

International climate justice, conflict and gender – Scoping study

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Executive summary

The Scottish Government has put *justice* at the heart of its ambitious policy agenda and programme of action to fight the global climate emergency. In its climate policy and international engagement, the Scottish Government is already a strong voice calling for a gender-responsive approach and women's participation. Integrating its visions for climate justice and a feminist approach to foreign policy is an opportunity to demonstrate powerful leadership in shaping a new feminist approach to international climate justice.

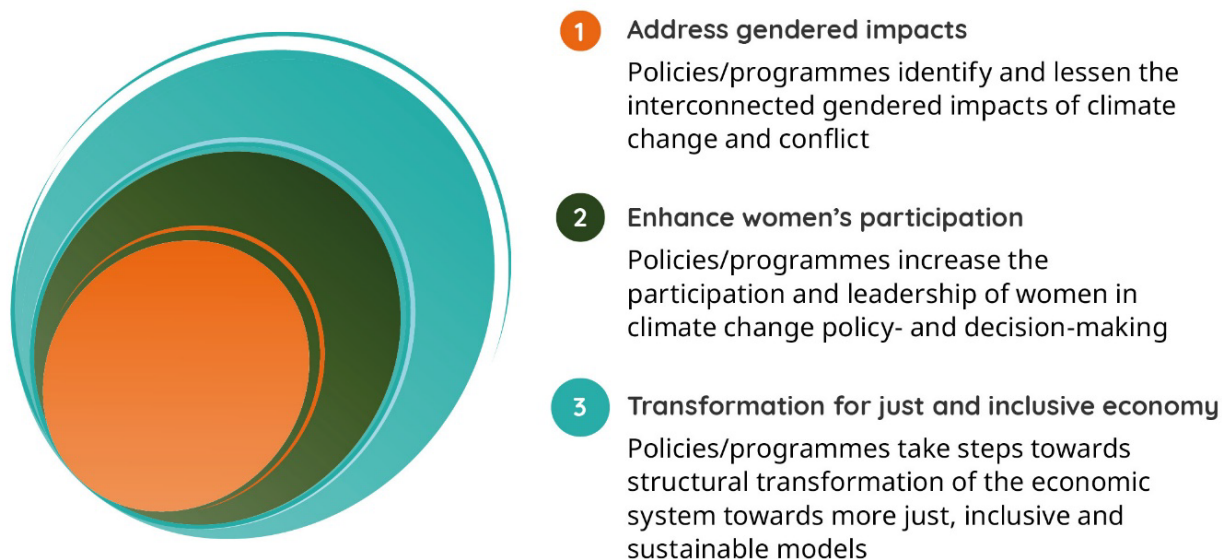
Climate change, conflict and gender are mutually reinforcing dynamics that interact to destroy lives and livelihoods, especially for the most disadvantaged. From an analysis of Scottish Government work to date, and best practices in international policy and programming, this report suggests strategic policy opportunities through which the Scottish Government could boost its global roles in climate justice and gender equality, and contribute to peace and security.

To overcome limiting conceptual framings which have become prominent in recent years, we consider how to:

- draw connections between climate change and conflict that avoid thinking of climate change as a threat to national or state security, but instead frame climate change as undermining *human security and human rights*; and
- develop policy and programming that not only aims to address the gendered impacts of climate change and conflict, and increases the participation and leadership of women, but also contributes to *transforming the economic system that is driving climate change, conflict and gender inequality*.

The framework in figure 1 sets out the levels of action required to achieve a feminist approach to international climate justice. This framework can be used to analyse policy in Scotland and beyond.

Figure 1: Levels of action needed to achieve a feminist approach to international climate justice



Building from the Scottish Government’s strong base, this scoping study identifies a range of priorities and entry points to ensure its development strategy more systematically and meaningfully engages with the relationships between climate change, conflict and gender inequality. The opportunities are discussed with reference to how they respond to the action needed at each level and summarised in table 1.

Table 1: Opportunities to strengthen work at the nexus of climate change, gender and conflict and their impacts

Opportunity	Level 1: Addressing gendered impacts of climate change	Level 2: Increasing women’s participation and leadership	Level 3: Transforming economic systems
1. Centre economic justice in climate justice	Increased climate finance and a fairer global economic system is a prerequisite for poor countries and communities to be able to address the gendered impacts of climate change	Climate finance should fund an increase in women’s participation and leadership in climate decision making A fairer economic system can lead to and requires women’s participation and leadership	Increased climate finance, if raised through Fair Shares analysis, is part of a fairer economic system that sees historical emitters paying for climate change A fairer economic system tackles climate change, insecurity and gender inequalities at the root

Opportunity	Level 1: Addressing gendered impacts of climate change	Level 2: Increasing women's participation and leadership	Level 3: Transforming economic systems
<p>2. Use the Climate Justice Fund and International Development Strategy to support just, inclusive and sustainable feminist economies</p>	<p>Initiatives that model alternatives to extractivist, polluting development, such as regenerative land use, can help communities address the gendered impacts of climate change</p>	<p>Initiatives that model alternatives to extractivist, polluting development can and should centre on the participation and leadership of women</p>	<p>Initiatives that model alternatives to extractivist, polluting development are an essential part of demonstrating the potential of more just, inclusive and sustainable economies at scale.</p> <p>Work to share knowledge of just, inclusive and sustainable economies with partner governments, contributes to fairer, feminist economies globally.</p>
<p>3. Empower women peacebuilders and environmental defenders to advocate for economic transformation</p>	<p>Building the capacity of women activists to advocate on economic justice and climate finance could enable root causes of the gendered impacts of climate change to be more effectively addressed</p>	<p>Adding economic justice and climate finance dimensions to the training and support provided to women activists would further enhance their skills, knowledge and power to lead</p>	<p>Adding economic justice and climate finance dimensions to the training and support provided to women activists would progress the overall goal of transforming economies to more just, inclusive and sustainable models - through the work of women peacebuilders/activists.</p>
<p>4. Advance gender equality through all Climate Justice Fund and International Development programming</p>	<p>Using gender mainstreaming to ensure all CJF and IDF programming advances gender equality contributes to addressing the gendered impacts of climate change in a systematic way</p>	<p>Gender mainstreaming by definition increases the participation and leadership of women, as one part of advancing gender equality</p>	<p>This policy option contributes to a transformation of the economic system only in an indirect sense, in that empowered women may go on to call for these more transformative steps</p>

Opportunity	Level 1: Addressing gendered impacts of climate change	Level 2: Increasing women's participation and leadership	Level 3: Transforming economic systems
<p>5. Leverage partnerships at home and abroad and continue to learn</p>	<p>Scottish Government and partners continuing to learn about the mutually reinforcing dynamics of climate change, conflict and gender will enable the gendered impacts to be addressed in more systematic and sustained ways</p>	<p>Continuing to learn can contribute to increasing women's participation and empowerment, as women researchers, practitioners and policy-makers share best practices and implement feminist climate justice policies</p>	<p>Continuing to learn about ways in which just, inclusive, sustainable, feminist economies address climate change at root, build peace and facilitate gender equality enables the Scottish Government to take an informed lead in progressing a global transition to a fairer economic system</p>

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Acronyms

ACCD	Catalan Agency of Development Cooperation
CJF	Climate Justice Fund
FFP	Feminist Foreign Policy
GIS	Geographic Information System
GPS	Global Positioning System
HEF	Humanitarian Emergency Fund
IDS	International Development Strategy
IDF	International Development Fund
IEPADES	<i>Instituto de Enseñanza para el Desarrollo Sostenible</i>
iNDC	indicative Nationally Determined Contribution
NAP	National Adaptation Plan
NDCs	Nationally Determined Contributions
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OECD DAC	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, Development Assistance Committee
IDP	The Scottish Government's International Development Programme
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WEDO	Women's Environment and Development Organisation
WPS	Women, peace and security

1 Introduction

The Scottish Government is committed to placing people at the heart of international action on climate change, and to promoting the benefits of a just transition to a net-zero society. This is manifested through its commitment to the Paris Agreement, a Just Transition, trebled support for the Climate Justice Fund (CJF), and, through this, a pledge for the loss and damage experienced by the global south due to the climate crisis.¹ In April 2019, the Scottish Government was the first government in the world to declare a climate emergency.² It acknowledges that “those least responsible for the global climate emergency are being affected first and most severely” and thus aims to go beyond its commitment to “do no harm” by delivering finance and other support to countries in the global south. This approach is part of the government’s efforts to be a “good global citizen,”³ through which it commits to working in partnership with others to tackle global challenges, which – as well as climate change – include poverty and insecurity. In this report we are concerned not just with promoting climate justice in situations of armed conflict, but with how climate justice contributes to peace and security more generally. Thus, rather than conflict, we use the term *insecurity* for the problem and *security* for the goal. Furthermore, by security we mean *human security*.

In its climate policy and international engagement, the Scottish Government is already a strong voice calling for a gender-responsive approach and women’s participation, including through the *Glasgow Women’s Leadership Statement on Gender Equality and Climate Change*.⁴ The Scottish Government has committed in its *Programme for Government* to developing a feminist approach to foreign policy, and has long championed women peacemakers.⁵ Integrating the Scottish Government’s visions for climate justice and a feminist approach to foreign policy is an opportunity to demonstrate powerful leadership in shaping a new feminist approach to international climate justice.

This scoping study informs how Scottish Government policy can contribute in a targeted way to tackling the intersectional impacts of climate change, conflict and gender and thus advance a feminist approach to international climate justice. After an outline of the study’s methodology in section 2, section 3 explains how the dynamics of climate change, conflict and gender intersect and influence each other. It also introduces several potential pitfalls for policy makers: common framings found in national policies and policy discourse which the Scottish Government might want to avoid, as they contain limitations and risks. This discussion forms the basis of a new analytical framework for assessing, in section 4, the Scottish Government’s, and then, in section 5, other states and substates’ policy and programming, on the climate/conflict/gender nexus. The sixth and final section outlines a series of policy and programming opportunities and options for the Scottish Government.

¹ Scottish Government, ‘First Minister: Scotland to Show Leadership on Climate Justice’, 1 November 2021, <http://www.gov.scot/news/first-minister-scotland-to-show-leadership-on-climate-justice/>.

² Climate Emergency Declaration, ‘Scotland and Wales: World’s First Governments to Declare a Climate Emergency - Climate Emergency Declaration’, 2019, <https://climateemergencydeclaration.org/scotland-worlds-first-government-to-declare-a-climate-emergency/>.

³ Scottish Government, ‘Scotland: A Good Global Citizen - a Scottish Perspective on Climate, Defence, Security and External Affairs’ (Scottish Government, 2021), <http://www.gov.scot/publications/scotland-good-global-citizen-scottish-perspective-climate-defence-security-external-affairs/>.

⁴ Scottish Government, ‘Celebrating Gender Day at COP26’, 2021, <http://www.gov.scot/news/celebrating-gender-day-at-cop26/>.

⁵ Scottish Government, ‘A Fairer, Greener Scotland: Programme for Government 2021-22’, 2021, 110.

2 Methodology

The research team conducted a targeted review of:

- peer-reviewed academic research based upon quantitative and qualitative empirical analysis (or data);
- significant reports on gender, climate and conflict from multilateral organisations, including United Nations (UN) bodies;
- reports on gender, climate and conflict from the most significant think tanks, research institutions and NGOs working in the area; and
- policies and programme reports related to climate and gender of other state and sub-state development agencies.

Concurrently, we conducted a review and analysis of Scottish Government policy and programming, based on both published and unpublished material, compiled in consultation with the Project Manager and Scottish Government stakeholders (see Annex 1 for full list of published documents). Key policy areas and initiatives were the Climate Justice Fund (CJF), other relevant elements of the International Development Strategy (IDS), and nascent peace and security policy. It was agreed that interviews with policy makers were not required for this scoping study, given that key material was available in print. We then conducted an analysis of international policy discourse and innovation in climate programmes.

From our analysis of Scottish Government work to date, and best practices in international policy and programming, we suggest strategic policy opportunities through which the Scottish Government could boost its global roles in climate justice and gender equality, and contribute to peace and security.

3 Climate change, conflict and gender: understanding the intersections

Climate change, conflict and gender are mutually reinforcing dynamics that interact to destroy lives and livelihoods, especially for the most disadvantaged. Researchers, policy makers and practitioners have recently become interested in the connections between the three, producing a range of publications and initiatives. In 2014, the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change began a programme of work on gender. In 2015, we started to see the first academic articles focused specifically on the triple nexus of climate, conflict and gender,⁶ and academic work on the nexus has since proliferated.⁷ The UN Joint Programme on Women, Natural Resources and Peace, published a flagship report on climate change, conflict and gender in 2020, and various international NGOs followed suit.⁸

It is well established that armed conflict has gendered impacts. More men die during conflicts, for example, whereas women die more often of indirect causes after the conflict is over.⁹ Many of war's gendered impacts stem from women's responsibilities for caring and provisioning and from pre-existing gendered inequalities, which make, for example, women and girls more vulnerable to sexual and gender-based violence or less likely to be able to flee armed violence.¹⁰ The impacts of climate change, both the sudden onset (e.g. floods, hurricanes) and slow onset (e.g. drought, water level rise), also have gendered impacts, especially on indigenous, rural and other marginalised

⁶ Christiane Fröhlich and Giovanna Gioli, 'Gender, Conflict, and Global Environmental Change', *Peace Review* 27, no. 2 (3 April 2015): 137–46, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2015.1037609>.

⁷ Carol Cohn and Claire Duncanson, 'Women, Peace and Security in a Changing Climate', *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 22, no. 5 (19 October 2020): 742–62, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616742.2020.1843364>; Nicole Detraz and Sonalini Sapra, 'Climate Change, Gender, and Peace: Thinking Differently in a Brave New World?', in *Routledge Handbook of Feminist Peace Research* (Routledge, 2021), 359–67; Tobias Ide et al., 'Gender in the Climate-Conflict Nexus: "Forgotten" Variables, Alternative Securities, and Hidden Power Dimensions', *Politics and Governance* 9, no. 4 (2021): 43–52, <https://doi.org/10.17645/pag.v9i4.4275>; Annica Kronsell, 'Women Peace and Security and Climate Change', in *Oxford Handbook on Women, Peace and Security*, ed. Sarah Davies and Jacqui True (Oxford, UK: OUP, 2019); Keina Yoshida and Lina M Céspedes-Báez, 'The Nature of Women, Peace and Security: A Colombian Perspective', *International Affairs* 97, no. 1 (11 January 2021): 17–34, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ia/iaa173>.

⁸ Silja Halle and Molly Kellogg, 'Gender, Climate & Security: Sustaining Inclusive Peace on the Frontlines of Climate Change' (United Nations Environment Programme, 2020), <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2020/06/gender-climate-and-security>; A. E Boyer, S S Meijer, and M Gilligan, 'Advancing Gender in the Environment: Exploring the Triple Nexus of Gender Inequality, State Fragility, and Climate Change' (Washington, DC: IUCN, USAID, 28 August 2020), <https://genderandenvironment.org/triple-nexus/>; Itza Castañeda Carney et al., 'Gender-Based Violence and Environment Linkages: The Violence of Inequality' (IUCN, International Union for Conservation of Nature, 29 January 2020), <https://doi.org/10.2305/IUCN.CH.2020.03.en>; GAPS UK, 'Defending the Future: Gender, Conflict and Environmental Peace' (GAPS UK, 2021), <https://gaps-uk.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Defending-the-Future.pdf>; Jessica M Smith, Lauren Olosky, and Jennifer Grosman Fernández, 'The Climate-Gender-Conflict Nexus: Amplifying Women's Contributions at the Grassroots' (Washington, DC: Georgetown Institute on WPS, 2021), <https://www.wocan.org/sites/default/files/The-Climate-Gender-Conflict-Nexus.pdf>.

⁹ Christin Ormhaug, Patrick Meier, and Helga Hernes, 'Armed Conflict Deaths Disaggregated by Gender', *PRIO Paper* 23 (2009), <https://www.prio.org/publications/7207>.

¹⁰ Carol Cohn, *Women and Wars: Contested Histories, Uncertain Futures* (John Wiley & Sons, 2013); Fionnuala Ní Aoláin et al., *The Oxford Handbook of Gender and Conflict* (Oxford University Press, 2018); Simona Sharoni et al., *Handbook on Gender and War* (Edward Elgar Publishing, 2016).

women, again related to pre-existing gender roles and inequalities.¹¹ For example, women's disadvantaged position in many societies can make them most at risk in the event of extreme weather events such as floods, tsunamis and hurricanes, which are becoming more frequent and intense. Women are less likely than men to have been taught to swim, more likely to wear restrictive clothing, and more likely to be responsible for those who need help to flee the disaster, such as the very young, old, or people with disabilities.¹² In terms of the slower onset impacts of climate change: as women are, in many societies, the ones with daily responsibilities for growing and gathering food, cooking and care, when climatic changes reduce access to clean water, food, or land for agriculture, women's burdens increase.¹³

Climate change, like conflict, is associated with increased prevalence and risk of gender-based violence. Women may have to travel longer distances in search of water and food, and pressure on agricultural resources leads to conflict within communities and households.¹⁴ Child, early and forced marriages can occur as a harmful coping strategy among those who suffer from economic stress due to slow-onset adverse effects of climate change, as well as disasters.¹⁵ While climate change can increase gender-based violence, gender-based violence is also used as a means to limit and control women's ownership of, access to, use of and benefits from natural resources. Evidence from Madagascar and Sierra Leone, for example, demonstrates that women are subjected to sexual extortion to gain access to agricultural land and land titles.¹⁶ Women environmental defenders frequently face threats of sexual violence, particularly in contexts where they stand up to extractive industries on indigenous lands.¹⁷

Many fragile and conflict-affected states are those most vulnerable to climate change, as they have limited ability to adapt to and cope with climate change related-challenges.¹⁸ In conflict and displacement situations, all of the risks that climate change poses to women and girls are heightened. Moreover, norms of masculinity and femininity can themselves contribute to climate-related violence and conflict. For example, in the conflict in Northern Nigeria, masculinities expressed through men's desire to protect family wealth tied up in cattle and the intense stress experienced by these young men related to climate impacts intensify conflict dynamics. Crisis points include conflict between young male pastoralists and women in farming communities. Attacks against women, including sexual violence, then heighten conflict as norms of protective masculinity impel men to retaliate when "their women" have been attacked.¹⁹ Indeed,

¹¹ Susan Buckingham and Virginie Le Masson, *Understanding Climate Change through Gender Relations* (Taylor & Francis, 2017).

¹² Eric Neumayer and Thomas Plümer, 'The Gendered Nature of Natural Disasters: The Impact of Catastrophic Events on the Gender Gap in Life Expectancy, 1981–2002', *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 97, no. 3 (2007): 551–66.

¹³ Joni Seager et al., *Global Gender and Environment Outlook* (Nairobi, Kenya: United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), 2016).

¹⁴ Boyer, Meijer, and Gilligan, 'Advancing Gender in the Environment'.

¹⁵ OHCHR, 'Analytical Study on Gender-Responsive Climate Action for the Full and Effective Enjoyment of the Rights of Women' (UN Human Rights Council, 1 May 2019), para. 16.

¹⁶ Castañeda Carney et al., 'Gender-Based Violence and Environment Linkages', 6, 28, 31.

¹⁷ Halle and Kellogg, 'Gender, Climate & Security'; Libby Brooks, 'Indigenous Women Speak out at Cop26 Rally: "Femicide Is Linked to Ecocide"', *The Guardian*, 10 November 2021, sec. Environment, <https://www.theguardian.com/environment/2021/nov/10/indigenous-women-speak-out-at-cop26-rally-femicide-is-linked-to-ecocide>.

¹⁸ UN Peacebuilding Fund, 'Climate Security and Peacebuilding', July 2020, https://www.un.org/peacebuilding/sites/www.un.org.peacebuilding/files/documents/brief_climate_security_20200724_2.pdf.

¹⁹ Halle and Kellogg, 'Gender, Climate & Security'; Ide et al., 'Gender in the Climate-Conflict Nexus'.

gender norms can be said to play an underlying role in driving armed conflict wherever it occurs, and climate change, in the sense that ideas about appropriate masculine behaviour – being tough, ruthless, dominating over others and nature – legitimise and naturalise foreign and economic policies which drive war²⁰ and climate change.²¹

Indeed, the roots of both armed conflict and the climate crisis lie in centuries of a colonial, extractivist model of economic growth, in which the persistent pursuit of wealth and power has entrenched the exploitation of natural resources, dispossessed Indigenous peoples from their lands, and exacerbated inequalities.²² This model, extractivist capitalism, has contributed to armed conflict and insecurity through driving inequalities, fuelling corporate and state violence to secure land and protect investments, and providing opportunities for corruption, looting and the entrenchment of violent war economies.²³ Through the exploitation of natural resources and the pollution and degradation of land, water and air, extractivist capitalism has driven the planet to the point of almost ecological collapse.²⁴ Furthermore, it is at the root of gender inequalities, through its exploitation of women’s unpaid care work, which is treated, as with natural resources – as if it were infinite and freely available.²⁵

In this sense, climate change and conflict are gendered not just in their impacts but in their drivers, and also interact with each other, undermining human security. Human security is conceptualised by the UN as encompassing not just “freedom from fear” but “freedom from want.”²⁶ The idea is that security is not just the absence of the threat of physical violence, but also the absence of the threat of hunger, homelessness and lack of access to healthcare. It is a more expansive, positive conceptualisation of security, linked to human rights. Each of the challenges considered in this report – climate change, conflict and gender inequalities – can be seen as independently undermining human security. Together, they act in mutually reinforcing ways to exacerbate threats to human security, especially for the most disadvantaged. Although this understanding of the connections can suggest intractable challenges, well-designed policies and programmes, as will be evidenced in section 4, do have the potential to pursue climate justice, peace and security, and gender equality simultaneously.

3.1 Potential pitfalls for policies and programming

In research, advocacy, policy and programming on the climate change, conflict and gender nexus, several conceptual framings have over recent years become prominent.

²⁰ Cynthia Cockburn, ‘Gender Relations as Causal in Militarization and War: A Feminist Standpoint’, *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 12, no. 2 (2010): 139–57; Cohn, *Women and Wars*.

²¹ Sherilyn MacGregor, ‘“Gender and Climate Change”: From Impacts to Discourses’, *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* 6, no. 2 (2010): 223–38.

²² UN Women, ‘Beyond COVID-19: A Feminist Plan for Sustainability and Social Justice’ (New York: UN Women, 2021), <https://www.unwomen.org/en/digital-library/publications/2021/09/feminist-plan-for-sustainability-and-social-justice>.

²³ Carl Bruch, Carroll Muffet, and Sandra S. Nichols, eds., *Governance, Natural Resources, and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding* (London: Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203109793>; Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars: Organised Violence in a Global Era* (John Wiley & Sons, 2013); Kenneth Omeje, ed., *Extractive Economies and Conflicts in the Global South: Multi-Regional Perspectives on Rentier Politics* (London: Routledge, 2017), <https://doi.org/10.4324/9781351158404>.

²⁴ Andreas Malm, *Fossil Capitalism: The Rise of Steam Power and the Roots of Global Warming* (Verso Books, 2016), <https://www.versobooks.com/books/2002-fossil-capital>; Jason W. Moore, ‘The Capitalocene Part II: Accumulation by Appropriation and the Centrality of Unpaid Work/Energy’, *The Journal of Peasant Studies* 45, no. 2 (2018): 237–79.

²⁵ Melissa Leach, *Gender Equality and Sustainable Development* (Routledge, 2015).

²⁶ UNDP, ed., *Human Development Report 1994* (New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994).

Although each has some value, as explained below, each comes with risks and limitations. It is thus suggested that care is taken not to uncritically adopt these framings within policy, nor use them to define programming objectives.

3.1.1 Conceptualising climate change as primarily a threat to state security

Several states, policy institutes and researchers position climate change as a threat to national or state security, traditionally conceived.²⁷ In this positioning, the focus is on the potential for armed confrontation and conflict when resources become scarce (or indeed, in the case of the Arctic, more accessible) and when people are forced to flee their homes. As a framing, it can be useful because it puts appropriate stress on the urgency of the climate crisis, and the oft-used language of “threat multiplier” can highlight the interconnectedness of the issues. However, it is a positioning that comes with several limitations or risks.

The first limitation is that it simplifies complex situations. Many studies have cast doubt on the claim that climate change impacts, such as drought or food insecurity, are the chief causes of conflict.²⁸ The impacts of climate change cannot be seen as disentangled from the economic, political and social systems that drive the inequalities and exclusions that contribute to war.²⁹ When climate change is positioned as the *cause* of conflict, it exonerates powerful actors and directs our attention away from these economic and political systems.³⁰ Likewise, positioning climate change in isolation as causing migration oversimplifies the complex reality of economic and political push and pull factors.³¹

The second risk of framing climate change as a threat to national or state security, is that it can position the threat as emanating from the global south. It imagines violent conflict and climate migrants spilling over borders and threatening the global north. This is a deeply unjust framing that privileges the security of the states and people, those who have done the most to drive the climate crisis, over the security of people in the global south.³²

The third risk is that conceptualising climate change as a threat to state security may lead states to resort to traditional security responses that are defensive and isolationist rather than collaborative and solidaristic.³³ States may choose to adopt closed border policies that violate human rights. They may continue to overspend on militaries – fossil-fuel dependent, heavily polluting and problematically excluded from commitments by

²⁷ See the list of over 100 in Patrick Huntjens and Katharina Nachbar, ‘Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier for Human Disaster and Conflict’, *The Hague Institute for Global Justice*, 2015.

²⁸ Betsy Hartmann, ‘Rethinking Climate Refugees and Climate Conflict: Rhetoric, Reality and the Politics of Policy Discourse’, *Journal of International Development: The Journal of the Development Studies Association* 22, no. 2 (2010): 233–46; Jan Selby, ‘Positivist Climate Conflict Research: A Critique’, *Geopolitics* 19, no. 4 (2014): 829–56; Jan Selby and Clemens Hoffmann, ‘Rethinking Climate Change, Conflict and Security’, *Geopolitics* 19, no. 4 (2 October 2014): 747–56, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14650045.2014.964866>.

²⁹ Frances Stewart, ‘Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict: An Introduction and Some Hypotheses’, in *Horizontal Inequalities and Conflict* (Springer, 2008), 3–24.

³⁰ Selby and Hoffmann, ‘Rethinking Climate Change, Conflict and Security’; Jan Selby et al., ‘Climate Change and the Syrian Civil War Revisited’, *Political Geography* 60 (2017): 232–44.

³¹ Hartmann, ‘Rethinking Climate Refugees and Climate Conflict’.

³² Geoffrey Alan Boyce et al., ‘Alter-Geopolitics and the Feminist Challenge to the Securitization of Climate Policy’, *Gender, Place & Culture* 27, no. 3 (3 March 2020): 394–411, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2019.1620698>; Hartmann, ‘Rethinking Climate Refugees and Climate Conflict’.

³³ Huntjens and Nachbar, ‘Climate Change as a Threat Multiplier for Human Disaster and Conflict’; Joane Nagel, ‘Gender, Conflict, and the Militarization of Climate Change Policy’, *Peace Review* 27, no. 2 (April 2015): 202–8, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10402659.2015.1037629>.

states to reduce their greenhouse gas emissions.³⁴ They may continue to maintain nuclear weapons systems and develop space capabilities without acknowledging the catastrophic risks that warfare in these domains poses to the environment.

Given these risks, climate change might be better understood not as a threat *to state or global security*, but as we set it out above, as a threat to *human security*, a “form of slow violence”³⁵ that destroys lives and ways of living around the world, especially for the most disadvantaged.

3.1.2 Prioritising the gendered impacts of climate change and conflict, and neglecting the root causes

Many states, policy institutes and researchers on the climate change, conflict and gender nexus focus on how both climate change and armed conflict – especially in contexts when the impacts of both are acute – have disproportionate impacts on women. As we highlighted earlier in this section, gender norms and women and girls’ disadvantaged position in many societies can make them most at risk in the event of extreme weather events, slower onset impacts of climate change, and in the event of armed conflict. These gendered impacts are important to highlight. However, when considering the nexus of climate change, conflict and gender, we need to be careful not to focus attention solely on impacts.

The point here is not only the well-established one that to focus on the impacts of climate change on women risks implying that women and girls are essentially vulnerable, which can undermine both the women concerned and, through reinforcing gender stereotypes, women in general. The point is that the *impacts* of climate change should not be the extent of our focus.³⁶ If we focus only on gendered impacts, attention is diverted from the root causes of climate change and conflict.³⁷ That is: effective policy should not just address gendered impacts of climate change and conflict but also address their shared roots and drivers, which are to be found in our current economic model which, as explained above, relies on the over-exploitation of natural resources, the pollution of atmosphere, land and oceans, and the appropriation of women’s unpaid labour.

In a context where extractive industries are responsible for half of the world’s carbon emissions and more than 80% of biodiversity loss,³⁸ and for a range of social and environmental harms which impact disproportionately on women, from land dispossession, sexual violence, pollution and the destruction of local livelihoods,³⁹ any feminist approach to international climate justice must focus here, and not restrict itself to impacts. The problem is deeper than the extractive industries themselves; our entire economic system is based on the belief that large corporations must be given free rein to accumulate profits, so as to generate economic growth. In this system, corporate power has grown at the expense of states, citizens and the rest of the living world. Despite the

³⁴ ‘The Military’s Contribution to Climate Change’, *CEOBS* (blog), 16 June 2021, <https://ceobs.org/the-militarys-contribution-to-climate-change/>; CEOBS and Concrete Impacts, ‘The Military Emissions Gap – Tracking the Long War That Militaries Are Waging on the Climate’, accessed 16 November 2021, <https://militaryemissions.org/>.

³⁵ Rob Nixon, ‘Neoliberalism, Slow Violence, and the Environmental Picaresque’, *MFS Modern Fiction Studies* 55, no. 3 (2009): 443–67, <https://doi.org/10.1353/mfs.0.1631>.

³⁶ MacGregor, “Gender and Climate Change”.

³⁷ Chris J. Cuomo, ‘Climate Change, Vulnerability, and Responsibility’, *Hypatia* 26, no. 4 (2011): 695.

³⁸ Bruno Oberle et al., ‘Global Resources Outlook 2019: Natural Resources for the Future We Want’ (UNDP, 3 December 2018), <https://www.resourcepanel.org/reports/global-resources-outlook>.

³⁹ Carol Cohn and Claire Duncanson, ‘Whose Recovery? IFI Prescriptions for Postwar States’, *Review of International Political Economy* 27, no. 6 (2020): 1214–34.

fact that 100 giant global companies are responsible for 71% of all carbon emissions,⁴⁰ national and international finance and trade frameworks foster the mobility of capital while rendering local economic and environmental control impossible: corporations have the power to sue states, for example, if they introduce environmental or human rights protections.⁴¹

As demonstrated in Action Aid’s research: “all too often, poorly designed trade policies and a system of rules that privilege the interests of wealthy countries and corporates over women’s rights, human rights and the environment have been deeply harmful to women – especially those from the poorest and most marginalised communities.”⁴² Countries experiencing or emerging from conflict often find it particularly hard to negotiate fair terms of trade and investment with foreign owned corporations and investments, undermining their ability to rebuild, provide for their citizens and foster human security.⁴³ Many pay more in debt service than they do on essential services. In turn, their indebtedness means they are compelled to stick with the extractivist model driving climate change, insecurity and inequalities.⁴⁴

Achieving climate justice requires recognition of the origins of the problem in the logic of extractivist capitalism and tackling the power of corporations and trade rules that enable it to continue to drive climate change, conflict and insecurity and gender and other inequalities.

3.1.3 Assuming that women’s inclusion, empowerment and leadership alone will be enough

In recent years, in a wide range of policy areas – including climate change and peace and security – there has been a shift from emphasising women’s unique vulnerabilities to emphasising women’s agency, capabilities and strengths.⁴⁵ Increasingly in gender-responsive climate policy, women are promoted as effective environmental managers and conservers of resources, and in peace and security, women are promoted as effective peacebuilders. Reports addressing the climate/conflict/gender nexus tend to follow this trend, and place considerable emphasis on promoting women’s empowerment, inclusion and leadership as the key to addressing the interconnected crises of climate breakdown, conflict and gender inequalities.

Given climate changes’ disproportionate impact on women, especially indigenous, rural and other marginalised women, ensuring the participation and development of leadership capacities of diverse groups of women and girls, in particular from communities acutely affected by climate change, is essential.⁴⁶ The Women’s Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO) Gender and Climate Tracker reports that women remain widely underrepresented on the delegations of many

⁴⁰ Paul Griffin, ‘CDP Carbon Majors Report 2017’ (CDP, 2017).

⁴¹ IIED, ‘International Treaties Threaten Affordability of Climate Action: New Report’, International Institute for Environment and Development, 4 October 2020, <https://www.iied.org/international-treaties-threaten-affordability-climate-action-new-report>.

⁴² Rachel Noble, ‘From Rhetoric to Rights: Towards Gender-Just Trade’ (London, UK: ActionAid UK, 2018), <https://www.actionaid.org.uk/publications/from-rhetoric-to-rights-towards-gender-just-trade>.

⁴³ UN Women, ‘Beyond COVID-19’, 18.

⁴⁴ Cohn and Duncanson, ‘Whose Recovery?’

⁴⁵ Leach, *Gender Equality and Sustainable Development*; Kronsell, ‘Women Peace and Security and Climate Change’.

⁴⁶ Karen Morrow, ‘Changing the Climate of Participation: The Gender Constituency in the Global Climate Change Regime’, in *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Environment*, ed. Sherilyn MacGregor (Routledge, 2017), 398–411.

countries, particularly in high-level positions, as well as on the delegations of countries most vulnerable to climate impacts.⁴⁷

The focus on women’s empowerment, participation and leadership reflects good evidence that women have much to offer by way of solutions, and it is an important element of gender justice (and therefore climate justice), but focussing solely on women’s empowerment and participation comes with risks. The first risk is that a focus on women’s participation can, counterintuitively, reinforce gendered inequalities. Decades of work on gender, development and the environment cautions that projects that emanate from an “empowering women” approach to mobilise women’s labour, skills and knowledge often add to women’s unpaid care roles, and fail to address whether women have the rights, voice and power to control the benefits of the project.⁴⁸ Embedding narratives that women should be harnessed as “sustainability saviours”⁴⁹ or as “natural peacemakers”⁵⁰ in policies and programmes without an accompanying transfer of decision-making power and resources to women risks placing an unfair and unrealistic burden on women’s shoulders.

Even if an effort is made to ensure women are supported, resourced and empowered, there are risks to an approach that focuses solely on women’s participation. This second risk is that the focus on participation can “crowd out” the need to address root causes. Women’s participation in climate policy- or decision-making is not necessarily the only or best route to tackle the systemic drivers of climate change, armed conflict and gender inequality. If the structures within which one aims to participate are not themselves focused on the structural transformation of corporate power required for climate justice, then inclusion within them will only get you so far.⁵¹ Participation is necessary, but not sufficient.

3.2 Implications for policy and programming

What are the implications of this analysis of the interconnections to recognise, and the pitfalls to avoid, when addressing climate change, conflict and gender inequality?

First, when drawing connections between climate change and conflict, it seems important to avoid thinking of climate change as a threat to national or state security, but instead to frame climate change as undermining *human security and human rights*. Second, it is important that policy and programming not only aim to address the gendered impacts of climate change and conflict, and increase the participation and leadership of women, but also contribute to *transforming the economic system that is driving climate change, conflict and gender inequality*. To address climate change, conflict and gender inequalities at their root, the economic system must be transformed from an extractivist logic to a regenerative one. This requires structural transformation in

⁴⁷ Gender Climate Tracker, ‘Women’s Participation Statistics in Climate Diplomacy’, 19 October 2016, <https://genderclimatetracker.org/participation-stats/introduction>.

⁴⁸ Leach, *Gender Equality and Sustainable Development*, 19.

⁴⁹ Seema Arora-Jonsson, ‘Virtue and Vulnerability: Discourses on Women, Gender and Climate Change’, *Global Environmental Change* 21, no. 2 (2011): 744–51; Bernadette P. Resurrección, ‘From “Women, Environment, and Development” to Feminist Political Ecology’, *Routledge Handbook of Gender and Environment*, 2017, 71–85.

⁵⁰ Hilary Charlesworth, ‘Are Women Peaceful? Reflections on the Role of Women in Peace-Building’, *Feminist Legal Studies* 16, no. 3 (2008): 347–61.

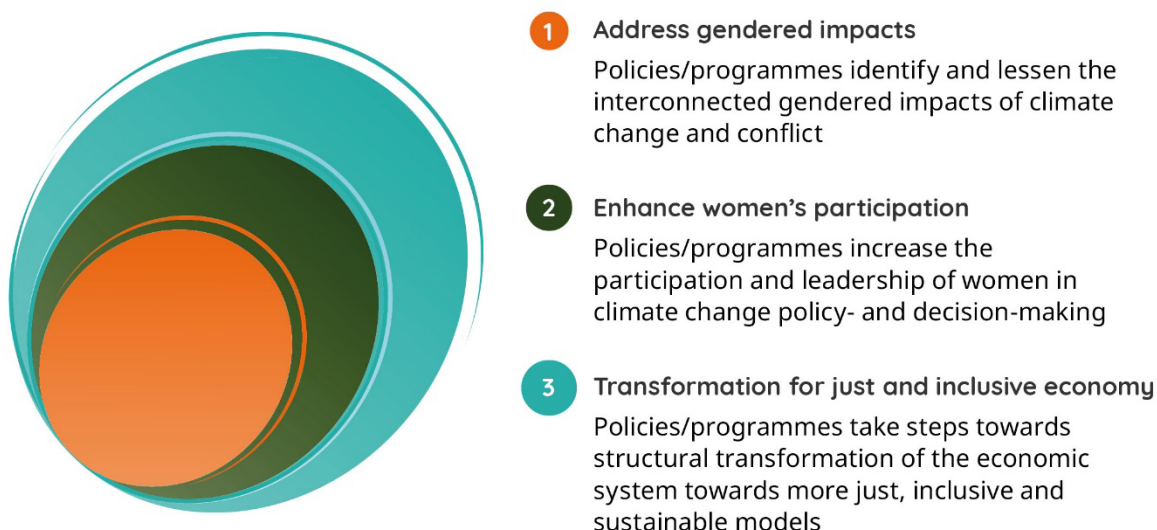
⁵¹ Carol Cohn, ‘Mainstreaming Gender in UN Security Policy: A Path to Political Transformation?’, in *Global Governance: Feminist Perspectives*, ed. Shirin M. Rai and Georgina Waylen (London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2008), 185–206, https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230583931_9; Mary E. Hawkesworth, *Globalization and Feminist Activism* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2018).

the international financial and trade architectures that currently sustain corporate power, and the promotion of more just, sustainable and inclusive economic models, such as wellbeing economies.

Just, inclusive and sustainable economies, such as wellbeing economies place human and planetary wellbeing above measures such as profit or GDP growth.⁵² They require divesting from harmful sectors, such as fossil fuel extraction or militaries, and investing in care and regeneration of nature. As such, these alternative economic models have the capacity to address all three of the intersecting dynamics – climate change, conflict and gender inequality - simultaneously.⁵³ There are powerful synergies to be found between environmental, peace and security and gender equality goals through the ways that these economic approaches prioritise the generation of high-quality green jobs. Job-creation in green sectors – conceptualised broadly as including care as well as renewable energy and conservation – would not only benefit the environment, but would contribute to peace and security through employing young men who might otherwise be tempted to fight and to gender equality through employing women and other marginalised groups, whose needs for livelihoods are often neglected in extractivist economies.

As such, it seems useful to think about *three levels of action* that are required to achieve a feminist approach to international climate justice at the triple nexus of climate change, conflict and gender equality: policies and programmes must identify and lessen the gendered impacts of climate change and conflict; they must increase women’s participation, empowerment and leadership; *and* they must take steps towards transforming the economic system which drives climate change, insecurity and gendered inequalities. This provides us with a framework for assessing efforts to respond to the intersecting challenges of climate change, conflict and gender inequality:

Figure 1: Levels of action needed to achieve a feminist approach to international climate justice



⁵² Wellbeing Economy Alliance, ‘What Is a Wellbeing Economy?’, 2019, <https://weall.org/what-is-a-wellbeing-economy-new-weall-ideas-paper>.

⁵³ Megan MacKenzie and Nicole Wegner, ‘Feminist Solutions for Ending War’ (Pluto Press, 2021).

Levels one and two are important, but on their own insufficient. Also, to be clear, activity at levels one and two can be of greater or lesser quality. The descriptors we set out here indicate what would count as best practice at each level. We use this three-level analytical framework to analyse Scottish Government policy and programming in section 4, and to identify global good practice in section 5, drawn from other nations and multilateral institutions.

For any actor engaged in work on climate change, conflict and gender inequality, **the first level of action involves:**

- collecting data and conducting analysis to assess the gendered impacts of climate change and conflict, and implementing, monitoring and evaluating policies and programmes to lessen those gendered harms;
- taking an intersectional approach to recognise that women are not one homogenous group and are impacted by climate change and conflict in different ways;⁵⁴ also, that men and boys also suffer from climate change and conflict in gendered ways; and
- ensuring that all climate justice and peace and security policy and programming is both gender mainstreamed and conflict-sensitive. That is, that gendered impacts are understood, and actions adapted to ensure they further gender equality; and that the interactions between interventions and the conflict context are analysed to ensure the project furthers peacebuilding and conflict prevention.

The second level of action involves:

- empowering women to not only participate but to lead in climate policy- and decision-making and natural resource management;
- taking action to shift power and resources to women to enable their equal leadership; and
- taking an intersectional approach to participation and leadership to ensure that those most marginalised and severely impacted by conflict and climate change are included and empowered.

The third level of action involves:

- reorienting domestic economies to more just, inclusive and sustainable models, and minimising their contribution to climate change;
- advocating for and offering technical support for a global transition away from extractivism to more just, inclusive and sustainable economic models, and supporting the many actors (civil society organisations (CSOs), trade unions, and others) in the global south working for this;

⁵⁴ Indigenous, tribal or ethnic identity, as well as migrant or disability status or sexual orientation, for example, may well compound the socioeconomic and/or physical vulnerability of some women and girls. For example: indigenous women often face multi-layered risks as they are discriminated against as environmental activists, as women and as part of an ethnic minority group; LGBTI+ persons displaced by climate change may face elevated risks of violent abuse. (See: OHCHR, 'Analytical Study on Gender-Responsive Climate Action for the Full and Effective Enjoyment of the Rights of Women').

- advocating in multilateral fora for economic justice via a structural transformation in the international financial and trade architectures, debt cancellation, and fairer climate finance;⁵⁵ and
- holding corporations to account for their impacts on the climate, insecurity and gender inequalities.⁵⁶

⁵⁵ Drawing on the many feminist blueprints for macroeconomic justice, including initiatives such as the Feminist Global Green New Deal. See Gender and Development Network, 'Feminist Macroeconomic Proposals for Post-COVID-19 Economic Recovery', Gender and Development Network, accessed 17 January 2022, <https://gadnetwork.org/gadn-resources/feminist-macroeconomic-proposals-rebuilding-more-equitable-just-and-sustainable-economies-post-covid-19>.

⁵⁶ Activists have specifically called upon those governments that are self-declared as 'feminist' to "address the use of corporate power of organisations headquartered in their countries, particularly in relation to extractive industries," see e.g. GAPS UK, 'Defending the Future: Gender, Conflict and Environmental Peace'.

It is extremely difficult for local communities to hold companies (including transnational corporations headquartered in the UK) to account for human rights abuses, as well as deforestation, releasing gases/other pollutants or acting in ways that negatively affect women and girls' livelihoods and rights. Women environmental defenders frequently face threats, particularly in contexts where they stand up to extractive projects and corporate interests on indigenous lands

4 Scottish Government policies and programmes

The Scottish Government Act (1998) states that “international relations, including relations with territories outside the United Kingdom, the European Union (and their institutions) and other international organisations, regulation of international trade, and international development assistance and cooperation are reserved matters.”⁵⁷ Nevertheless, the Scottish Government has developed an increasingly ambitious role itself in the international arena, reflecting how a strict distinction between the domestic and external is largely artificial. This section analyses the extent to which the Scottish Government’s policies and programmes on international development, climate change, and peace and security respond to the gender/climate/conflict nexus, applying the three-level framework described in section 3.

A list of the Scottish Government policy and programmes analysed in this section can be found in Annex 1, and a more detailed account of the Scottish Government’s work within international development and international climate justice found in Annex 2.

The Scottish Government’s programming and policies on the nexus between climate, gender and conflict to date are limited. Despite sitting within a common framework – the International Development Strategy, which promotes the notion of The Scottish Government as a good global citizen – the three policy areas do not always reference each other. The Climate Justice Policy lacks reference to how armed conflict and insecurity more generally reduce people’s and communities’ capacity to adapt to climate change and consequently heighten vulnerability. Whilst both the International Development Fund (IDF) and the CJF finance projects in Scotland’s partner countries Malawi, Rwanda, Zambia and Pakistan, there is little evidence of coordination or cross-programme learning. A key exception is the Beyond Borders “UNSCR 1325 Climate Change Fellowship” which brings the three issues together.⁵⁸ The Scottish Government pledged GBP 300,000 towards this programme in November 2021.

4.1 Level 1: Recognise and lessen the gendered impacts of climate change and conflict.

The Beyond Borders “UNSCR 1325 Climate Change Fellowship” recognises the disproportionate impacts of climate change and conflict, especially when they interact, on women and girls. In the Scottish Government’s policy and programming on each of the issues individually - climate change, peace and security, and international development - there is also clear acknowledgement of the need to address gendered impacts. The 2019 review of the Humanitarian Emergency Fund illustrates awareness of how crisis often exacerbates inequalities and therefore disproportionately affects women and girls.⁵⁹ Similarly, the 2021 Review of Scottish Government’s International Development Programme in light of Covid-19 (Review of the IDP) directs a stronger focus on gendered aspects of development challenges and commits to prioritising

⁵⁷ 1998 The Scottish Government Act, para 7(1)
<https://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/46/contents>

⁵⁸ Scottish Government, ‘Supporting Women in Climate Action and Conflict Resolution’, accessed 5 December 2021, <http://www.gov.scot/news/supporting-women-in-climate-action-and-conflict-resolution/>.

⁵⁹ Scottish Government, ‘Independent Review of The Scottish Government Humanitarian Emergency Fund’, 2019.

‘women and girls, their advancement and equality,’⁶⁰ with a new Equalities Funding Stream to promote equality for women and girls within sub-Saharan Africa. The Climate Justice Policy directs that projects funded by the CJF should recognise ‘the disproportionate effect the impact of climate change can have on the poor, women and children in developing countries.’⁶¹ The 2021 Review of the IDP also marks a significant step forward in the Scottish Government’s efforts to take an intersectional approach to its international development work and within that its work on climate change.

Whilst there is recognition of the gendered impacts of climate change and conflict in the Scottish Government’s policies and programmes, actual efforts to address these impacts appear quite limited. There do not appear to be specific criteria for the international climate justice programmes to target women or girls, nor a gender mainstreaming mechanism to the CJF. Information from the Scottish Government also suggests there is no specific gender component or mainstreaming mechanism to the Humanitarian Emergency Fund or the IDF.⁶²

4.2 Level 2: Increase participation, empowerment and leadership of women

The Beyond Borders’ Climate Change Fellowship, the one extant initiative at the nexus, shows a strong emphasis on participation. It was announced with the aspiration to “support women to play a full role in work to mitigate climate impacts, disaster risks and loss and damage that are inextricably linked to both conflict and the climate emergency.”⁶³

In climate policy more broadly, women’s participation, empowerment and leadership is clearly a priority concern for the Scottish Government. On International Women’s Day 2021, The Scottish Government launched a new partnership with WEDO, which works for gender equality in climate action, including through a Women Delegates Fund. The WEDO programme highlights the key role of women in tackling climate change and contributing to sustainable and successful solutions.⁶⁴ The fund supported women from Least Developed Countries to attend COP26 as a part of their national delegation.⁶⁵

During COP26, The Scottish Government issued a *Glasgow Women’s Leadership Statement on Gender Equality and Climate Change* jointly with UN Women, which not only acknowledges the disproportionate impacts of climate change on women and girls, but celebrates the role of women leaders at all levels in addressing the climate crisis, and commits signatories to increased support for women and girls’ climate action.⁶⁶ It notes factors such as age, disability, and poverty intersect with gender in influencing

⁶⁰ Scottish Government, ‘Summary Report on the Review of Scottish Government’s International Development Programme in Light of COVID-19’, 2021, 20.

⁶¹ Scottish Government, ‘Climate Justice Policy’, Corra, accessed 26 November 2021, <https://www.corra.scot/grants/international-development/>.

⁶² [Climate Justice Fund evaluation: final report - gov.scot \(www.gov.scot\)](https://www.gov.scot/publications/climate-justice-fund-evaluation-final-report-2021/pages/1-1-introduction.aspx)

⁶³ Scottish Government, ‘Supporting Women in Climate Action and Conflict Resolution’.

⁶⁴ ‘Scotland Supports Gender-Just Climate Action on International Women’s Day’, WEDO, 8 March 2021, <https://wedo.org/scotland-supports-gender-just-climate-action-on-international-womens-day/>.

⁶⁵ ‘Scotland Supports Gender-Just Climate Action on International Women’s Day’.

⁶⁶ Scottish Government and United Nations, ‘Gender Equality and Climate Change: Glasgow Women’s Leadership Statement’, accessed 5 December 2021, <http://www.gov.scot/publications/glasgow-womens-leadership-statement-gender-equality-climate-change/>. Scottish Government, ‘Supporting Women in Climate Action and Conflict Resolution’.

opportunities to partake in decision making, demonstrating a commitment to an intersectional approach.⁶⁷

The Scottish Government's overall emphasis on women's participation in their climate policies is also evident in the Scottish Government's indicative Nationally Determined Contribution (iNDC). Here, the Scottish Government highlights how its work on tackling climate change, through centring on the concept of climate justice, supports women to 'attend and engage in the UN Climate summits'.⁶⁸ Further, it describes the CJF, which spearheads the Scottish Government's international climate change work by aiming to 'help tackle the effects of climate change in the poorest, most vulnerable countries',⁶⁹ as working to 'increase women's meaningful participation'.⁷⁰

There is also an emphasis on participation in the Scottish Government's wider international development policy and programmes. The 2021 Review of the IDP emphasises participation, stating that a focus on women and girls through the new Equalities Funding Stream is crucial 'because societies need the views and contribution of those who currently live on the periphery, including women'.⁷¹ Finally, the Scottish Government's commitment to a feminist approach to foreign policy echoes this commitment to support women's participation and leadership.⁷²

The above shows that the Scottish Government has a solid track record of championing women's participation within climate change and peace and conflict work. However, whilst the new Beyond Borders programme shows an understanding of the need to increase women's participation in attempts to address the nexus between climate change, conflict and gender, it remains unclear how the impact of the Beyond Borders Fellowships is evaluated, in terms of whether the training provided helps to enable meaningful influence. It is also worth reiterating that whilst the Scottish Government's iNDC describes the CJF as aiming to 'increase meaningful participation' by women,⁷³ there does not appear to be specific criteria for the international climate justice programmes to target women or girls, nor a gender mainstreaming mechanism to the CJF. Additionally, few of the Scottish Government's initiatives that focus on increasing women's participation, with the possible exception of the WEDO programme, detail *how* they contribute to shifting power and resources to women to enable their equal leadership.

4.3 Level 3: structural transformation of the economic system

The Beyond Borders Climate Change Fellowship, whilst directly addressing the triple nexus of climate change, gender and conflict, does not seem to engage with the need to transform the economic system driving climate change, conflict and gender inequality.

⁶⁷ Scottish Government and United Nations, 'Gender Equality and Climate Change'.

⁶⁸ Scottish Government, 'Scotland's Contribution to the Paris Agreement – an Indicative NDC - July 2021', 2021.

⁶⁹ Scottish Government, 'International Development: Climate Justice Fund - Gov.Scot', accessed 26 November 2021, <https://www.gov.scot/policies/international-development/climate-justice-fund/>.

⁷⁰ Scottish Government, 'Scotland's Contribution to the Paris Agreement – an Indicative NDC - July 2021'.

⁷¹ Scottish Government, 'Summary Report on the Review of Scottish Government's International Development Programme in Light of COVID-19'.

⁷² Scottish Government, 'A Fairer, Greener Scotland: Programme for Government 2021-22', 110.

⁷³ Scottish Government, 'Scotland's Contribution to the Paris Agreement – an Indicative NDC - July 2021'.

The Scottish Government's separate international development, climate, and peace and security policies also neglect efforts to tackle the root causes of climate change, insecurity and gender inequalities. The contribution to loss and damage represents important recognition for the need to repair harm done by historical emissions, but beyond transfer of resources there has been little engagement with the transformation of economic systems.⁷⁴ There is little reference to the need to reform the global financial and trade systems or challenge the extractivist economic model that drive climate change while systematically disadvantaging the most marginalised in the global south, the same people who are hit first and worst by climate change.⁷⁵ However, the Scottish Government is developing a feminist approach to foreign policy and it may be that it incorporates attention to the economic transformation required for global gender justice and equality.

Interestingly, Scottish *domestic* policies reflect a focus on the need to change fundamental economic structures to increase human security and wellbeing through a commitment to a wellbeing economy. The 2021 Programme for Government presents 'building a wellbeing economy' as a key priority for the Scottish Government.⁷⁶ Building towards a wellbeing economy is also set out as a key mechanism to ensure economic recovery from the Covid-19 pandemic by the Advisory Group on Economic Recovery,⁷⁷ the Economic Recovery Implementation Plan,⁷⁸ which sets out the Scottish Government's wellbeing economy vision in some detail, and the Covid Recovery Strategy.⁷⁹ Additionally, the Scottish Government is a founding member of the Wellbeing Economy Government group. The Scottish Government's Economic Strategy is aimed at creating an economy that 'improves the opportunities, life chances and wellbeing of every citizen'.⁸⁰ Furthermore, the Scottish Government has put 'just transition' at the centre of its programme for government, committing to ensure that a new green economy is fair for all people, communities and industries and generates collective benefits.⁸¹

This commitment to a wellbeing economy and the emphasis on justice within the Scottish domestic transition away from the use of fossil fuels presents a building block for bringing these commitments also into the Scottish Government's international work. The aspirations of justice which are embodied in these domestic policies are crucial also

⁷⁴ Anne Funnemark, 'Financing Climate Justice: Scotland at COP26' (SCCS), accessed 28 October 2021, https://www.stopclimatechaos.scot/wp-content/uploads/2020/10/FinancingClimateJustice_Final.pdf.

⁷⁵ Whilst the evaluation of the CJF evaluates the fund's projects against the pillar of "transformative justice," which suggests perhaps some sort of radical shift in economic structures, the definition of the term here is "strengthening beneficiaries' opportunities to engage in decision making and increase their negotiation powers in matters relating to climate change," and thus is more about participation, level 2 of our analytical framework. [Climate Justice Fund evaluation: final report - gov.scot \(www.gov.scot\)](http://www.gov.scot/publications/climate-justice-fund-evaluation-final-report-gov-scot/pdfs/climate-justice-fund-evaluation-final-report-gov-scot.pdf)

⁷⁶ Scottish Government, 'A Fairer, Greener Scotland: Programme for Government 2021-22'.

⁷⁷ Scottish Government, 'Towards a Robust, Resilient Wellbeing Economy for Scotland', 2020.

⁷⁸ Scottish Government, '[Economic Recovery Implementation Plan: Scottish Government response to the Advisory Group on Economic Recovery](http://www.gov.scot/publications/economic-recovery-implementation-plan-scottish-government-response-to-the-advisory-group-on-economic-recovery/pdfs/economic-recovery-implementation-plan-scottish-government-response-to-the-advisory-group-on-economic-recovery.pdf)' - gov.scot (www.gov.scot), 2020

⁷⁹ Scottish Government, 'Covid Recovery Strategy: For a Fairer Future' (Scottish Government, 2021), <http://www.gov.scot/publications/covid-recovery-strategy-fairer-future/>.

⁸⁰ Scotland, Scottish Government, and APS Group Scotland, 'Scotland's Economic Strategy.', 2015, <http://www.nls.uk/scotgov/2015/9781785441721.pdf>. Note that the Scottish Government newly published National Strategy for Economic Transformation, which replaces the 2015 strategy, sets a vision for 2032 to create a wellbeing economy in Scotland based on the principles of equality, sustainability, resilience and prosperity, and placing people and planet at the heart of the economy.

⁸¹ Scottish Government, 'A Fairer, Greener Scotland: Programme for Government 2021-22'.

to international climate justice. Moreover, a shift towards a wellbeing economy would be a crucial step towards transforming the extractive economy driving climate change, conflict and gender inequality.

The impacts of the economic system on international development policies and efforts are also, to a certain extent, recognised through the Scottish Government’s ‘Beyond Aid’ agenda. The Beyond Aid agenda encompasses a commitment to take a holistic approach to sustainable development and to share expertise.⁸² Demonstrating the Beyond Aid agenda, The Scottish Government’s trading strategy sets out contributing to Scotland’s National Performance Framework’s ‘international’ indicator as a key goal, and outlines the expectation that Scottish businesses will contribute to ‘ethical business practices’.⁸³ Wellbeing is also a key guiding principle for the Scottish Government’s trade policy.⁸⁴ Moreover, the interconnectedness between domestic and international policies is explicitly recognised in their ‘holistic “do no harm” approach’ to international development set forward to the IDS.⁸⁵ This approach recognises how the Scottish Government’s choices have consequences for people locally, domestically and internationally, and underscores the Scottish Government’s goal of coherence between domestic and external policies.⁸⁶

That said, the transition to a well-being economy remains at the aspirational stage. And, as the Climate Change Committee points out; Action is required across a range of sectors if Scotland is to stop contributing to the climate crisis through continued emissions.⁸⁷ To advance international climate justice, and to tackle the interconnected challenges of climate change, insecurity and gender inequalities, every effort must be made to ensure that domestic policies also tackle the extractivist capitalist model driving them.

⁸² Scottish Government, ‘Summary Report on the Review of Scottish Government’s International Development Programme in Light of COVID-19’.

⁸³ Scotland, Scottish Government, and APS Group Scotland, *A Trading Nation: A Plan for Growing Scotland’s Exports.*, 2019, 29,30, <http://www.nls.uk/scotgov/2019/194237022.23.pdf>.

⁸⁴ Scottish Government, ‘Scotland’s Vision for Trade’ (Scottish Government, 2021).

⁸⁵ Scottish Government, ‘Global Citizenship: Scotland’s International Development Strategy’, 2016, 9.

⁸⁶ Scottish Government, ‘Global Citizenship: Scotland’s International Development Strategy’, 9.

⁸⁷ Climate Change Committee, ‘Progress Reducing Emissions in Scotland - 2021 Report to Parliament’ (Climate Change Committee, 2021), <https://www.theccc.org.uk/publication/progress-reducing-emissions-in-scotland-2021-report-to-parliament/>.

5 Global good practice addressing the climate, gender, conflict nexus

This section considers emerging good practice – much of it very recent – in how states and international organisations are seeking to address the connections between climate, conflict and gender in development programming and wider policy, again using the three levels suggested on page 13. Many of the initiatives described here are restricted to what we term level 1 and level 2: lessening the interconnected gendered impacts of climate change and conflict, and increasing the participation and leadership of women in climate change policy and decision-making. Only a few examples strive for impacts at level 3: structural transformation of the economic system and the promotion of more just, inclusive and sustainable economies. Still, they offer pieces of a roadmap for Scottish Government policy and practice to move toward feminist international climate justice.

The analysis begins with good practice in climate change related *programming*: how programmes to support climate adaptation or mitigation in other nations have been effectively attuned to the gender/climate/conflict nexus. It then turns to *government policy*. While the full range of government policies are potentially relevant, it focuses on three key categories: climate policy; peace and security policy; and corporate governance.

5.1 Programming at the triple nexus

5.1.1 Projects and programmes

In fragile and conflict-affected contexts, where the triple gender/conflict/climate nexus is in play, there is some evidence of programming which addresses climate change, promotes gender equality *and* contributes to conflict prevention and/or peacebuilding. The examples in Boxes 1 and 2 give a flavour of such programmes. Both recognise the gendered impacts of conflict and climate change and enable women's participation. Some begin to take steps in the direction of economic transformation towards more just, inclusive and sustainable economies.

Box 1: Supporting women in Colombia to mediate land disputes

A Mercy Corps project in Colombia supports women peacebuilders to resolve community disputes around land ownership and access to natural resources. Through training in both Alternative Dispute Resolution methods and GIS/GPS technologies and land titling procedures, women have been enabled to mediate title disputes so as to prevent conflict escalation, as well as participate in municipal plans and decisions regarding land use. While this Mercy Corps programme did not explicitly address climate change, improving natural resource management and land tenure systems are important to build resilience to climate shocks.⁸⁸ This project recognises the particular impacts of the war in Colombia on women and includes a focus on women's participation, leadership and economic empowerment.

⁸⁸ Smith, Olosky, and Fernández, 'The Climate-Gender-Conflict Nexus: Amplifying Women's Contributions at the Grassroots', 17–18.

Box 2: Building Sudanese women’s capacity to resolve conflicts around natural resources

The UN Joint Programme on Women, Natural Resources and Peace implemented a project in Sudan to test and develop opportunities to strengthen women’s political and economic empowerment through natural resource-related interventions. From 2016 to 2018, the programme worked to strengthen women’s leadership in resource governance and natural resource conflict resolution. Women were given educational, technical, and financial support in land preparation and crop production, and training in natural resource conflict resolution skills. Gender sensitisation sessions and discussion forums were held with youth, men, and traditional elders, seeking to change the norms around women’s role in conflict mediation processes, especially concerning natural resources. Women went from being virtually absent in resource mediation to being involved in three out of four mediation processes. Women mobilised through new forums, committees and projects in their communities – such as planting seedlings for soil conservation.⁸⁹

Gender-responsive climate programming beyond conflict-affected contexts also provides evidence of good practice. Even if not in areas directly affected by conflict, programmes can still contribute to the triple nexus as well-designed programmes can promote human security as well as environmental sustainability and gender equality. An example here is the Quebec Government’s International Climate Cooperation Programme, showing that sub-state development actors can be leaders in this regard (see Box 3).

Box 3: Québec’s International Climate Cooperation Programme

In 2016, the Canadian province of Québec introduced its International Climate Cooperation Programme, now providing climate finance and support to projects in thirteen African and Caribbean countries, with a budget of some USD 21.5 million. The programming approach has similarities to Scotland’s development programming, with its focus on climate justice, or “climate solidarity principles,” which emphasise the links between poverty reduction and addressing climate change, and its partnerships approach with NGOs and local counterparts.⁹⁰

The Programme recognises women’s distinct vulnerabilities, linked to their roles in food production, and seeks to respond to them by prioritising economic development opportunities for women. It has a strong focus on a participative approach, highlighting the roles of women, and being led by the priorities of the host country.⁹¹ The 2020 round of projects included one in Burkina Faso which seeks to develop leadership among young people and women to advocate for and exert influence to obtain access to land, which exemplifies the sort of activity which could contribute towards the more fundamental shifts of power and resources required for climate and economic justice.⁹²

Another area of good practice is projects that encourage gender-inclusive employment in decentralized and green energy. Such projects do not just address gendered vulnerabilities, but include and empower women, and facilitate the required

⁸⁹ Smith, Olosky, and Fernández, ‘The Climate-Gender-Conflict Nexus: Amplifying Women’s Contributions at the Grassroots’, 15, 20.

⁹⁰ ‘International Climate Cooperation Program Quebec’, accessed 28 October 2021, <https://www.environnement.gouv.qc.ca/programmes/coop-climatique-internationale/index-en.htm>.

⁹¹ ‘Québec’s International Climate Cooperation Program (PCCI)’, November 2018.

⁹² Quebec Ministère de l’Environnement et de la Lutte contre les changements climatiques, ‘Factsheets on Projects Funded under the Third Call for Projects of the ICCP’, accessed 5 November 2021, <https://www.environnement.gouv.qc.ca/programmes/coop-climatique-internationale/fiches-projets-pcci-appel-3-en.pdf>.

transformation from extractive economies to more just, inclusive and sustainable models (see Box 4).

Box 4: Women-led transition to decentralised energy⁹³

In Nigeria, Uganda and Tanzania, non-profit organization Solar Sister trains and supports women to deliver clean energy to homes in rural areas. Solar Sister has trained over 4,000 women in business, technology and leadership skills and supported them to sell durable and affordable solar-powered products and clean cookstoves in off-grid communities.

In South Africa, the non-profit GenderCC: Women for Climate Justice Southern Africa runs a similar project in an urban setting. Since 2016, GenderCC has worked in informal settlements and peri-urban areas in Johannesburg and Tshwane to train women to sell sustainable products such as smokeless stoves, solar chargers and cookers. The initiative also provides training in business skills and mentoring.

Programmes oriented to support women human rights and environmental defenders are a further model for good programming because, as well as supporting women's empowerment and leadership, they highlight and begin to address the power of extractive corporations. Box 5 is an example.

Box 5: Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay: Strengthening women environmental defenders through a digital and advocacy network⁹⁴

'*Defensoras Ambientales*' empowers women environmental rights defenders from indigenous peoples and local groups in Argentina, Bolivia and Paraguay, with a gender justice perspective. A network of over 1,200 women has been built, and an innovative mobile phone application launched to inform, connect, protect and communicate efficiently. This supports the protection of territories damaged by extractivism, agrochemical contamination and restriction of local actors' civic space. A Feminist School for Climate Action was established in 2021 to strengthen local knowledge, technical and advocacy skills for climate adaptation and mitigation, to improve the groups' resilience and amplify their demands. It aims to strengthen the political participation of women environmental leaders in international human rights and SDG frameworks.

This project is a partnership with *Fondo de Mujeres del Sur*, a fund that mobilises financial resources and provides technical and political support to grassroots initiatives that promote women's and LGBTIQ+ people's rights in Latin America and the Caribbean.

The UN Framework Convention on Climate Change Women and Gender Constituency's annual Gender Just Climate Solutions Award provides many more excellent examples of other programs which recognise gendered impacts, recognise the need for women's participation and leadership, including the importance of transferring power, wealth and resources to women, and in some cases, also include

⁹³ UN Women, 'Beyond COVID-19'.

⁹⁴ 'Gender Just Climate Solutions 2021' (Women and Gender Constituency, 2021), 24, <https://www.ctc-n.org/sites/www.ctc-n.org/files/resources/WECECF%20Gender%20Just%20Climate%20Solutions%202021%20ENG.pdf>; 'Strengthening Environmental Women Defenders', *Fondo de Mujeres Del Sur* (blog), accessed 15 December 2021, <https://www.mujeresdelsur.org/en/our-programs/strengthening-environmental-women-defenders/>.

level 3, the encouragement of more just, inclusive and sustainable local economies.⁹⁵ Annex 3 on page 35 provides a selection.

5.1.2 Dedicated and pooled funding for women’s organisations

One of the key demands of women’s advocates in the climate space is for direct access to finance for community, youth, feminist and women’s rights organizations and movements.⁹⁶ To enable this, some states assign funding to a gender/climate/security portfolio. The UK Conflict, Stability and Security Fund, for example, established a Gender, Peace and Security Portfolio in 2021, earmarking a tranche of funding for “gender-transformative interventions in climate-conflict programming” and seeking projects emphasising challenging root causes of gender inequalities and support for women’s rights organisations.⁹⁷ USAID has a global grant programme dedicated to the innovative application in environmental programming of approaches to prevent and respond to gender-based violence.⁹⁸

An alternative model is to establish or contribute to pooled Women’s Funds, many of which have been building and adapting their portfolios and funding approaches and developing new partnerships to address the climate crisis. In Women’s Funds, vs. traditional government development programmes, grants are administered closer to the grassroots, shifting funding more directly to women’s organizations and feminist movements. Canada has moved to supporting Women’s Funds, through providing the bulk of funding for the Equality Fund, the largest self-sustaining fund for gender equality in the world, constructed around principles of feminist grant making, investment, philanthropy, and governance and accountability. The Catalan Agency of Development Cooperation (ACCD)⁹⁹, offers a further example of feminist financing mechanisms: see Box 6.

Such funding mechanisms recognise the gendered impacts of climate change and conflict and, in delivering finance to women’s organizations, represent a strong endorsement of women’s participation and leadership and the importance of shifting power and resources to women. They tend not to involve explicit analysis of the transformations to the economy which would be required to address the root causes of

⁹⁵ WEDO, ‘Gender Just Climate Solutions Scale Fund: 2021 Pilot Winners’, WEDO, 9 November 2021, <https://wedo.org/gender-just-climate-solutions-scale-fund-2021-pilot-winners/>.

⁹⁶ Women and Gender Constituency of the UNFCCC, ‘Key Demands for COP26’, 2021, 4, https://womensgenderclimate.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/10/WGC_KeyDemandsCOP26_EN.pdf.

⁹⁷ UK Government, ‘[Withdrawn] Piloting Gender-Transformative Approaches to Natural Resource Management in a Time of Climate and Environmental Stress: Terms of Reference’, GOV.UK, accessed 17 January 2022, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/conflict-stabilisation-and-security-fund-gender-peace-and-security-calls-for-bids-2021-to-2022/piloting-gender-transformative-approaches-to-natural-resource-management-in-a-time-of-climate-and-environmental-stress-terms-of-reference>; UK Government, ‘[Withdrawn] Support for Women’s Rights Organisations in Conflict-Affected States: Terms of Reference’, GOV.UK, accessed 17 January 2022, <https://www.gov.uk/government/publications/conflict-stabilisation-and-security-fund-gender-peace-and-security-calls-for-bids-2021-to-2022/support-for-womens-rights-organisations-in-conflict-affected-states-terms-of-reference>.

⁹⁸ IUCN, ‘Addressing the Violence of Inequality: Investing in Solutions to Address Gender-Based Violence and Environment Links’, 2021, https://staging4.genderandenvironment.org/web_post/addressing-the-violence-of-inequality-investing-in-solutions-to-address-gender-based-violence-and-environment-links/; ‘RISE Challenge’, IUCN, accessed 16 November 2021, <https://genderandenvironment.org/agent-gbv-env/rise-challenge/>.

⁹⁹ The ACCD is the body of the *Generalitat de Catalunya* (Government of Catalonia) responsible for the management of development cooperation policies and humanitarian action.

climate change, conflict and gender inequalities, but they might facilitate such work by enabling women’s organisations to set their own priorities.

Box 6: Catalan Agency of Development Cooperation

The ACCD provides a progressive model for development cooperation committed to “transformative economies” including feminist economies. It applies a gender and human rights-based approach across all its programmes, including attention to women’s economic empowerment and support for women-led development initiatives. In its climate programming, it looks for “ecofeminist practices” that empower women and their organizations.

One way through which it concretely does this is by financing “women’s funds” – currently in Colombia, Mozambique, Senegal and Morocco. Funds are granted to larger local feminist organizations, which then disperse them with technical and financial support, through grassroots women’s movements. Smaller organisations formulate, implement, and execute their own “microprojects”. This is hailed as a model for feminist and transformative cooperation,¹⁰⁰ albeit restricted to a fairly micro level. Some of the women’s organisations’ projects in Colombia focus on initiatives supporting climate action, such as recycling and manufacturing from waste agricultural materials.¹⁰¹ ACCD also contributes to a pan-African Women’s Fund that supports a series of programmes to support women climate defenders.¹⁰²

5.2 Climate policy

5.2.1 Gender-responsive Nationally Determined Contributions and National Adaption Plans

Increasingly Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and National Adaption Plans (NAPs) refer to gender, with provisions on supporting gender equality as a principle (and pointing to legislation, for example, ensuring women’s rights), or making a commitment to gender-responsiveness in the design of policies, programmes, and practices. NDCs most commonly recognise the gendered impacts of climate change by positioning women as a vulnerable group – omitting guarantees of women’s participation and leadership or the need for transforming economies. Even at the level of addressing impacts, many do not articulate specific gender strategies or actions, including gender outcomes in monitoring or allocating budget toward gender goals.¹⁰³

¹⁰⁰ Urgent Action Fund | Climate Defenders’, accessed 5 November 2021, <https://urgentactionfund.org/what-we-do/climate-defenders/>.

¹⁰¹ ‘Colòmbia’, Cooperació catalana, accessed 5 November 2021, <http://cooperaciocatalana.gencat.cat/ca/que-fem/fons-dones/colombia/>.

¹⁰² ‘Urgent Action Fund | Climate Defenders’, accessed 5 November 2021, <https://urgentactionfund.org/what-we-do/climate-defenders/>.

¹⁰³ ‘Climate Change and Gender-Based Violence: What Are the Links?’, GBV AoR Helpdesk (London, UK: Social Development Direct, 2020), 44, <https://www.sddirect.org.uk/media/2187/gbv-aor-helpdesk-climate-change-gbv-19032021.pdf>; ‘State and Trends in Adaptation Report 2021: Africa’ (Global Centre on Adaptation, October 2021), 443, <https://gca.org/reports/state-and-trends-in-adaptation-report-2021/>; WEDO, ‘Gender Climate Tracker Country Profiles: Quick Analysis’, April 2021, <https://genderclimatetracker.org/gender-ndc/quick-analysis>. Two exceptions: Ghana’s NDC quantifies the cost of the policy underlying its programme to increase the resilience of women to climate change, and Jordan’s commits to ensuring that financing mechanisms for mitigation and adaptation address the needs and conditions for implementation in relation to poor women: WEDO, ‘Gender Climate Tracker Country Profiles: Quick Analysis’.

From the perspective of developed states, Norway stands out as one of the few to include a reference, albeit short, to women or gender in its NDC: the section on planning processes refers to the *Equality and Anti-Discrimination Act*.¹⁰⁴ WEDO argues that this speaks to gender being rarely perceived as a relevant consideration in the context of mitigation strategies.¹⁰⁵ Annex 4 presents a range of examples of gender language in NDCs and NAPs. None of these are “ideal” models; ideally, NDCs and NAPs would engage meaningfully with addressing shared root causes of climate change and gender inequality through economic transformation. For fragile or conflict-affected states, their climate adaptation strategies and policies would take account of conflict and fragility risks, and consider the role of economic transformation and just, inclusive and sustainable economies in building peace.

5.2.2 Gender-responsive climate financing

The importance of strengthening gender integration in climate finance projects in developing countries is widely recognised. Attention is primarily focused on gender mainstreaming the four primary multilateral climate funds—the Adaptation Fund, Climate Investment Funds, Global Environment Facility and Green Climate Fund. These funds do have gender policies, yet much needs to be done to ensure they are comprehensively implemented, including that gender quantitative and qualitative results are monitored and reported.¹⁰⁶ Early analysis of the Green Climate Fund’s gender integration highlights the need to ensure that all projects treat gender equality as a core determinant for successful implementation outcomes and avoid ‘sidelining’ gender considerations (for example, assigning gender components to specialized consultants not connected with the main project/program). In less than half the Green Climate Fund projects evaluated could women’s groups/local groups/grassroots women access project/programme funding.¹⁰⁷

Consolidated analysis of the extent to which bilateral development aid to address climate change integrates gender equality is available only up to 2014. Of the USD 26 billion of bilateral Official Development Assistance provided by OECD DAC members to address climate change in 2014, only 3% targeted gender equality as a principal objective, and 28% targeted gender equality as a secondary objective. Leading donors providing aid to climate change targeting gender equality were in overall sums, Germany, Japan and the United States; and in terms of proportion of gender-sensitive aid in climate focused aid, Sweden and Belgium.¹⁰⁸

Almost none of the donor aid to the energy and transport sectors – which receive the greatest share – was reported as targeting gender equality as a principal objective. A key conclusion was that more needs to be done to improve opportunities for women to participate in the green economy, including development projects focusing on clean technology and renewable energy. The Solar Sister project described above in Box 4 was identified as a good model in this regard.

¹⁰⁴ ‘Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment in Updated and New Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs)’, 9 December 2020, 6, <https://wedo.org/brief-gender-equality-and-womens-empowerment-in-updated-and-new-nationally-determined-contributions-ndcs/>.

¹⁰⁵ WEDO, ‘Gender Climate Tracker Country Profiles: Quick Analysis’.

¹⁰⁶ ‘Gender and Climate Finance (2020) - Climate Funds Update’, 2020, 7, <https://climatefundsupdate.org/publications/gender-and-climate-finance-2020/>.

¹⁰⁷ Liane Schalatek, Elaine Zuckerman, and Eliza McCullough, ‘More than an Add-on? Evaluating the Integration of Gender in Green Climate Fund Projects and Programs’, October 2021.

¹⁰⁸ ‘Making Climate Finance Work for Women: Overview of Bilateral ODA to Gender and Climate Change’ (Paris: OECD, 2016), <https://www.oecd.org/environment/making-climate-finance-work-for-women.htm>.

Political support for just and equitable climate financing is critical for the transformative change required to address the nexus of climate, conflict and inequalities, including gender inequality. This implies support for the ‘polluter pays principle’ in terms of developed countries’ responsibility for historical emissions, and for loss and damage funding, with robust financial mechanisms to compensate communities for climatic impacts and avert future crises. Few states show systematic and sustained attention to these aspects of climate justice, or demonstrate acknowledgement of the ways in which they would contribute not just to addressing climate change but also to progressing human security and gender equality.

5.3 Peace and security policy

5.3.1 Women, Peace and Security

The most significant international normative framework connecting gender, peace and security is the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda. The UN Security Council first linked climate change to the WPS Agenda in 2015, mentioning it within UNSCR 2242 as part of the changing global context of peace and security. The UN Secretary General’s 2021 report on WPS called for greater efforts to address the linkages between gender, climate and security, and the participation of women and marginalised groups in natural resources policymaking and planning. It calls for support for the advocacy efforts of women’s organisations and networks to address climate-related security risks, and for the protection of women environmental defenders, and highlights the importance of a gender perspective in climate financing.¹⁰⁹

For development donor states, WPS National Action Plans often play an important role in setting priorities for development assistance related to women’s participation and empowerment, gender justice and gender-based violence, especially in fragile and conflict-affected states. Nations’ WPS National Action Plans are increasingly making mention of climate change.¹¹⁰ Annex 5 provides some examples of this language. The US’s 2016 National Action Plan, for example, had a stand-alone section on integrating climate change into the WPS Agenda. One of its outcome-level commitments for the US Agency for International Development (USAID), State Department and Department of Commerce was that gender issues be systematically integrated and evaluated as part of responses to climate change. It specifically committed to ‘Promote the active participation of women in climate change negotiations [...] including equal land tenure rights for women and men; and the capacity and empowerment of women to fully participate in the energy sector, including women working in energy policy and as clean energy entrepreneurs’.¹¹¹ This type of policy language is useful at the level of promoting women’s participation in climate processes, and where it includes also such issues as economic empowerment and land rights, can lend support to economic transformation.

¹⁰⁹ UN Secretary-General, ‘Women and Peace and Security: Report of the Secretary-General’ (UN Security Council, 27 September 2021), paras 76–78, https://www.securitycouncilreport.org/atf/cf/%7B65BFCF9B-6D27-4E9C-8CD3-CF6E4FF96FF9%7D/s_2021_827.pdf.

¹¹⁰ See Halle and Kellogg, ‘Gender, Climate & Security’, 20.

¹¹¹ ‘The United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security’, 2016, 30, <https://www.wpsnaps.org/app/uploads/2019/09/United-States-NAP-2-2016.pdf>. Unfortunately reference to climate was lost in the subsequent 2019 plan.

5.3.2 Feminist Foreign Policy

Feminist Foreign Policy provides openings to address the climate/conflict/gender nexus in ways that advance climate justice. Sweden and Canada have taken some early steps in this regard.

Sweden's Feminist Foreign Policy has over the last two years gradually increased its focus on climate change. Its 2019-2022 Action Plan¹¹² commits *inter alia* to:

- promote gender mainstreaming, the participation of women and girls, and women's and girls' full enjoyment of human rights (including sexual and reproductive health rights) in climate and environment action;
- work to ensure that international and national climate adaptation strategies combat discrimination against women and girls and that the national action plans (nationally determined contributions) are prepared and implemented in dialogue with women and girls;
- support women climate and environmental activists, including working to ensure their strengthened security and protection;
- highlight the links between climate change, conflicts, human security, and the role of women and girls in sustainable development; and
- push for gender equality work in the multilateral climate and environmental funds, and in the implementation of the Paris Agreement, and work to ensure that women and girls are reached by climate adaptation fund initiatives.

Correspondingly, Sweden's 2018-2022 strategy for development cooperation for global gender equality and women's and girls' rights emphasizes the vital roles of women and girls as environmental human rights defenders and in promoting sustainable use of natural resources and food security.¹¹³

Canada's feminist development policy likewise makes links with climate change, identifying it as one of its five areas for action: "environment and climate action focusing on adaptation and mitigation, as well as on water management". Canada makes three broad commitments, as follows.

- To support women's leadership and decision-making in climate change mitigation and adaptation efforts, resilience-building and sustainable natural resource management. Specifically, it commits to requiring that women participate actively in the design and implementation of *any* climate adaptation or mitigation initiatives that are funded wholly or in part by the Government of Canada.
- To ensure that Canada's climate-related planning, policy-making and financing acknowledge the particular challenges faced by women and girls.
- To support employment and business opportunities for women in the renewable energy sector, and to help ensure that climate financing is equally accessible to woman-led initiatives and enterprises.¹¹⁴

¹¹² Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Sweden, 'The Swedish Foreign Service Action Plan for Feminist Foreign Policy 2019–2022, Including Direction and Measures for 2021', 24 June 2019, https://www.government.se/49700e/contentassets/9992f701ab40423bb7b37b2c455aed9a/utrikesforvaltningens-handlingsplan-for-feministisk-utrikespolitik-2021_eng.pdf.

¹¹³ 'Feminist Policies for Climate Justice' (Stockholm: Concord Sweden, 2020), 18, <https://concord.se/wp-content/uploads/2020/06/fem-rapport-2020-final.pdf>.

¹¹⁴ 'Canada's Feminist International Assistance Policy', 2017, 45, <https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/assets/pdfs/iap2-eng.pdf>. For more detail on strategies under this policy theme see Global Affairs Canada, 'Action Area Policy: Environment and Climate

In tandem, Canada’s climate policy sets out a range of measures to promote the transition toward climate-resilient economies, enhancing livelihoods - including for women and vulnerable people - in low-carbon, clean-growth sectors.¹¹⁵

Both Canadian and Swedish policy, thus, make commitments at all three of our analytical levels – recognising gendered impacts; supporting women’s participation; and, to a certain, limited, extent (women’s access to climate finance and business opportunities in the renewable energy sector), economic justice and transformation.

5.4 Governance of corporate activities, in particular, extractive industries

A key national and international policy dimension for international climate justice, and an important aspect of our level three, is for governments to reverse the negative impacts of corporate power on the environment, human security and gender equality.

There is a range of donor initiatives to support civil society in demanding corporate compliance with UN *Guiding Principles on Business and Human* and the *Voluntary Principles on Security and Human Rights* in contexts where extractive industries are implicated in human rights abuses (see Box 7 for examples). These tend to be focused only at levels 1, and perhaps 2, of our framework: addressing gendered impacts and women’s participation; they mitigate the ills of extraction rather than transform them.¹¹⁶

There is, additionally, a range of policy initiatives that pro-climate justice governments can champion to hold polluting corporations to account, and to incentivise radical shifts away from climate- and community-destroying practices. Special attention is needed to ensure that post-war countries are not targeted by corporations taking advantage of weak institutions to embark on a “natural resource rush”.

Feminist climate activists and others advocating for a global Just Transition identify the following as key to challenging the power and impunity of private sector actors that contribute to climate damage, whether at home or in foreign countries:¹¹⁷

- a public duty on the extractive and fossil fuel sectors to tackle inequality and contribute a ‘fair share’ of the effort to prevent a breach of 1.5°C;
- stronger international legal frameworks for corporate accountability, such as through the proposed UN Treaty on Transnational Corporations and Human Rights;

Action’, GAC, 21 February 2017, https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/priorities-priorites/fiap_environment-paif_environnement.aspx?lang=eng. However, its indicators for climate action under the policy mirror SDG13 indicators and are neither gender- nor conflict- sensitive (see Global Affairs Canada, ‘Feminist International Assistance Policy Indicators’, GAC, 21 February 2017, https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/priorities-priorites/fiap_indicateurs_paif.aspx?lang=eng).

¹¹⁵ Global Affairs Canada, ‘Action Area Policy: Environment and Climate Action’, GAC, 21 February 2017, https://www.international.gc.ca/world-monde/issues_development-enjeux_developpement/priorities-priorites/fiap_environment-paif_environnement.aspx?lang=eng.

¹¹⁶ The 16 Framework Principles on Human Rights and the Environment connect international environmental law and human rights law, and clarifies states existing obligations to environmental protection under current human rights. [OHCHR | Framework Principles on Human Rights and the Environment](#)

¹¹⁷ War on Want and London Mining Network, ‘A Just Transition Is a Post Extractive Transition’ (War on Want, 2019), https://waronwant.org/sites/default/files/Post-Extractivist_Transition_WEB_0.pdf; Women and Gender Constituency of the UNFCCC, ‘Key Demands for COP26’.

- a legal duty on all companies to prevent human rights abuses – enforceable also against parent companies (as exists with bribery in some states);
- obligations on companies operating in the global south to drastically reduce emissions, stop land clearing, deforestation and environmental pollution;
- termination of the use of investor/state dispute settlement courts by corporations to sue countries for pushing environmental and financial regulation that endanger their (projected) profit;
- measures to make manufacturers responsible for the afterlife of their products; and
- withdrawal of diplomatic and other support to companies that cause ecological and climate harm.

Box 7: Multi-donor Security and Human Rights Implementation Mechanism strengthens gender-responsive oversight of the extractive sector¹¹⁸

The Security and Human Rights Implementation Mechanism (SHRIM) is a trust fund managed by Swiss organisation DCAF, committed to supporting the on-the-ground implementation of security and human rights good practice. It is supported by Switzerland, UK, Norway, the Netherlands and Germany. Two of its recent projects connect women's inclusion, gender analysis and corporate accountability.

In many countries, including Guatemala, private security companies working for extractive companies commit human rights abuses.¹¹⁹ Guatemala NGO *Instituto de Enseñanza para el Desarrollo Sostenible* (IEPADES) conducted a gender analysis of the functioning of private security sector. From this, it developed a guidance document for extractive companies to use to assess the quality of the gender and human rights practices of its contractor private security companies. IEPADES presented the guidelines to members of the Guatemalan Voluntary Principles Working Group, which brings together NGOs, state and industry representatives to strengthen human rights compliance in the corporate sector.

Timorese NGO *Fundasaun Mahein* worked to foster a multistakeholder dialogue on the security and human rights risks for women of the *Tasi Mane* Petroleum Infrastructure Project (in the Timor Sea between Timor-Leste's south coast and Australia). They brought women together with government and security actors to discuss their concerns and engaged with public officials, including the Human Rights Ombudsman, and the wider public. For communities, the project improved their understanding of how to participate in grievance mechanisms and claims processes concerning the *Tasi Mane* project. As a result of *Fundasaun Mahein's* research and advocacy, the Police General Commander requested the Government to undertake a further review of the draft legislation concerning the *Tasi Mane* and consult the Council of Ministers to examine the issues they had identified.

¹¹⁸ 'Security and Human Rights Implementation Mechanism Annual Report' (Geneva: DCAF, 2020), https://www.securityhumanrightshub.org/sites/default/files/2021-08/SHRIM%20AR%202020_FINAL.pdf.

¹¹⁹ Kara Kingma Neu and Deborah Avant, 'Overview of the Relationship between PMSCs and Extractive Industry Companies from the Private Security Events Database', Contribution in Response to the Working Group's Call For Information for Its Thematic Report Concerning The Human Rights Impact of Private Military And Security Companies (PMSCs) Operating in the Extractive Industry (UN Human Rights Council Working Group on the use of mercenaries as a means of violating human rights and impeding the exercise of the right of peoples to selfdetermination, February 2019), <https://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Mercenaries/WG/PrivateMilitarySecurity/DenverUni.pdf>.

The UN Treaty on Transnational Corporations and Human Rights is championed by Ecuador and South Africa, and supported by many governments and coalitions including the Global Inter-Parliamentary Network,¹²⁰ and a number of countries are beginning to challenge the ISDS regime (Ecuador and South African again, and also Brazil, India, Morocco and Nigeria),¹²¹ but progress towards constraining corporate power in these ways has been piecemeal.

Renewed calls to make ‘ecocide,’ or extensive destruction of ecosystems, a crime before the International Criminal Court speak to the need for individual criminal responsibility for environmental damage.¹²² This proposal is reportedly supported already by the Belgian Parliament, France, island states including Vanuatu and the Maldives, and the European Parliament, and has been debated in the UK Parliament.¹²³ Whilst a new international crime of ecocide may have positive symbolic value, it should be remembered that the jurisdiction of the International Criminal Court is secondary to that of states. It is already the responsibility of national courts to hold its companies and those operating within its territory responsible for environmental and climate damage.

¹²⁰ Noting that the UK has opposed the treaty, as demonstrated in its vote in the Human Rights Council against the establishment of the working group to develop it and continued expressions of “scepticism” (see the UK’s statement to the October 2020 session of the open-ended intergovernmental working group on transnational corporations and other business enterprises with respect to human rights, OHCHR, ‘OHCHR | Sixth Session of the Open-Ended Intergovernmental Working Group on Transnational Corporations’, accessed 17 January 2022, <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/HRBodies/HRC/WGTransCorp/Session6/Pages/Session6.aspx>).

¹²¹ <https://www.tjm.org.uk/documents/briefings/Shaping-Future-UK-Trade-Policy-Investment-Protection-Provisions.pdf>

¹²² A. Gauger et al., ‘Ecocide Is the Missing 5th Crime Against Peace’, *Undefined*, 2012, <https://www.semanticscholar.org/paper/Ecocide-is-the-missing-5th-Crime-Against-Peace-Gauger-Rabatel-Fernel/1fb5d801b259cdf80541206b97d738cf5521e7d6>.

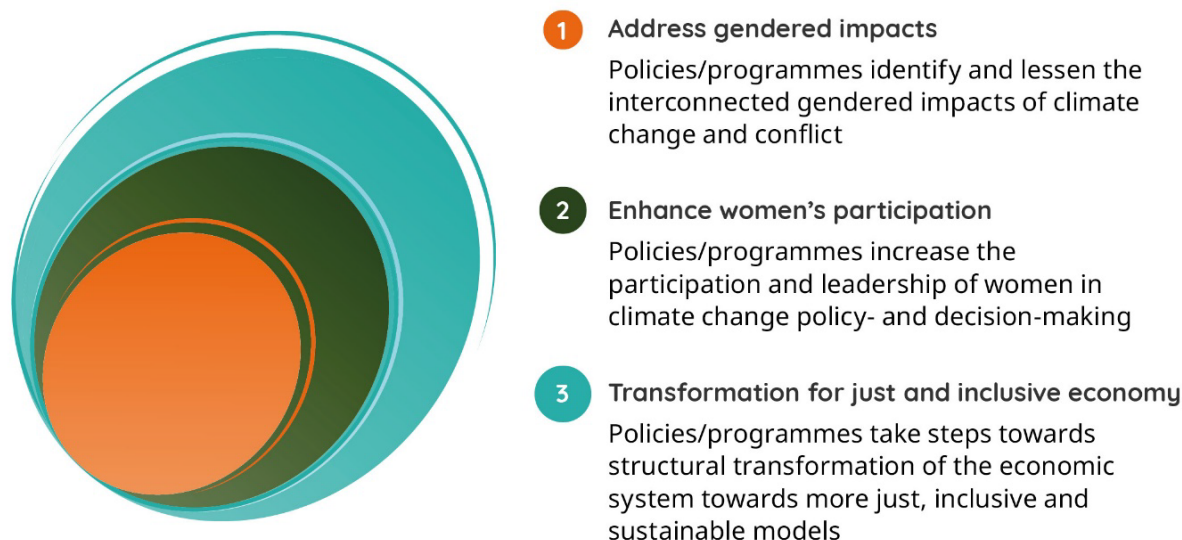
¹²³ Stop Ecocide International, ‘Mexican Senator Calls on Government to Support International Crime of Ecocide’, Stop Ecocide International, 9 November 2021, <https://www.stopecocide.earth/new-breaking-news-summary/mexican-senator-calls-on-government-to-support-international-crime-of-ecocide>. Stop Ecocide International, ‘We Are Delaying While the Planet Burns’, Stop Ecocide International, 15 September 2021, <https://www.stopecocide.earth/new-breaking-news-summary/breaking-news-title-we-are-delaying-while-the-planet-burns>.

6 Opportunities to strengthen the Scottish Government’s work at the nexus of climate change, gender and conflict

The Scottish Government has already established itself as a progressive actor in international climate policy, demonstrated *inter alia* by its commitment to fund loss and damage, and the establishment of a stand-alone Climate Justice Fund. The Scottish Government is likewise already supporting women’s engagement in international climate decision-making, through its partnership with WEDO and the *Glasgow Women’s Leadership Statement on Gender Equality and Climate Change*. Moreover, the Scottish Government’s support to the new Beyond Borders “UNSCR1325 Climate Change Fellowship” shows it making the links in programming between climate, conflict and gender equality.

Building from this strong base, this scoping study identifies a range of priorities and entry points for the Scottish Government to ensure its development strategy more systematically and meaningfully engages with the relationships between climate change, conflict and gender inequality. It applies a “three-level” framework to assess climate policies and programmes, see figure 1.

Figure 1: Levels of action needed to achieve a feminist approach to international climate justice



The framework’s emphasis on economic justice is grounded in a widely evidenced understanding that overcoming the interconnected challenges of climate change, conflict and insecurity, and gender inequality demands transforming the existing economic system away from extractivist models of economic growth and unbridled corporate power towards more just, inclusive and sustainable economies and a fairer global economic system. Engaging on climate justice and gender inequality in a manner that recognises their multiple connections with human security, human rights, economic justice and wellbeing could allow the Scottish Government to lead in shaping a feminist approach to international climate justice. The following five “opportunities” address

different dimensions of a feminist approach to international climate justice. Table 1 maps them against the levels of analysis highlighted above.

Recognising that there is no climate justice, no peace, and no gender justice without economic justice, the first three opportunities suggest ways by which the Scottish Government might progress a transformation to more just, inclusive and sustainable economies. This dimension - neglected across much international engagement with climate change, conflict and gender - speaks to level three in our framework. The fourth opportunity speaks more to levels one and two: how to ensure all climate justice programming achieves gender justice and equality. The fifth opportunity focuses on how the Scottish Government can continue to learn, including through drawing on the expertise of researchers and practitioners from Scotland and the global south.

1. Centre economic justice in climate justice

Through its commitment to a wellbeing economy and as a founding member of the Wellbeing Economy Governments group¹²⁴, the Scottish Government is already showing global leadership on moving towards a human-centred and sustainable economy. Crucially, it recognises that this economic shift is necessary to create a sustainable future. Moreover, as the first global north nation to formally commit funds for loss and damage, it has also brought its commitment to a just economic order into the climate change sphere. This, as outlined above, means the Scottish Government is well-positioned, both in terms of its priorities and expertise, to promote economic justice as a crucial part of climate justice through advocacy and coalition-building both within the UK and in multilateral fora.

To realise the vision of its commitment to economic justice for climate justice internationally and at home, there are various routes through which the Scottish Government could take action.

The Scottish Government could **call on the UK Government** to take the following actions.

- ❖ **Internationally**, use the UK's privileged position within the UN, in the G7, G20 and other multinational fora, to progress structural economic reforms at the global level that tackle the root causes of climate change, insecurity and gender inequality. Numerous feminist and environmental justice plans (e.g. Global Green New Deals, the Feminist Green New Deal, COVID-19 recovery plans¹²⁵) advocate the following priorities:
 - an effective global finance mechanism for loss and damage, and more generally, urgent and significant scale-up of grant-based climate finance to support poor and vulnerable countries and communities to adapt to climate change, raised in just ways, consistent with Fair Shares analysis, through mechanisms such as frequent flyer levies, carbon taxes, and debt cancellation;
 - a multilateral legal framework for debt cancellation and workout mechanisms – particularly for those countries worst affected by the climate crisis and for countries that have experienced conflict; and
 - a more just and equitable global tax and investment architecture and trade regime.

¹²⁴ <https://www.gov.scot/groups/wellbeing-economy-governments-wego/>

¹²⁵ <https://gadnetwork.org/gadn-resources/feminist-macroeconomic-proposals-rebuilding-more-equitable-just-and-sustainable-economies-post-covid-19>

- ❖ Take further steps in UK law and policy to progress this structural economic reform agenda. This would include:
 - more robustly constraining corporate power, especially of the extractive and fossil fuel companies headquartered and/or operating in the UK (for example, enforcing a public duty on the extractive and fossil fuel sectors to contribute a “fair share” of the effort to prevent global warming above 1.5°C; enforcing a legal duty on all companies to prevent human rights abuses – enforceable also against parent companies; and placing obligations on UK companies operating in the global south to drastically reduce emissions, stop land clearing, deforestation and environmental pollution);
 - committing the UK to increase grant-based climate finance to support poor and vulnerable countries and communities to adapt, informed by a Fair Shares analysis, as above; and
 - raising UK climate finance in just ways, such as by taxing high-emitters through carbon taxes and frequent flyer levies.

- ❖ The Scottish Government could leverage its own influence in **multilateral coalitions**, such as the Under2 Coalition (of which Scotland is European co-chair) to:
 - champion the duty of high-emitting states to make “reparation” for their contribution to the climate crisis through a global finance mechanism on loss and damage;
 - promote knowledge sharing, policy action and collaborative initiatives on the economic justice dimensions of climate action, such as gender-just climate finance, wellbeing and sustainability; trade and investment; and
 - press other members of the Under2 Coalition to be bold in their actions at home to transition to more just, inclusive and sustainable economies.

- ❖ The Scottish Government could also demonstrate leadership, even within the limits of devolved competencies, by **taking action at home** to:
 - continue to commit funds for adaptation and loss and damage;
 - use the tax-raising powers it has to support the just transition to more just, inclusive and sustainable economies, at home and globally;
 - ensure the proposed wellbeing and sustainable development bill,¹²⁶ has an international dimension, which considers how activities in Scotland impact people in the global south;
 - stop rewarding corporations that fuel the global climate, insecurity and inequalities crises with Scottish public money, through the cessation of business support funding and the development of strong ethical procurement and public pension investment standards; and
 - ensure its own credibility as a leader on climate justice internationally is not undermined by domestic policies that contribute to climate change.

¹²⁶ Constitution, Europe, External and Affairs and Culture Committee, ‘Official Report’ (The Scottish Parliament, 30 September 2021), 6, <https://www.parliament.scot/api/sitecore/CustomMedia/OfficialReport?meetingId=13347>.

2. Use the Climate Justice Fund and International Development Strategy to support just, inclusive and sustainable feminist economies

The Scottish Government is already strengthening how its feminist commitments are integrated through the CJF and International Development Strategy. However, structural economic dimensions are neglected across gender equality and women, peace and security programming globally. The Scottish Government's leadership in wellbeing economy and expertise in equality and human rights budgeting, combined with its commitment to a feminist approach to foreign policy and track record supporting women's organisations make it an ideal actor to bring feminist economics together with development programming. That is, to champion development programming that supports progress towards feminist, transformative economies.

For the CJF and International Development Fund, this ambition could be pursued by actively seeking such projects, learning from them and sharing this learning with other development actors. Others, such as the Catalan Agency of Development Cooperation, with a shared commitment to "ecofeminist" practices may wish to form a "community of practice". What might such projects look like? Feminist Green New Deal principles identify priorities that could provide objectives for development assistance that supports the social and economic transformation of root causes of climate change and social inequalities. The goal is to scale up and ensure women's participation and leadership in initiatives that model alternatives to extractivist, polluting development. These include:

- regenerative and restorative land use;
- community renewable energy projects;
- socially just and environmentally sustainable food production distribution and consumption;
- socially just and environmentally sustainable care work; and
- developing circular economies, increasing recycling and reducing waste.

In parallel, the Scottish Government could support partner country governments to develop more just, inclusive and sustainable economies through the sharing of best practices, drawing on lessons from Scotland's Just Transition and wellbeing economy initiatives. This support would recognise that some of the elements of a wellbeing economy, such as the provision of generous, high-quality public services or the development of sustainable and secure food and energy systems, cannot be achieved through a project approach but require state action. Through such efforts, the CJF and International Development Strategy could become one more of the ways through which the Scottish Government actively shares Scottish approaches and expertise on wellbeing economy, just transition and other economic models for sustainability with partners in the global south.

3. Empower women peacebuilders and environmental defenders to advocate for economic transformation

As mentioned, the Scottish Government is already actively supporting women peacebuilders through Beyond Borders and women climate activists and environmental defenders through WEDO. The newly announced Beyond Borders "UNSCR1325 Climate Change Fellowship" is a good example of programming that seeks to address the triple nexus of climate/conflict/gender. Steps could be taken to identify the impacts and lessons learned from these programmes and share knowledge around enabling women's leadership across the IDP and CJF. There would also appear to be scope to better connect these programmes with the Scottish Government's actions to implement a feminist approach to foreign policy and promote human rights internationally.

Then, the Scottish Government could build on its aforementioned expertise around the economic dimensions of climate justice to carve a niche in work to empower women peacebuilders and environmental defenders to be advocates also for economic transformation. This might involve:

- supporting participatory research with communities on climate economics;
- working with women to build capacities and confidence to engage with economic policymaking;
- supporting women peacebuilders to take advantage of the “windows of opportunity” sometimes provided by peace processes to influence decisions over the critical areas that can address climate change and insecurity at roots, such as natural resource use and extraction, infrastructure, job creation, foreign investment, and military spending; and
- advocating to bring local expertise on feminist economics into climate policymaking.

Shaping policy engagement around these intersections – economic systems, women’s empowerment, climate change, and articulating a *feminist* approach to international climate justice could allow the Scottish Government to have a distinctive voice in its nascent feminist approach to foreign policy.

4. Advance gender equality through *all* Climate Justice Fund and International Development programming

Commitments have already been made in the Scottish Government’s Refresh of its International Development Strategy and the Climate Justice Policy to, respectively, advance gender equality and recognise the gendered impacts of climate change on women in developing countries. An earmarked Equalities Funding Stream within the IDF is a strong step forward. The new Equality Principle set forward in the 2021 review of the IDS should mean that all Scottish development and climate justice programming seeks to contribute to gender equality. This policy commitment could be implemented through the following three strategies.

First, requiring all development and CJF partners to demonstrate **gender mainstreaming**, including the setting of objectives related to gender and monitoring of impacts. Gender mainstreaming is widely recognised as a critical component of effective and equitable development work – not only in programmes targeting women or gender. Key elements include:

- ❖ **Gender analysis:** e.g., conducting assessments of norms and practices that inform women and girls’ risks related to climate-induced disasters; and mapping particularly at-risk or ‘invisible’ groups of women to develop strategies to support their specific needs related to climate change. This is a critical step to achieve “level 1” of programming that recognises the gender impacts of climate change.
- ❖ **Participation:** Programme design should be grounded in participatory approaches that can identify, document and understand differences in women’s and men’s knowledge, their respective vulnerabilities, and their existing capacities for adaptation. Women’s meaningful participation and leadership should be promoted through all aspects of programming. Local women’s groups and national gender institutions should be considered as participants or as sources of data, information and connection to stakeholders. There should be attention not only to women as

beneficiaries but whether women are engaged in project governance and decision-making. This speaks to the “level 2” of programming.

- ❖ **Intersectionality:** Applying an intersectional understanding of the relationships between gender and climate in both analysis and participation elements, which takes account of the different ways in which women and men from different communities and with different characteristics experience climate change, conflict and inequality. This should include active outreach to marginalised women and girls.
- ❖ **Gender expertise:** Integrate gender specialists within the programme, including gender specialists from the local area who possess local knowledge. This could include local women activists and NGOs, local councillors and other leaders, educators and scientists.
- ❖ **Monitoring and evaluation:** with specific attention to the gender and conflict dimensions of the programme, including through a regular review of risks and dedicated indicators.¹²⁷

Second, the Scottish Government applying the OECD DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker¹²⁸ could build commitment and transparency around how Scotland’s International Development and CJF programmes promote gender equality and women’s rights.¹²⁹ The Gender Marker is widely used by other development actors, state as well as philanthropies and private sector organisations.

Third, further steps could be taken to support grassroots women’s organisations to be able to access Scottish Government funding. The Scottish Government might consider contributing to existing pooled Women’s Funds to enable funds to effectively reach grassroots organisations, in a manner supporting principles of feminist financing.

Where programming is in fragile or conflict-affected contexts, it should be designed to be conflict-sensitive as well as gender-responsive.

5. Leverage partnerships at home and abroad and continue to learn

Scotland already holds a dynamic community of researchers, practitioners and other experts working at the intersections of climate policy, Feminist Foreign Policy, peacebuilding and economic justice. Many comment informally that they do this work with no engagement with Scottish Government policymaking or programming. This suggests an untapped resource both to inform policymaking at home and connect with policy and programming abroad.

The Scottish Government might consider a new structured partnership with academics and practitioners working on *inter alia* Feminist Foreign Policy, women, peace and security, and international gender justice. Academic expertise could be accessed via Scotland’s Feminist Politics and International Relations Network, PeaceRep: The Peace and Conflict Resolution Evidence Platform, and the newly emerging Scottish Council on Global Affairs. In parallel, the Scottish Government could support academic partnerships between Scottish researchers and researchers in the global south specifically on feminist climate justice. Regular discussions on policy questions, sessions to share

¹²⁷ Many practitioner tools and trainings are available to guide the Scottish Government in strengthening gender-responsiveness and conflict-sensitivity in its governance of development and climate programming.

¹²⁸ <https://www.oecd.org/dac/gender-development/dac-gender-equality-marker.htm> The marker is a qualitative statistical tool to record development activities that target gender equality as a policy objective.

¹²⁹ OECD, ‘DAC Gender Equality Policy Marker’, OECD, accessed 14 January 2022, <https://www.oecd.org/dac/gender-development/dac-gender-equality-marker.htm>.

research, and consultations could enrich Scottish Government processes, and build its networks.

Working through these existing communities of expertise and practice offers the Scottish Government opportunities to lead learning. Climate justice is a new field; *feminist* climate justice only just beginning to be imagined. If feedback loops could be built between programming, new research and Scottish Government policy implementation, across climate justice, Feminist Foreign Policy and economic justice, the Scottish Government would be helping to build a body of valuable knowledge to share with partners in a range of local and multilateral communities.

Table 1: Opportunities to strengthen work at the nexus of climate change, gender and conflict and their impacts

Opportunity	Level 1: Addressing gendered impacts of climate change	Level 2: Increasing women's participation and leadership	Level 3: Transforming economic systems
<p>1. Centre economic justice in climate justice</p>	<p>Increased climate finance and a fairer global economic system is a prerequisite for poor countries and communities to be able to address the gendered impacts of climate change</p>	<p>Climate finance should fund an increase in women's participation and leadership in climate decision making</p> <p>A fairer economic system can lead to and requires women's participation and leadership</p>	<p>Increased climate finance, if raised through Fair Shares analysis, is part of a fairer economic system that sees historical emitters paying for climate change</p> <p>A fairer economic system tackles climate change, insecurity and gender inequalities at the root</p>
<p>2. Use the Climate Justice Fund and International Development Strategy to support just, inclusive and sustainable feminist economies</p>	<p>Initiatives that model alternatives to extractivist, polluting development, such as regenerative land use, can help communities address the gendered impacts of climate change</p>	<p>Initiatives that model alternatives to extractivist, polluting development can and should centre on the participation and leadership of women</p>	<p>Initiatives that model alternatives to extractivist, polluting development are an essential part of demonstrating the potential of more just, inclusive and sustainable economies at scale.</p> <p>Work to share knowledge of just, inclusive and sustainable economies with partner governments, contributes to fairer, feminist economies globally.</p>

3. Empower women peacebuilders and environmental defenders to advocate for economic transformation	Building the capacity of women activists to advocate on economic justice and climate finance could enable root causes of the gendered impacts of climate change to be more effectively addressed	Adding economic justice and climate finance dimensions to the training and support provided to women activists would further enhance their skills, knowledge and power to lead	Adding economic justice and climate finance dimensions to the training and support provided to women activists would progress the overall goal of transforming economies to more just, inclusive and sustainable models - through the work of women peacebuilders/activists.
4. Advance gender equality through all Climate Justice Fund and International Development programming	Using gender mainstreaming to ensure all CJF and IDF programming advances gender equality contributes to addressing the gendered impacts of climate change in a systematic way	Gender mainstreaming by definition increases the participation and leadership of women, as one part of advancing gender equality	This policy option contributes to a transformation of the economic system only in an indirect sense, in that empowered women may go on to call for these more transformative steps
5. Leverage partnerships at home and abroad and continue to learn	Scottish Government and partners continuing to learn about the mutually reinforcing dynamics of climate change, conflict and gender will enable the gendered impacts to be addressed in more systematic and sustained ways	Continuing to learn can contribute to increasing women's participation and empowerment, as women researchers, practitioners and policy-makers share best practices and implement feminist climate justice policies	Continuing to learn about ways in which just, inclusive, sustainable, feminist economies address climate change at root, build peace and facilitate gender equality enables the Scottish Government to take an informed lead in progressing a global transition to a fairer economic system

Annex 1: Relevant Scottish Government Policies and Reports

- Scottish Government (May 2008) [Scottish Government International Development Policy](#)
- Scottish Government (Mar 2015) [Scotland's Economic Strategy](#)
- Scottish Government (Mar 2015) [Scotland's International Framework 2015.](#)
- Scottish Government (Dec 2016) [Global Citizenship: Scotland's International Development Strategy.](#)
- Scottish Government (Apr 2018) [Global Goals Partnership: Agreement between Scotland and Malawi.](#)
- Scottish Government (Dec 2017) [Scotland's International Framework 2017.](#)
- Scottish Government (Mar 2018) [Climate Justice Policy.](#)
- Scottish Government (Sep 2018) [Malawi Water Stewardship initiative: end of year report 2017-2018.](#)
- Scottish Government (May 2019) [A Trading Nation - A plan for growing Scotland's exports.](#)
- Scottish Government (Jul 2019) [Climate Justice and International Development in the Scottish Government: Report.](#)
- Scottish Government (Sep 2019) [Contribution to International Development Report: 2018-2019.](#)
- Scottish Government (Feb 2020) [Humanitarian emergency fund: independent review - gov.scot \(www.gov.scot\)](#)
- Scottish Government (Mar 2020), [International Development Programme – Review: Summary Report.](#)
- Scottish Government (Jul 2020) [Scotland and the Sustainable Development Goals: A National Review to Drive Action.](#)
- Scottish Government (Nov 2020) [International Development – National Indicator Development: Research Report.](#)
- Scottish Government (Sep 2020) [Towards a robust, resilient wellbeing economy for Scotland](#)
- Scottish Government (Feb 2021) [International Development 2019-2020: Contribution Report.](#)
- Scottish Government (Mar 2021) [International Development Programme – Review: Summary Report.](#)
- Scottish Government (July 2021) [Scotland's Contribution to the Paris Agreement – an Indicative NDC.](#)
- Scottish Government (Sep 2021) [A Fairer, Greener Scotland: Programme for Government.](#)

Annex 2: The Scottish Government's international development, climate change and peace and conflict work

The Scottish Government's bilateral international development work was officially initiated with the 2005 Cooperation Agreement between The Scottish Government and Malawi. Sixteen years later, the 2021 Programme for Government commits to the creation of 'a new global affairs framework this year to guide The Scottish Government's international engagement, grounded in a value-based approach, and a feminist approach to foreign policy'. The commitment reflects significant progress in the scope and sophistication of The Scottish Government's international development work and foreign policies.

International Development

At the heart of The Scottish Government's international development policies and engagement is the 2016 'Global Citizenships: The Scottish Government's International Development Strategy' (IDS).¹³⁰ The IDS was reviewed and refreshed in 2021, with the introduction of eight new guiding principles.¹³¹ It complements The Scottish Government's International Framework and embeds The Scottish Government's commitment to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Guiding the IDS, and The Scottish Government's overall approach to its role and relations on the international plane is the notion of The Scottish Government as a 'good global citizen'¹³² with a strong sense of solidarity with the global south and understanding of The Scottish Government's privileged position in the world.¹³³

To exercise its role as a good global citizen, the IDS focuses in on the 'fight against poverty, injustice and inequality', with a specific commitment to embed human rights across its work.¹³⁴ At the forefront is the annual GBP 10 million IDF, whose 'main aim is to support and empower The Scottish Government's partner countries,' Malawi, Rwanda, Zambia and Pakistan.¹³⁵ The IDS also provides the framework for the CJF (set to increase to GBP 6 million annually from 2022) and the Humanitarian Emergency Fund (GBP 1 million annually). Common to these funds is how they, through partnerships with Scottish-based NGOs, fund local organisations and initiatives directly.¹³⁶ The Scottish Government provides no direct funding to the governments of partner countries.

The 2021 Review of the IDS proposed 'equality' as one of eight new principles. It introduced an emphasis on the disproportionate effects of development challenges – such as poverty and access to education – on women and girls as central to tackling

¹³⁰ Scottish Government, 'Global Citizenship: Scotland's International Development Strategy'.

¹³¹ Scottish Government, 'Summary Report on the Review of Scottish Government's International Development Programme in Light of COVID-19'.

¹³² Scottish Government, 'Global Citizenship: Scotland's International Development Strategy'.

¹³³ Scottish Government, 'Global Citizenship: Scotland's International Development Strategy'.

¹³⁴ Scottish Government, 'Global Citizenship: Scotland's International Development Strategy', 6.

¹³⁵ Scottish Government, 'International Development - Gov.Scot', accessed 26 November 2021, <https://www.gov.scot/policies/international-development/>.

¹³⁶ Note that the requirement of being or having a partnership with a Scottish Based NGOs is to be removed following the 2021 Review.

inequality.¹³⁷ Participation is also emphasised in the Review, ‘because societies need the views and contribution of those who currently live on the periphery, including women’.¹³⁸ A key outcome was a commitment to create a new Equalities Funding Stream within the IDF and within that, a commitment to funding projects to promote equality for women and girls in Sub-Saharan Africa partner countries.¹³⁹

Beyond the three funds, the IDS emphasises the ‘Beyond Aid’ agenda – a commitment to take a holistic approach to sustainable development and to share expertise.¹⁴⁰ Domestic policies are intended to align with SDGs and human rights through the National Performance Framework and the Scottish National Action Plan on Human Rights.¹⁴¹ Demonstrating the Beyond Aid agenda, The Scottish Government’s trading strategy sets out contributing to the Scottish Government’s National Performance Framework’s ‘international’ indicator as a key goal, and outlines the expectation that Scottish businesses will contribute to ‘ethical business practices’.¹⁴² The IDS likewise makes explicit links between domestic and international policy, framing the need to set an ‘example through domestic policy’ as a key attribute of a good global citizen.¹⁴³ The link between the domestic and the international is further underscored by the IDS’ ‘holistic “do no harm” approach to international development, which recognises how the Scottish Government’s choices have consequences for people locally, domestically and internationally.’¹⁴⁴

Climate Change

Climate change and the environment are devolved matters within the powers of the Scottish Government. Today, the Scottish Government’s work on climate change is a cornerstone of its international development policies and its role in the international arena. On the international plane, the Scottish Government’s work on climate change has been spearheaded by the CJF, established in 2012. The Fund aims to ‘help tackle the effects of climate change in the poorest, most vulnerable countries.’¹⁴⁵ The concept of climate justice also guides the Scottish Government’s work on climate change more widely. The Climate Justice Policy places at its core a recognition of the unjust ways in which those who have contributed the least to climate change are disproportionately affected by it.¹⁴⁶ A 2021 review of the CJF added to this understanding of climate justice by conceptualizing it as encompassing three distinct pillars: distributive justice, procedural justice, and transformative justice.¹⁴⁷ To date, the CJF has funded Scottish

¹³⁷ Scottish Government, ‘Summary Report on the Review of Scottish Government’s International Development Programme in Light of COVID-19’.

¹³⁸ Scottish Government, ‘Summary Report on the Review of Scottish Government’s International Development Programme in Light of COVID-19’.

¹³⁹ Scottish Government, ‘Summary Report on the Review of Scottish Government’s International Development Programme in Light of COVID-19’.

¹⁴⁰ Scottish Government, ‘Summary Report on the Review of Scottish Government’s International Development Programme in Light of COVID-19’.

¹⁴¹ Scottish Government, ‘National Performance Framework - Downloadable Versions | National Performance Framework’, accessed 26 November 2021, <https://nationalperformance.gov.scot/national-performance-framework-downloadable-versions>.

¹⁴² Scottish Government and APS Group Scotland, ‘A Trading Nation’, 26, 28.

¹⁴³ Scottish Government, ‘Global Citizenship: Scotland’s International Development Strategy’.

¹⁴⁴ Scottish Government, ‘Global Citizenship: Scotland’s International Development Strategy’, 9.

¹⁴⁵ Scottish Government, ‘International Development: Climate Justice Fund - Gov.Scot’.

¹⁴⁶ Scottish Government, ‘Climate Justice Policy’.

¹⁴⁷ Scottish Government, ‘Evaluation of the Climate Justice Fund: Final Evaluation Report’, 2.

based NGOs to run largely grassroots climate adaptation programmes in The Scottish Government's partner countries.

In addition to the CJF, The Scottish Government has sought to lead on tackling climate change through, inter alia, its submission of an ambitious iNDC and by adopting the legally-binding emission reduction target of reaching net-zero by 2045.¹⁴⁸ As such, the Scottish Government's work on climate change demonstrates strong coherence between domestic and international policies. The Scottish Government is also the European Co-Chair of the Under2 Coalition and has a Cooperation Agreement with the Government of California which commits both governments to work together to tackle climate change. In the run-up to COP26, the Scottish Government co-hosted the Glasgow Dialogues which aimed to amplify global south voices.¹⁴⁹ During the meeting, it announced GBP 1 million, subsequently raised to 2, to 'tackle loss and damage' of climate change, the first high-emitter global north country to commit to this long-standing demand of Least Developed Countries.¹⁵⁰

Peace and conflict/security

The Scottish Government has committed to adopt a feminist approach to foreign policy, signalling a desire to strengthen the focus on women and girls throughout its international activity. Already, the Scottish Government has since 2016 provided GBP 1.5 million in funding to NGO Beyond Borders for the "Women in Conflict 1325 Fellowship". This programme brings together women activists from a range of conflict-affected countries, providing them with 'expert guidance and capacity building training in conflict resolution, mediation, reconciliation and dialogues methodologies with an emphasis on inclusivity and sustainable conflict resolution'.¹⁵¹ The Government makes this commitment with explicit reference to implementing the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.

The Scottish Government's primary direct assistance to situations of crisis around the world, beyond that which it contributes through the UK, comes from its Humanitarian Emergency Fund. Established in 2017, the fund provides 'assistance to reduce the threat to life and wellbeing to a large number of a population caused by disaster, disease or conflict'.¹⁵²

¹⁴⁸ Climate Change (Emission Reduction Targets) (The Scottish Government) Act 2019 [Climate Change \(Emission Reduction Targets\) \(Scotland\) Act 2019 \(legislation.gov.uk\)](#)

¹⁴⁹ Stop Climate Chaos Scotland, 'Glasgow Climate Dialogues', *Stop Climate Chaos Scotland* (blog), 2021, <https://www.stopclimatechaos.scot/campaign/glasgow-climate-dialogues/>.

¹⁵⁰ Joe, Lo and Chloé, Farand, 'Scotland Breaks Loss and Damage "Taboo", Raising Hopes Others Will Follow', *Climate Home News*, 3 November 2021, sec. Loss and damage, <https://www.climatechangenews.com/2021/11/03/scotland-breaks-loss-damage-taboo-raising-hopes-others-will-follow/>.

¹⁵¹ Beyond Borders, 'Women in Conflict', 2021, <https://www.beyondbordersscotland.com/projects/women-in-conflict/>.

¹⁵² Scottish Government, 'International Development: Responding to Humanitarian Crises - Gov.Scot', accessed 26 November 2021, <https://www.gov.scot/policies/international-development/responding-to-humanitarian-crises/>.

Annex 3: Examples of development programmes that link women’s empowerment and climate action

Kenya: Financially empowering women who live in slums through sustainable gardening¹⁵³

The Association of Women in Agriculture in Kenya (AWAK) is responding to the specific gendered impacts of the COVID pandemic, which left many women in urban slums without a job but with increased household responsibilities. AWAK trained 700 urban women in slums to convert former domestic dumping sites into vegetable gardens, using organic compost to enrich the soil and biomass waste to produce biochar. This provides the women with sustainable sources of livelihood, including from selling vegetables, briquettes and soap, and promotes table funding as well as access to formal banking. Women gain technical and business skills and transfer knowledge to other women, at the same time promoting women’s leadership in the community

Nepal: De-risking business loans for climate micro-entrepreneurs with a gender lens¹⁵⁴

A loan insight software company, Aeloi Technologies, has helped fifty women access affordable financing through an innovative digital token loan system. As a pilot project, Aeloi software tracks impact sector funds, with the goal of bridging the financing gap for 700,000 climate entrepreneurs. They have successfully lowered per unit costs and de-risked loans in the *safa tempo* (electric minibus) industry of Kathmandu and now target the agriculture sector. Because financial technology (fintech) is male dominated, Aeloi Technologies supports women entrepreneurs to increase their business assets and income, get rid of toxic interest rates, gain decision making power and social freedom. The project increases women’s access to formal financial systems, taking steps to reach unschooled women who are financially excluded.

Nigeria: Building women’s capacity to shape gender responsive climate finance¹⁵⁵

A two-year project by Nigerian NGO Centre for 21st Century Issues has built the capacities of local women’s groups to advocate for gender responsive climate finance and actively engage in the Green Climate Fund’s evaluation processes. By training 165 women on the fundamentals of climate finance and the Green Climate Fund mechanism, the project facilitates women’s groups’ collaboration with Nigeria’s National Designated Authority, Direct Access Entities, and Green Climate Fund Readiness Support programs. Women CSOs have been recognized as observers in the Green Climate Fund’s funding mechanism. The project has contributed to the development of “No objection” procedures for endorsing projects presented on behalf of Nigeria by international accredited entities and opened up opportunities for local women to benefit from climate finance.

¹⁵³ ‘Gender Just Climate Solutions 2021’, 20.

¹⁵⁴ ‘Gender Just Climate Solutions 2021’, 11.

¹⁵⁵ ‘Gender Just Climate Solutions 2021’, 32.

Turkey: Empowering refugee women through solar engineering¹⁵⁶

Since 2018, the Solar Age project supports Syrian women refugees in Turkey. 200 female refugees have benefited from the Solar Engineering Course, a 10-day theoretical and practical training in solar energy. Among them, 20 have also been trained to build EFE (Energy for Everyone) solar batteries, which are sold on the local market to generate revenues, providing financial autonomy for women. The EFE batteries are specifically designed to provide for the needs of refugees. They integrate a flashlight for SOS signals and serve as an autonomous source of energy for mobile phones to facilitate communication. The program additionally offers educational and language courses to child refugees, reducing women's burden of care and enabling their attendance to the training.

¹⁵⁶ 'Gender Just Climate Solutions 2021', 10.

Annex 4: Examples of gender language in NDCs and NAPs

Country	Text
Chile	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Chile’s NDC incorporates a gender approach in all policies, programmes, climate change plans and actions. As part of the capacity-building strategy, Chile outlines: • The design and implementation of the NDC must consider a fair allocation of charges, costs and benefits, with a focus on gender and special emphasis on sectors, communities and ecosystems vulnerable to climate change. • During the implementation phase of the NDC, existing studies and analysis on climate vulnerability and risk in Chile will be updated and expanded to address relevant threats, considering gender in the approach. Those studies will serve as key inputs for the design of adaptation measures. • By 2025, assessments of climate change risk to vulnerable groups nationwide will be carried out, with a special focus on indigenous peoples, poverty and gender. • Cross-cutting elements of the NDC in terms of adaptation include inclusion of vulnerable groups, with a special focus on gender.¹⁵⁷
Malawi	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Malawi’s National Adaptation Plan National Climate Change Management Policy seeks to mainstream gender as a cross-cutting issue across planning, development, and coordination of policies, projects and programs. It recognizes women and girls as disproportionately vulnerable to the impacts of climate change, as they have to walk further in search of basic commodities for the family such as firewood and water. Women may not have the authority to decide on alternative and climate-resilient solutions for the household. The adaptation interventions proposed are meant to enhance gender inclusiveness. • In relation to capacity building, Malawi also plans to “integrate the mainstreaming of gender considerations within climate change measures, and where relevant, to track climate change issues and indicators according to gender and vulnerable groups.”¹⁵⁸
Moldova	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Moldova’s adaptation planning commits to remaining socially inclusive and sensitive to the gender impacts of climate change. Gender is set out as a separate adaptation priority category with its own set of key activities. Gender links include:

¹⁵⁷ ‘Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment in Updated and New Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs)’, 6.

¹⁵⁸ WEDO, ‘Gender Climate Tracker Country Profiles: Quick Analysis’.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • There is an analysis of the gender impact of previous investments by sector and gender aspects of the implementation of past adaptation actions is assessed. • Insufficient statistical data on health and wellbeing through a gender lens is included as a main systemic impediment for increased political commitment to addressing climate change adaptation. • In turn, Moldova’s <i>National Strategy on Ensuring Equality between Women and Men (2017-2021)</i> and the Action Plan for its implementation aim to reduce gender gaps due to social, economic and environmental vulnerabilities exacerbated by climate change.¹⁵⁹
Rwanda	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender mainstreaming is positioned as central to Rwanda’s sustainable development process, stated as a priority at all levels of policy and implementation. Rwanda’s NDC and adaptation planning commit to capturing sex-disaggregated data and conducting vulnerability assessments of local communities.¹⁶⁰

¹⁵⁹ ‘Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment in Updated and New Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs)’, 6.

¹⁶⁰ ‘Gender Equality and Women’s Empowerment in Updated and New Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs)’, 6.

Annex 5: Examples of climate language in WPS and Security National Action Plans

Country	Date adopted	Text
Australia ¹⁶¹	2021	Australian Government actions aim to: support women’s leadership and participation in climate policy decision-making. These inclusive policy processes will support improved long-term outcomes for communities in crisis, helping to build peace.
Finland ¹⁶²	2018	Outcome: Finland explores specific challenges and/or opportunities presented to women by climate change, and access to, use and control of land and other natural resources
Ireland ¹⁶³	2018	Output: 1.1.3 Deepen our understanding of the gendered impacts of poverty, inequality, climate change and conflict, including as an essential element of reaching the furthest behind first, including women and girls. Activities: Increased support to work on gender equality and climate action. Output: 1.2.3 Increase investment in research and programming on gender and security impacts of climate change. Activities: Research commissioned on gender and security impacts of climate change in Pacific Small Island Developing States ... Strengthen support for gender equality and women’s involvement in climate action.
United States ¹⁶⁴	2016	Actions: Increase gender integration across efforts to build resilience to crisis, conflict, and insecurity in various contexts including climate change. Outcome 5.4: Gender issues are systematically integrated and evaluated as part of responses to climate change Actions: Promote the active participation of women in climate change negotiations; gender-responsive approaches to climate change mitigation and adaptation at local, regional, or national levels, including equal land tenure rights for women and men; and

¹⁶¹ ‘Australia’s Second National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security (2021-2031)’, 2021, <https://www.wpsnaps.org/app/uploads/2021/11/Australia-NAP-2021-2031.pdf>.

¹⁶² ‘Women, Peace and Security Finland’s National Action Plan 2018-2021’ (Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland, 2018), 2018–21, <https://www.wpsnaps.org/app/uploads/2019/09/Finland-NAP-3-2018-2021.pdf>.

¹⁶³ Government of Ireland, ‘Ireland’s Third National Action Plan on UNSCR 1325 - Women, Peace and Security Agenda 2019 – 2024’, n.d.

¹⁶⁴ ‘The United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security’.

		the capacity and empowerment of women to fully participate in the energy sector, including women working in energy policy and as clean energy entrepreneurs.
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