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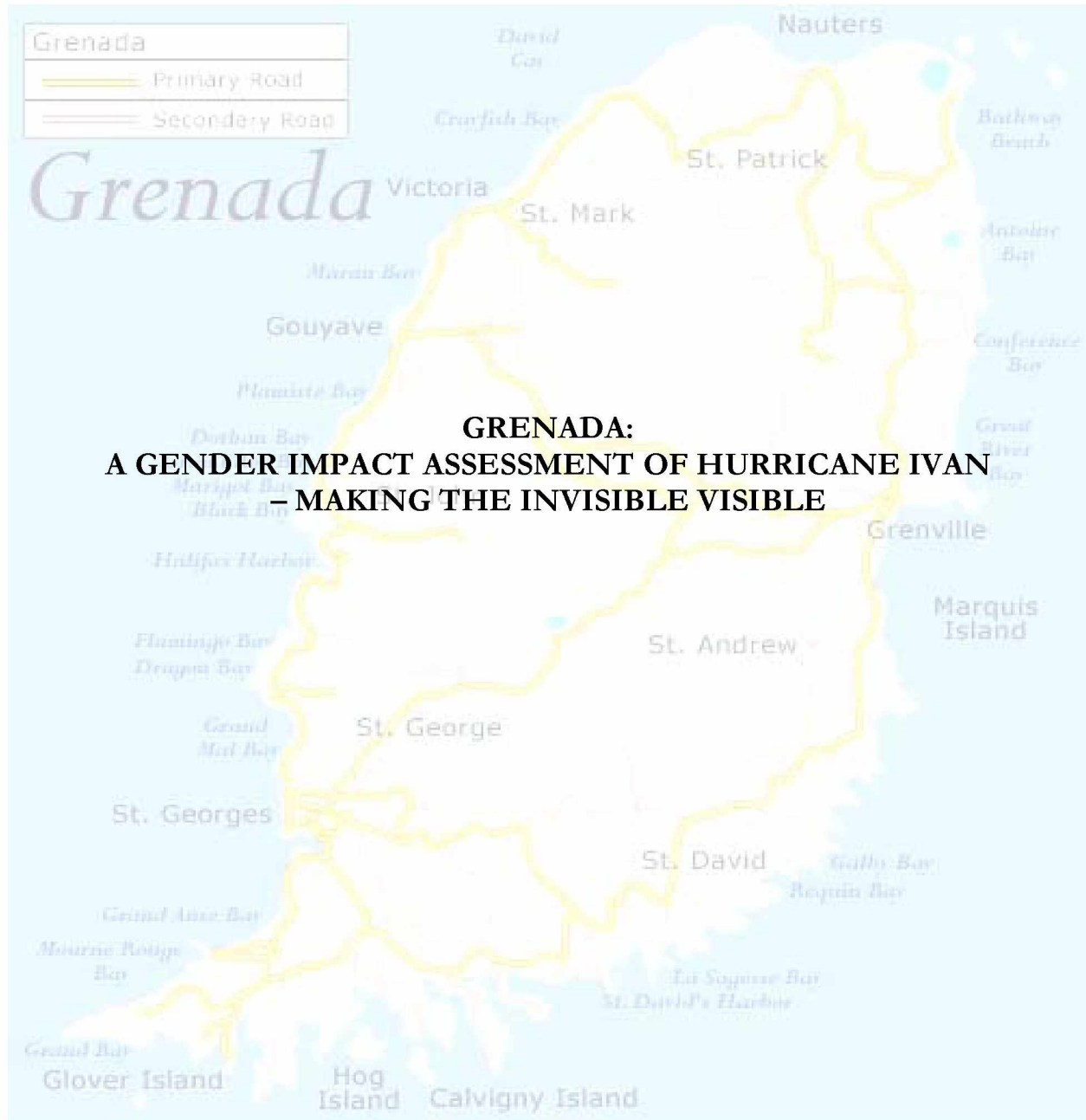
UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT FUND FOR WOMEN



UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

**GRENADA:
A GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT OF HURRICANE IVAN
– MAKING THE INVISIBLE VISIBLE**

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PREFACE

The mission was undertaken at the request of the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) Programme Coordinator for the Caribbean, Ms. Roberta Clarke, to the Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean. Terms of reference for the undertaking were agreed upon. Experts were identified and logistics arranged.

The team undertook its mission for the Gender Impact Assessment of Hurricane Ivan on Grenada, during the period 13-19 February 2005, approximately five months following the disaster. The team had the privilege of meeting with the Honourable Prime Minister, Dr. Keith Mitchell, and his Cabinet and of providing a briefing on the purpose and expectations of the mission. The Honourable Prime Minister wished the team well and indicated that they were looking forward to the results of the study.

The team met with women and men throughout Grenada in addition to meeting with senior technocrats and relevant government service providers. Special gratitude must be expressed to Ms. Merle Walker of the Ministry of Social Development and Director of Women's Affairs for her active guidance and facilitation of the team's work. It would not have been possible to arrange the many appointments without her kind assistance. In addition, the efforts of Mr. Carl Lewis, Community Liaison Officer and Officer of the Basic Needs Trust Fund (BNTF), Caribbean Development Bank (CDB) for coordinating interviews and focus groups within the communities are appreciated. Special thanks are due to Mr. Richardson Andrews, Director of the Agency for Reconstruction and Development (ARD), for his insights and facilitating the participation of his staff member as note taker for a number of the focus groups. Her excellent notes were of great assistance in completing this report.

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ACRONYMS

ARD	Agency for Reconstruction and Development
ART	Association for Rural Transformation
BNTF	Basic Needs Trust Fund
CARDI	Caribbean Agricultural Research & Development Institute
CBOs	Community-Based Organizations
CDB	Caribbean Development Bank
CDERA	Caribbean Disaster Emergency Response Agency
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CPDC	Caribbean Policy Development Centre
DfID	Department for International Development
DRR	Disaster Risk Reduction
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
EMDR	Eye Movement Desensitisation Reprocessing
FHH	Female-Headed Households
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNOW	Grenada National Organization for Women
GRENCODA	Grenada Community Development Agency
GRENSAVE	Grenada Save the Children Development Agency
LAGDO	Inter Agency Group of Development Organizations
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals
NEWLO	New Life Organization
NERO	National Emergency Relief Organization
NGOs	Non Governmental Organizations
NIS	National Insurance System
OECS	Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States
OXFAM	Oxford Committee for Famine Relief
PADCO	Planning and Development Collaborative International
PAHO	Pan American Health Organization
PETROTRIN	Petroleum Company of Trinidad and Tobago Limited
PTSD	Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder
SIDS	Small Island Developing States
SMID	Stress Management in Disaster
TAMCC	T.A. Marryshow Community College
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

It has become clear from the Gender Impact Assessment of Hurricane Ivan undertaken in Grenada from 13–19 February 2005 that the existing gender inequities in the society rendered women and their dependent children uniquely vulnerable.

Aspects of their susceptibility have become apparent in the emergency, rehabilitation and recovery, and reconstruction phases which were not as evident before the disaster. These aspects of susceptibility included women's restricted skill base which did not allow them to easily transfer from one productive sector to another to earn an income; the burden of care evident in their being responsible for children and the elderly, which, with a reduced means of livelihood, caused hunger and despair; the disintegrating social capital which weakened their support network, leaving them unable to rebound as quickly from the disaster as other households; the high rates of teenage fertility which resulted in young mothers having to care for their children as many day care centres were damaged in the hurricane, thus preventing them from working to earn an income. The precarious living conditions of many poor female-headed households were made worse by the disaster. Although social capital in most communities allowed some level of reconstruction of damaged and demolished homes, the conditions of living of these women and their children deteriorated without the necessary financial, material and technical resources.

The private relations of women have also evidenced some change as a result of Hurricane Ivan. Women in Grenada, who have a long tradition of independence and a capacity to sustain themselves and their children no matter how difficult the circumstances, have found themselves forced to engage in peculiarly unequal relationships in order to sustain their families. This has been brought about mainly due to their inability to earn an income and to meet their basic shelter requirements. These relationships, women suggest, bring other risks to themselves and their children.

The proportion of households that are headed by women in Grenada amounts to 48 per cent and is among the highest in the OECS, and is even higher among the poor where 52 per cent of all households are headed by women. Poverty in Grenada was found to predominate among the youth with over 56 per cent of the poor being less than 25 years old. It is the poor female youth who also comprise the group with a fertility pattern which tends to begin childbirth at a young age. The largest proportion of women, who had reported their age at first birth being from 10-19, could be found in the poorest fifth of the country. The poorest also had the largest family.¹

With 28.8 per cent of households having been defined as poor in the 1999 study² and 10.3 per cent of households classified as indigent, almost a third of the households in Grenada would have been threatened with severe losses from a category 3 hurricane. As the macro-socio-economic assessment of damages³ indicated, some 89 per cent of households were damaged by Hurricane Ivan representing an additional two thirds of households that were affected. Experience has suggested that the poorest are often the most severely affected by disasters as they have the least resources to buffer against the event. The study has found that circumstances of many female heads of

¹ Kairi Consultants Ltd. (1999), Poverty Assessment Report – Grenada Vol. 1 and 2

² Ibid.

³ Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (2004), Grenada: Macro-Socio-Economic Assessment of the Damages

households and their dependants are at risk of sinking into poverty after a disaster where previously they might have existed just above the poverty line.

The gender impact assessment also noted the susceptibility in Grenada in community governance. All persons were affected by this phenomenon, but poor female heads of households who depended more on the State for support than other households (such services being health, sanitation or education facilities) felt the impact of this inadequacy more than others. The findings suggest that the inadequate community governance structures existing prior to Hurricane Ivan became starkly evident for female heads of households. The absence of these structures were reported by women who suggested that gaps had to be filled by men and women, the Community-Based Organizations (CBOs) and the Non Governmental Organizations (NGOs) which used their networks to assist during the three phases of the disaster process and which continue to do so.

Women employed in agriculture and tourism both within the formal and informal sectors were found to be particularly disadvantaged as a result of Hurricane Ivan. The devastation of the nutmeg plants has destroyed an industry in which women earned their livelihood through the sorting and processing of nutmegs at the nutmeg pools, and gathering of the nutmegs in the community for sale. These women have low economic mobility caused by their lack of skills and level of education. Their counterparts in the tourism sector who provide services at the low end of the income scale have been severely affected by the damage to the tourist sector and the slow down in tourist arrivals.

Although the situation of women and their dependants in the post hurricane situation seemed dismal, there were bright spots of strong social capital demonstrated by men and women working together in communities to safeguard shelter, the elderly, and children during the disaster. The resilience of men and women was evidenced through the 'marooning' of men to rebuild homes and the techniques used by women to reduce fear among the children such as storytelling, organizing games, sing-songs and providing dignity and coherence to community life through the one-pot cooks.

The challenge to policy makers is to strengthen existing bonds in those communities where they were found to be strong, and introduce catalytic action to develop bonds in those communities where they were weak or non-existent. It is also to use this spontaneous people-centered action as part of the new processes to redevelop and rebuild a Grenada that is based on social justice and gender equity.

A gender impact assessment seeks to draw out the differential impact of an event on men and women and to present the information as it becomes available. In this instance, the analysis reveals that women were more acutely affected by the disaster than their male counterparts and, as such, required special policy recommendations to bring balance to the development processes. This study seeks to provide a qualitative appreciation of the living conditions of women and their children so as to enable policy makers to address women's strategic as well as practical needs in the reconstruction phase and ensure that women are full participants in the development processes of a new Grenada.

Recommendations

1. Many of the assets of the poor are embedded in their shelter, food and tools for sustaining a livelihood. In that regard, the impact of Hurricane Ivan has left many poor female heads of households in desperate need of shelter. Addressing the housing needs of the population, although viewed as a medium- to long-term development objective, requires short-term action that would provide support to poor female heads of households. An authority which could provide legal and financial support to poor female-headed households is required. The assessment recommends that:

- A mechanism be established which will support poor female-headed households (FHH) in securing land entitlements and retrofitting and refurbishing owned shelters.

2. Early childhood education and care is essential for fulfilling long-term growth and development as articulated in the MDGs. This also reduces the burden of care of women who still hold primary responsibility for child development, and allows them the capacity to earn an income and to improve their position and that of their children in the society. Therefore, the assessment recommends that:

- (a) Spaces for safe and effective early childhood education and care are functional, accessible and available to parents but particularly to female heads of households;
- (b) An integrated and holistic approach should be undertaken to resolve the child care issue. An example of such an approach would be to involve young mothers in the provision of the necessary services in these facilities. Such an approach should seek to:
 - provide a livelihood and much needed income for young mothers;
 - care for children, thus releasing other mothers to secure livelihoods;
 - provide training in family planning and parental care for young mothers at the facility with the aim of reducing second and third unplanned pregnancies. The long-term benefit would be to improve the life chances of women and their dependants and to contribute to breaking the cycle of poverty.

3. Many women can be found making their livelihoods in the informal sector. It has been estimated that 60 to 70 per cent of the labour force in the informal sector is female. They have suffered losses of assets which provided a livelihood, some very small in the scheme of GDP. Some assets might never have been captured in the GDP, but for the women concerned these assets are not easily replaceable. In order to allow the women an opportunity to re-establish their livelihood to secure their children's well-being, the following are recommended:

- (a) Small and micro-lending facilities need to be strengthened for women and men who need it;
- (b) Small one-off grants need to be made available for kick starting small and micro-enterprises;

- (c) Mechanisms which offer technical support to new entrepreneurs should be strengthened.

4. Management of gender equity issues need to be addressed in an integrated framework. It is, therefore, recommended that:

- (a) The development of a Gender Policy to accompany reconstruction efforts would be useful and should be accompanied with training in gender analysis for staff at the Ministry of Social Development. This would benefit the large number of programmes being designed and implemented during the reconstruction phase which need to incorporate strategic gender needs;
- (b) As a related policy measure, the function of a gender specialist attached to the ARD should be strengthened as the areas of work outlined by the social recovery department of the Agency need a strong gender component;
- (c) Institutional strengthening of the network of non-governmental organizations and their umbrella body, IADGO, involved in the implementation of many of the training and other programmes in the recovery and reconstruction phase is another priority. NGOs are being called upon to bear the burden of delivering many services to the communities (of men and women) by regional and international agencies. Programmes which strengthen NGOs – through training and the provision of financial resources to increase their pool of human resources and increase their effectiveness and accountability are necessary;
- (d) Building capacity in the disaster management function for gender analysis is necessary.

5. The situation of women in agriculture needs to be addressed as a matter of urgency. The level of displacement was found to be high and is expected to increase as the full impact of the damage to the nutmeg industry is felt. It is recommended that:

- (a) The design of a programme which will provide extension services targeted directly to women farmers is critical - services of a financial, technical (training for new areas of agriculture) and material nature;
- (b) Programmes designed for rural development must have a clear gender strategy and should address the special needs of women who work in agriculture in a holistic manner;
- (c) The goal of achieving food security should be an essential element of all programmes at the community level;
- (d) Women in the nutmeg industry, who have been displaced, and will continue to be so, require support to improve literacy and programmes for retooling to allow them to be able to participate in other economic sectors of the society.

6. Safety for women and children during and immediately after the relief phase of a disaster is critical. Although an increase in partner abuse could not be established, there was evidence of women deprioritizing the level of abuse in their lives – to their needs for shelter, food and income. It is recommended that:

- Full regard to women's safety vulnerabilities should be integrated into the planning of disaster management.

7. The value of strong, social capital was evident everywhere, either through its presence or absence. In order to build resilience at the community level it is recommended that:

- (a) An urgent programme of community redevelopment should accompany infrastructural efforts at rebuilding in affected communities. Such a programme must include the re-establishment of community governance mechanisms in which both women and men are enabled and encouraged to participate;
- (b) Support for already existing community initiatives should be deepened.

8. The qualitative differences between the rural and urban poor were evident and it would appear that the urban poor were in many ways at a disadvantage to their rural counterpart. Further investigation should be pursued in this regard so that programmes could be better designed to suit the needs of each group of poor women and men.

9. The situation of single elderly male heads of households who lived alone requires further investigation as instances of their disadvantaged positions were evident.

10. All data collected regarding natural disasters must be disaggregated by sex and age and analyzed by gender during all phases of the disaster management cycle.

SECTION 1 TERMS OF REFERENCE AND METHODOLOGY

Hurricane Ivan, a Category 3 system with sustained winds of 115 mph impacted Grenada on Tuesday 7 September 2004 leaving a trail of damage. In the wake of the Hurricane, the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) joined an assessment team led by the Caribbean Disaster Emergency Response Agency (CDERA) to conduct an initial damage assessment of Grenada. That team found extensive damage and recommended immediate measures in mitigation. A gender impact assessment was not completed though it was recommended that this be undertaken in subsequent months.

The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean in collaboration with the Organisation of Eastern Caribbean States (OECS) Secretariat and the World Bank conducted the macro-socio-economic disaster assessment. The assessment reflected on the fact that female-headed households accounted for 48 per cent of all households and that such households were among the poorest in Grenada. The study highlighted the difficult situation of poor female-headed households in the aftermath of Hurricane Ivan as was evident in the larger numbers of females in shelters than males and the larger number of children than adults. According to the study:

“In one shelter in Bollieau, two women had between them some 22 children, which support the findings of the poverty assessment regarding the extremely large size of poor families.

There were also anecdotal reports of young women, seeking to procure transactional sex in order to secure needed supplies. Reports were also received of instances of gender-based violence occurring in informal shelters.

Women are very often left with the responsibility for elderly relatives. Grenada has one of the highest total dependency ratios in the OECS region 94.8 per cent and a relatively high elderly dependency ratio of 31.8 per cent⁴. Persons over 65 years of age account for 16.3 per cent of the population. It was not surprising therefore, that many of the deaths due to hurricane Ivan occurred among the aged, as there has been noticed a phenomenon in the OECS countries of the single headed male household living in somewhat lonely and precarious circumstances in old age.⁵

The employment situation is precarious in the best of times. The rate for male unemployment is 15 per cent and 13 per cent for females. Labour force participation rate of women is significantly lower in Grenada than other OECS countries. Approximately 68 per cent of males and 38 per cent of females participate in the labour force. This may not represent those working in the informal sector however, as many persons who eke out a living, to maintain themselves, through activities in that sector often do not consider themselves to be part of the labour force. The reported damage to day care centres, caused by hurricane Ivan which left some 480 children, in the parish of St. George's alone, without the care to which their parent or guardian have been accustomed, could make the participation in the labour force

⁴ Poverty Assessment Report, Grenada, 1999

⁵ Social Audit of the Sugar Industry of St. Kitts and Nevis (2002)

of women all the more precarious. This has become particularly clear, as the data on the parent of children of the day care centres, point to a significant proportion, 70 per cent, of the parents being single female heads of households. With the expected negative fallout on the productive sectors of the economy, due to hurricane Ivan, larger numbers of women and men can be expected to seek their livelihoods in the informal sector. Provision of support services to female heads of households, in the form of day care for their children, will become necessary, not only to allow the mother time to secure a livelihood, but to ensure the safety and reduced vulnerability of the children who would have to be left without supervision and care in her absence.”

Following the recommendations of the initial assessment, UNIFEM, in collaboration with ECLAC, sought to undertake a gender impact assessment of the effects of Hurricane Ivan in Grenada. The objectives of the assessment were to identify and set national priorities, taking into account the differential gender impacts in the recovery and rehabilitation phase. The assessment should also be utilized as a basis for introducing disaster preparedness, planning and mitigation into the development planning apparatus of the country and of the Caribbean region.

The aim of the Assessment was to make clear the differential impacts which Hurricane Ivan had on the different groups in the society, particularly between women and men and girls and boys. In order to do so, the collection of primary data was necessary. Of particular importance was the necessity for the researchers to capture the impact of the disaster on the women who were working in the informal sector of the economy.

In that regard, the team explored the differential impact of Hurricane Ivan on women in Grenada in its aftermath with specific reference to:

(a) Socio-economic condition

- (i) Characteristics of labour force participation and employment/unemployment by sex in the aftermath of Hurricane Ivan ensuring that, in particular, those women who worked in the informal sector fully participated in the assessment;
- (ii) Loss of assets;
- (iii) Loss of livelihoods;
- (iv) Challenges of retooling; and
- (v) Burden of care.

(b) Psycho-social circumstance

- (i) Sense of loss;
- (ii) Sense of purpose;
- (iii) Capacities;
- (iv) Coping mechanisms;
- (v) Physical and mental health;
- (vi) Support networks; and
- (vii) Vision of the future.

(c) Physical well-being

- (i) Challenges of relocation;
- (ii) Challenges of meeting basic needs; and
- (iii) Challenges of maintaining personal safety and that of those in their care.

(d) Programme intervention assessment

- (i) Nature of the State response; and
- (ii) Responsiveness of programmes to the differential gender needs.

As part of the Assessment, recommendations on the following areas are made for:

- (a) The involvement of women in the reconstruction processes;
- (b) Support for women's involvement in meeting the country's long-term goals of development;
- (c) Social protection in order to meet basic needs;
- (d) Possibilities for alternative livelihoods;
- (e) Reproductive health;
- (f) Continuing education; and
- (h) Gender sensitive disaster preparedness policies and programmes.

Methodology

A qualitative research design has been used involving a combination of in-depth interviews and focus group methodology, to paint a description of the conditions of women following Hurricane Ivan. Policy recommendations which arise from that understanding are provided.

Purposive sampling is used to ensure that participants are representative of the special characteristics to be investigated i.e. the agricultural and tourist sector; age (young and old) and income categories.

SECTION 2

NATURAL DISASTERS AND GENDER – THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Overcoming of the need to incorporate a gender analysis in the disaster and risk reduction management cycle has been described by Delaney and Shrader (2000) as possibly one of the major challenges to be overcome if disaster management is ever expected to be situated within the development context where it belongs. Work on the gender dimensions of disasters has been the outcome of the growing acceptance by researchers of the social causes of natural disasters, which suggests that vulnerability to disasters is not just a product of forces of nature that require better technological and engineering solutions (Kumar-Rangel, 1999).

Delaney and Shrader (2000) suggest that it could be the ‘tyranny of the urgent’ which may be responsible for the overriding of developmental concerns and sustainable approaches, which includes gender analysis and sensitivity in the disaster management cycle. But whatever is the cause, the literature suggests that if the capacity for gender analysis is not soon included in the process, then societies could miss the unique opportunity for social transformation following a disaster and significantly reduce its ability to mitigate future vulnerability to other disasters.

What exactly does a gender perspective entail and why would it be important?

Bradshaw (2004) argues that a gender perspective looks at the roles and responsibilities of men and women and the relations between them. Such a perspective points towards what are termed strategic and practical gender needs⁶. Kumar-Rangel (1999) suggests that how men and women are impacted by and respond to disasters is shown to be based directly on existing gender roles and relative socio-economic status in pre-disaster situations. Delaney and Shrader (2000) contend that a gender focus helps to ensure that second generation disasters are prevented or mitigated, which involves minimizing the possibility of negative consequences such as rape and domestic violence as a result of reconstruction responses and projects.

A gender perspective, Bradshaw (2004) suggests, makes it possible to achieve the following:

- (a) To learn about the differentiated impact of emergencies on men and women in relation to their needs and their multiple roles;
- (b) To understand changes in access to and control of resources in post disaster situations; and
- (c) To identify and develop the strategic capabilities of men and women.

Delaney and Shrader (2000), argue that the cost of ignoring a gender analysis in the disaster management process is potentially tremendous. They suggest that it can result in overlooked damages and losses and misdiagnosed needs and misapplied priorities. It could also exacerbate poverty and inequity and would likely intensify vulnerabilities.

⁶ Practical gender needs often relate to women’s traditional responsibility in the society, such as clean water and adequate shelter for herself and her children; whereas strategic gender needs arise from women’s subordination in the society or to her not being able to exercise her power. These two groups of women’s needs do not stand in opposition to one another as the empowerment approach to women’s development demonstrates. For an elaboration of this discussion the reader may wish to refer to Gender and Development a practical guide ed. Lise Ostergaard (1992).

Bradshaw (2004) argues that although power relations are constructed in many spaces within a society, it is in the household that one should seek to apply a gender analysis in a disaster situation, as the household becomes a major focus for the distribution of aid and the reconstruction of projects. It also derives its importance because of the range of activities which take place within the household: production, reproduction and consumption. She concludes, therefore, that it is important to examine how households are structured and how they operate. In that regard, the head of the household and its size and dependants are an important focus in applying a gender analysis.

Table 1 presents a number of key issues for examination in undertaking a gender analysis of a natural disaster. The issues are presented by the phase of the disaster. Essential to undertaking a gender analysis is the availability of data that is disaggregated by sex and age so that the differentials between women and men can be made clear.

Table 1
Key issues in gender and disasters

Phase	Issues
Pre-Disaster	Vulnerability Risk Perception
Emergency	Coping strategies
Transition (Rehabilitation and recovery)	Needs Social Composition Creation of new Vulnerabilities
Reconstruction	Priorities New Gender Roles New Gender Relationships

Source: Delaney & Shrader (2000)

Table 2 presents an application of the framework of Delaney and Shrader, a gender assessment of the key issues, based on observations and data collected during the social assessments conducted by the ECLAC Subregional Headquarters for the Caribbean which were undertaken as part of the macro socio-economic impact of natural disasters in the Caribbean in the latter part of 2004 and early 2005.

Table 2
Examples of gender differences in response to natural disaster: Based on a review of the social impact of disasters in the Caribbean following the 2004 hurricane season

Issues	Female	Male
Pre Disaster Differing Vulnerabilities - biological - social - cultural - attitudinal (risk perception)	Reproductive health needs Restricted skill base Exclusion from home construction Low level of risk tolerance	No special restrictions Mobile skills Exclusion from child care responsibilities High level of risk tolerance
Emergency Differing coping mechanisms	Suffer higher incidence of depression (crying and suicide ideation); Organizing community sing-a-longs and story telling;	Alcoholism, gambling and dysfunctional behaviour; Rescuing villagers and clearing roads;
Transition (rehabilitation and recovery)	Weak access to wage earning possibilities; Women prepared one-pot meals for the community; Devoted more time to community and reproductive work.	Easier access to wages/income; Men engaged in ‘marooning’ teams for house rebuilding; Spend more time in productive work; abandonment of families and domestic and/or other responsibilities.
Reconstruction Differing priorities Differing access to resources; Differing access to power in the public sphere	Priorities for shelter, economic activity, food security, and health care; Women slower to return to labour market; Reconstruction programmes that embark on development without the inclusion of gender analysis tools; Women’s lack of involvement in governance mechanisms.	Priorities for agriculture, infrastructural development and economic activity; Men easy access to the labour market; Reconstruction programmes in construction and agricultural development that favour male participation; Gender neutral governance mechanisms that don’t recognize changing gender roles and relationships, and favour male participation.

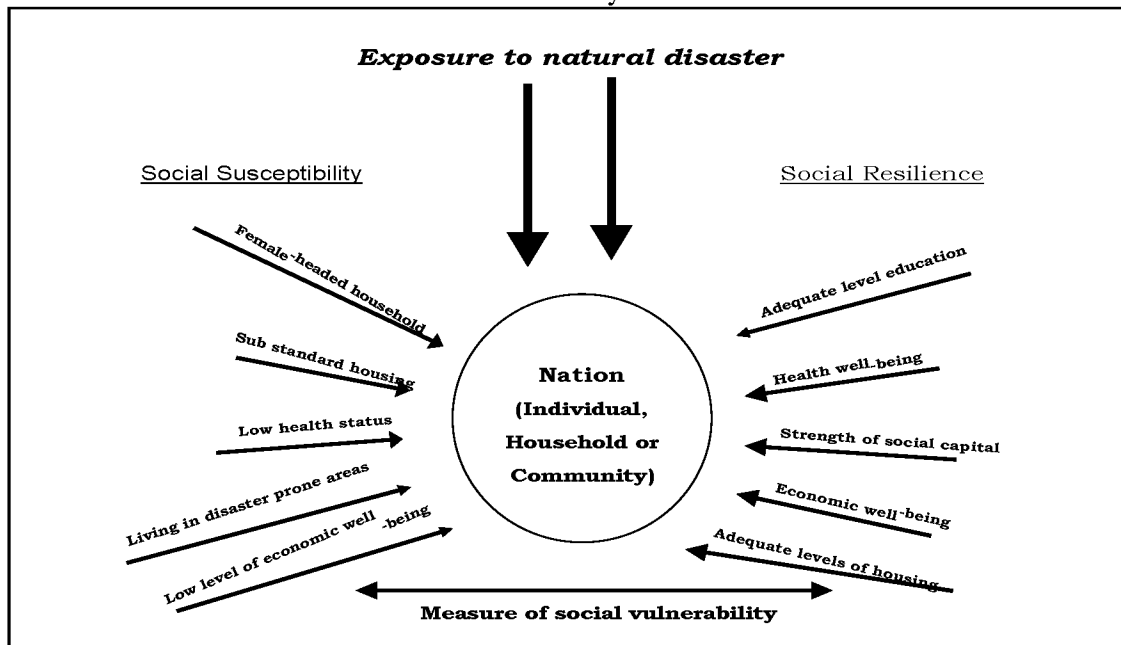
Source: Kambon, 2005.

The literature review also suggests that understanding the concept of vulnerability and applying the gender analysis within a vulnerability framework can strengthen the approaches to mitigating disasters and speed up the transition and reconstruction processes. The recently concluded world Conference on Disaster Reduction held in Hyogo, Japan, 18-22 January 2005, defined vulnerability as, “the conditions determined by physical, social, economic and environmental factors or processes, which increase the susceptibility of a community to the impact of hazards”. The notion of vulnerability is associated with the idea of exposure to damage, lack of protection and

precariousness (Briguglio, 1998). Inherent in the notion of vulnerability is a concept of resilience or capacity to withstand, adopt or adapt and susceptibility or incapacity to withstand, adopt or adapt.

Vulnerability is considered a key concept in predicting and understanding the existence of differentiated impacts on the various groups in the society (Bradshaw 2004). It is important to appreciate the difference between vulnerability and poverty, remembering that the notion of poverty is a static measure that is underpinned by the lack of resources, whereas vulnerability speaks to the dynamic interplay between susceptibility and resilience (Kambon, 2005).

Figure 1
Social vulnerability framework



Source: Kambon 2005

In examining the social dimension of vulnerability, the framework presented in Figure 1 was applied. The framework is explored throughout the study, taking into consideration factors such as: the household structure, the strength of social capital, the economic well-being of the population and the quality of housing and location of settlements.

Box 1
Social context of gender analysis in Grenada

- 28.8 per cent of households were defined as poor and 10.3 per cent of households classified as indigent;
- Some 48 per cent of women-headed households are among poor women, 52 per cent of women head households;
- A relatively high elderly dependency ratio of 31.8 per cent; Elderly 61+, 26.5 per cent of population;
- The poorest fifth of the population had reported first childbirth between the ages of 10-19. Teenage fertility rate 16.3 per cent;
- In the informal sector, some 60 per cent to 70 per cent of the workers are considered to be female;
- 32 per cent of the population unemployed

Source: Kambon 2005

SECTION 3 THE GENDER IMPACT ASSESSMENT

A. Socio-economic conditions of women and their children

One of the best ways to examine the socio-economic conditions of women in the post-Ivan situation is to examine what has occurred to women's income-earning capacity. This capacity is a combination of a number of factors which include women's material assets, their entitlements, livelihoods and capacity to adapt or adopt to the new challenges which the disaster presents. These factors are constrained by the magnitude of the individual woman's burden of care. The function of the burden of care speaks to the woman's formal and informal dependants, comprising: children, elderly and community caring functions - which form part of her normal/gendered role and responsibility.

Prior to Ivan, the unemployment rate stood at 33 per cent. Women in Grenada defined themselves as outside of the labour force in large numbers. Proportionally, 68 per cent of males are reported to participate in the labour force while 38 per cent of females reportedly participated. Despite this low labour force participation rate, women have a high unemployment rate of 13 per cent compared to the male rate which is also high at 15 per cent. However, some 60 per cent to 70 per cent of the workers in the informal sector are female. The gender impact assessment found that women were involved in a myriad of activities to allow them to meet their basic needs of food and shelter and those of their dependants. Many of these activities would not have been defined as employment or labour.

Grenada has one of the highest total dependency ratios in the OECS region, 94.8 per cent, and a relatively high elderly dependency ratio of 31.8 per cent. Evidence suggests that women bear the brunt of the burden of care, either for the young or the old, as traditional patterns of female roles for caring of children and housework remains unchanged. Persons over 65 years of age account for 16.3 per cent of the population. Grenadian women also begin childbirth young and have many children and this pattern is most pronounced among the poorest. The Poverty Assessment conducted in 1999 reported that the poorest fifth of the population had reported first childbirth between the ages of 10-19. Some 48 per cent of women head households and among poor women the proportion is even higher, where 52 per cent of women head households. It is not surprising therefore that many women reported that following Hurricane Ivan they felt increasingly overwhelmed as they tried to meet the basic needs of those in their care.

Both men and women lost their means of securing livelihoods following the natural disaster. Men who had worked in the agricultural sector found that their means of livelihood had been destroyed. The OECS (2004) estimated that some 30,720 persons were directly or indirectly dependent on the nutmeg industry at the time of Hurricane Ivan. Those who worked in the tourist sector, which accounts for some 26 per cent of total employment, found that Ivan had destroyed significant proportions of the tourist plant. In its initial assessment, ECLAC, on behalf of the OECS, reported that all hotel accommodations suffered damage, but a modest estimate was that some 55 per cent of the stock of saleable room capacity was functionally closed down following Ivan and a decline of tourist arrivals was expected. For women the situation was no different; those who worked as domestics no longer had jobs to turn to, as some 90 per cent of houses had been destroyed; those who worked in the agricultural sector had lost their means of making a living; and those who worked in the formal or informal tourist sector were out of jobs.

It is the gendered segmentation of the labour market and the gendered differentiation of skills existing in the labour force before the devastation of Ivan which became evident after the disaster, and resulted in women being marginalized in the new labour market. This is not a new phenomenon in the Caribbean, as most societies in the region function with gendered segmented labour markets and with sexually differentiated skills.

This one factor, however, proved to put Grenada's reconstruction efforts following Ivan at a severe disadvantage. Following a natural disaster, the one sector which usually experiences a boom is the construction sector. In Grenada, the construction sector is the sector in which the easy mobility of men from agriculture or tourism was demonstrated to be possible. The same was not possible for women. There are efforts afoot to retool women to become participants in the sector. This will take both time and changes in cultural attitudes so that women could be accepted in the construction sector.

The lack of participation of women in the construction sector might even be slowing the rebuilding efforts and increasing the burden of the State, as the pool of labour needed to kick start and sustain the economy is being drawn from one pool of workers, male participants in the labour force. This may result in the need for social protection among those who are unable to sustain themselves, and that group may have a feminine face.

The following discussion, which is based on the focus groups and interviews conducted as part of this study, provides a qualitative description of women's circumstances. Such a discussion, it is hoped, will provide insight to policy makers who have to meet the challenges during the reconstruction phase following Hurricane Ivan. The discussion will explore women's conditions in the rural and urban setting.

Most importantly it should be noted that women, through their backyard gardens and their involvement in the production of agricultural produce that reached the table, have played a significant role in the food security of the country.

Women in the urban and semi urban environments

Domestic workers, either as maids or cleaners, in the informal sector reported that they now found themselves without jobs following Ivan. This was reported in focus group discussions with women in the Grande Anse Valley and Darbeau Hill. This was not unexpected as some 89 per cent of the housing stock was damaged and many families were without incomes. So even though the services of domestics might still have been needed to assist with general the clean up and washing of clothes, families were in such distress that they could not employ domestic help, thus leaving many young women living in the urban communities without jobs.

Another form of employment for women in the urban environment involved work in the tourist sector, or what has been described as a subsector within the tourist sector. Jobs in that sector, which included maids and laundrywomen, cleaners in the hotels, assistants in the restaurants and kitchens, no longer existed. In light of the damage to the tourist sector, both plant and equipment, many young girls lost their jobs.

Women who were self employed as vendors of craft and light clothing and tourist products found themselves doubly burdened. Women in Grande Anse Valley, who rented booths on the

beach, reported that in the first instance they lost the products which they possessed when Ivan hit, either through direct destruction of the hurricane (many women told us of their products being damaged, water soaked) or through theft. Some of these women who were registered with the Tourist Board received a one-off grant of \$500 to get back in business. These women who did reinvest (utilizing funds from sou sou and loans from partners and family to supplement the government grant) are now suffering from slow sales as the tourist industry has not yet picked up. They reported that they had sought renegotiated loan repayments with their banks, but were unsuccessful.

Women who sell produce in the market from urban centres such as Grande Anse Valley or Darbeau Hill reported that they now had to travel to St. Vincent, Saint Lucia or Dominica to locate the provisions which their clients wished to purchase. They are forced to sell at high prices and face the difficulties of limited facilities encountered in those ports which have caused them to lose parts of their produce. They report slow sales as people have little cash to spend.

Small shop owners scattered across the country, whether in Marquis, Après Tout or Grande Anse Valley, reported that they found themselves doubly disadvantaged as they had lost products due to Ivan which they had purchased on credit. In order to keep their shops open, they now had to seek new and additional credit in order to stock their shops and earn a living. Many of these shops were bare, demonstrating the incapacity of these women to restock appropriately.

Most women had backyard gardens and they had been doubly hit. They no longer had the produce which provided the food security for their families nor were they able to access the extra income which was gained by selling the excess produce in the market. Many of these women reported that they supplemented their income as domestic workers or produced small craft items for sale (knitting or making doilies). These possibilities for earning an income no longer existed.

Women in rural and semi rural environments

Women in the rural and semi rural environments and those who work in the agricultural sector feel that they are a forgotten lot.

Those working the nutmeg industry, who reported either gathering nutmegs in the community for sale to the board, such as in Clozier, or working in the nutmeg pools as in Gouyave, feel particularly threatened due to the impact of Hurricane Ivan on the industry. Those who work in the pools are particularly disadvantaged as many have been engaged in this exercise for many years and have little other skills or educational capacity to allow them mobility into another area of work. It is estimated that their working life in the nutmeg pools may be another three months and therefore plans have to be put in place to allow them a livelihood. Those who collected nutmegs in the community also were involved in farming, citrus, bananas, flowers and other fruits. They reported that they now “had nothing to live by”. Many women farmers reported that they did not have the wherewithal to clear land or pay for the extra labour needed to ready their land for planting.

Those women in the agricultural sector who harvested cinnamon bark and other spices are suffering reduced income due to the destruction of the trees. These women, found in villages such as Après Tout and Clozier, were struggling to continue their trade. Others who were involved in the commercial production of flowers (50 per cent of commercial growers were women) and involved in

earning income from other agricultural activities, such as banana farming, rearing chickens, minding goats or working in the fisheries sector, have also suffered.

Women working the basketry and light craft trade reported that they were suffering immense hardship. Those living in Marquis, who had engaged in this trade for generations, reported that the cost of getting their inputs (the palms/straw for plaiting) had increased since Ivan as there were less palm trees and the collection points were further away. The cost of transportation to bring the palms to their villages has increased, while the cost of the final product has decreased at the same time as there are fewer buyers. One woman told us that she was selling her baskets at \$12.50 a dozen (which was an average day's earnings) just allowing her to buy the sugar that the household needed to make tea and juice.

Women who sold sea moss to the marketing board reported experiencing a particularly difficult situation. Their life, which was hard before Ivan, revolved around their subsistence farming and their sea moss product which they utilized for access to needed cash. Following Ivan, many women reported that they had only the sea moss production to fall back on to meet their needs. In the Village of Soubise, a community of women reported that they now survived almost solely on the production of sea moss which involved diving, washing and preparing the sea moss for sale to the marketing board. They sought part time jobs but not always successfully. The income which they could expect from the sea moss per package earned them some \$5.50 per pack. This enabled them to barely meet their basic food needs. They lived as squatters on the beach and were without basic amenities, and used the public baths and toilet facilities which were damaged by Ivan. Before Ivan they had their subsistence gardens to at least meet the basic food needs. With the destruction caused by Ivan, their circumstances were quite critical.

Challenges of retooling

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) have taken up the challenge of mobilizing programmes to support the retooling of women to enable them to access the labour market. Programmes have been geared to facilitate women's entry into the construction sector. This is being supported by the TA Marrayshow Community College (TAMCC). It is a reactive position, but a necessary one.

The programmes targeted to women are most successful where they take a holistic approach. Such an approach would provide support to women in their caring roles, i.e. day care for children and the elderly in their care. In addition, many women would come to the new learning experience requiring remedial numeracy and literacy skills and adult teaching methodologies as they may have not experienced a 'schooling' environment for a significant period of time.

Most women reported an eagerness to participate in any training which would result in an income earning opportunity. This was so in the urban environments of Grande Anse and Darbeau Hill and the rural environments of Rose Hill, Après Tout or Clozier.

Recommendation

- Female small and micro entrepreneurs require a one-off grant and/or a micro lending facility to enable them to get back on their feet. This should be accompanied by support facilities of management techniques and literacy and numeracy training.

A policy which addresses the introduction of non-traditional skills training for young women in the school system so as to buffer against their lack of mobility from sector to sector in the advent of another natural disaster is necessary. At the same time, adult women need training to enable them to have some mobility immediately from one sector to another. Holistic approaches should be considered.

The need to ensure that special regard is given to women in the agricultural sector is essential. In addition because women have both practical and strategic needs, both would have to be addressed in any programme, so that as part of normal rehabilitation and reconstruction efforts, a holistic response to women's needs would be useful. The provision of seedlings, coupled with the agricultural extension services, training and other support is also necessary.

Quick support to facilitate the redevelopment of backyard gardens is essential to treat with the lack of food security which is being experienced by many families. Training and the provision of services which target women's reproductive practices and health need to be incorporated in programmes of rehabilitation and reconstruction.

B. Psycho-social impact and interventions

Sense of loss

Loss of employment, housing, crops and assets were widely reported by both sexes with national agencies acknowledging that women were most affected. Women tended to work in the low paid service/informal and agricultural sectors that have been hardest hit. Whereas men are now engaging in construction work that has become plentiful as a result of the extensive damage done to properties by Ivan, women have not been able to replace lost livelihoods by engaging in this sector, although a few have been working in the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and Red Cross construction training projects that provide a small stipend of EC\$40 or \$60. The loss of security summarizes the feelings that people have of their economic, material and environmental losses. In addition, there are feelings of loss of personal control as men and women are more reliant on government and other agencies for their basic survival. Further, there are those who perceive that losses have been so profound and opportunities for recovery so scarce, that there is an emerging identity of mendicancy.

FOCUS GROUP

“Clozier is a farming community. We produce flowers, fruit, bananas, and nutmegs. We have nothing to get money from now. A sheltering with my family of five with a neighbour. Every body come, watch. Write and mark down but we don’t see anything” (Woman 50).

“My house fell down, My roof went, I lost household items” (F Grand Anse).

“My house and shop roof gone! Mostly everybody roof gone! We had to put back the roof because we have to live” (M Grande Anse).

“Ivan steal away our jobs” (F Grand Anse).

“We don’t have fig, we don’t have breadfruit, provisions scarce. Ivan mash up everything” (F, après Tout).

“Desperation has been observed in poor women who come, seeking food and baby supplies. Men have also come in desperation to NERO seeking support declaring loss of employment and requesting building materials. There is an emerging sense of mendicancy” (NERO).

“Single women have been placed in a more dependent position due to lack of skills and, finances although they act independently in procuring building materials” (Social Development).

Some mentioned the loss of personal space that arose with shelter living or sheltering others. There were also women who, while in shelters with their children, lost their homes because their partners took on much younger women without children . It appears that such men have opted for partnerships that had lower demands on their capacity to provide economic sustenance. Some were also thought to be utilising the disaster situation and job losses to opt out of child support.

FOCUS GROUP

“I sheltered nine people. Managing supplies was difficult. Having to feed nine. We were nutritionally challenged. I sent my son overseas. Some are elderly, some are sick, and some are teenagers. This was stressful and challenging emotionally. We survived” (F, IICA Women in Agricultural Group).

Interview

“There has been a high default rate in child support perhaps due to loss of jobs or Ivan may have provided an excuse for non-payment” (Legal Aid and Counselling).

“One stressor is that of displacement, women and children are evicted from relationships in favour of younger less economically dependent. Women who are evicted don’t usually have any property rights”.

We (Legal Aid and counselling Clinic).

For children, losses of school books and other equipment created additional distress for families who could not replace them, particularly single women without jobs. It was reported that

some fathers found it impossible to contribute to the procuring of school books, equipment and fees because they had lost their jobs.

Money for school uniform and supplies were short in coming perhaps because men have lost employment.

The loss of confidence in the self image of the Grenadian as a decent, respectful human being and confidence in the ability of the police to provide protection was expressed by women whose booths have been looted. Anger and disappointment was expressed by both sexes towards looters who, they believe, have spoilt the good name of Grenada internationally.

FOCUS GROUP

“I see a side of Grenadians that I thought that I would never see. They clean the shop and mess in it. I am angry with the police for not protecting our booths” (Trader, F).

Sense of purpose

The National Emergency Relief Organization (NERO) reported that a “sense of devastation that Grenada will never rise again” was widespread in the wake of Ivan, but the Mount Gay Hospital was of the view that Grenadians were bouncing back well given the profound devastation. Participants in interviews and focus groups have indicated that the immense losses that they encountered have daunted their (both men and women) belief in their ability to rebuild and put things right. However, disappointment has been expressed by some who believe that well needed help is slow in coming or that they are being ignored because of politics.

FOCUS GROUP

“Faith kept us going. The first day after the storm I only had three packs of spice on a table to sell. The others encouraged me to stay and now I have stocked up again” (Trader, F).

“Food went to special people” (F, IICA group).

“Ivan may have blown off our roofs but we cannot allow it to blow our minds” (Female)

Interview

“We settled into being one big community. The young people brought the children together for lessons and the men helped to put back roofs” (F, Frequent Community Group).

Coping mechanisms

Two approaches to coping have been observed. Firstly, evidence of solution focused coping has been recognised through reports of altruism, community bonding, the use of well established community self-help approaches and faith-based ideas of coping. Secondly, there has been evidence of emotion-focused or palliative coping as seen in reports of increased alcohol consumption, drugs, looting, and domestic violence.

FOCUS GROUP

"I have been drinking but it is settling down. I could control it" (M).

Men have been drinking.

"People have been hyper after the hurricane" (F).

"People were stressed out but as people are getting things done it is not as bad" (F).

"We cope. The Lord helps. We pray". (F).

Interview

"People coped by visiting shelter to shelter. There was also washing at river with story telling, cooking, and jokes was a stress-reliever that broke down social barriers" (Chief Shelter Manager).

Physical and mental health

Mount Joy Hospital and the Department of Health have not reported any increases in mental health problems although there is indication of readmissions as a result of patients losing their source of livelihood and the security of home. Persons interviewed liberally used the language of frustration, stress, anger, and depression. This language was also used by the Director of Shelter, Social Development and all other agencies.

With regards to physical health, concern was reported by the Chief Medical Officer that rising post-Ivan unemployment and low National Insurance System (NIS) coverage were preventing people from meeting health costs. It was his view that prior to Ivan a higher percentage of persons would have been able to find sufficient finances for treatment. Apparently, although the Ministry tries to ensure equity in the system, poor people might be sidelined.

*"No surveillance but more people observed with uncontrolled diabetes, hypertension, and there is more aggression"
(Family Nurse Practitioner).*

Support networks

The majority of people interviewed were part of supportive networks. Communities are regarded as family and there is evidence of a culture of maroon relationships. There were many examples given of the communities coming together to rebuild homes, provide shelter and moral support. There is also evidence of reliance on family overseas who sometimes opted to look after children, provide monetary and material help and, in some instances, have come to Grenada to give hands-on support.

The church was mentioned as a key source of social support and it seems that some churches had an overseas team present in Grenada helping to rebuild homes and provide counselling.

Focus group

"We give each other encouragement" (F, IICA).

Interviews

"If it wasn't for the counsel of good friends I would not have managed" (Female Vendor).

Psycho-social interventions

Only three of the persons who were interviewed or who were participants in the focus groups reported that they have had counselling or participated in any other psycho-social intervention. Many said that they had heard that there were programmes on offer but these seemed to be mainly in St. George's. There are those who believe that they do not need counseling, or that it is now too late, because they have already arrived at solutions to their problems. There was a common view that counselling is not important once help is received with building materials, food, reconstruction and employment. But in one community it was felt that the young men were in need of counselling because there had been an increase in drug use. There was reporting of self-help counselling and church interventions.

FOCUS GROUP

"Is work we want and our roofs back and not counselling" (F, Clozier)

"Months ago counselling may have been needed. People with extreme loss needed it. It was perhaps needed earlier but not now (F, IICA group).

"The young men need counselling because they are taking drugs and more of them are doing it since the hurricane" (F, Clozier).

"We counsel ourselves" (F, Vendor)

Interview

"Our church brought counsellors from outside. Sharing of experiences help. We shared common experiences" (F, Frequente).

"A serious effort has been given to psycho-social intervention. Churches recognised the need immediately. However, there are gaps and loopholes. It could be better organised. A number of women availed themselves of counselling" (IAAG-GRENCODA)-

At least one person expressed clear dislike of stress management sessions. In the community of Rose Hill there was no interest in counselling among those interviewed, but in Frequente counselling or education on how to manage life in the current situation was needed.

Stress management force you to recall what you have at the back of your mind. I had some and did not like it F. IICA).

"Counselling is needed. We need education about stress and how to get on with life" (M, Frequente).

There is a marked difference in the perceived need for counselling expressed by development and government agencies and that which is expressed by communities. Agencies are of the view that counselling is necessary. For instance, both school children and their teachers have had counselling and debriefing at their disposal very soon after the storm. The United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF) has put on stream The Return to Happiness Programme that utilizes mainly play therapy in helping students to externalize their experiences of the disaster. The Trinidad Psychologists Association has been working in schools on another process called Eye Movement Desensitization Reprocessing (EMDR) and the Petroleum Company of Trinidad and Tobago Limited (PETROTRIN) has offered debriefing and training. Upwards to 500 teachers and pupils have received training/help in these approaches and a number of psycho-educational processes.

The National Coordinator of NERO has reported that a policy and strategy for Stress Management in Disaster (SMID) existed prior to Ivan. The approach was directed particularly at professional first line responders who had been trained in Critical Incidents Stress Debriefing. The training was done in conjunction with the Ministry of Social Development and a team of 12 debriefers emerged. There was, however, no plan for counselling or psycho-social work with the public.

There is now recognition of the need for a national psycho-social response for although people resisted the idea of counselling and debriefing before Ivan they are now more accepting of these approaches. However, the view is also held that attempts should be made to assess and incorporate indigenous coping strategies, such as story telling, popular theatre, ole talk and jokes, into the design of psycho-social interventions.

A number of agencies, including the Grenada Red Cross, St George's University and the Legal Aid and Counselling Clinic, have joined forces with the Ministry of Social Development in providing a National Wellness Programme based largely on debriefing. The programme has the following components:

- a) Primary-debriefing;
- b) People more deeply affected –counselling made available; and
- c) Legal AID and Counselling in conjunction with St. Georges University.

The Ministry of Social Development, the key player in this process, reports being understaffed. Additionally, the programme did not succeed in reaching the greater portion of the population. The ARD has reviewed the National Wellness Programme with the help of all agencies involved and consultants from around the region. A number of changes are under consideration that includes:

- a) A move to a psycho-educational model from debriefing because the Ministry of Health is concerned about the limited capacity to respond;

- b) The community may have dealt with some issues itself; and
- c) A broadening of the response at the community level.

The ARD is also considering an integrative programme. Integration is absolutely necessary because as officials at Mount Gay hospital have pointed out there are “lots of repetition and duplication of psycho-social intervention activity and there is no cohesive programme” (Mount Gay Hospital).

Below are examples of some of the initiatives:

Grenada Red Cross

The Grenada Red Cross is part of the National Wellness Programme Steering Committee, and has decided to move ahead with its own version of the Wellness Programme which will be spread across Grenada and will combine with other basic needs rehabilitation. The programme is to begin with a three-day advance training for 20 to 35 participants in counselling and mental health.

Existing national wellness programmes

- a) Wellness programme predates Ivan. In 2001 the SMID training through CDERA started essentially as a debriefing project;
- b) Stress management – psycho-education, information about housing and other needs;
- c) Limited human resources;
- d) No systematic care of debriefers;
- e) No evaluation of impact and appropriateness;
- f) No structured response team in place; and
- g) No targeting of the elderly and disabled but will do so in the future.

Ministry of Health

Mount Gay Hospital is due to conduct a one-week training course in the recognition of Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) for all community health staff through the Pan American Health Organization (PAHO) and some Canadian trainers. This is a trainer of trainers programme. Five trainers among senior staff have already been trained. The intention is to set up a trained response team who will engage in counselling. Additional to the one week training, the Chief Medical Officer highlighted the need for funding a Hot Line. He also reported the existence of a radio programme called Health Talk which includes disaster mental health. A psychiatrist will be on air and listeners will be provided with the opportunity to discuss their feelings. He further suggested the need to train as many people as possible to recognise psychosomatic symptoms and if funding is found then secondary level care will be considered and provided. Finally, it is his view that the Department of Health should be the focus of Disaster Mental Health Care.

Recommendations

- Story-telling and other popular theatre skills very evident in communities should be incorporated in the psycho-social strategies being designed.
- An Ivan Oral History project could be integrated into the strategy for redevelopment of communities such as Après Tout and Clozier.

C. Physical well-being

Challenges to relocation

According to the macro-socio-economic assessment of damages completed by the OECS in September 2004 "...80 per cent of the country was reported to have been demolished with at least 89 per cent of the housing stock being destroyed." It is further estimated that at least 30 per cent of the homes destroyed cannot be repaired and therefore must be completely replaced. Damage to schools, including preschools, is exhaustive. Women are at the nexus of the rebuilding/repair programme. The physical and social dislocation are not only sources of great discomfort to women as they share domestic spaces, but the burden and costs of care placed on them has multiplied. This is also growing with the slow rate of reconstruction and rehabilitation.

Accessibility of shelters

Most of the persons interviewed reported that they did not go to an officially designated shelter, but rather to a neighbour's, a family home or public building which they felt would withstand a storm. Preparations, though minimal, had begun for a possible threat from a hurricane. Shelters were allocated, but these were not always on the recommendations of persons from communities who complained that they had other suggestions, based on accessibility, distance and strength of buildings. Some official shelters did not withstand the hurricane winds. Persons had to relocate, often when conditions had become very unsafe.

Women and men had different roles in relocation. Women rounded up the children and personal belongings. Many made initial attempts to move from their homes because of the impending danger, risking their lives to do so. Men were called upon to form human chains to get children, persons with disabilities and the elderly and themselves to safety.

Emergency services, such as the Police Service, were deployed to bring women and children to safe havens from remote areas like Après Tout but efforts were stymied because the roads were blocked by fallen trees.

Newly positioned structures, like the telecommunications antenna in the middle of the village of Après Tout, threatened the lives of a large percentage of the village. Persons had sought shelter in a concrete house next to the antenna.

There are many persons who have not returned to their homes and are living in destitute conditions. The risks faced by women and children in these situations are mostly invisible, but

women spoke of their discomfort. Social service agencies reported on challenges faced by women in these situations which pointed to threats to their emotional and physical safety.

Community planning is an essential aspect of disaster risk reduction measures and must be taken more seriously. Gender relations at the household and community level play a significant role in decision-making and mobilization during and after relocation efforts. A system of indicators of shelter location must be developed in accordance with local and international norms. Shelters should be located in areas of low to very low vulnerability to withstand estimated hurricane forces. Vulnerability assessment of existing shelters should be conducted. Physical planning requirements for the construction of public or industrial buildings and the construction of buildings codes must be enforced, especially with regard to their location near to or in residential areas.

Shelter management

Management systems in officially designated shelters were reported to be disorganized. It took some time to organize the system of food distribution (within the shelter), to have mattresses delivered. Women reported little consideration for their privacy as they tried to conduct domestic activities for their families. Those women, who could, returned to their house spots during the day to cook and to wash in rivers nearby. The latter allowed for communal activity and support.

Following the dislocation that resulted from the hurricane there is an urgent need for security, shelter, drugs, day care, emotional and social support.

Dislocation

The dislocation of families has placed an increased burden on women (those who took in others and those who have lost their homes) because of their responsibilities for food and care of families. Formal hospitalities are ending. Insecurity and deprivation are evident for these women and their dependants. Women spoke of the increasing burden and strain on domestic resources which continue to the present.

Women who are small business holders reported difficulties in rehabilitating their holdings, especially where these are agricultural holdings. Women farmers in cooperatives are able to network to share ideas, information on markets and materials as they rebuild their holdings. Fishermen who belong to cooperatives also benefited from small grants to replace their gear. These grants, however, have proven to be insufficient and fishermen have been contracting their services to other sea-worthy boats. The power relations among fishermen have also changed.

Home repair/rebuilding

Following the hurricane, there was a flurry of home repair activities, fuelled by intense community spirit. Women reported that they got support from churches and the Red Cross. Others reported giving their names to agents of the government ministry responsible for housing. Many, especially those who head their households, have not yet received any help.

The Grenada Housing Authority is the government agency charged with implementing the Emergency Housing Plan. This involves repair, rebuilding and resettlement. Single women heading households are prioritized among the vulnerable groups to receive urgent attention.

Rebuilding, however, is based on legal ownership of land and property. This rebuilding and reconstruction effort, underpinned by the Emergency Housing Plan, is moving slowly.

Government agencies and NGOs are providing grants and materials to replace roofs, repair damage and rebuild homes. They are faced with the huge challenge of land-ownership, and the scarcity of construction skills.

The landownership issue has been an existing problem for the State before the hurricane. It has been exacerbated by the present crisis.

Agencies reported that many of the women who have been affected do not have legal access to land and property. Though occupying property for years, many have no legal documentation (land title/deeds) as proof of ownership.

Current practices regarding ownership and acquisition of property are impeding women's rights to land and shelter and may appear discriminatory towards women. Payment and/or compensation for rebuilding may also appear gender biased if permission for land use is not given or renewed by "land owners".

While single female headship has been given priority in the emergency housing plan, there is need for further investigation of household dynamics in all applications, to ensure equity. Reports of older men living alone and in need of shelter were a cause of great concern.

Resettlement

Interviewees have different views on resettlement especially in affected villages, such as Soubisse. While aware of the risk posed by living at the water's edge, they felt that there was need for much more dialogue with them before the decision for resettlement was made. There was also some misinformation about the resettlement process which has engendered fears and resistance within the village.

Information is crucial to the return to physical normalcy in communities. The ministry responsible for housing must be much more visible, at a national level, in a coordinating role for the home repair and rebuilding programme. Development agencies that are assisting the national effort must endeavour to work more closely with the State in this coordinating role

Community organizations must be rebuilt. The lack of community groups has contributed in a large measure to the hardships being experienced by the affected population. This gap looms large in the Grenada reconstruction efforts.

The basic needs of women termed 'practical' needs, and other concerns such as day care and preschools, for example, can be addressed effectively at the community level in these situations, since women mobilize for care and protection. Their views often encompass their individual needs and those of the "community of families". In the absence of these mechanisms (groups) both practical and strategic needs are growing more invisible, State approaches are growing essentially gender blind and reconstruction efforts more uncoordinated and slow.

Gender-sensitive community redevelopment should be an essential component of the reconstruction efforts.

Challenges to meeting basic needs

The loss of assets has brought about changes in the ways women are meeting their basic needs. Women's earning opportunities and daily responses to their family needs has been disrupted.

All sectors of the economy suffered with the passing of the hurricane. Large numbers of women who were traditionally located in the hotel industry, nutmeg production and craft production for the tourism industry are still unemployed. Remittances and goods from family and friends abroad serve to fill the needs of many poor families.

Food distribution

Reports indicate that immediately following the hurricane, distribution of food was not always adequate as persons struggled to regain a sense of normalcy. Women had relocated to private homes of relatives and friends, but these homes might have been overlooked in food distribution efforts. Such women spoke of having to travel for miles to get food and having to justify the request. In areas which were considered "poor and disadvantaged" distribution was more adequate.

Care

Now that the distribution of food has stopped, women reported that they are challenged to take care of self and many more family and community members. Female heads of households are finding it immensely difficult to meet the basic needs of food, books and uniforms for children, medication and care services for children and elderly relatives. This is more acute with the loss of income and assets. Where income has been supplied or supplemented by fathers who live outside the home, social service agencies indicate that maintenance grants are being withheld by these men who say that they cannot afford to pay.

There have also been reports of disability grants being delayed, making it difficult for parents in remote areas to seek much needed care for physically and mentally challenged children, suffering multiple trauma because of the hurricane.

Education

Day care centres and centres for early childhood education have not been reconstructed, not only interrupting the education and early stimulation of children, but stymieing the mobility of mothers, in particular, in seeking employment or relocation. These children are often the most vulnerable in circumstances of dislocation.

The physical determinants of food, care, employment and shelter are underpinned by gendered traditions, some of which need to be understood, valued and supported in the prevailing situation.

Stakeholder dialogue and commitment to reducing gender inequalities in the provision of basic needs is urgent.

The present situation is resulting in increased hardship for women and their dependants. It will certainly have consequences for increased social instability in the population, if left unattended.

The high domestic workload (such as care of older relatives and young children not back to school) is affecting the search for employment and the start of income-generating activities. Some women have been employed in clean-up operations, but this is temporary employment. Those who depended on trees for basket production now have to travel to new areas to find the raw material. Increased travel, time and labour costs (to move materials to main roads for pick-up) are hampering the industry.

Income

Gender patterns also underpin the nutmeg industry. In the field, women are involved in the weeding and picking of fruit. They are the main employees for sorting and bagging of the fruit at the nutmeg pools. The actual and potential loss of employment is therefore tremendous for women in the industry. Women expressed the view that there will be no work for them in the cleaning and sorting of nutmegs, or in weeding and harvesting in the fields. Findings are that those in the pools are unskilled and many are illiterate. They are, therefore, unprepared for the hardships that accompany unemployment and will be unable to be quickly absorbed in other sustainable forms of employment.

Those women in the industry who own land and trees are unable to get labour for picking fruit that lie in the fields or male labour for clearing and replanting and cannot do it themselves.

They have ideas about the diversification that is necessary in agriculture, based on their indigenous knowledge. These include ideas on investment in bananas as an early cover crop in replanting the nutmeg trees. They indicated that they have not been consulted.

Others thought that replanting nutmegs seemed pointless, since it would take many years to realize a crop. Instead, farmers are replanting with cash crops.

The gendered constraints to meeting the basic needs of food and employment among the rural poor, especially women, are deeply embedded in their low literacy levels, the level of skills of women traditionally used in the agricultural industry, and the value placed on women's role in subsistence farming.

Rehabilitation efforts in agriculture must give more value and support to women in subsistence farming as an urgent measure to provide food security for the poor, especially the rural poor. The value of subsistence farming must not be overshadowed in efforts to restart agriculture.

Regarding the use of appropriate technology, such as chain saws for the "clearing of fields", attention must also be paid to the use of women's labour in the fields in new ways – for example, barking of trees (cinnamon bark), paper making and other post-harvest activities.

Further gender analyses of resources and livelihoods in the current situations should be undertaken to target efforts in the reconstruction phase more adequately.

Shelter

The current response of the women's NGOs is supported by development agencies. A major initiative is to support the construction of houses by training women and men in the essential related skills. The Grenada National Organisation for Women (GNOW) has completed training for women in tiling, and some of those women have joined the work force. Other programme areas relate to areas of the economy in which the State is providing the major thrust. The Grenada Red Cross is coordinating a programme financed by the French Red Cross, where women are participating in re-roofing houses.

While this approach by development agencies is worthwhile, care must be taken not to increase the burden of women NGOs which might not all be prepared and might have neither the reach nor the capacity for the activities they are being called upon to do. Though efforts of NGOs are being done collaboratively with the State, communities have voiced their expectations of the State.

Greater support is therefore encouraged for the following:

- a) The shelter programme of the State (designed in collaboration with NGOs);
 - b) The increased capacity of the State to execute the Emergency Shelter Programme;
- and
- c) Strengthened capacity for monitoring civil society – especially in ensuring that the needs of all are met without political bias and that they have a voice in the redevelopment of communities.

This is urgent. Information on the State's planned response to shelter needs is not reaching communities.

It is hoped that by providing women with the skills to participate in employment in the sectors of the economy targeted in the reconstruction programme, they will be able to secure adequate income to meet their needs.

This must be underpinned by a national gender policy statement which identifies gender gaps and recommends strategies for addressing these among different actors in the reconstruction process.

Men in the rural communities of the north felt that the construction thrust was taking place in the south of the island and it would not be economically feasible or worth the dislocation to pursue those jobs.

Water and sanitation

Water distribution has been restored to most areas. However, in remote areas such as Clozier and Après Tout water distribution was to be addressed with support from the Basic Needs Trust Fund of the CDB. Male residents requested greater involvement in the management of the

service. They say they have indigenous knowledge on protection of the water source and the way lines should be laid to ensure proper maintenance of the system.

Public baths and latrines are in need of reconstruction. In the absence of strong community groups these facilities are not well managed and some are in urgent need of repair. They may well be health hazards.

Health

Some community health centres have been destroyed, interrupting the delivery of community health services. However, the greater health challenge seems to be in respect of persons with chronic diseases who use these community facilities regularly. Women, often in charge of the care of these persons, reported having to travel into the city with them for medical attention. There were worrying reports of insufficient drugs at the hospital for their care.

Stakeholders in water resources, health and community development should dialogue on the management of these community resources. These available resources must be made more accessible to the poor by improving their quality.

Challenges to maintain personal safety and the safety of those in their care

Research has shown that following natural disasters, societies are likely to see an increase in crime and violence, abuse of intoxicants and related social issues. Of particular importance in these situations is the shifting (and reshaping) of gender relations, as women and men respond and cope differently during and after the event.

In “Gender and Post-Disaster Reconstruction: The Case of Hurricane Mitch in Honduras and Nicaragua” it was reported that “women continued to be on the job mobilizing social networks and engaging in reproductive work, while men have generally resorted to risky behaviour...gambling, increased alcohol consumption and aggression.”

Findings in Grenada did provide clear evidence of an increased use of alcohol by men and looting, both in the city and the rural areas. Men spoke openly about the increased consumption of alcohol because, they reported, “of the disruption in their lives”.

Few women spoke (though guardedly) about an increase in violence at home, but were quick to say that it had subsided. A reason for this, posited by the Legal Aid and Advisory clinic, was that in the current situation of need, women were prioritizing their vulnerabilities. In the prevailing gender relations they have de-prioritized the violence in their lives in order to keep their shelter and food.

It is important in community planning for Disaster Risk Reduction (DRR) that women, who are known to be in abusive situations, be removed and relocated quickly.

To ensure the safety of the population, all police officers were asked to report for duty. Stress levels were reported high at the stations and accommodation inadequate. The additional burden of parental anxieties of male and female officers also made the situation at the stations acute.

More adequate provision of emergency services by the police was severely hampered by weak communications systems.

A suggestion of the Protective Services is that the low incidence of domestic violence might be due to a lack of reporting. It was felt that crimes of theft, as another example, may not be reported because the litigants might have needed food.

Policy and programmatic intervention

The focus on improved services for reconstruction and development will require policy dialogue on land use, the provision of adequate and affordable standards of social infrastructure, transportation and emergency telecommunications, as well as concentration on the requisite economic and social skills for women and men in communities.

Policy dialogue must be cognizant of traditional and prevailing gender ideologies that impact on the visioning of the population and hinder women, men, girls and boys from taking advantage of the possibilities and opportunities that lie within their grasp.

Programmes

Institutional capacity – greater sensitivity to the dynamic between gender ideologies and institutional resistance

Consciousness of economic self reliance through community empowerment measures and community planning for disaster risk reduction.

Summary findings

a) The burden of care following Ivan has increased for women. Much of the discomfort caused by relocation and reconstruction is being carried by women. For many, their workload and responsibilities have multiplied and have become a greater burden because they are dislocated from their homes and communities. This has implications for women's health;

b) Women are devoting more time to the care of dependants. The latter group now includes children of preschool age, those displaced from day care centres and elderly persons who are still traumatized and ill. Time is also given to taking elderly persons for medical attention in the city since community medical centres are damaged;

c) There is a direct impact on the rural household income as backyard gardens and livestock have been destroyed in rural areas. Women's income in rural areas has been more directly affected by the destruction in the nutmeg industry;

d) Because of the low levels of literacy and lack of adaptable skills, women displaced from the nutmeg industry are unprepared and unskilled for easy transfer to other economic sectors;

e) Women were involved in early reconstruction efforts, but are not involved in decision-making processes in the later reconstruction phase. Through resilience and determination,

women NGOs are actively contributing to the upgrading of skills, home repair and the social services with the use of development assistance;

f) There was evidence that disaster planning did not take account of gender differences – in accessibility of shelters, distribution of food and personal items;

g) Women’s vulnerabilities have increased after Ivan in respect of housing, access to land and care services and income for themselves and children. Though an increase in partner abuse could not be established, there was evidence of women de-prioritizing the level of abuse in their lives – to their needs for shelter, food and income;

h) Pre-existing vulnerabilities – in water and sanitation for the poor, have become more visible; and

i) The reconstruction efforts for the repair of the social infrastructure is slow, placing considerable burden on women in terms of care and support.

Recommendations

These recommendations are formulated in the present context of reconstruction in Grenada and the population’s awareness of the imminence of another hurricane season for the Caribbean.

Policy

- A national policy statement on gender in the context of the development efforts for the reconstruction of Grenada should be urgently developed and adopted and integrated into the strategic objective of the ARD.

Programmatic

- A programme of research should be developed to inform policies and laws that deal with land use (for housing, construction, ownership, transfer and inheritance, resettlement and rehabilitation) with specific emphasis on safeguarding entitlements for single women with families.
- An urgent programme of community redevelopment should accompany infrastructural efforts in affected communities. Such a programme must include the re-establishment of community governance mechanisms in which both women and men are able to participate.
- The capacity for gender analysis within the sectors and in communities identified for reconstruction activities should be strengthened. This programme should be done collaboratively among the ARD, the Ministry of Social Development and the Ministry of Finance and Planning. Gender analysis should be an integral part of current disaster risk reduction plans being developed at the community level.

D. Assessment of programme and policy intervention

A gender assessment of the programme interventions following Hurricane Ivan was carried out as part of the wider Gender Impact Assessment which forms the basis of the present report. The methodology for the assessment of the programme followed the general methodology used for the overall assessment.

The evidence suggests that while Ivan affected a wide cross-section of men, women and children in the society, women appear to be most affected because of gender inequalities and inequity that were pre-existing in the society. The analysis of the response to the disaster will focus on the rehabilitation and recovery phase and will nevertheless deal briefly with some of the gender issues which surfaced during the crisis phase.

Emergency phase

Evacuation, access to shelters and the adequacy of shelters were of critical importance during this phase. The evidence which emerged from the focus group discussions suggested that women with young children experienced difficulty getting to shelters. This related particularly to women living in hilly areas, in areas where rivers had to be negotiated or where their homes were in isolated areas. Official reports also suggest that the number of women and their children who had to be evacuated was much larger than had been anticipated. Many of the women were female heads of households with large families.

Gendered differences were also observed with respect to who accessed shelters and the length of time spent at the shelters. Official reports suggest that women and their dependent children comprised the majority of those who accessed shelters and, together with the elderly, were also those who stayed the longest. Many were also poor female heads of households who had lost their entire homes or whose homes had been severely damaged and childcare and access to medical services were problematic for many of those who had to stay in the shelters for relatively long periods. It was also revealed that some men accessed the shelters but many stayed only for short periods preferring to return to the sites of their homes where they constructed crude shelters for themselves, but nevertheless continued to visit their spouses at the shelters. The focus group discussions also revealed that relatives and neighbours accommodated many persons who were displaced.

Another issue which arose at the shelters was the lack of separate facilities for men and women. Official reports suggest, however, that girls and women were particularly affected, especially those who were experiencing their menstrual periods. In addition, there have been anecdotal reports of the sexual abuse of girls at the shelters and a lack of security has been identified as a contributing factor.

It has become apparent that specific gender needs were not taken into account during this phase nor were they contemplated in the National Disaster Plan (1995 revision). An enhanced response during the emergency phase needs to explicitly take gender into account. A current study undertaken by CDERA and funded by the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) to assess the impact of Hurricane Ivan with a view to making recommendations to guide the policies of the NERO is clearly an opportunity to incorporate gender into the new guidelines and policies.

The recovery/rehabilitation phase

The programmatic responses during this phase have been taking place at various levels: at the level of the government, NGOs, regional and international agencies, external government agencies and the communities.

Initiatives of the government

The government has identified housing, training and counselling as its priorities for the reconstruction phase and, thus far, it has focused its efforts on housing and counselling. Capacity-building (including training) is also viewed as critical to the reconstruction process and this will be one of the areas of focus of ARD, the government agency established to oversee and coordinate the recovery process.

Housing

Consequent upon the damage to or loss of 90 per cent of the housing stock, housing has emerged as the most immediate pressing need. Significantly, the evidence which has emerged from the focus group discussions reveals a clear nexus between well-being and shelter. In other words, the psycho social impact of the disaster would be prolonged if decent shelter was not restored. This was felt very strongly by many of the female focus group participants.

The government has developed a strategic response to the housing crisis. It has developed an Emergency Housing Policy and established an Emergency Housing Committee to oversee the implementation of the Policy. The Housing Authority which is located within the Ministry of Social Development has direct responsibility for implementation.

The policy targets 11 categories of vulnerable persons for emergency housing including “single parents with children living with them”, “laid-off workers in the service industries” and “low income workers”. The policy, however, appears to lack a gender perspective. For instance, the policy expressly notes that 48 per cent of households are headed by women with an implicit understanding of the poverty, lack of skills and lack of childcare, among other factors, associated with these households. This, notwithstanding, female-headed households are not explicitly targeted but rather are subsumed within other categories such as “single parents with children living with them”.

That female-headed households or single female-headed households need to be explicitly targeted as a group of vulnerable persons is borne out by the data collected up until 19 December 2004. Up to that period, 2070 persons had pre-qualified for emergency housing and, of these, “single parents with children living with them” comprised the largest category (823 out of 2070 or 37 per cent). Significantly, all persons in that category are listed as single mothers/unemployed women. As a group, female-headed households are economically and socially disadvantaged and this economic and social vulnerability is frequently exacerbated during a disaster. The recovery period for these women is usually much longer as is proving to be the case in Grenada. Many female heads of households have reported that they lost their jobs as domestic employees or in the services sector or could no longer earn in the informal sector. The Ministry of Social Development, the Housing Authority within that Ministry and NERO also reported that female heads of households were the ones experiencing the most severe hardship and were the persons primarily seeking assistance. It has been estimated that some 90 per cent of the persons who have come to the Ministry of Social

Development for assistance, thus far, have been women and many were poor female heads of households.

Omission of female headed households as a specific category to be targeted and the assumption that they would be identified via other categories increase the likelihood that their other strategic gender needs, such as training, childcare and employment, will also be neglected. Targeting their critical housing needs during the recovery and reconstruction phases will not only reduce their vulnerability and the vulnerability of their children during further disasters but will also imbue them with the resilience needed to minimize the impact of future disasters. The Housing Authority has, nevertheless, indicated that poor women with many children are getting homes.

The agricultural sector is also targeted. "Farmers" are identified as a vulnerable category and up to 19 December 2004, 310 persons within this category prequalified for housing assistance. However, the data are not disaggregated by sex or by type of farmer and it is not clear therefore what proportion constitutes male or female farmers. Additionally, the data are also not disaggregated according to type of farmer or size of holding and it is not possible to determine whether persons in the informal, agricultural sector are considered within this category. Such data would permit a more thorough gender analysis. Nevertheless, the focus group discussions served to identify the specific gender needs of women in the informal agricultural sector. In the *Après Tout* community, for example, women who earned an income from harvesting cinnamon bark could no longer do so since most of the trees had either been uprooted or severely damaged. Childcare responsibilities, lack of skills and low educational status prevented many from finding alternative means of earning a livelihood. In *Clozier*, an agricultural community, many of the women earned a livelihood and supported their families by harvesting and selling nutmegs to the Nutmeg Cooperative. It was noted that while some assistance was being given to farmers, these tended to be male, relatively large holdings. Responses to the gender needs of women in the informal agricultural sector also need to take account of age differences. For example, in the *Clozier* community, the younger women identified training as a priority. This was, however, not a priority for the older women who had been in the sector for 20-30 years or more.

The housing policy also sets out many criteria which must be satisfied before persons can be deemed vulnerable, the most critical of these being proof of title or secure authorization to live on the particular land. This is proving to be a major obstacle as many persons cannot meet this criterion. According to unofficial estimates, some 60 per cent of the population live on untitled land, of which some 60 per cent are women who head households. It is an issue which requires urgent attention.

The programmes specified in the policy include the provision of material (equivalent to EC\$5000) for the repair of 1125 roofs and the reconstruction of 225 houses by May 2005. However, progress has been hampered by the problems of lack of title, lack of suitable land and the lack of materials. At the time of the present assessment, 19 houses had been completed and construction had started on 78. Additionally, 450 families had received materials for repair. The data are not disaggregated by sex and hence the proportions of males (including male heads of households) or females (including female heads of households) that have benefited are not known. Qualification was contingent on the identified categories and constituency and not necessarily on strategic gender needs. Nevertheless, official reports indicate that many women heads of households have received materials for repair, but have been unable to carry out the repairs because they are unable to afford the labour costs.

A moderate income loan programme is also being implemented. Under this programme a loan can be accessed based on income and other criteria. However, the house will be delivered. A total of 150 persons have applied thus far and 30 approvals have been given. The data are not disaggregated by sex.

Assistance under the Emergency Housing Programme will also be provided through a soft loan facility. At the time of this assessment, no loans had yet been processed and data on the number and sex of applicants were not available. Nevertheless, female participants at the focus group discussions noted that the income requirements are onerous and will prevent many of them from qualifying.

Official reports indicate that additional homes are to be constructed by the Venezuelan Government and the Government of the People's Republic of China which has promised 2000 low-income homes. High-rise apartment buildings are also to be constructed in Frequente for persons without access to land.

Some of the challenges facing the Housing Authority in its reconstruction efforts include cultural challenges and the need for greater collaboration with the NGO community. A public education initiative has been launched through radio programmes, the print and electronic media.

Training

As noted earlier, the government has identified training as a priority and the Social Recovery Department of the ARD has also made training a priority in keeping with the government's objectives. The stated policy of the Social Recovery Department is that all proposed training will incorporate a gender perspective.

Counselling

A Psycho-social Recovery Programme has been the primary governmental response to the psycho-social impact of Hurricane Ivan on the population. The programme commenced on 27 September 2004 and is being undertaken in collaboration with several other governmental and non-governmental agencies. It is also supported by the Government of Trinidad and Tobago, through training conducted by PETROTRIN.

Schools, communities and the private sector have been targeted. While all schools have been covered, it has not been possible to reach all communities. One of the key recommendations emanating from a workshop involving all stakeholders to, inter alia, determine the future directions of the programme was that the programme be expanded to include training and accreditation and public education.

The Agency for Reconstruction and Development (ARD)

The ARD referred to earlier, is the body established by the government to coordinate and guide the reconstruction process. Its primary role is to work with the various government ministries to develop programmes and to collaborate with key stakeholders (communities, NGOs, community-based organizations, the private sector, regional and international agencies) with a view to deriving efficiencies from the many programmes being undertaken in the reconstruction phase. It will be

functioning in four main areas: economic recovery, physical infrastructure, social recovery and finance, administration and projects.

The ARD sees the issues of women as important to overall development and, hence, to disaster mitigation and recovery. In developing its framework, it identified the issues of single female heads of households and women in rural development as meriting special attention in the reconstruction phase. Although gender-related issues will be crosscutting, the Social Recovery Unit will have responsibility for ensuring that gender is integrated into the programmes of the ARD. The specific areas of responsibility of the Social Recovery Department are as follows:

- a) Poverty alleviation;
- b) Social safety net;
- c) Human settlement;
- d) Food settlement;
- e) Health;
- f) Training and education; and
- g) Counselling services.

In carrying out its mandate, the Social Recovery Unit will be working collaboratively with key ministries including the Ministries of Social Development, Sport and Community Development, Youth, Education and Health. In this regard, gender training and gender mainstreaming are some of the key challenges which have been identified. The ARD acknowledges that gender is only minimally considered in the policies and programmes of many of the sectors, including the agriculture and tourism sectors. It estimates, for example, that women comprise some 70-80 per cent of the informal sector but issues of gender do not assume great significance in the interface with the sector.

Training has been identified as an area where gender will be integrated. Strong gender biases continue to persist, as is the case in many Caribbean societies with respect to employment of women in the construction and other non-traditional sectors. Many men, both skilled and unskilled, who lost their jobs or their means of livelihood as a result of the disaster have been readily absorbed into the construction sector, the most active sector at present. On the other hand, many women who also lost their jobs have been unable to find employment.

In terms of the poverty alleviation thrust of the Social Recovery Unit, special emphasis will be on women in the informal sector, particularly women in the rural agricultural sector. The evidence which has emerged reveals that women in the informal sector were particularly vulnerable. For instance, many women in the rural communities of Après Tout and Clozier and the fishing villages of Soubise and Marquis have lost their means of livelihood and have no immediate or foreseeable means of earning a living. Many of the younger women identified training as an immediate priority to widen their skills base and to enable them to seek alternative employment.

Significantly, the ARD is targeting livelihood security as a means of reducing vulnerability. In the case of women, their special vulnerability during the recovery and reconstruction phase of Hurricane Ivan arises from pre-existing gender inequality and equity in the society. Incorporating

gender into development goals, such as livelihood security, is important in reducing women's vulnerability in the future and also meets the gender equality and equity goals to which the government is committed. In this context the ARD supports the development of a National Gender Policy and acknowledges the important role for a gender specialist within the ARD. Recruitment of a gender specialist would assist in strengthening the gender analytical capability of the Social Recovery Unit in integrating gender into the work of the Agency and in building capacity in gender analysis within line ministries. The Chief Welfare Officer of the Ministry of Social Development also supports the development of a National Gender Policy and sees the need for gender training within the public and private sectors.

The ARD also sees micro-financing as a mechanism which will benefit many women and notes that experience has shown that women access such facilities. In the particular context of Grenada, however, creative ways of meeting income qualification levels would need to be devised.

National Insurance

An unemployment benefit was paid to persons who lost their jobs as a result of the disaster and this was paid only to registered employees.

Regional agencies/International agencies/external government agencies

During the recovery and reconstruction phase, various agencies have been working in the areas of construction, training, counselling, agriculture and business.

USAID

USAID has a significant presence in the post Hurricane Ivan recovery and reconstruction phase. Its CARANA office is administering a Grenada Business and Agricultural Project and its PADCO office is engaged in construction and repair. Although USAID has some partnerships with government ministries, its relationships are primarily with NGOs and the private sector.

One of the main areas of focus of the Grenada Business and Agricultural Project is on skills training and employment generation and there has been some emphasis on training women in non-traditional skills. Many of the NGOs selected to implement the projects focus on gender issues in their areas of work. The GNOW, for example, was contracted by the CARANA Corporation to carry out the implementation of a six-week training programme in construction. GNOW had responsibility for recruitment, pre-training, counselling and placement with contractors. Of the 133 participants, 103 were women. Participants were paid EC\$150 per week.

In collaboration with the Chamber of Commerce and the Hotel Association, training is also being conducted in roofing, tiling, plumbing and door and window replacement. Two groups of 150 have been trained thus far and women comprised some 75 per cent and 65 per cent of the respective groups. A further 300 are being trained and again women comprise the majority of the participants. The training is being done by TAMCC and New Life Organisation (NEWLO) and is certified by the government. Women comprised some 50 per cent of the participants (24 groups of four each) in training courses conducted in marine skills.

Reports indicate that some of the women who have received training are being placed with contractors. However, the extent is not known and GNOW will be undertaking a survey to determine whether the women are being employed and at what levels. Sexual harassment is also one of the issues that the organization intends to address. Anecdotal reports suggest, however, that the major challenge of changing the climate to allow women equal access to the sector still remains.

USAID, through the CARANA administered project, is also collaborating with GRENSAVE to expand its training for adolescent mothers and has purchased 15 additional sewing machines to assist in this regard. Teenage pregnancy rates are relatively high and the need to widen the skills base of these young mothers and to ensure that their childcare needs are met to enable them to sustain their livelihoods remains a challenge.

It is also funding Hospitality Training for displaced workers and the training comprises several modules of six weeks each. Data with respect to number and sex of participants were only available for the module on Tour Guiding. All 33 participants in the course were women.

The CARANA office has also been focusing on business recovery through grants and through micro lending. Two of the four approvals for grants, thus far, have been to women. Having regard to the micro-lending facility, USAID has been injecting new funds into Capital Bank, Micro-fin and National Development Foundation. CARANA has reported that more females than males are accessing the facility but more precise data are not available.

USAID's agricultural focus has been confined to commercial farmers and the agri-business sector, in particular, fisheries, nutmeg and cocoa, commercial flower growers, and the National Marketing and Import Board. Although many of the commercial farmers are male, some 50 per cent of the commercial flower growers are female. USAID is developing the programmes in these areas but is working with the Caribbean Agricultural Research and Development Institute (CARDI), the Agricultural Marketing Board and the Nutmeg Corporation for the implementation of the programmes.

USAID is also integrally involved in housing and reconstruction. Of its US\$40 million aid package, US\$9 million has been earmarked for housing.

While the efforts of USAID in terms of training have sought to incorporate a gender perspective, monitoring and evaluation data are needed to determine the impact of the training.

Red Cross

Apart from its role in providing emergency food and other supplies during the emergency phase of the disaster, the Grenada Red Cross has been engaged in programmes dealing with the psycho-social impact of the hurricane, agricultural rehabilitation and housing. A Wellness Programme targeting 12-18 year olds has been implemented. To carry out the programme, 37 persons have been trained in paraprofessional counselling, 25 of whom are to receive advanced training. Gender has not been a specific area of focus of the programme.

The Grenada Red Cross has also embarked on an agricultural project and has provided tools and seeds to 450 farmers in the parishes of St Mark, St Andrews and St David. The data are not disaggregated by sex or by the type or size of crop grown. Nevertheless, the organization reported

that many of those receiving assistance were women. One of the activities proposed for Phase Two of the project will focus on Women in Agriculture. At the time of the assessment, this programme was being developed and no information was available on how women's specific gender needs will be addressed.

The French Red Cross is engaged in a project for the replacement and repair of roofs for wooden houses, which has a specific gender focus. Both males and females in the communities are being trained to do the repairs on a rotation basis and 150 houses are expected to be completed over a six-month period. The programme is targeting the disabled, the elderly and female heads of households. The British Red Cross has undertaken a similar roof repair project but is repairing only concrete houses.

OXFAM

OXFAM has been collaborating with several NGOs including ART and GRENCODA on a Cash for Work programme. The programme was designed to assist farmers in clearing their land. OXFAM provided the tools and paid the workers at a rate of EC\$45 per day. Workers comprised teams of four with at least one female on each team.

UNICEF

UNICEF has been implementing a Return to Happiness Programme targeting young children up to 12 years. The programme is being coordinated by St Georges' University and GRENCODA has been responsible for recruitment. It is not certain whether gender concerns have been incorporated into the programme.

UNDP

UNDP has been engaged in attracting donor funding for the recovery/ reconstruction phase through the 'Flash Appeal' initiative. It has also embarked on a Sustainable Livelihood project in collaboration with the Grenada Community Development Organization (GRENCODA) and the Association of Rural Transformation (ART). A chicken rearing project has been successfully executed by GRENCODA. Single female heads of households were specifically targeted and some 200 women have benefited. The women received training as well as materials including wire, blocks, feeders and waterers and starter chicks. A preliminary evaluation of the programme has revealed that some of the women are in the process of expanding their businesses. Another aspect of the Sustainable Livelihood project focuses on the education of children who are outside of the formal school system. This component is being facilitated by ART which has increased its after school programmes from two to five. As a result, 200 children in five centres are now benefiting. They have been provided with nutritious snacks and 100 children are equipped with schoolbooks and uniforms to enable them to return to school.

CPDC

The CPDC has been engaged in a Grenada Hurricane Relief project which focuses on repairs to damaged houses. The project which is funded by the Department for International Development (DfID) and Christian Aid is being implemented in collaboration with the Inter American Group of Development Organizations (IAGDO), the umbrella NGO in Grenada. ART,

GRENCODA and the Grenada Save the Children Development Agency (GRENSAVE) are directly involved in its implementation. One hundred persons have been targeted for assistance but it is not certain whether gender considerations inform the selection.

CDERA

As noted earlier, CDERA has initiated a study to assess the impact of Hurricane Ivan with a view to making recommendations to guide the policies of the NERO. This presents a good opportunity to incorporate gender into the new guidelines and policies.

The NGO community

As indicated earlier, the NGO community has successfully collaborated with regional, international and external government agencies on a wide range of projects. One of the key factors which facilitated this collaboration was the existence of a fairly extensive NGO network with a proven track record. Gender is also a priority issue for many of these NGOs and a gender perspective is incorporated into many of the projects that are currently being implemented.

In the wake of the hurricane, the umbrella NGO body, IADGO, sought to formulate an NGO response and to determine priority areas for NGO involvement. To this end, IADGO met on a weekly basis with its member organizations, in particular, GNOW, GRENSAVE, ART and NEWLO. The NGOs which have been actively involved in the emergency, recovery and reconstruction phases of the disaster have identified some of the key challenges they are facing in the reconstruction period. Among these is the lack of collaboration between the NGOs and the government. Institutional strengthening of the various organizations is also seen as critical. Training has also been identified as a major challenge but needs to link to sustainable employment. Responses in the reconstruction period should also focus on literacy training, particularly for young men.

Community response

The community response has been varied. During the emergency phase, shelter for those rendered homeless was provided by many individuals within the community. Communities were also mobilized around issues of food collection and distribution and women in particular mobilized around these issues. Many reports have also surfaced of the collective engagement of many communities in assisting with repairs to homes. Within some communities, such as Apres Tout, individuals were able to establish formal mechanisms to accelerate the reconstruction process and to reduce the vulnerability of the community as a whole. Efforts within many other communities were, however, limited due to a lack of organizational capacity, formal governance structures and resources.

Conclusion

The foregoing analysis reveals that women's particular and unique vulnerability to the disaster stemmed mainly from pre-existing gender inequalities in the society. While many of the responses in the reconstruction phase attempt to incorporate gender concerns to varying degrees, and while this is seen as necessary, it is clear that longer-term measures that address these inequities are needed to ensure that the vulnerability of the society as a whole to disasters is reduced.

E. Lessons that can be learnt from the assessment

a) Following a natural disaster, relief and reconstruction assistance must be fair and transparent and systems must be in place to ensure accountability. When criteria for distribution are clear and known, women and their children have a fairer chance of being equally treated.

b) The non-affected Caribbean countries are an excellent first port-of-call for nations in distress in the region. Communities and individuals spoke highly of the assistance which reached them from civil society organizations, individuals, faith-based organizations, private sector organizations and governments in the Caribbean, and particularly of the fact that when it was delivered by Caribbean personnel it was distributed without preference and even handedly to all in the community who were in need.

c) Development programmes in Small Island Developing States (SIDS) that seek to utilize land resources for projects, such as golf courses and hotel developments together with the economic feasibility and environmental impact assessments conducted, should have a social impact assessment undertaken. Some communities were able to identify previous projects which, they felt, had reduced their resilience and thus increased their vulnerability to Hurricane Ivan.

d) Food security has to take a more prominent role in development planning for SIDS. The assessment, although in no way involving the conduct of a food and nutritional survey, saw signs of lingering hunger among women and children. Men who were able to earn an income through the construction sector were also more easily able to secure their basic food needs.

e) Non traditional forms of insurance for low income home owners, particularly poor female heads of households, need to be devised as part of the social protection efforts in the region.

f) Child care facilities are not a privilege but a necessity for poor female heads of households, if they are to earn an independent income to secure their well-being and that of their children; and

g) The important role which gender aware and active NGOs play in assisting women and their dependants in the aftermath of the natural disaster. The contribution of these NGOs to advancing a gender sensitive framework to the broad issues of reconstruction and development ought not to be minimized.

Annex**Villages visited**

Après Tout
Clozier
D'abeau Hill
Frequente
Gouyave
Grand Anse Valley
Marquis
Rose Hill
Soubise
St Georges

GLOSSARY

Disaster	The serious disruption of the functioning of a society, causing widespread human, material or environmental losses which exceed the ability of the affected society to cope using only its own resources.
Emergency phase	The period immediately following the disaster when the priority is on saving lives. This phase includes search and rescue operations, evacuation, first aid, the establishment of shelters, temporary restoration of transport and communication lines, repairs to critical public utilities and a count of casualties and fatalities.
Gender differentials	Gender refers to the socially constructed roles of men and women (girls and boys) while sex refers to the biologically determined roles. Gender differentials speak to the observed differences between men and women due to socially constructed roles and relations.
Hazard	An activity or situation that is an actual or potential source of harm or injury. It may arise or be caused within a defined area.
Hurricane	Tropical cyclone (low pressure system) with winds that exceed 74 mph (118 km/hr).
Impact	Adverse or beneficial effects resulting from human actions or natural hazards
Mitigation	Minimizing or avoiding adverse impacts from human actions or reducing vulnerability to natural hazards.
Reconstruction	Setting social and economic priorities and the allocation of resources to realize development objectives.
Rehabilitation	The phase, also called the transitional phase, covers all activities aimed at restoring the situation in affected areas to normal.
Relief response	This is the response to the disaster on the part of organizations, most often international organizations, through the supply of items of immediate need in the areas of first aid, medication, food, shelter and clothing to assist victims of the disaster.
Resilience	The capacity of a system, community or society potentially exposed to hazards to adapt, by resisting or changing in order to reach and maintain an acceptable level of functioning and structure. This is determined by the degree to which the social system is capable of organizing itself to increase this capacity for learning from past disasters

for better future protection and to improve risk reduction measures.

Risk	Risk refers to potential hazard or danger, exposure to mischance or peril.
Risk Management	Refers to a set of ordered actions that inform decision-making as a result of insights into risks and their impacts. The management of risk identifies opportunities as well as minimizes loss. Risk management implementation can lead to increased safety, quality and generally improved environmental conditions.
Social capital	Networks together with shared norms, values and understandings that facilitate co-operation within or among groups.
Social Vulnerability	The conditions determined by physical, social, economic and environmental factors or processes, which increase the susceptibility of a community to the impact of hazards.

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