

How gender-sensitive are the National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs) of Sub-Saharan African countries?

A gender-scan of 31 NAPAs

Nathalie **Holvoet**
Liesbeth **Inberg**

Working Papers are published under the responsibility of the IOB Research Lines, without external review process. This paper has been vetted by Nadia Molenaers, coordinator of the Research Line Conditional Finance for Development.

Comments on this Working Paper are invited. Please contact the authors at **nathalie.holvoet@ua.ac.be** or **liesbeth.inberg@ua.ac.be**.

Instituut voor Ontwikkelingsbeleid en -Beheer
Institute of Development Policy and Management
Institut de Politique et de Gestion du Développement
Instituto de Política y Gestión del Desarrollo

Postal address:	Visiting address:
Prinsstraat 13	Lange Sint-Annastraat 7
B-2000 Antwerpen	B-2000 Antwerpen
Belgium	Belgium

Tel: +32 (0)3 265 57 70
Fax: +32 (0)3 265 57 71
e-mail: iob@ua.ac.be
<http://www.ua.ac.be/iob>

WORKING PAPER / 2013.02

ISSN 2294-8643

How gender-sensitive are the National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs) of Sub-Saharan African countries? A gender-scan of 31 NAPAs

Nathalie **Holvoet***

Liesbeth **Inberg****

March 2013

* Nathalie Holvoet is a senior lecturer at the Institute of Development Policy and Management (IOB), University of Antwerp.

** Liesbeth Inberg is a researcher at the Institute of Development Policy and Management (IOB), University of Antwerp.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	ABSTRACT	5
1.	INTRODUCTION	6
2.	GENDER AND CLIMATE CHANGE: DIFFERENT DISCOURSES AND APPROACHES	8
3.	METHODOLOGY: A QUICK GENDER SCAN	11
4.	FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION	13
4.1.	GENDER-SENSITIVITY OF NAPA CONTENT	13
4.2.	GENDER-SENSITIVITY OF NAPA PROCESSES	17
5.	CONCLUSION AND MOVING FORWARD	19
	REFERENCES	20

ABSTRACT

The recent (draft) decision of the 2012 Conference of the Parties (CoP) to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) recognises that a more balanced representation of women from developed and developing countries in the UNFCCC process is important in order to create climate policies that are responding to the different needs of men and women in national and local contexts (UNFCCC, 2012). In the context of the UNFCCC, countries that are most vulnerable to climate change list their priority adaptation projects in National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs). Guidelines for drafting NAPAs have been made gender-sensitive drawing upon equality, effectiveness and efficiency arguments. More specifically, climate change affect men and women differently and therefore, policies and programmes that do not take into account the particular needs and capacities of both men and women will fail to be effective and may even worsen the already existing male bias. Against this background of increased acknowledgement of the importance of gender mainstreaming in climate change policies, we aim at confronting rhetorics with reality. Our study investigates to what extent and in what way the 31 available Sub Sahara African NAPAs integrate a gender dimension into the different phases (diagnosis, selection of projects, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation) of the NAPA cycle and the different sectors that are especially related to climate change (in addition to the energy sector, these are the agriculture, forestry, water and sanitation and health sectors). Additionally, we also analyse the degree of participation of women and gender experts in diagnosis and decision-making as well as the gender sensitivity of the format used for participation. The findings of the gender scan among others demonstrate that there is a decline in gender-sensitivity throughout the cycle, which is particularly outspoken when translation priorities into budgets and indicators. Next, processes have been more gender sensitive than the actual content of NAPAs which hints at the fact that the gender actors around the table in NAPA decision making have not always been able to influence the content of the NAPAs. This could among others be related to a low track record of these gender actors in the area of climate change. Local climate change experts on the other hand often lack operational 'gender' tools and approaches which are framed in their own terminology. When it comes to an integration of gender issues in climate change budgets, our study suggests that the insights, approaches and tools of gender budgeting could be particularly useful.

1. INTRODUCTION

There is nowadays a growing acknowledgement of the fact that policies to address climate change are not only influenced by technological development but also by local institutional factors and norms which generally shape human behaviour (see e.g. UNDP, 2011; World Bank, 2008). The socio-cultural construct 'gender' is such a set of norms which influences how men and women are affected by and respond to climate change. In addition to factors such as income, class and caste, gender relations determine the degree of access and control individuals have over different types of resources, their division of labour over productive, reproductive and community activities as well as their level of involvement in decision-making at household, community and (inter)national level. This differential positioning in society affects individuals' vulnerability to climate change, their capacities to adapt to climate change as well as their needs and potential contributions with regard to adaptation and mitigation. The growing realisation that ignoring the mediating influence of gender relations may put into perspective the effectiveness of adaptation and mitigation policies has gradually brought gender issues on the agenda of national and international fora.

The 2010 Cancun agreements adopted during the 16th Conference of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) as well as the more recent 2012 Doha Conference are a case in point. While the original 1992 UNFCCC was totally gender-blind and even disregarded one of the principles of the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development¹, the 2010 Cancun Agreements refer for the first time to the importance of gender (IUCN, 2011) and recognise that "gender equality and the effective participation of women and indigenous people are important for effective action on all aspects of climate change" (UNFCCC, 2010: 3/ 4). In line with this, the Declaration of the recent Doha conference explicitly highlights that women continue to be underrepresented and recognises that a more balanced representation of women from developed and developing countries in the UNFCCC process is important in order to create climate policies that are responding to the different needs of men and women in national and local contexts (UNFCCC, 2012).

This changing attitude, which was also triggered by intensive lobbying efforts of among others the Global Gender and Climate Alliance², is as well reflected in the list of principles that guides the preparation of National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs). NAPAs are country-owned policy documents in which countries that are most vulnerable to climate change diagnose the (likely) effects of climate change and identify their priority adaptation projects. The design and implementation of the NAPAs is funded by the UNFCCC Least Developed Countries Fund (LDCF), which is managed by the Global Environment Facility (GEF) (UNFPA and WEDO, 2009). The Least Developed Countries Expert Group has developed guidelines for the preparation of NAPAs³, which also include guidelines to increase the gender-sensitivity of NAPA content and processes. It is among others stipulated that NAPA teams should include gender expertise and that processes should be participatory and involve both men and women at grassroots level

[1] The UNFCCC which was agreed upon during the 1992 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), yet it neglected the UNCED Rio principle that "women have a vital role in environmental management and development", and that "their full participation is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development" (UNCED, 1992: 4).

[2] The Global Gender and Climate Alliance was launched at the 2007 UNFCCC in Bali by the Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO), the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), UNEP and the UNDP. Since then, more than 25 UN agencies and civil society organizations have joined (IUCN and UNDP, 2009).

[3] The guidelines prescribe the following structure: 1) Introduction and setting; 2) Framework for adaptation programme; 3) Identification of key adaptation needs; 4) Criteria for selecting priority activities; 5) List of priority activities; and 6) NAPA preparation process (Least Developed Countries Expert Group, 2002).

as they have knowledge on existing adaptation practices while they are also among the most affected by climate changes (Least Developed Countries Expert Group, 2002).

Confronting discourse with praxis, however, demonstrates that the locally-grounded knowledge of rural women and men has thus far largely been disregarded when designing national adaptation policies (Skinner, 2011) while also gender issues have hardly been taken on board when elaborating NAPAs (IUCN, 2011). A 2009 internal review of 39 NAPAs conducted by the Gender Advisory Team of the United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA) points out that several of the NAPAs mention gender equality and women's empowerment as principles while very few demonstrate a clear commitment to these principles by mainstreaming gender throughout the document. About half of the NAPAs identify gender-differentiated impacts from climate change without however translating this observation into project selection and/or design (UNFPA and WEDO, 2009: 28). In line with these findings are the results of a portfolio analysis of 172 GEF projects which among others showcases that 45 percent of the projects include some gender related keywords while gender analysis effectively feeds into project design in 18 percent of the projects. The low level of gender mainstreaming in adaptation interventions has also been generally acknowledged by the GEF and several of its implementing agencies, such as UNEP, UNDP and the World Bank (see GEF, 2008).

Our paper connects to this research agenda and complements the internal reviews with a more comprehensive gender analysis of all the Sub-Saharan African NAPAs that have been elaborated between 2004 and 2011⁴. First, it examines and compares the integration of a gender dimension into the different phases of the NAPA cycle, starting from diagnosis over project identification to budgeting, monitoring and evaluation. Next, it studies whether different sectors that are most directly related to climate change such as agriculture, energy, forestry, water and sanitation and health score differently on gender sensitivity. In addition to this more quantitative assessment we also analyse in more detail in what way women and gender issues are conceptualised in the NAPAs and which approach is adopted towards gender/women and climate change issues. Where relevant a specific focus is put on the energy sector, as this sector is often incorrectly considered to be gender neutral. Notwithstanding some useful exceptions (see e.g. Khamati-Njenga and Clancy, s.a.; ENERGIA, 2007 and 2011), there is thus far also relatively little attention for gender issues in research on the nexus energy & climate change & development. Finally, we study the gender-sensitivity of the underlying processes by analysing the format that is set-up for the preparation of NAPAs as well the extent to which women and gender experts have effectively participated in NAPA diagnosis and decision-making.

Our mapping of the gender-sensitivity of Sub-Saharan African NAPAs contents and processes aims to feed into the work of the Gender Office of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN)⁵ to render future NAPAs and National Adaptation Plans⁶ (NAPs) more gender-sensitive. In doing this, we aim to avoid another case of 'gender retrofitting', which is particularly relevant against a background of mounting budgets that are nowadays channelled through climate funds.

[4] The Sub-Saharan African countries that elaborated a NAPA are (in alphabetical order): Angola, Benin, Burkina Faso, Burundi, Cape Verde, Central African Republic, Chad, Comoros, Democratic Republic of Congo, Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Lesotho, Liberia, Madagascar, Malawi, Mali, Mauritania, Mozambique, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal, Sierre Leone, Sudan, Tanzania, Togo, Uganda, Zambia.

[5] The IUCN is the partner of the three Rio conventions and GEF in mainstreaming gender into the implementation of the three conventions (IUCN Gender Office, nd).

[6] National Adaptation Plans were agreed upon in the context of the 2010 Cancun Adaptation Framework and, in contrast to NAPAs, they are focused on the middle and long term (Kreft et al., 2011). In 2011, the Gender Office of the International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) elaborated draft gender guidelines for these National Adaptation Plans (IUCN, 2011).

2. GENDER AND CLIMATE CHANGE: DIFFERENT DISCOURSES AND APPROACHES

The rationale for the integration of a gender dimension into climate change adaptation (and mitigation) policies and activities is generally argued on the basis of welfare, equality, poverty and efficiency grounds. Browsing in more detail through the relatively recent but rapidly expanding literature on gender and climate change highlights that the different discourses resonate well with different approaches to women/gender and development which have been subsequently designed and implemented from the 1950s onwards. While a detailed account of the different approaches (see Moser, 1993; Razavi and Miller, 1995) is beyond the scope of this article, it is nevertheless interesting to revive the main elements of the 'old' debate as this helps to unpack and interpret current discourses on gender & climate change while it also gives some insights into some of their likely effects. As exemplified in section four, the way in which gender issues are currently taken on board in the NAPAs under study may easily be traced back to these diverging gender/women and development approaches.

As discussed in detail in Arora-Jonsson (2011) the two most often heard claims to promote the integration of a gender dimension in adaptation (and mitigation) policies relate to women's 'vulnerability' and women's 'virtuousness' with respect to climate change. First, women, and particularly poor rural women in the South, are considered to be particularly vulnerable to climate change because they have less access and control over land, money, credit and information while they also have a lower personal mobility than men, which are all factors that affect the ability to adapt to climate change. They tend to be disproportionately affected by water and fuel scarcity and land degradation because they are predominantly engaged in household reproductive activities such as gathering water, fuel and other biomass resources, food preparation and care-taking (see Demetriades and Esplen, 2008). Second, because of their higher dependency on natural resources, women are simultaneously considered to be more environmentally conscious and their contributions are considered vital for a more effective and efficient management of common property natural resources (see Djoudi and Brockhaus, 2011).

This conceptualisation of women as 'vulnerable victims' on the one hand and 'responsible heroines' on the other hand neatly fits the pre-WID (Women in Development) welfare and WID anti-poverty and efficiency approaches. While their origins date back to the 50s/60s and the early 70s, they are still widely prevalent nowadays and particularly the WID anti-poverty and efficiency approaches have experienced a revival in the context of the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers. In short, the welfare approach conceives women primarily as beneficiaries of government policies and strongly associates them with the household and reproductive sphere which is in sharp contrast with the WID anti-poverty and efficiency approaches which emphasize women's unrecognised 'productive' potential as the main route to poverty reduction. More specifically, the WID anti-poverty and efficiency approaches consider poverty the main cause for the observed inequalities between men and women and poverty reduction as the solution for gender inequality. The main type of intervention propagated is to provide women with access to productive and natural resources such as finance, training, land etc. which is expected to boost productivity, economic growth and poverty reduction while at the same time reducing inequality between men and women. Framing women and development issues in terms of efficiency and conveying an optimistic message has always had great appeal within development institutions and it was particularly popular during Structural Adjustment Programmes when women also became responsible for community activities such as the management of supplementary feed-

ing programmes and common property resources. Over time, it has however been demonstrated that easing access to productive resources and participation in market labour does not necessarily lead to a redistribution of unpaid household care labour, resulting in a double or even triple working day for women. Moreover, increased female participation in market labour has often not been translated into a higher stake in household decision-making or budgetary control. A similar phenomenon might take place in the context of climate change interventions where a further 'feminisation of responsibilities' will in itself not necessarily entail more equality with respect to decision-making power, control over resources or benefits (see Arora-Jonsson, 2011).

While there are important differences between the pre-WID welfare and the WID anti-poverty and efficiency approaches, they are at the same time highly similar in that they largely focus on women in isolation while neglecting the importance of underlying gender relations to explain the observed inequalities between men and women. The importance of the socio-cultural construct 'gender' has mainly been emphasized in the Gender and Development (GAD) approach which considers human behaviour to be the result of free human agency, norms and structures such as gender, class, caste, age, ethnicity and their interplay. This attention for intersectionalities explains why a GAD approach, in contrast to the other approaches, does not necessarily consider women and men as homogeneous groups. A GAD approach starts from the idea that interventions in all thematic areas and at all levels (global, macro, meso and micro) are influenced by existing structural features in societies which differentiate among different individuals. Conversely, the assumption is that all interventions also potentially influence gender (and other) relations. Disregarding this mutually influencing relationship may lead to policy failures and to a worsening of the already existing male bias in allocation of resources and decision-making power (see e.g. Elson, 1991). This also holds for interventions in sectors of agriculture, energy, forestry, health, water and sanitation which are most closely associated with climate change and where evidence exists demonstrating that the neglect of gender leads to further environmental degradation, which in itself may intensify already existing gender-based inequalities (see Hemmati and Röhr, 2009; Terry, 2009; UNFPA and WEDO, 2009; UNDP, 2012). Many energy projects for instance have ignored the differences in energy usage patterns between men and women and have therefore been less successful than expected (Cabraal et al., 2005).

From the vantage point of this mutually influencing relationship between 'gender' and 'development', there is a need to integrate a gender dimension throughout the different stages (diagnosis, planning, implementation, budgeting, monitoring and evaluation) of all types of interventions at any level, i.e. gender mainstreaming. In addition to a top-down approach there is also need for more bottom-up interventions that aim at modifying the underlying gendered structures of constraint which is particularly important in areas that are strongly regulated by gender norms. While institutional changes are never easy to achieve (see North, 1990), literature and history has shown that it is particularly possible when individuals act as a group through collective action. Such instances of collective action that lead to marginal institutional changes may also arise in the context of interventions in typical 'climate change sectors'. Well-known examples are cases of water and sanitation or forest conservation projects that initially started as welfare or efficiency initiatives aimed at satisfy practical gender needs but which gradually evolve into instances of collective action where groups of women increasingly gain decision-making power with respect to water, land and forest management both inside and outside the household (see e.g. Agarwal, 1995). This also hints at the fact that interventions that are originally designed from a welfare or anti-poverty perspective can also be entry-points or gradually evolve into interventions that aim at tackling the more deep-rooted gender norms

(Lessa and Rocha, 2012). However, when using instrumentalist framing to get gender issues on the agenda one should also be on the lookout for ‘myth creation’ and ‘essentialism’ (see also Cornwall et al., 2009).

3. METHODOLOGY: A QUICK GENDER SCAN

As there exists no standardised procedure or checklist to assess the gender-sensitivity of NAPAs, a first step in the stocktaking exercise was the elaboration of an assessment framework. We drafted a simple quick gender scan drawing upon an earlier similar exercise in which we mapped the gender-sensitivity of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs) (see Holvoet, 2011). The gender scan focuses both on NAPA content and underlying processes and compares the degree of gender-sensitivity over different subsequent NAPA phases as well as between sectors that are frequently associated with climate change.

First, we distinguish among different phases of diagnosis, project selection, budgeting and monitoring and evaluation (M&E) because of the observation that gender mainstreaming often evaporates throughout various stages of an intervention cycle and particularly when moving from diagnosis and project selection to budgeting and M&E. Previous research in other thematic areas has shown that gender mainstreaming of interventions is often hampered by a lack of budgets that are specifically assigned towards gender mainstreaming which often makes its implementation dependent upon the negotiation power of the gender expert involved and/or the goodwill of the intervention's key decision-maker (see Budlender et al., 2002). Additionally, when gender equality indicators are not part of the conventional M&E framework of interventions, gender-differentiated effects even risk to go unnoticed which reduces in itself the incentive to implement gender mainstreaming.

Second, we compare the degree to which a gender dimension is taken on board in the five sectors that are most frequently associated with climate change, i.e. agriculture, energy, forestry, health and water and sanitation. Such a comparative analysis may be helpful in identifying 'champions' which could function as role models for other sectors.

For all 31 NAPAs we score the gender-sensitivity of the content using a simple rating system in which we distinguish among NAPAs that are entirely gender-blind, those that have at least some reference to gender & women's issues and those that provide an in-depth discussion of gender issues (see Table 1). The quantitative assessment is combined with a more qualitative analysis of the way in which women and gender issues are conceptualised in the NAPAs.

Besides a focus on content, we also assess the degree to which gender issues are taken on board in the format that is designed to organise and involve different stakeholders in the drafting of the NAPA. Additionally, we also take stock of the degree to which women and gender expertise are involved in NAPA diagnostic and decision-making processes. The presence of women and gender expertise is considered important to steer the integration of gender issues in NAPA content, while women's participation is also related to the idea of 'representative bureaucracy'. Drawing upon research with respect to the effectiveness of women's participation and more particularly the assertion that a "critical mass" or "threshold representation" (Kymilcka, 1995: 147 cited in Agarwal, 2010:98) is needed for influencing 'policy' we distinguish among women being completely absent, being limitedly represented and being effectively present (Table 1). In line with Agarwal's suggestion we use a cut-off of 1/3 to identify 'effective representation' as this is the commonly used figure of gender quotas in public institutions and decision-making bodies in the north and south (Agarwal, 2010).

Table 1 Scoring system to assess gender-sensitivity of NAPA content and processes

Score	Gender-sensitivity of CONTENT	Gender-sensitivity of PROCESS	
		format to organise preparatory process	Participation in diagnosis and decision-making
0	not possible to determine on the basis of the available information	not possible to determine on the basis of the available information	not possible to determine on the basis of the available information
1	gender issues are completely absent	gender issues are completely absent	absence of women and/or gender expertise
2	some reference to gender issues	some reference to gender issues	limited presence of women and/or gender expertise
3	detailed discussion of gender issues	detailed discussion of gender issues	effective presence of women and/or gender expertise

In order to increase comparability our study focuses only on the 31 Sub-Saharan African NAPAs. The selection of Sub-Sahara African NAPAs is based upon the current under-representation of the region in climate change research and literature, while the region is at the same time one of the most vulnerable to climate change (see Terry, 2009).

4. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

4.1. Gender-sensitivity of NAPA content

Table 2 gives a summative overview of the gender sensitivity of the content of the 31 NAPAs. A distinction is made between different sectors that are most commonly associated with climate change and between different phases, from the diagnosis of the impact of climate change to the monitoring and evaluation of climate change adaptation activities (a total of 26 items). In each of the columns we specify the number of countries to have been assigned the corresponding score. We have as well calculated an index (without taking the 0 scores into account) and included a ranking which allows a relatively swift assessment of strong and weak points.

Our findings in Table 2 highlight that not all countries have covered all five sectors in their NAPAs. While the majority of the countries identify clusters⁷ of interventions in the agriculture sector (30) and water and sanitation (26), only 11 NAPAs have included projects in the energy sector. Strikingly however is that not all projects have been allocated a budget while even fewer have clear indicators or targets which immediately puts into perspective their monitoring and evaluation, possibly as well affecting their degree of implementation. More specifically, budgets were lacking for 3 of the 104 clusters of interventions, while indicators and targets were missing for more than half of the clusters (58/104). The absence of indicators and targets in the NAPAs under study might to some extent be understood when realising that the first initiative to elaborate an M&E framework for adaptation to climate change has only been taken in 2007 (see UNDP, 2007) while 72,4% of the clusters of interventions without indicators are included in NAPAs that have been elaborated before 2008.

Overall, our findings lend credence to evidence from earlier research (see e.g. UNFPA and WEDO, 2009) and point at a low degree of gender-sensitivity of NAPA's content with 10 of the 31 NAPAs being entirely gender-blind. Of the total of 26 items reviewed over the different NAPAs, 10 do not include any reference to gender or women while only for three items (selection criteria, projects and budgeting in the energy sector) is there a detailed discussion of gender issues in one or two of the NAPAs.

When comparing gender-sensitivity over different sectors, we do not come across substantial differences in gender-sensitivity. While the agricultural sector outperforms the others when it comes to the selection of clusters of interventions (with 1/3 of the clusters of interventions including a gender dimension), this pattern does not hold for other phases. With regard to the energy sector, no references to gender equality or women empowerment are made in the diagnosis and the M&E phases, while two (in Burkina Faso and Gambia) of the 11 clusters of interventions in the energy sector include references to gender, and in the case of Burkina Faso this gender focus is also maintained in the budget (Burkina Faso).

[7] A cluster of interventions are all the projects in one sector. The scope of such clusters may differ across countries and sectors: some clusters include one project while other are composed of 5 projects.

Table 2 Overview of gender sensitivity of NAPA's content

Phase	0	1	2	3	Index	Rank
I. diagnosis impact climate change						
Agriculture		27	4		0,376	9
Energy		12			0,333	17
Forestry		25	2		0,358	13
Health		22	5		0,395	5
Water and sanitation		29	1		0,344	16
II. selection of projects						
Selection criteria		23	6	2	0,441	2
Agriculture		20	10		0,444	1
Energy		9	1	1	0,424	3
Forestry		19	3		0,379	8
Health		12	3		0,400	4
Water and sanitation		23	3		0,372	10
III. budgeting						
Agriculture	1	28	1		0,345	15
Energy		10		1	0,394	6
Forestry		22			0,333	17
Health	1	14			0,333	17
Water and sanitation	1	25			0,333	17
IV. monitoring and evaluation						
Disaggregation of targets and indicators over men and women						
Agriculture	15	14	1		0,356	14
Energy	5	6			0,333	17
Forestry	15	6	1		0,381	7
Health	6	9			0,333	17
Water and sanitation	17	9			0,333	17
Specific gender targets and indicators						
Agriculture	15	15			0,333	17
Energy	5	6			0,333	17
Forestry	15	7			0,333	17
Health	6	8	1		0,370	11
Water and sanitation	17	8	1		0,370	11

Table 2 (section II) demonstrates that of the 104 clusters of interventions reviewed 83 do not refer to gender issues in their descriptions, while only in 1 single case, i.e. the energy project in Burkina Faso, is there a detailed discussion of gender issues. This project promotes the equipment of energy saving and renewable energy technologies and includes the training of women in the use of these technologies as one of its activities. Women organisations are involved in the execution of this project in order to reach less accessible groups of women. Interestingly, in its description, the project refers to the fact that it is highly likely that the project will be confronted with the resistance of (traditional) men, as the traditional way of cooking (with three stones) symbolises the marital status of women while its destruction is normally considered as an act of repudiation of the wife by the husband (Burkina Faso, 2007). It is one of the rare occasions where a NAPA links project feasibility with underlying gender relations.

Comparison over different phases of the intervention cycle demonstrates that the degree of gender-sensitivity is even lower for the other phases, with a steep decline in gender-sensitivity when moving from the description of the selected clusters of interventions towards budgeting and M&E. As already hinted at in section three, this dilution of gender-sensitivity is not exceptional; we have also identified a similar pattern in our analysis of the gender-sensitivity of national development and poverty reduction policies (see Holvoet, 2011). What is however somehow counterintuitive is that gender-sensitivity is for all five sectors lower in the diagnosis phase than in the subsequent section where selected projects are discussed. This demonstrates that gender issues referred to in the interventions do not necessarily draw upon some kind of gender diagnosis. The energy project included in Gambia's NAPA for instance aims at expanding energy sources as an alternative for charcoal and firewood. One of its long term expected outcomes is a reduced exposure of women to indoor pollution (Government of The Gambia, 2007). The diagnosis section of this NAPA, however, does not include any references to gender-differentiated impacts of indoor pollution. Malawi's NAPA is the only one with some coherent references to gender in the sections dealing with diagnosis and selected projects (agriculture sector). Malawi's NAPA is also exceptional in that it identifies gender relations and gender equality as one of the eight specific areas on which climate change has an impact. The document more specifically states that: "Women bear most of the burden in activities that are most impacted by adverse climate, including collection of water, firewood and ensuring daily access to food. In addition, the changing demographics as a result of the impacts of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, are leading to women taking up greater responsibilities as sole heads of households and taking care of the sick and orphans" (Republic of Malawi, 2006: x).

At the outset of the section in which the selected clusters of interventions are discussed, NAPAs include a list of the selection criteria being used. In only two cases, i.e. Guinea-Bissau and Sudan, gender issues are included among these criteria. In Sudan for instance, 'empowerment women' is one of the ten criteria used to evaluate adaptation projects (Republic of the Sudan, 2007: x); its NAPA itself however does not include any project that specifically addresses women or gender equality issues which immediately puts into perspective the effective application of the criteria when interventions are to be selected.

Table 2 (section III) demonstrates that of the 21 clusters of interventions that have a gender dimension or that contain some specific activities targeted at women only 2 of them maintain this specific focus in their budgets. In the case of Burkina Faso, one of the four activities of an energy project entails the training and sensitisation of women, and this activity is also explicitly budgeted for (see Burkina Faso, 2007:68). The same holds for Eritrea where one activity in the agriculture sector (livestock breeding) that is specifically focused on female

headed households (and generally poor households) is also explicitly referred to in the budget (see Eritrea, 2007:41). Interestingly, these 2 cases refer to the inclusion of budgets for activities that are specifically targeted at women, in none of the cases is there a budget line that is specifically allocated towards gender mainstreaming activities.

The dilution of the gender dimension is also obvious from the absence of gender in the sections dealing with indicators and targets. Of the NAPAs that include indicators only the one of Malawi disaggregates its indicators at two instances (in the agriculture and forestry sector), while two other NAPAs include gender-specific indicators. Benin's NAPA includes "the percentage of pregnant women sleeping under impregnated mosquito nets" (République du Benin, 2008, 70) while "the involvement of women associations" is specifically mentioned in the Central African Republic's NAPA (République Centrafricaine, 2008:62). While the inclusion of sex-disaggregated and gender indicators in itself is not sufficient for a programme to be gender sensitive (Bridge, 2008), sex-disaggregated data and information with respect to gender is useful during diagnosis of interventions to have at least some idea of the degree of (in)equality as well as the gendered structures in a society which may impact upon the effectiveness of interventions as well as be affected by the intervention. However, the inclusion of sex-disaggregated and gender-specific indicators is often not straightforward as gender equality or women's empowerment do not necessarily figure high on a country's priority list; they are often not easily captured in simple indicators while also the availability of sex-disaggregated data is still an issue (Arora-Jonsson, 2011; Skinner, 2011). This may particularly hold for several of the sectors that are mostly associated with climate change. What is particularly critical is the inclusion of a gender dimension in mainstream evaluative exercises that move beyond monitoring and analyse in more depth the effectiveness and impact of adaptation interventions. Such evaluative exercises could possibly point at gender blindness in the design of interventions as one of the factors contributing to ineffectiveness and trigger a higher degree of gender mainstreaming in future interventions. Similarly, impact evaluation may be particularly useful in identifying the unexpected (gendered) side-effects of adaptation interventions on the ground and feed into learning and remediation.

The fact that none of the NAPAs include an in-depth analysis of gender issues in its diagnosis section already hints at the absence of a gender and development (GAD) approach in the NAPAs under study. As a GAD approach starts from the idea that there is a mutually influencing relationship among climate change and gender relations, some gender analysis is expected at the outset of the NAPA which then feeds into the selection of interventions. The absence of a GAD approach does not entirely come as a surprise and is in line with Terry (2009) who highlighted that a GAD approach is not yet common in work and discussions on climate change (Terry, 2009). In the NAPAs under study, there is in particular a strong tendency to depict women as victims, a conclusion which was also arrived at by Rodenberg (2009) in her review of climate change discussions and processes. Women are often lumped together with children and the elderly under a heading of 'vulnerable' and several NAPAs specifically refer to female-headed households in this respect. Interestingly, the other myth of women being 'virtuous' and more environmentally conscious is much less present in the NAPAs under study. The only prominent case is the NAPA of Mauretania that explicitly highlights that "women are often the chief guardians of vital local and traditional knowledge" (Islamic Republic of Mauretania, 2004: 7). While at this relatively early stage of gender & climate change work, NAPAs are particularly drawing upon welfare arguments when including gender & women issues, it is highly likely that a WID efficiency which stresses more women's virtuousness will become more prevalent in the future.

What both myths of ‘vulnerability’ and ‘virtuousness’ have in common is the fact that the importance of the underlying gendered structures which influence men’s and women’s constraints, opportunities and incentives with respect to adaptation remains out of the picture. This ignorance of interplay among gender and adaptation influences the type of NAPA interventions designed, their effectiveness and their impact, both on adaptation as well as gender equality outcomes. Adding to this is the fact that NAPAs generally conceive women as homogenous groups. While some NAPAs specifically focus on specific categories of women, such as female retailers (Comoros), female rice and vegetable farmers (Gambia), female rural dwellers (Eritrea), none of the documents discusses how individual’s behaviour with respect to adaptation is also determined by wealth, class, age, ethnicity or other ‘structural’ features that intersect with gender (Demetriades and Esplen, 2008; Arora-Jonsson, 2011; Brown, 2011, Djoudi and Brockhaus, 2011).

4.2. Gender-sensitivity of NAPA processes

While most NAPAs include information on the way in which the preparatory processes will be organised, there is much less information with respect to degree of participation of women and gender experts in these processes. While his silence is interesting in itself (and somehow counter to NAPA principles), it also puts into perspective the external validity of our findings as it is not unlikely that the sub-sample of NAPAs that provide information is not representative of the full sample of 31 NAPAs. Table 3 demonstrates that information is particularly scarce for the diagnostic processes where only a small minority of NAPAs provide some data on the identity of the participants and the involvement of gender expertise (6 and 11 respectively) while coverage is slightly better with respect to decision-making processes (18 and 19 cases respectively).

Table 3 Overview of gender sensitivity of NAPA’s processes

	0	1	2	3	Score	Rank
Diagnostic Processes						
Format of process	3	17	8	3	0,500	4
Number of women	25	1	4	1	0,667	1
Gender expertise	20	3	7	1	0,606	3
Decision-making processes						
Format of process	3	24	3	1	0,393	6
number of women	13	5	10	3	0,630	2
gender expertise	12	13	4	2	0,474	5

First, our findings highlight that gender issues are discussed in 11 and 4 of the 28 NAPAs that provide information with respect to the format that is used to organise diagnostic and decision-making processes respectively. These NAPAs acknowledge (to varying degrees) that participatory processes are not by definition gender-sensitive but influenced by structural features which influence the degree to which individuals that are differently placed in society are able to raise their voices. In practice it involves changes in location, timing and set-up of partici-

patory diagnostic and decision-making processes. In Uganda e.g. active participation of women in participatory rural appraisal sessions within rural communities was promoted through the split-up of groups by sex where necessary (Republic of Uganda, 2007).

Second, focusing on those NAPAs that provide information on participation of women and gender expertise in processes demonstrates that women were limitedly present and effectively present in 4 and 1 of the 6 diagnostic processes respectively, while at the moment of decision-making a critical mass of women was present in 3 out of the 18 cases, while in another 10 countries, women were limitedly present. Gender expertise was around the table in 8 of the 11 and 6 of the 19 diagnostic and decision-making processes respectively.

While it is generally accepted that a gender sensitive process is a precondition for a gender sensitive content (see e.g. GenderCC, 2004; Bridge, 2008; Skinner, 2011), our review of Sub-Saharan African NAPAs does not show a clear correlation between a gender-sensitive process and content. Liberia and Djibouti for instance score relatively high on the participation of gender expertise with their gender ministries and women's groups being consulted and represented in NAPA steering committees, while their NAPAs are completely gender-blind. This gender blindness might to some extent be related to the fact that the women and gender expertise involved in these high-level processes are often women from the urban elite, who do not necessarily have connections with rural settings which tend to be more effected by climate change (see Denton, 2004). Interestingly, a similar finding was also discussed in Agarwal (2010: 108-109) who highlighted that landless women, who often have a higher stake in the outcome of such interventions, are more inclined to attend and speak up during meetings.

Along the same lines, gender experts involved in NAPA processes do not necessarily have a strong track record (yet) in the area of climate change which puts their leverage to influence these processes into perspective. This is in line with earlier research demonstrating that gender expertise was often sidelined in discussions related to poverty reduction strategies because of the relatively limited track record in public finance management, (sector) policy analysis and macro-economics (Holvoet and Inberg, 2013 forthcoming). The fact that issues related to climate change do not (yet) figure high on the priority list of gender machineries is also evident from a review of available national gender policies (including Burkina Faso, Benin, Gambia, Madagascar, Malawi, Niger, Rwanda, Senegal and Tanzania) which are completely silent with respect to climate change. An exception is Malawi whose gender policy includes a strategy to create awareness among women, men, girls and boys on global warming and climate change (Republic of Malawi, 2006). Interestingly, Malawi's NAPA is also one of the exceptional 'gender-sensitive' cases. The generally limited track record in gender & climate change is also evident from the absence of operational gender mainstreaming tools and approaches that are framed in 'climate change' terminology. Such framing of gender issues alongside the 'frames' of the area or ministries has proved important in triggering the implementation of gender mainstreaming by non gender experts (see Theobald et al., 2005). As Cornwall et al (2007) put it "when development actors seize upon feminist ideas they want them in a form that is useful for their own frameworks, analyses and overall policy objectives" (Cornwall et al., 2007: 16).

5. CONCLUSION AND MOVING FORWARD

Despite an increasing acknowledgement of the importance of the integration of a gender dimension in interventions related to climate change, the findings of our own stocktaking exercise of all 2004 to 2011 Sub-Saharan NAPAs, demonstrate that in praxis gender-sensitivity remains limited. When a gender dimension is included, it is mostly in sections dealing with the identification of projects and fails to be translated into budgets, indicators and targets. This dilution is indicative of the phenomenon of policy evaporation which is particularly prevalent in the area of gender mainstreaming. When gender issues are discussed, they are mainly limited to a representation of women as particular vulnerable sections of the population that tend to be disproportionately affected by climate change. Only in very exceptional cases is this image explained in terms of the underlying 'gendered' (and other) structures of constraint and opportunities which affect individuals' behaviour differently. Disregarding the fact that climate change interventions are not implemented in a social vacuum but mediated through a diversity of structural features may affect the effectiveness of the interventions as well as the outcomes in terms of adaptation and gender equality.

Information with respect to diagnostic and decision-making processes was only available for a limited sub-sample of NAPAs which might affect the external validity of these findings. For the specific sub-sample under study, the process was more gender sensitive than the content and no correlation was found between the gender sensitivity of the content and the process. This is somehow in contrast with evidence at the international level where an increase of the gender sensitivity of climate change policies is somehow triggered by the mobilisation efforts of e.g. the GenderCC network. However, looking beyond the mere presence of women and gender experts showcases that at national level the urban middle class women who are around the table do not necessarily have a high stake in the sectors being most closely related to climate change, while gender experts might also not (yet) have enough expertise in the area of adaptation policies to steer the promotion of a gender dimension in NAPAs. This is somehow also confirmed by a complete absence of climate change discussions in the national gender policies of SSA countries under study.

Brokering of relationships among local and central-level gender actors who have different comparative advantages when it comes to influencing climate change processes, as well as bridging gaps among gender and climate change experts are areas in which climate change funds might invest part of their resources. It is particularly such exchanges and networking among actors with different knowledge and experience bases that might trigger more gender-sensitive processes with long-term payoff in terms of NAPA content. Another area for further investment, research and experimentation is gender budgeting, which has, to the best of our knowledge, not yet been implemented in the area of climate change funding (see also Skinner, 2011; Terry, 2009). The use of gender budgeting tools in various phases of an intervention cycle (see <http://www.gender-budgets.org>) is particularly relevant and timely against the background of the considerable amount of resources that are currently being channelled through climate change funds. One of the strengths of gender budgeting is that it is equally well suited to function as a top-down approach within governments as well as a bottom-up approach in hands of a non-governmental gender demand side.

REFERENCES

- Agarwal, B. (1994) *A Field of One's Own: Gender and Land Rights in South Asia*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Agarwal, B. (2010) "Does Women's Proportional Strength Affect their Participation? Governing Local Forests in South Asia", *World Development*, 38 (1): 98-112.
- Arora-Jonsson, S. (2011) "Virtue and vulnerability: Discourse on women, gender and climate change", *Global Environmental Change*, 21, 744-751.
- BRIDGE (2008) "Gender and climate change: mapping the linkages. A scoping study on knowledge and gaps", BRIDGE, Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex, Brighton.
- Brown, P. (2011) "Gender, climate change and REDD+ in the Congo Basin Forests of Central Africa", *International Forestry Review*, 13 (2), 163-176.
- Budlender, D., Elson, D., Hewitt, G. and Mukhodpadhyay, T. (eds) (2002), *Gender Budgets Make Cents: Understanding Gender Responsive Budgets*, London, Commonwealth Secretariat.
- Cabraal, R.A., Barnes, D.F. and Agarwal, S.G. (2005) "Productive Uses of Energy for Rural Development", *Annual Review of Environment and Resources*, 30, 117-144.
- Cornwall, A., Harrison, E. and Whitehead, A. (2007) "Gender Myths and Feminist Fables. The Struggle for Interpretive Power in Gender and Development", *Development and Change*, 38 (1), 1-20.
- Council of Europe (2005) "Gender Budgeting, Final report of the group of specialist on gender budgeting", Council of Europe, Directorate General of Human Rights, Strasbourg.
- Demetriades, J. and Esplen, E. (2008) "The Gender Dimension of Poverty and Climate Change Adaptation, *IDS Bulletin*, 39 (4), 24-31.
- Denton, F. (2004) "Gender and Climate Change: Giving the Latecomer a Head Start", *IDS Bulletin*, 35.3 Climate Change and Development.
- Djouidi, H. and Brockhaus, M. (2011) "Is adaptation to climate change gender neutral? Lessons from communities dependent on livestock and forests in northern Mali", *International Forestry Review*, 13 (2), 123-135.
- ENERGIA (2007) "Where Energy is Women's Business", ENERGIA, Leusden.
- ENERGIA (2011) "Mainstreaming Gender in Energy Project. A Practical Handbook", ENERGIA, Leusden.
- FAO (nd) "FAO, Forests and Climate Change. Working with countries to mitigate and adapt to climate change through sustainable forest management", FAO, Rome.
- Global Environmental Facility (2008) "Gender mainstreaming at the GEF", GEF, Washington.
- Hemmati, M. and Röhr, U. (2009) "Engendering the climate-change negotiations: experiences, challenges, and steps forward", *Gender and Development*, 17 (1), 19-32.

- Holvoet, N. (2011) "Gender Equality and New Aid Modalities: Is Love Really in the Air?", *European Journal of Development Research*, 22 (1), 97-117.
- Holvoet, N. and Inberg, L. (2013) "Gender mainstreaming in the context of changing aid modalities: insights from two Paris Declaration champions", *forthcoming*
- Islamic Republic of Mauritania (2004) "National Adaptation Programme of Action to Climate Change NAPA-RIM", Islamic Republic of Mauritania, Ministry of Rural Development and of Environment, Department of the Environment Project Coordination Unit, Nouackchott.
- IUCN (2011) "Draft Guidelines to Mainstreaming Gender in the Development of National Adaptation Plans (NAPs)", UNFCCC, Bonn.
- IUCN Gender Office (nd) "Harmonizing Gender in the Three Rio Conventions and the GEF", IUCN.
- IUCN and UNDP (2009) "Training Manual on Gender and Climate Change", Global Gender and Climate Alliance.
- Kakota, T., Nyariki, D., Mkwambisi, D. and Kogi-Makau, W. (2011) "Gender vulnerability to climate variability and households food insecurity", *Climate and Development*, 3, 298-309.
- Khamati-Njenga, B., Clancy, J. (nd) "Concepts and Issues in Gender and Energy", for ENERGIA, Leusden.
- Kymilcka, W. (1995) *Multicultural citizenship: A liberal theory of minority rights*, Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Kreft, S., Kaloga, A.O. and Harmeling, S. (2011) "National Adaptation Plans Towards Effective Guidelines and Modalities", discussion paper, Germanwatch and WWF International.
- Least Developed Countries Expert Group (2002) "Annotated guideless for the preparation of national adaptation programmes of action", UNFCCC, Bonn.
- Lessa, L. and Rocha, C. (2012) "Food security and gender mainstreaming: Possibilities for social transformation in Brazil", *International Social Work*, 55 (3), 337-352.
- Ministère de l'Environnement et du Cadre du Vie Burkina Faso (2007) "Programme d'Action National d'Adaptation a la Variabilité et aux Changement Climatiques (PANA du Burkina Faso)", Ministère de l'Environnement et du Cadre du Vie Burkina Faso, Secrétariat Permanent du Conseil National pour l'Environnement et le Développement Durable.
- Moser, C. (1993) *Gender Planning and Development: Theory, Practice and Training*. London, Routledge.
- North, C.D. (1990) *Institutions, Institutional Change and Economic Performance*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.
- Preet, R., Nilsson, M., Schuman, B. and Evengard, B. (2010) "The gender perspective in climate change and global health", *Global Health Action*, 3: 5720 – DOI: 10.3402/gha.v3i0.5720.

- Republic of Guinea-Bissau (2006) “National Programme of Action of Adaptation to Climate Changes”, Government of Guinea-Bissau, Ministry of Natural Resources and Environment.
- Republic of Malawi (2006) “Malawi’s National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPA)”, Republic of Malawi, Ministry of Mines, Natural Resources and Environment, Environmental Affairs Department.
- Republic of Niger (2006) “National Adaptation Programme of Action”, Republic of Niger, National Environmental Council for Sustainable Development.
- Republic of the Sudan (2007) “National Adaptation Programme of Action”, Republic of the Sudan, Ministry of Environment and Physical Development, Higher Council for Environment and Natural Resources.
- Republic of Uganda (2007) “Climate Change Uganda National Adaptation Programmes of Action”, Republic of Uganda.
- Republique Centrafricaine (2008) “Programme D’Action National D’Adaptation (PANA) aux Changements Climatique“, République Centrafricaine, Ministère des Eaux, Forêts, Chasse & Pêche et de l’Environnement.
- République du Bénin (2008) “Convention-cadre des Nations Unies sur les changements climatiques“, République du Bénin, Ministère de l’Environnement et de la Protection de la Nature.
- République du Sénégal (2006) “Plan d’Action National pour l’Adaptation aux Changements Climatiques“, République du Sénégal, Ministère de l’Environnement et de la Protection de la Nature.
- Rodenberg, B. (2009) “Climate Change Adaptation from a Gender Perspective. A cross-cutting analysis of development-policy instruments”, German Development Institute, Bonn.
- Skinner, E. (2011) “Gender and Climate Change Overview Report”, Institute of Development Studies, Brighton.
- State of Eritrea (2007) “National Adaptation Programme of Action”, State of Eritrea, Ministry of Land, Water and Environment, Department of Environment.
- Terry, G. (2009) *Climate Change and Gender Justice*, Warwickshire, Practical Action Publishing in association with Oxfam GB.
- Theobald S., Tolhurst, R., Elsey, H. and Standing, H. (2005) “Engendering the bureaucracy? Challenges and opportunities for mainstreaming gender in ministries of health under sector-wide approaches”, *Health Policy and Planning*, 20 (3): 141-149.
- UN (1992) “United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change”.
- UNCED (1992) “Rio Declaration on Environment and Development”.
- UNDP (2011) “Human Development Report 2011”, UNDP, New York.

UNDP (2012) “Powerful Synergies. Gender Equality, Economic Development and Environmental Sustainability”, UNDP, New York.

UNFCCC (2012) “Draft decision –CP.18. Promoting gender balance and improving the participation of women in UNFCCC negotiations and in the representation of Parties in bodies established pursuant to the Convention or the Kyoto Protocol”, UNFCCC, Qatar.

UNFPA and WEDO (2009) “Climate Change Connections”, UNFPA and WEDO, New York.

World Bank (2008) “Local institutions and climate change adaptation”, Social Dimensions of Climate Change, No. 113, Washington, World Bank.

