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# **Gender and Climate Change – An Analysis of Gender Mainstreaming in Contemporary Climate Change Policy Making**

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## **Abstract**

This thesis discusses the relation between gender and climate change. The climate crisis is undisputedly the most pressing issue of our time. But it cannot be seen as an isolated problem as it is linked to numerous matters that require consideration in climate change policy making. Among these is gender inequality. Women are more vulnerable towards and more affected by the consequences of climate change. This needs to be accounted for in any policy making that tries to tackle the climate crisis. Therefore, this thesis aims to answer the research question to what extent gender is mainstreamed in contemporary climate change policy making, by conducting a content analysis. As climate change is a global issue it is most crucial to examine policy documents of international networks. So, the most important contemporary policy documents on climate change, the Paris Agreement by the UN and the European Green Deal by the EU, have been chosen for this analysis. These are reviewed, using both closed and open coding in the process of a qualitative content analysis. The findings demonstrate gender mainstreaming to a very small extent in the Paris Agreement and no gender mainstreaming in the Green Deal, making it essentially gender blind.

## **Abbreviations**

ACF	Advocacy Coalition Framework
COP	Conference of the Parties
COP21	21 <sup>st</sup> Conference of the Parties
EU	European Union
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
UN	United Nations
UNFCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

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## 1. Introduction

“The climate crisis is not gender neutral” (A. E. Johnson & K. K. Wilkinson, 2020, p. xvii). In fact, “gender and climate change are profoundly intertwined” (United Nations, 2021). These statements by Katherine K. Wilkinson and Alok Sharma describe pointedly what this thesis is about, namely the relation between gender and climate change. One could assume that the climate crisis is first and foremost a scientific and technical issue, describing the “long-term shifts in temperatures and weather patterns [...] due to burning fossil fuels like coal, oil and gas” ultimately leading to extremely harmful consequences, such as “intense droughts, water scarcity, severe fires, rising sea levels [...] and declining biodiversity” (United Nations, 2022b). These consequences make it the most urgent crisis of our time and therefore concern us all. Nevertheless, climate change does not affect everybody equally, which is why it cannot be seen isolated from other issues, such as social justice.

As is widely discussed and known from experience, countries of the Global South have experienced the consequences of climate change much earlier and more intensely than those of the Global North. This becomes evident in the millions of people who are “experiencing food insecurity in southern Africa following unprecedented droughts and storms”, people who are affected by rises in temperatures of “up to 51°C in parts of India and Pakistan, causing serious health problems”, or women “in rural parts of Kenya” who “have to travel further and further to get access to safe water” (Harpreet Kaur Paul, 2020), to name just a few. This demonstrates how it is often the poorer countries of the Global North that are affected the most. But not only groups of countries are impacted differently, also groups of people within all countries suffer from the climate crisis differently. As stated by Naomi Klein “[a]ll too often it is the disadvantaged, the poor, people of color, and Indigenous people – who are hit first and worst” (N. Klein & R. Steffoff, 2021, p. 70) revealing that the climate crisis is “hitting those people least equipped to respond” (Harpreet Kaur Paul, 2020). An IPCC Report on impacts, adaptation and vulnerability to climate change confirms this by stating that the effects of climate change are likely to mostly affect the poor, very young, elderly, powerless, indigenous people and recent immigrants (IPCC, 2007).

Women are also among the groups of people, who are disproportionately impacted by climate change. Due to persisting patriarchal power structures and the continuing societal marginalization on the basis of gender, women are more heavily reliant on natural resources for their livelihood, have less access to resources such as education and are often excluded from the political decision making process, which makes them disproportionately affected and ultimately more vulnerable towards the consequences of the climate crisis. This emphasizes how important it is to examine the relation between gender and climate change. This thesis aims to do exactly that by investigating how climate change policy making responds to the increased vulnerability of women. Because after all, the striking inequalities women are confronted with, make climate change a fundamentally gendered issue, and policy making needs to account for that.

## 1.1 Background

The claim made above is widely substantiated by scientific literature and will be elaborated on in the following, to demonstrate evidence for women's increased vulnerability to climate change. Several factors contribute to this, including poverty, gender inequality, insecure land rights, heavy reliance on agriculture and less access to education and information (S.S. Yadav & R. Lal, 2017). Furthermore, women's particular vulnerability to climate change is also due to social marginalization, lack of mobility and exclusion from decision-making (S.S. Yadav & R. Lal, 2017).

A study on the nexus between patriarchy and the high rate of women's vulnerability to climate change in Nigeria finds that "traditional beliefs, which underpin cultural division of roles between men and women, also increase the vulnerability of women to the adverse impacts of climate change" (Chidiebere J. Onwutuebe, 2019, p. 1). In this context the author also suggests that patriarchal structures provide men with more general adaptive capacity or capability to climate change for several reasons (Chidiebere J. Onwutuebe, 2019). Adaptive capacity can be defined as "[t]he ability of a system to adjust in response to projected or actual changes in climate" (Government of Canada, 2010, p. 1). Women are often not given the same freedom in choosing how to participate publicly or economically as men, which causes their low level of adaptive capacity. In fact, the "[d]ivision of roles, in which women are conditioned to carry out activities within the domestic space while allowing men the liberty to easily determine their choice of occupation, means that threats arising from climate change can only [...] compel men who are engaged in the agricultural sector to seek alternative sources of livelihoods", while women "do not exercise this level of liberty because their attachments to the domestic sphere undermines their flexibility for occupational mobility or change" (Chidiebere J. Onwutuebe, 2019, p. 4). Consequently, the privileged power status given to men by the patriarchal structures which persist in all societies provides them with greater adaptive capability to cope with the consequences of climate change (Chidiebere J. Onwutuebe, 2019).

In the Global South this is further illustrated by the fact that "[s]eventy per cent of the 1.3 billion people in the developing world living below the threshold of poverty are women" (Fatma Denton, 2010, p. 10) and therefore, as marginalized groups of society, more vulnerable to any current and future changes in the climate. The IPCC further backs this claim by establishing that impacts of climate change differ according to gender. That "happens particularly in developing countries, where gendered cultural expectations, such as women undertaking multiple tasks at home, persist [...] and the ratios of women affected or killed by climate-related disasters to the total population are already higher than in developed nations" (IPCC, 2007). A study on the "Gendered nature of Natural Disasters", within which the authors examined the vulnerability of women to natural, climate-related disasters, supports this in stating that women are, in fact, more likely to die in natural disasters than men (E. Neumayer & Thomas Plümper, 2007). This seems to be rooted in "the socially constructed gender-specific vulnerability of females built into everyday socioeconomic patterns" (E. Neumayer & Thomas Plümper, 2007, p. 551). These shocking figures are best described by Caroline Criado Perez's provocative statement "[i]t's not the

disaster that kills you”, implying that it’s gender that does (Caroline Criado Perez, 2019, p. 296). With increasing climate-related natural disasters, the vulnerability of women towards these becomes an even more pressing issue.

It is very important to recognize that the consequences of climate change are particularly severe for women in the Global South and especially in “rural, indigenous and migrant contexts” (Economic and Social Council of the UN, 2022). Nevertheless, women are more vulnerable towards the impacts of the climate crisis “as a result of the deeply entrenched gender inequalities that exist in all societies” (Gill Allwood, 2020, p. 5), also in the Global North. Lack of access to resources, such as finance, technology, knowledge or mobility impedes women’s responsive capability to the climate crisis in all countries (Economic and Social Council of the UN, 2022). Furthermore, the recent events of the COVID-19 crisis have revealed how much societies everywhere are dependent on the domestic, unpaid care work of women. Since the pandemic has intensified the demand for this kind of work and deepened the imbalanced structures, it has reverberated women in building their resilience (Economic and Social Council of the UN, 2022). This stresses the overall importance of recognizing the influence of climate change on women, since it has far-reaching consequences everywhere.

After establishing the disproportionate effects of the climate crisis on women and showing their increased vulnerability, it is essential to state that “women cannot be perceived as helpless victims of climate change” (Gill Allwood, 2020, p. 3). As Yadav and Lal explain, women are “not passive victims [...] but also pro-active and agents of hope for adaptation to and mitigation of abrupt climate change” (S.S. Yadav & R. Lal, 2017, p. 4). Women are known to be very involved concerning the issue and drive change towards a more sustainable future in many cases. They also often support any policies which promote environmental protection and restoration and even gravitate more towards leaders who stand up for the environment in their policies (S.S. Yadav & R. Lal, 2017). Furthermore, women are at “the forefront of environmental activism and are leading protests against deforestation, industrial pollution” (S.S. Yadav & R. Lal, 2017, p. 12) or other climate damaging activities. However, it has been shown that “[w]omen are patently absent from the decision-making process” (Fatma Denton, 2010, p. 11). Nevertheless, they are increasingly trying to make their voices heard. Among the places where they do are the international policy making forums like the United Nations or the European Union.

An example for this is the UN Women, one of the most well known group advocating women’s rights in the United Nations. It is the “UN entity dedicated to gender equality and empowerment of women” (United Nations) and sheds – among many other issues - light on the need for a gendered response in climate change policy making (UN Women USA, 2021). The European Union does not have a separate body designated for the rights of women. But it’s pluralist structure and system of interest representation still provides ample possibilities for women’s advocates to take action. Examples are the nonprofit network “Women Engage for a Common Future” (WECF International, 2022) or the European Women’s Lobby (European Women's Lobby). It shows that women groups do become pro-active in

addressing women's vulnerability towards the climate crisis. Whether this advocacy is translated into policies is part of this analysis.

As stated above, women's advocates become increasingly active in forums such as the UN or the EU. While both networks belong to the most important actors in the international policy making sphere, they are different in many ways. Considering the 193 Member States that comprise the UN, it is an international policy forum beyond compare. Part of their institutional framework is the United Nations Framework on Climate Change, which came into force in 1994 (United Nations). The 197 countries that have ratified it are the Parties to the Convention. The Conference of the Parties (COP) is the "supreme decision-making body of the Convention" which "meets every year, unless the Parties decide otherwise" (United Nations, 2022a, p. 1). Since the Conference of The Parties is the UN body designated to tackle the climate crisis on a global level, it is one of the most important actors to investigate. Equally important are any policy action taken by the European Union. Even though the EU is more a regional actor and not a global forum like the COP, it is still one of the most influential forums. The fact that Europe is comprised of some of the countries contributing most to the severe impacts of climate change, given their heavily polluting industries, makes any mitigation action they take, or policy documents they produce extremely relevant.

Both of these networks adopt crucial policies in the field of climate change, because of their far-reaching influence and their high number of member states. Hence, it is vital that both networks acknowledge women's increased vulnerability towards climate change and incorporate generally supportive and capacity building measures for women in their policy making. Furthermore, climate change policies often need to be implemented nationally or even regionally. Still, it is a global issue, which makes it essential to investigate global policy making actors, such as the UN or the EU. Therefore, policy documents produced by these two forums will be examined in this thesis in order to determine to which extent they acknowledge and incorporate gender issues.

The recognition of women's increased vulnerability and distinct needs can be considered a policy change, since women's issues have not been on the agenda for a long time. The Advocacy Coalition Framework is one of the leading theories for explaining policy change, which is why it will be utilized in this thesis. The Advocacy Coalition Framework was established by Paul Sabatier in collaboration with Hank Jenkins-Smith in the 1980s (Paul A. Sabatier, 1998). It aims at explaining and understanding complex policy making systems (Paul Cairney, 2014), which is why it is very useful when analyzing the policy making processes of the EU or UN.

A precise research question and corresponding sub-questions will be established in the following.

## **1.2 Relevance and Research Question**

The United Nations' Economic and Social Council declares that "[g]ender inequality coupled with climate and environment crises is the greatest sustainable development challenge of the present time"



(Economic and Social Council of the UN, 2022). This statement stresses the relevance of researching the recognition of gender in the context of the climate crisis. A study by Margaret M. Skutsch already called for this kind of research in 2002. She underlined that “gender considerations need to be included explicitly in future policy formulations and activities” (Margaret M. Skutsch, 2002, p. 32). Alarmingly, Skutsch found out that it “takes no more than a simple word-search of the UN Framework Convention for Climate Change [...] and the Kyoto Protocol, the two most important treaties which relate to global efforts to combat climate change [at the time she wrote this] to discover that the words ‘gender’ and ‘women’ are not mentioned in either” (Margaret M. Skutsch, 2002, p. 30). This is why finding out whether gender might be accounted for in more contemporary policy documents is so crucial and fills an urgent research gap. Therefore, this thesis will aim to answer the following research question:

*To what extent has gender been mainstreamed in climate change policy making by different international policy making networks?*

This research question introduces the concept of gender mainstreaming. The European Institute for Gender Equality defines gender mainstreaming as follows: “Gender mainstreaming has been embraced internationally as a strategy towards realizing gender equality. It involves the integration of a gender perspective into the preparation, design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies, regulatory measures and spending programs, with a view to promoting equality between women and men and combating discrimination” (European Institute for Gender Equality, 2022). The Council of Europe further describes it as “an approach to policy-making that takes into account both women’s and men’s interests and concerns, aimed at designing better policies” (Council of Europe, 2022). Therefore, the goal of the research question is to find out to what extent gender is recognized and accounted for in the policy documents used.

The policy documents chosen are the Paris Agreement by the COP21 and the European Green Deal by the EU. Since both of these are landmark treaties in contemporary climate change policy making, the analysis will reveal the current state of recognizing women’s increased vulnerabilities towards the climate crisis, which is of great societal and scientific relevance. Having established the overarching research question, the following four sub-questions emerge:

*Sub-question 1 (SQ1): To what extent has gender been mainstreamed in the European Green Deal?*

*Sub-question 2 (SQ2): To what extent has gender been mainstreamed in the Paris Agreement?*

*Sub-question 3 (SQ3): What are the implications of gender mainstreaming for the type of policy instruments that are being used?*

All three sub-questions address a certain aspect of the research question and provide a structured approach to answer it in full.

## **2. Theory: Advocacy Coalition Framework**

When examining to what extent gender has been mainstreamed, it is also crucial to be able to explain how and why it can be in the interest of policy makers and stakeholders to address gender in the first place. The Advocacy Coalition Framework can serve that purpose. As a theoretical framework for this thesis, it has the capability to explain how the recognition of women's needs can get on the agenda of international climate change policy making networks. It further demonstrates how other policy interests prevent women's advocacy from getting on the agenda or are competing with it in the struggle for political consideration. Therefore, in the following the Advocacy Coalition Framework will be established as a theoretical background for the exploration of the thesis' research question.

The complex theory developed by Sabatier has been updated and revised over the years and used extensively by many researchers and scholars in the field. It is explained and summarized very well by Paul Cairney in his works on public policy, which will be the basis of this elaboration on the theory.

The ACF describes policy making as a process within which people form groups based on their shared beliefs and together pursue the political implementation of these. Sabatier calls these groups "advocacy coalitions" (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 200). More specifically, advocacy coalitions are defined as "people from a variety of positions (elected and agency officials, interest group leaders, researchers) who share a particular belief system – i.e. a set of basic values, causal assumptions and problem perceptions – and who show a non-trivial degree of coordinated activity over time" (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 200). There can be numerous advocacy coalitions with people sharing these beliefs in the policy making arena. These essentially "compete with each other to secure policy outcomes consistent with their beliefs" (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 200). This struggle for domination of the policy making system happens within "specialised policy sub-systems" (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 200). A policy sub-system can be characterized as a "set of actors who are involving with a policy problem" (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 200). Even though many advocacy coalitions can be involved in the policy sub-system, a major policy change is rarely found. This can be traced back to the fact that "the 'core' or 'policy core' beliefs of coalitions are unlikely to shift" (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 200), because they are so deeply ingrained in the values and convictions of the advocacy coalitions' members. This is explained further in the following, as there are three different types of beliefs in the ACF, more or less likely to change or be receptive to policy learnings. These are distinguished below:

- *Deep core beliefs* are defined as an "actor's 'underlying personal philosophy' about nature and human nature" and examples are "how we should rank values such as freedom and security; whose welfare should count the most" or the general "left/right wing divide" (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 205).

- *Policy core beliefs* describe “‘fundamental policy positions’ that relate to a specific subsystem issue” (Paul Cairney, 2012). They can be seen as a “combination of the “‘empirical’ (what is happening?) and ‘normative’ (what should happen?)”. To illustrate this, examples are questions such as “what causes this policy problem; whether or not society can, and should attempt to, solve it” or “how a government should solve it” (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 205).
- *Secondary aspects* describe “the funding, delivery and implementation of policy goals and the information gathered to support the process” (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 205). They represent the specific policy actions the advocacy coalitions want to pursue to address the policy problem.

Important to note is that the boundaries between the deep core beliefs and policy core beliefs are relatively fluid and sometimes not so easy to differentiate (Paul Cairney, 2012). As stated above, there is a “hierarchy of beliefs” (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 205), determined by how easily they can be changed or shifted by new experiences, events or findings. Following this hierarchy, the deep core beliefs are least likely to change because they describe deep-rooted, normative convictions of people. It is difficult to translate them into specific policy behavior though, which is why the policy core beliefs are utilized in the policy sub-systems, as these are more applicable to actual policy activities (Paul Cairney, 2012). They are more receptive to change than the deep core beliefs, but the process is still slow and “may take place over decades” because “many beliefs are ‘primarily normative – and thus largely beyond direct empirical challenge’” (Paul Cairney, 2019, p. 7). Hence, more fast-paced policy change may only occur within the secondary aspects, “in which actors modify their beliefs to refine the routine delivery of specific policies in line with new information” (Paul Cairney, 2019, p. 8).

According to the ACF there are two main factors that can accelerate change (Paul Cairney, 2012). Firstly, advocacy coalitions do “engage in policy-oriented learning” in order to “remain competitive and adapt continuously to new information about policy and their policymaking environment” (Paul Cairney, 2019, p. 2). This results only in minor policy change though, because “coalitions learn on their own terms” only “through the lens of deeply held policy beliefs” (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 201). Hence, the coalition only responds to what it chooses to respond and react to.

Secondly, “internal and external ‘shocks’ affect the positions of coalitions within sub-systems” (Paul Cairney, 2019, p. 2). Such shocks are the combination of some sort of external event and the coalition’s reaction to it (Paul Cairney, 2019). Examples are a change in government or an emerging social justice issue. Environmental crises also belong to these events, such as storms, floods or wildfires. Especially extreme examples are nuclear disasters like in Chernobyl or Fukushima, which illustrate just how much man made technology and development can pollute and destroy the environment and people’s lives. The ACF therefore attempts to illustrate how external events do not always prompt the change in the political system that is expected. Rather external factors “are mediated by the actors that represent a source of stability within sub-systems” (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 201). Even though most of these external

events may generally be regarded as important, coalitions essentially guide how policy actors react to them or if they react at all (Paul Cairney, 2012).

Accordingly, regardless of external factors there “may be long periods of policy continuity, when one coalition dominates the sub-system, and less frequent periods of major change as its position is threatened by external ‘shocks’” (Paul Cairney, 2012, p. 201). Therefore, the ACF provides a useful theoretical background to explain the dominating policy making stream in a policy sub-system. This leads to the assumption that however much gender is mainstreamed can be explained by the power women’s advocacy coalitions hold within the policy sub-system and stresses why the ACF is useful for this thesis. In the case of this research the specialized sub-systems are the climate change policy making systems of the UN and the EU. How the theory will be applied specifically to those two systems will be shown in the methods section hereafter. The chosen research design and data will also be discussed below.

### **3. Methodology**

The following section presents the methodology of the thesis. It is divided into four parts. The first will present the research design and methods in more general terms. The second part will illustrate the operationalization by explaining how the theory of the ACF is applied. The third part will outline the methodology more specifically by discussing the coding process, which is divided into two steps, first closed, then open coding. The fourth and last section will present the textual data and the reasons for analyzing the policy documents chosen.

#### **3.1 Research Design**

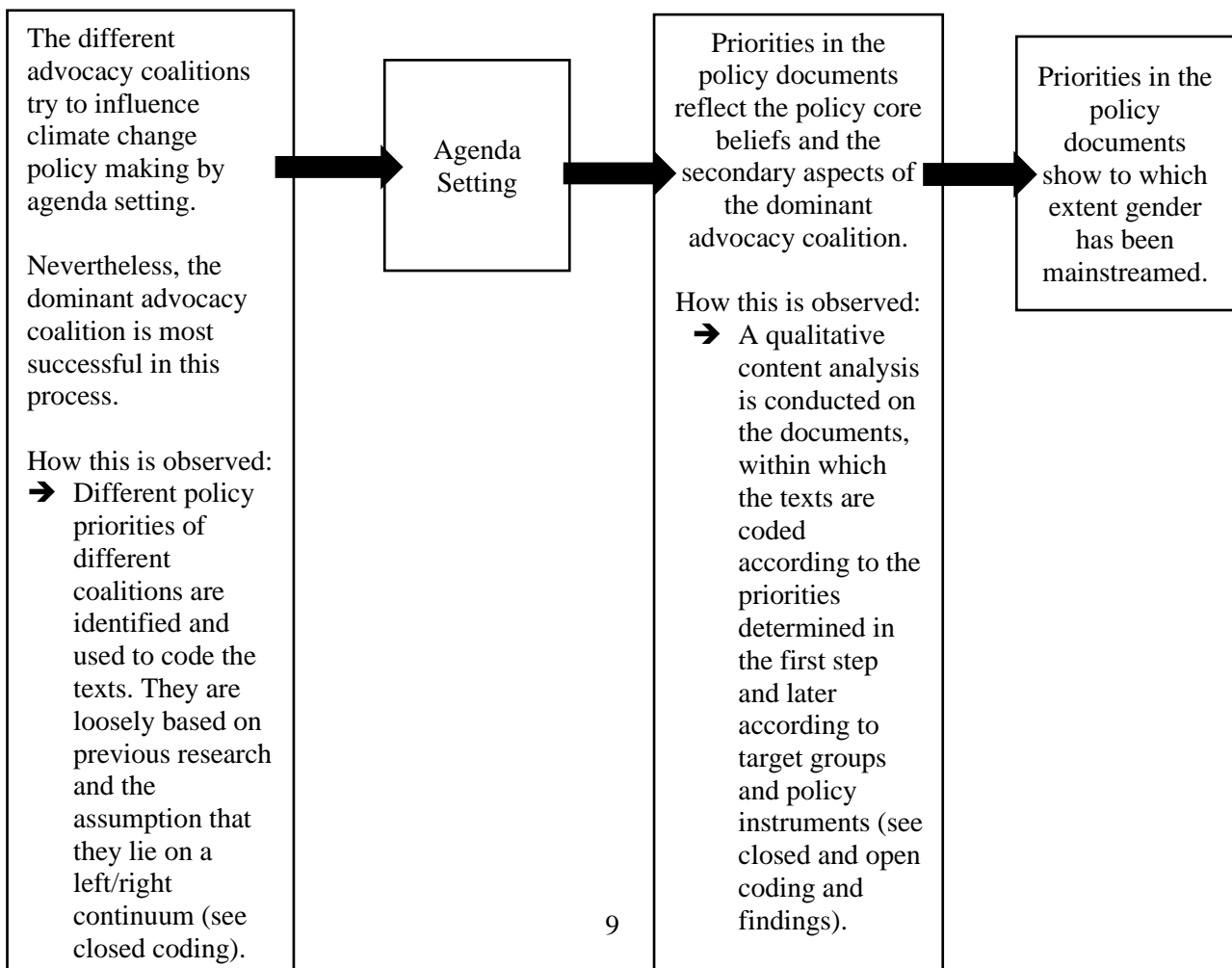
Since the research question of this thesis asks to which extent gender is mainstreamed in contemporary climate change policy making, the corresponding main policy documents will be object of the analysis. They need to be examined closely in regard to the extent to which they incorporate gender. Therefore, a qualitative content analysis is conducted. A content analysis can generally be defined as the “intellectual process of categorizing qualitative textual data into clusters of similar entities or conceptual categories, to identify consistent patterns and relationships between variables or themes” (Heidi Julien, 2008, p. 120). As “content analysis is interpretive, involving close reading of text” (Heidi Julien, 2008, p. 120) it provides a structured way to examine the documents and is the best method to analyze and interpret the data. In a systematic approach the documents will be coded along certain categories. This coding process contains two steps, firstly a closed coding in three predefined categories and secondly an open coding, with only loosely predetermined groups, which are specified in the process. Since this research applies both closed and open coding, it is a mixed method approach and combines deductive and inductive analyses of the text.

### 3.2 Operationalization of the ACF

The coding process is based on the ACF as a theoretical background. Therefore, this part will demonstrate how the ACF is operationalized for the research.

The following scenario emerges when applying the ACF to the topic of this thesis: There are several different advocacy coalitions present in the process of formulating and implementing policies within the policy sub-system specialized in addressing the climate crisis. In this case, that refers to the climate policy making of the COPs and the EU. All coalitions try to enforce their policy beliefs in the process of agenda setting. Accordingly, the different beliefs of the advocacy coalitions would have to be represented to a greater or smaller extent in the policy documents, depending on the power they hold within the policy making process. The prevalent policy stream in the documents represents the dominant advocacy coalition. It can be assumed that one of these coalitions fights for the political consideration of women's differentiated needs. The general acknowledgement of women's increased vulnerability towards the climate crisis constitutes parts of the deep core or policy core beliefs of this group. Ways in which to account for this in concrete policy steps represent the coalition's secondary beliefs. Examining whether these beliefs are represented in the documents or whether others are prioritized ultimately shows to which extent gender is mainstreamed and how much influence women's advocacy coalitions have within the system. How the ACF is utilized in concrete steps is further visualized below:

**Figure 1:** Application of the ACF to the research question



The first step illustrated above is to identify relevant advocacy coalitions. As it is not the primary focus of this thesis to demonstrate all different existing advocacy coalitions within the climate change policy sub-system, for this part the thesis will distinguish three major groups on the left/right continuum and base this on existing research. This differentiation is a means to show that gender is competing with other interests, in order to be able to explain to which extent gender is mainstreamed. This classification is the basis for the closed coding. The third step illustrated above is an outline of the content analysis, which will firstly focus on the priorities determined in the closed coding part. In order to refine this analysis and gain a deeper understanding of the textual data, the policy documents are further coded along the categories of target groups and policy instruments. This is a process of open coding and will be explained in more detail in the corresponding section. Together, both coding steps will show a refined depiction of what is prioritized in the policy making and to which extent that is the case. This analysis will provide substantial results in order to be able to answer the research question.

### **3.3 Coding**

The following section will discuss the coding process that has been conducted within the content analysis of the policy documents. Generally, “[i]n qualitative research coding is the process of generating ideas and concepts from raw data” (Lucia Benaquisto, 2008, p. 88) and “refers to the steps the researcher takes to identify, arrange, and systematize the ideas, concepts, and categories uncovered in the data” (Lucia Benaquisto, 2008, p. 85). The coding process consists of establishing relevant categories and coding the text accordingly, in order to be able to systematically analyze the data. The coding of this analysis involves two steps and was conducted in the software atlas.ti.

#### **3.3.1 Closed Coding**

The first step of coding categorizes the textual data along different policy priorities and belief systems. These codes are predetermined, based on and derived from the ACF. Therefore, this step can be classified as a closed coding procedure and a deductive approach. Further, a codebook is established, which defines the codes applied. Such a codebook is a “framework for classifying, organizing, and summarizing raw data” which “may be developed a priori from theory (deductively)” (Lucia Benaquisto, 2008, p. 88) as it is the case here. These codes created in this codebook are ‘People’, ‘Planet’ and ‘Profit’. The three groups are loosely based on the findings of previous research on advocacy coalitions in climate change policy making and on the ACF’s assumption that advocacy coalitions lie on a left/right continuum. Therefore, the three codes represent different belief systems and range from left to right. Even though the codes were predetermined, they were only loosely defined, and close reading of the text revealed many different issues belonging to the predetermined codes. Additionally, some things can be allocated to more than one of the codes, as “[t]he same event, incident, activity, or representation in the data may be coded multiple ways” (Lucia Benaquisto, 2008, p. 87). How these codes were defined

specifically is presented in a codebook, which will be shown in the findings section below. How they were established is discussed in the following.

The literature on the ACF suggests that there are different advocacy coalitions, which can be distinguished ideologically in their belief systems. Previous literature that examined specifically which advocacy coalitions are present in climate change policy making sub-systems have been able to differentiate certain coalitions and groups. Kukkonen, who has researched advocacy coalitions in climate change policy making of the US, has been able to identify different groups, two of which she called the “Ecology Coalition” and the “Economy Coalition” (Anna K. Kukkonen, 2017, p. 14). Members of the Ecology Coalition “expressed the belief that the environment should be the number one priority in climate policy despite its possible economic costs” (Anna K. Kukkonen, 2017, p. 16). The Economy Coalition on the other hand “is glued together by beliefs that relate to freedom of economy and its precedence over the environment” (Anna K. Kukkonen, 2017, p. 15). Another study on advocacy coalitions in South Africa by Malkamäki et al. has found proof for the existence of a “business-as usual” and a “justice and change” coalition (A. Malkamäki et al., 2021, p. 1). They present that the justice and change coalition “challenges the ideas of the hegemonic ‘business-as-usual’ coalition” (A. Malkamäki et al., 2021, p. 5) and “critiques the status quo and advocates for policy change [...], grounded in the universal principles concerning environmental and social justice” (A. Malkamäki et al., 2021, p. 7). These studies underline the existence of different advocacy coalitions in climate change policy making in different sub-systems. The groups have diverging priorities, such as the environment, the economy or social justice. Relying on the previous findings of an “Ecology Coalition”, “Economy Coalition” and “justice and change coalition” the classification of the different groups ‘People’, ‘Planet’ and ‘Profit’ is established for this thesis, each describing similar coalitions.

The groups defined above are also based on the ACF’s assumption that deep core beliefs of advocacy coalitions can be classified along a left/right continuum. This categorization reaches from more progressive beliefs on the left to more conservative or libertarian policies on the right. Prioritizing women’s interests and taking gender into consideration lies on the progressive, left side of this classification. As will be shown in the codebook below, gender issues are part of the ‘People’ belief system. Distinguishing this from the ‘Planet’ and ‘Profit’ beliefs, who all compete for political consideration will show which belief system is dominant and ultimately enable conclusions about whether gender is incorporated or not. The coding of policy priorities, which shows the prevalent belief system in the documents is therefore a vital step in the analysis of gender mainstreaming.

### **3.3.2 Open Coding**

In order to refine the coding explained above and to add nuances to the establishment of different priorities in the documents, a second step of open coding was applied. After coding the text along the categories of people, planet and profit, two additional code groups were established. These are target groups and policy instruments. These two groups were predetermined, but the exact code was not.

Therefore, by closely examining the text, it was coded into what specific groups were targeted and what policy instruments were proposed. The coding was adapted and refined along the examination of the text. This represents an open, inductive approach to coding. During an open coding process, many scholars “suggest asking questions of the data to help identify ideas and concepts of interest” (Lucia Benaquisto, 2008, p. 86). In this case the corresponding questions were ‘who/what is targeted?’ and ‘what policy instruments are used?’. These questions enhanced a close analysis of the texts in regard to target groups and policy instruments. The codes identified within the process will be presented in the findings section.

The method of qualitative content analysis with a twofold coding process of closed and open coding provides a refined and structured way to examine the text in regard to what policies, target groups and instruments are being prioritized. Therefore, the method established and described in the sections above is the ideal research design for this thesis’ question. Before presenting the results of the content analysis it is lastly crucial to show the textual data analyzed.

### **3.4 Data**

The policy documents chosen are the Paris Agreement by the UN and the European Green Deal by the EU. As stated above, both of these are landmark treaties in contemporary climate change policy making, which makes it generally very important to closely examine them. As described in the relevance and research question section, at the time of Skutsch’s research the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol were the milestone policy documents related to climate change. A lot has changed in the field since then, especially considering the policy making of the UN and the EU. Both international networks have increased their efforts in climate change policy making considerably and formulated a lot more policy documents in the field. Therefore, the two most influential and important current documents, the Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal, were chosen. Analyzing the extent to which gender has been mainstreamed in both of these documents is crucial. Furthermore, both documents try to globally tackle the climate crisis. Since climate change is a global issue, it can only be solved by global efforts, which further emphasizes why closely examining these documents is essential. The documents were retrieved from the official websites of the United Nations and the European Union and were inserted into the atlas.ti software to apply the codes.

## **4. Findings**

The overarching research question of this thesis was to find out to what extent gender has been mainstreamed in different international policy making networks. For this purpose, both the UN and the EU’s most important policy documents in the field have been examined.

The first sub-question that emerged in order to answer the research question was, to what extent gender has been mainstreamed in the European Green Deal. In sum, the answer to SQ1 is that gender is not mainstreamed in the European Green Deal at all. Following the analysis conducted in this thesis, it



can be stated, that there is no account for gender or women. Further, the Green Deal focuses much more on the economy as a target and uses economic policy instruments. The prevalent belief system evident in the Green Deal sees the mitigation of climate change as an opportunity to restructure the economy and accumulate growth and profit in the process of climate protection. With this focus and the neglect of women and gender throughout the whole document, it can be concluded that the Green Deal is essentially gender blind.

The second sub-question asks to which extent gender has been mainstreamed in the Paris Agreement. The analysis found that contrary to the Green Deal gender is actively mainstreamed, but to a surprisingly small extent. The Paris Agreement proposes gender-responsive policies and pledges to work towards gender equality and the empowerment of women (United Nations, 2015). Still, women and gender are only mentioned a few times throughout the document, which illustrates that even though gender is being mainstreamed, the extent to which it is, is really small. The focus lies much more on other vulnerable groups such as developing countries. Generally, the Paris Agreement displays a very different dominating belief system from the Green Deal, as it prioritizes the needs of socially vulnerable people and groups above all else. SQ2 can therefore be answered by stating that in sum, the Paris Agreement is accounting for gender, but only to a very small extent.

The third sub-question emerging from the research question asked what the implications of gender mainstreaming are for the type of policy instruments that are being used in the documents. This can be answered as follows. The European Green Deal did not mainstream gender at all and largely focused on the economy as a target. As a result, the policy instruments proposed are mostly economic measures. Measures that empower and support groups of more vulnerable people such as capacity building or subsidies were used only rarely. The Paris Agreement did incorporate women and other vulnerable groups. Consequently, the policy instruments used mostly were supportive and empowering measures. Other policy instruments were subordinate to these. It can be stated that the type of policy instrument used mostly reflects the extent to which gender is being mainstreamed, and has implications for the type of policy instruments proposed and adopted. When it is mainstreamed, the policy instruments used mostly, are empowerment measures, which is shown by the Paris Agreement. When it is not mainstreamed, the focus lies elsewhere, on economic or other measures, as supported by evidence from the Green Deal.

The research question can overall be answered by stating that gender is not or not extensively mainstreamed in the two international policy making networks, but when it is, it has implications for the policy instruments used. In order to be able to draw these conclusions and answer the research question, the policy documents have been examined closely in the process of a qualitative content analysis and have been coded in several steps according to policy priorities, targets and policy instruments. How the findings of that coding process lead to the conclusions presented above, will be discussed in the following. Firstly, the results of the closed coding along the lines of policy priorities are presented. Secondly, the findings of the open coding of targets are shown and lastly the open coding outcome for

policy instruments are displayed. Even though target groups and policy instruments were coded in one step of open coding, the results are shown separately in order to be able to interpret them better and more systematically. The results of both documents are also contrasted in order to see the similarities and differences of the two policy making networks.

**4.1 Policy Priorities**

As stated above, the first step of the analysis was to code the text, using the three categories ‘People’, ‘Planet’ and ‘Profit’. This coding aimed to show what belief systems are prioritized in the two policy documents and therefore applied the ACF in the coding process. It is important to state that coding a text passage as ‘People’ or ‘Profit’ instead of ‘Planet’ does not mean that they do not address the climate crisis. They all do, since the whole documents were set up to find solutions to tackle climate change. But they do imply a different prioritization. Something that was coded as ‘People’ or ‘Profit’ puts people’s needs or economic priorities first, while something coded as ‘Planet’ regards primarily the climate. General definitions were established in a codebook. These definitions are loosely based on advocacy coalitions found by previous studies as established in the methods section and on the ACF’s assumption that advocacy coalitions lie on a left/right continuum. This codebook is presented below:

**Table 1:** Codebook for the first step of open coding according to policy priorities

<b>Code</b>	<b>Definition</b>
<b>People</b>	The people coalition generally believes in protecting the planet, but only while also taking the varying responsibilities, capabilities and vulnerabilities of different groups of people into account. They recognize the differing situations of people and want to acknowledge this in policy making and thus work towards climate and social justice. Among the groups they advocate for are indigenous people, developing countries or women, children and elderly. Therefore, the women advocacy coalition clearly falls into this group. This group lies on the left.
<b>Planet</b>	The planet coalition lies more in the middle and believes in prioritizing the protection and enhancement of the environment above all else. The existing planetary boundaries are clearly recognized and measures that respect them are demanded. These measures always put the planet first and do not really take other factors into account. The scientific angle is especially important for this coalition.
<b>Profit</b>	The profit coalition can be classified as more on the right, and its actors principally do believe that environmental protection measures are needed, but that these measures should enhance the economy. They focus on economic development and technological innovation. They see the challenge of combining the economy and planetary protection as an opportunity that will ultimately transform the system into a sustainable economy and still bring profit and growth.

The text was coded according to these guidelines. Examples for each code are established in the following.

‘People’ was coded in the Green Deal for example when “Leave no one behind (Just Transition)” (European Commission, 2019, p. 3) was listed as one of the key pillars. Another example for this is the quote “All EU actions and policies should pull together to help the EU achieve a successful and just transition towards a sustainable future” (European Commission, 2019, p. 19). It is also recognized that “Not all Member States, regions and cities start the transition from the same point or have the same capacity to respond” (European Commission, 2019, p. 16). This fits to the ‘People’ code, because it acknowledges how different countries, and therefore different groups of people, are different in the extent to which they are affected by climate change. These are examples for cases in which the ‘People’ belief system was prioritized in the Green Deal. People was also coded in the Paris Agreement many times, especially because they acknowledged the different capacities and responsibilities of developing countries to a great extent. The following example illustrates this: “Also recognizing the specific needs and special circumstances of developing country Parties, especially those that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change, as provided for in the Convention” (United Nations, 2015, p. 1).

The ‘Planet’ belief system could be coded in the Green Deal for example as it sets out “A zero pollution ambition for a toxic free environment” or the “Preserving and Restoring [of] ecosystems and biodiversity” (European Commission, 2019, p. 3) as central pillars of the document. ‘Planet’ could also be coded extensively in the Paris Agreement, as it is essentially an agreement with the aim to “Holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, recognizing that this would significantly reduce the risks and impacts of climate change” (United Nations, 2015, p. 2). Evidently, ‘Planet’ was coded many times, because environmental protection was often the priority.

‘Profit’ could be coded widely in the Green Deal. Firstly, the document started by stating the objective of “[t]urning an urgent challenge into a unique opportunity” (European Commission, 2019, p. 2). This matches the planet belief system as it considers the climate crisis as an incentive to restructure the economy, still accumulating growth, just in different ways. This is further emphasized by the statement that the Green Deal “[i]s a new growth strategy that aims to transform the EU into a fair and prosperous society, with a modern, resource-efficient and competitive economy” (European Commission, 2019, p. 2). In the Paris Agreement, ‘Profit’ is not prioritized as much. Still many parts could be coded belonging to this belief system. An example is provided in the following: “Accelerating, encouraging and enabling innovation is critical for an effective , long-term global response to climate change and promoting economic growth and sustainable development” (United Nations, 2015, p. 9).

The examples provided above illustrate how the three different codes were applied by analyzing which beliefs were prioritized. The results of this are summarized in the following table:

**Table 2:** Frequencies of the closed coding of policy priorities

<b>Code</b>	<b>EU Green Deal</b>	<b>UN Paris Agreement</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>People</b>	49	68	117
<b>Planet</b>	70	49	119
<b>Profit</b>	131	38	169

In order to draw substantial conclusions from the closed coding process, it is essential to look at the frequencies of the different codes. This allows conclusions on what beliefs were prioritized in the Green Deal and in the Paris Agreement. Looking at the frequencies above, an interesting tendency is revealed.

While ‘People’ was coded least often in the Green Deal, it was coded most often in the Paris Agreement. The same applies for the ‘Profit’ code, just the other way around. ‘Profit’ was coded most often in the Green Deal, while being coded least often in the Paris Agreement. ‘Planet’ was in the middle of the coding frequencies in both cases. This portrays fundamentally different dominating belief systems in the two documents. The Green Deal prioritizes the transformation of the economy, economic growth and profit. Addressing environmental destruction or vulnerable groups of people are subordinate to economic issues in the Green Deal, revealing that the ‘Profit’ advocacy coalition is clearly dominant. Furthermore, it suggests that gender cannot be mainstreamed to a great extent, as ‘People’, the belief system to which it belongs, was coded the least often. It might still be accounted for within the ‘People’ belief system though, but that could only be the case to a small extent. In order to find out precisely to what extent gender is mainstreamed, a more nuanced and refined analysis was needed. This was accomplished by the second step, where targets and policy instruments were coded. A possible target group is women. Coding target groups will therefore reveal to what extent gender was mentioned within the people belief system of the Green Deal and therefore answer SQ1.

The Paris Agreement showed very different results. As ‘People’ was coded the most often, the policy priority is clearly to address the different capacities and responsibilities of vulnerable groups. Both environmental and economic priorities are subordinate to that. Since ‘People’ was the code applied most often, it is possible that gender is mainstreamed to a high extent within this document. But as stated above, this coding step has not yet been nuanced enough to account for specific target groups such as women. So far, it can only be concluded that ‘People’ is the prioritized belief system, placed over ‘Planet’ and ‘Profit’ in the Paris Agreement and that SQ2 can only fully be answered after the coding of specific targets.

The next step in the coding process was to analyze the documents along the categories targets and policy instruments in an effort to reveal who or what exactly is targeted and how. It was especially important that the coding process was open in this case, as it allows for detailed and precise coding and shows all possibly relevant aspects. The results of this are presented below.

## 4.2 Targets

In the process of coding target groups, the question of ‘who/what is targeted’ was asked in order to determine these. 19 targets were identified within this process of open coding. They range from unspecified groups of people coded as ‘All humans’ to more particular groups such as ‘Vulnerable people’, ‘Workers’ or ‘Women’. Targets weren’t necessarily groups of people, but could also be notions, such as ‘Agriculture’, ‘Economy’ or ‘Environment’. A complete list of all codes created and applied within the target category is presented hereafter, along with each code’s frequency in the two documents:

**Table 3:** Frequencies of the open coding of targets

<b>Targets (Codes)</b>	<b>EU Green Deal</b>	<b>UN Paris Agreement</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Agriculture</b>	7	1	8
<b>All humans</b>	29	3	32
<b>Consumers</b>	5	/	5
<b>Developed countries</b>	/	9	9
<b>Developing countries</b>	3	54	57
<b>Economy</b>	72	15	87
<b>Education sector</b>	2	/	2
<b>Environment</b>	36	43	79
<b>Indigenous people</b>	/	2	2
<b>Industry</b>	14	/	14
<b>Infrastructure</b>	11	/	11
<b>Low income groups</b>	5	/	5
<b>Minorities</b>	1	2	3
<b>Natural Capital</b>	2	/	2
<b>Vulnerable countries</b>	4	/	4
<b>Vulnerable people</b>	12	14	26
<b>Women</b>	/	3	3
<b>Workers</b>	12	1	13
<b>Young people</b>	3	/	3

Unlike it was the case with the ‘People’, ‘Planet’ and ‘Profit’ code, from here on the codes cannot all be defined and explained specifically, due to word limit. But the appendix provides an extensive and detailed list of all codes with corresponding representative quotes of what was coded in the documents. This explains and clarifies the coding process. Nevertheless, the findings section presents some striking and important quotes to illustrate the interpretation of the code frequencies. These examples are established below.

The code 'All humans' has for example been applied in the Green Deal where it states "the Farm to Fork Strategy will strive to stimulate sustainable food consumption and promote affordable healthy food for all" (European Commission, 2019, p. 12), clearly showing how no specific group of people is targeted. A more refined approach in the Green Deal is provided for example by asserting "Particular attention will be paid to the renovation of social housing, to help households who struggle to pay their energy bills" (European Commission, 2019, p. 10). This policy is specifically aimed at low income groups, hence that code was created and applied.

The Paris Agreement extensively targets different groups of people and often shows a very refined approach. Therefore, many specialized codes could be created. Among them are 'Indigenous people', 'Minorities' or 'Women'. Still, these codes were by far not as often applied as the code 'Developing countries', whose situation the Paris Agreement extensively addresses. This can be shown by the Quote "This Agreement will be implemented to reflect equity and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, in the light of different national circumstances" (United Nations, 2015, p. 2) which was accordingly coded as developing countries.

It was not only groups of people that could be identified as targets. The Green Deal for example extensively targets the 'Economy' or 'Industry', which becomes clear in the quote "Achieving a climate neutral and circular economy requires the full mobilisation of industry" (European Commission, 2019, p. 7), targeting both of those notions. As both documents first and foremost address the climate crisis, the code 'Environment' could also be created and applied many times. Examples are "The Farm to Fork Strategy will strengthen [farmers'] [...] efforts to tackle climate change, protect the environment and preserve biodiversity" (European Commission, 2019, p. 12) in the Green Deal or "Noting the importance of ensuring the integrity of all ecosystems, including oceans, and the protection of biodiversity, recognized by some cultures as Mother Earth" (United Nations, 2015, p. 1) in the Paris Agreement.

This analysis is concerned with the extent to which gender has been mainstreamed. The process of open coding was therefore especially attentive to any mentions of women or gender. If gender was somehow addressed, the target group code 'Women' was applied. Looking at the frequency table above, one can observe that women was only coded three times and only in the Paris Agreement. This is of course a striking finding and will be addressed below, as the next table gives a clearer depiction of the target groups, in order to be able to analyze the findings more systematically.

The analysis above emphasizes how both documents are very diverse in who or what their policies are supposed to target. But as it is difficult to draw conclusions from such a diverse set of codes, six groups have been created to emphasize the superordinate targets. These were created by adding related codes into code groups. The code group 'Economy' was for example created by adding, among others, 'Economy' and 'Industry' to the group. This way anything regarding the economy falls under this code group and its frequency shows to which extent the economy is targeted. The same applies for the code group 'Vulnerable Groups', to which 'Developing countries', 'Indigenous people' or 'Low income groups' belong. Women has also been added to this code group, because they are regarded as a

vulnerable group. But since this research specifically aims at finding out to which extent women and gender is mentioned in the policy documents, it is important to also consider it separately. Therefore, it also makes up an isolated code group. As can be seen below, some codes couldn't be allocated to an overarching code group because they did not relate to other codes. Therefore, those made up their own group, to not neglect them.

Establishing these overarching groups leads to clearer and more substantial insights into what categories are targeted in the documents. The groups created and their corresponding frequencies are specified below:

**Table 4:** Frequencies of the code groups for targets

<b>Code Group</b>	<b>Codes added</b>	<b>EU Green Deal</b>	<b>UN Paris Agreement</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>All humans</b>	All humans	29	3	32
<b>Developed countries</b>	Developed countries	/	9	9
<b>Economy</b>	Agriculture, Consumers, Economy, Industry, Infrastructure	91	16	107
<b>Environment</b>	Environment, Natural Capital	38	43	81
<b>Vulnerable groups</b>	Developing countries, Education sector, Indigenous people, Low income groups, Minorities, Vulnerable countries, Vulnerable people, Women, Workers, Young people	29	64	93
<b>Women</b>	Women	/	3	3

The findings show that in the Green Deal the 'Economy' was clearly targeted the most. With considerable distance, it is followed by the 'Environment'. This is followed by 'All humans' and 'Vulnerable groups' being coded the same amount of times. 'Developed countries' are not mentioned once and strikingly woman aren't either.

The frequencies in the Paris Agreement show quite different results. The code groups depict almost the complete opposite of what the coding of the Green Deal revealed. ‘Vulnerable groups’ are coded the most often, followed by the ‘Environment’ and then the ‘Economy’ as the three biggest groups. They are followed by ‘Developed countries’, only coded a few times and ‘All humans’ and ‘Women’, both coded only three times. This provides findings that were already foreshadowed in the coding process of ‘People’, ‘Planet’ and ‘Profit’. Since this coding is only a refinement of the first step of coding, it gives more nuanced insights, but basically confirms what has already been assumed.

For the Green Deal this becomes evident in the following. As ‘Profit’ has been most dominant, the economy is also the target most aimed at. ‘Planet’ was coded the second most often, so was ‘Environment’ as a target. Interestingly, ‘All humans’ and ‘Vulnerable groups’ reveal the same amount of codes in third place. This confirms ‘People’ as the least dominant group, because ‘Vulnerable groups’ were targeted way less often than the ‘Economy’ or the ‘Environment’. And since ‘All humans’ is coded the same amount of times as vulnerable groups it shows that the target groups are often not further specified. ‘Women’ has not been coded a single time, demonstrating clearly that gender is not mainstreamed in the Green Deal. Therefore, the answer to SQ1 is that the Green Deal completely fails to account for women’s increased vulnerabilities towards the climate crisis.

The Paris Agreement again shows different findings. The refined coding along target groups confirmed the already established trend evident in the coding of policy priorities. ‘Vulnerable groups’ is coded most often, followed by the ‘Environment’ and the ‘Economy’. ‘All humans’ was only coded three times, showing that the document is in most cases very specific as to which groups of people it targets. What is surprising and striking at the same time, is that ‘Women’ has only been specifically targeted three times. This finding contradicts the previous assumption that there might be strong gender mainstreaming in the Paris Agreement because of the prevalent people belief system. The precarious situation of women is recognized, but only a few times. The real focus rather lies on vulnerable groups in general and developing countries especially. SQ2 is therefore answered by asserting that gender is only mainstreamed to a small extent, even though the document generally addresses vulnerable groups’ needs to a great extent, just not those of women specifically.

### **4.3 Policy Instruments**

The previous findings have provided answers for SQ1 and SQ2. The following coding was established in order to also resolve SQ3. The sub-question asked what impact gender mainstreaming has on the type of policy instrument used. Therefore, both texts have been examined concerning policy instruments. While closely reading the text, the question ‘What policy instruments are used?’ was asked. Whenever a certain policy instrument was identified, a code was created and applied accordingly. All 14 policy instruments identified in the open coding process are presented hereafter:



**Table 5:** Frequencies of the open coding of policy instruments

<b>Policy Instruments (Codes)</b>	<b>EU Green Deal</b>	<b>UN Paris Agreement</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Capacity building</b>	14	35	49
<b>Diplomacy</b>	12	/	12
<b>Emission reductions target</b>	18	24	42
<b>Emission trading</b>	9	/	9
<b>Environmental protection measures</b>	23	12	35
<b>Funding</b>	12	10	22
<b>Incentive</b>	7	2	9
<b>Participation of civil society</b>	6	2	8
<b>Public Investment</b>	9	3	12
<b>Redirecting private capital</b>	9	/	9
<b>Regulation</b>	28	12	40
<b>Subsidies</b>	9	1	10
<b>Taxation</b>	4	/	4
<b>Technological innovation</b>	32	11	43

The codes are clarified by the following examples. The Green Deal sets an ‘Emission reductions target’ as it states that “[b]y summer 2020, the Commission will present an impact assessed plan to increase the EU’s greenhouse gas emission reductions target for 2030 to at least 50% and towards 55% compared with 1990 levels” (European Commission, 2019, p. 4). This code has of course also been applied to the overarching goal of the Paris Agreement to “Holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C [...] and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1,5°C” (United Nations, 2015, p. 2). These represent instruments directly aimed at protecting or enhancing the environment. But other types of policies are included too. Financial instruments, such as ‘Funding’, ‘Public Investment’ or the ‘Redirecting of private capital’ could be found. This can be seen in the passage “It will require massive public investment and increased efforts to direct private capital towards climate and environmental action” (European Commission, 2019, p. 2). The Green Deal sets special emphasis on instruments of ‘Technological innovation’, which is why this could be coded 32 times. The statement “The EU should also promote and invest in the necessary digital transformation and tools as these are essential enablers of change” (European Commission, 2019, p. 4) illustrates that.

‘Capacity building’ was identified whenever policies are aimed at training, retooling, awareness raising or general support. The Paris Agreement underlines this instrument especially, which is emphasized by the following quote: “Capacity-building under this Agreement should enhance the capacity and ability of developing country Parties, in particular countries with the least capacity, such

as the least developed countries, and those that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change [...], including [...] relevant aspects of education, training and public awareness” (United Nations, 2015, p. 9).

The list of instruments and the examples mentioned above show a diverse set of policy instruments that are proposed by the two documents. In order to draw substantial conclusions from these instruments, they also had to be allocated to different groups, which represent an overarching policy instrument. Among others, ‘Emission Trading’, ‘Funding’ or ‘Incentive’ have all been added to the group ‘Economic Measures’. This enhances the analysis, as it shows how many times economic measures have been used. Further, the measures ‘Capacity building’, ‘participation of civil society’ and ‘subsidies’, which represents money given directly to a specific target group, have all been allocated to the superordinate policy instrument ‘Empowerment’, as they all provide support in some way. ‘Emission reductions target’ and ‘Environmental protection measures’ have been summarized as ‘Environmental Protection’. Both ‘Diplomacy’ and ‘Regulation’ could not be matched to a group, which is why they remain separately. The results of the code groups and their frequencies are shown below:

**Table 6:** Frequencies of code groups for policy instruments

<b>Code Group</b>	<b>Codes added</b>	<b>EU Green Deal</b>	<b>UN Paris Agreement</b>	<b>Totals</b>
<b>Economic measures</b>	Emission trading, Funding, Incentive, Public Investment, Redirecting private capital, Taxation, Technological innovation	67	20	87
<b>Diplomacy</b>	Diplomacy	12	/	12
<b>Empowerment</b>	Capacity building, Participation of civil society, Subsidies	27	36	63
<b>Environmental protection</b>	Emission reductions target, Environmental protection measures	39	29	68
<b>Regulation</b>	Regulation	28	12	40

Some of the groups established above correspond with the three belief systems 'People, 'Planet' and 'Profit'. Emphasizing 'Economic measures' obviously align with the 'Profit' belief system and shows that policy makers perceive the economy as the starting point of efforts to tackle the climate crisis. 'Empowerment' can be connected to the 'People' belief system, as it includes efforts to reduce vulnerabilities and provides support. An emphasis on 'Environmental protection' represents the planet belief system and reveals that the corresponding policy instruments are supposed to benefit the environment first and foremost. The results of the frequencies shown above align with previous findings about dominating policy beliefs and targets in the two documents.

The majority of the policy instruments used in the Green Deal were 'Economic measures'. This confirms the finding that profit was the dominating belief system and the 'Economy' was the target aimed at the most. 'Environmental protection' came second, again matching previous results, and 'Empowerment' and 'Regulation' were coded almost an equal amount of times. As 'Empowerment' is coded a lot less than 'Economic measures' and 'Environmental protection' measures, the 'People' belief system is again subordinate to the other two in policy instruments. 'Diplomacy' has been coded the least. This stresses that the Green Deal's policy instruments are clearly focused on the economy. In comparison empowering and supportive measures are proposed relatively rarely, and they are never once aimed at women. This shows how the extent to which gender is mainstreamed impacts the policy instruments used and partly answers SQ3.

As could have been suspected the frequencies of policy instruments in the Paris Agreement draw a completely different picture. 'Empowerment' was coded the most, followed by 'Environmental protection' and 'Economic measures'. Unspecified 'Regulation' measures were coded the least often. This stresses how the Paris Agreement prioritizes 'People' over 'Planet' and 'Profit' by proposing empowering measures as their most used policy instrument. Still, these empowering measures are mostly directed at developing countries. This is a really good starting point and shows how the document accounts for vulnerable groups. However, it is not a very refined approach to addressing the needs of different groups of people. 'Developing countries' is still a relatively broad target group and it would be crucial to include specific mentions of indigenous people or women, which is only done a few times. Nevertheless, whenever 'Women' was coded, it was coded in combination with 'Capacity building' as a policy instrument, which underlines how gender mainstreaming affects the type of policy instruments used.

This also becomes evident in the following three examples. The Paris Agreement states that "Parties should, when taking action to address climate change, respect, promote and consider [...] the right to development, as well as gender equality, empowerment of women and intergenerational equity" (United Nations, 2015, p. 1). Further, they emphasize that "Parties acknowledge that adaptation action should allow a country-driven, gender-responsive, participatory and fully transparent approach" (United Nations, 2015, p. 6) and stress that "Capacity-building should be [...] gender-responsive" (United Nations, 2015, p. 10). These all show how the Paris Agreement does include and address gender issues

which should be recognized. These quotes are the only three times the ‘Women’ code could be applied throughout the whole document. This shows that even if gender has been addressed, it is only considered to a very small extent. The fact that ‘women’ has consistently been coded in combination with empowering measures, stresses that gender mainstreaming influences the type of policy instruments used, just as was shown in the Green Deal, where the lack of it leads to an entirely different focus. It can be concluded that the policy instruments used in the Paris Agreement also confirm the impact of gender mainstreaming on the types of policy instruments used and therefore conclusively answers SQ3.

Addressing the overarching research question, it can be confirmed that the Green Deal is completely gender-blind in all steps of coding and focuses mostly on the economy instead. The Paris Agreement addresses people’s vulnerabilities, among which are the needs of women. It is not mainstreaming gender to a great extent, but this aspect is accounted for. Consequently, the Paris Agreement and therefore the United Nations as a policy network has greater consideration for gender. Possible reasons for that will be addressed in the discussion and conclusion part below.

## **5. Discussion & Conclusion**

The analysis of the two policy documents showed no mainstreaming of gender in the European Green Deal and the mainstreaming of gender only to a small extent in the UN’s Paris Agreement. This leaves the question why women’s empowerment in climate change is incorporated into UN policies, but not into EU policies.

A possible reason for this is that developing countries have a seat at the table within the UN, but they do not within the EU. The representation of more vulnerable countries might attract more attention towards vulnerable groups, among which are women and ultimately lead to the inclusion of policies addressing developing countries and gender in the Paris Agreement. Another reason could be the belief among European policy makers, that women in Europe are equal to their male counterparts and that gender therefore does not need to be addressed in their policy making. Of course, relative to women in the Global South, women in Europe are much more advantaged and have caught up to men almost completely. Nevertheless, Europe has not achieved full gender equality, and as the background section showed, women in all countries are more vulnerable towards climate change than their male counterparts, so also in Europe. Therefore, empowerment of women is also needed in EU policies. Still, this could be a reason explaining its absence.

Even though the thesis was able to present interesting and important findings concerning the relation of gender and climate change, a few limitations of the research design must be mentioned. The first one is the way advocacy coalitions were measured. The categorization of ‘People’, ‘Planet’ and ‘Profit’ was based on previous research and the ACF’s assumption that they lie on a left/right continuum. Of course, fully consistent research would have to specifically examine what actors are present, and establish the advocacy coalitions that way. Another limitation is the singular use of the ACF itself, as it only provides a certain theoretical lens for the analysis. There are other important theories that explain

policy change, among which are the multiple streams framework or the social construction theory. Taking more of these into account, instead of just relying on the ACF would have enhanced the quality of the research considerably. These methodological and theoretical shortcomings are due to the fact that this research was conducted within the framework of a Bachelor Thesis and therefore had limited time and resources.

Further, this thesis has not taken intersectionality into account, when of course women of color and other marginalized groups experience more disadvantages. Gender has also been analyzed in a binary way, even though it is recognized that there are more than two genders. This research could simply not account for intersectionality and non-binary gender perceptions within the resources provided. These limitations should be addressed in future research by using updated theoretical and methodological approaches. A recommendation for practical future research could be to use different methodological designs in the field, for example by conducting case studies on women's increased vulnerability or utilizing interview techniques to identify advocacy coalitions in climate change policy making. This is especially important because this thesis has revealed only limited mainstreaming of gender in international policy making networks. Therefore, researchers need to continue to shed light on this topic.

This bachelor thesis tried to establish whether gender has been mainstreamed in contemporary climate change policy making and took a closer look at the UN Paris Agreement and the European Green Deal, hoping to find evidence for the acknowledgement of women and their often precarious situation. Unfortunately, both documents did not live up to this expectation as the Green Deal shows no evidence of gender mainstreaming and the Paris Agreement only to a disappointingly small degree. In fact, the Green Deal seems to even forget the human aspect of the crisis, focusing mainly on the economy, and the Paris Agreement which does incorporate the human angle, falls short in accounting for gender issues in particular. Both findings are surprising given the fact that the two issues gender and climate change are deeply intertwined and should therefore be high on the agenda of contemporary policy making.

As the thesis sheds light on this shortcoming, it provides an important contribution to the current discussions in this research area. A lot more work and effort has to be put towards recognizing gender and climate change to a sufficient degree. Hopefully the findings of this study spark interest in others to keep an eye on this particular topic and will remind policy makers of their responsibility to address gender issues in all areas of politics.

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## 7. Appendix

### 7.1. Appendix A: List of Documents for Qualitative Content Analysis

European Commission (2019). The European Green Deal: Communication from the Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council, the Council, the European Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions. Retrieved from [https://ec.europa.eu.ezproxy2.utwente.nl/info/sites/default/files/european-green-deal-communication\\_en.pdf](https://ec.europa.eu.ezproxy2.utwente.nl/info/sites/default/files/european-green-deal-communication_en.pdf)

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### 7.2. Appendix B: Code Table Policy Priorities

Code	EU Green Deal	UN Paris Agreement	Totals	Exemplary Quote
<b>People</b>	49	68	117	Also recognizing the specific needs and special circumstances of developing country Parties, especially those that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change, as provided for in the Convention.
<b>Planet</b>	70	49	119	Holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and pursuing efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels, recognizing that this would significantly reduce the risks and impacts of climate change.
<b>Profit</b>	131	38	169	Is a new growth strategy that aims to transform the EU into a fair and prosperous society, with a modern, resource-efficient, competitive economy

### 7.3. Appendix C: Code Table Targets

Code	EU Green Deal	UN Paris Agreement	Totals	Exemplary Quote
<b>Agriculture</b>	7	1	8	The Commission's proposals for the common agricultural policy for 2021 to 2027 stipulate that at least 40% of the common agricultural policy's overall budget and at least 30% of the Maritime Fisheries Fund would contribute to climate action.
<b>All humans</b>	29	3	32	The Farm to Fork Strategy will strive to stimulate sustainable food consumption and promote affordable healthy food for all.
<b>Consumers</b>	5	/	5	The clean energy transition should involve and benefit consumers.
<b>Developed countries</b>	/	9	9	Developed country Parties shall provide financial resources to assist developing



				country parties with respect to both mitigation and adaptation in continuation of their existing obligations under the Convention.
<b>Developing countries</b>	3	54	57	This Agreement will be implemented to reflect equity and the principle of common but differentiated responsibilities and respective capabilities, in the light of different national circumstances.
<b>Economy</b>	72	15	87	Achieving a climate neutral and circular economy requires the full mobilisation of industry.
<b>Education sector</b>	2	/	2	Schools, training institutions and universities are well placed to engage with pupils, parents, and the wider community on the changes needed for a successful transition.
<b>Environment</b>	36	43	79	Noting the importance of ensuring the integrity of all ecosystems, including oceans, and the protection of biodiversity, recognized by some cultures as Mother Earth.
<b>Indigenous people</b>	/	2	2	Acknowledging that climate change is a common concern of humankind, Parties should when taking action to address climate change, respect, promote and consider their respective obligations on human rights, the right to health, the rights of indigenous peoples, local communities, migrants, children, persons with disabilities and people in vulnerable situations and the right to development, as well as gender equality, empowerment of women and intergenerational equity.
<b>Industry</b>	14	/	14	Mobilising industry for a clean and circular economy.
<b>Infrastructure</b>	11	/	11	The transition to climate neutrality also requires smart infrastructure.
<b>Low income groups</b>	5	/	5	Particular attention will be paid to the renovation of social housing, to help households who struggle to pay their energy bills.
<b>Minorities</b>	1	2	3	A new pact is needed to bring together citizens in all their diversity, with national, regional, local authorities, civil society and industry working closely with the EU's institutions and consultative bodies.
<b>Natural capital</b>	2	/	2	It also aims to protect, conserve and enhance the EU's natural capital.
<b>Vulnerable countries</b>	4	/	4	Not all Member States, regions and cities start the transition from the same point or have the same capacity to respond.
<b>Vulnerable people</b>	12	14	26	Citizens, depending on their social and geographic circumstances will be affected in different ways.
<b>Women</b>	/	3	3	Parties acknowledge that adaptation action should allow a country-driven, gender-

				responsive, participatory and fully transparent approach.
<b>Workers</b>	12	1	13	Taking into account the imperatives of a just transition of the workforce and the creation of decent work and quality jobs in accordance with nationally defined development priorities.
<b>Young people/students</b>	3	/	3	The Skills Agenda and the Youth Guarantee will be updated to enhance employability in the green economy.

#### 7.4. Appendix D: Code Table Policy Instruments

<b>Code</b>	<b>EU Green Deal</b>	<b>UN Paris Agreement</b>	<b>Totals</b>	<b>Exemplary Quote</b>
<b>Capacity building</b>	14	35	49	Capacity-building under this Agreement should enhance the capacity and ability of developing country Parties, in particular countries with the least capacity, such as the least developed countries, and those that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change [...], including [...] relevant aspects of education, training and public awareness.
<b>Diplomacy</b>	12	/	12	The EU will continue to promote and implement ambitious environment, climate and energy policies across the world.
<b>Emission reductions target</b>	18	24	42	By summer 2020, the Commission will present an impact assessed plan to increase the EU's greenhouse gas emission reductions target for 2030 to at least 50% and towards 55% compared with 1990 levels.
<b>Emission trading</b>	9	/	9	This will comprise the Emissions Trading System, including possible extension of European emissions trading to new sectors, Member States targets to reduce emissions in sectors outside the Emissions Trading System.
<b>Environmental protection measures</b>	23	12	35	Creating a toxic-free environment requires more action to prevent pollution from being generated as well as measures to clean and remedy it.
<b>Funding</b>	12	10	22	The Green Deal will make consistent use of all policy levers: regulation and standardization, investment and innovation, national reforms, dialogue with social partners and international cooperation.
<b>Incentive</b>	7	2	9	They play a direct role by sending the right price signals and providing the right

				incentives for sustainable behaviour by producers, users and consumers.
<b>Participation of civil society</b>	6	2	8	Parties shall cooperate in taking measures, as appropriate, to enhance climate change education, training, public awareness, public participation and public access to information, recognizing the importance of these steps.
<b>Public investment</b>	9	3	12	It will require massive public investment and increased efforts to direct private capital towards climate and environmental action.
<b>Redirecting private capital</b>	9	/	9	To mobilise international investors, the EU will also remain at the forefront of efforts to set up a financial system that supports global sustainable growth.
<b>Regulation</b>	28	12	40	The Green Deal will make consistent use of all policy levers: regulation and standardization, investment and innovation, national reforms, dialogue with social partners and international cooperation.
<b>Subsidies</b>	9	1	10	The Commission has been working to provide Member States with new financial resources to make school buildings and operations more sustainable.
<b>Taxation</b>	4	/	4	A greater use of green budgeting tools will help to redirect public investment, consumption and taxation to green priorities and away from harmful subsidies.
<b>Technological innovation</b>	32	11	43	The EU should also promote and invest in the necessary digital transformation and tools as these are essential enablers of change.

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