine good international practices adopted to implement gender mainstreaming. The focus is on good practices, and not necessarily the best practice, seeing that 'best' is a relative and subjective term. The objective further is to adopt and apply the most suitable practices to the context of Botswana. These experiences provide the much-needed impetus to the mainstreaming of gender into Disaster Risk Reduction/Climate Change Adaptation (DRR/CCA) in Botswana.

The good practices are selected primarily from the development field and are applied DRR/CCA practices. It is difficult to disentangle DRR issues from development, as the two are interdependent (Akerkar and Fordham, 2017:218). Moreover, as discussed in the previous chapters, DRR by nature is a development issue. The chapter concludes with a discussion of good practices in gender mainstreaming and the implementation of DRR/CCA policies.

As was indicated, certain scholars critiqued gender mainstreaming, as policy strategy to empower women and reduce gender inequalities, for being as too abstract and Euro-centric. Nevertheless, this strategy has proven a success in several quarters, as illustrated by the numerous studies worldwide that were reviewed in the present research (Alston, 2009:151). The findings of these studies point toward a proactive strategy that will not only reduce gender inequality, but achieve sustainable economic growth (Rosenberg, 2011:12). In this process, both men and women have equal opportunities and are recognised equally for their contribution to build the country.

According to this strategy, gender mainstreaming into DRR/CCA will help reduce future vulnerability, transform gender relationships, and strengthen women’s resilience to disasters (Kottegoda, 2011:5). Ultimately, this will aim to improve the course of future development in the country (Alston, 2013:2). Currently, there are limited international case studies on mainstreaming gender into DRR, especially at government level. Most of the examples are taken from NGOs and international donors. However, the present

study linked case studies to state level. It was found that inadequate practices at state level may be because when gender mainstreaming was introduced, it appealed more to NGOs than to the state. The reason is clear. This policy strategy challenged the patriarchal policies and institutional framework as the bedrock of governments (Fitri–Kafaah, 2013:16). As a result, it was left to the NGOs to spearhead strategies challenging the status quo that marginalised women in society.

The discernible good practices in DRR are limited. It was found that most studies (though limited themselves) were conducted in the CCA field. Therefore, the researcher combined case studies of both DRR and CCA good practices, seeing that they have a mutual goal of reducing risk and vulnerability, while increasing resilience. From these findings, the study proposes mechanisms, which could be used to manage not only disasters, but also multiple hazards, especially those induced by climate change (Khailani and Perera, 2013:618).

The following section discusses good international practices in the development field. It makes sense to choose examples from the development field since this field pioneered gender mainstreaming. After the case studies from the development field is discussed, the focus will move to the case studies of DRR/CCA.

6.2. Good Practices in Gender Mainstreaming and Developmental Practice

To determine whether a country is committed to reducing gender inequality, one should first examine its existing laws and policies and determine to what extent financial and human resources are allocated to this policy strategy (Fitri–Kafaah, 2013:16).. One should also investigate how women's specific concerns have been addressed within the selected integrationist and transformative approaches (both discussed in detail in the previous chapter, ch 5). The inclusion of men does not imply that actions to target women are unnecessary. Specific projects should target women as a vulnerable but resilient group since such initiatives promote gender equality. These projects, therefore, still are necessary since gender equality has not yet been reached.

6.2.1. The European experience

In Europe, gains have been recorded after implementing gender mainstreaming as policy strategy. The gendering of policies and programmes eventually led to the recognition and redress of pressing issues such as rural development, domestic violence, gender inequality in politics, prostitution and migration (Verloo and Lombardo, 2007:4; Prugl,

2009:185). In addition, poverty levels have been reduced considerably, not only for women, but men as well (Sainsbury and Bergqvist, 2009:230). Further improvements have also been noted in areas such as health, education, and trade (Crespi, 2008:178). This led to a decrease in the gender-inequality gap, and marginalisation of women remains only in small pockets. Interestingly, little mention is made of the connection between these developments DRR and gender.

In Hungary, for example, gender mainstreaming initiatives led to rapid social developments in human rights, equal opportunities for women, social equality and integration of gender in education (Krizsan and Zentai, 2006:138). In Sweden, gender mainstreaming at present is routine for the daily government and NGOs' operations. This strategy produced gains in several policy areas such as labour market, taxation, health care, and sports (Sainsbury and Bergqvist, 2009:230). Similarly, the UK experienced success in implementing the policy strategy. As a result, the number of women in the legislature and other related bodies have increased over the years (Rubery, 2005:9). These few selected examples from Europe point to the fact that gender equality can be achieved by implementing gender mainstreaming.

6.2.2. Gender mainstreaming in Asia (Philippines)

In the Philippines, the implementation of gender mainstreaming showed improvements in the conditions of women. For example, the country's Gender Development Index (GDI) raised from 0.748 in 2002, to 0.751 in 2003 (Lagarde 2006:114). The GDI primarily measures the economic, political, education and health variables of a country and allows for comparisons of income across regions over a certain period (Morley, 2010:534). This improved condition for women was reflected by the increase in the number of Filipino women in the legislature, formal and informal sector and enrolment in education. Such involvement translated into a higher life expectancy for women (Angeles and Hill, 2009:624). The reduction in the gender gap is significant for a country such as the Philippines, which has limited economic resources and suffers on a regular basis from high-impact disasters such as Storm Ondoy (2006), Typhoon Pepeng (2009), and Typhoon Haiyan, which occurred in 2013 (Hillier, 2013:1).

6.2.3. African's attempt to mainstream gender into development

Despite the existence of strong patriarchal legal and traditional systems, a number of countries in Africa still managed to reduce the gender gap by implementing gender

mainstreaming successfully (Chuku, 2009:51). This led to a significant decrease in gender inequality in those particular countries.

An example of such decrease is Ghana; even though its initial incorporation of gender mainstreaming was slow, there was an increase in women occupying leadership positions, especially in the public sector and in the NGOs (Opare, 2005:97). This was achieved by appointing focal persons in the various line ministries and allocating time and budget to implement the strategy (Madsen, 2012:574). In certain parts of Africa there is an inherent tendency to depend on donors for the implementation of policies and programmes (Chuku, 2009:51). This was, however, not the case in Ghana. Gender equality was driven with little or no input from donors. Such commitment led to reduced poverty and lower vulnerability to natural shocks (Madsen, 2012:574; Dako-Gyeke and Owusu, 2013:487).

Kenya also committed resources to improve the condition of women, an initiative that has managed to reap benefits (Wafula, 2006:104). By a robust implementation of gender-sensitive programmes to alleviate drought and poverty, Kenya has managed to reduce its poverty levels, especially in rural areas where most women are domiciled (Kimani and Kombo, 2010:25). The Kenyan government did not act alone. It was backed strongly by environmental champions such as the late Wangari Maathai (Wafula, 2006:104). This activist saw to it that gender mainstreaming did not remain at merely rhetorical and national level, but was rolled out to the grassroots where the majority of poor women were to be found (Muthuki, 2006:87). Such positive development did not only help reduce gender inequalities, but also to build a sustained environment beneficial to women, who were dependent on natural resources for livelihoods.

The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugess (UNHCR) office in Kenya, working with refugees from Sudan, mainstreamed gender into the refugee operations. The result was that both men and women were conscious of their rights, tolerant of each other, and more enlightened than those who remained in Sudan (Grabska, 2011:87). As mentioned previously, the inclusion of men is critical to the whole process of gender mainstreaming. This allows them to be part of the process of transformation and not merely viewed as a problem.

Tanzania had a measure of success when gender mainstreaming helped reduce gender inequality. Unlike Ghana that did not find much support from the donor community,

Tanzania's success could be attributed to strong partnerships between government and donors, and a conducive and enabling environment (UN, 2009:7). This strong partnership was instrumental in the successful mainstreaming of cross- cutting issues such as gender, HIV/AIDS, people with disabilities, youth, and the elderly (Assey, 2007:56). However, for gender mainstreaming to be a success, power should be distributed equitably between Government and donors. In certain instances, a too powerful government, through entrenched institutional power, may actually promote and deepen gender inequality. On the other hand, a powerful donor may be too controlling and end up promoting its own agenda, instead of reducing gender discrimination. There should be strong checks-and-balance mechanisms for gender mainstreaming to be a success.

Similarly, Uganda is known for its unwavering battle against HIV/AIDS, disease that destroys the adaptive and coping capacities of vulnerable people, especially women. Through the process of mainstreaming, specific roles and responsibilities were delineated to different sectors (Elsey et al., 2005:988). As Barnett and Whiteside (2002:250) explains, 'Each sector has to ask what HIV/AIDS means for its core business and what it should be doing differently.' With the approach that included men and all the sectors, Uganda managed to empower women, which led to lower HIV/AIDS levels. According to the Uganda Gender Policy, (2007:6), HIV/AIDS infection dropped from a high of 18% in 1992, to 7% in 2005.

Additionally, through its Constitution, Uganda introduced affirmative action or a quota system according to which a number of seats at both local and Parliamentary level were reserved for women (Wang, 2013:115). This move was supported by establishing the following statutory instruments: the Uganda Women Parliamentary Association (UWOPA), a parliamentary voluntary forum that comprises women of the various parties, and includes men as associate members and other pro-women bodies (Elsey et al., 2005:988).

Although, this move increased representation of women in leadership and decision-making bodies, this did not necessarily deliver pro-women policies and laws (Uganda Gender Policy, 2007:4). As a result, Ugandan women, especially those in rural areas, continue to suffer from the oppressive male-centred legal instruments. The Ugandan experience gives a clear indication that increased representation of women in law-making bodies does not necessarily implies the empowerment of all women and the end of patriarchal dominance. Some of the reasons for the limited success in Uganda are:

the controversial quota system, partisan politics, inadequate political commitment, Parliament being subordinate to the Executive, a weak practise of lobbying and advocacy within civil society, and weak pressure from the electorates at large (Wang, 2013:114).

These and similar case studies indicate that gender mainstreaming is indeed a viable solution to deal with gender inequality in most countries, especially the developing nations. In sum, these case studies show: With the correct attitude, strong political will, gender-sensitive laws, policies and programmes, commitment of resources and strategic partnerships, gender mainstreaming can succeed in bringing gender inequality to an end.

The following section discusses good practices which countries have adopted to mainstream gender into DRR/CCA successfully. These countries include the Honduras, Bangladesh, India, Ethiopia, and Mozambique. The section further explores factors that helped record success in gender mainstreaming. It views matter through women's experiences or perspectives of a disaster or climate change. As stated previously, the section explores case studies from state level and NGOs, with most of these studies taken from the field of CCA.

6.3. Gender Mainstreaming in DRR: Global Issues, Good Practices and Lessons Learnt

In recent years, there has been an increasing need to mainstream gender into DRR. This would help strengthen the resilience of women to cope with the impacts of disasters and climate change. Despite its popular support, the impact of gender mainstreaming is still unknown (Donaghy, 2004:394). The reason for this irregularity may be that most cases of gender mainstreaming are often crafted as long-term strategies with weak monitoring and evaluation mechanisms. This makes it difficult to assess its impact (Conway and Schipper, 2011:228). In spite of these difficulties, a number of countries or organisations have managed to reduce gender inequality by employing gender mainstreaming.

6.3.1. Honduras and Hurricane Mitch – the La Masica case study

Honduras and Nicaragua in CentralAmerica are two of the most impoverished countries in the world (Nursey-Bray, 2014:6). This makes them extremely vulnerable to disasters, and over the years, these countries have been hit by devastating disasters of varying magnitude (Aguilar, 2009:60). Honduras took a deliberate step to reduce the impact of these disasters as they mainly affected women (Nursey-Bray, 2014:6).Such than were Hurricane Mitch struck in 1998, Honduras was more prepared for the disaster than

before(Casolo, 2009:394). Honduras implemented proactive effective, efficient and gender-sensitive strategies. The country prepared for possible disasters, at least six months before the occurrence of Mitch. This was done through a series of intense public awareness campaigns (Aguilar, 2009:60). These campaigns took into account the different ways that men and women absorb information (Nursey-Bray, 2014:6). This information was communicated directly to women as opposed to them receiving it from men (Casolo, 2009:394). As women were more particular to detail and were more risk averse than men (Nelson, 2010:12).

In the mentioned campaigns, the education of women was the primary task, as they were the more vulnerable ones. The La Masica community was trained in assessing risks and vulnerability, and setting up early warning systems. All these aspects were differentiated by gender (Nelson, 2010:12; Nursey-Bray, 2014:6). This indicated which groups were vulnerable, and the areas of risk were mapped accordingly. When Hurricane Mitch did strike the Honduras, La Masica's residents knew precisely what action to take. This was because they had been trained and also had conducted regular simulation exercises. Women, like men, were highly visible in the early warning and relief activities as well as reconstruction of damaged infrastructure. In these exercises, their participation was equal to that of men (Parikh, 2012:25; Maskrey, 2011:48). Evacuation of the affected households was swift and effective. Unlike other municipalities that were equally affected, La Masica was the only municipality that reported zero deaths in the country, while others reported deaths amounting to hundreds (Nelson, 2010:12). The lower impact of the disaster can be attributed to equal participation of women in the planning and decision-making processes (Nursey-Bray, 2014:6). Equal participation has several gains. It empowers women, increases social cohesion, and make women more willing to save lives and livelihoods. This engagement strengthened the women's capacity. Thereby, equal participation smoothens the relief activities, which at times can be disorderly, if they are not coordinated properly (Parikh, 2012:25).

The La Masica case study, though undertaken at grassroots level and spearheaded by a donor, can be generalised to other countries. This case study is significant, seeing that disasters occur mostly at local level. At this level most women are domiciled, especially those in developing countries. In the mentioned case, there were no specific national policy guidelines, or a statutory instrument for the mainstreaming of gender into DRR.

Nevertheless, the municipality managed to reduce the impact of the disaster and avoid fatalities (Maskrey, 2011:48).

Naturally, policy instruments are critical in the process. However, key to the success of this project was the willingness to cooperate, the right attitude, and the inclusion of all vulnerable groups, especially women. Moreover, the cordial working relationship amongst the state, donors, and the community, also contributed positively to the project. In this sense it helped make the community less vulnerable to disasters as well (Nelson, 2010:12). Thus, community-based, disaster-risk management was key to lessening the impact of the disaster.

6.3.2. Bangladesh's social safety nets, microfinance, and climate-change programme

The second case study demonstrates the positive effect of gender mainstreaming in the face of disasters in Bangladesh. This country is known for its high-impact disasters coupled with high levels of poverty. Bangladesh also adopted gender mainstreaming as a strategy to reduce gender inequality and the impact of disasters (Ikeda, 2009:66). The aim was to help achieve economic growth, sustainable development, and gender parity. For example, in 1991, Cyclone Gorky struck Bangladesh, killing 140 000 people (Alam and Collins, 2010:19). Four times more women died than men (Sabur, 2012:30). In 2007, Cyclone Sidr struck, which was even stronger the previous storms. The fatalities, however, amounted to only 3 406 people (Bray et al., 2008:21; Boyd, 2011:12). Although people lost their lives, this clearly entailed a reduction from the previous disasters. Nevertheless, there was no clear indication as to the number of women that were affected by Cyclone Sidr.

Over the years, Bangladesh built initiatives for self-reliance at community level, and employed indigenous knowledge. Thus, with limited interventions from the state, inhabitants managed to handle disasters of various magnitudes (Sabur, 2012:30). Major contributors to the cause were primarily donors such as Oxfam, and stakeholders such as the National Red Cross Society, the locally based NGO Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), and members of the community (Lebel et al., 2012:18). The state later came to the fore as a catalyst in the process. The impact of these disasters was reduced due to a proactive paradigm shift from disaster management to a more robust community-based cyclone programme that included a gender sensitive DRR programme (Islam and Walkerden, 2014:286).

Accordingly, women are involved actively in public awareness campaigns, mobilisation of the community, transmission of early warning messages, and support programmes. These entail self-help groups, small and medium enterprises, education, and reproductive health (Alam and Collins, 2010:19). The teamwork that women show in peace times as well as during disasters, provided a basis for mutual support (Lebel et al., 2012:18). Furthermore, Bangladesh has established strong kinship networks that helped those faced with emergencies by providing psychosocial support and recovery services (Islam and Walkerden, 2014:286). The full participation of women, therefore, had a positive impact in reducing the effects of the cyclone (Sabur, 2012:30).

In addition, the country initiated social safety nets and micro-finance programmes to assist those who are vulnerable, but not necessarily being poor (Ikeda, 2009:68; Lebel et al., 2012:11). The country acknowledged the intricate relationship between disasters/climate change and poverty/gender, and this required a strong approach. This approach differed from the traditional social-safety nets, which only targeted the poor. For the programme to be affective, it had to be put in place during the pre-disaster period and had to be fluid in targeting, and maintaining clear finance and implementation procedures (Mearns and Norton, 2010:268).

To help strengthen the resilience of women, the programme also included cash transfers and workfare initiatives (Sabur, 2012:30). This helped reduce the high number of people affected by the disaster. Cushioned by these socio-economic programmes, those who were vulnerable were enabled to recover swiftly (Kumar et al., 2015:114). In light of its success, the aim is to cope with the recurrence of high-impact droughts, but the programme continues even in years without drought. In this regard, it is estimated that 8 million vulnerable people received grants from government in the form of grains and other essential needs, to help strengthen them in the face of disasters and climate change (Alam et al., 2011:58).

In addition to the cash transfers and grants, Bangladesh established the Grameen Bank, which specifically targeted poor rural women to help reduce their vulnerability to natural shocks. The Bank gave these women access to credit without requiring collateral (Kumar et al., 2015:114). Due to this micro-credit scheme, women had increased income, were more empowered, and managed to make better decisions at personal, family and national level (Islam and Walkerden, 2014:286). This empowerment enhanced their abilities to make informed choices that help them challenge the status quo (Islam, et al.,

2014:92). In addition, participation in this scheme raised their level of political consciousness (Alam and Rahman, 2014:68). This was illustrated by rural women's increased involvement in local government elections and other community initiatives. In turn, this involvement strengthened these women's social networks and their input in decision making (Kumar et al., 2015:116).

Although these and other programmes were a success, they presented certain difficulties. Bangladesh has a strong patriarchal and cultural system that deters women from being proactive in disaster situations (Bray et al., 2008:21). For example, the patriarchal system does not allow women to evacuate without the authorisation of the head of the households, namely men (Alam et al., 2011:58). The result is inadequate bargaining power and poor decision-making, factors which prevent women from saving themselves in disaster situations (Edvardsson-Bjornberg et al., 2013:222; Alam and Rahman, 2014:68). Patriarchy is further apparent in the way women are permitted to dress. For instance, they are forbidden to wear trousers or pants. Instead they wear traditional clothes, 'saree', which often hinders them from swimming or rescuing themselves in flood disaster situations (Alam and Collins, 2010:19).

Regarding climate-change adaption (CCA), Bangladesh has led the way in developing a holistic long-term and financially prudent strategy. The aim is to reduce vulnerabilities of not only marginalised groups, but of the country as a whole. The state, in collaboration with stakeholders, integrated the Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) into the National Adaptation Programme of Action (NAPA) (Huq, 2011:59). To expand the short-term NAPA, the country developed the locally-based Bangladesh Climate Change Strategy and Action Plan (BCCSAP), which responds to the effects of climate change for up to 25 years. This long-term action plan aligns with development plans at national and local level, and thus improves coordination and implementation of CCA (Saito, 2013:832). Such proactive national planning and implementation can be a model not only for other developing countries, but even for the developed countries that also are affected by climate change (Huq, 2011:59; Saito, 2013:827).

However, there was a flaw. The formulation of the BCCSAP did not include the rural poor, especially women, who were affected most by climate change (Alam et al., 2011:58). The result was the work of a group of technocrats and other stakeholders. To help close its knowledge gap regarding climate change and DRR, the country integrated community-driven indigenous knowledge with current scientific knowledge (Ayers,

2014:28). Although this was a positive move, indigenous knowledge is often despised, as it lacks empirical evidence. Thus, there should be a balance between the two forms of knowledge, seeing that domination of the indigenous form may lead to the further promotion of old customs and norms that marginalise women.

Bangladesh is one of the few countries that were able to integrate DRR and CCA and advocated the strengthening of DRR systems to reduce climate-related risks (BCCSAP, 2009:27). On the downside, the inclusion of gender and other cross-cutting issues in BCCSAP seems insufficient. The strategy is often criticised for its top-down approach and for being driven mostly by technocrats. Those who compiled the strategy ignored the full participation of the marginalised, who are affected by climate change the most (Alam et al., 2011:58). As a result, this strategy falls short in realising its potential. It remains focused on the needs and interests of professionals and not of the communities that are affected.

6.3.3. Role of women in DRR: case of India

As a third case study, gender mainstreaming and DRR has also recorded successes in India. This took place through the gendering of Panchayats (local self-governments) and the DRR project in Orissa building on grassroots initiatives. India has one of the fastest economic growth rates in the world (Arora-Jonsson, 2011:746). Despite this favourable economic condition, women in India continue to suffer due to male domination (Pincha et al., 2007:11). This clearly illustrates the dilemma that high economic growth does not necessarily produce gender equality and equity. India, as is the case with other Asian countries, has a strong cultural system that impedes gender equality (Gokhale, 2008:8). . India has strong national DRR policies that acknowledge women's vulnerabilities and the need for empowerment (Arora-Jonsson, 2011:746). Despite this fact, there are cultural and institutional practices that prevent women to engage fully in all aspects of the economy (Gokhale, 2008:8).

6.3.3.1. India's Panchayats' contribution to gender equality in DRR

To attain gender equality, India had to tackle the male-dominated Panchayats. These are local self-governments at village or small-town level, which are the primary sources of power, and thereby, discrimination (Pincha et al., 2007:11). Panchayats are responsible for the coordination of DRR at local level and are first responders to disaster incidents (Gokhale, 2008:8). It is, therefore, critical to engender and empower such institutions. This will ensure full participation of the members, the marginalised as well

as the dominant groups. In response to this challenge, most Pachanyats integrated gender into DRR processes, for example, relief distribution. These processes targeted the marginalised vulnerable groups, by empowering women through developing appropriate and skills transfer (Malalgoda, 2010:15). This included full participation in decision-making. As a result, these women were more resilient to the disaster and able to recover more rapidly than those who maintained the status quo (Rajagopalan and Parthib, 2006:10).

Furthermore, these processes resulted in less corruption, more transparency, accountability and better sensitivity to the vulnerable and marginalised groups (Malalgoda, 2010:15). This came about since men and women were involved equally in the disaster-response initiatives (Pincha et al., 2007:11). This may also be attributed to the existence of more liberal Panchayats, which in certain instances were headed by women (Arora-Jonsson, 2011:746) These, Panchayats were also willing to transform the strong cultural and religious values to include women (Rajagopalan and Parthib, 2006:10).

'The government, especially at local level, is supposed to lead the drive towards a gender equality and equitable society, that is, one safe from disasters. However, this does not happen, seeing that there are no allocated resources with which to implement DRR proactively. This means the drive for gender equality in DRR is often maintained by women's pressure groups and international donors (Dimitrijevics, 2008:127). Such lack of commitment may strengthen the status quo and further marginalise of women and other vulnerable groups. Thus, there is a strong need to decentralise power, in order to empower and resource local authorities. This will encourage their full participation and commitment to building safe and secure communities through DRR initiatives, seeing that most disasters are localised (Malalgoda, 2010:13).

6.3.3.2. The Orissa Project – a DRR-grassroots initiative

Similar to the Panchayats project, India also developed the Orissa Disaster Management Project. This project was successful by including disaster preparedness and gender issues in the agenda for local government and local institutions (Pincha et al., 2007:11). . The project developed a local DRR gender-sensitive system at village level to mitigate, prepare for, respond to, and recover from disasters (Rajagopalan and Parthib, 2006:10). . This led to increased appreciation of both gender concerns and DRR issues as well as the participation of women in pre- and post-disaster activities (Malalgoda, 2010:12).

Women at grassroots level were further benchmarked with women from neighbouring states to share experiences and pledge long-term assistance (Gokhale, 2008:5). These women vouched that disasters respect no political, geographical or administrative boundaries (Rajagopalan and Parthib, 2006:10). For them to survive these high-impact disasters, they needed to work together closely. Accordingly, it is stated that due to the mainstreaming of DRR and gender-sensitive planning, a catastrophe was averted. When a super cyclone struck in 1999 in Orissa State, approximately 40 000 lives were saved by the shelters that were designed and constructed by locals (Dewangan, 2010:5). From these shelters there were no reported deaths (Dimitrijevics, 2007:10).

Although large numbers of people were saved (40 000 lives by proactive DRR, the number could have been larger, if the DRR mechanisms dealt with the strong cultural values of the Indian society (Dewangan, 2010:5). These customs prevent women from being independent and self-reliant. For instance, as discussed previously in the Bangladeshi case study, it was reported that most women and children who died in the disaster, had to wait for the males/partners' permission to evacuate to safer ground (Alam and Collins, 2010:19). In such situations, women, through their strong body of knowledge and expertise from past occurrences, have proven to be more resilient and have adopted better coping mechanisms. For example, to avoid drowning, mothers may tie bottles to their children, helping them float (Baten and Khan, 2010:8).

However, the above-mentioned initiative is silent on the equal involvement of both sexes in DRR activities. As mentioned previously, only women were targeted, as the ones mostly likely to be affected. This is also not helpful to the cause of women as men became more defiant and unsupportive, seeing that, in certain instances, men may be more vulnerable to disasters than the targeted women (Ray-Bennett, 2009:17; Dewangan, 2010:5).

The previous section discussed case studies primarily from the Americas (Honduras) and two Asian countries, Bangladesh and India. The following section narrows down the discussion to the African context. Although there are other seemingly good practices in Kenya, Ghana, South Africa, Uganda and Nigeria, this section examines examples from primarily Ethiopia and Mozambique.

6.4. Africa: Gender Mainstreaming and DRR/CCA

Despite the inclusion of gender mainstreaming into DRR in the Africa Regional Strategy, limited progress has been made in this initiative, especially by national governments. This is despite the fact that Africa is disaster prone and has higher levels of vulnerability (UNISDR, 2007:13). Nevertheless, few gender mainstreaming and DRR/CCA cases can be pointed out, especially from NGOs, local government and the state.

6.4.1. Ethiopia's social protection programme and gender mainstreaming strategies

Ethiopia is one of the countries that set the tone for mainstreaming gender into DRR/CCA by strengthening institutional and legislative frameworks (Conway and Schipper, 2010:227; Blystad et al., 2014:2). Examples are the Constitution, Environmental Policy, and the National Policy on Ethiopian Women. These frameworks point to the empowerment of women and reduction of gender inequality (Adem and Guta, 2011:20). Ethiopia recognises the critical role women play in sustainable development and economic growth. It also acknowledges how natural shocks and social factors can prevent women from participating gainfully in the economy (Ogato, 2013:74).

Ethiopia's successful method of gender mainstreaming in drought relief, means providing social protection grants to the vulnerable. This method has been emulated in other parts of Africa and in Asia, specifically in Bangladesh. Such a strategy allows affected communities to replenish their destroyed assets, and thus recover from the disaster more rapidly (Adem and Guta, 2011:20). As an example, some pastoral women were able to transform their communities as these strategies enhanced their ability to manage risk (Conway and Schipper, 2010:227).The strategy also strengthens their resilience to future disasters. This is because recovery programmes based on the 'build-back-better' concept would have been proactive and gender-sensitive, attuned to the needs of the affected community (WCDRR, 2015:17).

(Biresaw, 2007:2; Adem and Guta, 2011:20). To deal with the incessant drought and the recognition of women as untapped resource, Ethiopia adopted the policy strategy of gender mainstreaming to maximise the participation of women in the economy (Conway and Schipper, 2010:227). In addition to the social protection grants, Ethiopia developed the Ethiopian Women's and Children's Development Plan for the period 2010/2011 to 2027/2028 (Biresaw, 2007:2; Adem and Guta, 2011:20). This Plan recognises the critical role that women and children fulfil in developing the country. The Plan calls for the

mainstreaming of women and children's issue into development planning, and further advocates equitable and gender-sensitive public policies and strategies (Adem and Guta, 2011:20).

To implement the mentioned Plan effectively and provide policy guidance on gender issues in the country, the Department of Women's Affairs (based in the Office of the Prime Minister) was upgraded to a full ministry (Ogato, 2013:74). The country recognised issues of gender as cross-cutting and highly complex, which should only be managed by a full Ministry. The Ministry of Women's Affairs is responsible for the coordination of the Plan while implementation rests with the fully-fledged Women's Affairs Departments that exist in almostall line ministries. The departments have further been cascaded to offices on regional and local levels (Blystad et al., 2014:7). These entities create awareness about gender and development issues, including DRR and CCA, and ensure gender is mainstreamed at all levels.

Women are encouraged further to participate at the district level's service centres known as *woreda.* In these centres, their needs and interests are identified and debated through a participatory bottom-up approach (Tadele and Manyena, 2009:324). This created new opportunities for women- they acquired additional leadership skills and resources to manage their income (Ogato, 2013:74). Thereby they generated new and other prominent projects to improve their livelihoods.

As with Bangladesh that replaced its NAPA with the locally conceived and developed BCCSAP, Ethiopia established its Ethiopia's Programme of Adaptation to Climate Change (EPACC) to replace the less ambitious NAPA Ragasa et al., 2013:6. The country's concern was to move away from the tendency to adopt policy strategies that were influenced globally and by foreign approaches (Demissie, 2008:11). These could not be applied to Ethiopia's unique cultural and political environment. Furthermore, the Plan includes the empowerment of women as one of its seven pillars with the vision that Ethiopia should be a middle-income country by the mid-2020s (Blystad et al., 2014:42).

The EPACC is linked directly with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) and national development plans (Demissie, 2008:11). These strategies both recognise women as a vulnerable group; especially the rural women are linked directly to poverty (Blystad et al., 2014:42). The linking of these instruments is critical as it avoids plans and strategies that duplicate each other and could involuntarily make people more vulnerable

to disasters (Conway and Schipper, 2011:228). From the above, it would seem the country does not have a clear and sustainable policy strategy to address the link between culture and gender inequality, and DRR/CCA. The dominance of men is still a major challenge in Ethiopia.The lack of a breakthrough for gender mainstreaming in traditional culture, is compounded by the fact that the Ministry responsible for gender is not well-resourced to implement its mandate, and does not have a clear monitoring and evaluation mechanism (Blystad et al., 2014:42). A further challenge for gender mainstreaming is the lack of clarity about roles and responsibilities, and on how the Women's Affairs Departments are to link with other departments (Demissie, 2008:11). The roles are not defined clearly. This may result in inadequate coordination and duplicated efforts by different stakeholders, which could produce poor gender mainstreaming results. It is critical that the country clearly defines the roles and responsibilities of the lead Ministry and its stakeholders. Furthermore, for better results the country needs to commit more of its resources to the process. In addition, it should address the cultural problem and put in more effort to build awareness of the effects of disasters and climate change on women.

6.4.2. Mozambique's perennial disasters and its quest for gender equality

Mozambique has over the years suffered consistently from tropical cyclones, floods, droughts and other related disasters. The cyclone Eline from 1999/2000 was recorded as the worst in the country's history, and years of civil war made the internal situation worse (Izquier 2013:2; Van Niekerk, 2014:34). The impact of this cyclone was also felt in adjacent countries such as Botswana, Zimbabwe and South Africa. It is reported that the disaster decreased the country's gross domestic product (GDP) by approximately 12%, which led to a major regression in Mozambique's economic growth, seeing that 70% of the total population live below the poverty datum line (Arnold, 2006:276; Sietz et al., 2008:5). This qualifies Mozambique as one of the poorest countries in the world. It is estimated further that 4.5 million people were affected, 540 000 were internally displaced, 700 died, and economic damages amounted to $450 million (Brouwer and Nhassengo, 2006:234; Sorensen et al., 2006:46). Precise indications of the disaster's full impact cannot readily be ascertained as information management is still a challenge in most of the developing countries. However, it is a known fact that women suffered more casualties than men (Izquier 2013:2).

When there are no gender disaggregated data, this most often leads to ineffective and discriminatory interventions. It is, therefore, critical to disaggregate data for policy intervention, guidance and practice. In addition, Mozambique's economy is agrarian based and women form the majority of the labour force (Mika and Africa, 2004:11). In 2001, Mozambique's total population comprised 52.66% women, of whom 66.5% are economically active (Brouwer and Nhassengo, 2006:237). Despite their numerical advantage and economic contribution, women continue to be marginalised in Mozambique. In an attempt to strengthen indigenous coping mechanisms, the country developed proactive DRR and gender-fair approaches, by considering women as a critical resource to the development of the country. The first President of Mozambique, Samora Machel, captures the vitality of women in development by stating, "The liberation of women is a necessity for the revolution, a guarantee of its continuity and a condition for its success." (Machel 1973, cited in Arnfred, 2004:109).

An interplay of factors caused the country to develop proactive policies and strategies. These factors entail the following: the political will and strong support from the donors, regular occurrence of disasters, increasing gender inequalities and high poverty levels, and the search for high economic growth. For instance, Mozambique, has mainstreamed DRR into development by including this strategy in the National Development Plan 2010-2014 and in the NAPA. These instruments are complemented by the Master Plan for Disaster Prevention and Mitigation, which has been in existence since 2006 (Van Niekerk, 2014:34).

Additionally, the enabling and relatively stable political environment made it possible to enact a progressive constitution, laws and institutions, which guarantee equality for both men and women. These legal frameworks help strengthen the resilience of women in facing disasters and climate change, while also addressing their marginalisation, which often leads to gender-based violence (Brouwer and Nhassengo, 2006:237). These frameworks are further supported by the Ministry for Women and Social Action Coordination and the National Council for the Advancement of Women (CNAM). The latter is a multi-sectoral and policy-making body responsible for monitoring and evaluating gender policies. These mentioned bodies also laid the foundation for the formation and nomination of gender units and gender focal points, which are primarily responsible for driving gender concerns in the various sectors (Tvedten et al., 2011:1).

The legal frameworks mentioned above were further cascaded to the local level were the majority of women reside. The interventions deliberately targeted women in terms of historical and current marginalisation, as well as level of poverty and vulnerability. These interventions are illustrated best in 2001 by the Xai-Xai District's post-disaster programme for rehabilitation and seed restoration (Berg et al., 2001:6). In this project, focusing on disaster recovery and building resilience at grassroots, women were targeted and given free seeds. This underlined the important contribution of women in rural farming and natural resource management (Berg et al., 2001:6). Similarly, women were also targeted in the Chokwe province after the 1999/2000 flood disaster (Brouwer and Nhassengo, 2006:239). The women were given needs-based relief assistance and were also engaged in the labour-intensive programme (Tvedten et al., 2011:6). To a certain extent, these interventions changed gender relations, seeing that the women were empowered more (Dimitrijevics, 2007:28; Osbahr et al., 2008:1959).

Due to these progressive measures, Mozambique's averaged annual growth rates increased by 8% between 1993 and 2009, and poverty levels decreased from 69% in 1997, to 54% in 2003 (World Bank, 2010:5). In addition, superior recovery efforts using the $490 million international support grant, led to the development of improved infrastructures, especially in disaster-prone areas. These measures together with liberal policies helped reduce the effect of disasters (Davis, 2006:10). Even though these developments were not specific to women, to a certain extent, it helped reduce gender inequality in the country. For example, it is estimated that 40% of Members of Parliament are women, which is even higher than in most developed nations and developing countries such as Botswana (Parkes and Heslop, 2011:29).

Despite these impressive reforms, the status of women has not significantly improved as expected. Although Mozambique has been exemplary with its good practices in DRR, especially in the SADC region, the country still needs to progress in order to change power relations between gender.

6.5. Conclusion

Although the process to attain gender equality/equity is difficult and laborious, the case studies that were discussed illustrate that it is indeed achievable.The process to attain gender inequality might be lengthy and in some instances expensive but the end result is more favourable for both men and women at family level and the country at large. Such equality could be attained by adopting gender mainstreaming, which is not an end in

itself, but a process. In this process, policies, especially newly adopted ones, programmes and projects, factor in gender concerns. Mainstreaming should be implemented at all levels, and cascaded to the communities.

As discussed, income growth (India), political commitment (Ghana, Tanzania) and increased representation in politics (Uganda) do not automatically translate into gender equality; a myriad of factors should be addressed first. These factors include patriarchy, commitment of resources, a willingness to embrace change, and a strong institutional framework. Even though have been these factors addressed adequately by the countries in the case studies, gender inequalities remain., although at decreased levelsHowever, that women continue to be vulnerable to disasters and climate change since they remain powerless to influence decisions.

For improved results, gender mainstreaming should be introduced at the levels of policy development and implementation, as well as that of programmes and projects. Furthermore, the police strategy should include women in rural areas, who, in most instances, lack a voice and representation. At community level where women reside and where disasters mostly occur, the introduction of a robustcommunity-based disaster-risk management (CBDRM) is key to reducing the impact of disasters on women, and build their resilience (Pincha et al., 2007:11). CBDRM should also integrate indigenous knowledge with current scientific knowledge through the participatory bottom-up approach. Implementation should be monitored and evaluated on a regular basis for continuous improvement and change.

It is also important to introduce micro-credit schemes that require little or no collateral, since most women are only informally employed (Kumar et al., 2015:114). Their informal employment is not only unreliable, but also susceptible to natural shocks, which makes it difficult for them to save money. As demonstrated by the Bangladesh case study, women in general tend to live longer than men. Therefore, it is critical to give them access to credit, which provides the opportunity to save their limited financial resources for the future when they are alone (Neumayer and Plumper, 2007:2). This factor gives them the added impetus to save for ‘rainy days’.

To address this dilemma, institutional and policy frameworks need to be strengthened and gendered, since these can be sources of discrimination. Primarily through such institutions can positive change be effected. It is, therefore, critical to examine the

contribution of these institutional frameworks. In this regard, the following chapter (ch 6) examines institutional and policy frameworks that drive the strategy for gender mainstreaming.

CHAPTER 7: TOWARD A POLICY FRAMEWORK: INSTITUTIONALISING GENDER ISSUES IN DISASTER-RISK REDUCTION

7.1. Introduction

This Chapter addresses objective 6 which seeks to; recommend policy and statutory reforms best suited for mainstreaming gender into disaster risk reduction within Botswana. To attain this objective the chapter discusses types of policy and institutional frameworks that Botswana could adopt to help strengthen the resilience of women to disasters and climate change. This does not mean that these frameworks will be adopted as is, but rather that relevant aspects will be contextualised to Botswana's situation. The discussion of policies and institutional frameworks is critical, seeing that these instruments often are main sources of power and dominance. Male-dominated governing bodies often use these structures to entrench their supremacy over women (Branisa et al., 2012:252; Alston, 2014:290). Furthermore, men's control over resources is legitimised through these mentioned policies and institutions (Hemmati and Rohr, 2007:6; Midgley, 2007:613).

As discussed previously, seeing that women have limited access to power, they are vulnerable to everyday situations, and thus to the effects of disasters and climate change. This power is deeply entrenched in the patriarchal-influenced legal, policy and institutional frameworks (Branisa et al., 2012:252). As a result, policies and institutions are static and have fallen short in addressing gender inequality. Seeing that these structures are not gender-responsive, this often widens the gender gap and leads to increased social injustices against women. In certain cases, institutions can also hinder national development and individual development if good governance is lacking. For a clearer view of the power imbalances, it is critical to examine a number of institutional and policy frameworks that address gender inequality.

The chapter also focuses on the importance of having holistic, gender-sensitive and -responsive policy strategies and strong institutional frameworks to drive gender equality. This will allow men and women to have equal social, economic, and political opportunities in their daily lives. As mentioned previously, nature does not cause disasters. Hazards degenerate into disasters as a direct result of government policies that fail to protect its people (Chhotray, 2014:218). Government has the power to transform inadequate policies and institutions and make them sustainable. If Government plan to sustain political power and build their democracy, they need to adopt policies that also represent

the marginalised majority. Otherwise, the incumbent government runs the danger of losing its power through elections, increased risks of disasters, and growing inequality between the sexes (Roberts, 2006:31; Ladd, 2012:114).

In this light, the focus will be on different types of social policies. These include the following: gender-blind, gender-neutral, gender-specific and redistributive policies. Gender-blind and -neutral policies were shown to be ineffective in addressing gender inequality (Viilup, 2015:10). It should be noted that gender-responsive or redistributive policies alone cannot reduce gender inequality. This requires a change in people's perceptions, stereotypes, and attitudes toward women, and the involvement of men in all the processes, to help bring about transformation. This requires the adoption of a robust mainstreaming policy strategy that will reduce gender inequality and help strengthen women's resilience to the effects of climate change and disasters.

Against this background, the following section discusses social policies and institutions as sources of power and inequalities. This is mirrored by the domination of men in decision-making, who conceive and design policies according to their male lenses. Therefore, it is critical to find policies that bridge the gender gap and empower women to cope with disasters and climate change. Subsequently, the study examines policies and the institutions they articulate.

7.2. Rethinking Social Policies and Gender in the Context of Disasters

At global level, genderised policies that address women's concerns during disasters, are inadequate (Arora-Jonson, 2011:744). Global policies such as the Hyogo Framework for Action, lacked an in-depth understanding of gender issues, and have since been replaced by the more progressive Sendai Framework for Action (2015-2030) Sendai Framework, 2015:6). Only by adopting the Sendai Framework in 2015, women's issues came to prominence in DRR. Similarly, gender issues were also included only recently in the annual global climate-change negotiations at the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Conference of the Parties (COP) 13 in 2007, held at Bali after years of lobbying (Skinner, 2011:79). Furthermore, the recently adopted Paris Accord (2015) gives prominence to gender. The adoption of the inclusive Sendai Framework and the unconditional inclusion of women in the annual climate change negotiations is encouraging and this momentum needs to be sustained (Hemmati and Rohr, 2009:25; UN, 2015:21). The situation is worsened by the fact that there are no sanctions, especially at the global level, for neglecting women's concerns.

Furthermore, in most developing countries, there is virtually no discussion at policy level on the consequences that disasters and climate change hold for gender (Hemmati and Rohr, 2007:5). The existing legislation or policies still are too fragmented, which stymies a unified approach to the gender issue. For example, the new national Policy on Gender and Development (2015) does not deal directly with DRR issues; the same applies to the National Policy on Disaster Management. Even though DRR and gender issues are accepted as critical, they still are not prioritised in most developing countries, including Botswana (NDMO, 2013:11). The reason is that planners often project male values, interests and beliefs on the policy (Dymen et al., 2014:162). Most of these policies are developed according to a male-breadwinner model, which in itself tends to perpetuate discrimination against women (Moseley, 2016:4). In other words, institutions can decide not to include gender issues in their plans or policies (Staab and Razavi, 2015:173). These pressing issues are key to driving transformation in developing nations (Gardoni and Murphy, 2010:631). Additionally, information on the effects and consequences of climate change may not reach women, especially the impoverished group living in the rural areas. The reason is that they spend most of the time indoors undertaking domestic chores, while men spend outdoors interacting with various role-players. Similarly, women in the corporate world may also have a problem accessing information since they often perform menial paying jobs where limited information reaches them (Sernau, 2014:191). Since women often have limited knowledge, they end up using adaptation techniques that are harmful to the climate (Skinner, 2011:59). In certain instances, access to or availability of such information can determine the survival and even avoid fatalities of women in disaster situations (Davis, 2006:19).

Policy decisions should recognise and address the gender needs and interests of women and men on two dimensions: *practical* (food, shelter, income) as well as *strategic* (human rights, skills and leadership training). Otherwise, such a policy is bound to promote inequality (Warnecke and Padgett, 2011:539). Failing to consider both dimensions, would only overburden women with additional roles, thereby increasing gender inequality, with scant reward, if any, for women (Arora-Jonson, 2011:744). Pincha et al. (2007:20) points out that most DRR policies focus mostly on practical needs at the expense of strategic ones, and thus do not challenge the power relations responsible for the marginalisation of women. For Pincha et al. (2007:20), DRR policies should instead focus stronger on strategic needs. The reason is that such an approach questions patriarchy and the control of resources. This approach also promotes the creation of

high-impact assets for the marginalised, which improves their resilience and adaptive capacities. To recap, a progressive gender policy should address both strategic and practical needs of women.

Furthermore, policy-makers should acknowledge women as agents of change in their respective communities (Ikeda, 2009:70). However, gender awareness of policies should not be limited to DRR and CCA. It should be introduced as cross-cutting issues into to all policies and programmes (Schipper and Pelling 2006:23). Failure to address these underlying causes may only retain the gender gap and perpetuate the very same disasters that they seek to counter (Swai et al., 2012:66; Women's Budget Group, 2016:13) These policies should collectively focus on reaching the common goal of gender equality and economic growth of the country. Here the motivation is that equitably shared power and resources will help create a just society.

In this regard, responsible institutions maintain the status quo without necessarily addressing the needs of women. It is, therefore, imperative that institutions and policies should respond proactively to the needs of society, and policy decisions should be based on informed needs. Policy should adequately address the unmet needs of women and recognise their untapped abilities (Rosenberg, 2011:10). In other words, gender concerns and priorities that will not ordinarily have been included in the policies should be incorporated in the various phases of a policy process, namely development, implementation, analysis, monitoring and evaluation (Mahapatro, 2014:310). Throughout the process, policy-makers should take into account the unique cultural, political and economic environment of the country. Failure to customise the approach may lead to a widening of the gender gap and increased injustices against women. Additionally, policy responses should not focus on reverting the community to the situation before the disaster. Instead such policies should create social change by strengthening resilience (Baker, 2009:115).

7.3. Institutions tend to deepen gender inequalities

To address this policy problem, it is important to examine institutions that formulate and drive these policies. Gender inequalities are deeply embedded in these institutions (Omoyibo, 2011:3733; Mahapatro, 2014:310). It should be noted that it is not only the formal but the informal and traditional institutions that marginalise women (Mainlay and Tan, 2012:11). According to Rao and Kelleher, (2003:142) institutions are rules for achieving social and economic ends.Through these institutions, societies challenge certain aspects of the static culture, norms and values that seemingly marginalise women and other minorities, and they seek solutions to these problems. Policies and related legal instruments cannot succeed alone without changing the culture, attitudes, stereotypes and perceptions, which are difficult to legislate against (Jacquot, 2010:120). However, the redundant and discriminatory aspects of the culture should be discarded or modified. For instance, due to patriarchal influence which recognises men as heads of households, critical emergency early-warning information may be given to men only, and women may not receive this information (Rahman, 2013:76). This implies that institutions and those in power can negate women's issues without having to account for their policy choice. Such a state of affairs is exacerbated by the signing of non-binding global conventions such as the Sendai Framework Action, UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), Paris Agreement, and Beijing Platform for Action (BPFA) (Oates et al., 2011:2).

Furthermore, it is the institutions that determine who gets what, when and how (Omoyibo, 2011:3733). Institutions structure gender roles in the sharing of power between men and women at family, market and political level (Branisa et al., 2012:255). In short, institutions control the lives and livelihoods in society. As a result, women's ability to bargain for power at all levels is reduced. As discussed, power is directly connected to access and control of resources (Omari, 2010:38).

Despite these concomitant problems, there has improvement in the formulation of gender neutral policies leading to the setting up gender units, programmes targeting women (Tvedten et al., 2011:1). Rao and Kelleher, (2003:145) named this process gender infrastructure. In addition, there is a marked increase in women representation in the decision making processes (Branisa et al., 2012:255). Accordingly, some women occupy high positions, which is reflected in the composition of the Cabinet, Parliament, traditional

and civil service, and in the corporate sector (BMDG, 2004:36). Statistically, women in Botswana accounted for 28% of top decision-making positions in the public administration in 2002, and their representation increased to 42% in 2012. In 2005, women comprised 37% of senior government positions, compared to the 2009 increase of 45% (UNDP, 2012:5; UNDP, 2014:6). Even though the gender gap has decreased over the years, progress is still extremely slow (Edvardsson-Bjornberg and Hansson, 2013:220). This has not necessarily led to the full transformation of institutions in decision making, transparency, accountability and accessibility (Rao and Kelleher, (2003:147). These figures point to the fact that voice and representation cannot by themselves end gender inequality (Mahapatro, 2014:316). There is a need to transform reactive DRR institutions and policies that only respond to disaster relief, but fall short in addressing the root causes of disasters. For gender equality to be attained institutions have to transform beyond themselves, that is, there is a need to develop programmes that challenge organisational norms and values (Rao and Kelleher, 2003:147). This requires sustained commitment from the institution. Presently, institutions are seem not be resilient enough to bounce forward from gender infrastructure.

The section highlights the importance of involving marginalised population (women) in defining social policy. Furthermore, the two types of participatory approach are examined, namely, bottom-up and top-down. Although a bottom-up approach is the preferred choice due to its democratic and participatory principles, a top-down approach can complement it. For women to participate fully in the development of their countries, they need to be recognised as citizens on an equal footing, and governments should address all issues that hinder women from enjoying their freedoms, opportunities and choices.

7.4. From strategic planning to implementation: Top down versus Bottom up approaches

There are numerous ways to formulate DRR/CCA and gender, or social policies (Gaventa, 2004:29). These depend on the socio-political environment of a country, for instance, the more democratic regimes may adopt the popular bottom-up, participatory strategy (Oxley, 2012:4). Participatory or people-centred planning is key to driving the formulation of policies at the grassroots level (Gaventa, 2004:29-30). As pointed out previously, the poor and mostly marginalised, women find it difficult to voice their grievances in a policy environment that is gender neutral or gender insensitive. In

patrilineal societies such as Botswana, men often intimidate women through the very institutions that seek to address social injustices.

This approach allows marginalised people to express their needs since they are in the best position to do so. This is contrary to the top-down approach that usually is driven by politicians/technocrats who may not necessarily be in touch with realities on the ground (Oxley, 2012:4).

7.4.1. Botswana and the top-down approach

Focusing on Botswana, it should be pointed out that the top-down approach does not reflect the interests of Batswana, especially vulnerable groups. This approach is not only autocratic, but lacks the general principle of *therisanyo* ("consultation") and participation that form the foundation for Botswana's democratic principles (Botswana Government, 1997:24). An example in this regard, is Botswana's *kgotla* system/community gathering (Republic of Botswana, 2008:19; Botlhale, 2014:817). Although the traditional *kgotla* system is supposedly democratic, transparent and accountable, it often is intimidating to women since the gatherings are dominated and governed by males (Mokwena and Fakir, 2009:16). Due to the intimidating environment, women are not free to participate fully in decisions that affect their lives directly (Oxley, 2012:6). For instance, decisions such as where and when to evacuate, may not favour women who are unable to participate freely in the decision-making process. Such limited participation at the *kgotla* may prevent women from evacuating swiftly during an emergency, and thus render them more vulnerable to disasters.

These discriminatory cultural practices are strengthened by the fact that women were previously barred from being traditional leaders (Mookodi, 2004:57). For equality to be achieved, communities need to do away with tokenism and transform traditional institutions such as the *kgotla* system, which are not gender responsive. They should also change attitudes, behaviours and stereotypes that work against gender equality. Attempts are being made to transform the *kgotla,* as women currently may also be elected as chieftains (WAD, 2009:42). However, progress still needs to be made to achieve parity at the *kgotla.* Only as recently as in 1997, this practice has changed. This occurred mainly through the amendment of the Employment Act and other related instruments that secure equal employment opportunities for women as a labour force (WAD, 2009:21-23).

In such instances, rural women generally are unable to participate. They often are intimidated by the male-dominant environment and the top-down approach, due to their low literacy level and lack of assertiveness. Additionally, the presence of elite and urban women can also intimidate the lowly educated rural ones, who may have low self-esteem since they are not empowered (Branisa et al., 2012:256). This type of top-down system may benefit a small number. These would be the assertive, educated and urban-based women, however, at the expense of the rural-based ones who are vulnerable and in the majority (Mokwena and Fakir, 2009:14).

7.4.2. Botswana and the participatory/bottom up approach

The all-inclusive participatory/bottom up approach provides women and other marginalised groups the opportunity to participate in the political, social, economic and cultural spheres of their communities (Gaventa, 2004:29; Botswana Government 2036, 2016:21). Botswana subcribes to this approach albeit theoretically where for instance consultation for the development of policies commences at grassroots level (Oxley, 2012:8). Although time consuming and costly, this approach allows for communties to make choices with regards to issues at hand (Hammami, 2012:2) Similarly, participatory, gender-responsive DRR planning further empowers women to make critical decisions about their lives and allows them to be agents of change in their respective communities (Nhamo, 2014:166). Through this approach, citizens are thus involved equally in the decision-making process. This includes the rural, impoverished women who often are illiterate and less assertive in articulating their views in social planning and policy development. At this local level, discriminatory policies can be identified and shaped to include marginalised groups. In sum, the participation gives people a voice and 'empowers' them in decision making.

7.4.3. Assessment of the two approaches

The bottom-up approach is the preferred method of choice for most of the NGOs/Humanitarian agencies and is driven by indigenous knowledge or community knowledge (Hammami, 2012:14). The objective of the bottom-up approach is to empower the marginalised groups by engaging them in the planning and decision-making process. Such involvement ultimately will lead to reduced inequality, and strengthened resilience to shocks and sustainable development (Matovu, 2006:3).

The people-centred approach allows both men and women to discuss openly and identify possible risks and vulnerabilities, and design DRR plans in their localities 'without fear

and favour' (Oxley, 2012:16). This approach also helps strengthen social cohesion and build solidarity for collective action during disaster response and relief. The reason is clear: men and women work together for the common goal of enhancing their resilience to disasters.

Conversely, the top-down approach that certain governments still implement, tends to reduce affected people to passive dependents of relief aid (Oxley, 2012:4). The understanding in this case is that the coping capacities of the community have been eroded and Government needs to intervene to save the situation (Hammami, 2012:9). The top-down method tends to underestimate the inherent resilience and empowerment of people who are affected by disasters (Botlhale, 2014:817). Failure to include marginalised groups in the planning and decision-making process, may in the long run be economically and socially costly for such communities, as the impact of the disaster may increase unnecessarily (Branisa et al., 2012:259). These marginalised people usually have higher numbers, but often are left with limited resources to respond and swiftly recover from a disaster. As a result, Government eventually incurs more expenses by having to respond to the needs of marginalised groups post-disaster (Nhamo, 2014:166).

Seemingly, the bottom-up approach does not have discernible frailties. Evidently, the two approaches cannot function independently, and thus should complement each other. Such a combined effort will help build the community's capacities and make governments more accountable and responsive to the needs of affected people (Oxley, 2012:4; da Costa, 2014:68). Thus, for effective results, countries need to strike a balance between the two approaches. Both approaches should be driven by the interests and aspirations of the community with the view to reducing risks of disasters.

The discussion above focused on the participation approach since it lays the foundation for women's empowerment. The following subsection discusses the subsequent involvement of women in the decision-making processes to help design and implement DRR/gender policies. Despite their concerns often being linked to those of children, women over the years have managed to overcome such adversities in order to reduce the gender-inequality gap. As a result, women currently are more visible in key areas of the economy such as DRR and climate change as well as in the corporate sector, where they gradually are reaching upward mobility away from only domestic work (Oxley,

2012:12). However, there still are progress to be made. The ultimate aim is to reach parity in opportunities between the two sexes, especially in areas of politics and science.

Above, the discussion centred on the requirements of effective policies and institutions, for example, strong political commitment and adopting participatory approaches. It is, therefore, critical to examine the different types of policies that are used to deal with gender concerns. The following section focuses on such legislative frameworks.

7.5. Policy approaches for Gender Equality and DRR/CCA in Botswana

This section discusses possible policy approaches that could be engaged to address gender inequality in DRR within the context of Botswana. The approaches lay the foundation for policy development and attempt to provide solutions to the dilemma of gender equality in society. These approaches have had mixed results in closing the gender gap. Some chose not to challenge the status quo, while others seek to transform the political arena to include gender issues in policy planning. In this regard, Pincha et al. (2007:22-23) identifies four types of policies that address gender equality:

- gender-blind;
- gender-neutral;
- gender-specific; and
- gender redistributive.

The following subsection discusses each of these four policies in the context of DRR and CCA as described by Pincha et al., 2007 starting with gender-blind policies. Firstly, the theoretical and practical aspects of these policies are examined. Thereafter, the focus is on the impact of these policy types in bridging the gender gap, and how they can be operationalised to Botswana's environment.

7.5.1. Impact of gender-blind policies on the gender-and-DRR discourse

As the name aptly suggests, gender-blind policies maintain the status quo in gender inequality (Tyler and Fairbrother, 2013:15). The approach presupposes that discrimination does not exist and that men and women have equal opportunities, with no need for intervention. The approach further ignores underlying problems of discrimination and patriarchy as adherents seemingly adopt an attitude of: Why fix it if it is not broken? (Kimani and Kombo, 2010:11). Such a policy approach does not keep account of the environment in which it operates.

Even though the above-mentioned types of policies are gender-blind, their impact, may indeed be gendered (Pincha et al., 2007:23). Most national and macro-economic, or even DRR policies, too often are gender blind to address the needs of the marginalised population, but fail to move beyond, investigating the root causes of gender inequality (Tomlinson, 2011:3756). This type of policy approach does not focus specifically on either of the sexes, male or female, for example the National Policy on Disaster Management (1996). The mentioned Policy does not cover gender concerns, and thus women's issues are not taken care of.

Although such policies appear to be unbiased, they are based on a male view of society and erroneously assume that all people have the same needs and interests (Tyler and Fairbrother, 2013:15). In most cases, women are not considered as part of the solution to the problem (Skinner, 2011:80). Women's interests are rendered invisible because they are not consciously taken into consideration. Such an approach ignores the gender inequalities that exist due to the organisation of society (Pincha et al., 2007:23). Furthermore, gender-blind policies or programmes are, in most instances, regressive and only tend to increase inequalities to the detriment of one gender, mostly women (Kimani and Kombo, 2010:11; Mahapatro, 2014:309). Where gender issues are considered, too often they are treated as an add-on to existing policies (Skinner, 2011:80). This also does not deal sufficiently with the problem of inequality. It rather tends to increase inequalities as institutions merely assume that gender issues are mainstreamed.

Failure to address underlying causes of gender inequality may actually magnify such impediments (UNDP, 2008:89). The gender-blind policy approach also fails to challenge culture, which helped establish the rigid norms and values that are responsible for the discrimination of women Mahapatro, 2014:307). These norms and values prevent women from strengthening their overall resilience to disasters and climate change. Due to the policy's failure to challenge culture and issues of power, which are intrinsically embedded in institutions, this power continue to be the privilege of the few (males) (Jacquot, 2010:125). The reason may be that institutions are shaped and governed by men, which in turn perpetuates inherent male advantage (Alston, 2009:141; Skinner, 2011:18).

Furthermore, gender-blind policies often have a shallow understanding of the relationship between production and reproduction roles. The policy also totally ignores

the basic needs such as food, water, health and shelter, which are central to the survival of women and their families (Viilup, 2015:10). This type of policy simply fails to recognise the important role women played in the development processes and deliberately excludes them from the stage of policy formulation (Moser, 2003:5-6). As a result, such policies tend to be incoherent, and unresponsive to the needs and interests of women.

7.5.1.1. Institutional reform and gender-blind policies

In response to gender-blind policies, most governments in developing nations such as Botswana created Ministries of Gender, or women's units, or nominated focal persons as advocates of women's issues (Madsen, 2012:574). Although the composition of these entities was mainly female, the women questioned their effectiveness as this gender were represented less in the legislature and other critical decision-making bodies (Moser, 2003:5-6). This was tantamount to addressing only the symptoms of the problem, seeing that these institutions did not only lack power, but were ill-resourced with less qualified personnel and with little or no funding (Staab and Razavi, 2015:173).

To make matters worse, these newly introduced reforms did not integrate issues of disaster and climate change. At times, these institutions just simply changed their name from Women's Affairs to Gender Affairs without really introducing groundbreaking change (Widianingsih and Morrell, 2007:12). Gender equality cannot be achieved by simply introducing a women's department or special programmes for women. This notion should be included in all levels of the development and implementation of macro-economic policies (Duflo, 2012:1053). In other words, gender should be mainstreamed into all macro-economic policies such as labour, employment, agriculture, health, or education (Hirway, 2006:3465). The impact of these policies should be monitored constantly and evaluated for improved gender relations. The ultimate goal would be equal relations between the two sexes.

As discussed previously, women's lack of resources is illustrated vividly by their powerlessness, vulnerability and marginalisation in society. This in part is due to women's lack of involvement in the budget process, helping to formulate gender-blind budgets, which do not respond to gender concerns. The situation is worsened by inadequate representation at legislative level where critical decisions on budget allocations are made. The following subsection discusses gender-responsive budgeting as key to the empowerment of women and to bridge the gender gap. Furthermore,

examples are examined of good practice in countries both from SADC and international level.

7.5.1.2. Inadequate control of resources, powerlessness and gender responsive budgeting (GRB)

Women and children account for 75% of the total citizens affected by disasters globally, yet their representation in terms of numbers is not reflected at legislative level (Toya and Skidmore, 2007:21; Ruwanpura, 2008:326). The situation is worsened by the fact that national budgeting is the preserve of technocrats and politicians and is not participatory. Therefore, due to a lack of resources and limited involvement in policy planning, women are unable to voice their needs and concerns. The result is the formulation of ineffective and short-term, gender-blind policies that fail to mitigate the impact of climate change and disaster (Aboobacker, and Nakray 2011:3). This situation is illustrated by the formulation of agricultural training or technology-transfer programmes, which mistakenly ignore the socio-economic contribution of women (Skinner, 2011:19). In such circumstances, women tend to use techniques that deplete the environment, their primary source of livelihood. This is usually due to a lack of knowledge and adaptive modern skills (Opare, 2005:91).

To strengthen its democracy and bridge the gender gap, Botswana needs to make the budgeting process more participatory. The participatory budget process allows for transparency, accountability and openness since relevant parties have a say in the allocation of financial resources. At the end of the financial year, the budget is evaluated on its response to gender issues (Botlhale, 2011:67). The process needs not be a procedural or ‘tick-box’ exercise, but the one that brings positive change and resilience to the lives of women and promotes equity (Alston, 2014:292). Gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) allows analysis of the allocations and its impact on the lives and livelihoods of both sexes. Furthermore, such budgeting identifies problematic areas and finds cost-effective solutions (Edvardsson- Bjornberg and Hansson, 2013:228; Zakirova, 2014:206).

The exercise does not propose separate budgets for women or men, nor does it necessarily argue for increased spending to programmes focusing specifically on women’s interests (Budlender, 2002:53; Beall, 2005:28). Instead, GRB deliberately and proactively integrates gender responsiveness into budgeting and allocation of resources (Botlhale, 2011:67). This should not only be done at national level, but also be

decentralised to the local level where most of the empowerment projects and programmes are driven. For GRB to be effective, it also needs the unconditional support of politicians, traditional leaders, NGOs and other stakeholders. Likewise, this type of budgeting should include disaster and emergency situations, especially focusing on response and recovery phases.

This approach, although not specific to DRR/CCA, has been adopted successfully in both developed and developing countries such as Australia, Brazil, Rwanda, South Africa and the Philippines. These include, to a certain extent, Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Namibia and Mauritius (Midgley, 2006:18; Botlhale, 2011:67). Although governments adopted this approach as a broad principle, it can particularly benefit NGOs, the private sector and other similar organisations. To address issues of gender and budgets, Botswana in 2003 began the piloting of gender mainstreaming in certain selected line ministries (Botlhale, 2011:66). The results of this initiative are yet to be made public. Hopefully, these movements will yield positive results and increase the allocation of resources to women. Access to funding for women most likely will provide them more power, and in a way help reduce marginalisation and the gender-inequality gap.

The focus above was on the importance of including gender concerns in the national and local budgets. The inclusion of gender concerns in the budget as such cannot solve the dilemma of gender inequality. There is a need to invest in the education and health sectors as a long-term strategy to end gender inequality. Education may help break the poverty cycle, typically a major cause of inequality. The following subsection discusses education as one of the key sectors that may provide answers to the gender problem. Despite an increase in the enrolment, girls still lag behind boys in the science-related fields.

The discussion above, centred on the influence of gender-blind policies in addressing the gender inequality problem. The focus was on the importance to create gender-responsive budgets. Although generally ineffectual, these types of policies tend to ignore power relations and other dynamics that exist in society. Similarly, the gender-neutral approach, which is discussed in the following subsection, does not investigate the causes of gender inequality adequately.

7.5.2. Gender-neutral policy approach

Gender-blind policies erroneously assume that both sexes enjoy equal opportunities and denies the fact that marginalisation exists (Kimani and Kombo, 2010:11; Tyler and Fairbrother, 2013:15). The policy framework further presupposes that the playing field is level. However, it fails to acknowledge that the two sexes differ biologically and experience the same social and economic situations differently (Branisa et al., 2013:252). There seems to be a thin dividing line between gender- blind and gender-neutral policy types. Certain scholars such as Eveline and Bacchi (2010:504), use the two policy types interchangeably.

On the other hand, gender-neutral policies acknowledge the fact that gender inequalities do exist in society, but the policies do not offer practical solutions on how to end this discrimination. As the name appropriately applies, such policies are neutral to the situation Skinner, 2011:31. There is clear empirical evidence that the effects of climate change and disasters are not gender neutral and women are affected disproportionately (Alston, 2013:218). Nevertheless, most DRR/CCA policies still aim to be gender neutral. Thus, DRR/CCA policies are at times developed without women in mind (Dymen et al., 2014:167; Moseley, 2016:9).

Furthermore, neutral policies may develop male-centred programmes, with the understanding that these will also apply to women. These often fail to take into account the gendered power relations, which are enmeshed in the system (Christofides, 2001:194). Given their marginal role in society, women's input in policy development is extremely limited or non-existent (Hines, 2007:61). For instance, women's recovery from disasters may take longer than expected, leading to high levels of poverty (Alston, 2013:221). The reason for such a situation may be that women were not involved in the designing of the DRR policy, and men did it on their behalf.

There are numerous gender-neutral social policies of this nature, which target marginalised communities without considering gender dynamics, and thus increase inequalities (Skinner, 2011:35). Hakim (2008:134) gives an example of a Belgian policy on paid sabbatical leave for both women and men. When such leave is granted, men tend to take part in other duties, which do not concern the welfare of the family, but only benefit themselves (Dymen et al., 2014:168). In contrast, women mostly perform family chores, which benefit the family as a whole. This state of affairs overburdens women

further with additional responsibilities Moseley, 2016:7). As a result, gender inequalities tend to increase (Kimani and Kombo, 2010:11; Mahapatro, 2014:309).

Similarly in Botswana, the Constitution and several laws were amended to address gender inequality, for example: The Marriage Act, Abolition of Marital Power, Citizenship Act**,** Married Person's Property Act, and the Employment Act. However, these and numerous other statutory instruments, arenot biased toward men or women (WAD, 2009:21-23). These amended Acts were discussed in detail in Chapter 5. Even though these laws covered ground, this was not sufficient to promote women's empowerment. Women still lacked a legal forum where they could engage freely and discuss issues of women's rights as human rights, access to resources, property, land acquisition and livelihoods. This may explain the less significant impact that these statutory instruments have made in the lives of women in Botswana, compared to other countries that have adopted gender-responsive policies/laws.

It must be pointed out that most DRR and climate-change policies and programmes are gender neutral, for example, UNFCCC's Clean Development Mechanism programme (CDM) as well as the annual climate-change negotiations (Demissie, 2008:29). These instruments ignore the fact that women have limited power and access to resources, which significantly reduces their ability to adapt and benefit from DRR and CCA initiatives (Skinner, 2011:74-75). Botswana currently does not have a national policy on climate change. However, due to winds of change at global, international and local level, it is anticipated by gender stakeholders that the conceived policy will consider gender concerns (Jones et al., 2011:115).

Gender-neutral policies primarily target key stakeholders who are tasked with pre-determined goals and objectives (Adem and Guta, 2011:28). Therefore, they do not respond to issues of the skewed allocation of resources, productive roles, and competences (National Policy on Gender and Development, 2012:4) In other words, in disaster situations these types of policies target vulnerable communities and tend to ignore the gender dynamis that intensify inequalities (Hewitt, 2013:2). Recognising gender dynamics can helps reduce the impact of disasters on marginalised women. These should be considered during the pre-disaster planning stage. As the situation is currently prevailing, these policies are likely to address the symptom of the problem, rather than its root causes. This ultimately leads to gender bias (Huen, 2007:375).

It is noted that a number of these policies do recognise social injustices against women and the need to make them part of the solution (Adem and Guta, 2011:29). Additionally, such policies have adopted the progressive gender terminology such as: empowerment, equity and equality, which are key to theorising gender responsive policy (Gowdy and Salman, 2007:337). Thus, this approach has not yet been translated into action, especially at grassroots level (Nhamo, 2014:164). As a result, planned action has been replaced by continuous rhetoric and tokenism, which tend to perpetuate gender inequality (Ahmad, 2012:19). Economic benefits are not enjoyed equally between the sexes, especially when differences are structural and institutionalised (Branisa et al., 2013:252; Demissie, 2008:29). Tomlinson (2011:3756) suggests that to address gender neutral policies which fail to reduce equality, societies should adopt gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy. This would deal better with the root causes of discrimination.

The focus above was on gender-blind and neutral policies, which tend to negate the social injustices suffered by women. This often leads to the neglect of gender concerns and women's capabilities in disaster situations. In response, gender- specific policies came into being in an attempt to level the uneven playing field. Although decisive, these policies were met with resistance from certain males who felt challenged by these reforms. These gender-specific interventions are discussed subsequently.

7.5.3. Gender-specific policies and programmes–bridging the gender gap

Gender-blind and -neutral policies, which failed to address the root causes of gender inequality in response (Ahmad, 2012:19). The approach was initiated at global level, and later adopted at regional and national levels (Liang, 2011:18). These instruments are influenced strongly by the Women in Development (WID) approach and are driven primarily by NGOs and private (sector) stakeholders (Samarasinghe, 2014:37). Initially, states were slow in adopting this policy strategy, seeing that it challenged government bureaucracy and the status quo directly. These structures played a key role in marginalising women (Cuomo, 2011:690). As mentioned previously, by overlooking women's views in policies, they are misrepresented in socio-economic and cultural sectors, which have the power to influence decisions. These feminists further point out that men and women are by nature different and that culture, bureaucratic institutions and policies marginalise women. This approach addresses these structural causes and biases of gender inequalities by means of policies and programmes prioritising women's

interests (Eveline and Bacchi, 2010:100). Such an approach, together with support from NGOs and other stakeholders, will help challenge institutionalised discrimination that is perpetuated by the patriarchal government system (Islam, et al., 2014:95).

Social injustices against women can be tackled through policies that focus on a specific gender issues linked to women. The approach further argues that from the perspective of moral justice and human rights, it is critical to consider female- specific programmes (Rosenberg, 2011:3). Through the years, women were at the receiving end of social injustice. The only way to address the problem, is to make female interests the highest priority. This will ensure the equitable distribution of resources that have long been dominated by men.

The approach acknowledges that, although women are vulnerable to natural shocks, they have capabilities, capacities and are inherently resilient (Pincha et al., 2007:23). Society indeed can take advantage of these female resources to reduce gender inequality. Such gender-specific policies argue that women should be targeted specifically as primary beneficiaries in all aspects of DRR, including early warning, relief and rehabilitation programmes (Rosenberg, 2011:3). The approach, therefore, discriminates against men who are equally affected (Raredon, 2011:75).

The gender-specific approach was successful in dealing with the immediate needs of women. However, it came short in reducing the gender gap. Even more women remain in abject poverty after being affected by disasters (Bonanno et al., 2007:674).The reason is clear: gender inequalities are still institutionalised in the very same policies that seek to address social injustice (Palmary and Nunez, 2009:60). The gender-specific policy approach fails to understand that discrimination based on gender lies in the relations between men and women, and are socially constructed (Islam, et al., 2014:98). Therefore, gender inequalities could not be resolved by enacting policies and programmes focusing specifically on women (Crespi, 2009:182).

In light of the weaknesses of the gender-specific policies – often viewed negatively by men – the following subsection goes further by discussing the approach focusing on the redistributing of power. This approach seeks to distribute opportunities and control of resources evenly, in order to empower marginalised women (Limbert and Bullock, 2009:57). The redistribution of power is likely to reduce marginalised women's vulnerabilities and strengthen their resilience to cope with disasters.

7.5.4. Gender-redistributive policies and its effect on gender equality

In contrast to the three afore-mentioned policy approaches, the gender redistributive policies take different focus. These policies, often referred to as affirmative-action or equal-opportunity strategies, address gender issues by including both sexes in critical policy decisions (Lazzeri, 2009:328; Bauer and Burnet, 2013:110). Redistributive policies aim to redress the situation of marginalised women by providing their basic and strategic needs (Islam, et al., 2014:95). Specifically, they address women's vulnerabilities by redistributing power within society. As mentioned previously, it is mainly women's lack of power that makes them vulnerable to disasters and climate change. The solution thus lies in formulating policies that focus on social vulnerabilities, as opposed to the scientific and technologically based responses (Yoon, 2012:828).

Social vulnerabilities of people cause more harm than the physical attributes of disasters (Bauer and Burnet, 2013:111). On their account, redistributive measures attempt to level the uneven playing field by strengthening proactive measures to deal with social ills such as crime and conflict, which may impoverish the marginalised further if these issues are not managed successfully (Hemmati and Rohr, 2007:6; Midgley, 2007:613).

To attain gender equality, power should be distributed evenly to all groups regardless of gender (Limbert and Bullock, 2009:60). Men should be more than willing to give up aspects of their patriarchally inherited power as this marginalises women (Molin, 2015:44). The call to relinquish male power is bound to encounter vehement resistance, especially from conservative males (Bacchi and Eveline, 2010:199). Therefore, is important that these forms of transformation should be introduced in a subtle and incremental way, allowing men to accept and internalise change (Molin, 2015:46). If men are willing to compromise on their power, this may lead to a win-win situation. Both genders will be recognised equally as contributors to the economic growth of the country (Limbert and Bullock, 2009:60). Even distribution of power and resources will inevitably result in a just society in which citizens have equal opportunities to develop their full capacities and opportunities for the common good of the country (Midgley, 2007:613; Bauer and Burnet, 2013:110).

An enabling environment cultivated by redistributive policies, allows women to be self-driven and take control of and responsibility for their lives (Coleman, 2004:82). In other words, women need to transform themselves from the spirit of subordination to one of power and control. This should be done in solidarity with other women, regardless of their

socio-economic, ethnic, or even racial, status. Women should unite to form a single powerful force that compels males to transform policies which hinder female progress. Their unity will help them transform non-progressive policies to those that emphasise equity and are oriented forward. Women's resilience to natural hazards and shocks will be strengthened if they work collectively to pressurise male-dominated structures as a team, and not as individuals.

Thus, governments should formulate robust, distributive policies, which protect its citizens in an equal way from pre- and post-disaster situations. Of importance, is the protection and transformation of the marginalised people, whose human rights often are undermined in disaster situations (Akerkar, 2007:384). Furthermore, government should ensure the marginalised people have equal and unconditional access to productive resources, land and property rights. They must also have access to information, and the right skills and knowledge to manage disaster risks as well as their daily lives and livelihoods (Hewitt, 2013:2). Gabrielsson and Ramasar, 2012:41).

For redistributive policies to be successful, it requires more than rhetoric. What is required, is pragmatism from those in power who should be able to recognise, appreciate and acknowledge women's contribution within society. Such policies will give women voice and the choice of living self-fulfilling lives (Alston, 2009:151). Moreover, their ability to make choices gives women the latitude to live their lives freely without being dominated by men. Women's voices and their ability to make choices should be more prominent in issues such as food security, access to farm land and employment, availability of clean water, health care, and education for their children (Gabrielsson and Ramasar, 2012:41). These aspects are central to women's resilience and their recovery from disasters (Schlosberg, 2012:452). This particularly applies to rural- based women as they are more vulnerable. Addressing these issues through policies, will advance the empowering of women, rather than attempting to 'make' them men.

7.5.4.1. Deficiencies of the redistributive approach

As with other policy approaches, redistributive policies also have certain weaknesses. However, its strengths far outweigh its frailties. This provides an advantage above the preceding approaches that were discussed. Redistributive policy/affirmative action is often criticised for its failure to consider meritocracy, (appointment on capabilities) a highly regarded value that defines modern society (Habib and Bentley, 2008:344). Instead, it promotes the controversial quota system, according to which marginalised

groups are propped up by the system, regardless of their merit (Brown and Langer, 2015:49).

This programme has delivered mixed results in South Africa and the United States of America where the previously disadvantaged Black citizens are legally supported to reduce inequalities based on race (Ndletyana, 2008:90; Habib and Bentley, 2008:92). For instance, due to affirmative action, the number of Blacks living below the poverty datum line in South Africa has decreased to 15% over the past ten years (Brown and Langer, 2015:49). Black women, or women of colour, in these countries must deal with the double disadvantage of being women, and being discriminated against because of their colour (Ndletyana, 2008:90). This policy approach has led to disharmony, hostility and frustration amongst many South Africans and Americans, especially those who were previously disadvantaged (Brown and Langer, 2015:49).

In the two above-mentioned countries, Black citizens were historically excluded economically, socially and politically from power. As a result, distribution of resources was skewed (Ndletyana, 2008:5). Conversely, the previously advantaged groups refer to this approach as ‘reverse discrimination’ (Wang, 2013:115). They argue further that all citizens have enjoyed equal opportunities due to legislation targeting the marginalised groups (Habib and Bentley, 2008:92). Their frustration is exacerbated by the fact that males currently have to contend with strong competition from women for limited resources (Nhamo, 2014:167). These males are not accustomed to this state of affairs, which challenges their power, authority and well-being (Ndletyana, 2008:28).

Certain scholars such as Fraser (2007:33) and Lazzeri (2009:328) oppose redistributive policies; they argue further that such policies, in certain instances, can stigmatise women. For instance, they may be viewed as individuals who want to benefit without working hard. In addition, such policies may impact negatively on a community’s social cohesion. The reason is that some groups may refuse to relinquish power, and thus fail to render assistance to women in need affected by disasters (Militzer, 2008:29). Inadequate social cohesion often leads to a lack of cooperation and over-accentuation of individualistic tendencies, which can impede the managing of a disaster (Schwarz et al., 2011:1138).

Teamwork is critical in a disaster situation since it allows affected families to support each other emotionally, economically, and socially. Although women are well-known for

participating in social groups, this should not be misconstrued as them being homogenous. As was pointed out previously, women differ according to age, race, and ethnicity (Kusumasari, 2015:287). Even when redistributive laws or policies respond positively to the transformation of gender relations, there remain issues of inadequate political support coupled with a lack of resources and enforcement (Albertyn, 2011:147). On the other hand, such policies should endorse values such as meritocracy and fairness, as a way to sustain the impetus to redistribute the power more readily (Limbert and Bullock, 2009:57). This could be done by repealing some of the legal instruments and practices that marginalise women. The reason is that merit and fairness are critical in driving sustainable development and economic growth.

Redistributive policies as such cannot unravel the dilemma of gender inequality in a society. It is thus necessary to develop a hybrid approach that incorporates gender-specific, -responsive and -sensitive policies. These approaches, although not limited to DRR and Climate Change should complement each other. Each approach individually has recorded successes and its aim is to reduce the impact of climate change and disasters on women and other marginalised groups. This mostly applies to developing countries, for example, Nepal and Bangladesh, of which the policy strategies will be discussed below (Lovekamp, 2003:4).

It should be noted that very few countries, if any, have managed to integrate gender concerns fully into DRR/CCA. This applies to most developing nations. For example, in Nepal, poverty induced and exacerbated by disasters and climate change, is a major challenge to the country. Nepal's Climate Change Policy (2011) recognises the differential impacts that climate change has on marginalised women, especially the vulnerable poor based in the rural areas (Bird, 2011:5). The policy further calls for the full participation of all; this includes marginalised groups, and is backed by a strong, progressive Constitution and the domesticated the CEDAW (Zeldin and Johnson, 2012:8).

Preceding this policy was the enactment of the Local Self Governance Act (1999), which strongly advocates women's participation in decision-making and ensuring that programmes and projects that are developed focus on the needs and interests of women (Mainlay and Tan, 2012:11). This initiative yielded positive results for the country. The initiative, together with good governance, led to a steady decrease of the gender-gap

index from 125 in 2007 (with the overall score of 0.558 out of 128 countries), to 112 (with the overall score of 0.646 out of 142 countries) in 2014 (World Economic Forum, 2014:2).

The Nepal case study illustrates that achievements were made in closing the gender gap by the equal and active participation of all, including women, in local initiatives of genderised climate-change adaptation (CCA). Even though the leaders' political will is still weak and based on tokenism, success has been recorded in Nepal due to policy and mind set change (Bird, 2011:8). Such initiatives can be adopted by other developing countries such as Botswana (Ahmad, 2012:18). In this regard, the findings in Nepal, namely lack of awareness translated into poor implementation and weak political will, can however, be applied to other national contexts as well (Mainlay and Tan, 2012:11).

In Bangladesh, gender-responsive policies in DRR, achieved improved results in dealing with the gendered impact of disasters. The reason is that DRR/CCA and gender are priorities to the Bangladeshi government (Huq, 2011:59; Saito, 2013:827). This approach is incorporated into long-term policy strategies in education, employment and political participation (Alam and Rahman, 2014:80). According to Ahmad (2012:18), Cyclone Marian in 1991 killed more than 140 000 Bangladeshis. The male: female ratio of those killed was 1:14 (Saito, 2013:828). However, with improved gender-responsive DRR in 2007, Cyclone Sidr killed only 3 000 people and the maleto female ratio decreased to 1:5 (Bray et al., 2008:21; Boyd, 2011:12). This contrast further illustrates that, when following a synchronised approach on DRR, policies indeed can enhance the coping and adaptive capacity of poor rural women in disaster situations.

To summarise, it should be stated that there has been some successes on the differential gender impacts of disasters and climate change. Current policies seem indifferent to the different risks that women face (Heltberg et al., 2008:90; Wamsler et al., 2012:69). In the same vein, Viilup, (2015:11) considers the current policies that deal with disasters and climate change as out of touch with reality, and these approaches also seems to be in conflict. It is evident that proposed policies should focus on the adaptive capacities of women and their access to resources (Figueiredo and Perkins, 2012:189). These will reduce the potential impacts of climate change, while simultaneously improving the quality of life for women and their families (Omari, 2010:22). Lera St. Clair (2011:24) argues that lower disaster impacts and reduced gender inequalities may lead to economic growth and equality for all citizens in the various societal spheres.

Furthermore, practitioners, scholars, policy makers and other stakeholders, should view gender as a cross-cutting issue (UNISDR, 2011:2). This means, the issue needs to be tackled by all stakeholders and the necessary resources should be allocated to the marginalised, especially rural-based women. This, in turn, will yield positive results and build these women's resilience to climate change and other forms of hazards (Crowley, 2011:20).

To address gender inequality effectively, women should be central figures in research on and adaptation of the policies (Terry, 2009:12). This should lead to well- informed and targeted policies and programmes. Moreover, St. Clair (2011:24) and Solecki et al. (2011:135) argue for further buy-in. It is vital for policies at all levels to involve women in the planning processes, be it rural or urban, rich or poor. The engagement of women will, in turn, increase conformity, significance, worth and authority within these processes (Ahmed and Fajber, 2009:42). Males should not, for example, be tasked to plan on behalf of women. Both sexes should be involved equally in the planning process. St. Clair (2011:25) points out that individuals tend to observe and tolerate policies and programmes in which they are involved fully, particularly in decision-making. Such policies tend to record more successes than those ignoring the voices of the target population (Solecki et al., 2011:135).

7.6. Conclusion

A long way lies ahead before the issue of gender equality can be resolved. This is because women are still marginalised at the policy-planning stages where the critical decisions are made. Despite the amendment of policies and other statutory instruments, women’s active participation in policy development is curtailed further by attitudes, perceptions and values. From the preceding discussion, it is evident that there is no single policy solution to the gender-inequality dilemma. These policy types should complement each other and be sensitive to gender concerns.

Scholars, practitioners and scientists need to commit to agreements similar to the Sendai Framework, Agenda 2063, Paris Accord and numerous such instruments, which are gender-sensitive and progressive in its response to the effects of climate change. Moreover, gender should be mainstreamed at all levels including technological development. This policy strategy should also be institutionalised to make it part of the daily operations of both government and stakeholders. Thus, it is necessary to formulate robust gender-sensitive policies, and implement proactive measures to counter existing

gender-based discrimination and gender inequalities, which are exacerbated by climate change and disasters (Bird, 2011:8).

The increasing impact and number of disasters and the worsening effects of climate change requires participatory and bottom-up gender-responsive policies (Gupta and Leung, 2011:26). Such policies are not an end in itself, but one of the good practices to build assets and capacities of vulnerable women. In addition to formulating gender-responsive DRR/CCA policies, Batswana need to change their attitude toward disasters, climate change and gender. Adequate resources should be allocated to implement gendered policies. Governments need to re-energise the participation of all stakeholders, including civil society. This could be done by not only funding, but ensuring the meaningful participation of a wide range of community-based and equity-seeking organisations (Hankivsky, 2008:80). The process should involve dynamic people who are willing to transform their societies within the challenging patriarchal environment.

More often than not, social policies look good on paper, but lack implementation capacity and the right attitude (Parkinson, 2011:17). The success of such initiatives requires intensive public awareness, thorough education, and advocacy campaigns at the various societal levels. Moreover, sensitisation about patriarchy and other cultural norms, which overburden women indisaster and everyday situations, should focus on the family level. Thus, governments should formulate policies that strengthen the resilience of women to disasters at personal/family level.

Governing bodies should also cultivate an environment in which women contribute equally to the sustainable development and economic growth of their countries. It is at family level where transformation can be more effective. Focus on the family will in future break the discrimination and poverty cycle, seeing that children will be more enlightened about issues of disasters and gender. Moreover institutions should move from gender infrastructure to institutional change for change for gender equality, this will help to end marginalisation of women (Rao and Kelleher, 2003:147).

The following chapter (Chapter 8) discusses the research techniques on how data was collected and analysed. The study adopts qualitative techniques. In addition, the study selects households that had been affected by disasters as participants/respondents.

CHAPTER 8: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

8.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to outline the type of methods and instruments that were used to collect data in the present study. This include how data were obtained, analysed and interpreted. The chapter also identifies the population and localities that were studied. Of the three research methods, qualitative, quantitative and mixed, the qualitative was employed as the best suited one for this study. This methodology provides an in-depth examination into issues of marginalisation, inequality and empowerment, which are critical for this study. Furthermore, this method has the potential to bring about social change since it questions the sources of power in institutions and its corresponding statutory instruments (Gay et al., 2006:113; Bradshaw and Fordham, 2013:7).

Regarding the present study, the method addressed the primary question ofhow can gender mainstreaming be engaged to address the lack of gender equality within DRR in Botswana. In this regard, the study adopted bottom-up participatory techniques that involved both the marginalised population of women and men.

The chapter commences with a discussion of the techniques used in the research design. This entails philosophical assumptions, strengths and weaknesses. Thereafter follows an examination of the sampling methods, data collection, analysis and interpretation. Themes and variables from the following theoretical chapters are identified and discussed. These were used to develop a research guide or list of questions for the participants. The primary techniques of data collection were focus groups, obsevations, and interviews with key professionals involved in the DRR and gender fields, which included scholars and practitioners. Focus groups involved both men and women.These participants were selected from districts in Botswana that have a high disaster-risk profile. The chapter concludes with ethical considerations.

8.2. Research Design

This section provides a closer examination of the research design for the present research as well as the rationale behind it. The section discusses the strengths and weaknesses of qualitative methods and its corresponding sampling techniques.

8.2.1. Qualitative research methods transform social policies

Qualitative research aims to investigate social phenomena and find possible solutions to the problem through ‘rich’ descriptions (Rowlands, 2005:82). Quarantelli (cited in

Fothergill, 1998:24) argues that scholars of disaster need to branch out from common research methods and use unorthodox techniques. He adds that scholars should conduct in-depth, qualitative research to obtain a clearer understanding of women's lived experience in disasters, within their situations. This type of research methodology is typically used to answer questions about the complex nature of phenomena, often with the purpose of describing and understanding these matters from the participants' point of view (Tavallei and AbuTalib, 2010:571).

A qualitative design is used when subtle issues such as gender differences, race, and economic status are of concern (Tavallei and AbuTalib, 2010:571). Such a design further examines the life experiences, behaviours, attitudes and stereotypes of the population under investigation. Responses are given through their lenses as part of marginalised groups (Miller and Brewer, 2003:239; Rowland, 2005:82). However, these responses cannot be measured precisely, or explained by using numbers and figures (Berg, 2001:3).

Tavallei and AbuTalib, (2010:571) argue further that qualitative research is fundamentally interpretive, subjective, impressionistic and diagnostic. It thus interprets the data and draws conclusions, personally and theoretically. The present study employed a wide range of data-gathering techniques, namely in-depth interviews, focus groups and observation (Nieuwenhuis and Smit, 2012:126). Qualitative studies are influenced further by other factors such as time, funds, and participants' availability and interest (Merriam and Simpson, 1995:112). This method helped the researcher respond adequately to the critical question regarding gender inequalities in a disaster setting, from the view of the affected, and recommend policy reforms.

The nature of the research problem determined the type of research methodology that were chosen (Rowlands, 2005:82). However, the adopted theoretical framework also influenced the selection of the methodology. For instance, the study used theories on feminism and social vulnerability, which promotes women's empowerment and resilience. These attributes form the cornerstone for a solution to social injustice. Furthermore, feminist theories question the power imbalances in society. Such imbalances may be prominent in research since participants may view themselves as being subservient to the researcher (Bryman, 2012:491). Due to such an unequal relationship, participants may not provide adequate answers.

More women than men participated and were involved in the research process, of which 83 women and 23 men. This allowed for an equitable distribution of power in the research relationship. In this regard, the researcher adopted a gender-sensitive approach, which was open, participatory, accountable and respectful to the perspectives, experiences and beliefs of both men and women (Leduc, 2009:3). The open and participatory technique acknowledged women as agents of change who are willing to contribute positively to the well-being of their families and countries, and not figure merely as passive victims of disaster. In this way, the researcher was able tap into their wealth of knowledge for the research problem.

However, the qualitative methodology was not without weaknesses. It often was challenged with issues of reliability and validity as most of the data were from participants' views, and thus not rigorous enough (Liang, 2011:39). Moreover, the method was subjective and difficult to replicate (Bryman, 2012:406). The weakness of the method was overcome through objectivity of both the researcher and his research assistants and to minimalise bias, which at times were difficult to validate.

The following section discusses various types of qualitative techniques. These include but are not limited to the explanatory, exploratory and interpretive models.

8.2.2. Exploratory andinterpretive and research approaches

The research study was exploratory and interpretive within a grounded theory. In order to generate additional knowledge, the method posed the 'What?,' 'Why?' and 'How?' questions about the research problem (Babbie, 2010:19; Gray, 2013:36). This implies seeking explanations on why women are affected more by disasters; how it was done or illustrated; what the primary causes of the gender inequalities entail, and what could be done to solve the problem (Gray, 2013:36).

The aim of asking the above-mentioned questions was to solve problems women face in circumstances of disasters and to develop adequate, focused and gender-sensitive policy interventions (Finch, 1986:176). In essence, these questions explained the social relations in a society and provided more dependable explanations to the research problem (Sarantakos, 2005:11; Babbie, 2010:20). Additionally, interpretivism was used to examine the historically and culturally-biased situations that discriminated against women and other social groups, and to infer social meaning from these situations (Gray, 2013:23).

The exploratory nature of the research implied a further investigation of the existing social problem (Bless et al., 2007:44-45; Silverman, 2000:89). As the name implies, it explores the phenomenon or problem where little or no information had been gathered (Berg, 2001:3). As mentioned previously, the present study found limited information on gender and disasters in Botswana. Most of the information was anecdotal and non-empirical. In light of this gap, the exploratory techniques illuminated the causes and effects of gender inequalities in the country.

The further aim was to develop strong recommendations for DRR policy change. These recommendations in turn should facilitate the empowerment of marginalised women whilst creating an equitable environment for both sexes (Creswell, 2003:11). The exploratory method employed various data-collection techniques such as a literature review, direct observation, focus groups and interviews (Silverman 2000:90).

Field work was the primary means to gather data. For this method, the researcher needed first to identity sampling techniques. The following section discusses the sampling methods used and important factors that influenced its selection. To select a sample, the study employed the purposive sampling method. This method was used to select participants for the focus-group discussions, as well as to interview key informants/practitioners, professionals both academic and from the field.

8.3. Purposive Sampling- Selection of sample

Purposive sampling is non-probabilistic, (individuals are selected on the basis that they are available and are willing to participate) and strategically selects participants who are relevant to the research questions and have the professional competency and experience (Bryman, 2012:418). This method was used to select both professionals and members of the community. There are various strategies of purposive sampling. These include: criterion, stakeholder, snowball, convenience, random, stratified, to name a few (Creswell, 2003:16). The present study focused on purposive sampling based on criteria and stakeholders. This allowed the selection of professionals in their respective fields who expressed their technical experiences as they are connected to the phenomena that was investigated (Gay et al., 2006:113). Their selection was based on their being responsible for the development, implementation and evaluation of the policies in question (Palys, 2008:697).

Furthermore, the selected sample represented the population (2005:165; Gay et al., 2006:113). In other words, the researcher selected a sample through his experience and knowledge of the group that was sampled (Gay et al., 2006:113; Palinkas et al., 2015:539). This technique was used to select participants whom the researcher identified as thoughtful, informative, and who could express their experience regarding the research topic and setting (Merriam and Simpson, 1995:112). The participants willingly shared their lived, practical experiences and views on the research problem. There also was more flexibility than, for instance, the positivist model of random sampling. Purposive sampling also was an effective response to research problems that dealt with experiences and policy interventions (Sarantakos, 2005:165; Tongco, 2007:154).

8.3.1. Sampling of key informants

The present research used dual techniques to collect data, namely: key informants and focus groups. In this regard, the study purposefully sampled 21 key informants (n=21). These included officials professionally engaged in DRR/CCA and gender issues at national, district and local levels. Face-to-face, one-on-one, semi-structured interviews were conducted with professionals, traditional leaders, gender activists and politicians. The following officials were interviewed:

- Department of Gender Affairs (2);
- academics/researchers (2);
- National Disaster Management Office (1);
- Ministry of Education and Skills Development/Curriculum Development (1);
- SADC DRR unit (1);
- UN country team/UN women (1);
- Deputy District Commissioners (2);
- Chiefs/*Dikgosi* (2),
- Councillor (1);
- Village development committee (1); and
- Gender activist (1).

Further participants were NGOs, especially those dealing with gender issues:

- Botswana Red Cross Society (1);
- Emang Basadi (1);
- Genderlinks (1);

- Ditshwanelo (1);
- Wena Magazine (1); and
- IRI-SWITCH (1).

No exact rules apply to sample size. The focus is more on the quality of the participants rather than quantity (Gay et al., 2006:113). By using the format of a semi-structured interview the researcher was able to pose the same question to all the participants, in such a way that they provided comparableinformation (Tongco, 2007:154). Data collection for the study was collected from April 2018 to June 2018.

8.3.2. Focus-group design

The study further adopted focus group discussions as another method for gathering data. In the same vein, purposive sampling was used to identify participants. The method of criterion purposive sampling was employed. Contrary to individual one-on-one techniques, focus groups are a data-collection method in which a group of people with a common interest are gathered to discuss a topic of the researcher's choice (Morgan, 1997:6).

It was critical to involve individuals who had been exposed to disasters. The reason is that they had first-hand knowledge of the issues under discussion and could easily relate to the research problem. The selected participants were mainly women who had previously been affected by disasters, and a small number of men. The involvement of both sexes was paramount, seeing that this provided a balance of thoughts and experiences as well as cross-fertilisation of ideas. Furthermore, individuals above the age of 21 years (age of the majority) as heads of families were selected to participate in the study. Those below the age of the majority were excluded intentionally from participating. The reason was that they were most likely to be more vulnerable and may have found it difficult to cope with their emotions.

According to anecdotal evidence from the NDMO, areas that had high disaster-risk profiles were selected with the assistance and guidance of the Office of the District Commissioner and the coordinator of DRR at district level. Key informants, the District Commissioner and the local area social worker identified the groups (Peek and Fothergill, 2009:35). The involvement of these informants (District Commissioners) was critical as they were directly responsible for identifying and provide relief as well as supporting rehabilitation and recovery of the affected families. Disasters in these areas occurred

frequently than in other areas. In this regard, an average of between 15 to 20 participants were interviewed in the focus groups in each of the following areas:

- Mathubudukwane Village (Kgatleng District),
- Phala Road Village (Mahalapye Sub District),
- Borolong Village (Tonota Sub District),
- Bobonong Village (Bobirwa Sub District)
- Letlhakane West Village (Moshupa Sub District).
- Thamaga Village (Mogoditshane Sub District)

In the focus groups, rich data emerged through interaction within the group. For example, sensitive issues were revealed that could have been missed in individual interviews. Furthermore, participants developed and expressed ideas which they would not have conceived on their own (Bradshaw and Fordham, 2013:7). By challenging each other's views and experiences, and learning from each other, the members functioned on a dual plane: *collectively* as a group, and as *individuals* (Pini, 2002:342). The objective of interviewing them as a focus group was to empower collectively them as a social group by the following research strategy:

> *Analysing ideas about the causes of powerlessness, recognising systematic oppressive forces and acting both individually and collectively to change conditions of their lives* (Lather, 1991:3-4).

The research primarily used semi-structured, open-ended questions and was flexible enough to discuss issues of interest (Lowe et al., 1996:441). The researcher had a set of pre-planned questions that guided the process for all the focus groups. Although formulated in English, these questions were translated into the vernacular language (Setswana[1]). This was done to accommodate participants, seeing that most of those who were affected by disasters had low literacy levels (Kottegoda, 2011:2). The discussions were also conducted primarily in Setswana. The interview consisted of mainly three parts: consent form and demographic profile which was completed individually and the semi-structured open-ended questions, which were completed by the focus group.

The semi-structured questions were divided into two broad-based categories; practical and strategic needs. These were further broken down into themes. These were identified

[1] The researcher's mother tongue is Setswana.

as common themes in the literature review and were responsible for driving gender inequality in risk reduction in Botswana.

- practical needs also known as tangibles – provision of immediate needs such water, health, temporary shelter, food and other basic needs); and
- strategic needs or intangibles – issues such as power, upholding of women's rights, and the elimination of institutionalised forms of discrimination:
- educational opportunities;
- increased workload;
- right to land ownership; and
- measures against gender-based violence (Pincha et al., 2007:20; Carson et al., 2013:63).

Emphasis was placed on strategic needs, although not necessarily downplaying the importance of practical needs. In this regard, strategic needs tackled inequality embedded in the institutions (both traditional and modern) and the policies. On the other hand, practical needs helped sustain the caring and subordinate role of women (Bradshaw, 2015:563). The understanding was that by dealing with the strategic or intangible needs of society, this would bring about social change in the consciousness, norms and stereotypes of both men and women (Kottegoda, 2011:7). For social change to occur, there needs to be robust policy reforms. Social change does not take place instantly. It takes time for human behaviour to change. The researcher concluded sessions by inquiring from participants whether they wished to add aspects that had not been covered. The generic open-ended question allowed the participants to reflect on the session and the researcher to summarise the discussion.

The flexibility of semi-structured questions allowed participants to add a new dimension to the research problem, or challenge the researcher on issues that he had not previously considered (Holme and Solvag, 1991:99-100 cited in Molin, 2012:17). This helped participants open up and share additional information, which enriched the study. To avoid misunderstandings, the researcher probed participants with additional questions for clarity (Molin, 2012:14). This was because of the opportunity to probe participants with additional open-ended questions. This type of question also allowed the researcher to determine the participants' perceptions and the nature of their experience (Gay et al.,

2006:419). Additionally, efforts were made to identify non-verbal cues and behaviours, which could not be recorded.

This was done to promote social cohesion in the community by getting people from similar situations to share their common experiences (Peek and Fothergill, 2009:45). Focus groups seemingly had an advantage by exploring the views of the marginalised. Nevertheless, the data-collection method was not without its weaknesses. For instance, focus groups had the ability to disempower the taciturn whose condition of vulnerability had been worsened by the disaster (Pini, 2002:349). This in turn could distort the results of the study as most of the views that were aired would represent only the dominant individuals.

As often is the case in group environments, certain individuals dominated proceedings, while others made limited contributions. Therefore, it was critical for the researcher to balance the views and opinions of participants (Bhopal, 2010:193).To mitigate this condition, the researcher first had to build rapport with the participants. He also assured them that the study was an academic exercise. The sessions would not invade their personal space and they could withdraw from the process at any time during the interview, as explained in the consent form (See attached Appendix). The researcher further assured the participants that he will report back on the findings of the study.

8.3.3. Group size

According to Peek and Fothergill (2009:37), focus groups of between three to 20 members are not only manageable but help provide adequate responses to the problem. The groups were small enough to allow individual members to share their experiences freely. A small assembled group proved to be more valuable than a larger representative sample (Pini, 2002:346). Certain Individuals can be intimidated by large groups, and thus are more comfortable participating in smaller groups. The study selected 20 individuals, or heads of households, who had been affected by disasters.

In certain instances, people affected by the disaster exceeded the required 20 participants per group. Selection also depended on participants' availability and willingness to participate in the study. Other variables were not considered such as level of education, social status, marital status, religion or ethnicity. The reason is that marginalisation of women through policies and institutions, cut across these variables. Marginalisation is not specific to any social group.

Furthermore, most scholars agree that an adequate study requires at least three to five focus groups, and each lasting for approximately 90 minutes (Morgan, 1997:5). The present study, therefore, sampled six focus groups from the disaster-prone areas, each comprising at least 18 participants, thus totalling 106 participants (n=106)**.** This was preceded by the piloting/rehearsal of the research instrument to determine whether it was effective for data collection.

8.4. Pilot Studying Research Instruments

Before commencing the main study, the researcher conducted a 'field test' or of the actual study. A sample of at least two key participants and one focus group were used. Two colleagues from work were selected as test key participants. Two university students were selected to simulate focus groups. The aim of the field test was to identify and correct problems with the research methodology before undertaking the actual study. According to Cohen et al. (2000:260, cited in Dondolo, 2014:75) a pilot study has the following values:

- Determine effective length.
- Identify ambiguous and redundant questions.
- Assess whether the questionnaire was too intrusive to the vulnerable individuals in the focus groups.

Intrusive and culturally-sensitive questions could potentially discourage participants, especially in instances where dealing with individuals who are vulnerable. These sensitive issues had to be managed cautiously, allowing participants to engage freely in the study. The researcher and his assistants avoided issues that were culturally sensitive and were likely to antagonise participants. The objective was to be respectful and supportive to the participants and avoid marginalising them further (Creswell and Miller, 2000:128).

The following section discusses themes and variables of the study. These were used to shape the questions posed in the study. It also underscores the importance of testing the data collection instrument first, before going to the field.

8.5. Formation of Research Tools – Themes and Variables

Table 8.1 below indicates themes and variables that emerged from the preceding theoretical Chapters. These variables were used to shape the research tools. Due to the

multiple variables discussed and delineated below, it was difficult to turn all of them into questions. Moreover, the use of time-bound focus groups inhibited the process.

Table 8.1: Themes and variables.

Themes	Variables	Section/s
1. Policy and legal framework (institutional impediments)	Policies and laws	5.9.1; 7.2;7.3
	Access and control of resources (unequal access to opportunities)	2.3.1; 5.3.1; 5.62
	Political will	4.4.1; 6.23
	Power relations	2.4.1; 6.2.3.
	Lack of participation in decision-making process (participation in economic, social and governance, voice)	2.3; 3.3; 3.4; 4.3.1
	Lack of access to information (early warning/recovery)	3.3; 6.3.1
	Public awareness	6.3.1; 6.3.2;
	Development concern (gender-relations and DRR integrally related to development processes)	2.2.2; 3.2
2.Cultural practices/factors	Patriarchy (norms, values and culture)	2.3; 2.4.2.1; 4.4
	Attitude, stereotypes, perceptions, beliefs and ideologies	2.3.2; 5.6.3;7.3
	Sexual division of responsibilities/labour	2.4.2.1
	Depending on external support, especially from men	2.3
	Intersectionality (gender-relations integrally related to culture, race, ethnicity class, sexuality, age, disability)	5.3; 5.5.3; 7.3.1.
	Resilience (agents of change)	2.4; 4.3
	Social vulnerability	2.4.2; 2.4.2.1; 2.4.2.2
	Capabilities	2.4.3
	Empowerment	5.6.1;5.6.2; 5.6.3
4. Finance (allocation of resources)	Inadequate budgets	5.8.2; 7.3.2.
	Lack of prioritisation of gender and disaster issues	2.2.2; 4.2.1;4.4;5.7.1
	Gender-responsive budgeting	7.5.1.2
	Insecure sources of livelihoods	3.2; 3.6
	Cost-benefit analysis of engendering disasters	3.3; 3.4

8.6. Validity and Reliability of Data

There was a need to assess the types of questions to be used throughout the study, verifying these questions' validity and reliability. The interviews were recorded to assure the accuracy and reliability of the transcripts. The researcher used inductive reasoning to analyse the data. This involved analysing participants' experiences within the context of disaster incidents, and drawing inference from it based on the objectives of the study. Inductive means a movement from the specific (context) to the general. These experiences were illustrated through phrases or words, descriptions and processes (Thomas, 2006:241).

To ensure credibility and validity of the research findings, the study triangulated its data. This entailed using multiple methods of data collection to achieve as complete a picture as possible of the topic under research, and to cross-check the information (Creswell and Miller, 2000:127; Gay et al., 2006:113). As indicated previously, triangulation helped ensure the findings were not simply the results of a single method, one source, or an individual investigator's biases (Creswell, 1994:174; Golafshani, 2003:603).

Furthermore, during fieldwork, the researcher observed the implementation of policies and strategies to enhance gender equality. This was possible by participating in gender-related activities such as training, workshops, seminars and conferences.

8.6.1. Strategies to ensure trustworthiness and increased rigour

To ensure reliability and increase the rigour of qualitative research methods, it is critical to consider the trustworthiness of the instruments that are used (Seale, 1999:467). The present study adopted Guba's model of trustworthiness (Krefting, 1991:215-216; Thomas and Magilvy, 2011:152). This model covers four aspects, namely; truth value, applicability, consistency and neutrality (Creswell and Miller, 2000:126; Houghton et al., 2013:12). These aspects were addressed at different times during the research – the design, data collection and interpretation stages (Krefting, 1991:217). Table 7.2 below shows the strategies adopted to ensure trustworthiness and reduce bias in this study, according to Lincoln and Guba's model.

Table 8.2: Strategies to ensure trustworthiness of the study.

Strategy	Definition	Initiatives by the researcher
Truth value (Credibility)	Presentation of accurate information on respondent's experiences, people in the same situation can share similar experiences	• Triangulation of data sources (focus groups and key informant interviews) • De-briefing/presentation of the findings to focus groups and key informants • Peer debriefing of findings (including those that were not part of participants)
Consistency (Dependability)	Reliable replication of the findings and reaching the same goals	• Triangulation of data sources (focus groups and key informants) • Peer debriefing • Reflexivity: consistently check for researcher bias
Applicability (Transferability)	Findings can be generalised to similar settings	• In-depth narrative of the research methodology and literature review • Use of recorders to capture *verbatim* the views of the participants • Purposive sampling of participants affected by disasters, and key informants working on disaster risk reduction and gender.
Neutrality (Conformability)	Free from bias and findings a true representation of the views and experiences of the participants (objectivity)	• Triangulation of data sources (focus groups, and key informants) • Reflexivity – acknowledge own biases and ensure data is free from bias

Adopted from: Korstjens and Moser (2018:121)

In the present study, the findings were tested for validity and reliability. Nevertheless, the researcher's subjective bias (i.e., based on perceptions, stereotypes and motivations) could have influenced the results of the study. However, the following subsection discusses which measures were employed to minimise harmful subjectivity.

8.6.2. Acknowledgement of Researcher bias

Researchers have inherent social, economic and political forms of bias. In order to achieve objectivity, these impediments have to be acknowledged and measures taken to curb it. Researching on gender or women issues as a male researcher was likely to cause problems for certain participants. This led to perceived power relations between the researcher and the participants, especially the females. Given the scenario of a male

dominant and patriarchal society, certain female participants viewed the male researcher with suspicion. As a result, these participants were not free to air their views, as compared to a situation where the researcher would have been female.

To mitigate the above-mentioned problem, the research involved female assistants to reduce male bias and increase gender balance. These assistants and their professional conduct proved vital in helping to reduce the male bias in the research. Furthermore, the researcher used gender-sensitive language that was acceptable, and showed respect to all participants. The researcher and participants enjoyed an equal power relationship, in which both stood to benefit from the research.

8.6.3. Ethical considerations (Ethics Number NWU-0112-13-S7)

As indicated, the study selected participants who had been exposed to disasters. These individuals suffered psychological and physical damage, loss of livelihoods and, in certain instances, loss of loved ones. These individuals were extremely vulnerable and needed to be treated with care. To protect these vulnerable individuals from ethical concerns, the researcher adhered strictly to the prescribed guidelines of North-West University's Ethics Committeeand those provided by the Republic of Botswana. In addition, the researcher ensured participants of their anonymity and confidentiality (See consent form attached).

Participants were requested politely to take part in the data-collection process, rather than being enticed or pressured. If a respondent had reservations, he/she was given the choice to withdraw. No one participated in the study against his/her will and there was no mention of financial disbursements. Respect for the participants was also cultivated in the research team. The rights and interests of the participants were protected and ensured. Confidentiality was maintained of all information gathered from the participants. Information was also shared with participants regarding how, when, where, and with whom the data were used.

A further problem was expectations of potential advantages, or disadvantages by participating in the research. This matter was managed carefully to ensure that affected families/households did not develop false expectations about humanitarian support or intervention. Failure to communicate clearly with affected families participating in the study could have compromised the research results. In addition, in certain cases, it could even have placed at risk the safety and security of the affected families themselves.

8.6.4 Data Analysis

After gathering information from professionals, focus groups, and through direct observation, the data were analysed. This allowed the researcher to interpret and 'make sense' of the participants' perceptions. The ultimate goal was to determine the possible factors that caused gender inequality within disaster situations. The study generated extensive, unstructured data, which could not be analysed manually. Atlas-ti[2] provided a platform to auto-code the raw data with less difficulty (Friese, 2014:5). Recorded data were transcribed verbatim and uploaded into Atlas.ti as primary documents. Common issues raised by participants were grouped together without necessarily forming specific themes to develop a coding scheme. The researcher assigned key words or short phrases (maximum 4 words). These words/phrases were narrowed to four major themes, each including sub-themes. (These themes and sub-themes formed the basis of chapter 9).

8.7. Conclusion

Selecting the methodology for the present study depended on the research problem at hand and its corresponding objectives. The purpose of the research was to explore the lived experiences of individuals affected by disaster. These experiences were captured best by employing a qualitative research design. Through this approach the researcher gained an in-depth analysis of the causes of gender inequality in relation to DRR.

By using the focus-group approach, the researcher was able to gather primary data. This information represented the views, perceptions, attitudes stereotypes, norms and values of the marginalised. It was found that these subjective qualities to an extent helped cause the marginalisation of women. Thus, it was important to examine subjective qualities since it had the potential to sustain the status quo and increase gender inequalities in society. In the light of the discussion of the research methodology techniques, the following chapter (chapter 9) discusses empirical findings of the study. The Chapter provides an indepth analysis of the participants' views on the research problem.

[2] A qualitative computer software that helps to analyse the data

CHAPTER 9: EMPIRICAL RESEARCH FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

9.1. Introduction

Chapter 9 presents the findings and discussion of the study. It also seeks to answer the primary research question why women in Botswana are affected more than men by disasters, and how their inherent resilience could be strengthened in such situations. Furthermore, the research investigates critical factors that link gender with disaster-risk reduction (DRR) or climate-change adaptation (CCA), vulnerability, and resilience. The study also uses international best practices as benchmark for the most appropriate, sustainable solutions to the problem.

The qualitative research method was used to gather and analyse data. Furthermore, the approach of inductive reasoning was followed to analyse the participants' different perceptions, views and opinions. This was done by using Atlas.ti, a qualitative form of computer software.

As outlined in the previous chapter (ch 8), six focus-group discussions (FDGs) were held involving households that were affected by disasters. In addition, a total of 21 participants were interviewed. They comprise professionals from government institutions, non-governmental organisations, regional bodies, UN organisations, traditional leaders *(dikgosi),* politicians (Councillors) and gender activists. Observations were also made during the interviews with focus groups and professionals. In certain instances, affected areas were visited to determine the extent of the disaster.

The chapter primarily discusses the perceptions of individuals who were affected by disasters. These experiences are complemented by views of professionals, politicians and traditional leaders. Unlike the FGDs' participants, these interviewees were not affected by disasters. Furthermore, the focus is on factors that cause women to be affected more by disasters than men, and how this results in loss of lives and livelihoods. Finally, solutions are proposed to help reduce women's vulnerability, as experienced from the participants' perspective.

9.2. Socio-Demographic Data

To examine the findings further from the focus groups and interviews, this section focuses first on the socio-demographic profiles of affected families and professionals who were interviewed.

9.2.1. Socio-demographic profile of participants

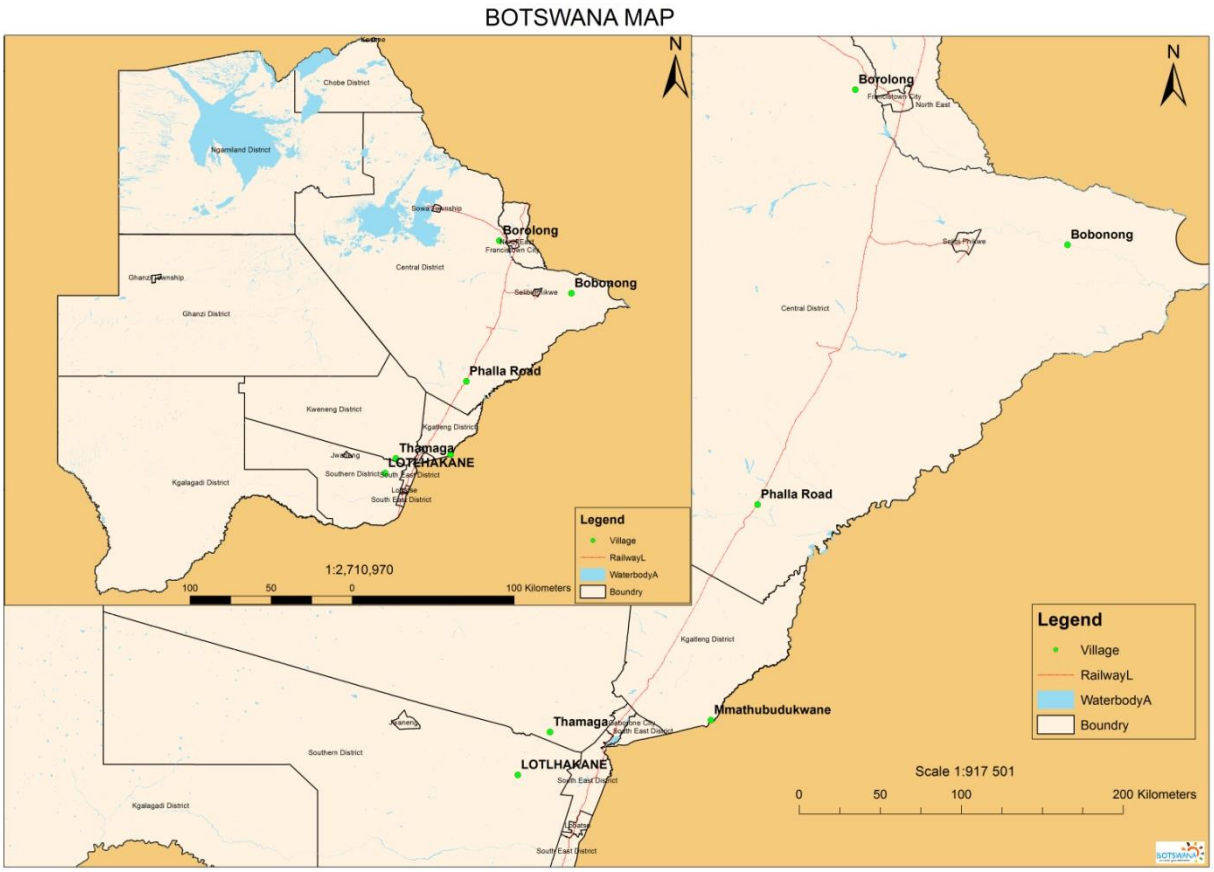
The first subsection reports on the socio-demographic profile of households affected by disasters – including their geographical locations. The demographic data describe issues such as gender, level of education, age, marital status, and the mentioned geographical location. The purpose was to examine common characteristics of the participants: households and professionals. Regarding professionals, the focus was on their gender, length of service, and academic qualifications.

Households affected by disasters

The study collected demographic data from a total of 106 participants (*see* Table 9.1 below) in the six FGDs. The majority of the participants, namely 78% (n=83), were female, and 22% (n=23) were male. As many as 73% (n=77) of the participants were above 45 years of age, and 79% (n=84) had a limited education (primary level), or no education at all. It was significant to note that none of the participants affected by disasters had advanced beyond secondary level in their education. Although level of education variable was not being tested here, it is this variable that drives women to be vulnerable to disasters (Ajibade et al., 2013:1716) Most of these women had dropped out of school due to various reasons such as pregnancy, non-affordability of fees, and lack of interests. In addition, 83% (n=88) of the females were single, widowed, or divorced, and 64% (n=68) belonged to families with five or more family members.

The Botswana country map in Figure 9.1 below indicates the villages and districts covered by the study. The villages under research were: Borolong (Tonota Sub-district), Bobonong (Bobirwa Sub-district), Phala Road (Mahalapye Sub-district), Lotlhakane West (Moshupa Sub-district), Mathubudukwane (Kgatleng District) and Thamaga (Mogoditshane Sub-district).

Figure 9.1: Villages covered by the study



The map shows: Although the households were from different geographical locations and ethnic compositions, similar patterns were observed in the six areas (villages).

The location and composition of the households are presented in Table 9.1 below.

Table 9.1: Socio-demographic profile of Focus Groups (families affected by disasters).

	Mathudukwane village (Kgatleng District)	Phala Road village (Mahalapye Sub- district)	Borolong village (Tonota Sub-district)	Thamaga village (Mogoditshane Sub-district)	Lotlhakane - West village (Moshupa Sub-district)	Bobonong village (Bobirwa Sub-district)	Totals and %
Gender							
Female	13	17	14	11	14	14	83 (78%)
Male	5	5	1	5	3	4	23 (22%)
Total	**18**	**22**	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**106 (100%)**
Age							
21 -29		2	1	1			4 (2%)
30 -44	3	7	8	1	3	4	26 (25%)
45-64	9	10	6	12	10	11	59 (56%)
65+	6	3		2	4	3	18 (17%)
Total	**18**	**22**	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**106 (100%)**
Level of education							
0	5	4	1	10	13	6	39 (37%)
Primary	12	13	8	4	2	7	46 (43%)
Secondary	1	5	6	2	2	5	21 (20%)
Tertiary							
Total	**18**	**22**	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**106 (100%)**
Marital status							
Single	9	18	8	8	13	12	68 (64%)
Married	5	2	1	5	3	3	19 (18%)
Divorced	1	1	2			1	5 (5%)
Widowed	3	1	4	3	1	2	14 (11%)
Total	**18**	**22**	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**106 (100%)**
Family size							
0-5	8	6	5	5	6	8	38 (36%)
5+	10	16	10	11	11	10	68 (64%)
Total interviewees	**18**	**22**	**15**	**16**	**17**	**18**	**106 (100%)**

9.2.2. DRR/CCA and Gender professionals

A total of 21 professionals were interviewed, of whom 12 were female. Most of these women held key positions of authority in their respective organisations. In certain

instances, women held higher positions than men and were better qualified. Most of these participants had ten or more years of work experience in gender- or DRR/CCA-related work. Significantly, although these professionals were practicing gender- and/or DRR/CCA-related work, few had a basic academic qualification in the relevant field. Nevertheless, although these participants lacked the academic qualifications, they had over the years accumulated a wealth of knowledge and experience in their respective fields. Table 9.2 below provides an outline of the professionals' demographics.

Table 9.2: Professionals' demographics.

Number	Institution	Govt/Private/ NGO	Gender: Male/ Female	Years of service <10	Mandate
1.	NDMO	Govt	M	✓	Coordination of DRR at national level
2.	District Commissioner's Office	Govt, Kgatleng District		✓	Coordination of DRR at District level
3.	District Commissioner's Office	Govt, Mahalapye District	F	✓	Coordination of DRR at District level
4.	Genderlinks	NGO	F	✓	Gender equality and justice
5.	Ditshwanelo	NGO	F	✓	Promotion and protection of human rights
6.	Emang Basadi	NGO	F	✓	Women's human rights
7.	Gender Affairs	Govt	F	✓	Coordination of gender issues at national level
8.	Gender Affairs	Govt	M	✓	Coordination of gender issues at national level
9.	SADC DRR Unit	Regional body	F	✓	Coordination of DRR at Regional level
10.	UN Women	UN	F	✓	Coordination of gender issues at regional level
11.	UB	Govt	M	✓	Research and academic institution
12.	Gender Activist	Self	F	✓	Gender and community mobilisation
13.	Village Development Committee	Govt	F	✓	Coordination of DRR at village level
14.	Ntlo ya Dikgosi/ House of Chiefs	Govt	F	✓	Custodians of culture/traditional leadership
15.	Ntlo ya Dikgosi/ House of Chiefs	Govt	M	✓	Custodians of culture/traditional leadership
16.	Wena Magazine	NGO	F	✓	Environmental magazine focussing on women
17.	Smart Switch	NGO	M	✓	Climate change and PWDs
18.	Education Curriculum Dept	Govt	M	✓	Curriculum development at primary school level
19.	Local Govt	Govt	M	✓	Councillor, politician
20	Okavango Research Institute	Govt	F	✓	Research
TOTALS		12 FEMALE /8 MALE			

The following section discusses their perceptions on gender and disasters.

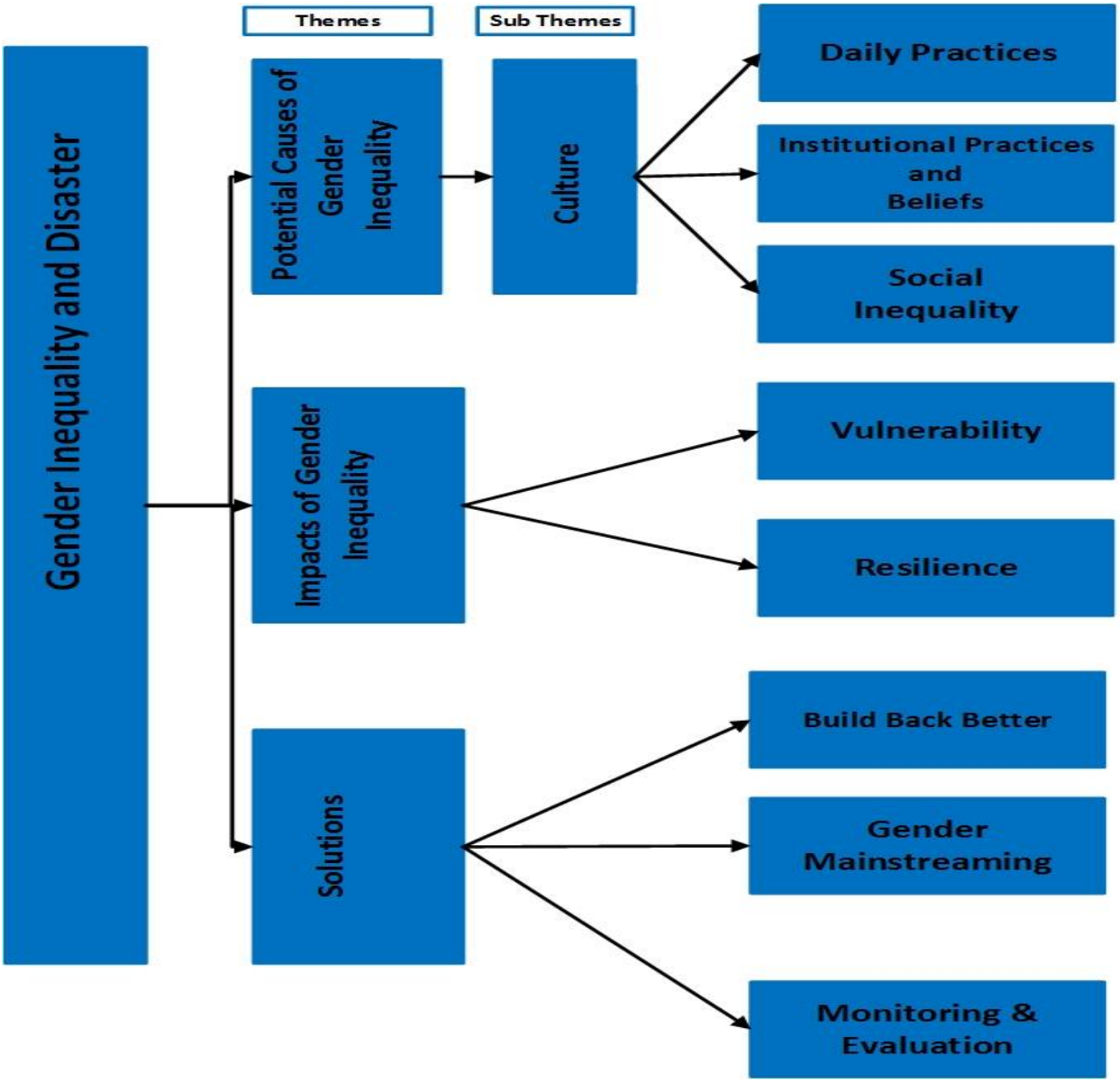
9.3. Perceptions: Causes of Gender Inequality in the Context of Disasters in Botswana

The discussion below focuses on responses from both FDGs and key informant interviews (professionals). The data from the FGDs were triangulated with that of the professionals, then analysed against information from the preceding chapters. The analysis of the study unearthed three intertwined themes for these perceptions:

1) Potential causes of gender inequality
    A) Culture
        i) Daily practices
        ii) Institutionalised practices, beliefs
2) Impacts of gender inequality
        i) Increased vulnerability
        ii) Increased resilience/adaptation
3) Solutions
        i) Build back better
        ii) Gender mainstreaming

These themes developed into sub-themes, which are represented in the Figure 9.2 below. It is noted that culture although a stand-alone theme runs through all the themes. For example, culture influences how institution are established and how they function and marginalise women. For ease of reference and discussion, the themes were broken up as they are closely knit.

Figure 9.2: Themes and sub themes

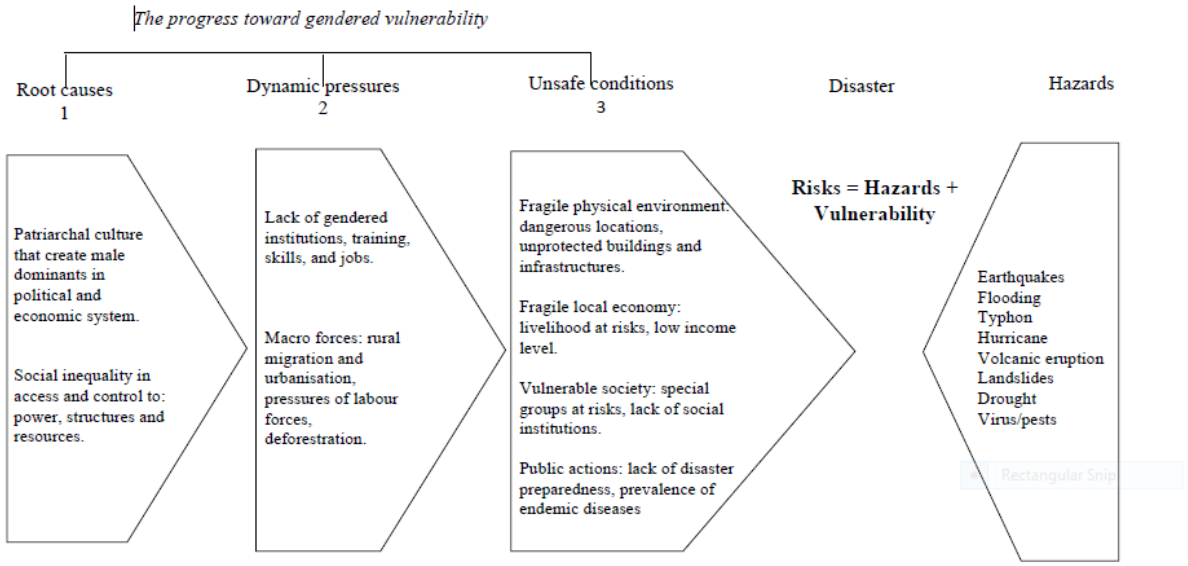


To analyse the data, three main, interrelated, themes were developed based on the findings, which revealed sub-themes. These themes and sub-themes are discussed in detail, and responses from participants are integrated with secondary data to illustrate key points. The mentioned themes guided the research findings and provided structure to it. The findings, in turn, were guided by the study's research questions. Responses from FGDs appeared similar, whether one was held in Lotlhakane West, which is far south, or Borolong village which is situated on the northern part of the country. First to be discussed is the causes of gender inequality and and its accompanying sub-themes.

9.3.1. THEME 1: Potential causes of gender inequality (Culture)

The research question focused on the causes of gender inequalities and disasters in Botswana. In response to this question, the research examined the ways in which culture helped increase women's vulnerability to disasters on a daily basis. Skinner, (2011:18) refers to culture as the learned ideas or concepts on aspects of humans society. Culture plays an integral part in the lives of Batswana and influences people's behaviours, thoughts and processes. During the interviews, the FGDs and professionals identified culture as the key driver of women's discrimination. The negative influence of culture on the lives of women was pointed out at household level, community, and even at the work place. The following gendered Pressure and Release (PAR) Model summarises some of the roots causes of women's vulnerabilities and the subsequent progression to a disaster. According to the model, it is the patriarchal culture and its institutions that disempower women.

Figure 9.3: Gendered Pressure and Release (PAR) Model.



Adopted from: Blaikie et al., (2003:51)

Most participants identified culture as cause for their poverty and vulnerability to disasters. Ironically, this finding was supported by certain *dikgosi* (Chiefs). Despite being custodians and symbols of culture, they argued that there were some elements of culture that oppress women and should, therefore, be repealed. For example, the perception that the kitchen was central to women's lives, the problem of powerlessness, and failure to recognise women as head of the family. One Kgosi indicated that,

"There is no cultural law that says women should cook and clean. As men we don't recognise the value of these chores.Women are not paid for this work. Our women are very poor because they are always at home doing these chores instead of searching for formal work in urban areas. It is all in our adopted norms and values that women should perform these duties. We need to change some of the cultural practices that suppress women" (P 14, 7:55[3]).

9.3.1.1. Culture: Daily practices

The following section discusses daily practices that continue to marginalise women. These are the hardships that women go through on a daily basis. The following subsection discusses the different gender roles and how these were ascribed culturally. It will also be pointed out how such ascribed roles help because women's vulnerability to disasters and climate change.

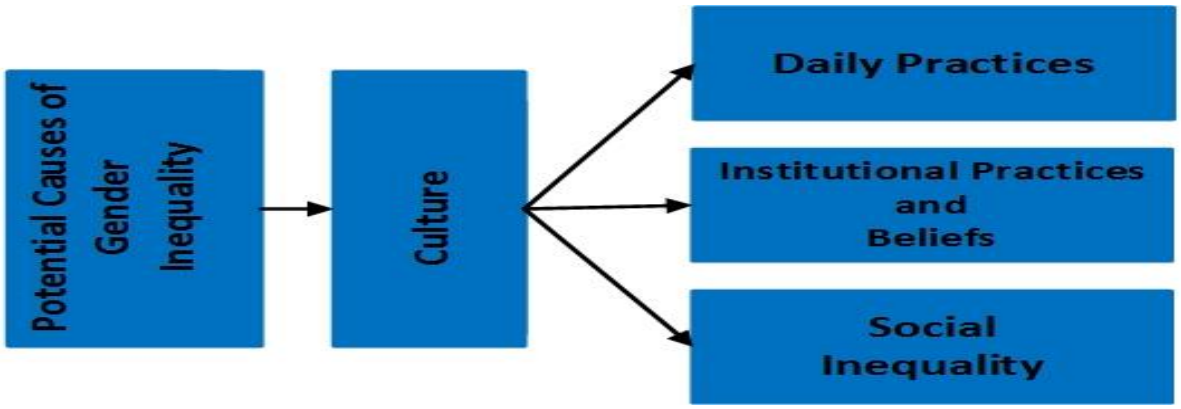
Productive and reproductive roles: refer to the division of labour at household and community level, as determined by culture. Women are assigned physical, time-consuming and lower-value roles, while men tend to receive the roles with recognition and of higher value.

Social inequality: entails the stratification of society and how this cause discrimination, poverty, and ultimately vulnerability to disasters.

The diagram (Figure 9.4) below presents the Potential causes of gender inequality and its sub-themes.

[3] In Atlas ti 'P' denotes primary document 8, and 5 means position of the quotation (paragraph), where 14 indicates the sentence line. In total, there were 26 primary documents, that is, 20 professional participants, and 6 FGDs.

Figure 9.4: Culture and sub-themes



Productive and reproductive roles of women

The study found that due to cultural oppression, women often are overburdened with responsibilities in an around the house. In response to the question on the role played by women in the family, a middle aged married woman from Lotlhakane West said, *"I take care of the children,for example, I make sure that they have eaten, have taken a bath, are not sick, check their home work, that is to say, I cook, clean, fetch water and firewood, and, in certain instances when my husband is not around I tend to cattle and other male responsibilities* (P7,15:21).

"My partner doesnt help me with buying of food and other household items. It's like I'm living alone. He has a donkey cart which he uses to sell firewood, he uses the money that he earns to buy traditional beer," said a visibly frustrated middle aged woman form Phala Road (P8, 20:23). Participants pointed out that these forms of income usually are spent on traditional alcohol and other extra-familial activities. Ironically, the traditional alcohol is brewed mostly by women to gain an income. Women use proceeds from the sale of alcohol for the upkeep of their family, including education for the children.

In addition, young lady from Mathubudukwane said, "Yes *these duties are different, our day to day work is to do household chores like cleaning the yard, cooking and washing clothes but during disaster or after, we focus mainly in picking up the pieces and repairing our damaged structures*" (P1,15:26). Conversely, a middle aged man from Borolong stated that, "*I also collect firewood, attend to cattle and other heavy chores in my home and I sometimes assist my partner with her domestic chores when she is not around or when she is not well" (P3, 20:14).* However, one differed with some participants that were of the view that they were overburded by domestic chores. *"I don't see it being difficult*

because it is a daily task, it becomes difficult when it involves a young child who cannot bath him/her self but you can also plan that if you working, like for me I plan, I know that I work weekdays for the Ipelegeng and on weekends I carry out domestic chores" said a middle aged woman from Bobonong (P5, 11:6). This self-defeatist attitude by certain women prevents them from challenging patriarchy and its institutions. Findings show that this attitude even dilutes some of the gains made by emancipating women from male oppression (Maclean, 2013:456).

Thus, the roles of women are full time compared to men who most of the time work half of the day and have the rest of the day off. This finding is further corroborated by Falanga (2016:1) who found that even in households with a maid or helpers, women's workload is still double than that of men. A middle aged female respondent at Lotlhakane West added that, *"I'm a man and a woman at the same time*"(P7, 7:17). Women fit easily into roles fulfilled by men; the same does not apply to men. Women generally have more survival skills than men (Rahman, 2013:75).

In worsening disaster conditions attributed to climate change, performing these roles become a challenge for women every dawn brings with it the ‘long walk’ for women which test their physical resilience and endurance. As Sobha (2007:111) also found these women engage in domestic chores daily, where distance to acquire these sources does not matter. *"I find it very difficult to perform certain physical tasks like fetching water, ploughing and carrying heavy load of fire wood on my head for long distances, as nearby firewood have been depleted"* emphasised an elderly woman from Phala Road (P8, 25:10). Goh, (2012:12) corroborates this point by stating that women are more affected by the effects of climate change than men because of their role, they are compelled to move from place to place searching for water and firewood. Likewise, it does not matter whether individual women are old, young, pregnant or sick. Women have to perform these tasks, regardless of their physiological condition. In such situations, safety and security for women becomes an issue of concern. Women run the risk of being attacked by wild animals, robbed, sexually assaulted by unruly men, or fall victim to gender-based violence (GBV) from their spouses if they returned home empty-handed. In such difficult situations with insufficient food, women's poor health and nutrition affect their physical strength and fitness, and by extension, their overall resilience to disasters (Dimitrijevics, 2007:35; Jordan, 2018:4). In these difficult times, regnant and lactating mothers are the worst affected as they have special nutritional needs.

When men lose cattle through drought, their workload of minding cattle is reduced, whereas women's workload increases as they at times must search for cattle or donkeys to plough the fields *(masimo).* Although tractors are used for ploughing, a number of Batswana still use cattle. As a result, these women are overburdened by carrying out both their chores and those of the men as men may migrate to urban areas in search of work (Goh, 2012:3). Due the continued absence of men, all domestic responsibilities, including raising children, are performed by women. Women thus, play a triple role: that of a man, of a woman and a member of community mobilisation (Ray-Bennet, 2010:242). The community mobilisation entails the external female role, whereas the other two roles are internal/domestic. The situation gets worse during disasters, as women must focus on additional chores of 'picking up the pieces' in recovery and rehabilitation. "*It is my responsibility to ensure the family returns to normal, with minimal disruptions, after a disaster,"* said woman from Thamaga (P6,12:8) It is the gendered division of labour that assigns women as domestic carers and imposes specific responsibilities on women in the aftermath of disasters (The Economist, 2014: 12).

The study confirmed further that men have better life-choices than women have. This includes, ability to migrate to urban areas when rural life was unbearable, and less domestic responsibilities. Surprisingly, the findings show that men who have identical socio-economic attributes to women, were not equally affected. This was so because culture afford certain rights and privileges to men at birth, which women do not have (Byers et al., 2016:148). Men's choices are more individualistic, while for women they are socially oriented in considering members of the family and the community, a finding corroborated by Eckel and Grossman, (2008:563).

The social choices become handy for women at certain stages during a disaster, seeing that these choices promoted solidarity and teamwork (social support is discussed later in the chapter). On the other hand, these socially oriented choices make women vulnerable to disasters since their focus is to protect and save their family members, often at their own expense. Women have little option but to exercise these choices. In contrast, men only need to attend to themselves and thus are able to evacuate immediately. Women often are caught in the middle and are unable to exercise their choice due to restricted mobility. Time is of the essence during disasters.

Women's lack of choice impedes their personal freedom to lead the kind of lives they value. As a result, women's lives attest to submission, unfulfillment and dependency.

These are components of powerlessness and vulnerability. The capability theory (an approach discussed in section 2.4.3 emphasised equality and women's need to enjoy of personal freedom (Tschakert and Machado, 2012:282). The adherents to the theory point out that it is Government's responsibility to make policies and programmes that address women's equality and personal freedom.

The participants emphasised that women in Botswana enjoy little rest or leisure time. Their around the clock duties is vividly illustrated by an young lady from Lotlhakane West who said, *"I do not have time to rest during the day, I only rest at night but during the day life demands does not allow me to rest but it is difficult for me, I get tired a lot. I wish there was someone to assist me"* P7, 15:12).

The reason is that they continually are engaged in different activities in and around the home. Such a situation deprives women of the opportunity to study and take part in income-generating projects to improve their lives of abject poverty (Omari, 2010:25). Despite having a limited rest time and overburdened by domestic chores, some female participants felt that women in Botswana are content with their situation. Refer to quote P5, 11:6 in the previous discussion. The findings show that, in most instances, these were female-headed families with no partners to assist them with the work. Thus, there is no supporting structure to help ease these women's workload. The situation is worsened by the community that shun men who offer to help out by taking on traditional female roles such as caring, cooking, and cleaning. As a result, women are compelled to do the work, or risk falling further and deeper into poverty.

A majority of the participants held the common view that the male is the head of the family, and have to act as he wanted. As head of the family, the patriarchal society empowers males to withdraw from certain responsibilities without being questioned (Mookodi and Fuh, 2004:33; Kalabamu, 2006:239). One female participant at Borolong village indicated that, "*there is a Setswana saying: rre ga a bogolwe, meaning- you cannot question him, otherwise he will go elsewhere and you will be left alone"* (P 3, 12:73). If males were not willing to partake, nothing compelled them to do house chores. *"It is my responsibility to perform household chores, regardless of whether I'm formally employed, or not*" said a young woman from Thamaga (P6, 24, 10). As a result, women must balance their household chores, community work, and enjoy personal time as well.

One female retired professional stated that, contrary to popular belief, women were not the only ones who worked at home. *"Men also make their unique contribution to the well-being of the family. While women are busy at work, men take on male-oriented work, and are not loitering or idling, as the perception often is"* said a retired female gender activist (P13, 13:10). This participant insisted that division of labour was essential for a family to function effectively. In some instances men also do perform domestic chores. This corroborates the statement made by one elderly man at Phala Road who said, "*my wife and I do everything together, we share the tasks, there is no division of labour, well I think the reason is because it is just the two of us at home. Our children do not live with us* (P8, 19:11). Most FDGs and some professionals explained that the division of labour was not the problem; the uneven distribution of chores was what marginalised women.However, in times of disaster, the cattle die due to drought, and the cutting of trees for energy is currently regulated heavily in Botswana (Hovorka, 2012:875). Thus, men find themselves with little to do at home. Therefore, these males have no choice, but to take on traditional female roles, or risk losing their ascribed status as provider. Realising the redundancy of their traditional roles, and the inevitable loss of their social status as provider, men migrate to urban areas in search of alternate roles. Thus, men begin to be absent from home more often and must seek employment at mines or urban areas to provide for their families. This result can be interpreted as evidence that there is still a strong existence of male dominance in Botswana.

Being confined in the home environment, affected women's socio-economic status directly. As a middle aged woman from Mathubudukwane said, *"Im always at home looking after my grandchildren. There is no one to assist me to baby sit them so that I can do other chores"* (P1, 20:8). A majority of women in the FGDs and professionals confirmed that women were indeed confined to their homes.This reduces time for informal work, which would enable women to protect livelihoods such as preventing birds and other predators from destroying their farmlands. As a result, women have to remain homebound, often against their wishes, which worsens their socio-economic status. The situation is exacerbated by a recalcitrant and patriarchal-driven domestic structure, which ensures women stay indoors (IFRC, 2014:136). A professional, gender activist indicated that women often are denied the opportunity to improve on their lives and those of their families. She added, *"When a woman goes to look for a* piece-job*, he will deny you to go, asking who is going to clean at home, who is going to take care of kids if you going to look for a piece job"* (P 15,10:11).

This homebound condition, affect the food security of the family, and by extension, their nutritional status (Dimitrijevics, 2007:35). During these times of food insecurity, women's health are affected the most since they are forced to share this limited food with their children. Most women end up in the *Ipelegeng* programme[4] and ad hoc jobs that pay meagre wages. They do not get involved out of choice, but due to limited employment opportunities in rural areas. Through this informal work, women supplement their income, which help them support their families as well as prepare for and recover from disasters.

When women are confined at home, as this was found in this study and in Mulyasari and Shaw (2013:2139) this also means that they spend limited time networking and discussing pertinent issues such as better prevention, preparedness and response strategies to disasters. Furthermore, as indicated previously, women are unable to attend *kgotla* meetings where major decisions are conveyed about development or early-warning information of disasters. Moreover, *kgotla* meetings are held at the time when women normally are busy with household chores. As a result, women are left behind in the decision-making process. In most instances, the decisions do not represent the needs and interests of women. *"Kgotla meetings should be organised in the evenings, or afternoons, when women are free from household chores, or work-related activities, and children have been fetched from school,"* said an academic (P23, 12:7).

Failure to participate in *kgotla* meetings, or any other gathering on developmental issues, limits women's contribution to the planning processes. This is not because of their incapability, but due to unfavourable timing. Women are dealing with household issues and are unable to attend *kgotla* meetings. It was found that full participation of women leads to better preparedness for, response to, and recovery after disasters (El-Bushra, 2007:145). Previous studies stressed the importance of including both sexes in the decision-making process. For instance, Alam and Collins (2010:19) and Kusumasari (2015:287) promote the view that such involvement encourages the spirit of teamwork and the equitable inclusion of both genders' interests.

However, the findings show that women's marginalisation stretches beyond the home environment and the sporadic *kgotla* meetings. Traditionally, women are socialised on the way they should speak and conduct themselves in public. In most instances, this implies negative socialisation. A female officer from Gender Affairs Department asserted

[4] Labour-intensive relief programme that serves as a safety net for families by providing access to direct wage employment, and thus protecting them from loss of income.

that, "*culturally, women are not supposed to talk loudly, but be soft spoken*" (P16, 5: 21). This means that women grow up lacking assertiveness and self-confidence (Tasli, 2007:33; Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:41). Such submissiveness often times leads to gender based violence as woman are not taught to stand up for themselves and they find it very difficult to report such cases of abuse. Women tend to suffer most and they hardly report. In fact discussing or talking about issues of abuse is a taboo in our society. *"Women keep it a secret in the household, because they have been brought up that way, they are certain things that you talk about and there are other things that you don't,"* said a gender activist (P12, 2:15).

This lack of 'voice' at times affects their participation in politics and even at work (formal), leading to increased inequality. (The participation of women in politics is discussed later in the chapter.)

Low self-esteem and poor self-confidence, in turn, lead to multiple problems:

- being dependent on men, leading to abusive relationships;
- loss of employment opportunities, especially in a situation where they compete with males for the same job;
- low participation in developmental programmes;
- increased levels of poverty; and
- increased vulnerabilities to subsequent disasters.

The mentioned increased vulnerabilities of women does not only put their lives in danger of disasters, but those of the family as a whole, seeing that they depend on the women to make the right and swift decisions during emergencies.

Social inequality: the role of socialisation and employment opportunities

Culture is promoted through the process of socialisation. Socialisation is patriarchally based and favours men above women. It is culture that allocates certain jobs based on the biological makeup (Thurairajah et al., 2011:3). A woman from Borolong village said,

> *"Last year there was an employment opportunity in the construction industry here at the kgotla, 18 men were hired compared to 6 women, they began to disengage women, giving excuses like the age doesn't allow, health doesn't allow, but women were willing to work" P3, 23:11*).

Culture says certain jobs are suitable for men and not women and vice versa. For instance, the construction and engineering jobs are the preserve of men, while the less

complex domestic and low paying jobs are for women. *"Culture socialises people to think women are not suitable for construction like it was before in the forces (army and police),"* said added a woman from Borolong village (P3, 24: 2). Due to patriarchy, most of these employment companies are run by men (Moalosi, 2007:41). Inevitably they prefer hiring other men above women (Omari, 2010:25). Thus, women find it extremely difficult to get hired in an environment that do not consider the critical role women play in managing and keeping the family together (Malema, 2012:66).. This further is further corroborated by Master, (2015:2) who indicates that due to such stereotypes, men are more likely than women to have raw ability, that is say, men have certain innate skills that women do not have. This arguement is at best flawed as it errenously assumes that men have more abilities than women and this further increases women's vulnerabilities. It is very critical for women to develop strategies to counter such stereotypes and perceptions. Most women participants viewed culture as a barrier to equal employment opportunities. Most of the villagers primarily depend on the *Ipelegeng* programme to earn a living. The lack of employment opportunities and Ipelegeng as the only alternative was supported by the Councillor. He stated that, *"If you take Ipelegeng for example you will notice that it is mostly populated with women and this clearly indicates that poverty and unemployment affects women more" (P19, 11:6).* Since men are unavailable in rural areas, being in search of employment opportunities, rural women are forced to take up *Ipelegeleng.* This explains the high representation of women (80% against 20%) in the programme compared to men (MLGRD, 2012:18).

This relief programme provides temporary employment to community members and households, alternated monthly for equal benefit (Malema, 2012:66). This means that for the following month, the female head of the household would not have an 'income' to feed her family. The programme thus cannot sustain the needs of the households, especially the following: single women with several dependents (including children); the elderly; and people living with disabilities (PWDs) (Oxley, 2012:6). This is aptly echoed by a young lady from Lotlhakane West who said,

> *"as women we are more affected, in my case I have many sons, boys eat a lot, I only work to feed them and this exposes me to disasters, it is difficult, we meet tough challenges, even in Ipelegeng sometimes they refuse to hire you, and it is painful"* (P7, 34:11).

The allowance from the programme leaves them worse off than when the destitute programme provided for them (Malema, 2012:66). The monthly allowance is lower than the amount from the destitute rations (MLGRD, 2012:18). As such, women prefer to be registered under the destitute programme rather than work for Ipelegeng (Malema, 2012:69). With this limited income from *Ipelegeng,* women are unable to create any savings, a crucial resource to help strengthen their resilience to disasters.

Additionally, the programme fails to target women, especially those female-headed households that are the most vulnerable (MLGRD, 2012:18). *Ipelegeng* is not only temporary, but unsustainable as well. Therefore, it rather helps 'sustain' poverty and vulnerability instead of enhancing families' resilience to disaster. The development projects that were implemented have little or no benefit for rural women. These projects include brick moulding, destumping of trees, and pushing concrete-filled wheelbarrows. Such strenuous tasks compromise women's health. This makes them more vulnerable to diseases, and leads to a shorter life span. In response to the programme, the Councillor said, *"government should disband Ipelegeng and replace it with sustainable employment opportunities, otherwise Batswana will continue to languish in poverty* (P19, 6:12). Spivak (2005:41) corroborates the findings of this study that the lack of employment opportunities, limited educational or vocational skills, and other similar factors by women, make them more vulnerable to natural hazards. Fatemi et al., (2017:221) supports the role of education in the transforming and enhancing the resilience of society (women) to disasters by indicating that individuals who have been through some form of education have more access to resources and are better able to cope with disasters.

The problem of unequal employment opportunities is compounded by the fact that women employees have to take maternity leave. In this regard, employers prefer to appoint men over women (El-Bushra (2007:145). The reason is clear: Males do not take maternity leave, take off time to cater for the children or other ailing members of their family. This attitude explains why more women are found in poverty, or represented in informal jobs as well as less complex and low-paying jobs such as *Ipelegeng* as corrobated *by* Stromquist (2000:429) and Nelson et al. (2010:55).

Furthermore, the mentioned programme did not equip women with DRR skills, while construction jobs do equip men with survival skills. For instance, with their acquired skills men can reconstruct their houses themselves without external assistance. As a result,

men tend to recover faster than women from disasters (Gupta and Leung, 2011:2), seeing that the former have the means and appropriate skills at their disposal. Moreover, as indicated earlier, domestic chores are reserved for women and the knowledge and skills acquired in this environment do not help them prepare properly for disasters. Instead they even help promote the status quo of discrimination and powerlessness (Ostergaard, 2004:3). Clearly, this also increases women's vulnerability to disasters and climate change.

In concluding the theme, some participants stated that although culture was a system that was difficult to change, and if change was to be effected, it would be a lengthy process. A professional at Ditshwanelo said, *"there isn't much we can do about changing culture because even in the west where they are not too cultural oriented they still have such issues, where most women are still struggling they are not getting equal pay"* (P 17, 8:14). This self-defeatist statement is faulty. Through the commitment of all relevant stakeholders, these oppressive cultural practices can be changed.

Institutionalised practices and beliefs: This sub theme discusses the influence of culture and how it is reflected in institutions and also how culturally driven institutions contribute to the causes of gender inequality. In addition, the section discusses beliefs and how these enhance vulnerability.

Supernatural beliefs: describes the unexplained, non-scientific and traditional system and its influence on people's behaviour patterns. People's belief-systems affect the way they view gender and disaster issues.

In discussing supernatural beliefs in this context, it is imperative to focus on the participants' understanding of the causes of disaster. A majority of the participants believed disasters to be caused by supernatural forces. Interviewees held basically two different perspectives: the traditional/ancestral (*badimo*) and the modern (Christianity) view. This is illustrated by the participants' interpretation of strong winds. This finding is corroborated by IFRC (2014:37) and Lacet (2016:54), who state that communities with strong cultural values (such as those of the Batswana) found that their views of disasters are guided powerfully by supernatural beliefs.

Ancestral: Most participants believed that the 'big snake', or *kgwanyape,* was responsible for the destruction of their houses. *Kgwanyape* is a mythical snake that traditionally is associated with death and destruction (Moatlhaping, 2007:60). An older

female participant at Phala Road emphasised that, *"we grew up believing that, sometimes you will see a red cloud displaying fire or some sort of picture that indicates that kgwanyape is coming"* (P 8, 5:14). Similarly, another elderly lady from Thamaga added that, "*It is the rain that comes with strong and violent winds which blows away our roof tops, destroys our crops and kills poultry, small livestock such as goats and sheep*"(P6, 8:11). An elderly lady also from Thamaga further indicated that, "we *depend on these assets for a living, and this plunges us deeper into poverty"* (P6, 8:12). It is their belief system that causes them to be vulnerable as they believe that whatever happens is a result of a Higher Being and that they cannot do anything to prevent or prepare for the disaster (Lacet, 2016:54),

Interestingly, it was mostly the elderly (over 65 years) and the middle aged (over 45 years) participants who referred to the 'big snake'. Although this particular age group did not personally see the 'big snake', they still believed that it existed. For them this 'big snake' had a ritual and an indigenous connotation.Interestingly, according to the World Disasters Report people may inadvertently expose themselves to disaster risk due to their perceptions and behaviours (IFRC, 2014:37).

These forms of behaviours although negative at times do provide early warnings of pending disasters to the community, which allow them to prepare adequately for storms and related hazards.

Modern: In contrast, the younger generation refuted the existence of *Kgwanyape.* Instead they present a Christian view. A young lady from Phala Road said, *"I don't believe much in that, I just believe it is just nature and Gods work, it is the strong wind and there is no living being or thing in it" (P8, 4:20).* For her part a teenage mother from Mathubudukwane indicated that*, "when these strong winds occur we kneel down and pray and this calms us down"* (P1, 5:19).

According to participants from this age group, disasters were God's way of reprimanding recalcitrant people. Similarly, existing literature explain disasters as God's anger towards his people; they are to repent to avoid such ordeals (Furedi, 2007:483; Williams, 2008:1120; Ginige et al., 2009:23; Fraley, 2010:669; Manyena, 2012:327). *"I do not think these disasters can be prevented by a human being and its beyond human control, I have been experiencing this since I was born, when this occurs we just have to pick the pieces and get on with our lives*", said an elderly widowed woman from Thamaga (P 6,

6:8). In addition to cultural beliefs, these women have strong Christian values that help them cope spiritually with adversity such as disasters. They seek refuge in the Holy Bible and women quote pertinent verses such;

> "You will not have to worry about sudden disasters, such as come on the wicked like a storm. The Lord will keep you safe. He will not let you fall into a trap" (Proverbs 3: 25–26).

Bempah and Oyhus (2017: 107) supported this finding, adding that that all things positive or negative (disasters) were the hand of God and nothing could be done to prevent such. The two concluded that government should intervene and resettle the affected communities since the problem was perennial. Thus, some participants were not aware that they could in fact reduce their vulnerability in the light of the hazards that they faced. Fatemi et al., (2017:221) indicates that women who attribute causes and effects of disasters to Acts of God have greater tolerance of the disaster compared to families that do not use a religious explanation and such families are more resilient are likely to recover faster from the disaster. However, it was not clear from the participants what most men believed in as the cause of disasters.

In order to reduce the impact of these storm disasters, some key respondents engaged locals on mythical snake (*kgwanyape)* by going down to their level and using their own language. Locals were requested not to take the snake's eggs or baby. One key respondent from Kgatleng District stated that, *"if you take the baby snake, the snake will not come, as result there is better response to disasters than before when they believed it was something else"* (P17,2:15). Understanding the communities' capacities helps them to prepare, respond to disasters and also enhances their resilience (IFRC, 2014:38).

This attitude generally results in limited or no prevention/preparedness for disasters. The reason is that people often believe they have no control over events caused by the Supreme Being. Such communities are known not to take responsibilities for their actions or inactions such as adhering to building codes and settling in areas that are less prone to flooding (Bempah and Oyhus 2017: 107). Some people even downplay the probability of the disasters, seeing that they have limited understanding of why disasters occur (McEntire, 2012:299; IFRC, 2014:38). As a result, these people hardly evacuate timeously since they ignore official early-warning messages. People holding such a

fatalist view, also associated with Darwinism are often blamed by disaster survivors for being lazy and failing to take responsibility for their lives (Mainlay and Tan, 2012:11).

Significantly, none of the participants gave a scientific cause of strong winds that explained disasters as caused by social vulnerabilities and lack of capacities. The reason may be the participants' limited education, where several had not advanced beyond primary education. Participants maintained that it was difficult to prepare for these type of storms, even in situations where their house was well-constructed and strong. *"These storms are too strong and dangerous and they even overpower our well built residential structures",* said a middle aged woman from Mathubudukwane (P1, 10:17). An elderly woman also from Mathudubudukwane added that *"these storms come unannounced, even the weather people do not tell when us when these are coming* (P1, 10:22).

However, those who did not believe in traditional intervention, were of the view that they should strengthen their houses in preparation for the *kgwananyape* ('big storm') by procuring appropriate building material. *"We do not have reliable income to prepare for disasters, I depend on Ipelegeng (Labour Intensive Programme) for a living and the money that I get is too little. It is not even enough to buy groceries for the family"* said a woman from Bobonong (P5, 10:25). Making reference to the storm disaster that affected middle aged woman from Lotlhakane West said "*I do not have any money I can't even afford to replace the windows broken by the winds and at night it is so cold, I fear for my safety and that of my children because my house does not have windows"* (P7, 12:9).

In most instances, women fail to prepare for the 'big storm' because they do not have sufficient income. In cases where women had a reliable source income such as remittances from children and from selling proceeds from their subsistence farming, they engage men to construct or repair their houses as they lack the required skills. "I'm *not a builder, I engage men to assist me to repair my damaged roof*" said a woman from Borolong (P3, 7:15). This finding is corroborated by Ajibade et al. (2013:1716), who indicate that in cases where women have financial resources, they cannot not reinforce their modern houses themselves as they do not have the necessary skills. A woman also from Borolong added that "*the situation is better for those who are married or with partners as the latter help them reinforce their houses (P3, 8:22). "In some instances, some men take advantange of the fact that we do not have the knowledge and skills and they construct poor structures which cannot withstand strong winds* and *this is rather costly as we have to hire some one (a man) to re-do the work"* further added a woman

from Borolong (P3, 10:55). Women should at least have financial power and this is a critical step toward building their resilience from disasters (Actionaid International, 2014:22).

Interestingly, women have the skills and expertise to construct r traditional huts. An elderly woman from Mathubudukwane said, *"as women we have the skills and expertise to reinforce traditionalstructures ourselves without engaging men for support"* (P1, 11:15). Other than the brick and mortar house, the traditional hut structure is less complex, less expensive and depends entirely on the availability of natural resources (grass, trees). This finding is corroborated by the discussion in chapter 4 and the World Disaster Report (2016) by indicating that the marginalised are not helpless victims but often have some capacities that they use to manage disaster risk (IFRC,2016:44).

Similar to storms and floods, certain participants also mentioned 'mysterious fires' (*molelo wa di phera*) that affected them. These were reported primarily in Thamaga village. An elderly woman from Thamaga said,

> *"like the kgwanyape the fire just erupts from nowhere, leaving a trail of destruction*". "*I do not know the cause of these fires*" added a woman from Thamaga. "*While at work, I was called and told my house was burning the fire started in the bedroom and all rooms were burnt except the kitchen, and nothing was taken out, and a week later my child's house also burnt in Tlokweng",* said another woman from Thamaga.

These fires, although not considered as disasters per se, affect individual families. Moreso, the National Policy on Disaster Management (1996) is silent on these type of fires."T*he level of impact of these mysterious fires is equivalent to any of the recognised hazards and government should consider it as a prevalent hazard"* recommended a young lady from Thamaga. The governing bodies and communities at large seemingly have no answer on how to manage these fires. Similar to other hazards, these mysterious fires affect more women, especially the poor female-headed households. Ultimately, though, the occurrence of these fires is still a myth to most Batswana and there appears to be very little academic research done on this subject.

From the discussion above, it is evident that communities employ their own mitigation, preparedness, and disaster-response mechanisms, which are determined traditionally and religiously. However, it could not be ascertained whether women participants

believed more than men in these supernatural myths. Although this sub-theme did not address the research question directly, it provided valuable knowledge on behaviours that, at times, lead to increased vulnerabilities. It was, therefore, paramount to recognise the role of traditional or indigenous knowledge in DRR since the former supplements scientific knowledge (Shearer, 2012:71).

Furthermore, the findings indicate disconnection between science and indigenous knowledge or beliefs on certain of the hazards that occur in Botswana. Science-based knowledge, which seemingly have watertight evidence, is propped up at the expense of indigenous knowledge, which is given little or no recognition in managing disasters. For a country such as Botswana that is still traditionally based, side-lining indigenous knowledge may have dire consequences. According to (Shearer (2012:71) indigenous knowledge is comparable to science, it is consensual, replicable, generalisable, incorporating, and to a certain extent, experimental and predictive.

Institutional practices

The previous section discussed perceptions of participants about to the influence of Tswana culture in marginalising women, leaving them vulnerable to natural shocks. This subsection continues with the discussion of the research question on causes of gender equalities and disasters in Botswana and specific attention is given to the institutionalisation of certain cultural practices.

Most participants described culture and its accompanying institutions as the main factor that promoted gender inequality and vulnerability. TInstitutional frameworks reinforce, dictates and formalises social practices.

Although, laws and policies (institutional framework) contributed positively to the reduction of gender inequalities in Botswana, these were at times used to oppress women (Dako-Gyeke and Owusu, 2013:483). The research examined how institutions through laws and policies at times maintain the patriarchal system and the status quo to legitimise the oppression of women, thus increasing their vulnerability to disasters.

Policies and legal frameworks: how gender insensitive instruments contribute to increased inequalities.

Leadership and decision-making: the inadequate involvement of women in positions of power and how this help contribute to their vulnerability to disaster.

Allocation of financial resources: women's limited involvement in the decision-making process means less finances are allocated to their interests (Fitri–Kafaah, 2013:16). According to most participants, this condition handicap women's ability to prepare for, respond to, and recover from disasters.

Policy and legal frameworks

Participants gave mixed views on the influence that laws, policies, programmes and projects exert to promote gender inequality. It is noted that culture plays a vital role in influencing institutions and policy framework. A majority of the FGDs' participants indicated that they viewed Botswana's laws as gender-sensitive, which allowed equal participation of both genders. One middle-aged, female participant at Phala Road village reported, *"The law allows us to be free and have everything. You can have own yard, own cattle, goats and a borehole, the problem is the resources"* (P 8, 9:55). *"Long ago I was not allowed to own my own piece of land, right now I have my own field which I plough to support my family,"* added an elderly woman from Lotlhakane West (P7,18:11). According to them, the two genders currently (2018) were equal before the law. The participants felt that culture had evolved. As a result, certain laws and policies were reviewed and the situation has improved for women. (These changes are discussed in detail in section 5.9.1).

However, there were also dissenting views from some women in the FGDs. One woman from Mathubudukwane said, *"laws and culture are oppressing us"* (P1, 22:7). Another woman from Borolong was in support of her. She said, *"although laws and policies have been amended, we still face the same problems of marginalisation. In fact, laws and policies exist on paper and they are not being implemented"* (P3, 24:19). This assertion is corroborated by Lenao and Basupi, 2016:55 who argues that the existence and amendment of these laws and policies does not necessarily translate to implementation on the ground. Leite (2014:54) adds that continued embracing of customary laws in Botswana strengthens patriarchy and further disempowers women.

The issue of equality before the law was also supported by male participants in almost all FGDs, apart from Lotlhakane West. A middle aged man from Borolong added that "*Botswana laws allow for the equal participation of genders in development and in politics, the laws are okay and fair"* (P3, 25:2). Similarly, most of the professionals supported these participants. *"Laws which previously marginalised women, were*

amended, for instance, the Marital Powers Act. This Act affords both partners in common-law marriages equal powers in the family and, among other matters, strengthens penalties for rape," said a UN Women representative (P11, 27:15). An official from Ditshwanelo added that "*Botswana laws and policies are gender-sensitive, these legal instruments still are implemented and enforced inadequately on the ground*" (P17, 30:12).

Similar to Pincha et al.(2007:20) and Baker (2009:115) participants in this study seemed to make a strong connection between laws, and access to and control over resources The existing laws and policies also determine women's access of and control over resources (Hemmati and Rohr, 2007:6; Midgley, 2007:613). Access to resources is discussed in detail under the sub-theme, *Allocation of financial resources.*

Conveying early-warning messages and the implications for women

It was critical for the study to ascertain whether there was any form of early-warning issued to communities in the face of an imminent disaster; if it existed, and whether it considered the specific needs and interests of women. Of particular interest was whether early warnings did consider that women are mostly homebound and had limited time to network or attend *kgotla* meetings. The issue was further if any measures were adopted to reach out to these women.

When discussing the frequent ocurrence of storms a young lady from Bobonong said, *"there are no early-warning for storms, either from government, or from the elderly through their indigenous knowledge (P4, 35:11)*. This response of inadequate early warnings for storms was supported by the participants from most FGDs. *"We watch television and listen to radio news all the time for early warning messages, we were not warned of the strong winds that destroyed our homes in November. We went to sleep with the information that we were likely to experience small showers and to our surprise around 100 houses were blown away early morning,"* said a woman from Phala Road *(P8, 38:6)*.

Participants attested, to the fact that early warnings are provided for hazards such as drought and heavy rainfall and not for storms or strong winds. *"The radio and television gives information daily on the occurrence of rainfall and Government also informs us farmers if we will experience drought,"* stated a woman from Thamaga (P6, 30:12). This finding was supported by an official from the NDMO who indicated that, "*The Department*

of Meteorological Services provides early warnings for rainfall daily, ten days, three months and annually. These forecasts explain the rainfall patterns, without necessarily indicating specific amounts and areas. The NDMO also issues early-warning messages through Short Message System (SMS), in case of a need" P2, 27:4). The use of SMS is prompt and reliable, which means women do not need to over-rely on men to relay early-warning messages. Although not gendered, Botswana has a well-organised and coordinated drought monitoring system, which combines the use of secondary (monthly reports) and primary data (regular visits to the districts) (Manthe-Tsuaneng, 2014:3). However, the system can still be strengthened by integrating of GIS-based and other relevant computer models.

"The early warning messages issued by government are the same for everyone and at times when I'm in the fields I don't get them because there is no radio or TV there and moreover cellphone network is very poor there," said a woman from Lotlhakane West (P7, 38:10). Gendered early warning allows for people to prepare properly and respond promptly to disasters (Rahman, 2013:76). The problem is that these early-warning measures are generic and do consider the needs of special groups such as rural women (Rahman, 2013:76). The influence of culture, coupled with their limited education, places women at a disadvantage to read and understand written early-warning messages posted through the mobile phones (SMS) or in the usual information, education and communication (IEC) material (Gultom, 2016:486). Therefore, people often question the effectiveness of these early-warning measures.

Despite these difficult challenges facing women, it was observed that early-warning information does not target vulnerable groups. Furthermore, there is no system in place to verify that women indeed received the messages. Mostly, such warning messages or weather forecasts are overly technical for ordinary Batswana to understand, especially the rural women with limited education. Moreover, these messages are issued either in English or Setswana, where other local languages are not considered. The assumption is that all Batswana understand these two languages. However, this is not the case in the northern part of the country, where some Batswana hardly understand any of the two languages. It is thus vital that messages should be embedded in a community's culture. This make the information more effective and more readily accepted by locals since they can relate to it easily (Gultom, 2016:487).

The problem is that early warning messages are not delivered promptly, and women are not involved in the planning and decision-making process (Rahman, 2013:76). This makes them more vulnerable than men to disasters. Women provide crucial input since they are the ones affected. Being involved in the process, enables women to guard against the violation of their human rights such as working without pay, suppression by men at home and in the community.

Leadership and decision-making

Above, the focus was on the influence of non gender sensitive laws and policies, thereby further weakening the adaptive capacities of women during disasters. Due to some of these laws and policies gender inequality is entrenched through overt discrimination processes and other subtle oppressive measures such as attitudes, stereotypes and perceptions. These underlying patriarchal motives and movements, in turn, affect the participation of women in leadership and decision-making processes.

The following subsection, therefore, discusses the marginalisation of women in the decision-making processes at family, community and national levels. The focus also falls on inadequate participation of women in politics and development. It is critical to discuss leadership and who makes the decisions at home and in the community. This factor has direct implications for women's approach to coping with disasters (Rahman, 2013:77). Leadership and decision-making usually go together. The role-players who make the decisions usually are those with the power, and therefore, the leaders (Branisa et al., 2012:252; Alston, 2014:290). The power to lead and make decisions is important when dealing with the impact of disasters on the family, as women are the ones who spend most of their time at home.

Decision-making at family level

Most female-headed, single families stated that they made their own decisions due to the absence of male figures at home. This type of attitude and behaviour increases women's vulnerability to disasters as feel they cannot make their own independent decisions without the assistance of men (Arora-Jonsson, 2011:746). *"I would like to have a man supporting me and to able to consult with him, as two heads are better than one,"* said a middle aged woman from Bobonong (P4, 29:8). "*If I had a male figure in their life, he would be the one responsible for making critical decisions at home*" added another single woman from Borolong (P3, 35:10). This is further corroborated by Michelis, (2016:102) who conducted a similar study in Sudan, and it was found that 50% of

participants (women) were of the view that a man should have the final say in all the decisions at home and 47% of male participants also indicated they have a final word on the health of their wives or partners at home.

This constant validation of decisions from males illustrates these women's lack of independence and self-confidence (Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:41). According to an official of the Botswana Red Cross Society*, "Even in disaster-response situations when they're requested to provide authorities with their specific needs, women often call for men to validate their decisions"* (P 25, 25:9). The situation is worsened by a Setswana adages confirming: *ga di nke di etelelwa pele ke manamagadi* – "women are not supposed to lead" (Moswete and Lacey, 2015:611). From this finding, it can be inferred that women in Botswana are socialised to follow, not to lead.

This study together with Auf der Heide (2006:42) and Alam and Rahman (2014:78) a studies point out that women spend most of the times confined to their homes, which inevitably should make them first responders to disasters, but this was not the case. Women are not empowered to make critical decisions, seeing that strong traditional values and norms prohibits it (Fitri, 2013:16). Because women are not empowered, it increases their chances of being affected by disasters, which lower their chances of survival.

The influence of men in decision-making was supported further by those women participants who have partners. *"I'm responsible for making domestic decisions such as which groceries to buy, what to cook, and when to prepare food, my husband makes the decision at the cattlepost and at times he does not consult me on how many cattle he sold or bought,"* said a woman from Lotlhakane West (P7,30:16). Even with the so-called minor decisions, women do not have the power since they lack the finances to buy these groceries – they depend on men for it (Mehta, 2007:11). A woman from Borolong said,"*her man makes decisions using the power vested in him by God as the head of the family and I don't see anything wrong with that" (P3, 35:15).* Similarly, a man from Lotlhakane West further supported the Borolong woman, he said, "*a man is the head of the family, he is the one that takes big decisions but in a home where a woman is alone, she takes all decisions by herself* (P7, 32:12). Women should be less dependent on men as this may disempower and may find it difficult to make critical decisions during disasters (Sultana, 2014:376).

This finding is further corroborated by Moalosi (2007:41) who indicate that for these women, men are naturally ascribed to decision making role. As heads of the family, culture and religion gives men the power to make decisions unilaterally on behalf of the family. Typically, religion is viewed as a strength and a unifying factor since it provide comfort and hope to affected communities. However, in this instance, religion is used to justify oppression of women further (Shrotryia, 2013:181). Nevertheless, the mentioned women participants seemed content with the situation. They also stressed that this arrangement could not be changed since it was culturally and religiously prescribed. *"I cannot challenge the decision that my husband has made, God has given him the power to head my family and make decisions on our behalf",* said a middle aged woman from Borolong (P 3, 17:75).

However, other participants in the FGDs held a contrary view, namely that decision-making and leadership at home is not the sole preserve of males. For them, decision-making and power are shared equally between husband and wife at household level. "*We consult each other without one partner exerting undue influence over the other,"* emphasised a married woman from Mathubudukwane (P1, 31:17). A married man from Thamaga further supported this point he said "*I consult with my wife everytime I need to make a decision on something, that is, we make decisions together"* (P6, 34:18).

Likewise, a single woman from Borolong elaborated on the point, she said,

> *"in the olden days, it was the man who was taking all the decisions but in this era of gender equality, the roles or decision making process at household level is shared equally, we see couples sitting down and consulting each other on what to do, men can now cook or change children nappies which in the olden days was the sole responsibility of women. In the modern kitchens you find schedules of who is cooking when or on what day, and you find the man or older children in the list too, not just the woman"* P3, 33:20).

These participants were enlightened and had embraced change. Shared power between men and women is an essential ingredient towards enhancing resilience of the family as there is increased consultation and cooperation (Ajibate et al., 2013:1716).

Despite the mentioned consultation, findings show that women still have insufficient 'voice' to make a meaningful contribution. Therefore, the final decision is usually based

on the man's view. This is typical of a patriarchal society where women are kept subservient to men, and the male authority may not be questioned.

From their side, certain most participants questioned the concept of gender equality. They were of the view that such issues challenge their authority and their existence as men, and therefore, they felt oppressed by the new order. They stated that the new order has stripped them of their powers. One man from Borolong added that "*they could never be two bulls in one kraal– two people having equal authority to make decisions"* (P3,36:14). Similarly, another male from Phala Road posited that *"the new order compromises the family's stability as it creates independent women who are not prepared to cooperate with traditionally inclined males*" (P8,32:7). However, most participants from the FGDs and among the professionals differed from this assertion. Similarly, a woman representative from District Commissioner's Office in Mahalapye added, "*that women should be equal partners in making family decisions and be afforded the opportunity to lead*" (P20, 35:7). Significantly, several male participants still retained these set, traditional views. This illustrates the weakness of the public initiatives for gender-equality awareness, since men are not willing to commit.

Decision-making and leadership at community and national level

Men's power is often translated into leadership and decision-making in the home (Alston, 2014:290). This state of affairs is mirrored in community and national structures**.** Male dominance is also extended to local development committees.

> "*I have been serving as a* Village Development Committee *(VDC) Secretary for the past 4 years and before me the person that held this position was also a lady,"* said a woman from Borolong (P3, 34:22). In support, a retired gender activist observed that, *"although more women are represented in the VDCs, a majority of them are either secretaries, or additional members. The influential leadership positions of chairperson and treasurer mostly are held by men*" (P13, 36:23).

Despite their superior numbers, in these Committees women's voices are overpowered by men (Branisa et al., 2012:254). As a result, men continues to dominate women, even though the latter are in the majority (Arora-Jonsson, 2011:745).

By occupying these positions, men are able to influence decisions to their own benefit. At times, this is done openly, or other times, covertly, without the males realising that their decisions do not represent the majority (Branisa et al., 2012:257). A similar trend

was observed in other village committees regarding areas such as HIV/AIDS, welfare, farmers, and crime prevention. An academic added, *"the patriarchal society looks at the biological orientation of an individual and not her capabilities"* (P 23, 23:12). For one to be an officer bearer, that person must be duly elected. However, women do not vote each other into power, but rather prefer to elect men (Normann et al., 2013:75; Decks et al., 2015:4). The reasons for this anomaly is unclear and still need to be determined (in a future study on this topic).

The inference is that women are better suited for leadership positions than men. Despite having more numbers and being more multi-skilled than men, women are less represented in positions of influence at community level. This implies that women have little or no say in the decisions that are taken in these development committees (Maclean, 2013:456). Inadequate representation means misrepresentation and increased vulnerability due to a lack of knowledge. As a result, women may not know when and how they should prepare and respond to disasters. This is because they have not been mandated to take the critical decisions on behalf of their family.

The findings indicate that inadequate empowerment of women reaches beyond the family to the boardroom, even directly to the legislature (political field) (Moswete and Lacey, 2015:617). It transcends the domestic and social sphere to the various areas of the economy, including DRR and CCA. Currently, numerous women have been appointed to positions of power and authority in Botswana (Botlhale, 2014:820; Mitra et al., 2015:74). In these positions women are faced with two primary challenges: culture and themselves Moswete and Lacey, 2015:614).

Culture: In Botswana, traditionally and culturally, women are not supposed to lead. This belief is expressed strongly by an old Setswana saying, *ga di nke di e telelwa pele ke manamagadi* "women are not supposed to lead") (Moswete and Lacey, 2015:611).Such practices further disempower women and reverse the gains of emancipation and empowerment. This condition also affects their self-confidence and self-worth, and inevitably causes women's failure when given the opportunity to lead. Findings show that women lack the self-belief and assertiveness to lead an organisation (Raditloaneng, 2013:53). Naturally, the situation is worsened by society's views of men as default leaders, even when a woman occupies that position.

Lack of unity among women in power: Women in positions of power and authority becomes their own worst enemy.

> *"Women here in Botswana don't support each other. Women look down on each other, they don't want to see another woman climbing the corporate ladder. If a woman rises up is like an insult. And the other thing is like when women goes to the parliament they forget themselves, they forget to recognise that we are the ones that put them there, they forget to advocate for other women, they just forget. That is another problem that I have noticed,*" said a female climate change activist (P9, 29:14).

"We don't support each other as women, we always pull each other down", added a gender activist (P12, 34:12). Participants among the professionals identified two types of syndromes responsible for women's downfall in Botswana: the 'pull-her-down' and 'queen-bee' syndrome (Mitra et al., 2015:70). The pull-her-down syndrome begins at family level where women are associated with gossip and other trivialities (Raditloaneng, 2013:56). This attitude spread to the community and boardroom levels. Women do not support or trust each other.

> *"As a result of social and cultural traditional stereotypes people still don't consider women as natural leader that is I would rather vote for a men with strip shirt that I don't know just because he is a man dressed up and looks like he will do it, the stereotypical mentality still needs to be changed,*" said a UN Women representative (P11, 36:16).

Participants identified this attitude as one of women's biggest downfalls. Thus, women in Botswana seem to trust men more than themselves. Additionally, due to illiteracy, women especially in rural areas are blamed for voting in the males. This is worsened by the fact that when women are elected or nominated to Council or Parliament, they hardly advocate for marginalised women; instead they negate gender issues (Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:40). *"After being elected to positions of power, women tend to neglect the struggle and they end up teaming with men at the expense of supporting other women",* said a professional gender activist (P 15, 12:17).

The queen-bee syndrome, in a way is an extension of the previously mentioned attitude, and is confined more to the boardroom. According to this syndrome, women are not helpful to each other, therefore, preference is given to men to climb the corporate ladder

(Virick and Greer, 2012:579; Normann et al., 2013:75; Decks et al., 2015:4). This syndrome perpetuates the institutionalised marginalisation of women by men at senior level (Johnson and Mathur-Helm, 2011:48). The reason is that males often fear competition as women in certain cases outperform them. The idea is to make women 'fight' among themselves so that they are distracted from the main goal of equal and equitable opportunities (Kusumasari, 2015:288). As a result, women often struggle to break the glass ceiling to the top leadership positions (Mitra et al., 2015:77).

Another contributing factor is summed up by a UN Women representative who said,

> "*women, especially the rural female household heads, do not have real role-models in life. Unlike boys who grow up with their fathers and other men in society as role-models, girls grow up with no role-model other than her continually struggling, home-based mother (P11, 31:8).*

Consequently, women struggle when they are appointed to leadership positions since they lack mentorship and coaching from earlier role-models (Decks et al., 2015:4). Women's lack of support for each other and role models also manifests in the political arena. Despite having the numbers, women are less represented in the legislature and other political bodies (Raditloaneng, 2013:56). The legislature makes the decisions that affect women's choices in life. Therefore, that would be the institution through which women could advocate social change and address issues that affect their vulnerabilities. It is essential that women should be represented in the legislature to have their voices heard (Hoffman and Muttarak, 2017:35). There is evidence to suggest that increased women representation in the legislature contribute additional financial resources in education and health (Mitra et al., 2015:74). If these areas were to be funded adequately, it could address social change and ultimately improve women's quality of life and resilience to disasters.

Similarly, composition of grassroots gender advocacy NGOs were said to be problematic. A researcher indicated that, *"NGOs that advocate for gender and rural women or DRR for at grassroots level, instead represent the needs and interests of the urban elite. These organisations usually consist of urban elite themselves, and not the vulnerable rural women"* (P22, 28:10). To enhance women's resilience to disasters, their involvement in these organisations is essential and non-negotiable. Mostly rural women are not involved, due to poor education and limited exposure, which make their contribution

minimal (Hoffman and Muttarak, 2017:35). Despite limited education rural women, however, are best informed about their problems. Thus, if they were to be involved, they could help provide applicable solutions. Moreover, proposed top-down solutions usually fail to address the special needs of rural women (Virick and Greer, 2012:579). These women are mostly left to fend for themselves since they are misrepresented.

Women's participation in politics

Politics determine the type, and amount of resources that are allocated (Botlhale, 2011:68). The critical decisions that govern the lives and livelihoods of women, are made through political institutions, laws and policies. Political involvement is critical in bridging gender inequality and strengthening women's resilience to disasters and climate change (Raditloaneng, 2013:60). The kgosi (chief) indicated that *"although Botswana had made gains in the corporate, and public service, the country was still lagging behind in bringing women on board in politics"* (P21,28:13). *"Women's representation in politics within Botswana was amongst the lowest in Africa, although other countries viewed this nation as a 'shining model of democracy'"* added gender activist (P12, 34:6).

The extent to which women participates in politics within Botswana, was captured in detail in section 5.6.2.

> *"The major challenge that we have is politics, is at parliament and at the executive level, I mean it is unacceptable for Botswana that has such peaceful elections and relatively growing democracy that we are celebrating, Rwanda, Namibia, South Africa and Mozambique that gained independence 20-30 years after us. These countries have made substantial progress, for example, between 30-40% MPs are women in Mozambique, South Africa 40%, Namibia is also high, Lesotho at council level 50% of the position are women as councillors. What stopping us Botswana?"* asked a UN Women representative (P11, 40:22).

Botswana has been rather slow in domesticating some of these international protocols, specifically the revised SADC Protocol on Gender and Development of 2016 (UN, 2017:23).

Viewed from a different angle, women in Botswana lack self-belief in their potential and have a tendency not to accept themselves as leaders (Moswete and Lacey, 2015:611). The Councillor) indicated that

> *"women's level of participation in decision-making was extremely low, for example my Council and the National Assembly, had 78% and 94% male representation*

respectively. The situation was worsened by the electoral laws that were not gender sensitive" (P19, 25:16).

However, this assertion was disputed by a retired gender activist that pointed out that, *"women were free to stand for political positions, there is no law that bars women from running for any office or even the highest office in the land -Office of the President and all Batswana are equal before law"* (P13, 35:11).

Women do not support or trust each other.

> *"As a result of social and cultural traditional stereotypes people still don't consider women as natural leader that is I would rather vote for a men with strip shirt that I don't know just because he is a man dressed up and looks like he will do it, the stereotypical mentality still needs to be changed,*" said a UN Women representative (P11, 36:16).

Participants identified this attitude as one of women's biggest downfalls in life. Thus, women in Botswana seem to trust men more than themselves. Additionally, due to illiteracy, women especially in rural areas are blamed for voting in the males (Maclean, 2013:456).

The reason for non-participation is that women find it too expensive to stand for political office, seeing that they have to use their own personal resources. A UN Women representative indicated that,

> "it *is so expensive to stand for elections, so most women just pull out the majority of women who are interested in politics cannot afford it. Those in the private sector and have money who can pull it through say they don't have interest in politics and they do not want to be insulted so the culture also within the politics arena is so uninviting, I don't want to be a politician I can teach everyone but I will never be one" (P11,34:28).*

Some women stated that they were not willing to trade insults or undignified and an unpalatable language, especially in front of their children. For women, the focus is on protecting their dignity and that of their family. This type of unbecoming behaviour dissuades women from participating in politics. The reason is that most of the family resources are owned and controlled by the males at home and at community level (Oladele and Monkhei, 2008:3; Hovorka, 2012:878).Thus, it is easier for men to 'allocate' the family resources to themselves.

Participants furthermore pointed out that women find it difficult to strike a balance between partaking in political rallies, and performing household responsibilities. *"Politics is an additional burden to us women, we simple don't have the time and energy to engage in politics, my day starts before sunrise and ends in the middle of the night"* said a middle aged single woman from Borolong (P3, 34:25). As a result, women usually opt for the less demanding task of casting the vote rather than running for office (Moswete and Lacey, 2015:604).

A female official from the Department of Gender Affairs blamed the influence of culture as the cause of women's apathy in politics. She stated that, "*according to Setswana culture, women are not supposed to talk loudly, instead they should be soft-spoken, shy and submissive"* P16, 34:11). Assertiveness and public speaking skills enhance self confidence and these are a cornerstone to a successful political career (Hovorka, 2012:878). Thus, because they were not assertive women find it difficult, for example, to conduct political rallies (Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:41). A woman from Phala Road responded that, "*women need to be empowered to participate in politics with confidence" (*P8, 32:16). By participating in politics, women manage to change laws, policies and attitudes that oppress and impede them. For women to succeed in politics, they should be empowered to trust and support each other. According to Toya and Skidmore (2014:4) trust is a complex concept to attain as it is culturally driven and has various variables such as ethnic diversity, income inequality and religious beliefs. Although Botswana has one of the highest income inequalities in the world (discussed in Chapter 4), Batswana are a predominatly homogeneous and a Christian nation (Mekgwe, 2008:14).

Finance (allocation of resources at household and community/national level)

The following section refers to allocation of resources to the national budget and opportunities at personal level. Access to resources at home, community and at national level, determine women's vulnerability and resilience to disasters. The issue of access to resources was expounded in detail in 2.4.2.

Almost all participants indicated that they did not have the adequate resources to prepare for, respond to, and recover from disasters, seeing that most of the resources are owned by men. Most participants in both the FDGs and among the professionals felt strongly that a lack of resources, coupled with limited opportunities, was the primary reason why women are affected more by disasters. One woman from Thamaga summed it up by

saying, that *"limited employment opportunities, especially for women, worsen their condition of poverty, there is nothing to do in this village, except Ipelegeng that is why most of the men find it difficult to stay here*" (P6, 17:11). This assertion is in line with the findings by Dako-Gyeke and Owusu (2013:482) that is a strong connection between socio-economic status (ownership and control of resources) and poverty. (Poverty and limited opportunities was discussed in section 4.4). In addition to Ipelegeng programme, most participants depend largely on the old pension schemes, while several of them receive remittances from their children in urban areas (Malema, 2012:66). However, this 'income' is insufficient to feed these women and their families. Women struggle to make ends meet with such minimal resources.

Most participants to the FGDs indicated that preparation for disasters, especially reinforcing their houses to mitigate the impact of floods and storms, require funds.

> *"At times I find it difficult to procure building material to maintain my two-roomed house, the money that I get from Ipelegeng (P600 per month) is not only insufficient, all of it goes to food items. I can't even afford buy clothes and uniform for my children, I'm a destitute"* said a middle aged woman from Lotlhakane West (P7, 16:13).

Thus, food is viewed as a priority, and building material often as a luxury. As a result, women's residential structures are not maintained regularly, thus leaving them vulnerable to hazards such flash floods and storms.

"At times I'm compelled to to procure sub-standard building material since I cannot not afford durable material" indicated a woman from Borolong (P3, 24:7).

> "*I engaged a man to maintain my roof that was leaking, and he did not do a good job, the roof is now worse. I have been discussing with him for more than 6 months now and he refuses to fix the roof. I have to engage another contractor to fix the roof and that is costly for me. This substandard material, together with substandard workmanship from certain contractors – mostly male – have left this woman's house even morevulnerable to disasters," added* a woman from Borolong (P3, 25:13).

The women participants expressed the view that these men displayed this behaviour because they were dealing with women, and not other men (Hovorka, 2012:879). The women experienced this treatment as dehumanising and an injury to their dignity.

According to the participants and professionals, rehabilitation and recovery of damaged structures usually take longer than expected. *"This is due to the mentioned inadequate financing, but also the added responsibilities of providing for children and other members of the extended family*" said a gender activist (P12:16:7). Similarly, Zhou (2007:20) and Gupta and Leung (2011:2) support this finding, by indicating that the affected families are compelled to utilise their limited savings to repair and rebuild their houses, instead of using the savings to improve their well-being (Hovorka, 2012:879). The participants viewed disasters as a major setback to their lives as it destroyed years of demanding work. They, therefore, found it difficult to move forward. The unpredictable nature of disasters add misery to the participants as it usually strikes when they are not prepared financially (Moalosi, 2007:49). Such, situations, thus challenge the resilience of women and their communities.

In this regard, most women participants pointed out that disasters left them with huge debts after borrowing money to rebuild their houses. *"We usually approach micro-lenders, or other members of the community. Most times we fail to pay back, because we do not have the finances, and the interest rates of these micro-lenders is just too high,"* emphasised a woman from Mathubudukwane (P1, 23:18). Several women participants indicated that they use clay and grass, instead of brick and mortar and roofing sheets to rebuild their houses. Instead of durable building material, other women use plastics, cardboards, or any easily available material, due to inadequate resources, women are forced to build less steady structures, thus compromising on the quality of the construction, and the safety and security of their family (Moalosi, 2007:49). Building codes are not enforced in rural areas, which compounds this problem (Hammami, 2012:7).

Due to the inherent inabilityto ‘build back better’, following disasters most women find it difficult to perform chores outside of their homes that could supplement their income (the notion of ‘build back better’ is discussed in detail later in the chapter).

> *"The weakened and insecure buildings result in women who live in constant fear of losing my property to burglars and animals, the crime rate is so high these days*

in the village, a man was caught stealing a cellphone from my neighbour's house a few weeks ago, I cannot afford to leave my house unattended," added a woman from Lotlhakane West (P7, 23:12).

The fear of losing their properties to mostly criminals compels these women to remain at home and protect their property while missing out on other opportunities. According to a professional in Kgatleng/Mathubudukwane,

> *"disasters affect households of a lower socio-economic status. These are the people that end up being enrolled in social-welfare programs, which is costly for government. The budget that was earmarked for development, ends up being diverted to social welfare programmes to cushion households from the impacts of disasters*" (P17, 20:17).

The impact of disasters and the daily marginalisation of women leads to fewer assets and limitied opportunities and this makes it difficult for them prepare and recover from shocks (Dako-Gyeke and Owusu, 2013:482).

Professionals reiterated that women have limited access to resources because they are prevented from participating in parliament and district councils, where decisions on the budget are made: who gets what, and how much (Botlhale, 2011:64). As a result, the budget gets allocated without considering the needs and interests of women. This leaves women impoverished and vulnerable to disasters and other shocks. In response to this problem, aGender officer suggested that "*there should be a separate budget for women**,** with a budget specific to women, decision-makers would be compelled to set aside a significant amount to the needs and interests of women*" (P24, 13:11). However, this point was disputed by a retired gender activist who argued that

> *"there is no need for a separate budget for women, and this would likely increase animosity with men. The budget should rather be sensitive to the needs and interests of women, and women should be empowered to participate in decision-making structures that determine the budget*" (P13, 23:19).

Women's participation in the budgetary process and their subsequent empowerment is expected to strengthen their resilience to disasters since they will have the necessary resources (Ajibade et al., 2012:10). The issue of women's participation in the budgetary

processes was discussed fully in section 7.5.1.2. Failure to include women in the decision making processes may lead to further marginalisation of women (Botlhale, 2011:62).

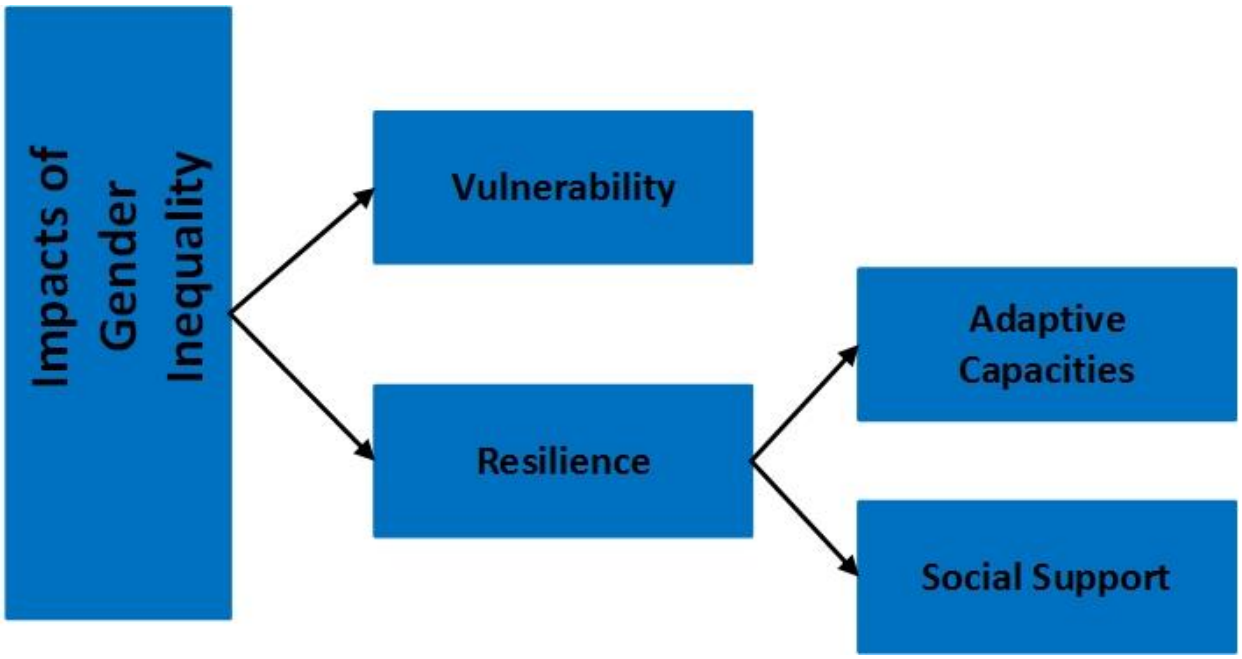
In concluding this theme, the study found that gender inequality is embedded in the male-dominated institutions, which are governed by legal and policy frameworks. These institutions serve to reinforce the marginalisation and disempowerment of women. Participants were of the view that, in most instances, women are not treated equal to men (Keleher, 2013:113). As indicated previously, women rather are equated with children (Laska et al., 2008:15). Such behaviours and attitudes toward women serve to disempower them further. As noted, the ability to make a prompt decision is critical in DRR as this could mean the difference between survival and death.

9.3.2. THEME 2: Impacts of gender inequality

Women's resilience to disasters

The following research question dealt with the necessity to focus on gender in DRR and resilience to disasters. The section primarily discusses resilience of women and not vulnerability. Vulnerability is covered in detail in the preceding themes. To answer this question, this section examines the different support systems and initiatives in which women partake to help strengthen their resilience to disasters. This theme is represented by Figure 9.5

.Figure 9.5: Impacts of gender inequality and its sub themes



The section is divided into two sub-sections:

- **Support systems:** focuses on structures that women use to cope with the impact of the disaster.
- **Adaptive capacity:** entails coping mechanisms that women adopt to deal with the disaster situations.

Depending on the situation, women choose to adopt different coping strategies, some of which are found to be unconventional.

Social support

Disasters destroy the coping capacities of individuals and communities rendering them powerless (Sultana, 2010:45; Raredon, 2011:14). The affected found it difficult to cope without external assistance as their personal capacities were overwhelmed. In order for the affected to cope with the disaster a strong social support system is required. The support system cushions the affected from the impact of the disaster as they provide affected women with emotional, physical and financial support. An academic pointed out that,

> *"women's support is more conspicuous during response and relief as they mobilise resources and willingly provide accommodation for the affected, while men erect tents. Unlike in politics where women do not support each other, during disaster women show the spirit of togetherness. Such that when a disaster occurs they are able to call on other women, and the disaster is swiftly managed. The same cannot be said of men, they are more individualistic in their approach to life issues in general and in DRR" (*P23, 25:12).

A male gender officer said that, "*at times we turn to our friends for quick fixes to our problems but in terms of togetherness we are still trailing behind women"* (P10, 10:15). The teamwork that women demonstrate in peace times and during disasters, strengthens social cohesion and builds resilience to natural shocks (Alam and Collins, 2010:19). Social cohesion allows women to bounce back swiftly from disasters.

Participants to the FGDs noted that the first line of support for those affected by disasters is their immediate family members, or nuclear family. When probed on what role her family plays in response to disasters, a middle aged woman from Thamaga said,

"*family members provide search and rescue to the missing, material, as well as moral support and counselling. In instances when the family members get overwhelmed and are unable to assist, then the affected family turn to neighbours for help*" (P6, 25:23). Similar services are offered to the neighbours and to the community. A woman from Lotlhakane West said, *"I did not help anyone since I did not have anything to offer but instead I had words of encouragement and motivation for the affected neighbour"* (P7, 28:11). The items and services are offered at no cost to the affected family and are provided without favour or fear, or even social status of the family. Participants indicated that families who were not affected by the disaster showed extensive support and solidarity to the victims (Moalosi, 2007:41). As discussed previously, women are ascribed the caring role of the family. This role broadens to helping others in the community. Such caring is extended to other members of the community, even during times of peace when there are no disasters.

"I do not have land to plough but I go to assist those that have ploughed to harvest (also called majako in Setswana) and I get rewarded with the produce and share with my family," said a woman from Mathubudukwane (P1,25:23). "*The majako system is a good informal social safety net. It cushions the affected families from the impact of the disaster, strengthens their resilience as well as encourages the spirit of togetherness"* added a retired gender activist (P13, 26:12). The *majako* system as a coping mechanism was discussed under section 4.3.1. This finding is corroborated by Master, (2015:2) who argues that women value working together and helping others that are in need. Thus, a social support system further enhances the spirit of oneness amongst women in the community. This unity is a critical first line of support before government interventions (Alam and Collins, 2010:19), and often complementsed government's efforts.

When the family is overwhelmed, government or humanitarian agencies intervene at times prematurely.The unnecessary intervention by government through handouts erodes the informal support system and the spirit of self-reliance *(boipelego),* which the country had cultivated over the years (Moalosi, 2007:44). For instance, a middle age woman from Mathubudukwane reported that *"the social worker gave me a food basket and a relief tent and they pitched it for me even though my brother had offered to accomodate me at his place"* (P1,21:5). Although this may be affective in the short run, it might prove unsustainable in the long run especially with dwidling government resources (Mushore et al., 2013:104). This also decreases the inherent resilience of

communities and may not neccessarily address underlying vulnerabilities. Moreover, calls for assistance from government depend on the way in which communities view the cause of the disaster. If they see it as a natural event, these communities expect government to render assistance (Baker, 2009:115). However, if they view the cause as a failed social process, community members together with Government take responsibility to manage the disaster (Dako-Gyeke and Owusu, 2013:482).

Furthermore, the effects of the above-mentioned entitlement syndrome, like disasters, affect women more than men. This attitude weakens their inherent spirit of interdependency and altruism (Rose, 2011:99; Schwarz et al., 2011:1138). It does not help prepare women for severe economic times when government resources are inadequate (Mushore et al., 2013:104).

The participants confirmed that government assistance is rendered when community resources are overwhelmed. Government is the main provider of external support in such a situation. *“Even though government offered support to us, other humanitarian institutions such as churches, the Red Cross, and NGOs also rendered help. Politicians and traditional leaders also joined in to support us*” said a middle aged woman from Borolong (P3, 22:24). Government assistance was provided through the offices of the local District Commissioner as the office responsible to coordinate of DRR at district level (NDRMP, 2009:25). Affected families were given temporary shelter in the form of tents, and resources such as food rations, clothing, blankets and medical support. These forms of assistance, however, were provided according to the needs of a family; the assistance was generic, not gender sensitive.

Several participants criticised the assistance rendered by government. A woman from Thamaga said, "*the storm disaster occured on Friday night and I only received assistance (food items, blankets and a tent) from government on Tuesday afternoon. The food items were not enough for my big family I had given up on getting assistance from government"* (P6, 22:14). These delays test the resilience of women further, seeing that they must find alternative ways to feed their families before official assistance arrived. Most participants also were not clear about the selection criteria the assessment teams applied to determine assistance. Most participants testified that government was quick to provide material relief items. *"I was not given any form of pyscho-social support from government even though I lost my sister in the storm disaster"* said a middle aged woman from Bobonong (P4, 29:11). Theresponse lacked psycho-social support to affected families,

helping them deal with the trauma of the disaster. As a result, affected families sought psycho-social support from their unqualified family members as well as from churches and NGOs. A majority of the FGD participants indicated that they had not been given pyscho- social support.

> *"The Social Worker did not counsel my family, she gave us a tent and food rations and she left, we never saw her again,*" said a middle aged lady from Bobonong (P4, 35:2). *"The church and our local NGOs gave us moral support, in fact they have been checking on us since the disaster occurred*" added a woman also from Bobonong (P4, 35:13).

Bonanno et al. (2007:675) confirms that psycho-social support forms an integral part of disaster recovery. This form of support should be considered seriously, similar to material support, to help strengthen women's resilience to future disasters.

> *"Social workers are usually overwhelmed by other official duties: poverty eradication, youth development, destitution, orphan care, and numerous other government programmes and as such do not have sufficient time to conduct counselling,"* said a gender activist (P16,29:10).

Social workers play the part of 'Jack of all trades' in the village. They lack the necessary technical skills to offer trauma counselling to those affected by disasters (Knight, 2015:29). Furthermore, participants complained about the three-month relief period.

> "*We are given three months of which to recover from the disaster, after that the social worker comes and she collects the government tent, before we can even fix our structures. This setup is inadequate for us to recover sufficiently from the disasters",* said a woman from Borolong (P3.10:55)

Such a recovery plan does not take into account that women are more vulnerable to disasters and are slow to recover than men; and, therefore, need more time (Zhou, 2007:20; Gupta and Leung, 2011:2). Moreover, to date (2018), Botswana does not have a known recovery strategy or programme for households affected by disasters. This means that the same families that are vulnerable are affected by disasters continually.

Adaptive capacities of women in disaster situations

Batswana women over the years have adopted proactive coping mechanisms to manage risks related to disasters. This is confirmed by studies conducted by Smyth (2008),

Archer and Boonyabancha (2011), as well as Mulyasari and Shaw (2013). These studies pointed out that women, through their social networks, are powerful agents of change. Therefore, they act beyond their usual domestic roles and responsibilities and help build the overall resilience of the community.

Batswana men and women have different coping capacities. *"Men prefer to move to the urban areas in search of employment, whereas women stay behind to take care of their families in the village"* said female participant from Phala Road (P8, 16:22). Certain factors, however, force women to find alternative ways of taking caring for their families and communities. As was mentioned previously, at times, these adaptive strategies can be unusual.

Women have multiple coping strategies that help them deal with the impact of disasters. A woman from Bobonong indicated that, *"we brew traditional beer, sell second hand clothes and fruits and vegetables, from our backyard gardens, or even migrate to urban areas in search of better opportunities. It is not easy doing some of the tasks*" (P4, 25:12). Under these difficult circumstances, women show the resilience to survive severe hardships, and at times, compromise their personal health, safety and security (Flato et al., 2017:53). *"At times, I have to share my small mean with my children, as I cannot afford to provide for them. This is very difficult for me as I am diabetic,"* said an elderly woman from Mathubudukwane (P1, 20:17). For example, they eat less to focus on their children who are more vulnerable, and take on long and often arduous roads (to fetch water or search for food) to care for their family. *"The winds were so strong and it was so dark, there was no electricity in the village as a result of the disaster. We we were so afraid. Although I was also afraid, I didn't want to show it to my children,"* said a middle aged woman from Phala Road (P8, 10:23). At times, women literally risk their lives just to protect their families from potential disasters. In this regard, women make countless sacrifices for their families. Insufficient food has a direct implication for the family's survival and their overall nutritional health. Although women are known to be physically weaker than men, their roles are physically and psychologically taxing. This generally leads to high stress levels and related illnesses such as high blood pressure, depression, diabetes, and weakening of the immune system (Flato et al., 2017:55).

Stress, coupled with poor eating habits, affect women's social functioning and reduce their productivity within society. This condition often causes loss of income and opportunities for the family (Bonanno et al., 2007:674). Stress and related diseases also

affect women's relationships with the family, community and their work. Inevitably, the women-headed families fall deeper into abject poverty. In this type of environment, new-born babies as well as young children may develop lifelong mental scars (Horton, 2012:306). Breaking this vicious cycle seems an uphill task (Gokhale, 2008:3; Bonanno, 2010:6). *"I wish to have a formal work and earn a living, with a reliable job I could support my family and save for unexpected events such as disasters,"* said a young woman from Bobonong (P4, 21:36). However, they pointed out that this idea, although compelling, was not feasible since the patriarchal structures, coupled with limited employment opportunities in rural areas, tend to marginalise women further.

As mentioned previously, women depend more on natural resources than men (Horvorka, 2012:878). The problem is that the mophane worm and thatching grass, which they harvest and sell to supplement their incomes, are no longer as plentiful. An academic mentioned *"that there is also a restrictive law in terms of harvesting grass and poles which also act as an additional burden to these womenheaded households*" (P22, 10 33). This is corroborated by Ajibade et al., (2013:1715) who argues that women's control of natural resources is socially restricted across most societies.This forces women to follow alternative survival strategies. To provide sufficient food for their families an elderly woman from Lotlhakane West said "*in order to feed our families during extended drought periods, we use traditional techniques to preserve food (e.g., drying of produce) and we also share with family members who reside in urban areas"* (P7, 20:23).

To satisfy their families' food needs, in certain cases, women over-exploit natural resources such as the *mophane* worm (*phane),* found mostly in the northern parts of the country. A woman from Borolong said,

"the *bags of phane that I harvest have been decreasing every year, the previous year, I harvested 8 bags and this year it only three bags. I'm not sure as to what is going on, I suspect that some people might be digging phane from the ground. They should leave it alone*" (P3, 17:29).

Over the years, there had been a sharp decline in the presence of these worms. Women have the unenviable task of deciding whether to remain in poverty, or deplete the environment (Skinner, 2011:19). Either way, they must confront this dilemma head on. Women need to strike a balance between these two, seeing that total depletion of natural resources was not an option.

Despite being poorer than men, women refrain from fully exploiting natural resources since they could foresee the repercussions (Norris et al., 2007:137). The opposite applies to males. As one of their roles in managing cattle, men cut down large numbers of trees to build a cattle kraal, or sell stumps as firewood. Some men even chop down live mophane trees, which they dry and sell as wood. As indicated earlier, these trees are critical source of livelihood for women. The mophane worm is derived from this tree. This indiscriminate felling of live trees worsen the impact of climate-change-related disasters such as floods, drought, and storms (Bunce, 2010:420).

Any shock or disturbance to the environment, causes loss of income and food insecurity for the family. Therefore, women stand to lose more if they fail to adapt appropriately to changes and variations in the climate. Women have the basic knowledge to manage the environment due to their daily household chores. The primary issue is that women lack the modern knowledge of sustainable living, and the skills to manage the environment and their livelihoods successfully.

Women have to attend with the limited financial resources, limited savings, and remitted allowances from their children living in the urban areas. *"My daughter works in a retailer shop in Gaborone and she sends in money to support me. Although, it is not enough to sustain the family,"* said an elderly woman from Phala Road (P8, 12:19). Additionally, a middle aged woman from Mathubudukwane mentioned that, *"I depend on motshelo[5] for a living, I use it to buy clothes, pay school fees for my children and other household items. The interest rate is rather too high. I have no choice but to use motshelo"* (P1, 32:8). *Motshelo* comprises a small group of women with less representation by men. Members lend cash to an individual. The amount that accrues through interest, is shared equally among stakeholders at the end of the year (Molin, 2015:42). Most times, the raised funds are insufficient to cover other necessities such as family savings, or purchasing building materials to strengthen their houses.

Motshelo is also based on trust that a group member will return the cash, as governing rules are very informal (Molin, 2015:42). Any mistrust will cause the group to disintegrate. In disaster situations, people need truly dependable neighbours or members of the community to provide support. Through these groups, women build social bonds, which

[5] *Motshelo*, a traditional savings scheme in which members make monthly contributions and the proceeds are shared later

help enhance their self-worth and confidence in their everyday lives (Ahmed and Fajber, 2009:42). These inner values and resources further strengthen their resilience to disasters (Norris et al., 2007:139).

Furthermore, these mentioned community groups help women tackle gender inequality as a collective, which they would not be able to achieve as individuals. Women also are able to run these locally based enterprises (Motshelo) successfully with limited business skills. By acquiring additional resources women become better prepared for and more resilient to disasters. Thus, women gain individual strength from the collective support of these social support networks (Molin, 2015:42).

Families often are faced with challenges of insufficient income and food insecurity compounded by disasters. In such a situation, the family may decide to borrow from the extended family or neighbours to sustain their livelihoods. A woman from Lotlhakane West indicated that, "*my husband works in a farm about 50 kilometres from here , so when a storm disaster soaked all my food items, had to I borrow P800 from my neighbour so that I could buy food for my children as government assistance was not forthcoming"* (P7:24:21). Traditionally, it is a woman's role to borrow basic household items (e.g., sugar, tea, relish, maize-meal), or small amounts of cash to help their family survive (Lovekamp, 2003:19). These basic food items are not returnable and are given through goodwill. Women thus are left with the difficult task of servicing the small cash loan themselves while the men have migrated to urban areas (Byers et al., 2016:148).

At times, these and other initiatives fail to sustain the women's families. This condition is compounded by the increase of natural shocks. In such a situation women themselves are forced to move to urban areas in search of better opportunities. An academic added *that,*

> *"due to circumstances beyond one's control a woman would migrate from a rural to urban area, where one does not have relatives nor home and doesnt know anyone to search for a job. The question will be who is going to accommodate you, when conditions are hard if you are a woman. Probably you need a man who can house you that's where now cohabitation becomes a problem. You cohabit not because you want to, but you are forced by circumstances, and when you cohabit you lose your power, because these man you will have to pay, and how do you pay? You use your body because that's the only thing you have and the possibility of abuse is quite high, sexual abuse, the possibility of physical violence*

is quite high and at the same time you have to live within those circumstances because you have no alternative" (P22, 23:12).

Compelled by existing circumstances and the need to care for their families, women may become involved in unconventional coping activities. With limited education and inappropriate market skills, some become housemaids, commercial sex workers, or get involved in transactional sex relations with older men ('sugar daddies/blessers'[6]) just to sustain their families.

Consequently, women may end up infected with HIV/AIDS and other sexually transmitted diseases (Omari, 2010:6). Relationships such as these further disempower women. The money accrued from these activities are sent home for the upkeep of children and other dependents. Some professionals (participants) added that they had witnessed the disturbing trend of an increase in gender-based violence, HIV/AIDS and neglected children in rural areas. However, these participants could not be sure whether this was due to climate change and disasters, or other complex socio-economic problems, seeing that scientific research could not back these claims. However, it can be determined that impact of disasters can increase stress levels in affected families (Horton, 2012:306). Although no research has been conducted on this topic, participants attest to a seemingly strong connection between disasters/climate change and gender-based violence, and or prostitution.

Above, the discussion focused on factors that help cause women's vulnerabilities and lower their resilience to disasters. The following subsection combines and addresses two research questions, namely: gender mainstreaming in DRR, and internationally accepted best practices. These two research questions are answered under the theme *solutions.*

9.3.3. THEME 3: Solutions

The final theme discusses solutions to the research problem, that is, the lack of gender equality in Botswana, as suggested by participants. The theme presents four sub-themes:

'**Build back better':** focus forward, examines opportunities for infrastructure and social change in the affected communities by incorporating resilience for communities that are made safe from disasters.

[6] Sexual exploitation of young women by older men through exchanging money and or other luxurious gifts.

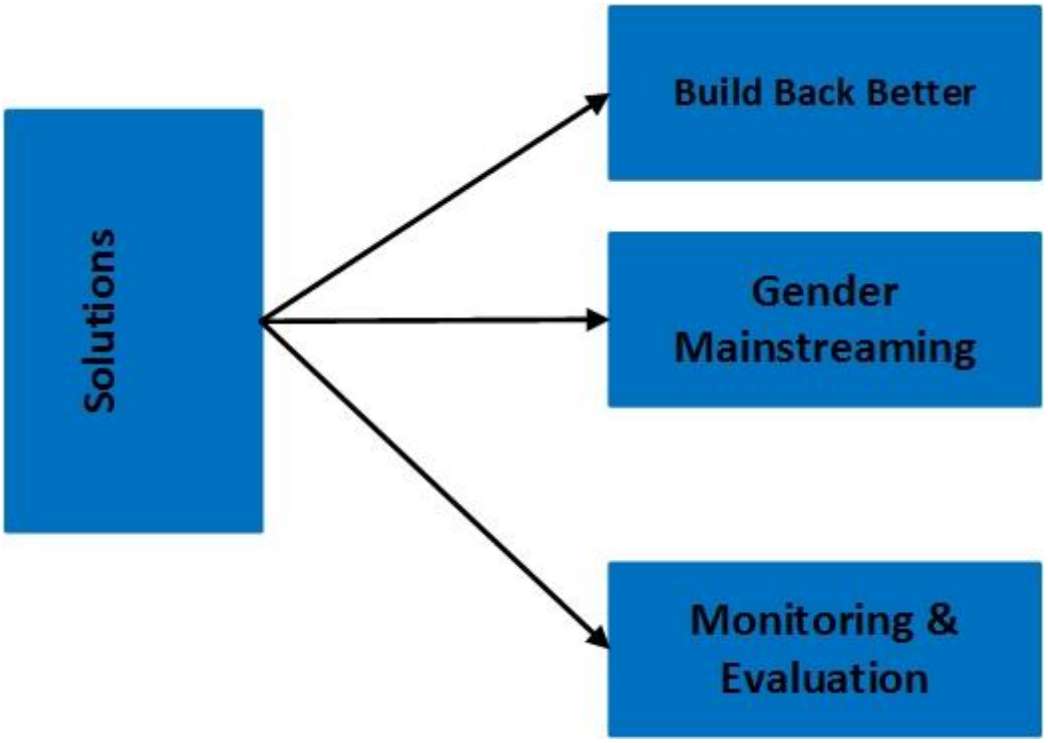
Education and awareness: identifies locally based strategies, stronger preparedness and responsiveness to disasters and social change.

Gender mainstreaming: incorporating gender into the DRR processes.

Implementation, monitoring and evaluation: equips decision-makers to make well-informed, appropriate and visionary decisions.

Figure below presents *Solutions* and the sub-themes flowing from it.

Figure 9.5: Solutions and its sub-themes.



9.3.3.1. Build back better' (BBB)

The aim of building back better (BBB) is to make households more resilient to future disasters (Mannakkara and Wilkinson, 2014:16) (The BBB concept was introduced in 7.2.1.). BBB does not only imply reconstruction of better and disaster-resistant physical infrastructure. It also focuses on building livelihoods. Such a total strategy allows households to adapt better to hazards of various forms or magnitude. Moreover, BBB includes the building of sustainable social support networks, as referred to in the previous theme. As discussed, BBB is thus critical for women, especially in rural areas as they have insufficient resources and, in certain instances, hardly are able to recover from disasters (Gupta and Leung, 2011:2).

The findings further show that a majority of the households that were affected by disasters preferred to use the Setswana type of thatched hut. *"I use the traditional hut as I cannot afford a modern brick and mortar house. My hut was not affected by strong winds, while my neighbour's brick and mortar house's roof was completely blown off,*" said a woman from Thamaga (P6, 18:11). Basically two reasons were identified for using this type of structure, namely its ability to withstand strong winds and its affordability to rural poor women. Moreso, this traditional hut is cooler as Botswana summers are extremely hot reaching temperatures which are predicted to rise by 1-3°C in the next 100 years (due to green house gas emissions) (Omari, 2010:8). The major weakness of this traditional structure, however, is that at times it is not built properly. *"My traditional hut was also affected, this might be due to the fact that I did not use the right mix of clay and cow dung to strengthen the hut. It is extremely difficult to get cow dung these days since most cattle had perished due to the drought. I have to walk a very long distance to fetch it and at my age I do not have the energy,"* said an elderly woman from Lotlhakane West (P7, 30:25). For Batswana to sustain the traditional hut structure, it is important that women use locally available and affordable, but durable, construction material.

Conversely, several participants recommended the brick and mortar flat-roof structure, commonly known as 'castle[7]'. An elderly woman from Mathubudukwane advised that, "*the 'castle' structure does not expose the roof or iron sheets as a result the roof is not blown away easily*"(P1, 34:29). This is corroborated by Aly and Bresowar (2016:3) who indicated that parapet roofing structure sucks in less wind than the gable roof. However, this model was not affordable to most households.

To protect their houses from strong winds, flash floods and drought, participants from FDGs suggested a more sustainable solution. They recommended that the planting of trees should be a priority. *"Men are the ones that fell live trees indiscriminately for their small businesses and this has the potential to increase the impact of climate change and the related hazards,"* said a young woman from Borolong (P3, 16:23). A gender environmentalist added that, *"It's a pity because women are the ones that look after the environment, all the forests are conserved by women, but men will cut down the trees and sell just to buy traditional beer or other alcoholic beverages. And when the woman*

[7]Locals refer to parepet roof as a castle

asks, 'you went to sell wood, where is the money?' then he starts beating the woman. That's how GBV comes about"(P 15, 12:20).

The responsibility to 'build back better' does not lie with households alone. The government and the community are involved as well (Mannakkara and Wilkinson, 2014:16). *"Before government built this tarred road, we never experienced any flooding, but ever since this road was build we experience flood regularly in our village. The road was made without storm water drainage system,"* pointed out a middle aged woman from Mathubudukwane (P1, 8:22). It is some of the development of infrastructure, which which makes some villages prone to risks thus exacerbates the flooding situation. Even with the limited resources, participants confirmed their commitment to prepare for floods. However certain actions or inaction by Government do not help their cause. One elderly woman at Mathubudukwane pointed out, *"Before we had developed infrastructure such as tarred roads, we didn't experience flooding waters directed to our houses, but these roads without drainage systems contribute a lot towards flooding our homes during rainy season"* (P1,10:22). The participants indicated further that government should lead by example in reducing risks, not increasing it.

9.3.3.2. Education and awareness

Most participants, especially the professionals, suggested that education and awareness is the perfect leveller for gender inequality and the marginalisation of women in DRR and everyday life situations. *"Through education and intensive public awareness certain aspects of culture that are oppressive to women can be changed. Although it might take time, a day will be reached where both sexes have equal opportunities and are resilient to disasters*" said an Official from the NDMO (P2, 27:11). Being educated and informed, can also empower women to participate in decision-making processes (Habtezion, 2012:2; Samarakoon and Parinduri, 2015:439). Informed women could be empowered to take prompt and well-informed decisions in the face of an impending disaster.

Women's limited education worsens their resilience to disasters

Most participants in the FGDs had limited formal education, they had either no education at all or attended school only until primary level. Therefore, they lack the resources to challenge men and the status quo. Women in the FGDs indicated that the reason for their limited education was mainly poverty. "*My parents could not afford to send me to school, my father was unemployed and old and we depended on my mother who worked as a domestic worker. Her income was not enough to feed, cloth and send us to school,"*

said a young lady from Thamaga (P6, 34:23). When reminded that education was free at primary and secondary level, they responded that *“free education was introduced only recently by the government, and during our time it was not free. My parents could not afford my paying for my education,”* said a middle aged woman from Thamaga (P6, 35:10). Thus, due to limited education, women lack the appropriate skills and expertise to deal with everyday challenges. Alam and Rahman, (2014:79) underlined the importance of education and awareness in DRR. They argue that it equips women with knowledge and skills to be better prepared and to manage disaster risk at home and in the community.Moreover it empowers women to challenge the status quo and to take up leadership positions especially in those areas that were previously dominated by men. Nakasu et al,., (2018:32) add that whether informal or formal education or even teachings from members of the family or community all are paramount in building capacities and reducing risk.

Men's skills and expertise in the construction industry means that they are less likely to be affected by disasters. According to a lady from Borolong said,”

> *the reason is that men are able to notice weak structures that require reinforcing before the disaster occurs. Thus, men can repair structures before any damage is caused. On the other hand, women are compelled to use the services of men to help rebuild their houses, which creates an unnecessary dependency on men"* (P3, 29:19).

"We lack the technical skills to prepare our houses before possible disasters we depend entirely on men for the construction of our houses," conceded another woman from Borolong (P3, 30:22). Advising women an enviromentalist indicated that,

> "*women should extend their skills through vocational training. This form of training has the potential to empower women, thus making them self-sufficient and self-reliant. The training should not only be limited to technical and entrepreneurial skills, but also focus on their rights and responsibilities as women, and address general lifelong survival skills" (P9,27:16). "These vocational centres should be open after hours to allow women access.*

Additionally, this allows the women to diversify their means of living and depend less on the agriculturally-based livelihoods that cannot withstand severe climates. With these

technical and entrepreneur skills, women can make extra income (Ali and Hatta, 2012:113).

Most participants were not fully aware of the hazards in their villages. *"This village experiences drought, storms and floods only on a regular basis. I'm not aware of disasters that have occurred in the village,"* said a woman from Bobonong (P4, 36:11). On close examination, it was revealed that the village experiences hazards like Foot and Mouth Disease, malaria and diarrhea among others (Gwebu, 2014:171). Inadequate awareness is also blamed on limited education by women, and poor communication by officials (Thurairajah et al., 2011:3). Being aware and vigilant to disasters goes a long way in making women more resilient (Mainlay and Tan, 2012:11).

Most participants from the professionals and FGDs, concurred that public awareness campaigns are insufficient to reach the marginalised groups, especially rural women. Public awareness campaigns are critical not only in DRR, but also in matters of gender inequality. An official from Ditshwanelo indicated that,

> *"sectors responsible for gender, DRR, and CCA, that is, the National Disaster Management Office, Department of Gender Affairs, and Department of Meteorology Services are all invisible. Therefore it is necessary that these sectors intensify their public awareness campaigns. Such campaigns could get men to change their attitude toward women"* (P, 17, 32:12).

This awareness will also help counter cultural stereotypes, attitudes, and norms, according to which women are deemed unable to lead (Moswete and Lacey, 2015:611). Moreover, bringing the two sexes together, helps strengthening the resilience of both men and women and allow them to complement each other.

This form of awareness should be extended tto churches, traditional institutions and media houses. An environmentalist stressed that, *"media houses in particular should be given the capacity to report on sensitive issues of gender and DRR. Men sometimes misconstrue gender to be a women's issue only. These males should be enlightened to understand that they coexist equally with women"* (P9, 24:17). It is important to treat both men and women equally, which would enable both genders to survive in difficult situations.

Some of the professionals concurred that education and public awareness should not be government's sole responsibility. "*All relevant stakeholders should complement government efforts, and no party should be left behind,"* said an academic (P23, 26:10). However, most of the professionals pointed out that civil society and NGOs are not given enough capacity to help implement government programmes. They added that Government should partner with different stakeholders, especially in capacity building and public awareness. The professionals viewed partnership as key to addressing gender inequality and strengthening resilience in general or in the face of disasters. An official from Emang Basadi was very critical of the NGOs, he stated that,

> *"although NGOs are doing a sterling job in building awareness on gender issues, some often do not represent rural women, but the interests of urban elite women. As a result, rural women are left behind because they have no one advocating for them"* (P5, 28:11).

Brown, (2016:384) corroborates this finding, she found that the urban elite tend to prioritise being well-networked in global activist communities over genuinely representing the interests of rural women. *"NGOs should recruit rural women into their ranks since we know our needs and interests better than the urban elite*," advised a young woman from Borolong (P3, 21:32).

9.3.3.3. Gender mainstreaming

Participants from the professionals were unanimous that GM was the most effective and appropriate strategy to curb the marginalisation of women and to strengthen their resilience to disasters. Although participants pointed out GM as their chosen strategy Participants offered a few practical examples of GM, but none were DRR or CCA related. (Chaptess 5 and 6 provide a detailed discussion of GM).

Gender officer affirmed that,

> "*we have a Memorandum of Understanding with the Ministry of Local Government and Rural Development to mainstream the SADC protocol on gender and development into the district council's planning process. To date we have managed to cover 11 out of the 17 Districts in the country"* (P24, 37:24).

For her part an officer from the Gender Affairs Department added that, "*we have piloted GM in certain ministries. However, the initiative failed because focal persons on gender*

were appointed at junior level (C1[8]), where they had limited influence since GM was not formally included in their job descriptions" (P16,38:4). Other prominent examples are HIV/AIDS and the agricultural sector, where there is a significant participation byboth men and women.

These few examples, although not related to DRR, show that with the right attitude and resources, GM could help reduce gender inequality. A retired gender activist advised that *"GM should be introduced at all levels of operations and in all spheres of life, both in private and public sectors. This policy strategy should form part of the day-to-day operations of the organisation*" (P13,30:16) According to certain professionals, that is, academic and gender officers, GM emphasised the need to embrace gender differences, priorities, gaps and pertinent issues that affect both women and men, and include these in specific policies and programmes. GM also highlights programmes that target marginalised groups. These programmes are based on disaggregated data and seek to find sustainable solutions to the issue of gender inequality (Eklund and Tellier, 2012:603). An environmentalist added that,

> *"for GM to be a success, it is necessary that the various sectors in society should commit to the cause. There also must be clear political commitment and a willingness to provide financial and technical resources. Sectors are working in silo; there is no shared goal and this is exacerbated by unnecessary red tape from Government, which hinders progress"* (P9, 38:22).

Gender was also frequently mentioned in policy and programme documents, and the impact was not being felt on the ground (Llosa and Zodrow, 2011:2). An academic summarised,

> *“GM recognises that we are differently able to and we need to work together for our common goal. If policies are not mainstreamed, it is like a person operating with one hand, when they got two hands. Why can’t we train both of our hands so that we can maximise on their respective strengths?”* (P 23, 10:22).

[8] A pay scale from the government of Botswana according to which A is the lowest paid rank, and F the highest.

Gender-specific disaster-relief packages

Participants indicated that, during disasters, they received uniform relief packages, regardless of their gender.

> *"Our packages were all the same. I wanted some sanitary towels for my eighteen year old daughter and the social worker told me that these were not covered by the relief packaged. I ended up asking my neighbour for assistance,*" said a woman from Bobonong (P4, 25:21).

This occurred, even though these women stressed that their needs in disaster situations differed from those of men. A women in Lotlhakane West indicated that, "*our relief packages did differ from the men's, for instance, packages for women and mature girls contained hygienic towels and family-planning tablets*" (P7, 20:25). The local social worker who was present in the FGD supported this point. However, further consultation with other districts revealed that relief packages were not compiled gender specific and that the Lotlhakane West case remained the discretion of the local social worker. This finding is corroborated by Rock and Corbin (2007) cited in Maripe and Setlalentoa, (2017:13) who added that social workers have over the years neglected the element of psycho-social support and this was the cornerstone to enhancement of personal capacities. This is relevant to Botswana's situation as Social Work was historically associated with food rationing and not advocacy and clinical casework (Kang'ethe, 2014:429). Narrowing relief to food rationing has a positive short term impact on women but tends to create dependency and does very little to strengthen women's capacities especially their livelihoods (Llosa and Zodrow, 2011:13).

Men through their masculinity, which they use to rescue women, also take over the relief phase (Arora-Jonsson, 2011:745). The result is that women are side-lined to the role of receiver. Since women are not involved in the process, they end up receiving packages that are not sensitive to their special needs. Disaster-relief packages in Botswana are standardised, and not gender sensitive. According to a professional DRR participant, *"the National Policy on Disaster Management (1996) is silent on this issue and the revised National Policy on Destitute Persons (2002) from which the relief package was adopted, did not consider the aspect of gender equally"* (P2, 28:2). A top-down approach, centrally determined at the NDMO, prescribes the disaster-relief package.

Districts that implement the relief programme are not empowered to adjust the package. Similarly, women who comprise most of the beneficiaries, do not have a say in the matter (Kang'ethe, 2014:429). This may be attributed to the top down policies (discussed in the previous chapters) that Botswana adopted. *"I dropped out of school because my parent could not afford to by me sanitary pads and other essentials. I was afraid to tell my teacher the truth,"* said a middle aged woman from Lotlhakane West (P7, 12:21). Due to their submissiveness and lack of assertiveness, women and young girls fail to challenge authorities, and thus suffer in silence. Because they are too shy to ask for assistance with private items (sanitary towels), young women may drop out of school fearing personal embarrassment (Babugura, 2008:148; Parkinson, 2011:7). This tendency has long-term consequences for the young woman, her family and the community at large, where people struggle to break the vicious poverty cycle.

"the disaster-relief package focuses on basic supplies such as food, clothing, and temporary shelter in the form of tents," added another middle aged woman from Lotlhakane West (P7, 15:3). According to the professional DRR participant, who indicated that,

> "*although permanent shelter, which improves the dignity and resilience of affected women, is part of the list, it is not provided. Provision of shelter is stipulated in the National Disaster Relief Fund Order, but is provided only on an ad hoc basis. Government seems reluctant to enforce this requirement* "(P2, 24:17).

This practice tends to leave most of the affected female-headed families without shelter in times of disaster. "*In cases where permanent shelter (house) is provided, it does not consider the size of the family; it provides standard housing for both genders" added the professional (*P2, 25:4). Findings show that female-headed households have more children and extended family members to cater for, than individual males. Therefore, these women should be given priority and treated differently (Lekobane and Mooketsane, 2016:49).

Affirmative action and merit-based gender-equality strategies

Professionals also gave contrasting yet convincing views on whether women should be hired/promoted on merit, or whether an affirmative action/quota system should be introduced. An official from Ditshwanelo indicated that,

"women should be employed according to merit and their capabilities. This is the the only way to transform Botswana into a better country. Should affirmative action be adopted, the country will end up appointing unqualified and less skilled personnel, in an attempt to meet quota requirements" (P17, 31:24).

The findings show that there is slow progress in reaching a gender inclusive society in Botswana. In this regard, other professionals supported the introduction of affirmative action. An academic pointed out that, *"the introduction of quotas (affirmative action) for women increase their involvement in decision-making and certain positions should be reserved for women* (P 23, 21:11). They also supported the SADC's gender protocol, which requested member states to set aside 30% of the positions in the Legislative Assembly for women (SADC, 2016:17). The allocated quota thus helps bridge the gap between men and women and *catalyses* women's empowerment. The Economist, (2014:29) corroborates this finding, it indicates that in Nepal in 2013, women held 10.9% of the positions in the national assembly and through the successful implementation of the quota system, women's representation increased to 33% in 2014. Quotas or affirmative action was discussed in Sections 5.2.1 and 7.5.4.1

Whilst there is merit to this argument, quotas are effective only as a temporary stop-gap measure. Furthermore, quotas seemingly apply more to urban women than rural ones, seeing that it focuses on issues of promotion in the boardroom as well as representation in the legislature and other bodies. Rural women require an approach that addresses issues of oppression in their households, and not quotas. The empowerment of all women seems to be the final solution to the gender inequality and vulnerability problem.

9.3.3.4. Policy implementation (Monitoring and Evaluation)

Most of the professional participants identified the implementation of policies as a major challenge. Although Botswana's social policies are sound, implementation is one of the largest challenges facing the country. There are three main social policies, namely: National Policy on Disaster Management (1996), National Policy on Gender and Development (2015), and a draft of the National Policy on Climate Change. An official from Botswana Red Cross indicated that, "*although these policies are interrelated they are not harmonised and inadequate human and financial resources impedes their effective implementation. At times, low-level employees with limited skills and experience are tasked to drive these policies"* (P25, 32:25).

For her part a retired gender activist emphasised that, *"statutory instruments could be improved for better results in gender equality. Moreover, it is people's attitudes, stereotypes, and beliefs that are major hindrance to implementation"* (P13, 36:21). In certain instances, policies or programmes fail, due to inadequate consultation with and involvement of the affected groups. Conceptualisation and planning are wrongfully done on behalf of this group. Thus, a bottom-up, people-centred approach must be used to plan and guide policy implementation.

Interventions based on research, allow policy-makers to seek in-depth knowledge, and identify the root cause of the social problem. A retired gender activist added that,

> "*lack of evidence-based (empirical) interventions lead to a duplication of programmes and, at times, conflicting policies. Thus, to reduce gender inequality and strengthen women's resilience to disasters, Botswana need to formulate a comprehensive family policy. This policy will allow both men and women to appreciate the different roles they fulfil at home and at work, and both genders will participate equally in the upbringing of their children"* (P13,38:21).

Affirming this finding Arora-Jonsson, (2011:746) stated that evidence based allows for a targeted response to the problem and not just address the symptoms of the problem and also saves government of finite resources.

Participants from the professionals observed that policies and programmes are not monitored and evaluated. Therefore, it is difficult to determine the level of implementation and impact of these policies. It must be remembered that the resilience and vulnerability of women changes over time. Thus, it is important to keep track of these changes and adjust interventions where appropriate. Moreover, gender roles as such also transforms according to new challenges. Thus, it is important to adjust to these changes as well. A Genderlinks official added that, *"a robust and practical monitoring and evaluation mechanism should be developed. It is, therefore, important that the relevant policies and programmes should be monitored and evaluated regularly"* (P24, 32:21). Carr and Thompson, (2014:185) corrobates this finding by indicating that the M &E process is critical as it serves to 'check' on the effectiveness of the policies and programmes and recommends appropriate actions to address anomalies, and this results in interventions that produces more-than-optimal outcomes.

9.4. Discussion: Major Findings and Conclusions

In the light of the description of the findings in the previous section, it is important to thoroughly examine these findings. The findings are discussed from the perspective of 3 theories which were adopted in chapter 2 namely; gender, social vulnerability and capability theories. As stated previously, the aim of the study is to address the lack of gender equality in DRR within Botswana and to recommend appropriate policy action to gender and DRR practitioners, scholars and policy-makers. The lack of gender equality in DRR was addressed through the adoption of gender mainstreaming as a strategy. As discussed in preceding chapters, the inclusion of gender in DRR is likely to enhance resilience of women to disasters and effects of climate change and ultimately contribute to positive economic growth, as women will now be more empowered and less dependent on men for their lives and livelihoods. This study and the literature reviewed had common themes and patriarchy together with gender neutral policies were primary driving force behind women's limited power at home, community and at work, poverty, unpaid care burden, low self worth and self esteem amongst others. These factors all combined to decrease women's capacities to manage disaster risk. Additionally, women were found to be resilient, they also supported each other financially, physically and spiritually during disasters. The empirical findings in chapter 9 revealed that Batswana women especially rural based and female headed have inherent capacities that they use to manage disaster risk in their families and communities. These capacities, although critical are often undermined or downplayed by women themselves and practitioners at large. In essence, Chapter 9 revealed numerous empirical findings. It is therefore not possible to discuss all of them here. The section will focus on discussing key findings to the research study. These are discussed according to the three developed themes of the study namely; potential causes of gender inequality (culture-daily practices and instutionalised practices and beliefs; impact of gender inequality (increased vulnerability and increased resilience/adaptation) and solutions (build back better and gender mainstreaming)

9.4.1. Theme 1: Potential Causes of Gender Inequality

Unpaid care burden at home

The literature and this study confirmed women's unpaid care burden at home which inevitably leads to poverty as they have limited time, opportunities and choices and this is consistently echoed by chapters 3, 4, 5 6, 7 and 9. According to the findings of the study and also supported by literature reviewed, in general women spend three times

more on unpaid domestic than men and spend at least 18 hours daily at home (Actionaid, 2017:4). The remaining time is spent walking long fetching water and firewood or some domestic chore of which they are not paid for (Goh, 2012:12). Addressing the unpaid care will go a long way in bridging the gender gap. One way of addressing the unpaid care burden is to recognise and value women's contribution at home as it does not allow them to participate in local governance, economic initiatives and DRR planning (Dickerson et al*.,* 2015:4; Actionaid, 2016:2). This also allows them to network and build capacities with community members which is critical for early warning and disaster preparedness. Some scholars like Robila, (2014:7) discussed in this study have even argued for the introduction family friendly social policies allows for childcare services and the equal sharing of responsibilities between men and women.

Contrary to most literature reviewed in this study, Batswana men do share some of the domestic responsibilities. Although most of the work is still done by women, Batswana men partake in such activities as cleaning, cooking and fetching water and firewood. Unlike women who fetch water and firewood using their heads, men use donkey carts. The reason for their participation is twofold; this is as a result of empowerment initiatives and the fact that some of their traditional roles have changed due to a change in agricultural practices climate change and modernisation. For instance, Batswana men no longer herd cattle and there are limited employment opportunities at village level. According to literature, (MLGRD, 2012:18; Malema, 2012:66) there is no viable and sustainable employment opportunities at village level other than *Ipelegeng* (Labour Intensive programme). Cattle are now confined to designated areas which do not require attending on a daily basis. This means that they have 'free time' to assist women with some of the domestic chores.

On the contrary, it might be argued that, men engage in these chores due their inactivity. Men take these domestic chores out of inadequate choices at village level. However, women do not have such choices they are compelled to do the work without fail as it is their primary responsibility (Bradshaw, 2015:563). The engagement of men in domestic chores is superficial and paints a picture that responsibilities are shared when in actual fact women are still overburdened (Falanga, 2016:1). It is important that solutions that seek to address gender inequality should not reproduce traditional gender roles as these increase women's vulnerabilities (Le Masson, 2017:37). Such initiatives although can to some extent build resilience, they tend to promote domestic roles of women and should

be discouraged at all cost and these include income generating projects like sewing, basketry, weaving et ce tera, which are common in Botswana.

Similarly, contrary to what literature suggested some Batswana women and men indicated that women also have powers to make decisions in the family. There is consultation to some extent, however, men still control and allocate resources (Neumayer and Plumper, 2007:3). This was found to be illusory as most major decisions in the family are still taken by men. Women remain powerless in the house as men still have control on women; when they should clean the house, buy groceries and other household items. In sum, although these changes (sharing of domestic chores and some decisions) are the moment at superficial level, there seems to be some positive change in Botswana families and Batswana can only build on this, as this will add on to women's capacities to manage disaster risk.

Batswana mixing traditional Setswana religion and Christianity

These findings also concurred with previous studies on the influence of culture and religion in shaping social relations between women and men. The study affirmed that male driven patriarchal systems inclusive of religion are not only responsible for the allocation of resources and choices in life (power) but also shape how individuals perceive and manage disaster risk. Batswana regardless of gender believed in both the spiritual ancestry *(badimo)* or traditional Setswana religion and Christianity. Interestingly, the study found that Batswana were mixing the two religions. The two religions are distinct, parallel, conflicting and usually do not mix. Batswana conveniently mix the two with little difficulty. The traditional Setswana religion is usually associated with bad omen or negative things, while Christianity refers to pureness, sanctity and modernity (Ngwenya et al., 2012:349). However, this study did not ascertain whether men or women had the same belief system and this could a subject for future research. Due to strong cultural and religious allegiance, most Batswana view the cause of disasters as natural events caused by angry superior beings. Batswana over the years have built material, physical, and above all, spiritual resilience.

Although participants held strong cultural beliefs – especially the elderly – most were unanimous in their Christian faith. Accordingly, approximately 70% of Batswana identify themselves as Christians (Nkomazana and Setume, 2017:247). The study further found that women used faith (Christianity) more than men to cope with disasters. Even though the study included few men most of them did not indicate any strong Christian values

which made one to conclude that men believed less in Christianity. Almost all of them pray to a Higher Being when times are difficult. During such times, Batswana turn to prayer for hope and spiritual strength. This spiritual attitude gives them a positive outlook and a meaning to life (Dahlberg et al., 2015:47). Such a positive outlook to life enable Batswana women to face adverse situations without fear, knowing that they are protected by God. Moreover, religion inculcates the sense of belonging and altruism, which is crucial to strengthen social cohesion of the community and build resilience (Sun and Qi, 2018:589). Mixing the two religions has proven to be a source of resilience for women and Batswana in general. In order to strengthen women's capacities and resilience to disasters it is critical to start interventions from the faith perspective moving on to the scientific. The engagement of faith based local NGOs in this process although vital, it may lead to longer recovery as women might struggle to accept their situation as their problem is a direct consequence of the superior being (McGeehan, 2014:44). Thus, the importance of incorporating faith based organisations and their methods in DRR cannot be overephasised.

According to the findings most participants preferred these two ideologies for psychosocial support as it is easily available from family and community members and rather that the scientific driven counseling offered by not so appropriately trained social workers. It is important that informal psych-osocial support should be supplemented with help from qualified professionals. This enhances their mental health and inevitably leading to quicker recovery from disasters. It should be noted that Botswana does not have a comprehensive psycho-social support system for both the disaster-affected families and the officials ministering to them.

9.4.2. Harness women's numbers for political change

The study further affirmed the fact that women do not support each other in activities that are career changing. Women are less represented in these bodies (Village Development Committees, local government and at parliamentary level) and traditional feast like funerals and weddings, this is despite them having more numbers. (Botlhale, 2014:820; Ngwenya et al., 2017:39). Election to these bodies is through numbers and they have them. This attitude is later transferred to boardrooms and other decision making bodies (Mitra et al., 2015:74). This explains the continued marginalisation at home, community and at work. Participants could not ascertain the underlying reason for not supporting each other in politics. It is through participation in political bodies that women end their

marginalisation. This could also be a subject of future research. However, despite the tendency of women not supporting each other in politics and in the boardroom, they are most willing to render support during disasters.

9.4.3. Theme 2: Impact of Gender Inequality

Social determinants of vulnerability

The gender sensitive methodology coupled with capability theories used right through this study highlights the significance of social factors in turning hazards into disasters in Botswana. This study confirmed the assertion made in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 that hazards on themselves do not cause disasters and that anthropogenic/vulnerability factors are responsible. Anthropogenic factors that turn hazards into disasters include amongst others such as, gender, age, level of education, cultural, socio-economic status (Yoon, 2012:824). These vulnerability factors are context specific and can be addressed through policies and change of mindsets. This is contrary to the rather obsolete and gender neutral National Policy on Disaster Management (1996) which is hazard driven and makes reference to physical and hazards such as floods, storms, wild land fires epidemics et cetera and there is no mention of social factors. The hazard driven policy drives communities to believe that very little could be done to manage disaster risk as hazards are viewed as natural. It is this naturalness that has dire consequences for Batswana. The Central Theoretical Statement confirms the inherent male bias of the policy that is formulated with the belief that disasters do not exacerbate gender inequalities in Botswana (Brown and Langer, 2015:49; Akerkar and Fordham, 2017:228). According to such, policies, the playing ground is even, that is, men and women are equal and their needs are the same. Worse still they are often lumped together with those of children (Laska et al., 2008:15). Botswana's adoption of neo liberal ideology does not help the situation either, as it promotes free market economy in which women's unpaid care burden is not recognised and compels social production costs to women (Cassidy and Barnes, 2012:11).

It is the unpaid care burden that increases their vulnerability to disasters as they do not have the time and opportunity to engage in jobs to supplement their incomes. On the contrary, men's work is recognised and valued (Mukuna, 2015:207). Failure to recognise the contribution of the women's role, especially at home, places this gender at a continuous disadvantage. This means that they are unable to compete equitably with males, and continually experience higher levels of poverty than them. This problem is

also acknowledged by the UN in terms of SDG 5 on gender equality, which advocates the recognition and value of women's household chores (UNICEF, 2016:11). Consequently, women are disproportionately affected by the impact of disasters. As this and other similar studies confirmed, women have specific needs**,** which are different from those of men (Ginige et al., 2009:25; Fordham, 2011:834; Padgett and Warnecke, 2011:537). Thus, Batswana women have no choice (capability theory) but to accept whatever relief supplies is given to them as they are less empowered. This inevitably leads to low self esteem and other social ills which can later be adopted by their children later in their lives (Hedayat Allah et al., 2012:41). This kind of behaviour is cyclical and generational and has negative impact on the social and economic growth of the country. To address this pressing problem, Botswana needs to adopt gender sensitive DRR policies (discussed in Chapter 7). Although technologies are handy in forecasting and anticipating disasters (early warning and preparedness), it is critical to invest in interventions that address social vulnerabilities rather than physical factors. The understanding is that the address of social factors will have a knock on effect on physical hazards, as women will now have more capacities to deal with disasters. In sum, this finding contributes to the recognition of social vulnerable factors causing vulnerability among Batswana women and other women in similar contexts.

Social support system

The study confirmed that women form strong social-support systems to assist those affected by disasters. Not only women provide assistance, but all Batswana – including men. This benevolent value is not only peculiar to Botswana, but to the world in general in case of crises or disasters. People or communities in general have an inbuilt benevolence to assist those in need.

Batswana's strong, informal social support system sprouts from the country's cultural heritage, which seek to promote national harmony and national unity through the value of *botho* (Moalosi, 2007:11; Nkomazana and Setume, 2017:210). *Botho* describes the humane character of an individual, and advocate a well-mannered, courteous and disciplined society (Botswana Government, 1996:5). Not only natural resources, farming and the tourism industry contribute to Botswana's success, but Batswana's selfless support for each other and for the development of the country. These values remain, despite years of modernisation. Surprisingly, participants attest that these values are still practiced in urban areas, although its existence is slowly waning. However, this value

remains more pronounced in women than in men. The literature was not clear on this subject was very limited. Literature reviewed did not indicate gender differences with regards to benevolence. The assumption made by literature was that women since were caring by nature and were mostly in caring professions were therefore more benevolent or showed more *botho* than men (Parkinson, 2011:7). From the literature reviewed and findings from this study it is crystal clear that women have the numbers to transform the political/development landscape in Botswana. Women can call upon the same spirit of oneness that they use to support each other in disaster situations, in *metshelo* (micro-lending), basketry, pottery, weaving et cetera. If women can entrust each with money, why should they not trust each other with votes? This is very attainable, but requires a lot of self introspect and commitment on the part of women.

9.4.4. Theme 3: Solutions

Effectiveness of Gender Mainstreaming and Community Based Disaster Risk Reduction initiatives

Reviewed literature throughout the study indicated that DRR policies and strategies meant to tackle gender inequalities were gender neutral and therefore ineffective (Mitchell and van Aalst, 2008:1). As the study indicated, gendering DRR will go a long way in reducing gender inequalities enhanced by disasters (Ibarraran et al., 2010:13; Alston, 2013:2; Edvardsson Bjornberg and Hansson, 2013:217). The study further confirmed through chapters 5, 6, 7 and 9 that mainstreaming is the most appropriate policy strategy to address gender inequalities caused by disasters. Even though recommended, gender mainstreaming is still at fledgling stage in the development field inclusive of Botswana and almost non-existent in the DRR field (Akerkar and Fordham, 2017:228). Furthermore, chapter 1 and 6 point to the need to engender DRR as it currently very limited. However, the strategy has been adopted in some developed as well as developing countries rendering very positive economic and positive results (De Henau et al., 2017:12). Similarly, the development field in Botswana has since adopted the strategy. The DRR field in Botswana can also follow suit. This will in turn have a positive knock on effect on women's capacities and resilience to manage disaster risk. .

In order to engender DRR fully there is a need for political commitment, recognition and resourcing of both fields. Currently, there is less recognition of DRR, while gender seems adequately recognised and resourced. The non recognition of DRR is vividly illustrated by the fact that the coordinating agency as remained at Unit level since its establishment

in 1998. This is despite regular and complex occurrence of hazards in the country such as flash floods (and more recently Tropical Cyclone Dineo, 2017) storms, geo hazards, epidemics and others of a similar nature (NDMO, 2013:16). As mentioned in chapter 4, the DRR institution is rather weak and lacks proactiveness empowerment to effectively manage disasters. Although, Botswana is signatory to the HFA and lately the Sendai Framework (chapter 2), the NDMO is still stuck in the archaic management of disasters approach instead of DRR. Consequently, implementation of DRR has remains at rhetorical level. Thus, weak institutional mechanisms do not help the gendering process. Conversely, the same cannot be said of gender issues in the country, these enjoy some recognition and the institution has long been established as a fully fledged department (GeAD, 2015:1). The Department now forms part of the core mandate of the recently renamed Ministry of Nationality, Immigration and Gender Affairs. For DRR to be engendered there is a need for both institutions to be at the same level of operation and recognition. The two institutions should be well resourced.

Another impediment to the successful execution of gender mainstreaming is implementation of policies and programmes. Although laws and policies were found to some extent responsive to the needs and interests of women, the problem was identified as inadequate implementation (UNISDR, 2009:14; World Bank, 2010:3). Chapter 7 succinctly captures this point. Inadequate implementation of policies often leads to increase of gender inequalities and an erosion in women's capacities (Le Masson, 2017:44). In other words, certain factors pose a challenge to gender equality, namely insufficient skills and resources, people’s attitudes, and stereotypes. A factor that complicated implementation was the fragmented policies, which were not addressing the issue of gender and DRR holistically. For instance, the National Policy on Disaster Management makes no reference to gender issues, and likewise the National Policy on Gender and Development regarding DRR. This silo arrangement further stretches government's finite resources.

The study also found that policies alone cannot end gender inequality. These have to be complemented by effective and intensive public awareness campaigns and a buying in of traditional leaders *Dikgosi* (Chiefs), politicians, women themselves, religious, and local NGOs and among others. As mentioned, primary issues in Botswana are stereotypes and mindsets which are change. With the right attititude, committment and

targeted programming Botswana can be transformed into an equal and just society. Change of mindset will not occur overnight but is very attainable.

It is important to engage locals and their NGOs as they have better knowledge of the capacities of their communities (De Geoffroy and Grunewald, 2017:5). Hammami, (2012:2); Nhamo (2014:166) and Botswana Governent 2036, (2016:21) in Chapter 6 support the notion of engaging locals as it empowers them and also allows them to take charge of their actions in pre and post disaster situations. However, they are often looked down upon by national actors and urban based NGOs. Their situation is worsened by inadequate funding and technical support from government. In addition, the study found that the NGOs that complemented government's efforts were viewed as self-serving elitist and not representing vulnerable rural women. This situation is worsened by the fact that Botswana still uses the unpopular top down approach which does not represent the needs and aspirations of locals instead of the community based DRR approach (Sallu et al., 2010:9; Botlhale, 2014:817). This situation works against some of the policies and institutions that have been set up to address gender inequality and DRR.

As indicated in Chapter 4, as long term strategy, Botswana should invest in women's quality education especially vocational training. Although this might not necessarily be in DRR policy directly, it is critical for driving the gender equality agenda. As proven by this study and other empirical literature education empowers women to bargain at home and in the community and further gives them knowledge, skills, improved health for the family, informed electorates and choices to manage disaster risks (Samarakoon and Parinduri, 2015:428).Training should start at home where boys and girls will be given similar domestic chores. Socialisation allows them to grow up performing these tasks ambidextrously and this should be further taken up to school, community and eventually to work.

In conclusion the following are findings that could facilitate development of appropriate GM for DRR in the context of Botswana;

1) The unique culture of Botswana influences the lived experiences of women. Despite legislation that promotes equality, the role of culture undermines the ability of women and men to experience equality at local level.
2) Institutionalised practices within Botswana still reflect an inherent male

bias or gender neutrality which fails to acknowledge the differential experiences of women and men and

3) Gender inequality has negative impacts on vulnerability as experienced by women in Botswana.
4) Gender inequality has forced women in Botswana to adopt certain practices in disasters and these actions and activities should be maximised to help build their resilience.
5) Despite the significant impact of gender inequality in the context of disaster affected in Botswana, there are a number of suggestions that have been made by community members and key informants to help address the critical issues involved.

In light of the above-mentioned findings, the following chapter (ch 10) presents recommendations of the research with a view to address gender inequalities caused by disasters as investigated in the present study. Furthermore, the knowledge gained through this research, should help influence policy, practice, and further research into the relationship between women and disasters.

CHAPTER 10: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

10.1. Introduction

The aim of the present study was to investigate the causes of of gender inequalities in disasters within Botswana and to recommend appropriate policy action to gender and DRR practitioners, scholars and policy-makers. In order to address the research problem, the study answered six questions and objectives as captured in chapter 1.

The purpose of this final chapter is to examine and assess how research objectives were addressed by the preceding theoretical chapters. To assess the objectives, the study employed the three multi-pronged theoretical frameworks that were identified and discussed in chapter 2 (Literature review), namely: gender, social vulnerability, and capability. Proposed solutions to the research problem and recommendations were discussed through the lenses of these three frameworks.

A desktop analysis of the study showed that gender inqualities exacerbated by disasters exist in Botswana and these affect the attainment of SDGs and Vision 2036 (chs 2, 3 and 4). In addition culture and patriarchal institutions are responsible for gender inequality, which is perpetuated through policies and programmes (ch 7). The situation is worsened by people's attitudes, stereotypes, and beliefs, among other factors (ch 6). To address the problem of gender inequality in disaster situations, gender mainstreaming was chosen as policy strategy (chapters 5 and 6). This is affirmed by chapters 6 and 7, and further corroborated by the empirical findings (ch 9). These findings confirmed the need to strengthen the resilience of women through gender mainstreaming (GM). For GM to succeed, there need to be political will, allocation of resources, people with the right technical knowledge and skills, and a willingness to change mind-sets.

This chapter firstly provides an overview of the chapters outlined in the present study; this is followed by examining the overall aim and the individual objectives. Attempts will be made to connect the objectives/chapters. Finally, the limitations of the study are pointed out and recommendations made as well as contributions proposed to the new body of knowledge in the DRR/gender fields. This is followed by highlighting possible areas for future research, and presenting the overall conclusion of the study.

The study provides novel knowledge on the crucial role played by institutions and driven by culture determines women's vulnerability to disasters in Botswana. It was confirmed that women are affected by disasters more than men are. Furthermore, the study found

that Batswana women interchange traditional beliefs with Christian beliefs and women used faith more as a coping strategy than men. Conversly, religion can also be a source of vulnerability especially when it is used to suppress women as was discussed in the previous chapter. However, in this study, religion provided Batswana women with a sense of hope, positivity and optimism in the face of adversity. This knowledge is critical for policy-makers and practitioners, seeing that proposed DRR programmes should be sensitive to culture, religion and gender. The findings showed that women have specific needs, which often are exacerbated by disasters. It was crucial to examine factors that marginalise women (make them more vulnerable) and how these factors could be mitigated, allowing women to enhance their adaptive capacities in the face of disasters.

Vulnerability to disasters is situational, not a permanent condition and, therefore, can be addressed. Strengthening women's resilience usually translate to better quality of life for the families and community at large. Even though vulnerable, women have inherent capacities to manage disasters and other threatening everyday-life situations. There is, therefore, a need to channel the efforts of those who have limited resources. It is also necessary that governing bodies recognise these women's efforts, to help make them more resilient to disasters. Although females are in the majority in the country, they have limited power and resources compared to men. As a result, women have less capacity to manage disasters, and must attend with a lack of resources caused by a strong patriarchal culture that leaves women more vulnerable than men. Gender inequality is compounded by the impact of disasters.

In light of the examination above, to attain sustainable goals and achieve Vision 2036, it is paramount to engage and empower those with less capacity. Full engagement of all stakeholders, including women, is required to reach these goals. The following section provides an overview of the chapters in the study.

10.2. Overview of the Chapters

The study was divided into nine chapters including this final one presenting the conclusions and recommendations.

Chapter 1: This chapter provided an overview and justification of the study. To understand the research problem fully, the thesis outlined the purpose of study, posed six research questions and inferred six objectives. The research questions/objectives were developed further into chapters, which addressed the research problem.

Furthermore, the theoretical statement was posited in which the study is grounded, followed by a discussion of the adopted methodology. The chapter concluded with a layout of chapters for the thesis.

Chapter 2: This chapter provided a desktop review of the relevant literature on the research problem. Reviewing existing literature was crucial since it allowed the researcher to identify strengths and weaknesses of similar previous studies. This also helped identify the knowledge gap to be filled by the present study. The chapter began by examining the concept of disaster, its origins and how it evolved over time. This was then followed up by the discussion of the three theoretical frameworks used in the namely; feminism (gender), social vulnerability, and capability, to examine the research objectives. The discussion focused on the various dimensions and expressions of these basis theories capturing their strengths, weaknesses and interrelations. It was found that these approaches complement each other as they investigated comparable concepts such as power relations, vulnerability, resilience, empowerment, and social change, which were critical for this study.

Chapter 3: This chapter focused on the symbiotic relationship between DRR and climate-change adaptation (CCA), gender, mainstreaming and sustainable development. It was pointed out that the frequency and impact of these disasters on vulnerable populations and on development is a major concern that needs urgent DRR attention. The concept of gender inequality was brought to the fore, and how it affects sustainable development.

Chapter 4: This Chapter gives specific reference to Botswana. The chapter argued that for Botswana to achieve sustainable development, Agenda 2063 and Vision 2036, gender inequality should be addressed. This was followed by assessing the implementation of DRR within Botswana. It was pointed out that women, although vulnerable, have inherent resilience that could be strengthened to help them reduce the impact of disasters. Futhermore, the chapter discussed some of the models that have been adopted to monitor and measure resilience, the causes of vulnerability in Botswana and policy interventions

Chapter 5: This chapter provided an in-depth discussion on the concept of gender mainstreaming and its application in the context of disaster. The two basic approaches were examined: *Women in Development* (WID) and *Gender and Development* (GAD). It

was pointed out how the policy strategy of gender mainstreaming (GM) flowed from these approaches, especially as part of the GAD approach. Although still not fully understood and operationalised, GM's strength was identified, namely its powerful transformation of gender inequalities in a society (Eveline et al., 2009:200; Hankivsky, 2013:629). The study understood and appreciated the fact that GM was a difficult and complex strategy to implement. For GM to be a success, it should be institutionalised and be part of the daily activities of an organisation.

Chapter 6: This chapter continued the discussion of GM. Best international practices in gender mainstreaming was examined, primarily in the fields of development and DRR/CCA. The aim was to operationalise the most applicable practices to Botswana's context. Examples of best practices in development were cited globally as well as in Africa (i.e., Sweden, UK, Philippines, Kenya, Ghana, Tanzania and Uganda). In all these examples, adoption of GM led to sustained economic growth, decreased levels of poverty and bridging of the gender gap. Similarly, the focus also was on best practice models in DRR/CCA in countries such as Honduras, Bangladesh, India, Ethiopia and Mozambique. Over the years these countries experienced some of the worst disasters in the world. In sum, the chapter argued that GM required commitment from all relevant stakeholders and a willingness to change mind-sets.

Chapters 7: This chapter continued building on the notion of GM's institutionalisation (chs 5 and 6), this chapter focused on the policies and institutional frameworks as the sources of power, influence and, thereby, marginalisation. Four social policy types were identified with the potential to address gender inequality and its relationship with DRR, namely gender-blind, gender-neutral, gender-specific, and gender-redistributive (Pincha et al., 2007:22-23). The strengths and weaknesses of each policy type was identified and examined.

Chapter 8: This chapter outlined the research methodology adopted by the present study. To address the research problem, the study used a qualitative research method. This method was suited best for the study since it enabled the researcher to explore the experiences of households that were affected by disasters. A total of six villages that had been previously affected by disasters were selected purposefully. Data collected from these households were triangulated with those from relevant professionals, to ascertain validity and reliability. Atlas.ti software was used to develop codes and themes. The

developed themes were then used to guide the empirical findings and analysis of this study.

Chapter 9: This chapter presented on the empirical findings and analysis. From the collected data, threehemes emerged, which also presented sub-themes. These main themes were: potential causes of gender inequality, impact of gender inequality and solutions. These themes were drawn from the findings of the study. The research established the differential vulnerabilities between men and women, as well as their different adaptive capacities in disaster situations. It was found that these capacities are influenced largely by culture and its institutional frameworks. In this regard, it was highlighted how culture and its institutions help cause the marginalising of women, especially those who are rural-based.

Regarding women themselves, they were found to oppose each other in politics and related structures, but show solidarity during disasters. With limited market skills and resources, women were found to have inherent adaptive capacities to manage hazards and natural shocks. The findings showed that laws and policies were to some extent responsive to the needs and interests of women. The problem, however, was identified as inadequate implementation. In other words, insufficient skills and resources, people attitudes and stereotypes, were highlighted as challenges to gender equality. Further complicating factors was policies that are fragmented and not addressing the issue of gender and DRR holistically.

10.3. Achieving the Overall Objective of the Study-Lack of gender equality in DRR in Botswana and to recommend policy reform

The purpose of the study was to investigate the causes of gender inequalities in DRRwithin the context of Botswana. On this basis, the aim was to investigate effects of disasters in Botswana and provide recommendations for appropriate policy and statutory reform. According to chapter 2, women's vulnerability far outweighed their resilience.

The literature indicated that the influence of culture is the primary factor that drives gender inequality. It is culture that facilitated critical factors like access to resources and opportunities, decision-making, poverty, and inadequate empowerment. These factors represent a lack of power and influence for women, which increase their vulnerability to disasters. To address these factors, the study focused on gender mainstreaming as a policy strategy empowering women and strengthen their resilience to natural shocks.

Furthermore, in answer to the overall aim of the thesis, the research questions and objectives were addressed through theoretical chapters 2 to 7. Chapter 9 corroborated the desktop analysis through the empirical findings.

The following section assesses whether and how the individual questions have been answered and the specific objectives achieved.

10.3.1. Achieving specific objectives

The six questions/objectives were not addressed by single, independent chapters but were grouped together to form five interrelated chapters. The achievement of the objectives as described in chapter 1 is outlined as follows;

> **Objective 1: To Identify and critically evaluate key issues on the importance of mainstreaming gender into DRR, and determine factors of social vulnerability that cause women to be affected more than men by disasters.**

The objective above was addressed as chapters 2 and 3. To address the objective effectively, it was critical to provide an understanding of basic concepts central to the study. These basic concepts were introduced namely: gender, DRR, mainstreaming, social vulnerability and resilience. The study focused further on the basic concepts of gender, social vulnerability and capability, on which the study was grounded and which gave it a strong foundation. The capability theory made reference to choices, freedoms and opportunities which women could utilise to enhance their resilience.The absence of some of these leads to increased gender inequalities and vulnerabilities.

Through a desktop analysis, chapters 2 and 3 identified and examined key factors that underline the importance of mainstreaming gender into DRR. These factors are: poverty (lack of resources and opportunities), high costs of disasters, patriarchal structures, and negative perceptions towards women. It was found that these factors cause increased gender inequalities, which can lead to a decrease in women's resilience in disaster situations. To address these vulnerability factors, it was emphasised that role-players should move beyond technological solutions, seeing that most disasters are caused by human actions or inactions (Pournik et al., 2012:1). The study found that to reduce disaster risk social vulnerabilities have to be addressed. This is because the needs and experiences of women are overlooked in everyday and in disaster situations, in policy and in practice (Fordham, 2011:834).

The examination shifted to the discussion of the concepts of vulnerability and resilience. The study argued that not all women are vulnerable to disasters; some are even more resilient than men. To strengthen women's resilience is the key to sustainable development. The significant benefits of engaging in DRR and mainstreaming gender were also discussed, for instance, investing in DRR was found to be less costly than responding to disasters. It was pointed out that countries such as the Philippines experienced a rise in their Gender Development Index (GDI) ranking. The implication of having a high GDI ranking is a substantial reduction in the gender gap. In both instances, the adoption and implementation of GM led to economic growth, sustainable development and reduced impact of disasters in these countries. In this regard, GM is likely to benefit Botswana, seeing that the country's rural women form part of the poorest 40% of the population (UNICEF Annual Report, 2011:6).

Objective 2 and 3: To identify and synthesise critical factors that link gender with DRR and resilience, and investigate and critically analyse the causes of gender equalities in disaster risk reduction within Botswana.

In addition to the identification of vulnerability and resilience factors in Botswana, the study examined institutions and policies as these were responsible for driving gender inequality. It was found that these instruments are fragmented and work in silos, therefore, making it difficult to achieve gender equality. The ideal type of institutions and policies required to drive GM and DRR, were the rationale for Objective 6. It can, therefore, be safely stated that these two objectives were successfully addressed.

Objective 4: To examine, investigate and establish the theoretical grounding for the study of mainstreaming gender into DRR.

This objective continued the investigation of basic concepts, this time focusing on the origins of GM. To investigate the theoretical grounding of GM, it is important first to examine early approaches that addressed gender inequality. The study identified two basic approaches namely: Women in Development/ Women and Development (WID/WAD) and the Gender and Development (GAD). The WID/WAD focused mainly on women and the economy and, therefore, fell short in addressing gender inequality. In response, GAD emerged, which also factored in men. This approach evolved to include GM as a policy strategy to drive GAD.

To address the objective further, the strengths and weaknesses of the GM approach were examined in order to test the strategy. It was found (see section 5.5.3) that the strengths of this strategy far outweigh its weaknesses. Therefore, the study focused on GM as its strategy of choice. GM was found to be robust and transformational. To develop a deeper understanding of GM, three implementation models were examined, namely integrationist, agenda-setting and transformative (Verloo, 2005:348). These models complement each other and underpin the GM strategy. The study argues further that, given the appropriate policies and environment, the implementation of GM could reduce gender inequality.

The information above was applied to the context of Botswana. The study pointed out (section 5.9.1.) that a limited number of official policy documents mention gender equality. This made the implementation of GM is extremely difficult, seeing that the policy documents do not provide for it. Seemingly there was extensive rhetoric over the matter, especially by elite women. However, this did not translate into social change at grassroots level. Women, especially female-headed households, continue to live in poverty and also vulnerable to disasters and climate change because they have limited access to resources. This point is reiterated in chapter 9.

Furthermore, it was found that policies and institutions were not gender responsive, which is the primary cause of vulnerability to disasters (Arora-Jonson, 2011:744). The literature (section 5.9.1/Table 5.1) further found that, in Botswana, most of the laws and policies discriminating against women had been amended to empower them. However, empirical results indicate that, despite this amendment, women still lag behind their male counterparts. This illustrates the lack of gender responsiveness in certain instruments, which leave women continually vulnerability to disasters. The literature and empirical results further indicated that people's attitudes, perceptions, stereotypes, norms and values, among other matters, were responsible for the marginalisation of women. These human behaviours cannot be separated from the statutory instruments, seeing that there is a cause-and-effect relationship.

It can, therefore, be concluded that the objective was addressed adequately.

Objective 5: To determine the most appropriate internationally accepted best practices to mainstream gender in disaster risk reduction.

The objective above was dealt with in chapter 6. Chapter 5, which focused on the evolution of GM, laid the foundation for this objective. Its major purpose was to examine international good practices that have been adopted to mainstream gender into DRR. The contextual adoption and domestication of these practices should provide a stronger impetus for the mainstreaming of gender in DRR within Botswana. As discussed in section 5.9.1, the implementation of GM in the field of development in Botswana was weak and lacked the necessary components to bring about social change. It was, therefore, important that DRR in Botswana did not run into a similar implementation problem.

Lessons were drawn from several case studies in developed and developing nations, in the fields of DRR/CCA. Some of these countries indicated higher disaster-risk levels than Botswana, for example, Bangladesh, Honduras, and Mozambique. Therefore, the country can certainly learn from them, seeing that GM is a complex concept to operationalise. Moreover, these countries had accumulated more years of experience than Botswana in implementing GM in both development and DRR fields.

The study took cognisance of a number of best practices from these countries and corroborated these through empirical findings. For GM to be a success, there should be political commitment. As mentioned previously, politicians are responsible for formulating laws and policies, which determine the allocation of resources. Political commitment is reflected in the allocation of resources. The institutionalisation of GM is central to the process. In other words, GM should be adopted as daily routine in the operations of organisations/institutions. In addition, as concluded by the desktop and empirical findings, men should be involved equally in the process. Building on these and other important lessons will aid the implementation of GM, and ultimately help bridge the gender gap. In light of this assertion, it can be concluded that the objective was fittingly addressed.

Objective 6: To recommend policy and statutory reforms best suited for mainstreaming gender into disaster risk reduction within Botswana.

Following the discussion on the basic concepts and international best practices, it is important to examine institutions, laws and policies. Although this objective is an internal motive for all the chapters in the present study, chapter 7 focused on it specifically. According to literature, institutions, laws and policies are the main sources of power imbalance and dominance.

Dealing with the objective further, the research highlighted and examined the four policy types proposed by Pincha et al., (2007:22-23), and described previously in the present chapter. It was found that no social policy type can singlehandedly address gender inequality. These policy types must complement each other if they are to help lower gender inequality in Botswana. Most of Botswana's statutory instruments, especially those related to DRR, were found to be gender neutral. The National Policy on Disaster Management (1996) and the National Disaster Relief Fund Order, (1996), are silent on gender issues. Conversely the National Gender and Development Policy (2015) and the draft National Climate Change Policy (2014) seem to be gender responsive. The impact of these documents is still to be realised since they are relatively new.

The research, however, found that these policies are not performing to their potential since they are fragmented, and the responsible departments are operating in silos. For instance, the National Policy on Disaster Management does not mention gender issues and, likewise, the National Policy on Gender and Development is silent on DRR. This separate functioning works counterproductive, which over-extends government's finite resources. For Botswana to use its finite resources optimally it must rationalise certain policies.

Except for statutory reform, the study pointed out the need for a change of mind-set toward gender and DRR issues. This will, in turn, address the strong, patriarchally influenced cultural behaviours, which are difficult to legislate against. It was pointed out further that it was a challenge to enforce these laws. Therefore, most women still find it difficult to access critical resources. The further problem was noted: there are no regular monitoring and evaluation (M & E) of these policies. Therefore, the impact of most of the programmes is still unknown.

To conclude, for gender mainstreaming to be a success, gender-responsive policies must be in place to govern institutions. The policies should be carried with sufficient resources and the right attitude. In sum, the foregoing objective was addressed through chapter 7 and related chapters, including chapters 9 and 10.

In light of the issues raised in the present study, the following section proposes major policy recommendations. The section further provides guidance on how women should be empowered to strengthen their resilience in the face of disasters. This should ultimately lead to inclusive sustainable economic growth.

10.4. Recommendations and Implications for Policy

From the findings it was evident that practical policy actions are necessary to enhance women's resilience in the face of disasters and climate change. The focus should be on robust, sound, and sustainable solutions. People's perceptions, stereotypes and attitudes stemming from a strong patriarchal culture should be challenged and changed. This means altering behaviour, an outcome which cannot be achieved over night. There is an urgent need to transform those practices that help sustain and reproduce gender inequalities. This requires commitment to the process and perseverance in its execution by all stakeholders, including politicians, *dikgosi* (Chiefs) and women themselves. Similar to smart-climate agriculture, Batswana must be gender smart. Change should start at the kgotla where village governance takes place. Once there is buy-in of traditional and political leaders, then transformation can occur. It is, therefore, important to plan proactively for disasters, seeing that is unpredictable when it will strike again and at what magnitude. The findings of the present study indicate an intricate relationship amongst the three cross-cutting issues of disaster-risk reduction, climate-change adaptation, and gender equality. The problem is that these three issues are managed in isolation on a parallel track. Furthermore, disasters and climate change exacerbate the already fragile condition of women. To address gender inequality that is worsened by the impact of disaster and climate change, it is necessary to mainstream gender. Mainstreaming efforts reduce the need to direct finite resources of the government of Botswana to expensive disaster response costs. It is also crucial that gender mainstreaming should not only be viewed as a component incorporated into policies and programmes.The strategy should be institutionalised and be driven by strong political will. Recommendations for Gender Mainstreaming in DRR policy in Botswana;

1) Culture must be addressed as a critical and central factor which contributes to the gendered impact of disasters in Botswana and must be addressed in DRR policy.

2) GM must endeavour to engage gender-redistributive policies to work towards balancing and making amends for male biased DRR policy.
3) Critical factors which undermine the ability of women to face the adversity need to be acknowledged, documented and addressed in the context of DRR and within the broader context of Botswana society.
4) Localised coping strategies engaged by women need to be documented and promoted. This is another opportunity to help encourage the change in mind- set from women as victims to women as survivors and resource persons.
5) Input needs to be gathered from critical role players however the main direction needs to be led primarily by women particularly from disaster affected rural communities across the country. This is one manner in which women's active participation can contribute to change.
6) Gendered Early Warning systems and communication strategies at local level to ensure that women engaged in domestic duties still have access to critical information in a timely manner and are empowered to respond.

In addition the following are also recommended for policy reform;

- **Create a gendered budget at national and local district level (see section 7.5.1.2.).**

  Findings showed that gender issues recently (2016) have been given prominence at ministerial level under the new dispensation. This led to the creation of a new Ministry of Nationality, Immigration and Gender Affairs, taking over from the Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs. As part of its mandate, the ministry should advocate a gender-responsive budget at national and district level. This does not imply a separate budget for women, but one that advances gender equality and women's empowerment.

- **Intensify information, education and public awareness campaigns, and establish local DRR and climate champions (see sections 6.3.1.; 6.3.2.)**

The findings indicated low awareness in most communities on issues of gender differential risk and hazard threats. The three organisations (National Disaster Management Office, Department of Gender Affairs and Department of Meteorological Services) are not prominent at local level. Therefore, they should intensify their public-awareness campaigns. Empirical studies showed that awareness contributes positively to disaster resilience (Akerkar, 2011:48). Awareness also helps prevent current and future risks. In most instances, the issue is not the lack of knowledge, but the attitude, stereotypes and perceptions of the people involved. All relevant stakeholders should be engaged in the process, both men and women, traditional and political leaders.

- **Develop a robust monitoring and evaluation mechanism (see sections 6.3.1.; 6.3.2)**

  The study observed further that governing bodies do not pay sufficient attention to the monitoring and evaluation of DRR, CCA, and gender. At present, with competing priorities for government funding, it is critical to measure the impact of the programmes. The positive impact of the proposed intervention will help reduce the effects of the disaster and thus, convince the legislators to provide additional funding and support. Furthermore, gender-segregated data should be collected to monitor the differential impact of disasters on men and women.
- **Formulate a family policy/Act to provide for equitable parenting (see section 4.4.)**

The findings of the study indicated that Batswana women are caring for and raising children on their own without the assistance of their partners. The proposed family policy, although more beneficial to urban working couples, should allow both parties maternity/paternity leave. Currently, only women are permitted maternity leave. The policy should also encourage women to enter the labour market and provide them with childcare, flexible working hours, and periods of leave. Furthermore, women should be allowed to take time off during their monthly cycles. This policy could emulate the Zambian and Swedish models respectively (Zambia's Gender Equity and Equality Act 2015 and

Swedish Family Policy 2014).These policies give women the freedom, opportunities and choices to engage in initiatives that enhances their resilience to disasters.

- **Introduce community banks with no collateral for women –Grameen Bank, Bangladesh (see section 6.3.2.)**

Along with the social support networks, women have shown in the present study that they are willing to work as a group to set up a *metshelo* (micro-lending traditional enterprise). Most rural-based women find it difficult to qualify for loans at commercial banks with the insufficient cash that they generate from *metshelo.* Thus, rural women end up failing to expand their micro-enterprises as they cannot raise the required collateral from commercial banks. The government should consider adopting a model based on the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh. This Bank specifically targets impoverished rural women to help reduce their vulnerability to natural hazards, and gives access to credit without collateral. It entails group loans where the members of the group have a joint liability to repay (Kumar et al., 2015:114).

The following section discusses the limitations and the significance of the study. The section concludes with future research on areas of study.

10.5. Limitations of the Study

The present study acknowledges certain limitations that could not be addressed. Firstly, women weredepicted and generalised as homogenous in the study. It must be acknowledged that women are heterogeneous and includes such factors as class, ethnicity, religion, age, or socio-economic status. These factors were considered as a constant in the study.

Secondly, as the findings of the research indicated, Botswana has strong patriarchal values. Issues of marginalisation of women are deeply embedded in this system. These values are more prominent in rural areas where the study was conducted. In this type of environment, issues of gender are not discussed openly. It was, therefore, difficult for respondents to relate to the subject matter. The participants' level of education (most below secondary level) compounded the problem.

Thirdly, the study was conducted among villages in the eastern belt of the country, that is, along or adjacent, to the Ramokgwebana-Ramatlabana railway line. Therefore, the perceptions from participants may not necessarily be a true representation of all rural women in Botswana. As stated by Mekgwe (2008:14) earlier, Batswana are generally a homogenous nation and therefore these findings can be generalised to other parts of the country.

Fourthly, the study found a paucity of literature for the context of Botswana. Studies on gender equality, although available, were found to be equally limited, and the same applies to the field of DRR. The study, therefore, had to rely on data gathered from neighbouring and other countries outside the region. Moreover, the inadequate literature on DRR meant that the study had to rely on material from the fields of development and climate adaptation.

Nevertheless, the benefits of the present study far outweigh the limitations. It is anticipated that the study will contribute significantly in addressing gender inequality in both everyday and disaster situations.

10.6. Contribution of the Study

The contribution of this study to the body of knowledge is pointing out the crucial role played by culture in helping to cause women's vulnerability to disasters. Botswana has strong patriarchal and Christian based values. Batswana's perception of risk through religious or cultural lenses expose them to hazards. Before the study was done it was known that secular (Christian) and traditional (cultural) values contributed immensely to vulnerability/resilience of women to disasters (Pincha et al.,2008:19; Ngwenya et al., 2012:349; Morton II et al., 2013:35; Shrotryia, 2013:181; Dahlberg et al., 2015:47 and Sun and Qi, 2018:589). Furthermore most of the reviewed studies did not use the two two belief systems together. However, this study extends the existing knowledge by revealing that the two belief systems (Traditional Setswana and Christian) can be used together despite the two being parallel of each other. In a context where modern as well traditional values are still applicable like in Botswana the two cannot be divorced. These two belief systems are used by Batswana interchangibly depending on the prevailing situation.

Secondly, this study revealed that women had strong Christian faith than men, which they used to adapt and cope with disaster situations. That is to say women mostly believed in God and men were more inclined to the traditional Setswana beliefs which is often associated with negativity, gloom and fatalistic tendencies. While Chrisitanity is associated with hope, trust, strength, perseverance and solidarity amongst others. This positive outlook to disasters helps women to strengthen their resilience towards disasters.

Furthermore, this study revealed that women although show a great deal of benevolence and solidarity in disaster situations, this is not reflected in political situations. Women preferred to vote for men rather than fellow women and this continues to make them powerless as they are not adequately represented in the political bodies where major decisions are made.

The present study provides novel ways in which DRR and gender equality should be viewed and understood. This knowledge base is crucial to policy-makers and practitioners, seeing that they should be aware of how locals perceive disasters (Baker, 2009:115). Such knowledge is essential as well for the design and implementation of culturally perceived DRR gender-sensitive programmes and projects. Failure to address the way people view disasters, may lead to policy failure and an increase in gender inequality. Thus, the study adds to the body of knowledge in DRR and gender equality within the context of Botswana, which may inform policies in other developing countries as well. In sum the study studied contributed to the body of knowledge through;

1. The crucial role played by culture and to a certain extent religion, in helping to cause women's vulnerability to disasters.
2. That women had strong Christian faith than men, which they used to adapt and cope with disaster situations.
3. Novel ways in which DRR and gender equality should viewed and understood.

10.7. Areas for Future Research

This study helped uncover insightful aspects of the problem and pointed to possible avenues for future research. These recommended future studies may have been conducted in other countries, however, to date, they have not been established in

Botswana. As is evident from the present study, the vulnerability factors that lead to disasters are contextual. On this basis, the following areas are recommended for future research:

- Improving the awareness of policy makers as to the role of gender in development policy and the implications it has on the risk faced by women
- The psychological impact of disasters on women: Insightful research would be an in-depth study on the long-term effects of disasters on women and whether this group are able to cope with life challenges.
- Determine the impact and magnitude of so-called 'mysterious fires' (*melelo ya di phera*) in Botswana. The regular occurrence of these fires is a concern for many Batswana, especially those residing in the rural areas. The causes of these fires are yet unknown, and could be an avenue for a future study.

10.8. Conclusion

In conclusion, the study revealed that strong cultural beliefs were responsible for creating a situation which contributes to gender inequality within Botswana. This inequality gave rise to the increased disaster risk experienced along gender lines in the country.Furthermore, the results of the study point to the fact that Botswana still has a long way to go before it reaches gender parity. Gender mainstreaming can play a critical role in reducing gender inequality and enhancing resilience to disasters in Botswana. Batswana view the cause of disasters through a cultural lens. The entrenched cultural values help cause the marginalisation of women. It must be emphasised that it is not the laws and policies per se that marginalise women in Botswana, it is rather the attitudes, stereotypes, and perceptions driven by culture. Therefore, proposed policy programmes (e.g., gender mainstreaming) that include men, should focus on changing mind-sets. Policy alone cannot attain gender equality, it is important to empower women through intensive public awareness campaigns to tackle these cultural nuances that they face on a daily basis head on, this will ensure that women are valued, respected and appreciated at home and in the community. In addition, there is need to create broad scale working groups with elders, religious, community leaders that could work towards developing multi-level strategies for equality.

Despite these challenges, Batswana women have demonstrated inherent resilient capacities that help them cope in disaster situations; thus they are not merely to be treated as vulnerable victims. Policies and programmes should enhance these capacities for women and their families who are affected by disasters. Women play a central role in managing disaster risks at home and at community level. Resilience cannot be enhanced without equal distribution of power. The aim would be to empower women on two levels. Firstly, addressing *practical* or 'tangible', immediate needs (water, health, temporary shelter, food, and other basic amenities). Secondly, focus should also be on *strategic* or 'intangible' needs (power, women's rights, and the elimination of institutionalised forms of discrimination). Additionally, the attainment of intangible needs would have a knock on effect achieving tangible needs. When needs on both these levels aremet, the family, community and Batswana in general will be empowered.

Regarding the need to empower and engage women, a young Pakistani activist Malala Yousafzai stated, "I raise up my voice – not so I can shout, but so that those without a voice can be heard … we cannot succeed when half of us are held back" (Malhotra, 2015:3).

There will come a time when both men and women will be equal insociety. This equality will be manifest in both gender's access to resources that will help them cope with the variabilities of disasters and climate change.

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Appendix A CONSENT FOR PARTICIPATION IN INTERVIEW RESEARCH (FOCUS GROUP)

Ethics Number NWU-0112-13-S7

I volunteer to participate in an academic research project conducted by **Mr. Nkosiyabo Moyo** entitled '**Enhancing resilience of women to hazards through mainstreaming gender into Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) policies in Botswana'** in fulfilment of a PHD Programme in Public Management and Administration at the North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus, Republic of South Africa. The purpose of this research is to attempt to find some of the underlying factors that cause women to be vulnerable to disasters and to recommend appropriate Policy actions.

The study uses the focus group method to collect data. This will entail interviewing fifteen (15) to twenty (20) women respondents that have been affected by disaster in each of the disaster prevalent areas that is, Kgatleng, Bobirwa, Moshupa, Mahalapye, Tonota and Mogoditshane District/Sub Districts. The focus group interview is expected to last not more than 2 hours. During the interview notes will be taken and an audio tape will also be used in order to enhance the process. In order to collect meaningful data all respondents are urged to participate fully in the discussions.

I understand that I will not be paid for my participation in this study and that I may choose withdraw and discontinue my participation at any time without penalty. Moreover, if I feel uncomfortable in any way during the interview session, I have the right to decline to answer any question or to end the interview.

I understand that the researcher will not identify me by name in any reports using information obtained from this interview, and that my confidentiality as a participant in this study will remain secure.

I have read or the statement has been read to me and I fully understand the explanation provided to me. Moreover, all my questions have been answered to my satisfaction, and I voluntarily agree to participate in this study.

_____ _____

Signature Date

_____ _____

Signature Date

_____ _____

Full Name and Signature Principal Researcher Date

_____ _____

Witness Full Name and Signature Date

NB: Should you have any queries with regards to this study, please feel free to contact my supervisor Professor Dewald van Niekerk, at the North West University, Potchefstroom Campus, South Africa, telephone: 002718 299 1620 (work) 0027823385919 (mobile) or e-mail him at dewaldvn@acds.co.za

KGAOLO A1

Ethics Number NWU-0112-13-S7

TUMALANO YA GO TSENELELA POTSOLOTSO YA PATLISISO

Ke ithaopa go tsaya karolo mo patlisisong e e lebaneng le tsa thuto e e tsamaisiwang ke **Rre Nkosiyabo Moyo** ya setlhogo sa: "**Go nonotsha kgotelelo/boitsetsepelo jwa bomme mo dikotsing ka tekatekano ya bong e diretsweng melawana ya go fokotsa bodiphatsa jwa dibetso mo Botswana"** mo phitlhelelong ya lenaneo la dithuto tsa PHD mo botsamaising jwa setšhaba kwa unibesithing ya North-West, lefelo la bonno la Potchestroom, South Africa. Maikaelelo a patlisiso e ke go leka go bona mabaka a dirang gore bomme ba nne mo diphatseng tsa dibetso le go sutisa melawana e e maleba.

Patlo-kitso e e dirisa mofuta wa potsolotso ya setlhopha se se haphegileng go kgobokanya kitso. Se se tlaa akaretsa go botsolotsa bomme ba le lesome le botlhano (15) go yeng ko go masome a mabedi (20) ba ba amilweng ke dibetso mo mafelong a a tshabelelwang ke dibetso jaaka Kgatleng, Bobirwa, Moshupa, Mahalapye, Tonota le kgaolo ya Thamaga/Mogoditshane. Go solofelwa gore potsolotso e dirwe mo nakong e e sa feteng dioura tse pedi. Dintlha tsa potsolotso di tlaa bo di tsewa potsolotso e tsweletse ga mmogo le sekapamantswe go nonotsha potsolotso. Go kgobokanya kitso e e nang le boleng, babotsolotswa ba rotloediwa go tsaya karolo mo dipuisanong.

Ke tlhaloganya gore ga ke na go duelelwa go tsaya karolo mo patlo-kitsong e le gore ke ka nna ka ikgogela morago nako nngwe le nngwe kwa ntle ga kotlhao epe. Gape fa ke sa itumelele sengwe ka nako ya potsolotso, ke na le tshwanelo ya go gana go araba potso kana go emisa potsolotso.

Ke tlhaloganya gore mmatla-kitso ga a na go senola leina la me ka gope mo dipegong dipe a dirisa kitso e a e tsereng mo potsolotsong, le gore sephiri sa me jaaka mmotsolotswa mo patlo-kitsong e e tlaa nna e babalesegile.

Ke badile kgotsa ke baletswe mokwalo mme ke tlhaloganya tlhaloso e ke e filweng. Gape, ke kgotsofaletse ka fa ke arabilweng ka teng mme ke ithaopa ka bonna go tsaya karolo mo patlo-kitsong e.

Setlanyo_____ Kgwedi_____

Setlanyo_____ Kgwedi_____

Leina le Sefane le Setlanyo sa Mmatla-kitso Kgwedi

_____

Mosupi Leina le Sefane le setlanyo Kgwedi

Ela tlhoko: Fa o ka nna le dipotso mabapi le patlo-kitso e, ka tsweetswee gololesega go ikgolaganya le mogolwane wa me Professor Dewald van Niekerk kwa unibesithing ya North-West, kwa lefelong la bonno la Potchestroom, South Africa, mogala 0027 18 299 1620 (tiro) 0027 823385919(selefoune) kgotsa mo kwalele email kwa dewaldvn@acds.co.za

Appendix B FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

Ethics Number NWU-0112-13-S7

FOCUS GROUP QUESTIONS

Introduction

This study is on **'Enhancing resilience of women to hazards through mainstreaming gender into Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) policies in Botswana**'. It is conducted in fulfilment of a PHD Programme in Public Management and Administration at the North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus, Republic of South Africa. The study will interview fifteen (15) to twenty (20) participants in each of the disaster prone areas that is; Kgatleng, Bobirwa, Moshupa, Mahalapye, Tonota and Thamaga/Mogoditshane District/Sub Districts. It uses a list of questions to guide as probes for focus groups comprising both men and women members of the community. The purpose is to understand gendered impacts of disasters and climate change through the eyes of the affected individuals and also to interrogate the gender inequality as influenced by gender neutral policies and institutions.

The respondents are requested to complete the consent forms and the demographic section. This covers the demographic data section of the respondents.

Demographic information (to be completed individually)

1. District and Village----------
2. Gender: Female Male
3. Date of birth----------
4. Marital status: married/ arranged marriage/ single/ divorced /widowed (select one)
5. Education level attained: never been to school/ primary/ secondary/ tertiary
6. Are you the head of your household? Yes----------No------

7. What is your household composition? How many dependents? (kindly segregate by gender) Male---------- Female----------
   ----------Including the elderly and sick etc.----------

8. Does your current household composition differ from before the last disaster/s that affected you?
   Yes----------No---------
   If yes how does it differ? ---------Male ----------Female

The following questions will be used by the researcher to guide focus group discussions.

I). Practical needs (provision of basic needs i.e. food, shelter and health)

Pre- disaster activities

9.
a). What kind of disasters occur in your area?

b). How do you prepare for disasters?

c). Is it different from the way men prepare for disasters? Please explain.

10.

a). Have you been affected by disasters before?b). When was the first time?

c). Before you were affected by the disaster, how was your financial status?

d). How is it today?

During disaster

11. During the disaster, who responded first and why? What did they do?

12.

a). How were you assisted by the community members?

b) Did you receive any support/ guidance/assistance/service from government or humanitarian organisations?

13. If they provided assistance- what did they do? Was it the same for everyone. Did men get the same assistance as women?

14. During the disaster did you notice a difference in terms of the numbers of men and women that were affected by the disaster? If so what could be the reasons behind this difference?

15. Did you assist other community members that were affected by the disaster? When you assisted them did you consider the gender needs of the affected?

Post ante activities

16.
a). What disaster activities did women and men engage in after the disaster?

b). Are these roles any different from their day to day roles?

c). Do you believe this is the way it should be? Or do you desire to see some change in this?

d). What sort of change would you prefer?

17. Do you think future generations are more likely to be affected by disasters and climate change? What could be attributed to this?

II). Strategic needs (elimination of institutionalised discrimination, adherence to women rights)

Control of resources and power

18. In your household, who makes critical decisions? What gives them power to do so?

19. How difficult is it for women to balance work and family demands?

Coping mechanisms and resilience

20. What are your current coping and adaptation strategies to disasters? How different they for men/women?

21. How can the coping capacity of women and men be strengthened to adapt to climate change and the impact of disasters?

22. What should be done at household and / or community level to reduce this problem?

23. Suppose you were to make one change that could make the intervention better. What could it be?

24. Is there any additional information that you feel was not adequately covered?

Thank you for participating in the study

KGAOLO B1

Ethics Number NWU-0112-13-S7

Matseno

Patlo-kitso e e ka "**Go nonotsha kgotelelo/boitsetsepelo jwa bomme mo dikotsing ka tekatekano ya bong e e diretsweng melawana ya go fokotsa bodiphatsa jwa dibetso mo Botswana"**. E dirwa go fitlhelela lenaneo la dithuto tsa PHD mo go tsa botsamaisi jwa setšhaba kwa unibesithing ya North – West, lefelo la bonno la Potchestroom, South Africa. Patlo-kitso e tlaa botsolotsa bomme ba le lesome le botlhano (15) go yeng ko go masome a mabedi (20) mo mafelong a a tshabelelwang ke dibetso jaaka; Okavango, Maun, Kasane, Mahalapye, Palapye le kgaolo ya Tutume. E dirisa dipotso go kaela ditlhopha tse di haphegileng tsa borre le bomme morafe kana motse. Maikaelelo ke go tlhaloganya manokonoko a dibetso go ya ka bong le diphetogo tsa loapi jaaka di tlhalosiwa ke ba ba amegileng le go kanoka dipharologano tsa bong tse di rotloediwang ke melawana e e supang tekatekano ya bong le madirelo.

Babotsolotswa ba kopiwa go tlatsa fomo ya tumalano le kgaolwana ya dipalopalo tsa batho. Se se akaretsa kgaolwana ya kitso ya dipalo tsa batho ya babotsolotswa.

Kitso ya palo ya batho (e tshwanetse go tladiwa ke motho ka bonosi)

1. Kgaolo le motse_____
2. Bong: Mosadi Monna
3. Letsatsi la matsalo_____
4. Seemo sa nyalo: Nyetse/lenyalo le le rulagantsweng/ga ke a nyala/ke tlhadile/ke tlhokagaletswe (tlhopha e le nngwe)
5. Dithutego: Ga ke a tsena sekole/sekole se sebotlana/sekole se segolwane/ sekole sa thutelo-tiro

6. Ke wena tlhogo ya lelwapa la gago? Ee_____ Nnyaa_____

7. Lelwapa la gago le ntse jang? Ba o ba tlhokomelang ba kae ka palo? (ba tlhaole ka bong) Monna_____ Mosadi_____

Akaretsa bagodi le balwetse jalojalo_____

8. A tebego ya lelwapa la gago le farologanya le pele go nna le dibetso tse di go amileng? Ee_____ Nnyaa_____

Fa karabo e le ee, le farologana jang? _____monna _____mosadi

Dipotso tse di latelang di tlaa dirisiwa ke mmatla-kitso go thusa dipuisano tsa ditlhopha tse di haphegileng.

i) Ditiro tse di tsamaelanang le ditlhokego (Go neela ditlhokego tsa botlhokwa jaaka dijo, bonno le botsogo)

Ditiro tse di dirwang pele ga dibetso

9.

a) Ke mofuta ofe wa dibetso o o diragalang mo kgaolong ya gago?

b) Bomme ba dira eng go ipaakanyetsa dibetso?

c) Go farolana jang le mokgwa o borre ba ipaakanyetsang dibetso ka teng? Ka tsweetswee tlhalosa.

10.

a) O na le ditso kgotsa bosupi jwa go falola dibetso?

b) E ne e le leng la ntlha?

c) Pele o amiwa ke dibetso, seemo sa gago sa madi se ne se ntse jang?

d). Se ntse jang gompieno?

Ka nako ya dibetso

11. Ka nako ya dibetso ke mang yo o neng a tsiboga la ntlha? Ka go reng? Ke eng se ba se dirileng?

12.

a) O ne wa thusiwa jang ke banni ba motse?

b) O ne wa bona kemonokeng/kgakololo/dithuso/ditlamelo go tswa kwa pusong kana makgotla a bobelotlhomogi?

13. Fa ba ne ba go thusa, a dikgang tsa bong kgotsa ditlhokego di ne tsa lejwa? Di ne tsa lejwa jang?

14. Ka nako ya dibetso o lemogile pharologano fa gare ga borre le bomme ba ba amilweng ke dibetso? Fa go ntse jalo, mabaka e ka tswa e le eng?

15. A o ne wa thusa banni ba bangwe ba motse ba ba amilweng ke dibetso? Fa o ba thusa, a o ne a wa akanya ka ditlhokego tsa bone tse di lerweng ke bong?

Ditiro tse di dirwang morago ga dibetso

16.

a) Ke ditiro dife tsa dibetso tse borre le bomme ba di dirang morago ga dibetso?

b) A ditiro tse di farologane le ditiro tsa bone tsa letsatsi le letsatsi?

c) A o dumela gore go tshwanetse ga nna jaana?

d) Kgotsa o eletsa go bona diphetogo mo go se?

e) Ke phetogo efe e o eletsang go e bona?

17. O akanya gore dikokomane tse di tlang di tlaa amiwa ke dibetso le phetogo ya loapi? Ke eng se se amanngwang le se?

II). Ditlhokego tsa togamaano (go nyeletsa/fedisa kgethololo e e medileng medi mo madirelong, go obamela ditshwanelo tsa bomme)

Go laola didirisiwa le maemo/marapo

18. Kwa lwapeng la gago, ke mang yo o tsayang ditshwetso tse ditona? Ke eng se se ba fang marapo/maemo go dira jalo?

19. Go thata go le kae mo basading go kopanya tiro le ditiro tsa lelwapa?

Methale ya kgotelelo/boitsetsepelo le go ikemela

20. Methale ya gago ke efe ya go ikemela mo dibetsong? Di farologana jang le tsa borre/bomme?

21. O ka tokafatsa jang boitsetsepelo/kgotelelo ya bomme le borre go ikemela mo phetogong ya loapi le manokonoko a dibetso?

22. Ke eng se se ka dirwang mo lwapeng kana mo motseng go fokotsa bothata jo?

23. Fa o ne o ka dira phetogo e le nngwe go tokafatsa seemo se, e ne e ka nna eng?

24. A go na le kitso nngwe e o tsayang gore e ne e sa amiwa ka botlalo?

Ke lebogela go tsaya karolo ga gago mo patlo-kitsong e

Appendix C INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR PROFESSIONALS/ PRACTITIONERS

Ethics Number NWU-0112-13-S7

Introduction

This study entitled **'Enhancing resilience of women to hazards through mainstreaming gender into Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) policies in Botswana'** is conducted in fulfilment of a PHD Programme in Public Management and Administration at the North-West University, Potchefstroom Campus, and Republic of South Africa. The study interviews subject matter specialists in different fields which deal with DRR and gender issues at national, district and local levels through the use of semi-structured questions.

Demographic data

1. Name
2. Gender
3. Name of Organisation
4. Length of service
5. What position do you hold in the organisation?
6. Are you involved in both the areas of gender and DRR? If yes, how are you involved?

I). Practical needs (provision of immediate needs i.e. food, shelter and health)

7. Over the course of the time in your positionhave you noticed a difference in terms of the numbers of men and women that are affected by disasters and climate change?

8. If so, in your opinion what could be the possible causes of this difference?

9. How have they been affected differently?

10. What have been the effects of disasters and climate change at household, community and national level?

11. Has there been a difference in the way men and women have accessed your services?

12. In the disaster/s that occurred or when affected by climate change were gender concerns considered when assistance was given to affected people?

-

13. Do you consider gender concerns when planning your activities?

II). Strategic needs (elimination of institutionalised discrimination, adherence to women rights)

14. What are the current levels of female participation in decision-making on climate change at local and at national level?

15. What are some the barriers to women being heard and to participate in the decision making process?

16. What are the current coping and adaptation strategies and capacities?

17. How can the capacity of women and men be strengthened to better adapt to disasters and climate change and climate variability?

18. In your opinion what should be done at household, community and at government level to address this problem?

19. What do you understand gender mainstreaming to be?

20. Can you elaborate on how this could done to reduce gender inequality?

21. How is gender mainstreaming described in DRR/CCA/Gender policy documents and reports? Have there been substantive changes over time?

22. Please give examples? Can you identify any examples of where implementation of gender mainstreaming has led to a change in practice across your organisation?

23. Suppose that you could make one change that would make the intervention better. What would you do?

Thank you for participating in the study!

KGAOLO B1

Ethics Number NWU-0112-13-S7

Matseno

Patlo-kitso e ya setlhogo "**Go nonotsha kgotelelo/boitsetsepelo jwa bomme mo dikotsing ka tekatekano ya bong e e diretsweng melawana ya go fokotsa bodiphatsa jwa dibetso mo Botswana"** E dirwa go fitlhelela lenaneo la dithuto tsa PHD mo go tsa botsamaisi jwa setšhaba kwa unibesithing ya North – West, lefelo la bonno la Potchestroom, South Africa. Patlo-kitso e botsolotsa bomankge ba dithuto tse di farologaneng tse di amanang le DRR le dikgang tsa bong lefatshe ka bophara go dirisiwa

Kitso ya dipalo tsa batho

1. Leina

2. Bong

Leina la madirelo

3. Lobaka lwa pereko

4. Maemo a gago mo madirelong

5. A o tsere karolo mo go tsa bong le DRR? Fa e le ee, o tsere karolo jang?

Ditiro tse di tsamaelanang le ditlhokego (Go neela ditlhokego tsa botlhokwa jaaka dijo, bonno le botsogo)

6. Fa dingwaga di ntse di feta, a o lemogile pharologano mo dipalong tsa borre le bomme ba ba amiwang ke dibetso le phetogo ya loapi?

7. Ka kakanyo ya gago se se ka tswa se bakiwa ke eng?

8. Pharologano mo kamegong ya bone ke efe?

9. Ditlamorago tsa dibetso le phetogo ya loapi e nnile eng mo lwapeng, motseng le mo lefatsheng?

10. A go na le pharoogano fa gare ga borre le bomme ka fa ba bonang ditlamelo ka teng?

11. Ka nako ya fa dibetso kana phetogo ya loapi e diragala, a matshwenyego a tsa bong a ne a lejwa fa go thusiwa batho ba ba amegileng? A o tsenya matshwenyego a tsa bong fa o dira ditogamaano tsa gago?

II). Ditlhokego tsa togamaano (go nyeletsa/fedisa kgetholoIo e e medileng medi mo madirelong, go obamela ditshwanelo tsa bomme)

12. Seemo sa go tsaya ditshwetso ke bomme kwa kgaolong le mo lefatsheng ke se se ntseng jang?

13. Ke dikgoreletsi dife tse bomme ba kopanang le tsone go reediwa le go tsaya karolo mo go tseeng ditshwetso?

14. Ke maano le bokgoni dife tsa go itepatepanya le diemo?

15. Bokgoni jwa bomme le borre bo ka godisiwa jang go itepatepanya le dibetso le phetogo ya loapi?

16. Ka kakanyoya gago, go ka dirwa eng kwa lwapemg, mo motseng le mo pusong go rarabolola bothata jo?

17. Tekatekano ya bong ke eng?

18. Tlhalosa gore se se ka dirwa jang go fokotsa dipharologano tsa bong.

19. Tekatekano ya bong e tlhalosiwa jang mo go DRR/CCA/le mo melawaneng le dipego tsa bong?

20. Ka tsweetswee fa dikai. Fa dikai tse di supang tiragatso ya tekatekano ya bong e tsisitseng diphetogo mo madirelong a gago.

21. Fa o ne o ka dira phetogo e e neng e ka tokafatsa seemo, o ne o ka dira eng?

Ke lebogela go tsaya karolo ga gago mo patlo-kitsong e.

Appendix D RESEARCH PERMITS

RESEARCH PERMITS

TELEGRAMS: PULA
TELEPHONE: 3950800
TELEX: 2655 BD

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
PRIVATE BAG 001
GABORONE

REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

Ref: OP 5/59/ 8 XIII (22)

26TH August 2013

Mr. Nkosiyabo Moyo

Dear Sir,

RE: APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH PERMIT

The above captioned matter refers:

You are herewith granted permission to conduct a research project entitled **"ENHANCING RESILENCE TO HAZARDS THROUGH MAINSTREAMING GENDER INTO DISASTER RISK REDUCTION POLICIES IN BOTSWANA".**

The permit is valid for a period beginning August 2013 to 31st January 2014.

The permit is granted subject to the following conditions:

i. Copies of any report/ papers written as a result of the study are directly deposited with the Office of the President.

ii. The permit does not give authority to enter any premises, private establishment or protected area. Permission for such entry should be negotiated with those concerned.

iii. You conduct the project according to the particulars furnished in the approved application taking into account the above conditions.

iv. Failure to comply with any of the above stipulated conditions will result in the immediate cancellation of the permit.

Yours Faithfully,

Chenthu Chiseki
For/ PERMANENT SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT

Copied to: Director, Botswana National Library Services
Ministry of Labour and Home Affairs

TELEGRAMS: PULA
TELEPHONE: 3950800
TELEX: 2655 BD

REPUBLIC OF BOTSWANA

OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
PRIVATE BAG 001
GABORONE

Ref: OP 5/59/8 IX (4)

18th May, 2016

Mr Nkosiyabo Moyo
P/Bag BR 106
Gaborone

Dear Sir,

RE: APPLICATION FOR RESEARCH PERMIT

Reference is made to above subject matter.

You are herewith granted permission for research permit to conduct a study titled: "***Enhancing resilence to hazards through mainstreaming gender into disaster risk reduction policies in Botswana.***"

The extension permit is valid for 8 months from May to December 2016.

1. Copies of any report/papers written as a result of the study are directly deposited with the Office of the President.

2. The permit does not give authority to enter any premises, private establishment or protected area. Permission for such entry should be negotiated with those concerned.

3. You conduct the project according to the particulars furnished in the approved application taking into account the above conditions.

4. Failure to comply with any of the above stipulated conditions will result in the immediate cancellation of the permit.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. F.J. Ramsay
For/PERMANENT SECRETARY TO THE PRESIDENT

Copied to: Director, Botswana National Library Services
Director, National Archives and Records Services