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Gender relations in international climate change negotiations¹

Introduction

After two years of negotiations, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) was adopted and opened for signature at the 1992 UN-Summit for Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro. The agreement established the “Conference of the Parties” (COP) and the “UNFCCC Secretariat” in support of an international process to move ahead on climate change negotiations and committed parties to a universal objective to reduce emissions. At its first session, parties further defined - by recall - many of the concepts it contained, and reviewed the adequacy of articles on implementation policies and measures. In March 1994, with 188 signatories and 166 ratifying nations, the UNFCCC came into legal force.

Gender equity is not mentioned in the UNFCCC even though it is relatively well-integrated into Agenda 21, another landmark Rio international agreement. One might have reasonably expected that gender would be brought forward for consideration at subsequent COPs, particularly in light of the agreement’s overall lack of specificity around targets and rules for mitigating climate change. Indeed, some efforts were made in this direction, but these quickly fell to the wayside at later negotiations. It was only with the clarification of the instruments of the Kyoto Protocol, especially the Clean Development Mechanisms (CDMs), that gender aspects began to again attract the interest of gender experts. Since then the focus of most positions and analyses done from a gender perspective have focussed exclusively on women in developing countries, where CDM projects are carried out and where there are active women’s networks in the field of energy (e.g. Skutsch 2004, Skutsch/Wamukonya 2001). No gender analyses have been done for industrialised countries, the financiers of CDM projects. This is also true for all other instruments and articles of the UNFCCC and the Kyoto Protocol.

1. Historical Overview: Women at the UN-Conferences of the Parties on Climate Protection

An international women’s forum “Solidarity in the Greenhouse” ran parallel to the first COP (Berlin, 1995). It attracted 200 women from 25 countries who came together to discuss their views on climate protection. A list of demands was developed for consideration by the Parties.

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The Forum's agenda clearly showed their grounding in the Anti-Nuclear-Movement. For example, they supported the use of renewable energies as an alternative to nuclear power. (This is confirmed by Clancy et al (2004) in her background paper for the international conference for renewable energy.) For many women in the North, direct involvement in energy issues coincided with their political opposition to nuclear power, such as, for example, in Europe after the Chernobyl nuclear disaster. In proposing alternatives to nuclear power, women began to actively organise to promote renewable energy. For example, Rainbow Serpent (the Plutonium Free Future Women's Network based in Japan) campaigned to demand a shift in government investments and subsidies away from nuclear and fossil fuels toward safe, renewable energy systems. The strong presence of women has been maintained in the anti-nuclear-movement, but in the field of renewable energy, the share of women has declined with increasing professionalism in this area (Röhr 2002).

There was interesting array of parallel activities around Berlin, in addition to the Solidarity Women's Forum. A highlight was a water theatre event titled "Mutiny on the Loveboat" – a women's summit organized by Berlin-based women's environmental organisations to point out the threats of climate change. It seemed that, at least in Berlin, women played a significant role in the negotiations and in the accompanying activities of NGOs. Unfortunately, information on actual attendance of women at COP1 is not available from the UNFCCC Secretariat.

With hindsight, this furious start can be seen as the result of the drive and euphoria that flowed from the UN Conference for Environment and Development at Rio. Almost naturally, the international women's movement acted on the assumption that, from Rio onwards, Agenda 21 and all other UN decisions to integrate women/gender perspectives into policies would be incorporated into every future negotiation and political process, at least at the UN level. But history has shown this to be a false assumption: from the Parties and the UNFCCC Secretariat to the scientific community, climate protection has been and continues to be presented as a gender neutral issue.

After the remarkable beginning in Berlin, it took five years until women/gender perspectives to appear again in the conference programme. This happened at COP6 in The Hague, when a side-event was announced by the Dutch organisation Business and Professional Women, titled "The Power of Feminine Values in Climate Change." Banished to the back corner of the exhibition hall outside of the conference centre, there was little opportunity to draw attention to the issues. Notable at this COP were the many statements published in the daily newsletters of the NGO community (e.g. The Earth Times, Equity Watch, ECO, ENB) bemoaning the low participation of women – even through COP6 actually had the highest share of women yet. The articles highlighted the important role of women in the negotiations.

The first (and only) official mention of women is contained in the text of a COP7 Marrakech resolution. Decision FCCC/CP/2001/13/add.4 (2001), proposed by Samoa and supported by Russia and the EU governments, calls for more nominations of women to UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol bodies. It also tasks the Secretariat with determining the gender composition of these bodies and with bringing their results to the attention of the Parties. To date, the Marrakech resolution has been only half implemented by the Secretariat: data on the share of women at each COP is available on request, but none is published.

At COP8 in New Delhi, ENERGIA, the international network on gender and sustainable energy in the South, together with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), organised a workshop: *Is the Gender Dimension of the Climate Debate Forgotten? Engendering the Climate Debate: Vulnerability,*

Adaptation, Mitigation and Financial Mechanisms. This workshop received a lot of attention, but focussed exclusively on the situation in developing countries.

Finally, more than 10 years after the adoption of the UNFCCC, two women's organisations (ENERGIA and LIFE) invited those interested in gender and climate change to attend a meeting at COP9 in Milan. Thirty people came to discuss strategies on how to increase cooperation and improve lobbying efforts for the stronger integration of gender perspectives into the negotiations and the implementation of outcomes. There was also a side event "Promoting Gender Equality, Providing Energy Solutions, Preventing Climate Change" organized by the Swedish environment minister together with her colleagues from the Network of Women Ministers of the Environment. It was decided at COP9 to ask for an entire day dedicated to gender at COP10 in Buenos Aires (2004).

In the end, the COP9 working group was unable to undertake the kind of planning required for a full day on gender and climate protection in Buenos Aires. Two side-events were organised, however, one focussing on adaptation in the South, the other on mitigation and women in industrialised countries. These were not well-attended, but organisers and participants did release the statement "*Mainstreaming Gender into the Climate Change Regime*", which was distributed to the participating states and organisations at the end of the COP.

A shift in women's activities was achieved at COP11 in Montreal. In preparation for the conference a strategy paper was drafted by LIFE and WECF, identifying possible entry points for gender aspects in the climate change debates. For the first time, international women's organisations like WEDO (Women's Environment and Development Organisation) joined the negotiations. Also IUCN and FAO expressed their interest in gender issues. To draw more attention to gender aspects in climate change the strategy – and the activities in Montreal – based on three pillars:

- I. Awareness raising and disseminating information via an exhibition booth 'gender – justice – climate' and two 'Climate Talk' events,
- II. Women's meetings to build capacity and strategise on how to integrate gender, and
- III. A research workshop aiming to develop a future research agenda and initiate a gender and climate change network.

Awareness raising

A growing interest in gender aspects of climate change became evident at the booth: many participants took away lots of material. Not all, but some of them were really interested in learning more, asked in-depth questions and engaged in discussion. Although there are some gender differentiated results of research and experiences, eg from climate change adaptation projects and especially from community based disaster management, the most conspicuous lack is the one on good practise. Therefore, one of the 'lessons learnt' from these discussions should be to work towards a compilation of good practise/projects.

A complete success was achieved by both of the 'Climate Talks' related to gender and climate change. The 'Climate Talk Series' is organised by the UNFCCC secretariat. Aiming to introduce climate change policies to a broader public it is webcasted to the UNFCCC website. The theme of the series at COP11 was "Time for Action". In the first of the two talks representatives from LIFE and WECF presented gender aspects in climate change and asked for resulting actions. The second one was given by the chairs of the 'Network of Women Ministers for the Environment' (Swedish Minister for the Environment, Lena Sommestad, and South African Deputy Minister for Environment and Tour-

ism, Rejoice Mabuda-Fahsi) talking about action they are taking in their countries. Surprisingly both of the talks broke records of attention and attracted a huge audience.

Capacity building and strategising

The strategy meetings also generated a lot of interest. In the first meeting, participants expressed their need for clarifying details of the UNFCCC process, and we focused on discussing the basics of the UNFCCC process and explaining some of the decisions that were on the agenda at COP11/MOP1. However, by the second strategy meeting in the beginning of the second week of the conference, we worked on recommendations and demands that women would want to put to negotiators. Issues raised included the need to broaden the debate and place it firmly into the context of sustainable development, peace and justice, as well as raising the numbers of women on delegations and in decision-making positions. The group developed a brief statement / position paper emphasising among others that economic measures and instruments alone will not be enough to fight climate change. All these activities were recognised by the UNFCCC secretariat: at the last day of the conference the women's group got a slot for a statement in the plenary.

The lesson learnt from this experience are that 1) a capacity building workshop should be held before or at the very beginning of the next COP. 2) For the next COP, we are planning to ask for a room for daily Women's Strategy Meetings to develop and discuss our positions more closely to the topics of the negotiations. And 3) cooperation with other observer groups should be strengthened. Interest in cooperation is already expressed by trade unions, youth and initiatives related to environmental/climate justice. In the field of environmental NGO there is also a growing interest in integrating gender issues into their work.

Research agenda

One starting point of the women's activities at COP11/MOP1 is that there are considerable gaps in research on gender & climate change, which impact the ability of the global community to appropriately and effectively integrate gender aspects into developing a further policies and instruments for climate change mitigation and adaptation. The workshop was meant to bring together researchers working on gender & climate change and related issues to develop a research agenda that can be pursued over the coming years.

One of the results of discussion was that we need provide 'hard facts' – and in-depth case studies relating the real life 'stories' – as information to convince those dealing with climate change that they will not succeed in mitigating climate change or appropriate planning for adapting to climate change if they don't address gender aspects adequately.

Data required the most include gender-differentiated information, from North and South, about consumption behaviour (energy use and emissions) as well as impacts on health, and in relation to risks. Participants were aware that much of this information is already available – but 'hidden' in reports not primarily dealing with gender, or climate. The group concluded that it would be extremely useful to conduct a survey obtaining a comprehensive overview of available research relating to gender and climate change.

Numerous questions for future research were raised during the workshop. They may serve to build the basis for a 'bank of research questions' aiming to link questions developed in practical projects to research projects to be developed by academia. The questions discussed include: what's the impact of education on behaviour relevant to climate? What are the differentiated impacts of economic incentives vs. awareness raising and education? What are the gender aspects of these different behavioural change instruments?

Next steps

Workshop participants agreed several next steps: among others, requesting the IPCC to produce a report on existing research on gender and climate change or the request for a comparative evaluation of mitigation and adaptation measures in different regions from a gender perspective.

Participants agreed that further networking, and further growing the network with gender and climate change experts and researchers was useful, and that such a network could only survive with a) network members continued active participation, and b) coordination / service to the network. Participants committed to participate actively in a growing network on gender & climate change research and welcomed the organisers' commitment to provide the services required. LIFE e.V. will explore additional means for exchanging references to gender & climate change related research – eg a web site and a mailing list providing space for exchange and discussion.

Thus, with COP11 – COP/MOP1 a new era in the UNFCCC process started. After almost ten years of discontinuous and uncoordinated² participation by women's organisations at UNFCCC conferences, the path from COP 1 which started with the international women's forum „Solidarity in the greenhouse“, has finally been picked up again.

2. Quantitative participation of women in the UNFCCC negotiations and their impacts

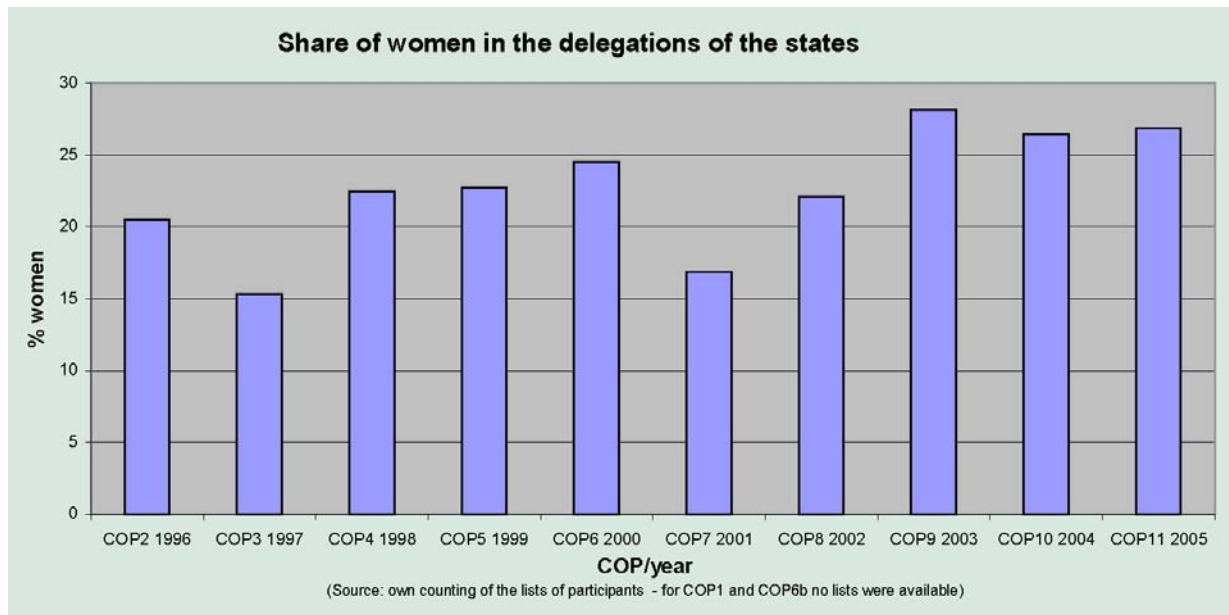
In general, participants at UNFCCC conferences can be classified into six different “communities”: governmental delegations, industry and its representatives, environmental organisations, municipal/regional networks and governments, indigenous peoples, and (latterly) research institutions. Delia Villagrassa, who for many years directed the Climate Action Network-Europe and e5 (European Business Council for a Sustainable Energy Future), describes the three main groups and the “familiar” situation at the negotiations: “Between 1990 and 1997 (Kyoto) there were few changes in personnel at the decision making level. This circumstance led to a situation where the participants knew each other very well. (...) this proximity has favoured close networking and communication between the actors involved.” She reflects on the role of women in the negotiations: “I believe, that the unique framework and atmosphere of the climate negotiations have allowed the gender issue to become important” (Villagrassa 2002:41). “(...) Women were able to play a strong and generally positive role for climate protection based on their networking and interpersonal skills, and their ability to think and plan for the long term, even though they were generally underrepresented in the decision-making positions in their respective communities.” (ibid)

a) The governmental delegations

Governmental delegations are composed of senior staff from research, industry, and associations, in addition to state ministerial representatives. Most often the host country's delegation is remarkably large, with many representatives from the non-governmental sector. This increase in NGO representation can impact the gender composition of participants. For example, at COP6, the Dutch delegation had a very high share of women in contrast to the Moroccan delegation at COP7.

The following graph, which does not take these possible biases into account, nevertheless shows the progression of women's representation in governmental delegations at UNFCCC COPs:

² Often the organisers of side events on issues regarding women/gender and climate change did not know about events/workshops at previous conferences, thus were not able to refer to them.



The share of female ministers represented at UNFCCC conferences ranges between 15% (e.g. COP9) and 20% (e.g. COP6), or about par with the portion of female ministers worldwide.

At the highest level - the level of delegation heads - women are substantially less well-represented. Even so, according to Villagrassa (2002), women played the most important roles in shaping the Kyoto Protocol. For example, the German and Swiss head negotiators are mentioned often, “both acting in ways which differentiated them from their male colleagues in a crucial manner: they actively and often went out their “bunker”, interacting strongly with other delegations beyond formal sessions. In particular, they were proactive in linking with delegations from developing countries, and furthering their integration into decision-making processes”. (Villagrassa 2002:41) As these were often only one- or two- person delegations, they were not able to follow the negotiations in parallel meetings. Although “they had to represent their countries’ interests in the negotiations, their personal integrity and openness earned the respect and trust necessary to ‘build bridges’ between nations. (...) This type of female interaction helped to forge links and mutual understanding (...) allowing to build the alliance necessary to achieve the adoption of the Kyoto Protocol” (ibid). Jennifer Morgan, taking part in COP1 in Berlin as the coordinator of the Climate Action Network US and currently director of WWF’s international climate program, described the situation as follows: “Although women are in the vast minority in this male-dominated UN-structure, they are (...) the individuals who stand out and say – let’s cut the rhetoric, break the gap between the negotiations inside the building and events in the real world and let’s move forward. ” (Women for Peace and Ecology 1996: 19).

b) BINGO (Business and Industry NGO)

The constituency of business and industry representatives is still an almost exclusively male club. The BINGO group has the smallest share of women, especially among their decision-making lobbyists. BINGOs also form the group with the least geographical diversity: the vast majority of representatives are from the USA and less than 5% are from developing countries. Most lobby consistently and strongly against the Kyoto Protocol. Their actions often lack sensitivity, and their often strident arguments and aggressive lobbying have contributed to a negative image of the constituency as a whole. Their lack of understanding about how to build networks with people from

different cultures and backgrounds is seen as the cause for their (from the viewpoint of the industry) failure to stop the Kyoto Protocol (Villagrassa 2002:41).

c) ENGO (Environmental NGO)

While on average males dominate ENGOs too, some of the biggest ENGOs are led by women. This is certainly the case within the global network of climate organizations, the Climate Action Network (CAN). Within CAN, “women power” has prevailed: some of the largest and most active regional nodes have been led by women (e.g. Europe, USA, Canada, UK, CEE and CAN-Africa, which is also led by women, but does not belong to the largest node of the network)³. Women have ensured that NGOs were working together, so (...) that strong messages went out to the world”, (Villagrassa (2002:42f). She points out that climate protection is the only area in which women have achieved such prominence in the NGO world. Villagrassa does not believe “that it is a coincidence that the issue where women have the most power in the NGO sector has also become one of the most actively debated ones in the public arena.” (ibid.) She suggests there is a link between women’s attraction to climate protection and their thirst for complex and interlinking issues, “whereas men are more attracted to the straightforward battles,” which may be easier to win (ibid.).

d) Women’s organisations

At the nine COPs examined there were a total of 23 representatives explicitly representing women’s organizations, half as members of the larger NGO delegation and the rest as small women’s delegations unto themselves. The International Council of Women has been an accredited observer organisation since 1999, and LIFE e.V. and Women in Europe for a Common Future (WECF), have been accredited since 2003. The following spreadsheet shows the representation of women’s organisations. Accredited observers are marked in bold. The total number of representatives of each organization is in brackets. In 2005 another womens organisation was accredited: Native Women’s Organisation of Canada.

COP2/1996	Women for Peace and Ecology (1)
COP3/1997	International Women’s Year Liaison Group (2)
COP4/1998	-
COP5/1999	International Council of Women/ICW (1)
COP6/2000	ICW (2) , LIFE –Women develop eco-technique e.V. (1), African Indigenous Women Organisation (1)
COP7/2001	ICW (2) , African Indigenous Women Organisation (1)
COP8/2002	ICW (1) , Women for Sustainable Development (1), All Indian Women’s Conference (1)
COP9/2003	ICW (1) , LIFE (3) , Women for Sustainable Development (1), African Indigenous Women Organisation (1) South Asia Indigenous Women Forum (1)
COP10/2004	LIFE (2)

³ Since the release of this paper the situation changed: there are more male than female coordinators/leaders now.

COP11/2005⁴ **LIFE (8), WECF (5), Native Women’s Organisation of Canada (13** plus 4 in the governmental Delegation of Canada), Coordinator of the Women’s Programm of Green Earth (1), Women’s Cooperation Center Mashhad (1)

The unusually low level of participation of women’s organisations at UN Conferences was evaluated by a NGO-representative following COP3 in Kyoto: “The arguments used here are almost entirely economic. Decisions are made mostly with little consideration being given to survival. Perhaps women felt they could not penetrate this masculine perspective – and stayed at home”. (Sargent 1997) To the extent that this notion contradicts Villagrassa’s suggestion that women are in fact drawn to complex issues suggests further research is needed.

3. Gender relations as an issue in climate change negotiations

As previously mentioned, women in leading positions were largely responsible for giving shape to the negotiations. It is arguable that few outcomes would have occurred without them, even though the delegations were not at all gender-balanced in composition.

So, the question has to be asked: What are the impacts, if any, of women’s representation in COP negotiations? Besides changing the structures of the negotiations, does gender-balanced participation actually result in gender-sensible outcomes?

The total absence of gender aspects in the climate change debate cannot be ignored. This is true both for the negotiations and for the development of mechanisms, instruments and measures. Skutsch (2002) attributes inattention to gender aspects to a demand for generalized intended outcomes. She shows, for example, that in shaping the Kyoto Protocol female negotiators needed to focus on universal issues in order to have success and speculates that gender issues might have diverted attention. To Skutsch, gender aspects simply did not have a place in the crisis atmosphere in which the whole debate around the Kyoto Protocol took place.

There is an apparent link between the profiling of gender-/women issues at the COPs and the importance and state-of-play of issues in the negotiations. When negotiations are bogged down, or when they are prolonged and boring, space opens for “gender” or “female participation” topics. This was true at COP6 in The Hague, which produced so few agreed outcomes that it had to be continued at COP6b in Bonn. At COP9 there was a relatively high level of interest in gender issues, but also nothing really decisive or controversial on the agenda. Similarly, the COP7 resolution on women’s representation in the UNFCCC bodies can be linked to the general paralysis that followed the 2001 terrorist attack on the World Trade Centre in New York. When the negotiations enter more stormy phases, resources and attention revert to more “important/major matters”. Gender issues being used as fill, rather than as substantive matters for negotiation, has been cited by female lobbyists and negotiators regarding several UN processes. (see e.g. Wichterich 1992).

At the conclusion of the COP 9 side event “Promoting Gender Equality, Providing Energy Solutions, Preventing Climate Change” the following statement was published: “There is no shortage of political decisions that highlight the importance of integrating gender concerns into energy and climate policy, the main problem is that there has been insufficient follow ups within the key institutions”(Johannah Bernstein/Swedish Environmental Ministry 2003:6). While this might be true

⁴ According to the list of participants dated from Dec. 9,2005 (all registered persons, regardless wether they really attended or not)

for UN processes in general, in climate change negotiations there is also a lack of recognition of gender/gender justice as an important base for climate protection. To date, ***there have been no decisions taken on the level of content concerning the integration of gender aspects into climate change debates, and only one decision has been taken on women's participation, which referred exclusively to the nomination of women for the bodies and which has not been fully implemented.***

The community of environmental NGO's, having a history of raising all sorts of climate-related topics at the negotiations, has hardly mentioned the issue of integrating gender aspects into the negotiations. This is quite striking considering that "equity" is such an important part of discussions within the environment and development community (For a new movement being created on this issue, see e.g. www.risingtide.org). But here, equity is reduced to being primarily about global or North-South-justice, with no real role for justice within nations or gender justice. (see e.g. Toth 1999).

The scientific base of climate negotiations: the "Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change"

Not the Parties, the Observers, nor the UNFCCC Secretariat has undertaken efforts to integrate gender aspects into the negotiations. The same is true for the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), the most important and influential scientific body in the climate change debate and a key player in any effort to mainstream gender into the negotiations.

The IPCC, founded in 1988 under the umbrella of the UNEP and the World Meteorological Organisation (WMO), provides the scientific foundation for the negotiations through its assessment reports and research activities. Unfortunately, the IPCC continues to lack gender sensibility in its research and reports. A good example of this is its 20th meeting report (2003) done in preparation for the 4th Assessment Report on the effects of climate change, mitigation and adaptation. The IPCC concluded that greater attention should be given to cross-cutting issues. Seven subjects⁵ were identified as essential for consideration in all workgroups and themes. Contrary to the UN Commission for Sustainable Development (CSD), which also identified cross-cutting issues for its future work, gender was not included. As the accepted authority on climate change, the IPCC "position" can be viewed as the foundation on which climate change is treated as a gender-neutral issue.

While commitments under Article 6 of the UNFCCC relate directly to gender issues, one is hard-pressed to find any evidence of any attempt to act on them either at the COPs or even in current discussions and information regarding Article 6. *Article 6: "Training, Education and Public Awareness"* obligates the Parties to implement educational programmes, to raise public awareness on climate change and its impacts, to ensure public access to adequate information, and to encourage civic participation in the implementation of mitigation measures. (UNFCCC Secretariat 1999). It is a key entry point for promoting adequate participation by women in the development of mitigation and adaptation measures, and in the ongoing design of Article 6. But this opportunity has been largely ignored. It has been suggested that this might be the result of the technocratic paradigm used in negotiations to frame climate change issues, a paradigm often bemoaned by women (Sargent 1997).

⁵ Cross-cutting issues are: 1. Uncertainty and risk, 2. Integration of adaptation and mitigation, 3. Issues related to Article 2 UNFCCC and key vulnerabilities, 4. Sustainable development, 5. Regional integration, 6. Water, 7. Technology

It is to assume, that the missing consideration of gender aspects is linked to the missing participation of gender experts, or, in UN-language, of the 'major group women' in the negotiations: because there is no major group women in the participation system of the UNFCCC process, experts for equal opportunities/women's rights are not involved in the the process. And because they are not involved, gender issues are not addressed. This reveals that it is not enough to merely increase women's representation, but gender experts must also participate and provide analyses on the subjects and outcomes of the negotiations. It should be noted in all of this that internationally recognised and experienced women's organisations (e.g. Women's Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO)), which organise and coordinate the participation of women in most UN processes, have not been interested in the climate change negotiations and have not attended the conferences until now.

4. Climate change negotiations: issues and entry points from a gender perspective

- ◆ *Adaptation and vulnerability:* Adaptation to climate change and vulnerability to its impacts are growing issues on the UNFCCC agenda. With respect to both adaptation and vulnerability, women's lack of resources is a significant factor: financial resources are needed for things like constructing houses, building dams and for altering agricultural production to changing climate conditions. These resources are generally available only to developed countries and to the richest segments within developing countries. Most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change are the poor, those who lack resources to protect themselves, and who are vulnerable due to their social roles. In a rare treatment of of gender differences, the Third Assessment Report of the IPCC (IPCC 2001) details how men and women differ widely in terms of both "adaptation" and "vulnerability" as a result of their different societal roles and unequal access to resources.

The results of gender and disaster research show a more gender-sensible approach to adaptation and vulnerability. With a relative bounty of information on experiences in hand, recommendations have been made regarding natural disasters (e.g. floods, hurricanes droughts) in developing countries, especially in least-developed countries where the major burdens of climate change exist. Here, like everywhere in the world, women are disproportionately represented among the poorest of the poor, a situation made even worse in post-disaster situations. At these times women are disproportionately affected in terms of income generation, the amounts of care work they must do, and by increased violence resulting from diminished security. Men, on the other hand, are more at risk of harm from their own actions, such as participating in search and rescue missions, and doing clean up work. Gender and disaster research is critical of the almost exclusive view of women as victims, people who rarely contribute in a precautionary way to prevent disasters, e.g. by planting trees against soil erosion or by behavioural change (Enarson 2000a und 2000b). These researchers are demanding a renunciation of the dominant technocratic approach to risk management and are suggesting an alternative approach, i.e., of linking social and gender justice to the mitigation of disasters by sustainable development. The same criticism and alternative approach can be used for the climate change negotiations in the field of adaptation and related mechanisms and financial funds.

- ◆ One aspect of "vulnerability" is health, in general one of the most important entry points for gender perspectives in most environmental issues. Because women's roles are much more aligned

with precaution and care, and because of their physical/biological differences, women and men differ fundamentally in their awareness of health-related issues (BMFSFJ 2001).

In 1999, the World Health Organisation decided to develop a method for national health reports on vulnerability and adaptation to climate change, aiming, among other things, to identify vulnerable groups. The method was published in 2003 (WHO 2003) along with its first study titled *“Climate Change and Human Health – Risks and Responses”* (WHO 2003). The method contained in this study is recommended for use in reports by all nations, but, again, gender aspects are ignored. Data from the first study on climate change and human health are disaggregated by all kinds of variables – but not by sex. An amendment of the assessment method by gender is needed to provide required data and to help justify appropriate measures.

- ◆ A comprehensive gender analysis of climate protection instruments is missing. Assessments do exist for instruments used in developing countries, mostly for examining the participation of women, and for determining how instruments have to be developed to bring benefits to women and men. Instruments are seen as a given and assessed as being good if they benefit women without considering whether they are actually the right instruments. Take, for example, adaptation funds or CDM project measures to finance low-carbon projects in developing countries. Do different views exist in the North and in the South on these instruments and their implications? Do North/South differences in women’s situations and gender relations lead to different assessments and requirements in climate protection? If so, how? For example, financing adaptation measures in the South is necessary for survival, while in the North it might be more a question of lifestyle (e.g. consumption, transportation). It is important to also develop Northern gender positions based on gender analysis on instruments and mechanisms, and to bring them into the negotiations. This will require a cooperative effort among women/gender organisations to find the best approach for discussing their different situations and views and for folding these into a common strategy.
- ◆ *Budget lines and funds* should also be analysed from a gender perspective. These funds are aimed mainly at financing adaptation measures in the South, as well as on CDM information and education projects. *Gender budgeting*, an appropriate and well-developed instrument for gender analysis of cash flows, should be applied to climate change funds. To do so would mean linking the allocation of funds to the principles of gender justice, thereby enhancing benefits to vulnerable groups.

5. Positions on the “flexible mechanisms” of the Kyoto Protocol

Examining the Kyoto Protocol from sustainable development perspectives leads to some truly striking results. “Flexible mechanisms” are meant first and foremost to serve the economy and ecology. The economic alignment is clear, with emissions trading being just one example. Ecology has been reduced to one area, climate change, and within this area again to one aspect, reducing emissions. The social dimension of sustainability as well as the people who contribute to climate change, who have to change their behaviour in order to protect the climate/to mitigate CO₂ emissions, are widely ignored. The approach is geared toward short-term ecologic and economic improvements. Under the precautionary approach, the dictum for acting must not be on getting the fastest CO₂-reduction for every Euro spent, but getting the most *sustainability* for the spent money.

According to the precautionary principle, climate change mitigation must be viewed from long-term perspectives, not short-term ones that too often lead to short-lived achievements. This is not the place to address the question of how ultimately effective an emissions trading system based on market mechanisms will be in mitigating climate change. We do know, however, that available allocation plans for European countries clearly lead to a pinpointed CO₂-reduction with no plan (yet) for further steps forward, and that CO₂ reductions commitments under the Kyoto Protocol will not stop climate change.

It is still unclear, which sectors have to contribute to CO₂ reduction to what degree. Most of the European Union member states' allocation plans attribute to industry rather more emission rights than committing them to reduce carbon dioxide emissions. Consequently the major part of reductions needs to happen in the transport sector and in private household. This is by all means understandable, since the greatest increases in CO₂ emissions over the last few years have come from these areas. The transportation sector and the automobile industry form a powerful lobby that has effectively blocked efforts to establish restrictions on emissions and to improve fuel efficiency. For the households, the requirements to reduce emissions are conflicting with other expectations: In particular they should meet the requirements of the labour market, primarily with information and communication technologies to ensure access and availability. This is leading to an increase of energy consumption and of CO₂ emissions. When addressing this dilemma, it is necessary to take the interlinkage of CO₂ reduction and gender relations into account. The gender dimension is especially relevant for the access to information technology or to cars, energetic refurbishment of buildings, energy use due to appliances replacing domestic work, and heat demand (e.g. for elderly and children).

On top of the fundamental question whether emissions trading is an effective instrument, we need to raise the question whether the distribution of, and trading with emissions rights is suggesting that there is such thing as property rights for air. It is very likely that it will lead to psychological effect that owners of emissions rights may believe that they actually have the right to pollute. Emissions trading can be perceived as a new level of privatisation of "common goods". Especially women and women's organisations in the field of environment and development as well as anti-globalisation activists are criticising these effects of globalisation strongly. We can find here a lack of research on the one hand, a lack of precise feminist positions on the other one.

Equity issues are well-recognised within the flexible mechanisms, but are effectively absent from the UNFCCC negotiations. For example, emissions trading may lead to increased disparity between nations in terms of per capita emissions because the cheapest emissions credits will be available in countries with the least emissions per capita. If industrialised countries are snapping up these emissions rights, development in these countries could be retarded, or at least be aggravated.

CDM projects should serve sustainable development. But how is sustainability defined in countries where CDM projects are implemented? More importantly, who sets the criteria for sustainability? Participation of different population groups is an important requirement - indigenous peoples, rural populations, women etc. must be involved in planning CDM projects. But the extent to which consultation outcomes are actually considered down the line is as uncertain as the quality of the consultations. For example, information on a planned project disseminated over the internet will exclude significant segments of the population, comprised primarily, but not only, of women.

Likewise, if input periods are too short, populations in the far reaches which are mainly indigenous are effectively excluded from participation due to time limitations.

Women/gender and energy organisations from the South have developed some clear demands regarding the participation of women in CDM projects, and projects must consider women's energy needs, especially for doing housework and/or for income-generating measures. Energy, produced within CDM projects, has to be accessible and affordable, which means they must involve local women in the development of the projects. There are also concerns regarding the size of the projects: profitable returns on investments and large-scale organisational efforts are most often associated with big projects that do not normally take into account women's rather low energy needs. Exclusive funding of major projects would be fatal for women and for poverty reduction (s. Skutsch/Wamukonya 2001).

Negative impacts might also be felt in industrialised countries that provide CDM project funding. Cheap CO₂ credits obtained through CDM financing could impede progress in reducing CO₂ reductions, or might even increase emissions in industrialised countries. Additionally, carbon emissions are typically emitted not in isolation, but are combined with other pollutants. Thus, air pollution in industrial areas could increase again.

Finally, there are the effects of participation in international negotiation processes. The change in attitudes among ENGOs regarding emissions trading is especially interesting from a gender perspective. Initially, there was adamant opposition to "trading hot air." Later on, when negotiations became harder and solutions/advanced outcomes seemed impossible to be reached, they changed their mind and accepted emissions trading. So far, so good. Sometimes you have to accept outcomes which are not the best solutions because they are the only ones to be accepted by all parties. But today, many ENGOs see emissions trading as the "only effective climate change instrument" (WWF-press release on German allocation plan, April 2004). Meaning they forget about their own critique and don't accept others to criticise their adjustment to an instrument that is taken from the economy and leaving people and social aspects outside.

This change of attitude raises doubts as to whether ENGO participation in international negotiations actually leads to positions that are stronger, in terms of protecting the climate, than those put forth by governments. Rather than emboldening them to take ever tougher positions, ENGO involvement seems to lead to a de-radicalization of their positions as they adjust them to the negotiations over time. This tendency, which has been evident for many years, has resulted in few differences between the positions of (progressive) governments and those who are supposed to be most critical of them – ENGO observers. Brunnengräber/Walk's (1998, 2000) showed in their PHD thesis on Global Governance in the field of UN climate change negotiations, that ENGOs are not only a well-functioning international network, but are largely embedded in the system. "They dealt with the same questions of detail as in the negotiation process, irrespective of whether they are significant for effective climate protection or not." (Brunnengräber/Walk 1998) So, what conclusions can be drawn with respect to the participation of women in the negotiation process? And does a link exist between the marginal participation of women's organisations and the apparent compliance and general acceptance of the power system among many ENGOs?

6. Conclusion

Gender is highly relevant to the UNFCCC and Kyoto Protocol negotiations, although perhaps not to the same extent across all instruments in every region of the world. Rudimentary documentation exists for the South on the impacts of several instruments on gender relations in given situations. For the North, similar research and evaluation of projects and measures is missing.

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