



Putting power into resilience

Case studies from around
the world

March 2016

Poverty is an outrage against humanity.
It robs people of dignity, freedom and hope,
of power over their own lives.

Christian Aid has a vision – an end to
poverty – and we believe that vision can
become a reality. We urge you to join us.

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Cover photo: Rasmata Sawadogo is head of the women's group in Masbore, Burkina Faso. She is also an active member of the Building Disaster Resilient Communities (BDRC) committee. Humanitarian Accountability Partnership (HAP) training and the participatory and vulnerability capacity assessments (PVCA) has helped empower women like Rasmata to speak up about their problems and ask for support from local authorities, partners and Christian Aid. Through the BDRC programme, the women in Masbore successfully lobbied the local authorities for a community maternal health clinic.

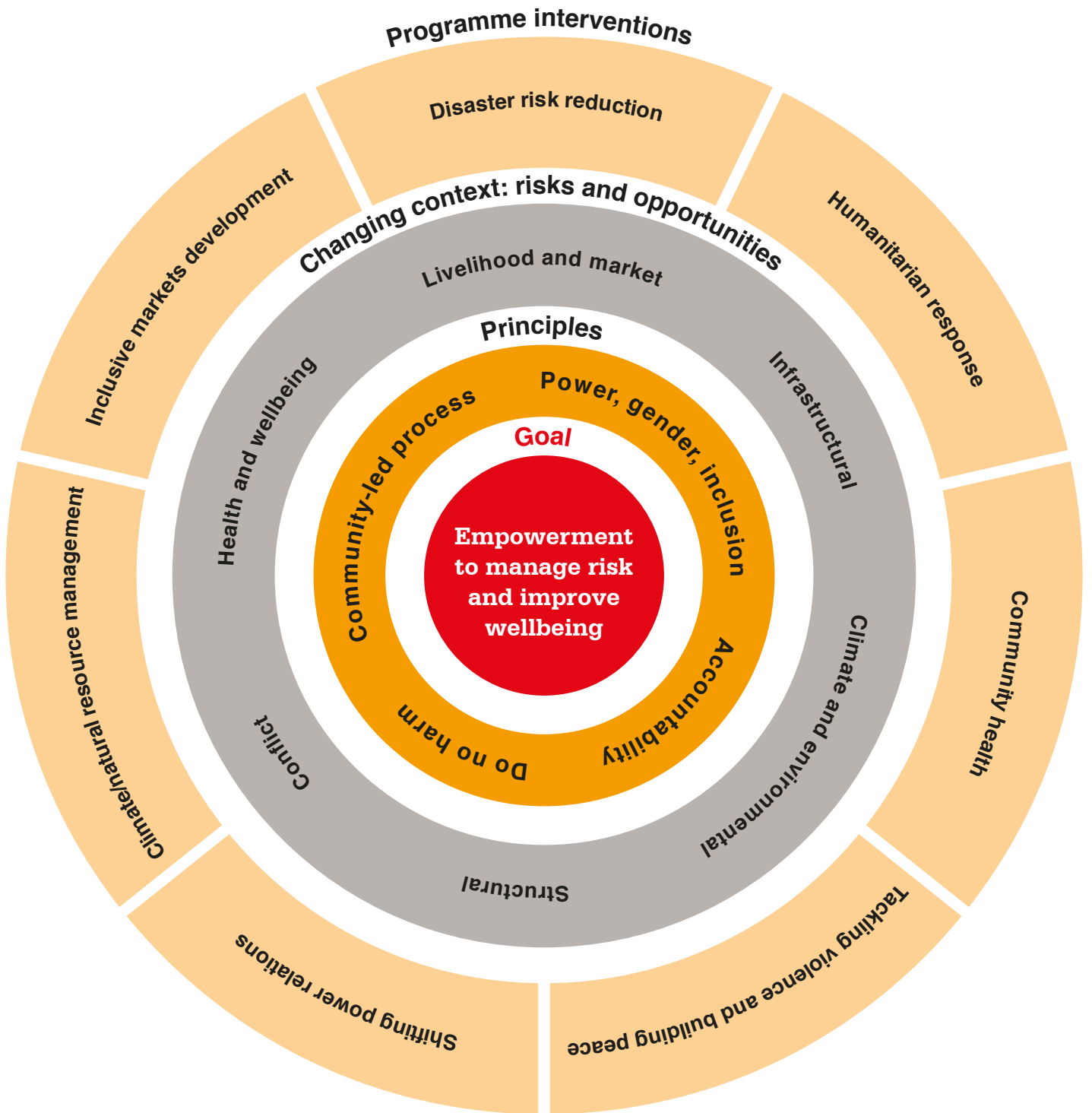
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Introduction

What is resilience?

Christian Aid's goal is to empower people to live with dignity, able to respond successfully to disasters, risks and opportunities. There are different types of risk, and building resilience supports individuals' and communities' **capacity to anticipate, organise for and adapt to change**.

Why resilience?

Poverty, inequality and vulnerability are inextricably linked: poor people face disproportionate exposure to a variety of risks and pressures – from natural disasters to gender discrimination – which limits their ability to improve their lives. They often lack the power to make decisions that would help them adapt to continual change and exploit its potential benefits. Christian Aid's corporate strategy, Partnership for Change, aims to change this by putting power into the hands of poor and marginalised people.

Our Resilience Framework

Building on the Thriving Resilient Livelihoods framework, published in 2012, our updated Resilience Framework demonstrates how building resilience supports communities and individuals to assess and manage the risks that threaten them while making the most of opportunities that arise. To address these risks, the framework integrates different programme interventions, such as disaster risk reduction, community health, shifting power relations and inclusive market development.

At the core of the framework is our belief that **individual and community resilience can be enhanced by empowering poor and vulnerable women and men, boys and girls to manage risks and improve their wellbeing, allowing them to live with dignity**. Through our framework, our programmes and partners can support local communities and individuals to:

- identify risks and pressures
- act on their own behalf
- exercise their rights
- access resources
- respond appropriately and effectively to achieve sustainable results.

Our experience shows that a holistic, adaptive and integrated approach – in other words, one that can respond rapidly to change, and covers disaster risk reduction, access to health services and adaptation to climate change simultaneously – is required. Brokering relationships between stakeholders and integrating expertise is key to our resilience approach and also integral to achieving the sustainable development goals. This process must be inclusive and accountable, and led by people and communities.

The wider the network, and the better the integration of resources and expertise from many fields of work, the greater the impact on poverty. This leads to sustainable, long-term solutions. We see resilience both as a process (steps taken to achieve an end) and an outcome (an end result).

Our Resilience Framework recognises that we work at different levels: global, national, regional, district and with individual households. All levels are dynamically linked and influence how communities and individuals experience vulnerability to risk. The framework is equally applicable across each of the levels.

Case studies

The following nine case studies illustrate how we interpret resilience – as a means of putting communities and individuals at the centre of their own development. They embody the principles of the Resilience Framework, and put the risks and opportunities it addresses into context; these have been broadly classified under six themes. The stories showcase different aspects of our approach, but share a common theme of empowerment, participation and inclusiveness.

The first three case studies demonstrate the principles of the Resilience Framework. **Community-led participatory vulnerability and capacity assessments (PVCAs)** is exemplified by initiatives to facilitate inclusive decision making in Burkina Faso and Bolivia (p7), while schemes to provide women with access to quality land in Mali, and to address land insecurity among the urban poor in the Philippines, embody **power, gender and inclusion** (p9). **Accountability** is highlighted by community-led work in the occupied Palestinian territory, where the inclusive PVCA process, adapted to local context, has encouraged communities to develop coalitions to strengthen advocacy work (p11).

Do no harm is the fourth principle of the framework and self-explanatory, running through each and every initiative, so there is no separate case study showcasing this. All programmes should have a deep understanding of the wider context to avoid reinforcing existing or underlying community tensions and inequalities and transferring environmental, social or economic risks to other areas, communities or social groups.

The remaining case studies contextualise the framework's identified risks and opportunities. On page 13, an advocacy initiative in Kenya, to connect communities to county government via SMS-based reporting, in the wake of devolution, illustrates the risks and opportunities inherent in **structural change**. The benefits of anticipating **climate and environmental change**, to maintain and boost crop productivity, are highlighted (p15) in an example from Nicaragua, while the importance of building **infrastructural** resilience is demonstrated by the devastating 2008 Kosi flood in India, and subsequent community-driven work to prevent future infrastructure failure (p17).

In Bangladesh, Christian Aid's work on milk value chain development has addressed **livelihood and market inequalities**, integrating marginalised producers into a profitable supply chain, enabling women to exploit opportunities in the dairy sector (p19).

Designed to boost **health and wellbeing**, radio listening groups in Ethiopia have encouraged debate about health and harmful traditional practices such as female genital mutilation, polygamy and child marriage (p21). Meanwhile, the challenge of achieving lasting impact in environments affected by **conflict** and disasters has been the focus of Christian Aid's work in the Democratic Republic of Congo, supporting local people to use advocacy to address violence and insecurity (p23).

How Christian Aid adds value

Our Resilience Framework bridges the gap between humanitarian and development work.

Christian Aid is certified with the Humanitarian Accountability Partnership (HAP) and we expect to gain Core Humanitarian Standard certification in March 2016. As such we adhere to the highest humanitarian and programming standards and champion downward accountability. We have a reputation for effective, sustainable and participatory community-based interventions and undertake PVCAs.

Christian Aid acknowledges the complexity and scale of risks and pressures and recognises that to be successful and transformative, we often need multiple actors and platforms, working across different sectors, levels and scales.

We collaborate to achieve shared goals, working with partners to facilitate and broker partnerships to promote integration and accountability, empower civil society, broker coalitions, leverage resources and enhance advocacy.

Further reading

For more country-specific case studies demonstrating resilience building see:

Malawi:

resilientlivelihoods.christianaid.org.uk/new-edition-ecrp-insights/

Philippines:

resilientlivelihoods.christianaid.org.uk/strengthening-power-from-below/

Community-led risk, vulnerability and capacity assessments

Inclusive decision making in Burkina Faso



The community-led risk and capacity-assessments process has empowered women to speak out about their problems and ask for support from local authorities, partners and Christian Aid.

The principle

Through community-led processes (especially participatory vulnerability and capacity assessments – PVCAs) we focus on putting communities at the centre of change, increasing awareness of risks and uncertainties, their root causes, building on local capacities and identifying mitigation strategies in an active cycle of analysis, actions and advocacy activities, informed by local and external knowledge.

In practice

Since the 1970s, rural communities in Burkina Faso have become increasingly vulnerable to droughts, floods, pest invasions and food shortages, due to an unstable climate and environmental degradation. Communities have low awareness of the causes and limited capacity to adapt, and lack access to services and information.

Communities in the Sahelian and Northern regions of Burkina Faso, where 90% of the population live off the land, are caught in a perpetual cycle of drought, floods and locust invasions.

After an analysis of livelihoods risks and opportunities, Christian Aid's partners conducted PVCAs with those identified as most vulnerable. They gained an understanding of the main shocks and hazards inhibiting development and

the communities' capacity to tackle problems, also identifying solutions and developing action plans.

Fodder storage

Communities identified that increased frequency of droughts led to food shortages for livestock. They realised they needed to be better prepared, so partners introduced the non-traditional practice of collecting grass and storing it for fodder.

'We've learned to plant rice in the rainy season and vegetables in the dry season.'

Elier Kabore, farmer

Local farmer Tindono Tinamdiba says: 'Last year, we had a problem of forage availability, but with this method, we have been able to store enough straw to feed our animals and to sell some. With the revenue from the sale, I bought millet and rice. At village level, the population has packed around 1,000 bales. Some feed their animals, others sold the bales to buy sheep and goats. We mow the fresh grass in September but we carry on collecting dry grass until December.'

After seeing the benefits, neighbouring villages replicated this practice. Other solutions and activities identified to mitigate risks included constructing a 'dam' to store water collected during the rainy season, planting crops suitable for the climate and using improved ovens, which use less (scarce) wood while freeing up women's time to cultivate more crops or take part in other activities.

Listening to, and acting on, women's concerns

In Masboré village, Zondoma Province, past interventions had only provided short-term support based on need, not risk, and did not adequately tackle community vulnerability.

Poor coordination between implementing NGOs or with local government had rendered impact limited.

Reseau Marp, Christian Aid's local partner, provided capacity-building support, initially through the Building

Disaster Resilient Communities (BDRC – funded by UK aid from the UK Government)¹ and follow-up Programme Partnership Arrangement (PPA), based around the use of PVCAs.

Since PVCAs are carried out in an inclusive manner, engaging people of different ages and genders, previously marginalised community members – including women and older people – were able to share their perspectives and contribute to the action plan. This meant the community gained a better collective understanding of the risks and vulnerabilities affecting everyone and developed a more inclusive decision-making process and action plan.

Women in the village reported that, before the BDRC intervention, their voices were not heard nor were their concerns and interests adequately reflected in interventions. Women now feel proactively involved in community decision making. Women's interests and concerns regarding health, nutrition and livelihoods have been included in action plans.

As a result, the local government has built a maternal health clinic, mothers are trained in nutrition, and income-generating activities for women, such as livestock breeding and market gardening, have been funded. In a later review of the PPA programme, although in a minority, women were still present on all the committees formed as part of the original BDRC.



Giving children a voice in Bolivia

In 2013, the indigenous community of Capaina in Bolivia experienced one of the worst floods in living memory when the local river broke its banks. Many families lost their homes and livelihoods.

During a PVCA, facilitated by Christian Aid's local partner Soluciones Practicas, the community was divided into three groups: men, women and children. Emma Donlan, Christian Aid Bolivia Country Manager, observed the children's session.

After starting the session with games and songs the children, aged 5 to 12, shared stories and provided detailed information; for example, a village map showing families and homes. Emma noted that they recognised who, in each family, had special vulnerabilities or skills such as knowledge about first aid, farming or leadership and gave vivid descriptions of the flood, its aftermath and the impact it had on them, their families and community.

They surprised everyone during the group feedback session with their knowledge, insights and proposals about their own role in disasters and how they could help prepare their community, for example, by keeping a first aid kit in a rucksack at school, which they could hang from the rafters, so it would keep dry and be easily available.

At the end of the day, the community leader underlined the importance of local ownership of the community action plan, listening and taking into account the proposals, analysis and ideas of everyone, including the children, who had demonstrated their potential for involvement in decision making.

'For about 50 years we've noticed a big change in the weather. We've seen diminishing rainfalls, declining variety in terms of vegetation and degraded soil fertility. Climate change has made poor farmers poorer.'

Prosper Zombre, University of Ouagadougou

¹The aim of the BDRC was to build resilience and reduce vulnerabilities to dangers and risks.

Power, gender and inclusion

Women and access to land in Mali



When APH started working in Dogon Plateau in Mali, villagers like Yatandou Djiguiba identified lack of water as a major challenge. APH supported the villagers to build a new reservoir and to repair a well.

The principle

Power, gender and inclusion analysis focuses on providing targeted assistance (such as protection) aimed at tackling power dynamics, encouraging meaningful participation, and promoting and measuring transformational change.

In practice

Traditionally, women in Mali lack access to land or have access only to poor quality land. 'The land – 50m by 50m – was a gift from my husband,' says Halmabou Yalocayé. 'The land given to women by their husbands is generally poor. We have to work very hard to grow anything.' Despite 'the gift' her access to the land remains precarious. 'If my husband needs the land, he can take it back. It's like that for all the women in the village.'

During risk and opportunity analysis exercises, this lack of access to quality land was identified as a barrier to women's livelihoods, preventing them from growing nutritious, profitable crops, and contributing to family income.

A food crisis in 2010 had been followed by two years of droughts, crop failure, increased food prices, a political coup, and Tureg and Islamist groups seizing power in the north.

In Halmabou's village, Christian Aid's partner Action for Human Promotion (APH) negotiated a land title for women to establish a market garden. With land secured, APH worked with the women to form an association, and provided seeds, tools and training, for example, in crop cultivation and diversification appropriate to the climate, and marketing.

Other partners have also successfully acquired land titles for women producer organisations prior to providing further material or technical support for market gardening.

Improved crop yields

Through land ownership, women are able to access land without fear or pressure from authorities and are prepared to invest more in their land, which leads to better crop yields.

As a result of the market garden initiatives and technical training, by 2012 one cooperative reported producing 475 tonnes of vegetables from 50 hectares, while others produced average yields of 2,232kg of maize per hectare (nearly 50% higher than the Mali average for 2012).

By 2015, a survey confirmed 84% of market garden producers (mostly women, in three distinct intervention areas) had increased production, and 82% highlighted an increase in product diversity thanks to the market gardens. Market gardens were considered to be among the most important interventions helping households to cope with disaster risks, alongside improved seeds and self-help group loan funds that permit women access to credit.

Increased yields and market access have also improved the nutritional and health status of children.

Shifting gender power dynamics

The 2015 outcome assessment revealed many positive examples of change.

Women now participate much more at household and village levels thanks to sensitisation and economic empowerment activities by our partners. In Nonkon commune, for example, women are now better able to express themselves and defend their interests in community meetings. Local development planning is much more reflective of women's interests. This illustrates a wider trend in communities with whom Christian Aid's partners are working.

Women's increased economic status and their ability to contribute to household expenses means they now have greater influence in their homes and communities, and are consulted more. A woman in Nangadourou village explained how their husbands have changed their attitudes and behaviour:

'Now I can ask my husband to go out to get the things we need, and he goes out quickly without complaining. This was unimaginable before.' A woman from Sokolo community further explained: 'My husband talked to me about using my ram during the Tabasky celebration, and it was agreed upon; in the past, he would have killed it without even asking my opinion.'

National advocacy for land security

Land insecurity was identified by communities as an important cause of vulnerability for poor farmers, especially women. In response, Christian Aid and our partners have been carrying out advocacy at national level in favour of the implementation of the 2006 LOA (National Agriculture Law), which included provisions for establishing land commissions at local level to handle land disputes.

The most significant result at national level has been the creation of a strategic and focused network comprising all the relevant Malian and international actors; this brings together farmers' movements and local and international NGOs, all with different strengths and expertise. Working, analysing and planning together, the network develops strong messages to influence the government on land security.

Promoting land rights at local level

Advocacy work at national level complements partners' efforts at local level to increase awareness of the LOA provisions for establishment of land commissions and to provide practical and technical support to set these up. Our partners successfully raised awareness of the role, responsibilities and mandate of the land commissions, and worked with local authorities to establish them.

Once created, the land commissions received further training and began looking into cases, referred from the courts as per the LOA provisions. In Segue commune the land commission, set up with Christian Aid's partner PRODEV, handled an important land conflict case, dating back 40 years, and effectively settled the dispute.



Addressing power issues in informal settlements of Mandaue City, Cebu, the Philippines

In the Philippines, many of Mandaue City's urban poor live in high-risk areas prone to fire, flood and landslides, with limited access to social services. However, land insecurity is the key challenge.

'If this is solved, the other issues will be addressed,' says Vidal Auxilio from Fellowship for Organizing Endeavours (FORGE), one of Christian Aid's partner organisations in the Philippines.

'It's important to tackle power dynamics so people are able to participate meaningfully in local government decision-making processes. Then they can bring their demands to government and negotiate what is best in order to develop their communities.'

FORGE supports poor communities to form themselves into community organisations to challenge evictions and demolitions. When land title or relocation has been secured, they help communities understand their rights and the power dynamics that may prevent them from making a living, managing disaster risks or having their voices heard. FORGE helps them to establish partnerships with relevant stakeholders, especially government departments, so they can access additional resources and influence local policies and programmes.

FORGE also tackles domestic violence in poor communities, working with women to help them understand their rights. Through the community organisations, women are empowered to stand together to fight domestic violence.

Accountability

Accountability and community-led planning in the occupied Palestinian territory



Kiffaya Mohammed Ibrahim Atallah Sa'ad belongs to a women's association that benefits from community-led risk and capacity-assessments implemented by the YMCA.

The principle

The principle of accountability involves the sharing of information, genuinely inclusive participation and the embedding of feedback mechanisms throughout the whole programme cycle. Programmes need to adapt to the local context, integrating social, cultural and/or spiritual considerations.

In practice

Christian Aid has worked in the occupied Palestinian territory since the 1950s and has a long history of funding programmes aimed at reducing poverty in the region, through a rights-based approach. Christian Aid secured strategic Programme Partnership Arrangement (PPA) funding from UK aid from the UK Government in 2011 to work on disaster-facing risk reduction as part of the occupied Palestinian territory Resilient Livelihoods programme.

The conflict context in the occupied Palestinian territory is a challenging environment in which to build resilience, and a strong relationship between communities and partners is vital. Underpinning this is the need for trust, which has been formed through accountable relationships between Christian Aid, our partners YMCA and Agricultural Development Association (PARC), and by communities that value participation, information sharing and community feedback.

Participatory vulnerability and capacity assessments (PVCAs) have successfully supported communities to identify, prioritise and address the risks they face, building resilience as they do so. They were first carried out in the community of Al Jiftlik, in the Jericho Governorate, in early 2014. Al Jiftlik is a community of 6,000 people on the Jordan plains, an area of fertile land used for agriculture and livestock grazing.

Over the years, the community has been broken into smaller segments by encroaching illegal Israeli settlements that have gradually sectioned off large swathes of arable land in the area, cutting off water and electricity supplies to the community. Other villages in the area are also increasingly cut off – there is limited local transport and the nearest large town, Nablus, is hard to reach. This meant the PVCA was initially carried out in one section of the community, since reaching all 6,000 people would have been difficult at this time.

Building a coalition of communities

However, following the successful implementation of the action plan, the community protection committee, with support from our partner PARC, decided to carry out PVCA training in the wider Al Jiftlik community and in neighbouring communities. This was, in part, to share a ‘positive, empowering experience’, but also a way of building a coalition of communities to strengthen advocacy work.

To achieve this, the protection committee – the community organisation set up during the PPA to address the action plan – enlisted the support of the local council in raising awareness of what it intended to do among Al Jiftlik community members and in five other communities. It decided to make small changes to the PVCA process to save time and to ensure it was participatory.

Ultimately, the protection committee decided it would be a better use of time to hold a collective PVCA,

comprising representatives from each of the communities. Approximately 10 people from each community were chosen, representative of previously identified vulnerability criteria: gender, age, disability and location within the community (both central and distant).

This process took three days. However, as predicted, many of the same risks were put forward by each community. This meant that an overall action plan, focusing on advocacy around securing a local authority-funded medical centre, was soon prioritised. Community members then returned home and set up protection committees to deal with more localised risks.

Accountability and information sharing

According to Saeed Ahmad Saeed Mawahre, chair of the Al Jiftlik protection committee, the crucial change brought about by the PVCA process was everyone working together. It clarified the wider risk context – communities realised that actions upstream in one community were contributing to flooding downstream – and they began to work together to address these risks. This is why so much emphasis was placed on the risk-mapping process. For Saeed, this is the most important tool within PVCAs.

Strengthening information sharing and coordination mechanisms within and between communities is vital. The more people who understand and agree with what is happening and why, the better, otherwise the process risks being taken in many different directions down the line.

Saeed links this to Humanitarian Accountability Partnership (HAP) principles, which underpinned the work. For example, communities asked how to set up complaints mechanisms, having seen Al Jiftlik members successfully complain to PARC and receive feedback directly from the organisation’s CEO. Positive experiences such as this reinforced information sharing and participation.

The PVCA is a flexible process – as demonstrated by the variety of ways in which it has been implemented across the countries carrying out PPA resilience work. Whatever the context though, for the work to be sustainable in the longer term, it is important to embed accountable practices from the very start.



Picture power

Christian Aid partner YMCA worked with a number of communities in the occupied Palestinian territory as part of a UK aid-funded resilience programme. One of these, Jub al-Dhib, is a marginalised community that has been increasingly cut off from resources by nearby illegal Israeli settlements. Three women from the community took part in a participatory study, Picture Power, using photography as a tool to share their perspectives on some of the changes they had experienced throughout the programme.

Many of the photographs and experiences documented by the women highlighted the importance of participation as an empowering experience. They took leading roles on the protection committee and successfully lobbied the local authorities to fund power for the village generator. They also managed to build support from a number of NGOs to help build a small supermarket. Fatimah (above, centre), explains: ‘The programme developed... the status of women in the village. We women proved we are capable of doing this; with due respect to the men, we proved that we can do a lot for our village.’

Structural

Bringing government closer to the people in Kenya



Christian Aid has engaged in SMS service projects on governance, health, climate and markets information delivery in Kenya. For example, local farmer Justin Ireri receives text messages containing weather predictions and forecasts, enabling him to make more informed decisions about what and when to plant.

The risks and opportunities

Structural risks and opportunities relate to the distribution of power and how it is exercised in decision making, service delivery, governance structures and the operation of management.

Related issues revolve around social norms, gender, representation and inclusion.

In practice

Christian Aid's resilience programme in northern Kenya has enabled remote communities to engage with new government structures, using mobile phone technology. This work exemplifies the importance of supporting communities to advocate for the issues most relevant to them in times of structural change.

Devolution

Since Kenya's adoption of its 2010 Constitution, there has been a remarkable shift in the structure of governance. The creation of 47 counties, each with its own government legislature and resources, was designed to bring government closer to the people and enable them to have a greater say in decision making.

Supporting communities to identify, plan for and respond to the risks they face through advocacy is a key element of our Resilience Framework. For Christian Aid in Kenya, engagement with this devolution process is a priority for community advocacy, supporting civil society (partner organisations and others) and citizen networks to engage with these newly created structures and hold them to account.

Why SMS?

Mobile phones are widely used in Kenya, with mobile network reach at 78% in June 2014. Text messaging is increasingly used in a range of development and humanitarian responses. We had already engaged in SMS service projects on health, climate, and markets information delivery in Kenya and Ghana.

'[SMS Voices] makes it cheaper and easier for the government. We are very grateful to Christian Aid and PACIDA, you have eased our burden and made us very appreciated by community members, as a county government, as a department, and even myself as a minister, thank you very much!'

Hawa Abdulahi, Marsabit County Minister for Administration, Coordination and ICT

The SMS Voices project built on this by connecting communities to county government via an SMS-based reporting scheme. It was a simple way of establishing effective communication channels, enabling people to demand, obtain, share and feed back on information of interest to them.

With the help of our partner Pastoralists Community Initiative Development and Assistance (PACIDA) and UK-based NGO On Our Radar, SMS Voices was piloted in 10 wards of Marsabit county in northern Kenya. Participants included 47 community reporters, 10 ward administrators representing the county government, and members of civil society organisations.

Training workshops focused on how to crowdsource community news, perspectives and feedback, and share these via SMS. Five reporting themes were agreed upon:

- access to services and resources
- water and climate
- governance and justice
- security and conflict
- public works.

In each location, ward administrators were connected to local community reporters, who were able to log specific issues facing their community and engage in ongoing dialogue with local authorities around risks and incidents.

Greater influence

During the course of the four-month pilot, 500 reports were submitted across the 10 wards. A total of 198 reports focused on access to services, 123 on climate and water, 66 on governance and justice, 52 on public works and 61 on conflict and security.

Communities recorded 25 cases of influence achieved over four months as a result of this reporting, compared with only four cases in the previous three years of programme work. County responses included measures to tackle drought and food scarcity through water trucking, borehole repair, nutrition surveys and relief food supply, and steps to repair infrastructure.

Other issues addressed included conflict resolution (within communities, between communities and even cross-border disputes) and governance issues, with reports concerning corruption or questions about government policy raised and answered.

Lessons learned

The issues reported by communities straddled traditional humanitarian and development work. In the context of Christian Aid's Resilience Framework, this links to the idea that work must take place across different programme interventions such as disaster risk reduction, governance, climate change adaptation, health, and inclusive market development.

The SMS Voices approach demonstrated a number of strengths, linking real-time early warning systems

with early action to address disaster and conflict.

The project also achieved the primary goal of brokering dialogue between community members and local authorities, encouraging positive, participatory engagement between communities and authorities, building mutual trust.

Challenges and opportunities

It was notable that country interventions generally addressed risks facing the wider community rather than those faced by specific groups. For example, issues raised by women were not actioned by the authorities due to budget allocation preferences that favoured water trucking for drought-affected communities.

It was also unclear to what extent local authority responses were 'acts of benevolence' rather than strategic budgeting decisions. Reviews of the pilot indicated that significant opportunities remain to deepen engagement, with power-mapping exercises suggesting there are untapped government resources available to communities.

'[SMS Voices] has made us relevant and loved by the community members. We are very happy about this project.'

Sarah Omale, Ward Administrator

Climate and environmental

Anticipating climate risks in Nicaragua



Audilio Echavarría is a farmer in the coffee region of Jinotega, Nicaragua. Climate change is forcing many coffee farmers like him to diversify into cocoa.

The risks and opportunities

Climate and environmental risks and opportunities concern the potential effects of environmental change and degradation. These include the loss of natural resources, pollution from effluents and energy use, and hydro-meteorological and geophysical change.

In practice

Nicaragua is one of the countries in the Americas most vulnerable to climate change, according to the 2015 Germanwatch *Global Climate Risk Index*. It is the second-poorest, with 40% of the population living on less than \$2 a day, and significantly reliant on agriculture for employment and livelihoods.

Agriculture provides 30% of GNP and 60% of employment, so strengthening agricultural resilience and capacity to adapt is an economic priority as well as vital for food security. This reliance exposes vulnerable communities to a variety of shocks and stresses which are only expected to intensify.

They include cyclones from both the Pacific and Atlantic, usually occurring during the second half of the rainy season, which runs from May to

October. The El Niño phenomenon, a climate oscillation that warms the eastern half of the equatorial Pacific, brings a reduction in hurricanes but an increase in drought risks. These are particularly acute in the 'drought corridor' that runs from western Nicaragua into Honduras, El Salvador and finally Guatemala.

Regional climate model

Building on existing work that increased communities' use of early warning systems for hurricanes, we supported our partner Centro Humboldt to develop a regional climate model for Nicaragua. This combines climate data with crop characteristics and requirements for the three main crops – maize, beans and rice – to generate forecast maps for five-year periods up to 2039. These show how the evolving climate would affect the areas suitable for growing these crops.

For example, the 2035-39 scenario for beans indicates that the suitable range would contract and fragment substantially. Cultivation would cease in the drought corridor and many of the areas currently considered optimal for beans in the central highlands would become marginal. This suggests that a change to more sustainable, moisture-conserving soil management practices is vital, together with new, earlier-maturing and drought-resilient bean varieties, increased access to irrigation and consideration of other, more resilient pulses.

Community-managed rain gauges

The development and use of these model-based scenarios have involved an initial network of 27 community-managed rain gauges, later replicated in more communities, which are situated in areas relatively less well covered by formal climate stations. This local information has been used to improve the calibration of the climate model to increase its accuracy regarding local climate conditions.

So, with the community involved in their development, the crop scenarios are also used for the existing planning process first developed to manage hurricane risk, but expanded to include other risk categories. The maps provide community action plans, and farmers in given locations gain general information on likely future climate change but also more specific guidance; for example, switching from a maize variety that needs 110 days to reach harvest, to one that needs 100 days or less can improve resilience to drought risks, where there is a likelihood of the growing season being cut short by low or erratic rainfall.

Matching farmer priorities and plans for production with applied climate scenarios for their main crops provides important planning guidance. For example, identifying crop options to meet future conditions for communities and individual farmers, especially where these include perennial crops such as coffee that have a 15-year production cycle.

Communities have now been collecting rainfall records since 2011, recording daily rainfall and meteorological characteristics for a variety of local decision-making processes, including:

- matching rainfall to the growing requirements of crops to guide crop management measures
- using day-to-day and historical community data to determine the type and variety of crops (maize, beans, sesame, etc) to plant
- better estimation of the planting date, based on the seed type to be used and the rainfall accumulated
- early warning of drought conditions; for example, if only 1-5mm is recorded for three–five days, planting is restricted and irrigation measures can be used (if available) to reduce moisture stress
- early warning of flood risks – if more than 100mm falls in 24 hours, the community is advised of flood possibilities; if more than 200mm falls, this indicates a high likelihood of local flood risk
- reviewing harvest prospects based on rainfall records to give an early indication of harvest expectations.

Where a formal climate station is absent, local government’s capacity to respond to drought or flood can be constrained as it lacks the rainfall data to make an accurate assessment. Communities have therefore sought to ensure that their rain gauge data is officially recognised as reliable and can

be used to trigger drought relief, even if formal rainfall figures suggest drought has not occurred.

Early indications of impact

In terms of productivity improvements, crop yield data from all 400 producers suggests that a combination of the following factors, as attributed by farmers, has had a significant impact, improving staple crop yields by 50-100%, depending on the crop (75% on average):

- increased knowledge and application of organic fertilisers and pesticides
- better access to seeds, through seed banks
- improved agricultural understanding achieved through training provided on what to plant and when
- the application of climate information through use of rain gauges.

Producers not only report better yields of basic crops but diversification into other plants including fruit, vegetables and medicinal plants; 100% of producers agree they are now eating better or much better (more; more healthily) and that the health of their families is either better or much better. Based on a 2013-2014 assessment, 92% now have food to sell after feeding their families compared to 37% at the beginning of the project, and 98% report improved access to markets since the beginning of the project, with low yields no longer cited as one of the biggest barriers to resilience.



In Nicaragua, rain gauges are helping communities to plan what and when to plant, and give early warning of flood and drought.

Infrastructural

Community-driven resilience after the Kosi floods



The road from Saharsa to the relief camp at Mirjawa was flooded for nearly three weeks after the River Kosi burst through a stretch of embankment, changing its course and flooding vast portions of Bihar District, India.

The risks and opportunities

Infrastructural risks equate to potential adverse effects resulting from the failure of physical structures – including buildings, roads, power supplies and protective infrastructure, such as flood protection embankments – due to misuse, internal weakness and/or poor design and maintenance.

In practice

On 18 August 2008, an embankment 13km upstream of the Kosi Barrage, which is on the Nepal/India border, breached. Despite floodwaters being at a historically low level for the time of year, they flowed about six-and-a-half times the normal river flow and about twice the highest recorded rate from natural flooding. Early warning was compromised and communities failed to receive official notice of the oncoming flood, relying instead on informal connections through mobile phones that enabled villages and family networks to warn each other of the flood progression.

Supaul, in the northern part of Bihar District, was the first district in India to be hit. In some areas, water to a

depth of 25 metres was recorded. This inundated a total area of 3,700km² across five districts, destroying 340,000 hectares of crops – the eastern half of Supaul accounted for approximately 73% of this agricultural loss. By November, 434 fatalities and 3,500 missing persons had been recorded. More than 3 million people were affected, a third of whom had to abandon their homes. Temporary shelter, mainly on main roads on raised embankments, the only dry land left, was needed for 460,000 people.

Longer-term impacts

Once the floods had subsided, longer-term impacts became apparent. Sand deposits up to seven metres deep were widespread, and despite some mechanical removal, were still covering 5,700 acres of previously

'Floods are the greatest threat to life but drought is now the greatest threat to our livelihoods.'

Uttam Lal Sada, Rampur community

fertile farmland in 2012. Other impacts included the destruction of houses and roads, illustrating the dual nature of infrastructure risk. Both the impact of an infrastructure failure and the damage inflicted on infrastructure by an external shock, in this case the flood, have caused long-term damage.

For the communities of Supaul, recovery has been slow. To strengthen this, our partner Church's Auxiliary for Social Action (CASA) supported 124 of the most vulnerable communities to analyse their risks, their capacity to respond and develop community action plans to enhance their recovery and their ability to respond to future shocks and stresses. These plans have identified a variety of resilience-building activities that involve using their own strengths and resources, increasing their access to various government schemes and identifying risk-reducing activities with which external support could assist.

Although the 2008 Kosi flood figured prominently in evaluations of community risk assessments, carried out with local people to ascertain risk priorities (and later participatory vulnerability and capacity assessments (PVCA) action plans to mitigate shocks and stresses), drought emerged as an important concern, especially as the sand deposits had reduced the ability of the soil to hold the moisture needed for rice and wheat crops. The damage to local roads has also increased the risks of isolation from schools, hospitals and other important services. This is further reinforced by seasonal waterlogging of land around villages during the annual monsoon. A total of 19 risks were identified for action across the project.

Ensuring access to government services

The priority in the action plans was improving access to government

schemes and services to which communities are routinely excluded because of their status as Mahadalits. These include the rural employment guarantee (or NREGA, guaranteeing 100 days of work per annum to rural households); the widow's pension; the Indiravaas scheme for permanent shelter; the handicapped certificate (which entitles the holder to a monthly allowance of R200/\$3); applications to the prime minister's road development scheme; access to integrated child development service centres and primary schools; and advisory services in agriculture, animal health and tree planting. **With only 2% of eligible workers in Bihar actually receiving their 100 days of employment under the NREGA scheme, increasing access has the potential to enhance local incomes significantly.**

Community-based resilience building

An interesting aspect of this community-based approach to resilience building has been the value community members placed on the process. Foremost among the benefits has been the change in motivation and organisation. As Kalikapur villagers put it: 'Before we used to think in isolation, but we are now acting collectively on a common platform.' This covers at least 70% of community members and means 90% of community members are now active in applying for their employment guarantee and other services, compared with 0% before.

They are also using their own resources better, with a little external support. Demonstration plots established to test new drought-resilient varieties of wheat have increased access to these seeds to 30% of the village's farmers, together with advice on more resilient, sustainable cultivation techniques that have increased yields by 25%. The variety (Balaram) requires only 60% of

the seeding rate, is tolerant of both cold and hot conditions, needs less irrigation (three-to-four irrigations versus seven for existing varieties) and fertiliser (50-75% of normal application), matures earlier and satisfies local taste preferences.

Disaster management task forces

With memories of the Kosi flood still vivid, villages have established disaster management taskforces to improve early warning, evacuation and effective response to ensure that next time, more lives are saved and recovery is faster. A focus on gender concerns has supported the formation of self-help groups (SHGs) by women, who have set up revolving funds for members to use as loans and to distribute livestock to replace those lost in the floods. The SHGs have organised eligibility, purchase and distribution to ensure the right local goat varieties are bought and get to the most severely affected households.

Since the Kosi Barrage was constructed in 1963 to control floodwaters and facilitate increased access to irrigation, there have been 15 major flood incidents. With this history, it is important to ensure all affected communities have an early warning/early action process and are empowered to lobby government departments for resilience-building public services and infrastructure maintenance, both on the barrage and locally.

'Before, we used to think in isolation but we are now acting collectively together.'

Sahadeo Oraon, Kalikapur community

Livelihood and market

Exploiting the dairy market in Bangladesh



Shima Baroi has two cows who produce about 10-12 litres of milk per day. As the demand for milk production grows, marginalised women like her are steadily increasing their incomes.

The risks and opportunities

Livelihood and market risks and opportunities revolve around income, household food and nutrition security, control of productive assets, access to business opportunities, operation of, and access to, markets, fluctuation of global prices and the ability to maintain sustainable and profitable livelihoods.

In practice

Coastal areas of Bangladesh have been hard hit by climate change and natural disasters, and traditional livelihoods are becoming untenable. Climate change has caused high salinity of groundwater in coastal areas and water scarcity, reducing crop yields and undermining an already fragile agricultural economy. However, agriculture continues to be the major source of employment and income.

Christian Aid combines its work on resilient livelihoods and market access with climate change adaptation. We aim to build thriving, empowered communities with increased incomes, food security and a greater ability to respond to extreme climate uncertainties and emergencies.

Bagerhat is an area in a particularly disaster-prone part of Bangladesh where cattle rearing is a traditional livelihood (mostly for consumption with a small portion for local sale), but only a fifth of the quantity of dairy produce Bangladeshi consumers demand is produced. Our partner Integrated Community and Industrial Development Initiative in Bangladesh (INCIDIN) identified the potential to grow the dairy sector to improve nutrition and diversify sources of income; however, a new, commercial approach was needed.

Improving milk production

We worked with INCIDIN to design interventions to improve milk production. First, INCIDIN identified the main actors in the milk value chain to understand the issues affecting

the sector. A total of 1,250 producers were brought together in 50 common interest groups (CIGs).

The first challenge was to address cattle quality. To improve the production and quality of milk and increase yield, different breeds of cow were introduced. Veterinary experts trained CIG members in cattle health and disease management, and organised deworming, vaccination and vitamin feeding. The deworming alone improved milk production and increased monthly incomes by BDT3,000-5,000 (\$37-\$62) per farmer.

To address scarcity of cattle fodder, a saline-tolerant, high-yielding grass was introduced and promoted, and pond banks converted to grass cultivation. Farmers are paid according to the milk fat content, encouraging them to use improved fodder.

Access to new markets

To sell milk in bulk, a community chilling plant was set up. This avoids milk spoiling before it can be sold, while improved hygiene standards and equipment prevent milk contamination. CIGs were supported to buy motorised vehicles to transport their milk.

The bulk sales offered improved standards, and increased confidence enabled farmers to sell to national dairy companies such as Arong Dairy and Milk Vita, the largest dairy chain in Bangladesh.

INCIDIN has negotiated an agreement with Milk Vita that ensures an increase in the price producers get for their milk by BDT5-10 (\$0.06-0.12) per litre. The collaboration with Milk Vita includes technical support, such as medication, worming and vaccination. Producers need these services to maintain high-quality production – by shifting their provision to a market-led approach, farmers are no longer dependent on grant support to pay for them.

Because of the project's proven potential, Milk Vita invested in a 5,000 litre milk-chilling plant 30km away in

the neighbouring district of Gopalganj. Farmers who cannot reach the original chilling plant due to poor roads can deposit their milk locally here in return for regular weekly payments.

The second phase of the project will focus on replicating and scaling up the business model reaching dairy farmers in other areas of Bangladesh and integrating them into this growing market.

Marginalised women entrepreneurs

Four of the CIGs set up by INCIDIN formed a community-led enterprise, organised and run by 50 women from marginalised lower-caste Hindu communities. Thanks to the training and capacity building by INCIDIN, the enterprise began to produce additional value added products such as ghee and curd. The women set up under a brand name, Udaypur Dairy Products, and extended their business potential and incomes.

Udaypur Dairy Products delivers milk to local sweet shops and tea stalls and supplies schools. A milk-chilling machine and cream separators funded by the Scottish Government through Christian Aid's Inclusive Economic Development programme supported product diversification and access to bulk buyers and contributed to Udaypur establishing itself as an independent commercially led enterprise. In 2015 an incubator fund helped expand its business, allowing the company to rebuild its factory, increasing production and markets.

Udaypur Dairy Products now sells directly to Milk Vita. The women plan to scale up their business and increase the number of member CIGs, which will require investment in management and more robust financial structures. They have obtained health certification and are making improvements to packaging and marketing materials to promote their brand. Their ambition is to expand their reach to markets beyond Bagerhat.

Accessing finance

Udaypur Dairy Products needed significant investment in capacity building, and the women struggled to access affordable finance. Start-up capital was provided via savings from group members and external funds, including funding for processing machinery from the Scottish Government. The women had been unable to obtain affordable financial capital to expand their business due to a lack of collateral assets, meaning they could only access loans with interest rates of more than 25%. Government loans do not cover dairy producers. We are continuing to support the commercial development of the enterprise via access to affordable finance and technical assistance.

Udaypur Dairy Products has increased the women's average income by 25%. Because of quality improvements, there has been a 40% increase in the price of the milk sold. Turnover has risen nine-fold in 18 months, due to product diversification, added value activities and branding and the first sales to Milk Vita.

Cohesive communities

The communities have become more cohesive, with enhanced social capital, thanks to the initiative. Women are able to exercise their rights and access entitlements. Several implementing partners emphasised that, with only a minimum financial safety net of their own, they will be able to manage a level of external shocks/disaster.

This has boosted the women's self-esteem and confidence; they feel they are an asset to society and to their families. They have greater control over resources and a voice in decision making. Some of the women are even expressing political ambitions.

Health and wellbeing

Radio listening groups in Ethiopia



Women from a radio listening group gather to discuss the radio programmes. Ora Digna (centre), a women's leader, explains that the radio programmes teach them how to prevent illnesses and about the dangers of traditional practices like FGM.

The risks and opportunities

Health and wellbeing risks and opportunities involve addressing physical, mental, spiritual and social wellbeing, affecting lives and livelihoods, and social stresses that erode personal, family and communal cohesion and strength.

In practice

Good health is crucial to strengthening individual and community resilience. Christian Aid recognises the intrinsic value of health in its own right and as a vital element of resilience. Healthy individuals and communities are more productive, and are better able to withstand and recover more quickly from external shocks. Conversely, those least resilient are most affected by shocks and are more vulnerable to ill health.

Through local partner Agri Service Ethiopia (ASE), we have been

supporting vulnerable communities in one of the most remote and hard-to-reach areas of Ethiopia to address the risks and challenges that hamper them on a daily basis.

In the Dassenech community, many children suffer severe malnourishment, and diseases threaten the lives of people and livestock alike. Other challenges include improving the way they manage their pastures, so they can grow fodder to fatten and sell their animals; installing new water infrastructure to provide water for livestock and domestic use; and diversifying livelihoods by helping

women to access new opportunities, such as raising small animals, like goats and sheep, or starting non-agricultural businesses.

Dependent for centuries on livestock herding, the Dassenach people in Ethiopia are constantly battling the elements. Their water and pasture resources are becoming depleted, resulting in hugely harmful effects on families as there are few options to make a living, which also affects their health.

Improving health through radio listening groups

ASE has integrated health messaging into its resilient livelihoods work to improve people's health by addressing harmful social norms that are detrimental to their health and wellbeing. It has sponsored radio programmes about health, livelihoods, and harmful traditional practices, such as female genital mutilation (FGM), polygamy and child marriage. These are regularly broadcast in local languages by a government-run radio station.

As part of an initiative to establish community learning forums, ASE helped communities in Dassenech, and other project areas, to establish radio listening groups, members of which meet for the broadcast, listen to the programmes and discuss the issues these raise. The groups learn about everything from disease prevention and social norms to livelihood diversification. ASE coordinates with government departments to mobilise communities to listen to the programmes, which are also facilitated by experts on various development issues. The programmes feature interviews with local people from their nationality group who discuss challenges and solutions.

Initial evidence of behaviour change around social norms is coming out, and next steps would involve exploring the issues of power dynamics and underlying structural causes of health and livelihoods risks more deeply. Local women's leader Orar

Digra has found the programmes useful and empowering. She says: 'The programme has taught us some excellent messages, such as the importance of taking women to the health post to give birth. The programmes teach our communities about education, vaccination and many other things.'

With training from ASE, Orar has become a women's leader and leads her local health development army, an initiative set up by the national government to mobilise people to access health services. Listening to the programmes has also led to changes in traditional practices. 'We are taught about harmful traditional practices like FGM. But according to our culture, we do not see cutting as harmful,' says Orar. 'Now we just perform a small cut. We hear on the radio programme that we should only use one blade for one person and then throw it away.'

The programmes have resulted in an improved awareness of circumcision and HIV as well as the use of condoms for family planning and HIV prevention. The radio shows have also taught people how to harvest crops, fatten livestock and improve other agricultural practices.

As Orar says: 'We can't just depend on cattle alone. We need new kinds of trade and small businesses. If we had a mill, for example, we could grind sorghum for the flour in the village. At the moment, we have to carry the grain on our heads for long distances to the mill in Dassenech town.'

The ASE listening groups project ended in the summer of 2014, but when the groups were visited again later in the year, members were still meeting to listen to radio programmes.

Local challenges

Challenges ASE faces in the area include the mobile nature of Dassenech communities. Dr Abayneh Leza, ASE's Regional Community Coordinator, explains: 'In each community learning forum there are around 30

members (50% women, 50% men), but members are often moving, so it's difficult to get people together regularly.'

Short project cycles also cause issues because there are so many uncertainties such as flooding, disease and drought, which affect the way ASE is able to communicate with the beneficiaries, and this makes implementation challenging.

'The programme has taught us some excellent messages, such as the importance of taking women to the health post to give birth. The programmes teach our communities about education, vaccination and many other things.'

Orar Digra, women's leader

Conflict

Advocacy to counter conflict in the Democratic Republic of Congo



Since the defeat of Goma by rebels in November 2012, Congolese soldiers stayed with local families in Bweremana. Life for local people, who were already living in poverty, became further marred by rape and pillage due to the presence of the army and armed militias.

The risks and opportunities

Conflict risks encompass physical violence, destruction of assets and dislocation of communities, breakdown or absence of governance/state structures and services, where there is no rule of law.

In practice

Achieving lasting impact in environments affected by conflict and disasters is a major challenge for humanitarian and development agencies. In 2011, Christian Aid trained partners in eastern Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) in participatory vulnerability and capacity assessments (PVCA), a methodology developed during the five-year Building Disaster-Resilient Communities programme (BDRC – funded by UK aid from the UK Government).²

Our partner Central Africa Baptist Community (CBCA) then conducted PVCAs with three communities

near the border between North and South Kivu: Bweremana, Minova and Kalungu. At the time, the context was relatively peaceful, with the main insecurity relating to food supplies and associated pressure from internally displaced people who had come to the town to seek refuge from fighting in surrounding villages. As CBCA at the time perceived PVCA to be a disaster-risk reduction tool, this was reflected in the risks prioritised by communities: food insecurity, banana wilt, landslides and erosion. Violence and conflict were not seen as risks in the same way.

Based on community action plans resulting from the PVCAs, CBCA provided seeds, saplings, water-storage equipment, tools and training

² The aim of the BDRC was to build resilience and reduce vulnerabilities to dangers and risks.

to support 1,776 households to diversify livelihoods and protect the community against landslides through tree planting. Community members felt support in cultivating alternative crops would benefit them and help feed relatives and internally displaced people who were seeking refuge in the towns.

A changed risk environment

In November 2012, the context changed unexpectedly as 20,000 army soldiers descended on Bweremana and Minova following the defeat of the army by M23 rebels in Goma. Within weeks of their arrival, hundreds of cases of crop thefts and sexual attacks were reported in the area. Trees were chopped down for shelter, aggravating the risk of erosion and landslides.

As part of a mid-term review carried out by Christian Aid in early 2013, CBCA and the communities revisited the PVCAs and action plans, this time identifying and prioritising the risk of conflict and violence. In mid-2013, CBCA provided advocacy training to community members as part of the resilience programme. In Minova, Bweremana and Kalungu, advocacy committees were established and plans were developed to address the causes of their insecurity. The training helped the community identify advocacy activities they could undertake themselves, for example writing letters, collecting petition signatures and forming networks with local and municipal chiefs.

In November 2013, the security context worsened again as several thousand demobilised militia were brought to the region as part of a government-proposed disarmament and reintegration strategy. This time, the community put their new advocacy

skills into practice in order to address violence and insecurity.

Advocacy in practice

The resilience committee in Kalungu, 8km from Minova, wrote and delivered a letter to the United Nations Stabilisation Mission in DRC, MONUSCO, requesting security patrols to protect their community against increased violence and looting. In response, MONUSCO extended its patrols beyond central Minova to Kalungu. CBCA supported the communities with interventions to address sexual violence, that also resulted in the community reporting rape cases to the territorial administration and MONUSCO's protection section via a regional SMS protection network. Witnesses were called from the community to testify in the trials of several military personnel.

In Bweremana, the resilience committee, with community and civil society leaders, wrote a petition demanding an end to acts of violence and looting and the departure of troops and militiamen from their land. CBCA and Christian Aid circulated this widely to authorities, INGOs and MONUSCO in Goma. It was also sent to the chief of the community, who showed it to the national minister of the interior during a visit to Bweremana in November 2013.

Subsequently, the International Committee of the Red Cross put up 'protection of civilians, no violence' notices, as did the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OCHA). The committee felt empowered to see their petition contribute to improved security when the national government relocated the demobilised armed groups away from the area in April 2014.

Key lessons

A transferrable approach: As a result of the Programme Partnership Arrangement (PPA) programme, local chiefs considered Christian Aid's participatory resilience building approach a valuable way to drive their own development policies.

Flexibility and adaptability: A regular community-based process of monitoring, reflection and change is even more crucial in places where the context is expected to fluctuate.

Conflict-sensitivity: Conflict is both a context and a risk; we need to find sensitive ways to discuss the implications of conflict with communities, and use this to design conflict-sensitive interventions.

Advocacy is possible in conflict settings: Although communities living in conflict or politically divided contexts may have fears or doubts around their ability to safely and successfully advocate for policy changes or government support, community confidence to influence change to achieve their objectives can be built.

Partnerships: Building relationships and working with others, such as local government and NGOs with expertise in human rights, is key to achieving timely and positive outcomes for communities.

Balancing needs and risks: In conflict settings, a tension exists between needs and risks but both humanitarian relief and flexible development funding can be combined to address needs (for example, seeds and tools) and risks (advocacy and rights training).

'To resolve this issue of vulnerability, we need to identify the levels of vulnerability and cases of most vulnerable because there are different degrees of vulnerability, for example those whose houses were destroyed in the fighting.'

Jacqeline Muhawe, community member, Kimumba, North Kivu



Men in Bihar, India discuss their action plan as part of the PVCA (see pages 17-18).



Yatandou Djiguiba waters the dry earth of her market garden in Wendeguele village on the Dogon Plateau, Mali. Markets gardens have helped households to be better prepared to cope in times of disaster.

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