

ADDRESSING GENDER IN THE CLIMATE CHANGE AND WATER SECURITY NEXUS

WATER POLICY BRIEF



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INTRODUCTION

On 1 February 2022, there was distressing breaking news from Morocco: five-year-old Rayan Oram had fallen into a dry well 32 m (105 ft) deep outside his home in the village of Ighran in Morocco's northern Chefchaouen Province. A complex earth-moving operation to try to extract him without triggering a landslide followed over a period of four days, while hundreds gathered at the site and millions more followed closely on social media platforms. The hashtag #SaveRayan and its Arabic translation began trending. Tragically, and despite the best efforts to rescue him, Rayan died soon after his removal from the well. On social media, many Moroccans connected the tragedy of Rayan to the digging of unplanned, unauthorized wells in rural areas of Morocco, given the danger it poses to citizen safety and the environment, including in terms of groundwater and drinking water. Others related the story to the challenges of water scarcity in rural Morocco and those most affected by it: children, youth, female-headed households, persons with disabilities, minorities, landless tenants, older people and other marginalized groups. These groups are arguably the most vulnerable, facing – in addition to water scarcity – poverty, environmental deterioration, food insecurity and climate change. The root causes of their vulnerability lie in a combination of their socioeconomic, financial and gender statuses, as well as their access to services, policy and decision-making mechanisms (World Bank 2022). Put simply, they are marginalized.

It is in light of these issues that I write this policy paper, reflecting on the report *Difficult Terrain: Water, Climate Change and Migration in Morocco* carried out by International Water Management Institute (IWMI) researchers under the Center for Mediterranean Integration (CMI) project “Water Security Nexus in North Africa: Catalyzing Regional Coordination Around Climate Change, Resilience and Migration”. The study, which explores “the complex intersections between migration, social and economic trends, water management and agricultural policy within Morocco”, highlights the “vulnerabilities, risks and opportunities for disadvantaged people affected by climate-induced resource scarcity and loss of livelihoods”. The report also includes two case studies from the Souss-Massa river basin in southwestern Morocco and Oum Er Rbia River. Despite the timely and detailed analysis offered in the report, additional insights could be offered by exploring gendered dynamics and challenges associated with climate-related mobility and migration (cf. International Water Management Institute [IWMI] 2020).

There is evidence that climate change and its related risks, such as displacement and water scarcity, are not gender-neutral (cf. Rao *et al.* 2019; Arora-Jonsson 2014; Broeckhoven 2014). While women and men are both impacted by climate change, socially constructed gender roles and power relations generate differences in vulnerabilities to climate impacts (Andrijevic *et al.* 2020). Gender norms, social relations and power inequalities shape people's varying levels of vulnerability, adaptive capacity and resilience to climate change (Huyer and Partey 2020). Not highlighting the role of

gender in shaping resilience risks disempowering and excluding the voices of socially marginalized people in interventions and policies (cf. Al-Ajarma, Mansour and Arafah 2021).

Therefore, there is a need to better understand the connections between gender, climate change and migration, specifically how existing gender norms, relations and inequalities influence people's adaptation and resilience to climate change. There is also a need to better analyse how these gender dynamics intersect with climate impacts to produce differential risks for certain social groups that are more vulnerable to crises, such as female-headed households, children, persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples and ethnic minorities, migrant workers, gender minorities and older people. This is not to say that these groups are homogeneous, or are inherently vulnerable to climate shocks but, rather, to highlight differences in vulnerability and coping strategies.

In response to the water security, climate change and migration nexus conceptual framework used in the *Difficult Terrain* report, this paper investigates these connections using the gender, climate and migration nexus conceptual framework to investigate how existing gender inequalities (and other intersecting aspects of social inequalities) impact and/or constrain resilience to climate shocks, and how climate impacts interact with gender inequalities to produce gendered climate-related migration.

The Gender-Climate-Migration nexus provides an analytic lens to understand the gender-differentiated drivers and risks of climate change and migration (Caroli et al. 2021). Both climate change and migration shape, and are shaped, by gender and social norms, relations, and inequalities which are in a constant state of flux. Whilst research that highlights women's resilience to climate and security impacts is emerging, existing gender gaps/inequalities indicate that women continue to be outside power positions which may cause more differential vulnerability to climate-related security risks than men (cf. Chanana and Aggarwal 2020; Huyer and Partey, 2020; Moosa and Tuana 2014). I build on the findings from a primary review of 'Difficult Terrain' and the broader literature on climate change, gender, and migration, and field research and observations from my research in Morocco to highlight a number of issues not covered or mentioned briefly in the report, such as the gendered impact of climate change, women's access to resources, and questions of women vulnerability and resilience. My research constituted of semi-structured interviews with ten women aged 37-65 years (two from Safi, one from Marrakech, one from Chefchaouen, two from Casablanca, one from Fes, and three from Kenitra) in addition to three young water professionals aged 27-35 from Tangier, Marrakech, and Rabat. The paper concludes with recommendations for the water stakeholders community, and more broadly to planners and policymakers in the region on how to move this agenda forward.

CLIMATE-CHANGE EFFECTS AND GENDERED IMPACT

Difficult Terrain clearly shows the effects of climate change in Morocco, including current and future decline in rainfall volume, high water stress amid rapid population growth, and droughts. These climatic changes affect many major economic fields, including agriculture, in which 42.5 per cent of the workforce are women in rural areas. The report then points to the gender imbalance in the different categories of employment. This imbalance was highlighted by the women I interviewed,

who stated that, despite their significant contribution to the agricultural labour force, they generally hold lower-wage and more informal positions compared to men. For decades, the customary law on shared lands (including communal lands) in Morocco was used to disadvantage female family members, who were excluded and unable to benefit from land transactions. Even when women have access to land, they face many other obstacles in areas including land registration and access to financial capital and networks.

Research has also shown that women have less access to and control of lands and other resources than men, and even when they do have access or control, the land is often of poorer quality (cf. Perez *et al.* 2015). Inequalities in land ownership and other rights to resources, and in participation in natural resource management, deepen the impact that climate shocks have on women and other marginalized groups.

Despite the role that women play in water management, they are often excluded from decision-making arenas (cf. Al-Ajarma, Mansour and Arafeh 2021). Managing agricultural production and other forms of employment also requires new information, skills and technologies, which might be more accessible to men due to gendered differences in education, income and forms of employment.

Difficult Terrain points to the effects of climate change, which tend to aggravate territorial inequalities, leading to more significant migration flow from rural to urban areas. For many families, it is usually young men – although increasingly young women as well – who migrate internally or internationally. As pointed out in the report, gender effects of migration include women “left behind” in rural areas facing more intensive workloads, including the management of increasingly scarce water supplies.

This additional load was described by the women I interviewed, who stated that in many households in rural areas, women are responsible for fetching water for drinking, cooking and sanitation. This gendered division of labour makes women highly sensitive to changing climatic conditions. For example, women assert that they need to travel further to gather water during dry seasons. Thus, water scarcity increases women’s workload, adding to their existing domestic and agricultural responsibilities. Children also participate in water collection, a responsibility that causes fear among some women, due to the dangers associated with sending younger women to collect water.

Findings from *Difficult Terrain* suggest that women are less integrated into the employment market in rural areas. This means that they have fewer opportunities to diversify their livelihoods in times of climate-induced economic hardship. Financial and resource constraints hinder women (especially in low-income households) from responding to and recovering from climate impacts. Many of the narratives of the women I interviewed focused on existing gender and social norms, relations and inequalities, which make it harder for them to adapt to climate shocks. For example, men have greater access to land ownership, training opportunities, technical training and mobility, which increases their capacity to cope with changing climatic conditions, and also enables them to enter non-agricultural labour markets. Women face barriers to working, engaging in productive and sustainable agriculture, and achieving economic empowerment as a result of social norms and gendered power dynamics. These barriers are intensifying through the uncertainty caused by climate change.

Difficult Terrain asserts that the complex relationship between climate change and migration needs to be viewed within the broader intersection of migration, social and economic conditions,

and other factors that might govern people's mobility. While climate is not seen as the sole driver of migration, it is hard to rule out climate factors increasingly mediating social and economic pressures, including those related to agriculture production and access to water. Moroccan women, for example, would identify different types of migration, including types mainly undertaken by men.

Similarly, the available literature on migration trends in Morocco tends to focus on men's mobility and less on women. While looking at the linkages between climate, gender inequality and migration in Morocco, I found that rural women explained their lack of mobility in terms related to a lack of financial assets, social networks and employment opportunities elsewhere. Social norms, patriarchal structures and power relations also affect women's access to the financial and social resources required for mobility. Furthermore, even when women are able to overcome some or all of these hindrances, they are more likely to remain in their communities because of traditional, gendered roles and obligations, such as providing care for children and older people. In these cases, women's workloads often increase to include, as well as traditional domestic responsibilities, income-generating activities to maintain the household.

VULNERABLE OR RESILIENT?

WOMEN, CLIMATE CHANGE AND ACCESS TO RESOURCES

Unfortunately, within the international climate policy discourse, attention has often focused on women's vulnerability as victims of climate change, rather than seeing them as active agents who can participate in adaptation and mitigation (Al-Ajarma, Mansour and Arafah 2021). Despite the fact that Morocco has made fundamental reforms in its environmental agenda, such as the Plan Maroc Vert (Green Morocco Plan) and other policies, not everyone in the country seems to be benefiting in the same way. There is a notable lack of integration between Morocco's reforms on climate change, migration and gender at the policy level, which often fall within different sectors and are not treated as interrelated issues. Closing the gender gap, I argue, is essential to these efforts, which include access to, use of and control over resources such as land and water. This will entail resistance to exclusion, advocacy and civil society mobilization to enable policy change.

Despite the risks inflicted on women due to the effects of climate change and migration, there are examples of how they can play an important role in climate adaptation. These include the use of collective action, such as women's agricultural collectives, their contribution towards household and community-level resilience, as well as their role in enhancing food security and community leadership. Therefore, recognizing the role women play at the level of the community, ensuring greater gender parity and increasing women's access to resources (including land and water) are vital actions for climate change adaptation and resilience.

There are examples of women mobilizing against their exclusion in the public and policy spheres. One such example is the Soulaliyate movement, a grass-roots women's movement in

Morocco, which for nearly 15 years has been mobilizing women to take action and claim their land rights. The Soulaliyate are rural women who have been deprived of their rights to collective land due to colonial constraints and deep-rooted patriarchal traditions. In order to assert their economic and social rights, groups of affected women have been organized into associations and have used field struggles, media, demonstrations, and other advocacy and communication techniques (cf. Saadi 2019).

Despite the constitutional reforms granting more rights to women, many women still assert that they are at a strong disadvantage compared to men. Although women have managed to gain limited recognition of their rights from public authorities and to accomplish modest change in land policy, thousands of Moroccan women remain at a disadvantage within the current system, since land transactions and compensation continue to benefit men over women. The experience of the Soulaliyate women illustrates the significance of their right to land and the length of the struggle women have to endure to access that right. Addressing how women and marginalized groups may be excluded from accessing natural resources is necessary to reduce the dangers related to climate change, including loss of livelihoods and migration.

It is also important to value women's knowledge of natural resources to contribute to community resilience, including by integrating their know-how into formal natural resource management policies and practices (cf. Al-Ajarma, Mansour and Arafah 2021). Unfortunately, even in the cases of female water professionals and other women with formal knowledge, many lack access to resources and representation in the development sector.

During previous research I conducted among young water professionals in the southern Mediterranean, I interviewed three female Moroccan water professionals who pointed out that they faced additional challenges due to their gender, including sexism, harassment and patriarchy in the workplace (Al-Ajarma 2019). Female respondents also stated that they had limited access to decision-making and financial capital, and a lack of appointments to higher positions, despite their qualifications.

In recent years, international and national policies have become more comprehensive and gender-sensitive, but they have still failed to achieve gender equality in practice. According to young female professionals, regulations and policies focus on the apparent problems, rather than addressing the structural causes of social inequalities. Focusing on women's agency in climate adaptation and mitigation processes, and putting their voices, knowledge and experiences at the heart of the solutions, means making the whole of society more effective in responding to climate change and migration and, arguably, can contribute to a wider collective response.

RECOMMENDATIONS

From a policy perspective, *Difficult Terrain* points to the importance of careful management of water in agriculture, taking into consideration the nexus relationships between rural development, climate trends and water resources management, and translating them into decision-making. Indeed, developing effective and sustainable responses to climate change, migration and the growing demands on water and other natural resources requires action on multiple fronts. From a gender-inclusive perspective, additional recommendations could be made.

Future research

- Expand the geographical focus of the research conducted on Morocco to include more groups and focus on often-marginalized groups, including women, children, youth and older people. For example, Morocco has extremely water-scarce regions where women have the lowest level of land ownership. Given that the gender dimensions of climate-related security risks vary considerably across contexts, further field case study analysis is important to provide a comprehensive understanding of this nexus.
- Focus on women's and marginalized people's agency and amplify their voices, experiences and local knowledge in the research on and solutions to climate change, water scarcity and migration. Individuals and groups who might be marginalized in, or excluded from, research (and decision-making) based on their gender, ethnicity, social status, economic class or age need to be represented through relevant research. For example, if *Difficult Terrain* (or other research) identifies a lack of information on a specific group of people, such as women's role in safeguarding natural resources, then their stories could be highlighted to further support them and benefit others living in similar conditions.
- Explore the opportunities that could be gained in the context of climate-related risks. Much of the existing research on climate change and migration focuses on the risks and people's vulnerabilities to these risks, which are important to highlight. Nonetheless, research is needed on how climate-related risks may generate new opportunities for women's empowerment and highlight their resilience. For example, how male migration can facilitate women's participation in traditionally male-dominated positions or emerging sectors, where opportunities for entrepreneurship may exist.
- Highlight success stories and build links between women's groups and activists, such as those involved in the Soulaliyate movement and other community-led initiatives.
- Design socially inclusive responses to climate-related risks by applying an intersectional lens to climate and migration research, which can enhance the social inclusivity of research programming and inform more comprehensive approaches to address the gender dimensions of climate-related risks.

Policy

- Mainstream gender-transformative goals into climate change adaptation and mitigation policies. Such mainstreaming can be achieved by engaging in a number of advocacy tools, guidelines, and policies within the planning and execution of climate change projects. There can also be a pool of national experts on gender and climate policy who could be consulted for insights and guidance including young water and climate experts. While over the past years, Moroccan national climate change policies have become more comprehensive; yet, but they have failed to mainstream gender issues and promote gender equality. At the national level, climate adaptation policies should take into consideration the essential role of women and their contribution to addressing these risks.
- Coordinated and integrated initiatives are needed to increase awareness and understanding of the climate-related and migration challenges, nationally and internationally. These initiatives could include supporting entrepreneurial projects, amplifying the work of young people and women, and providing education and training on climate-related issues from a young age.
- Build women's and marginalised groups' resilience to climate-related risks through gender-responsive development opportunities, such as access to climate-responsive training and finance. The opportunities of climate finance should be inclusive and include equal access to information, application procedures, and selection process. One example of climate

finance is ‘Harnessing Climate Change Mitigation Initiatives to Benefit Women’, a project launched in Cambodia, Laos and Vietnam by the Asian Development Bank with a grant from the Nordic Development Fund and NGO interventions. The project pilots a model to develop low carbon projects with gender-equality benefits using climate financing to benefit women in their contributions to reducing emissions and participating in productive industries (cf. Adams et al. 2014). Multilateral development banks and bilateral development agencies further could assist countries to access climate finance and develop inclusive mitigation action that delivers sustainable environmental and social impacts. Such financing opportunities can contribute toward climate resilience by supporting water-efficient technologies, climate-smart agriculture, diversifying crops, and saving seeds which could play a pivotal role in climate response (cf. Al-Ajarma et al. 2022).

- Development arrangements and plans should facilitate multi-stakeholder engagement to ensure equal representation in community-decision-making bodies, and to include the voices of historically underrepresented groups including women, youth, and other marginalized groups.
- Indeed, evidence from the review suggests that limited participation of women and marginalized groups in natural resource management processes not only prevents gender and social equity, but also affects the resilience of the socioecological system (Elias 2015; Pham *et al.* 2016; Hadgu *et al.* 2019). Participatory approaches to natural resource management and agriculture that engage with all resource users (both in decision-making and access and in control over resources) could increase social cohesion, reduce degradation and deforestation and effectively promote sustainable use of resources (Hedge *et al.* 2017).
- Replace short-term ‘humanitarian response’ to climate change and migration with long-term development strategies that would benefit both host and migrant communities. These strategies could be drawn from regional or national agencies especially if a pool of experts on gender, migration, and climate policy exists in the region. The Mediterranean, for example, has rich human resources and young water professionals such as the Mediterranean Youth for Water Network the members of which have both first-hand experience in the needs and problems in the region and experience in developing solutions and leading water-related action in their countries and in the region. Regional collaboration is central to these strategies which should also address power inequalities by encouraging shared decision-making across governmental bodies, the private sector, and civil society.

To conclude, while growing attention has been paid to the gender dimensions of climate change and migration in recent years, gender is still at the margins of climate security research and policymaking. This is in the context of growing recognition among international institutions and development practitioners that a gender lens is crucial to understanding the complex interconnections between climate change and migration. Tackling discriminatory norms and inequalities in access to resources is thus a vital component of effective climate-change adaptation strategies. Involving every stakeholder and engaging marginalized groups as active agents in their own climate resilience-building leads to *everyone* becoming stronger and more resilient.

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