

AN INTERSECTIONAL FEMINIST CLIMATE ACTION GUIDE

Amplifying Voices,
Reimagining Climate Action



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List of Acronyms

AE	Accredited Entity	LDC	Least Developed Countries
AF	Adaptation Fund	LEG	LDC Expert Group
AfDB	African Development Bank	LDC	Least Developed Countries
AR	Assessment Report (AR)	LDCF	Least Developed Countries Fund
CAHOSCC	Committee of African Heads of State and Governments on Climate Change	LWPG	Lima work Programme on Gender
CDM	Clean Development Mechanism	NAMAs	Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women	NDA	National Designated Authority
CIF	Climate Investment Fund	NAP	National Adaptation Plan
CO2	Carbon dioxide	NAPE	National Association of Professional Environmentalists
COP	Conference of Parties	NCWK	National Council of Women of Kenya
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility	NDCs	National Determined Contributions
CSW	Commission on the Status of Women	NGCCFPs	National Gender and Climate Change Focal Persons
CTCN	Climate Technology Centre Network	NSAs	Non State Actors
CTDT	Centre for Testing, Development and Training	ODA	Official Development Assistance
CWGPCC	CAHOSCC Women and Gender Programme on Climate Change	OPUL	Oil Palm Uganda Limited
ECOSOC	United Nations Economic and Social Council	PCCB	Paris Committee on Capacity Building
EHRDs	Environmental Human Rights Defenders	REDD+	Reduce Emissions from Deforestation and forest degradation
EPA	Environmental Protection Agency	SDGEA	Solemn Declaration on Gender Equality in Africa
FOWA	Federation of Ogoni Women's Associations	SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
FOWODE	Forum for Women in Democracy	SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
GAP	Gender Action Plan	STIS	Sexually transmitted Infections
GBM	Green Belt Movement	TEEB	The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity initiatives
GCF	Green Climate Fund	TNCs	Transnational Companies
GDP	Gross Domestic Product (GDP)	UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
GEF	Global Environment Facility	UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
GGCA	Global Gender and Climate Alliance	UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
GHG	Greenhouse Gases	VODP	Vegetable Oil Development Project
GMO	Genetically Modified Organisms	WEDO	Women's Environment and Development Organisation
IMF	International Money Fund	WEHRDs	Women Environmental Human Rights Defenders
INDCs	Intended Nationally Determined contributions	WGC	Women and Gender Constituency
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change	WTO	World Trade Organisation
IUCN	International Union for Conservation of Nature		
KOPGT	Kalangala Oil Palm Growers Trust		

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We know that this work will go a long way in shaping and shifting narratives on climate action from an African as well as a Global South Feminist perspective.





Executive Summary

This Intersectional Feminist Climate Action Guide is an advocacy and programming tool for civil society, feminists, environmentalists, and minoritized groups i.e. women, indigenous peoples, people with disabilities, gender expansive persons, among others in Africa and the Global South who are essential climate actors because of their roles as creators, facilitators and advocates of inclusive and rights-based approaches. The guide is subdivided into two parts. The first part is a research report which presents findings from a feminist analysis of the climate crisis, climate actions, and the different laws, policies and systems that are essential to guaranteeing climate justice. The research report is an addition to increasing literature by various experts acknowledging that the climate crisis as a human induced phenomenon. The report underscores the gendered, racialized, and classed impact of climate change and critically examines how power and misuse of power continue to accelerate and fuel the ecological crisis.

Like all other macro level development challenges that face Africa, and the Global South, the climate crisis is a result of systems and structures that also influence the vulnerability and exposure for certain individuals, and the extent to which people can adapt and or remain resilient. The effects of these systems are far-reaching and continuous, as they continue to affect Africa's and the Global South political institutions, and social and governance structures.

The report also reveals that at the heart of colonial legacies for instance lies the foundation of export capital and developments that have resulted into a group of individuals who have more to give on the one hand and individuals who barely have enough to survive. It recognizes that the ecological crisis is a result of the exploitation of both nature and marginalised groups in society, and the commodification of the same, therefore making it both an ethical and moral issue on top of being a human rights issue.

The research report thus draws on the experiences and realities of different feminists, women rights activists, and environmentalists in the climate justice movement in Africa and the Global South who have, and continue to shape and influence climate action. The report acknowledges and illuminates the role that women and indigenous people in Africa and the Global South have played and continue to play in protecting the planet through environmentally sustainable actions as custodians and caregivers in defending biodiversity and acting for climate justice.

The report further raises questions around the effectiveness, inclusiveness and gender responsiveness of the climate governance systems and structures at global, regional and national levels, and identifies entry points for advocacy for feminist climate justice groups in different spaces. In highlighting this, the report illuminates the interconnection between climate policy making and the protection of women's/ human rights, thus unpacking entry points for advancing intersectional feminist climate justice narratives and alternatives.

The second part is the intersectional feminist climate action guide. The guide proposes strategies that are contextually applicable to the realities African peoples and people of the Global South, particularly women and other minoritized groups who contend with multiple systems of oppression based on gender, class, race, ethnicity, nationality, ability, sexual orientation, and age. It points to practical ways of applying intersectional feminist approaches to climate justice advocacy in Africa and the Global South.

Finally, it highlights initiatives and tools that can be adopted and applied by feminists, women rights organizations, climate justice advocates, environmentalists, and civil society organisations in climate justice advocacy and programming to significantly contribute to and shape the climate governance and decision-making processes from an African and Global South feminist perspective.

Introduction

Africa as a whole continent contributes only 3.8% of greenhouse emissions compared to 23% by China, 19% by the US, and 13% by the European Union¹. Despite this, the Global South, particularly Africa, faces a disproportionate impact of the consequences of climate change, which is caused by greenhouse gas emissions².

To address this global crisis, which is weighing heavily on those living on the margins of society, global, regional, and national initiatives are focused on finding workable and sustainable solutions to address this crisis and its resultant effects.

The inequality caused by the climate crisis requires looking back and understanding the historical roots of these global inequalities that have drastically increased over the past 200 years. This has largely been the result of colonialism and industrialisation which were the main drivers of economic growth in Europe but hindered growth in the settler colonies and other parts of the world. Inequality increases the exposure of disadvantaged social groups to the adverse effects of climate change³. Climate change has exacerbated the existing inequalities against women and other minoritized groups based on gender, socioeconomic class, race, ethnicity, nationality, ability, sexual orientation, and age⁴.

It is important to acknowledge that while women share similar experiences of discrimination, harassment, sexism, inequality and oppression on the basis of their sex and gender, not all of them are equally disadvantaged or have equal access to resources, power and privilege. In the context of Africa and the Global South, women carry the disproportionate burden of the climate crisis⁵ because they already face peculiar social, economic and political barriers that limit their coping capacity. First, they are charged with the responsibility of care work, of which in the African context, domestic care work heavily relies on resources from the environment i.e. water, food and fuel for cooking and lighting. Second, they face unequal access to resources and largely lack the privilege of flexibility to easily move to a safer location when a disaster strikes – which further increases their vulnerability to climate change. Governments, policy makers, climate activists, and environmentalists should recognize that the climate crisis is gendered, and the humanitarian impacts of the crisis fall squarely



Despite the progress made by African countries in developing climate related frameworks and the evidence that exists of the contribution that African people have made in sustaining the planet through their indigenous ways, African peoples' driven policies continue to be sidelined and pushed to the periphery.

1 CDP (2020). CDP Africa Report: Benchmarking progress towards climate safe cities, states, and regions, <https://www.greengrowthknowledge.org/research/cdp-africa-report-benchmarking-progress-towards-climate-safe-cities-states-and-regions>

2 African Development Bank (2019). Climate change in Africa, <https://www.afdb.org/en/cop25/climate-change-africa>

3 S. Nazrul Islam and John Winkel (2017). Climate Change and Social Inequality, DESA Working Paper No. 152, ST/ESA/2017/DWP/152, https://www.un.org/esa/desa/papers/2017/wp152_2017.pdf

4 AMwA (2021). Global South perspectives on "Why the climate crisis is a feminist issue", https://www.akinamamawaafrica.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/AKINA_Technical-brief-2021-Global-South-perspectives-on-Why-the-climate-crisis-is-a-feminist-issue.pdf

5 UN Women (2022). Explainer: How gender inequality and climate change are interconnected, <https://www.unwomen.org/en/news-stories/explainer/2022/02/explainer-how-gender-inequality-and-climate-change-are-interconnected>

on women. To appreciate this requires that we centre intersectional feminist perspectives in addressing the climate crisis, by exposing the intersection of oppressive forces such as capitalism, patriarchy, sexism, misogyny, and racism.

Through this guide, we argue that the adoption and integration of an intersectional feminist approach in climate action at global, national, and community levels will guarantee that the solutions adopted encompass interventions that seek to transform the root causes of the climate crisis and the inequalities faced by women and other minoritized people. It is intended at facilitating the adoption of strategies to prevent the deepening of inequalities while addressing the structural factors that cause and maintain the discrimination of women. The guide assists in the development of sustainable and inclusive solutions for dealing with the gendered, classed and racialized consequences of climate change.

We note that adopting an intersectional feminist approach to climate justice will provide the necessary tools to develop and assess the viability of climate solutions in the African context to ensure that it does not burden communities, erode Africa's culture and traditional systems, reinforce past colonial and imperialist influence, but will centre solutions born and bred on the continent and by communities in the continent.

The experiences of the struggles and justifications of indigenous, peasant, black, female, transgender, gender-diverse and minority communities on the continent confirm that colonial powers, far from disappearing, continue to expand. It is therefore imperative to think of alternative ways to address the development challenges arising out of neoliberalism, capitalism and neo-colonialism, which not only curtail people's rights but also continue to destroy cultures and ecosystems. Because we acknowledge the role played by these impositions in destabilising age-old systems, we must demand that we be the narrators and shapers of our own societies' futures and collective and individual destinies, including the solutions to addressing the climate crisis. We must also reconstruct power and reimagine the world and by extension, reclaim that which was taken from us. This demands a reclaiming of African indigenous ways of knowing and being and telling our stories using our own narratives and languages.

Despite the progress made by African countries in developing climate-related frameworks and the evidence that exists of the contribution that African people have made in sustaining the planet through their indigenous ways, African peoples' driven policies continue to be side-lined and pushed to the periphery. This continued exclusion and absence of the African continent, particularly the voices of African women and other minoritized people in global policy and decision-making spaces on climate change, continue to reinforce existing barriers to guaranteeing that climate change solutions are contextual and applicable.



The Intersectional Feminist approach to climate policy-making, calls for the centring of the most marginalised peoples, their indigenous knowledge, and experiences. We re-imagine the usual gender mainstreaming strategies in climate action by placing emphasis on building Africans' and especially African women's socioeconomic, political, and cultural agency in coping with the climate crisis. This approach intentionally centres our history as Africans and as African women in particular, who have in the past and also presently continue to contend with the legacies of slave trade, imperialism, capitalism, extractivism, (neo)colonialism, and neoliberalism, all of which have played a key role in driving the climate crisis. It further emphasises the need to address the power dynamics and structures that influence the pace of change and levels of existing insecurities, the distribution of resources, and a host of benefits on current and future outcomes. This is because what counts as climate risks is ultimately shaped by the realities and power structures that exist between the Global North and Global South, between men and women, and between the rich and the poor at various levels. In this regard, the feminist climate justice approach advances the notion that addressing the climate crisis in a just and inclusive way requires that we move beyond just addressing the symptoms, and seek to address the root causes in order to overcome it once and for all.

Inside the Guide: Why, What and Who

This guide unpacks social and structural dimensions of the climate crisis and presents the case for why it is important to adopt feminist intersectional and gender transformative approaches to climate action. It highlights what we perceive to be the root causes of the climate crisis and the resultant cross-sectoral, gendered, and social inequalities with examples from different countries in Africa. The guide further highlights key processes on which feminist organizations, women's rights organizations, and civil society groups can engage to advance gender-responsive and feminist intersectional climate justice approaches for a just and inclusive climate transition. The guide also presents successful approaches to ensuring gender responsiveness in climate policy-making and programming to mitigate, from an African perspective, the gendered, racialized, and classed impacts of climate change and climate action.



Chapter 1: Feminist principles and perspectives on the climate crisis

For me, one of the major reasons to move beyond just planting trees was that I have a tendency to look at the causes of a problem. We often preoccupy ourselves with the symptoms, whereas if we went to the root cause of the problems, we would be able to overcome the problems once and for all. Wangari Maathai of the Green Belt Movement.

This chapter provides a feminist analysis of the climate crisis and shows how patriarchal values and practices, race, class, etc. are at the root of the climate crisis. It provides evidence of how the extractive nature and misuse of power and privilege are harmful to the environment and are driving the climate crisis; and surfaces the intersectional and cross-sectoral impact of the climate crisis on women, indigenous people, and gender expansive groups in the Global South, with a specific focus on Africa. The section presents the climate crisis as a feminist issue and elaborates how Africa's traditional systems like traditional farmers' rights, indigenous seed systems and culture are under attack as the world merely focuses on finding solutions to the symptoms of the climate crisis through neoliberal capitalist approaches.

1.1 Patriarchy and other institutionalised systems of oppression and exploitation

As articulated in the Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists (2006), feminism is a political struggle whose analysis puts patriarchal power at the centre of gender oppression and other social, political and economic inequalities. Feminism therefore seeks to dismantle patriarchy as a system of male authority, which legitimizes the oppression against women through political, social, economic, cultural and religious institutions⁶. It provides alternatives that enable everyone, especially women and other minoritized people to live in a just and equitable world. Feminism provides the framework that explains the social relations, structures and systems which facilitate oppressive and exploitative structures against women and other minoritized groups of people.⁷

Using a feminist intersectional approach to analysing the climate crisis helps to underscore the significance of gender, class, and race thereby linking feminist concerns with human oppressions within patriarchy and the destruction of nature, which has caused the ecological crisis. This is why addressing patriarchy in climate action is critical. Patriarchy reinforces gender imbalances against women by preserving certain benefits for men while invisibilizing women's contribution⁸. This imbalance is the basis for unequal power relations between men and women; and is also a major factor for the disproportionate impact of climate change on women⁹.

6 AWFDF (2006). Charter of Feminist Principles for African Feminists, <https://awdf.org/wp-content/uploads/AFF-Feminist-Charter-Digital-%C3%A2%C2%80%C2%93-English.pdf>

7 Nehere, K. (2016). The feminist views: A review. *Feminist Research*, 1, 3-20, <http://dx.doi.org/10.21523/gcj2.16010101>

8 Chidiebere J. Onwutuebe (2019). Patriarchy and Women Vulnerability to Adverse Climate Change in Nigeria, https://genderandsecurity.org/sites/default/files/Onwutuebe_-_Patriarchy_W_Vulty_to_Adverse_Climate_Change.pdf

9 Onwutuebe, C. J. (2019). Patriarchy and Women Vulnerability to Adverse Climate Change in Nigeria. *SAGE Open*, 9(1). <https://doi.org/10.1177/2158244019825914>

Patriarchy is organised through institutions such as the corporations, religious institutions, schools, government, cultural institutions, political parties etc. These institutions are supported by rules, norms, customs and traditions that continuously create and justify the oppression. These structures, rules, beliefs, and norms change over time but maintain their exclusion against women and other minoritized groups.

As ecofeminists have observed, the origin of the exploitation of natural resources and the environment is associated with the exploitation of minoritized groups, such as women's labour¹⁰. Ecofeminists see climate change, gender equality, and social injustice more broadly as intrinsically related issues, all tied to masculine dominance in society¹¹. The phrase "*man versus (mother) nature*" perhaps best epitomises how men's identities within patriarchal societies have been based upon the need to subordinate the surrounding natural environment.¹² Understanding the influences of patriarchy is critical to identifying causal relationships and developing solutions to tackle climate change.

However, many climate scientists have focused too many resources on understanding the geophysical characteristics of climate change, a phenomenon already well understood, and less on its social impacts and consequences. Feminists have highlighted that scientists, of which majority are men, need to include in their analyses how masculinity also includes the need to have power over others – 'others' being understood as women and nature¹³ – perpetuates environmental degradation.

Patriarchy varies in time and space, meaning that it changes over time, and varies according to class, race, ethnicity, religion and global imperial relationships and structures¹⁴. As Naomi N. Nklealah (2007) observes, it is indisputable that patriarchal subjection of women transcends borders, peoples and cultures. Thus to challenge patriarchy effectively also requires challenging other systems of oppression and exploitation, which frequently mutually support each other¹⁵. Because patriarchy is a social construction, feminist theorists believe that patriarchy can be overcome by revealing and critically analysing its manifestations¹⁶. This is especially important because of the extent to which patriarchy is deeply entrenched - policy and decision-making spaces on climate change are often blind to the masculine nature of these discussions and their outcomes. Yet, when decision-makers fail to acknowledge the need to address patriarchy, they also in effect fail to guarantee the inclusion of women and other minoritized groups of people.

It is also important to note that patriarchy does not operate in isolation. It works with other structures of oppression such as capitalism which places profit and growth over people and nature. The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) traces climate change to the industrial revolution (IPCC, 2021). In Africa, the onset of modernity took place within the context of European colonialism and imperialism. Mies (1999:74) describes the colonial period as characterised by a "predatory patriarchal division of labour based, from the onset, on a structural separation and subordination of human beings: men are separated from women, whom they have subordinated". In describing the story of the climate crisis, it cannot be taken away from the history of energy access in colonial projects which is linked to the global system of accumulation and greenhouse gas emissions and the current ecological crisis.



10 Miles, Kathryn. (2018). "ecofeminism". Encyclopedia Britannica, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/ecofeminism>.

11 Sarah Regan (2020). What is Ecofeminism? Understanding the Intersection of Gender & the Environment, <https://www.mindbodygreen.com/articles/ecofeminism-history-and-principles>

12 MenEngage Global Alliance (2016). Men, masculinities and climate change, <https://voicemalemagazine.org/men-masculinities-and-climate-change/>

13 Lipigne, E., & Lebbeau, D. (2005). Beyond inequalities, women in Namibia. Windhoek: University of Namibia. Available from <http://www.worldcat.org>

14 Mackinnon, C. A. (1983). Feminism, Marxism, method, and the state: Toward feminist jurisprudence. *Journal of Women in Culture and Society*, 8, 635-658. Online: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/3173687>

15 Charter of Feminist Principles for African feminists

16 Alda Facio (2013). What is Patriarchy?, <http://www.learnwhr.org/wp-content/uploads/D-Facio-What-is-Patriarchy.pdf>

1.2 Power, privilege, and the climate crisis

Climate injustice is a symptom of power structures. Because of the current extractive economic relationships that exist in the world, power is expressed in wealth, ownership of land, natural resources and property. The manifestation of imperialist capitalist power in the 21st century goes hand in hand with increased inequality and a climate crisis fuelled by a neoliberal capitalist system that upholds growth and profits over people and the planet by actively subverting this crisis via misinformation and regulatory interference¹⁷.

Powerful corporate actors, particularly Multinational Corporations (MNCs)/ Transnational Corporations (TNCs) are often beyond the control of national governments and often influence national policies in their own favour¹⁸. In the context of climate change, corporations also wield their power to influence government policies and multilateral spaces to serve their profit-making interests rather than the public good.¹⁹ These multinational or transnational entities have not only resources and influence, but also have international law and international trade policies on their side. They are therefore able to use Double Taxation Treaties, transfer mispricing, to avoid paying taxes, use articles such as Prohibition of Indirect Expropriation in Bilateral Investment Treaties to avoid labour rights or environmental protections with total impunity.

In communities where women are deprived the right, privilege, and opportunity to participate in other economic or public activities like the men, they are confronted with much greater risk in the face of growing threats of climate change. Men whose privileged power status (in terms of financial, economic, social, and political strength) depends largely on concessions provided by patriarchy invariably possess stronger adaptive capability to cope with adverse impacts of climate change²⁰. Division 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, in the worst scenario, compel men who are engaged in the agricultural sector to seek alternative sources of livelihoods.²¹ The campaign for climate justice for women is, therefore, confronted with the challenge of dealing with climate-related problems that are deeply rooted in power structures that are steeped in patriarchy and capitalism.

Powerful corporate actors, particularly Multinational Corporations (MNCs)/ Transnational Corporations (TNCs) are often beyond the control of any national government and often influence national policies in their own favour.

17 WEDO (2021). Feminist Principles: The Private Sector And Multilateralism https://wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/FemEconClimate-ActionNexus_Brief.pdf?blm_aid=156053505

18 Song Kim & Helen V. Milne, (2019). Multinational Corporations and their Influence through Lobbying on Foreign Policy, https://www.brookings.edu/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Kim_Milner_manuscript.pdf

19 Felogene Anumo (2021). Climate Change and the Covid-19 crisis are Two Sides of the Same Coin: You can't Tackle One Without the Other, <https://blogs.lse.ac.uk/wps/2021/07/28/climate-change-and-the-covid-19-crisis-are-two-sides-of-the-same-coin-you-cant-tackle-one-without-the-other/>

20 Onwutuebe, Chidiebere J. (2019). "Patriarchy and Women Vulnerability to Adverse Climate Change in Nigeria.". Online: <https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/2158244019825914>

21 Perry, EC & Potgieter, Cheryl & Bob, Urmilla. (2011). Environmental conflicts and women's vulnerability in Africa. *African Journal on Conflict Resolution*. 10. 10.4314/ajcr.v10i2.63315.





Africa's current development model is steeped in the extraction of natural resources which consequently fuels the ecological crisis and increases inequality as many communities facing the climate crisis have limited or no access to and control of these resources. An extractive development system opens the space for capital to enter traditional economies in search of new markets and as a source of new natural resources for exploitation. Development as the expansion of capital therefore needs to create and sustain poverty and dispossession. Development is the continuation of colonisation, and is part of the project of wealth creation for the few mainly in the global North and parts of the global South. The current dominant development model destroys women, indigenous groups and peasant communities. It destroys nature and, with climate change, is destroying the planet and threatening all of humanity that live there. For this reason, throughout Africa, women, peasants and tribal groups are struggling for liberation from 'development' just as they earlier struggled for liberation from colonisation.

As noted by Meza (2010), men and women are not equally equipped to adapt to disasters due to social contexts marked by unequal power relations. These different expressions of power- **power over, power to, power with** and **power within**²² help to explain the intersection between power and climate crisis;

a) Power Over

Power over is most commonly understood as a form of authority, control or domination where a person or institution controls or constrains what another is able to do. It is a traditional relationship in which one person has power over another person or one group over another group or one nation over another nation. It is a traditional relationship in the sense that dominance and coercion are used time and again before other alternatives are sought. But power over can also be exercised by influencing what others think they can do or even imagine as possible. It extends beyond physical or verbal domination to affecting the ways in which people view themselves, their rights and capabilities. It is systemic and structural.

The Paris Agreement has remained largely unimplemented because developed countries have continued to wield impunity by spewing greenhouse gases into the atmosphere, promoting unsustainable agricultural practices, investing in fossil fuels, undertaking and financing widespread deforestation particularly in developing countries, with little regard for the planet. Based on the idea of 'power over', the dominant male and Western way of seeing the world gives men the right to exploit nature on the one hand, and women on the other hand. At the very heart of feminism lies a challenge to all forms of unequal power. It is about changing from a way of living and seeing that is based on "power over" to one based on collectivism, care and responsibility ("power with").

b) Power with

'Power with' describes collective action or agency, and includes both the psychological and political power that comes from being united. Power-with emerges organically from the participants involved and grows stronger the more it is put to use.

The role of social movements like farmers' groups, trade unions, women's rights and feminists' organisation has been seen in facilitating, constructing and supporting collective action for sustainable change. Their work has supported minoritized groups to articulate their own social justice agenda; defend their interests and those of their communities as well as position themselves in places of leadership at all levels and in all domains. In some instances, such collective organising and mobilising often result in the building of stronger social movements for women, indigenous people and other minoritised groups to organise. Examples include, Save Lamu and La Via Campesina. The Save Lamu²³ initiative under the banner "deCOALonize" was born out of the need to campaign against the establishment of the Lamu Coal fired electricity plant that had been proposed by the government with funding from the African Development Bank. The initiative eventually gave birth to a women's organisation, Lamu Women's Alliance that has continued to mobilise and defend women and the pristine Lamu island against extractivism.²⁴ La Via Campesina²⁵ is an international movement

22 Raji Hunjan and Jethro Pettit, (2011). Power: a Practical Guide for Facilitating Social Change: Online: https://www.participatorymethods.org/sites/participatorymethods.org/files/Power-A-Practical-Guide-for-Facilitating-Social-Change_0.pdf

23 Save Lamu (2013). Climate justice: No to Coal, <https://www.savelamu.org/climate-justice-no-to-coal/>

24 Interview with Save Lamu Alliance Coordinator (2021)

25 La Via Campesina, <https://viacampesina.org/en/international-peasants-voice/>

of movements and the global voice of peasants who feed the world. This movement brings together millions of peasants, landless workers, indigenous people, pastoralists, fishers, migrant farmworkers, small and medium-size farmers, rural women and peasant youth from around the world. It is built on a solid sense of unity and solidarity; it defends peasant agriculture for food sovereignty.

c) Power within

'Power within' describes the sense of confidence, dignity and self-esteem that comes from gaining awareness of one's situation and realising the possibility of doing something about it²⁶. Many grassroots efforts use individual storytelling and reflection to help people affirm personal worth and recognize their 'power to' and 'power with'²⁷. For example, the activism of 18-year-old Raeesah Noor-Mahomed, South Africa saw her lead a school boycott to demand that the country's environmental department declare a climate emergency. The intersectional activist focuses on decolonising Africa by connecting to activists around the continent to make activism more inclusive and accessible. Uganda's Vanessa Nakate²⁸, has courageously remained one of many voices African women and youth on issues of the climate crisis, even while her journey has been marred with racism and exclusions. Together with Hilda Flavia Nakabuye, Vanessa has also ardently campaigned against the East Africa Crude Oil Pipeline project under the #StopEACOP campaign, voicing her concerns and those of other environmentalists around to the UN in Geneva, French government in Paris, and to representatives at BNP Paribas to demand an end to the banks financing of fossil fuels.

1.3 Situating the climate crisis as a feminist issue

This section highlights the gendered, classed and racialized impacts of the climate crisis across various sectors and fields, bringing to light the need for a strong multi-sectoral approach to addressing the intersectional needs of the communities. As a cross-cutting issue, climate change intersects with population growth, human mobility, urbanisation, and food, water, and energy insecurity, all of which increase the vulnerability of women. Climate change threatens everyone's physical health, mental health, air, water, food and shelter but some groups, especially the socially and economically disadvantaged, face greater risks than others²⁹. The climate crisis is a feminist issue because it grows out of a patriarchal system that is also entangled with other African feminist struggles against racism, colonialism and neo colonialism, capitalism, sexism, ageism, and gender inequality.³⁰

In many of these contexts, indigenous women are more vulnerable to the effects of climate change than men — primarily as they constitute the majority of the world's poor and are more dependent on natural resources for their livelihoods³¹. In order to reduce the likelihood of reinforcing existing inequalities, it is important that policies and programmes targeting climate change mitigation take into account the power dynamics between men and women, the global North and global South, and their differential access to resources.

Older persons, particularly those with disabilities and older women, are among those most affected by climate-related harms such as the increasing spread of vector-borne diseases, heat stress, and the increasing frequency and intensity of sudden- and slow-onset disasters which can impact their physical and mental health and wellbeing. At the same time older people are custodians of vast reserves of knowledge, experience and resilience, making their participation, inclusion, and leadership key to Human Rights-based global efforts to adapt to and mitigate the adverse effects of climate change.³² The meaningful participation, inclusion and leadership of persons with disabilities and their representative organisations within disaster risk management and climate-related decision-making at the local, national, regional and global levels, lies at the heart of an approach to climate action that is respectful of the rights of persons with disabilities.³³

26 Institute of Development Studies, Participatory Methods, <https://www.participatorymethods.org/method/power>

27 Expressions of Power, <https://www.powercube.net/other-forms-of-power/expressions-of-power/>

28 Valentina Neri, (2021). Meet Vanessa Nakate, the climate activist speaking up for Africa, <https://www.lifegate.com/vanessa-nakate-environmentalist-uganda>

29 Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2018). Beyond Extractivism: Feminist alternatives for a socially and gender just development in Africa Online: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/mosambik/15208-20190325.pdf>

30 Feminist Africa (2021). Extractivism, Resistance, Alternatives, Volume 2, Issue 1, Online: http://www.agi.ac.za/news/feminist_africa_extractivism_resistance_alternatives

31 UN Women (2009). Women, Gender Equality and Climate Change, https://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/climate_change/downloads/Women_and_Climate_Change_Factsheet.pdf

32 OHCHR (2021). The impact of climate change on the rights of older persons: OHCHR and climate change, <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/HRAndClimateChange/Pages/RightsOlderPersons.aspx>

33 OHCHR (2021). The impact of climate change on the rights of persons with disabilities: OHCHR and climate change, <https://www.ohchr.org/EN/Issues/HRAndClimateChange/Pages/PersonsWithDisabilities.aspx>

1.3.1 Farmers' rights, food sovereignty and biodiversity.

African economies depend predominantly on agriculture. Women farmers currently account for 45-80 percent of all small scale food production in developing countries depending on the region³⁴. About two-thirds of the female labour force is in developing countries, and more than 90 per cent in many African countries³⁵ are engaged in agricultural work. With climate change threatening food production, the lobby to industrialise food production in Africa is changing seed and land laws across the continent to serve agribusiness corporations³⁶. Seeds are increasingly becoming commodified. These changes which have been facilitated by the privatisation and liberalisation of the agriculture sector has opened up the traditional seed system to corporate driven profit oriented seed companies that are now contesting indigenous farmers' rights to save, reuse, share seed, and exchange seeds. The Maasai and Kalenjin pastoralist communities in Kenya's Rift Valley province are currently involved in a battle to stop an individual man, who comes from a line of white settlers, from obtaining monopoly rights over a variety of buffel grass (Baringo 1) that communities have used for their livestock since time immemorial³⁷. This battle arises out of Kenya's Seed and Plant Varieties Act of 2012 - which is based on the provisions of the Union for the Protection of New Plant Varieties Convention of 1991 (UPOV 1991). The Act provides that any breeder, be they public or private, local or foreign, can apply for and get monopoly rights over a new plant variety that they have discovered or bred. Unfortunately, this includes farmers' varieties. This situation exemplifies how Plant Varieties' Protection (PVP), a kind of intellectual property rights protection for plants, can undermine African indigenous farmers and why the continent must fiercely resist the privatisation of the seed sector.

In addition to loss of farmers' rights, Africa risks losing out on her indigenous seed varieties, biodiversity and food sovereignty through the introduction of hybrid and Genetically Modified Organisms (GMO seeds). Hybrid seeds cannot be replanted from year to year like traditional seed because they lose their vigour. Contracts or "technology agreements" between farmers and seed companies dictate how farmers should grow their crops and force farmers to buy new genetically modified seed each year. These seeds also require the use of expensive and environmentally damaging chemical inputs to be effective. They can also contaminate³⁸ indigenous seeds through cross pollination and damage generations of on-farm breeding. In a press release³⁹ issued in 2011 by La Via Campesina African farmers, while meeting in Zimbabwe noted that GMOs are a false solution to the food crisis, and the climate crisis. They declared that *"We are more than clear that GMOs are very dangerous for people's health as well as for biodiversity. No one will trick us. We reject them totally"*.

In rejecting these new proposed seed and industrialised agricultural systems, indigenous farmers have argued that only organic food production, based on local knowledge and skills, can feed the continent, as diversified, agroecological farming systems actually produce more total food per hectare than industrial monoculture. Furthermore, small-scale farmers and sustainable peasant agriculture unlike industrial agriculture can cool down the Earth through overall reduction in carbon emissions by half within a few decades⁴⁰.

34 Center for International Forestry Research. (2015). Gender and REDD+: Analyzing women's roles in sub-national initiatives, Online: <https://www2.cifor.org/gender/gender-redd-analyzing-womens-roles-sub-national-initiatives/>

35 UN Women Watch: www.un.org/womenwatch

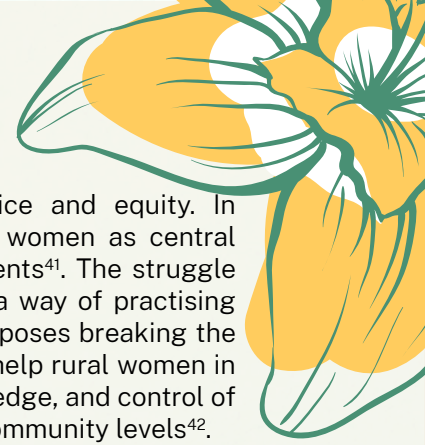
36 AFSA and GRAIN (2015). Land and seed laws under attack: who is pushing changes in Africa? <https://grain.org/en/article/5121-land-and-seed-laws-under-attack-who-is-pushing-changes-in-africa>

37 GRAIN and Seed Savers Network – Kenya (2022). Hands off our buffel grass! Kenyan herders resist the privatisation of their biodiversity, <https://grain.org/en/article/6833-hands-off-our-buffel-grass-kenyan-herders-resist-the-privatisation-of-their-biodiversity>

38 Canadian Biotechnology Action Network, Contamination, <https://cban.ca/gmos/issues/contamination/#:~:text=GM%20contamination%20is%20the%20unwanted,pollution%20that%20can%20self%2Dreplicate>

39 La Via Campesina (2011). Press release - Industrial Agriculture and GMOs are false solutions to the food crisis, <https://viacampesina.org/en/industrial-agriculture-and-gmos-are-false-solutions-to-the-food-crisis/>

40 La Via Campesina & Heinrich Boll Stiftung (2018). La Via Campesina in Action for Climate Justice, https://www.agroecology-europe.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/02/La-Via-Campesina-in-Action-for-Climate-Justice_volume_44_6_1.pdf



Agroecology in the framework of food sovereignty promotes social justice and equity. In particular, peasant agroecology has strong feminist roots. It acknowledges women as central agents of agroecological transformation – on farms and within social movements⁴¹. The struggle for agroecology affirms all people’s shared control. Agroecology is not only a way of practising agriculture or using technologies that do not harm the environment, it also proposes breaking the hegemonic monoculture model based on large land estates. Agroecology can help rural women in family farming agriculture to develop higher levels of autonomy through knowledge, and control of agricultural inputs, and exercise more power at productive, reproductive, and community levels⁴².

This positive spiral can culminate into much larger processes of emancipation at the national, regional, and even international level.⁴³

1.3.2 Women, gender justice and biodiversity loss in the context of climate change

Since the colonial era, and the subsequent rise of imperialism and capitalism, Africa’s biodiversity has been at risk. Africa’s dense natural forests and fresh waters have faced deforestation, and pollution, to facilitate extraction of timber and mineral resources found below the pristine lands of the continent’s natural resources. This practice has continued to date.

On the account of gendered social norms in African communities that place unpaid care and domestic work on women and girls, including collecting firewood, food and medicinal resources, a physically draining task that can take from 2 to 20 or more hours per week, deforestation has meant that these resources are located farther away from the places where people live⁴⁴, and yet 81% of households in Sub Saharan Africa mainly depend on wood based biomass, such as firewood, and charcoal for their energy needs⁴⁵. As a result, women have less time to fulfil their domestic responsibilities, participate in paid work, engage in politics or other public activities, learn to read or acquire other skills, or simply rest⁴⁶. Besides relying on biodiversity for energy resources, African women and communities source fish and other food resources such as vegetables drawn from rivers, lakes and swamps; and along their banks. They also rely on the forests for medicinal plants that are used to cure a wide range of diseases. In Cameroon for example, the bark of the ‘Mbako’ tree is used to treat malaria, in Nigeria, *Ocimum gratissimum* is used for treating diarrheal diseases, and in countries like Zambia, Swaziland, Zimbabwe and South Africa, Cancer bush (*Sutherlandia frutescens*) is widely used in the treatment of diseases such as HIV/AIDS and TB, as it is believed to generally improve quality of life in these patients. Others herbs on the continent include Citrus paradise seeds for resistant urinary tract infections, pure honey for chronic wound treatment, *Carica papaya* seeds for intestinal parasites, *Garcinia kola* seeds for relieving pain and inflammation, and *Aloe vera* for treating skin diseases. Traditional medicines are estimated to be used by 60% of the world’s population and in some countries are extensively incorporated into the public health system⁴⁷. Medicinal plant use is the most common medication tool in traditional medicine and complementary medicine worldwide⁴⁸. However, the ability of women to obtain these indispensable resources is reducing drastically, forcing them to search farther, consequently exposing themselves to life threatening situations such as injuries from carrying heavy loads for long distances, and sexual harassment and assault.⁴⁹ Biodiversity loss has also exposed communities to dependence on the market economy for food, medicines, energy, and even water.

41 Why Hunger. (2017). Through Her Eyes: The Struggle for Food Sovereignty, <https://whyhunger.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/12/through-her-eyes-food-soveriegnty-agroecology-sustainability-1.pdf>

42 AWID (2011) Feminist Perspectives Towards Transforming Economic Power. Online: https://www.awid.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/feminist_perspectives_agroecology.pdf

43 Edith van Walsum (2015). Farming Matters: Editorial: Women showing the way with agroecology, Issue 4, <https://www.fao.org/agroecology/database/detail/en/c/443382/>

44 UN Women Watch (2009). Women, Gender Equality and Climate Change, https://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/climate_change/downloads/Women_and_Climate_Change_Factsheet.pdf

45 Nyika, J., Adediran, A. A., Olayanju, A., Adesina, O. S., & Edoziuno, F. O. (2020). The Potential of Biomass in Africa and the Debate on Its Carbon Neutrality. In T. P. Basso, T. O. Basso, & L. C. Basso (Eds.), *Biotechnological Applications of Biomass*. IntechOpen. <https://doi.org/10.5772/intechopen.93615>

46 Janni Aragon and Mariel Miller (2012). *Global Women’s Issues: Women in the World Today/ extended version* (2021). Open Textbooks. 394., <https://mds.marshall.edu/oa-textbooks/394>

47 WHO (2015), Biodiversity and health, <https://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/biodiversity-and-health>

48 Ibid

49 CDB (2009). Biodiversity, Gender and Climate change-CBD. Online: <https://www.cbd.int/climate/doc/biodiversity-gender-climate-change-en.pdf>

It is important to note that women are not only vulnerable to climate change but they are also effective actors or agents of change in relation to both mitigation and adaptation. Women possess wide ranging knowledge, skills, and expertise that can be used in climate change mitigation, disaster risk reduction and adaptation strategies. Across the continent, women have organised to raise awareness about women's rights and leadership; the long-term harm of industrial deforestation, industrialised logging, and illegal harvesting operations; protection of rainforest in relation to climate change solutions; defending the rights of Indigenous peoples such as the pygmy and other local communities living in and around forest areas, and renewing traditional ecological knowledge and cultural practices. In addition to education and advocacy work to stop illegal timber harvesting and promote the growth and conservation of natural forests, women have continued to be the custodians of seed banks of indigenous seed varieties. Women continue to be the driving force behind food sovereignty, asserting the right of peoples to define and organise their own agricultural and food systems so as to meet local needs including through securing access to land, water and seeds.

In Kenya, indigenous communities like the Maasai of the Nyekweri Kimintet forest and the Rendille of Mount Marsabit have since time immemorial mastered the art of living with wildlife, and conserving forests through their customary laws and values. As one Maasai woman stated, “we cannot talk about protecting Indigenous Peoples’ and women’s rights without protecting and conserving the land and resources which we are part of.”

To reclaim their role and power as custodians of the forest and other biodiversity, the Maasai community formed a trust to ensure the continued conservation of biodiversity and to prevent conversion of forest land. Community led conservation challenges colonialist “fortress” conservation approaches which have continued today, dispossessing and excluding local communities from their natural environments and causing devastating consequences for the people, their cultures and the environment. Fortress conservation is thus a lasting legacy of colonialism in Africa, Asia and elsewhere. It is based on the belief that biodiversity protection is “best achieved by creating protected areas where ecosystems can function in isolation from human disturbance”. It ignores the contribution that communities have inherently made since time immemorial in preserving and conserving biodiversity, and assumes that “local people use natural resources in irrational and destructive ways, and as a result cause biodiversity loss and environmental degradation”. The Nyekweri Kimintet forest, for example, which borders the famous Maasai Mara National Park, is a significant breeding area for elephants from the reserve.

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Conservation Resilience Initiative in Kenya has shown that local communities, and particularly women, have the solutions to conserving biodiversity using their traditional knowledge. This is why promoting intergenerational transmission of vital knowledge and values is imperative. In Kenya, the local communities' conservation efforts are rooted in their culture. For example, the Rendille traditionally only cut down tree branches to use for house construction, and harvest herbal medicine sustainably. As pastoralists, Rendille communities plan their migration routes to allow for the regeneration of vegetation, ensuring a sustainable food source for their livestock.

Communities, and women in particular live in synergy with their environment, have a thorough knowledge of it, and play a leading role in defending, preserving and protecting it.⁵⁰ In order to further preserve biodiversity and limit its degradation, communities can and should play a leading role in the global response to climate change. This should be particularly emphasised with regards to indigenous women who play a vital role as stewards of natural resources.⁵¹ Biodiversity comes in the form of the wealth of knowledge on the environment that communities possess. Indigenous knowledge systems comprise: an understanding of wild ancestors of food, medicinal plants and domestic animals; symbiotic relations with ecosystems; an awareness of the structure of ecosystems and the functionality of specific species; as well as the geographic ranges of said species.⁵²

It is worth noting that the extractives sector and growth-oriented development models are largely responsible for degrading our ecosystems, particularly the fossil fuels industry. The oil, gas and coal industry, particularly the energy sector, has not only caused massive environmental harm in Africa but is considered the biggest emitter of greenhouse gases. While the energy sector is the biggest polluter in the whole world, 1.3 billion people globally live in energy poverty with another 1 billion having only an intermittent supply of electricity. The majority of the people living without access to electricity live in Sub-Saharan African and South Asia. The Africa Energy Outlook of 2022 estimates that currently, 600 million people, or 43% of the total population of people in Africa, of which majority are in Sub Saharan Africa, lack access to electricity⁵³. Moreover, the major consumers of electricity globally are the industries, particularly the extractives industry which remains the biggest consumer of energy.

83% of humanity, over 6 billion people, live in developing nations and the majority live in abject poverty⁵⁴. This worsening human suffering is attributed, to a greater extent, to energy poverty, as per person, rich nations (OECD) use about 4.5 tonnes of oil equivalent per year, compared to 1.3 for poor nations⁵⁵. Energy poverty disproportionately hurts women, who spend a collective 200 hours a week gathering, among others, biomass (wood, dung, crop waste) and drinking water⁵⁶.

According to the World Health Organization (WHO), a woman dies every minute from complications related to pregnancy or childbirth, often due to a lack of electricity and inadequate lighting. Women are the bulk of the 3 billion humans that still use traditional biomass as their main source of energy. Having an open biomass fire in your kitchen is equivalent to burning 400 cigarettes an hour. WHO reports that exposure to indoor air pollution is responsible for over 4 million deaths a year, easily making it the most critical environmental killer humans face, more deaths than Malaria and HIV/AIDS. Energy poverty becomes more devastating when experienced within the current climate crisis.

50 Agnes Babugura (2019). Gender Equality in Combating Climate Change: The African Context. Online: <https://www.africaportal.org/publications/gender-equality-combating-climate-change-african-context/>

51 DIIS (2005). Indigenous Peoples, Gender, And Natural Resource Management https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/18442/Indigenous_Peoples_Gender.Pdf

52 UN Women Watch (2009). Women: Gender Equality and Climate Change, https://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/climate_change/downloads/Women_and_Climate_Change_Factsheet.pdf

53 IEA (2022). Africa Energy Outlook 2022, IEA, Paris <https://www.iea.org/reports/africa-energy-outlook-2022>

54 PACJA (2022). Advocacy Framework and Strategy Towards COP27, https://pacja.org/images/2022/County_Down_to_COP27_English_Final.pdf

55 Ibid

56 Water.org (2022). A women's crisis, Women And Water - A Woman's Crisis | Water.org

1.3.3 Gender, the climate crisis and the water resource dilemma

Nearly 1 billion people around the world lack access to one of the essential elements of life: safe and clean water⁵⁷-that's the equivalent of 1 in 7 people on the planet. Far from addressing the challenges posed by lack of water, turning water into a commodity has created more hardship for women in marginalised communities. A study by Urgent Action Fund titled *Women and Water in Africa: An Overview of Water Justice Struggles* examined the creeping privatisation of water services on the continent⁵⁸. Neoliberalism views the water crisis as a technical issue caused by population increase, climate change and ineffective government -one that can be resolved by handing over the management of water services to the private sector. In Sub Saharan Africa, more than 40 per cent of the population do not have access to clean water, and women bear the brunt of this public health crisis due to existing race, class and gender inequality⁵⁹. Water issues intersect with community issues around basic services provision such as housing, land, food, health, labour and gender based violence. Water is at the heart of both the climate crisis, the hunger crisis, and the crisis of armed conflict on the continent.

The problem is projected to get worse with the harmful effects of climate change. Climate change has significant impacts on freshwater sources, affecting the availability of water used for domestic and productive tasks. Water stress can differ dramatically from one place to another, in some cases causing wide-reaching damage, including to public health, agriculture production, and economic development. North African countries in particular, are expected to warm and suffer more frequent and longer droughts; and when rainfall does occur in these regions, it is projected to be more intense⁶⁰. Rampant industrial development has led to widespread pollution of some of the available water resources, making them unsuitable for use or too expensive to treat, and irreparably damaging the water environment and its dependent ecosystems⁶¹.

All over, in the developing world, women and girls bear the burden of fetching water for their families and spend significant amounts of time daily hauling water from distant sources. Numerous studies point to women's increased unpaid labour and care work as a result of longer hours expended to collect, store, protect and distribute water for their family. Instead of earning income through wage employment or investing in subsistence agriculture, their foregone income is an additional financial strain adding to the cost of caring for sick family members who fall ill when they use contaminated water. Sadly, there is little if any systematic gender disaggregated research on the economic costs of the impacts of water scarcity.

Just like in the case of food insecurity in many parts of Africa, the solution to leverage private sector intervention to address access to food has been prescribed to address access to water. However, privatisation of water as has been done for food systems only commodifies the resources as it makes them available only to those who can afford them.

1.3.4 Women's health and well-being in the face of climate crisis

According to the WHO, areas with weak health infrastructure – mostly in developing countries are the least able to cope if they don't obtain assistance to prepare and respond. It further estimates that between 2030 and 2050, climate change is expected to cause approximately 250,000 additional deaths per year, from malnutrition, malaria, diarrhoea and heat stress. Moreover, the direct damage costs to health (excluding costs in health-determining sectors such as agriculture and water and sanitation), is also estimated to be between USD 2-4 billion/year by 2030.

57 Claire Felter and Kali Robinson (2021). *Water stress, A global problem that's getting worse*, <https://www.cfr.org/backgrounder/water-stress-global-problem-thats-getting-worse>

58 Sithandiwe Yeni, Dr. Femke Brandt & Dr. Koni Benson (2021). *Women and Water in Africa: An Overview of Water Justice Struggles* examined the creeping privatisation of water services on the continent, <https://www.uaf-africa.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/10/UAF-AFRI-CA-WOMEN-AND-WATER-JUSTICE-STRUGGLES-REPORT.pdf>

59 Caroline Mwangera (2022). *Empowering women to boost Africa's water security*, <https://www.un.org/africarenewal/magazine/august-2022/empowering-women-boost-africa%E2%80%99s-water-security>

60 Ibid

61 O'Connell, E. (2017). *Towards Adaptation of Water Resource Systems to Climatic and Socio-Economic Change*. *Water Resource Management* 31, 2965–2984 <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11269-017-1734-2>

While many countries still do not collect comprehensive climate-related gender-disaggregated data, some research shows that women and children are up to 14 times more likely than men to die in the aftermath of disasters, including extreme weather events such as hurricanes, wildfires, and flooding. Female survivors of climate-related disasters are more likely to face decreased life expectancy, mental health disorders, Gender Based Violence (GBV), exploitation and risk of trafficking, and increased complications in childbirth.⁶² Vulnerability to GBV, including sexual violence, is exacerbated for girls and women living in socially or geographically isolated places and those who are migrants, refugees, asylum seekers, internally displaced persons, LGBTQIA+ individuals, girls and women with disabilities, and girls and women living in poverty. The disproportionate impact of climate change on girls' and women's broader health, social, and economic well-being is well documented. The impacts of climate change are linked to Sexual Reproductive Health Rights (SRHR) more than others. There is strong evidence linking climate change to negative maternal health outcomes, an increased prevalence of GBV, and, generally, a lack of access to SRHR services which in turn negatively impact family planning, access to abortion services, and treatment for Sexually Transmitted Infections (STI). Without adequate disaster-risk management (DRM), climate-related disasters directly result in disruptions that limit access to SRH services and supplies⁶³.

Extreme weather events — including storms, floods, and wildfires — can cause physical damage to health facilities and infrastructure, causing cut offs in medical supply chains and result in the loss of medical records. When health facilities and supply chains are compromised, there is a direct and immediate negative impact on access to and quality of SRH services, such as post-exposure prophylaxis for HIV, HIV treatment, maternal health, emergency contraception, and safe abortion services.

The outbreak of COVID-19 in Africa has negatively affected economies, regional integration, social cohesion and health systems within the countries in Africa. The African Union's Agenda 2063, the Sustainable Development Goals and other development goals and targets are under threat⁶⁴. While it is critical to address the COVID-19 pandemic urgently, Africa is devastated by climate change. The frequency and severity of climate-induced disasters have increased, creating a need for the climate crisis to be treated as an emergency. The analysis of climate change, health pandemics and conflict as separate problems poses a challenge in addressing all three, which are inextricably linked. Though a direct link between climate change and the spread of COVID-19 may be difficult to prove, there is evidence that climate change has changed how humans relate to other species on earth in a way that affects the health of both humans and animals through increasing the risk of infections. As the earth's heat is increasing, animals, both on land and in the sea, migrate to areas that are cooler to escape from the increasing heat. This implies that animals are getting in contact with other animal species they normally would not be contacted with, including humans, creating an environment where pathogens get into new hosts. This may not apply to the COVID-19 pandemic but to other pandemics that

The outbreak of COVID-19 in Africa has negatively affected economies, regional integration, social cohesion and health systems within the countries in Africa. The African Union's Agenda 2063, the Sustainable Development Goals and other development goals and targets are under threat. While it is critical to address the COVID-19 pandemic urgently, Africa is devastated by climate change.

62 Women Deliver (2021). The Link Between Climate Change And Sexual And Reproductive Health And Rights Online: <https://womendeliver.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Climate-Change-Report.pdf>

63 ibid

64 Africa Union Development Agency (2020). African Union COVID-19/ Occupational Safety and Health: Guidelines Series, <https://www.nepad.org/publication/african-union-covid-19-occupational-safety-and-health-guidelines-series>



have been caused by human/animal contact⁶⁵. This calls for countries worldwide to commit to lowering greenhouse gas emissions and addressing the root causes of climate change. This should, in turn, reduce the risks of pandemics such as COVID-19. This implies that efforts to rebuild after the COVID-19 should consider the climate crisis, and address both crises at the same time. The recovery from COVID-19 cannot be tackled without dealing with climate change as the pandemic came when the continent is trying to recover and manage climate-induced disasters that include droughts, locust plagues, and cyclones threatening the continent's peace and security.

A study predicted that climate change may lead to between 11.6 and 16 million additional cases of HIV by 2050 across 25 countries in Sub-Saharan Africa.⁶⁶ This modelled prediction is based on the findings that as temperature increases in these countries, male migration and use of sex markets increases. Further, in low- and middle-income countries and crisis-affected countries, child and forced marriage are seen to increase during economic difficulties associated with climate-related shocks and stresses. Early marriage and pregnancy can have serious adverse SRH impacts. Girls who become pregnant before the age of 15 are more susceptible to placental tears, obstruction at the time of delivery, and maternal mortality.

Moreover, there is clear linkage between climate change and the evolution in distribution of infectious diseases such as dysentery, cholera, and malaria. For example, rising temperatures have been noted to accelerate the life cycle of the malaria parasite which increases the prevalence of the disease and aggravates women's care-giving responsibilities for those who are ill.⁶⁷ The burden of care that women face could lead to psychological issues, and yet this is often not documented or included in the development of post disaster plans and programmes.

1.3.5 Changes in human settlements and migration patterns due to environmental degradation.

Migration flows related to climate change are expected to increase, particularly in the world's poorest countries. This is because climate change is expected to increase the frequency and severity of extreme environmental events, such as drought, sea level rise, floods and hurricanes. The link between climate change and migration is extremely complex. Migration is often the result of a variety of layered causes – economic, social and political – which are accentuated by changing environmental conditions as well as frequently by developmental and demographic conditions.

Climate change has the potential to create massive displacement. This scale of displacement will have serious effects on the political, economic, and social fabric of communities around the world. While migration is an important form of adaptation, and may offer many individuals and families the opportunity to secure better homes, livelihoods, and access to resources, there may be serious risks associated with climate change-induced migration, especially for women⁶⁸.

In order to reach a country where they can seek asylum, many must rely on smugglers, resort to desperate measures, and endure perilous routes. Women and adolescent girls face a greater risk of being trafficked for sex work and other types of bonded labour and they may be forced to trade sex with border guards and others in return for permission to pass. In refugee and internally displaced person (IDP) camps, women have no access to employment opportunities, lack privacy, and have limited participation in decision-making processes. Sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV) is known to be prevalent in camps, including domestic violence.⁶⁹ The Africa Continental Free Trade Agreement (AfCFTA) provides an important opportunity for cross border collaborations between African states at local, sub-regional and regional levels. Under the framework of the African Union, the Niamey Convention⁷⁰ has been proposed as a key peace building and resolution tool for effective and efficient border management.

65 Aaron Bernstein (2019). Coronavirus, Climate Change, and the Environment, <https://www.hsph.harvard.edu/c-change/subtopics/coronavirus-and-climate-change/#:~:text=expensive%20to%20fix%3F-,Does%20climate%20change%20affect%20the%20transmission%20of%20coronavirus%3F,and%20our%20risk%20for%20infections.>

66 Women Deliver (2021) The Link Between Climate Change And Sexual And Reproductive Health And Rights Online: <https://womendeliver.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/02/Climate-Change-Report.pdf>

67 UNECA (2011) Climate change and Health across Africa: Issues and Options, working paper 20. Online: <http://www.uneca.org/acpc/publications>

68 Kira Vinke, Sophia Rottmann, Christoph Gornott, Pascal Zabre, Patricia Nayna Schwerdtle and Rainer Sauerborn (2021). Is migration an effective adaptation to climate-related agricultural distress in sub-Saharan Africa?, *Popul Environ* 43, 319–345, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11111-021-00393-7>

69 Ibid

70 African Union (2012). African Union Convention on Cross Border Cooperation – Niamey Convention, https://au.int/sites/default/files/treaties/36416-treaty-0044_-_niamey_convention_african_union_convention_on_cross-border_cooperation_e.pdf

LGBTQI+ and climate change in Mozambique ⁷¹

In Mozambique, since Cyclone Idai in 2019, there have been three more cyclones. When Cyclone Idai hit landfall in Beira, Mozambique, it killed more than 1000 people across Mozambique, Malawi, and Zimbabwe, and left 2.6 million people in desperate need of humanitarian assistance. Catastrophic damage, caused by the strong winds and extensive flooding, wiped away harvests and destroyed seed stocks, and millions lost their homes and livelihoods.

While devastating for all the communities impacted, those affected who are LGBTQIA+ were even more vulnerable – because of pre-existing challenges compounded by experiences of discrimination and human rights violations in their everyday lives.

In the aftermath of the storms, LGBTQI+ people found themselves at risk and were more significantly impacted. Having already lost their homes, food, possessions – and, in many cases, loved ones – these groups now faced increased sexual violence. Often, they were unable to reach medical centres. And because of lack of data on these impacts, LGBTQI+ people found themselves excluded from relief efforts, which further damaged their ability to recover from the impacts of the cyclone.

According to Silindile Mchunu, an activist from The Pink Panthers, an ecofeminism movement in South Africa, focusing on the intersection between gender and climate, these people are always hit the hardest in the case of climate disasters. In Beira, a city that was decimated by Idai, the worst affected were lesbians who were living in poorly constructed shelters, vulnerable to sexual violence and corrective rape.

Like other marginalized groups, gender and sexual minorities are disproportionately affected by climate change. They often lack access to resources and means of adaptation that are readily available to other groups in society. For example, they may not receive adequate information about climate change, because of exclusion, isolation, and restricted social networks, which would otherwise allow them to prepare and respond properly. Similarly, LGBTQI+ people may also not have access to gender-specific services and can be turned away from emergency shelters or face other challenges in receiving aid during relief and recovery efforts. Stigma around their gender identity has meant that some are wary of seeking assistance for fear of being ostracised.

Source: Ecologist informed by Nature



71 Orthalia Kunene (2021). Queer African voices call for climate justice, <https://theecologist.org/2021/jul/08/queer-african-voices-call-climate-justice>



Chapter 2: Global Economic systems, and the Climate Crisis

'Before even the British came into relations with our people, we were a developed people, having our own institutions, having our own ideas of government.' **J. E. Casely-Hayford, 1922., African (Gold Coast) Nationalist, from How Europe Underdeveloped Africa by Walter Rodney.**

This chapter advances an intersectional feminist, anti-capitalistic and anti-colonial lens and consciousness for ecologically, economically and socially just futures and presents an analysis of the role that global economic systems have played in driving the global climate crisis, and gender injustices in Africa and the Global South. It exposes the roots of the climate crisis in Africa and some parts of the Global South tracing it back to the 16th century when Europeans first embarked on slave trade, through the colonial era, and to the present day neo-colonial and neoliberal capitalist era of extraction, exploitation and accumulation through dispossession to maximize profits. It further provides an analysis of the ecological collapse which is the direct result of an unequal social contract in which socially constructed global hierarchies shape our social and economic relations. It makes a case for the need to transform the current paradigm of the global economy and create a new paradigm that forges active links between climate governance, racialized and gendered exploitation, trade rules and economic structures that reproduce inequalities both within and among nations.

2.1 Historical and current state of play of the climate crisis in Africa

Climate change is a by-product of an economic system based on extraction, exploitation, and accumulation through dispossession rooted in colonialism, imperialism, and capitalism. The sixth IPCC assessment report which was released in 2022 highlights the role of colonialism for the first time, over 30 years after the report was first published⁷². The report lists colonialism not only as a driver of the climate crisis but also as an ongoing issue that is exacerbating communities' vulnerability. European colonialism, which was at the heart of exploiting land and resources on which Africans were already dependent, did not only devastated the local communities living on the lands that settler-colonialists stole, it devastated ecosystems. The planet still carries the scars of that trauma in the form of extinction, deforestation, and pollution. The communities that survived this plunder and genocide in Africa have had to mend their own wounds while surviving generations later in a world shaped by white supremacist ideologies and structural racism. A world that barely acknowledges Africans' existence or the historical harms we have faced.

⁷² IPCC (2022). Impacts, Adaptation and Vulnerability. Contribution of Working Group II to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, https://report.ipcc.ch/ar6wg2/pdf/IPCC_AR6_WGII_SummaryForPolicymakers.pdf

The climate crisis can be traced back to the 15th century in Europe. There is a good deal of evidence that one of the causes of the economic problems in Europe during the early 1600s was climatic change. In the winter of 1620–1621, the Bosphorus froze so hard that people could cross on the foot between Europe and Asia⁷³. Further, the Scotland natural archive revealed that 1637 was the driest year in two decades⁷⁴. And food became so scarce, something never seen before in Scotland. These extreme weather anomalies triggered or exacerbated major political upheaval like the Irish Rebellion in 1641⁷⁵. At the same time, the slave trade business started in Africa around the 15th century, taking slaves to Europe and the United States of America to provide labour in their plantations⁷⁶.

The supply of African slaves to work in the European and American plantations and mines reached an all-time high in the late 18th century. After anti-slave trade legislation finally shut down the Atlantic slave exports, commodity exports reinforced by colonial rule over the African continent increased. Colonialism and imperialism were as a result of the quest for resources by industrialised countries.⁷⁷ The expansion of projects during the colonial period heavily relied on the widespread plunder of colonies' resources by their colonial masters⁷⁸ which resulted in massive extraction and destruction of the natural resource and the essential ecosystems. This may be considered the advent of the extractivist economic model, which would later be regarded as a 'development' model in the existing development discourse. Extractivism dates back from the slave trade era where the labour, and bodies of the African indigenes were extracted from the continent to Europe for capital accumulation.

Extractivism refers to a mode of accumulation reaching back many centuries which is centred upon the over-exploitation and exportation (with no or minimal processing) of increasingly scarce and non-renewable natural resources often located in geographies that have usually been considered peripheral or "unproductive"⁷⁹ giving rise to a highly unequal and deeply exploitative model of development.⁸⁰ The concept includes traditional extractive activities such as mining, oil and gas, but also refers to other industries including forestry, energy (as well as renewable energy projects related to solar and hydro) and industrial agriculture, which grabs land and extracts vast quantities of water in the production process.. The climate and ecological crisis also have roots in extractivism.

73 Parker, Geoffrey (2008). "Crisis and Catastrophe: The Global Crisis of the Seventeenth Century Reconsidered." *The American Historical Review* 113, no. 4: 1053–79. <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30223245>.

74 Ibid

75 Ibid

76 UNESCO (1978). *The African slave trade from the fifteenth to the nineteenth century: the general history of Africa studies and documents 2*, <https://unesdoc.unesco.org/ark:/48223/pf0000038840>

77 Deyna Parvanova (2017) *The industrial revolution was the force behind the New Imperialism* online: <https://dc.cod.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1630&context=essai>

78 Keila Mcfarland Dias (2020). *Environmentalism and the Legacy of Colonialism – Human Rights Pulse*. Online: <https://www.humanrightspulse.com/mastercontentblog/environmentalism-and-the-legacy-of-colonialism>

79 Svampa, Maristella (2019). *Neo-extractivism in Latin America: Socio-environmental conflicts, the territorial turn, and new political narratives*, <https://www.memoria.fahce.unlp.edu.ar/libros/pm.5180/pm.5180.pdf>

80 Ibid

The industrial revolution gave Europe the power to efficiently maintain and profit from so many European colonies in Africa offering African workers the lowest possible wages to ensure that the capitalist made profit. Throughout the African continent, the colonial imperialists grabbed land and reoriented production towards cash crops for export. Cotton, coffee, sugar cane, and cocoa were prioritised while food production for the poor majority was neglected. Farmers were pushed on to more marginal lands which caused tremendous harm to traditional farming and herding practices further destroying the subsistence agriculture.⁸¹ For centuries, African local farmers had adapted to changing environmental conditions using their indigenous ways, however, the Europeans denigrated such farming techniques referring to them as wasteful and unsuited to serve their export trade. One immediate result was that food production for the poor majority was neglected. The colonial system sowed seeds of dependency and low self-esteem, conflict and suspicion, greed and individualism, which made the continent a prime target for exploitative economic policies guised as freedom of choice, free market and trade⁸². The narrow colonial economy, coming on top of four centuries of an export slave trade and the flooding of Africa with cheap European manufactured goods, created deep structural weaknesses that Africa is still wrestling with.

The legacy of waste colonialism is one of impoverishment and exploitation, people being driven into servitude to a global trade designed to enrich a wealthy few – and maintain extractive, polluting fossil fuel industries. African countries were also used as dumping grounds by the West⁸³ and for trade in harmful and toxic products and certain communities faced disproportionate impact from environmental crises. In fact, environmental racism was institutionalised. For example, in Cameroon, about 5,600 litres (1,232 gallons) of chlorine were dumped in a village near Douala, the nation’s economic capital. Zambia has also seen the steady import of chemicals for agriculture; approximately 200 metric tonnes of obsolete pesticides are stocked in different parts of the country, with a very high risk of polluting groundwater bodies.⁸⁴ According to an article⁸⁵ that was written and published in the New York Times in 1988, the writer states “Today, a collection of steel drums stacked behind a villager’s family compound here speak of the latest trade with Europe -10,000 barrels of toxic waste”. As safety laws in Europe and the United States pushed toxic disposal costs up to \$2,500 a ton during this period, waste brokers turned their attention to the closest, poorest and most unprotected shores - West Africa for a Dump Site. From Morocco to the Congo, virtually every country on West Africa’s coast received offers from American or European companies seeking cheap sites to dispose of hazardous waste, and the fees offered to African recipients went as low as \$3 a ton. Sadly, this continues on as African states and their citizens and the environment suffer the effects of the waste. This is why the ecological crisis created by growth oriented development and neoliberal capitalist economic models have fueled the climate crisis, and continue to ride on women unpaid, undervalued and invisible care work.

Within the Copperbelt districts of Zambia for example, evidence shows that climate change problems today resulted from protracted environmental problems associated with mines in the area.⁸⁶ Such problems range from pollution of air with Carbon Dioxide and Sulphur Dioxide, soil contamination and surface water pollution and siltation in the Kafue River, geotechnical integrity of waste dumps, accumulation of metals in vegetables, fruit and fish, and land degradation.⁸⁷ As the mining operations scaled up production to make profits, concern for the environment tended to be overlooked.⁸⁸ In the Congo, King Leopold II of Belgium plundered while extracting rubber from the region and caused deforestation on a large scale on land needed for farm production which resulted in flooding as early as the 18th century.⁸⁹

81 Deyna Parvanova (2017). The industrial revolution was the force behind the New Imperialism online: <https://dc.cod.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1630&context=essai>

82 Gatwiri K, Amboko J, Okolla D. (2020). The implications of Neoliberalism on African economies, health outcomes and wellbeing: a conceptual argument. *Soc Theory Health*. 2020;18(1):86-101. doi:10.1057/s41285-019-00111-2

83 Peter S. Wenz (1988). Just Garbage: The Problem of Environmental Racism, online: <https://users.manchester.edu/Facstaff/SSNaragon/Online/texts/425/Wenz.%20Just%20Garbage.pdf>, 32.

84 Jacques Bahati (2016). There Is No Land For Toxic Dumping In Africa, <https://afjn.org/there-is-no-land-for-toxic-dumping-in-africa/>

85 James Brooke (1988). Waste Dumpers Turning to West Africa, <https://www.nytimes.com/1988/07/17/world/waste-dumpers-turning-to-west-africa.html>

86 Joanna Lindahl (2014). Environmental impacts of mining in Zambia: Towards better environmental management and sustainable exploitation of mineral resources, <http://resource.sgu.se/produkter/sgurapp/s1422-rapport.pdf>

87 Sinkala, Pardon; Fujii, Yoshiaki; Kodama, Jun-ichi; Fukuda, Daisuke (2018). An overview of copper mining in Zambia’s Copperbelt province, https://eprints.lib.hokudai.ac.jp/dspace/bitstream/2115/70843/1/PardonSinkala_MMJ-BH_20180616.pdf

88 Joanna Lindahl, (2014). Environmental impacts of mining in Zambia: Towards better environmental management and sustainable exploitation of mineral resources, <http://resource.sgu.se/produkter/sgurapp/s1422-rapport.pdf>

89 Wikipedia. Atrocities in the Congo Free State, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Atrocities_in_the_Congo_Free_State#:~:text=The%20boom%20in%20demand%20for,was%20kept%20by%20the%20state, Accessed on 12th February 2022

Global North countries have continued to impose their ideologies on Africa through neoliberal globalisation policies. This is achieved through policies advanced by international bodies such as the World Bank, World Trade Organisation (WTO), and frameworks such as bilateral trade and investment agreements, among others.⁹⁰ These frameworks and institutions, many of which were signed post-independence but before the advent of a strong African feminist movement, are anchored within neo-colonialism, and scarcely contain provisions aimed at promoting climate justice.

The climate crisis is a political economic struggle that has since time immemorial been fueled by a power structure that has perpetuated oppression and discriminate against people and countries of Africa. This is why the focus for African climate justice activists must be on seeking to dismantle the current systems and structures that influence and govern the status quo, and call for the rebuilding of just, inclusive, anticapitalist and decolonial systems.

2.2 The role of Neoliberalism, Capitalism and Neocolonialism in driving the climate crisis

Neoliberalism as an economic system comprises the policies of liberalisation, deregulation and privatisation as underscored by the Structural Adjustment Programmes of the 1980s. In this market-based approach, the notion of ‘public good’ and ‘public sector’ is denigrated; instead, the notion of ‘private sector’, individual role and responsibility is stressed⁹¹. Under the influence of neoliberalism and financialization, there is obsession with fiscal austerity, the welfare state is dismantled, protection of workers’ and indigenous people’s rights is eliminated, and ‘government’s role in the protection and preservation of nature’, and the protection of women and other marginalised groups is ‘rejected’ through laws and policies that are divorced from the realities of the groups that they seek to protect. In fact, evidence suggests that more neoliberal countries perform worse in addressing climate change⁹². Neoliberalism can potentially destroy ‘collective structures’⁹³. It prioritises competitive self-interest and hyper-individualism while stigmatising solidarity, and fraying local communities’ collective bonds. In an article published by the Guardian titled “Neoliberalism has conned us into fighting climate change as individuals”, the writer notes that there is a need for people to stop obsessing with how personally green they live—and start collectively taking on corporate power. This ideology, which was brought to ascendance by Margaret Thatcher and Ronald Reagan pursued two principal objectives i.e. to dismantle any barriers to the exercise of unaccountable private power, and to erect them to the exercise of any democratic public will. It is now fully entrenched in the economic governance system that at the very moment when climate change demands an unprecedented collective public response, states lack the policy space to take just climate action.



90 World Trade Organisation (2008). World Trade 2008, Prospects for 2009; Online: https://www.wto.org/english/res_e/booksp_e/anrep_e/world_trade_report08_e.pdf

91 Brisman, A (2013) Not a Bedtime Story: Climate Change, Neoliberalism, and the Future of the Arctic. Michigan State International Law Review. Vol. 22 (1).p.242-289.

92 Anders Fremstad and Mark Paul (2022). Neoliberalism and climate change: How the free-market myth has prevented climate action, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/abs/pii/S0921800922000155>

93 Yu-Chih Lin, (2020). IOP Conf. Ser.: Earth Environ. Sci. 576 012001, Climate Change under the Context of Neoliberalism: A Critical Discourse Analysis of Political Leaders’ Speeches on the Paris Agreement, <https://iopscience.iop.org/article/10.1088/1755-1315/576/1/012001/pdf>



The policies of neoliberalism also typically support free trade. The past half century has been marked by an unprecedented expansion of international trade. According to the World Trade Organisation (WTO), world trade has grown more than twenty-sevenfold in volume terms since 1950⁹⁴. Proponents of trade have argued that for exporters, additional market access provided by free trade policies can provide incentives to develop new products, services, and technologies to mitigate climate change⁹⁵. They have also argued that trade contributes to an increase in income which leads to society demanding better environmental quality – hence less greenhouse gas emissions. It is also evident that as free trade expands total economic activity, consequently placing greater pressure on the environment. This happens both through increased extraction and exploitation of natural resources such as energy, timber, or freshwater sources needed to drive an expansion in production, and through greater volumes of air and water pollution. The increases in hazardous wastes or more toxic gases released into the atmosphere, arising from increased production increases greenhouse gas emissions which are fuelling the climate crisis. No trade deal currently in force contains any binding commitments to ensure that international trade supports climate targets. In fact, WTO rules have regularly been used by states to challenge each other’s subsidies to renewable energy industries, yet not one case has been brought against fossil fuel subsidies.

Neoliberalism has thus created a policy vacuum leaving corporate power unaccountable, and merely focusing on profit maximisation while treating the atmosphere like a sewage dump. Free trade policies and agreements between African countries and Global North states are central in blocking efforts to achieve just climate action globally. Current trade rules place trade promotion and liberalisation ahead of climate goals. For instance, Investment chapters in trade and investment deals allow foreign companies to sue governments for measures taken to support climate goals. These agreements generally limit the kind of climate and environmental regulatory measures that governments can implement without paying huge amounts in compensation for the loss of future profits (through the provision on the Investor – State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) based on the provision that prohibits “indirect expropriation”). For example, currently, within the EU, the Energy Charter Treaty (ECT) is being used by big oil, gas, and coal companies to discourage governments from transitioning to clean energy through challenging oil drilling bans, the rejection of pipelines, taxes on fossil fuels, and moratoria on and phase-outs of controversial types of energy. This is even though the breakdown of carbon emissions since 1988 reveals that a hundred companies alone are responsible for an astonishing 71% of emissions⁹⁶.

In Africa, the neocolonial and neoliberal nature of the Global North continues pervasively through Bilateral Investment Treaties (BITs) that individual EU states have signed with African states. In August 2013, after the Kenyan government revoked the mining licence for Cortec mining Kenya Limited, Cortec (PTY) Limited and Stirling Capital Limited in line with the conditions in the Kenyan law that prohibit mining in and around the Mrima Hill Forest Reserve, the companies sued the government through the International Centre for Settlement of Investment Disputes (ICSID)⁹⁷. Similarly, in 2016, a decision by the government of Tanzania to cancel a land lease for the Swedish Agro Ecoenergy sugarcane and ethanol project meant to supply the European Biofuel market on grounds that it would have adverse impact on water supply for local wildlife in the area resulted into legal claims⁹⁸. The BITs have given transnational corporations a free license to pollute and commit environmental crimes with impunity, therefore further fuelling the climate crisis,

94 WTO, The multilateral trading system and climate change, https://www.wto.org/english/tratop_e/envir_e/climate_change_e.pdf

95 Ibid

96 Tess Riley (2017). Just 100 companies responsible for 71% of global emissions, study says, <https://www.theguardian.com/sustainable-business/2017/jul/10/100-fossil-fuel-companies-investors-responsible-71-global-emissions-cdp-study-climate-change>

97 See, Cortec v Republic of Kenya: Cautionary tale on local due diligence for international mining projects, <https://www.dentonmininglaw.com/cortec-v-republic-of-kenya-cautionary-tale-on-local-due-diligence-for-international-mining-projects/> for more information.

98 See, Agro EcoEnergy and others v. Tanzania here <https://investmentpolicy.unctad.org/investment-dispute-settlement/cases/846/agro-ecoenergy-and-others-v-tanzania> and War on Want (2019). Investigating the impact of corporate courts on the ground – the truth is out there!, <https://waronwant.org/sites/default/files/ISDS-files-EcoEnergy.pdf>

Attempts to advance corporate accountability have become a target of elites and politicians, directly and indirectly. Industrialised countries and their multinational corporations have argued that reducing their emissions as required under the Kyoto Protocol will put their economies at a competitive disadvantage⁹⁹. In a reversal of roles and responsibilities, they have advanced solutions that seek to merely offset their emissions while they continue to burn fossil fuels and release waste into the environment without structurally transforming their way of operation.

2.2.1 Corporate power and False Solutions

Climate justice advocates around the world have raised concerns that solutions (e.g. artificial carbon capture and storage (CCS) like pumping carbon dioxide into the ground) are “false solutions”. For example, the Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD) project and The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity (TEEB)¹⁰⁰ initiatives, which are already happening all over Latin America, Africa and Asia, are two examples of these solutions. The REDD initiatives ignore the role of indigenous and peasant communities’ indigenous knowledge systems in the protection of nature and in developing a sustainable relationship with it, while frequently promoting the criminalization of some traditional farming practices. The TEEB initiative ignores non-economic losses as it focuses on assessing the monetary value and costs of the loss of biodiversity and the associated decline in ecosystem services worldwide to help decision-makers recognize, demonstrate and capture the values of ecosystem services and biodiversity. By focusing more on mitigation, the two initiatives ignore the reality that certain losses and damages cannot be mitigated.

What’s more, is that the proponents of these “nature based carbon offsetting solutions¹⁰¹” are also the same players behind the massive deforestation of Africa’s vast grasslands and rich savannah biomes (which are ancient and much older than human societies) to pave the way for their extractive projects. For example, after almost 10 years of investment in and expansion of eucalyptus and pine tree plantations, Mozambique continues to face direct and indirect large scale deforestation of native forests. In South Africa, this tree planting project is responsible for the loss of 231 million litres of water per year. Together with their multinational corporations, they are grabbing large expanses of Africa’s lands covered by natural forests and dispossessing small producers for massive tree plantation projects to create carbon sinks and earn carbon credits. For women in Africa who depend on natural forests for medicinal plants like the bark of the ‘Mbako’ tree in Cameroon to treat malaria, and also source protein-rich insects like caterpillars, the consequences have been devastating¹⁰².

African countries also face the risk of “white collar” criminals moving into the carbon market, and engaging in financial crimes such as securities fraud, transfer mispricing, tax evasion and money laundering



99 OECD (2009). Reducing greenhouse gas emissions in developed countries, <https://www.oecd.org/environment/reducinggreenhousegasemissionsindevelopedcountries.htm>

100 WEDO (2009). The Economics of Ecosystems and Biodiversity (TEEB) for National and International Policy Makers, https://wedocs.unep.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.11822/26490/TEEB_National_International.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y

101 Chris Greenberg (2021). Carbon offsets are a scam, <https://www.greenpeace.org/international/story/50689/carbon-offsets-net-zero-greenwashing-scam/>

102 Faith Lumonya and Susan Nakacwa (2021). Confront neoliberalism with feminist climate justice approaches to end the climate crisis, <https://www.akinamamawaafrika.org/confront-neoliberalism-with-feminist-climate-justice-approaches-to-end-the-climate-crisis/>

African countries also face the risk of “white collar” criminals moving into the carbon market, and engaging in financial crimes such as securities fraud, transfer mispricing¹⁰³, tax evasion and money laundering¹⁰⁴. It is anticipated that in the near future, carbon credits may be generated in one country, sold to persons in another and traded through several carbon exchanges before reaching the hands of the final owner¹⁰⁵. And yet, the more countries involved, the harder it is to trace the carbon credit from its origin to the final purchaser, and the easier it is for criminals to take advantage of any legal loopholes or inconsistent regulations between different national legislation¹⁰⁶.

This system has also paved the way for increased land dispossession by investors, mainly from the Global North and has seized land, ripping local communities of their user rights of natural resources from the forests, they can no longer obtain materials for making mats, baskets and herbal medicine for their family members leading to increased health burden on women too.¹⁰⁷ Therefore, to mitigate the effects of the climate crisis also requires that women, in all their diversities, are able to fully control resources such as land and have the financial capacity to institute changes that can further mitigate climate change.

It's also worth noting that sometimes land appropriation is supported by the government's other financial investors, for example, the biggest large scale land based investment project in Uganda, was funded by the African Development Bank (AfDB) and implemented by the Ministry of Agriculture. Although the government and AfDB have documented positive elements of the project¹⁰⁸, it's important not to forget the environmental violence and impact it has had especially on the poor women and local community in Kalangala district.



103 Transfer mispricing, also known as transfer pricing manipulation, refers to trades between two related parties at artificial prices for the purposes of tax avoidance, <https://www.interpol.int/content/download/5172/file/Guide%20to%20Carbon%20Trading%20Crime.pdf>

104 Interpol (2013). Guide to carbon trading crime, <https://www.interpol.int/content/download/5172/file/Guide%20to%20Carbon%20Trading%20Crime.pdf>

105 Ibid

106 Ibid

107 Atieno Mboya (2016). An Eco-Feminist Perspective on the Climate Change Regime, https://law.ubalt.edu/centers/caf/2016_conference/Sa-mandari%20Atieno.pdf

108 IFAD (2019). Uganda Vegetable Oil Development Project 2 Supervision Report. Online: <https://www.ifad.org/documents/38711624/40089498/Uganda+1100001468+VODP+2+Supervision+Report+December+2019.pdf/9b5efc13-ac35-ccb5-25ed-1dd91d355acf?t=1578311154000>

Examples from Uganda: Vegetable oil (Oil Palm) growing in Uganda¹⁰⁹.

Since 1998, the Government of Uganda has invested in domestic production and processing of vegetable oils to meet the increasing national demand. The Vegetable Oil Development Project (VODP), is the government's selected strategic effort to increase domestic vegetable oil production, while also addressing rural poverty by involving farmers, and improving the health of the population through increased vegetable oil intake.

Kalangala and Buvuma districts are composed entirely of islands in Lake Victoria, and were formerly (before 2000) covered largely by a mosaic of tropical high forest and grassland. Vegetation in Bugala island included 70% secondary forest cover, less than 10% cultivated land, the remainder being undulating grassland and swamp.¹¹⁰ Trends in land cover change in Kalangala indicated that the dominant land use in 1990 was fully stocked tropical high forest, but by 2015, this had been reduced to less than half (from 52% to 22%). Numerous reports^{111,112,113} show the project is skewed towards; land acquisition, acreage of oil palm planting, achievements in operations of Oil Palm Uganda Limited (OPUL) and Kalangala Oil Palm Growers Trust (KOPGT) agronomy and agrochemicals, price of Fresh Fruit Bunches and infrastructure development with less consideration of other negative social impacts resulting from the introduction of oil palm in these hubs. Being a monocrop with a closed canopy, mature oil palm does not allow for intercropping with traditional food crops such as banana, beans and maize. Additionally, negative indirect impacts on fisheries by unintended pollution from fertilisers run-off and sedimentation of the lake further compound the problem of food insecurity.

These in turn led to a complex of socio-economic ills, creating landless and hopeless communities, and abandoned women and children as husbands took off with land compensation cash.¹¹⁴ Spring wells were lost during clear felling of forest, and lowering of water tables was noted as a potential impact and the average distance of communities to existing water sources has increased for many, With women walking up to 3 km to collect water.¹¹⁵ Rapid land use changes accelerate biodiversity loss and negative impacts of associated ecosystem services, leaving the very communities who are the intended project beneficiaries vulnerable to the effects of environmental stresses.

109 Ssemmanda R. and M. Opige (eds.) (2019) An assessment of the impacts of oil palm in Kalangala and Buvuma. Lessons learned and recommendations for future developments Wageningen, the Netherlands: Tropenbos International and Ecological Trends Alliance. Online: <https://www.tropenbos.org/file.php/2308/20190722uganda-full-papers-2019.pdf>

110 Ssemmanda R. and M. Opige (eds.) (2019). An assessment of the impacts of oil palm in Kalangala and Buvuma. Lessons learned and recommendations for future developments Wageningen, the Netherlands: Tropenbos International and Ecological Trends Alliance. Online: <https://www.tropenbos.org/file.php/2308/20190722uganda-full-papers-2019.pdf>

111 See Compliance Advisor Ombudsman (2017). Uganda: Bidco Bev. & Det-03/Kalangala, <https://cao-ombudsman.org/cases/uganda-bidco-bev-det-03kalangala>

112 Alon Mwesigwa (2015). Ugandan farmers take on palm oil giants over land grab claims, <https://www.theguardian.com/global-development/2015/mar/03/ugandan-farmers-take-on-palm-oil-giants-over-land-grab-claims>

113 James Kisangani (2016). Ugandan farmers praise UN report citing flaws with Bidco, <https://african.business/2016/11/finance-services/ugandan-farmers-praise-un-report-citing-flaws-with-bidco/>

114 Bigirwa J., 2 S. Anena and 3 G. Katunguka. (2019). Impacts of oil palm on employment, demography and gender issues in Kalangala. Policy Brief. Tropenbos International, Wageningen, the Netherlands and Ecological Trends Alliance, Kampala, Uganda Online: <http://www.ecotrendsalliance.org/assets/files/20190711PolicyBrief3-Impacts-oil-palm-employment-demography-gender-issues-Kalangala.pdf>

115 Ibid

Besides land based investments, free market approaches have also penetrated the seed sector through its liberalisation and privatisation and is now threatening indigenous farmers' rights and control over the seed sector and their food sovereignty. Meanwhile, some of the seed varieties developed by private breeders majorly rely on monoculture farming arrangements and heavily on chemical fertilisers and pesticides-which are harmful to the climate.¹¹⁶ The introduction of Genetically Modified Organisms (GMOs) is a threat to both the environment because of their heavy reliance on chemical fertilisers and pesticides but also threaten food security and sovereignty because of intellectual property rights protection that seeks to award control over improved seed varieties to a few individuals while condescending against indigenous seed varieties and undermining farmers' rights. There is an increasing number of seed companies launched in Africa that have built a business model around importing and distributing seeds, instead of investing in local plant breeding programs to develop new seed varieties.¹¹⁷ Women face challenges that affect their seed sovereignty such as lack of access to quality seed, the influx of fake seeds in the markets, and increasing pressure from multinational corporations.¹¹⁸

Almost all the seeds used to grow vegetables are imported by seed companies which repackage and distribute them in the local markets. In Kenya, seed laws and policies are a big challenge to food sovereignty as they undermine the community's traditional seed systems of seed saving, exchanging, sharing, replanting and selling practices within farmer managed seed systems.¹¹⁹ Apart from weakening the traditional system, foreign varieties need fertilisers, fungicides and pesticides to perform in this environment, resulting in increased disease and poisoning of the farmers in addition to environmental degradation and soil destruction. The solutions to the food and climate crises are based in nature, agro ecological farming approaches, traditional knowledge and expertise which lies with indigenous peoples, rural women, smallholder farmers, farm workers and other food producers.¹²⁰



116 Janni Aragon and Mariel Miller (2012). Global Women's Issues: Women in the World Today/ extended version" (2021). Open Textbooks. 394., <https://mds.marshall.edu/oa-textbooks/394>

117 Clare O'Grady (2018) Sovereignty and Globalisation: The Case of Seed Sovereignty in Sub-Saharan Africa. Online: http://doras.dcu.ie/22166/1/ClareOGW_Final_Thesis.pdf

118 AFSA (2019). Farmers Inspiring Farmers to Save Seeds in Kenya, <https://afsafrika.org/farmers-inspiring-farmers-to-save-seeds-in-kenya/>

119 Ibid

120 IDRC (1989). Women's Role in Natural Resource Management in Africa, <https://idl-bnc-idrc.dspacedirect.org/bitstream/handle/10625/2517/IDL-2517.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

“Food sovereignty is tied to seed sovereignty; they go hand in hand. People cannot feed themselves without seed freedom; and the seed policy environment should not constrain them.” Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa.

In Kenya, seed laws, particularly the Seeds and Plant Varieties Act criminalise farmers’ seeds and the old culture of seed saving and sharing. The Act criminalises the propagation and exchange of uncertified seeds. Gaps in supply of seeds of local crops, which would have been filled by local farmers in the villages, remain open because it is illegal for farmers to sell their uncertified seeds. Kenyan seed laws are the most punitive to the farmers in the region because they are based on the 1991 Act of the International Union for the Protection of New Varieties of Plants (UPOV 91 Convention) whose main agenda is to promote the commercial seed sector through intellectual property rights¹²¹. The Kenyan Seed and Plant Varieties Act allows breeders to register and secure Plant Breeders Rights if they discover any new variety. Breeders, especially in public agricultural research institutions, have been “discovering” and privatising farmer’s varieties that local communities have already been using, preserving, sharing and exchanging. This practice is commonly known as biopiracy¹²².

Source: Alliance for Food Sovereignty in Africa, <https://afsafrica.org/farmers-inspiring-farmers-to-save-seeds-in-kenya/>

Further, Green New Deals have also been proposed as policy initiatives aimed at facilitating rapid decarbonisation through a number of selected sectors. The European Green Deal for example, sets the blueprint for turning the EU into the first climate neutral continent by 2050 through their pledge to reduce emissions by at least 55% by 2030, compared to 1990 levels. In the United States, the Green New Deal resolution labels climate change a “direct threat to the national security of the United States” and calls for the conversion of all U.S. power to clean, renewable energy sources and the creation of millions of green jobs, among other objectives, by enthusiastically embracing the idea of a 10-year mobilisation to reduce carbon emissions in the United States. However, these Green New Deals have been described as falling far short of the demands being put forward by feminist, Indigenous and Global South movements. More specifically, many are challenging the new wave of Green New Deals for not questioning the fundamental structures of the existing economic model.

Firstly, the idea behind the Green New Deals is that “absolute decoupling” of economic growth and environmental impact is possible. Absolute decoupling occurs when the relevant environmental pressure is stable or decreasing while the economic driving force is growing. Absolute decoupling can be made to work on a regional level while outsourcing polluting activities, but there is no evidence that this can happen on a global scale. For example, the European Commission claims that between 1990 and 2017 emissions decreased by 22% while the economy grew by 58%. What it fails to mention is that over the past two decades, its imports have quadrupled.

Secondly, the assumption that renewables are without a doubt a huge improvement on fossil fuels. The development of renewable energy heavily relies on access to and availability of raw materials such as lithium, cobalt, nickel and other rare earth metals – elements that are mainly concentrated in Global South states such as the Democratic Republic of Congo, Zimbabwe, Namibia, Ghana, Mali, Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Indonesia, and the Philippines. This would cause severe impacts for those communities suffering under extractivism.

121 Daniel Wanjama, Farmers Inspiring Farmers to Save Seeds in Kenya, <https://afsafrica.org/farmers-inspiring-farmers-to-save-seeds-in-kenya/>

122 Bio Piracy means the gaining of exclusive monopoly rights, over the biological material of one country by individuals, institutions or companies of other countries that ultimately leads to the denial of the rights of the country of origin. See bio piracy and its impact on biodiversity: a critical analysis with special reference to Sri Lanka, <https://www.ijbel.com/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Bio-Piracy-And-Its-Impact-On-Bio-Diversity-%E2%80%93-A-Critical-Analysis-With-Special-Reference-To-Sri-Lanka-C.L.Akurugoda.pdf>

Feminism challenges the globalisation of dominant Western knowledge which often violently undermines local indigenous knowledge systems. The first form of violence against the local systems of knowledge is not to see them as knowledge and to make them invisible. This invisibility leads to local systems of knowledge collapsing because they are not valued and supported. The second form of violence is to deny the importance of local knowledge by presenting it as 'primitive' and 'unscientific'. This has nothing to do with whether the local knowledge systems are scientific or not, but about power. Western forms of knowledge are also masculine and entail the reduction of humans and nature to 'scientific' objects. This is part of the long history in Western economy and culture of nature being treated as something external to humans to be studied and exploited for human interest and benefit. Women's bodies and the bodies of indigenous and colonised peoples have long been objectified and oppressed by Western science. The Western knowledge system came out of a dominating and colonising culture, therefore the modern knowledge systems are themselves colonising. For all of these reasons, Feminists are finding alternative way of recovering and generating knowledge through, for example, Feminist Participatory Action Research.



Chapter 3: The climate governance landscape and its implication on people in Africa and the Global South

*Existing climate governance does not adequately support inclusivity. On the contrary, as the climate crisis worsens, civic space is shrinking. The voices of local people, particularly women are rarely heard when climate decisions are being made, with women, youth, indigenous people and other marginalised groups being the most noticeably absent - and yet it is these groups, especially in the Global South, that will bear the brunt of climate change impacts. **Akina Mama wa Afrika (AMWA), from the Technical brief on Global South perspectives on Why the climate crisis is a Feminist issue.***

This chapter identifies the key global and regional climate governance institutional and policy frameworks and structures; and the opportunities and space for engagement in order to advance and influence the integration of an intersectional feminist analysis in climate policy and action while also providing existing limitations and gaps. This is intended to provide insights on entry points for African feminists', climate activists, environmentalists and civil society advocacy initiatives at national, regional and global levels. Given the imperative for climate finance in addressing the climate crisis, this chapter unpacks various climate financing mechanisms and responsible institutions; and highlights various gaps, particularly in the modalities of accessing climate finance. Using an intersectional feminist approach, it provides an analysis of the key concerns and limitations to accessing financing for locally led climate solutions. While reflecting on the numerous non-economic impacts of the climate crisis in Africa and the Global South, it shines a light on what climate finance looks like revealing that the majority of the finance available targets mitigation rather than adaptation projects. Loans accounted for about 60% of bilateral and close to 90% of multilateral climate finance¹²³.

123 OECD (2018), Climate finance from developed to developing countries: 2013-17 public flows, OECD Publishing, <https://www.oecd.org/environment/cc/Climate-finance-from-developed-to-developing-countries-Public-flows-in-2013-17.pdf>

3.1 Global and regional policy frameworks instituted to address the climate crisis

a) Rio Convention¹²⁴

The Rio Convention was birthed during the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED), also known as the 'Earth Summit', which was held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, from 3-14 June 1992. This global conference was held on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the first Global Environment Conference in Stockholm, Sweden, in 1972, which brought together political leaders, diplomats, scientists, representatives of the media, and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) from 179 countries for a massive effort to focus on the impact of human socio-economic activities on the environment. A 'Global Forum' of NGOs was also held in Rio de Janeiro at the same time, bringing together an unprecedented number of NGO representatives, who presented their own vision of the world's future in relation to the environment and socio-economic development.

The Rio de Janeiro conference highlighted how different social, economic and environmental factors are interdependent and evolve together, and how success in one sector requires action in other sectors to be sustained over time. The primary objective of the Rio 'Earth Summit' was to produce a broad agenda and a new blueprint for international action on environmental and development issues that would help guide international cooperation and development policy in the twenty-first century¹²⁵.

The 'Earth Summit' concluded that the concept of sustainable development was an attainable goal for all the people of the world, regardless of whether they were at the local, national, regional, or international level. It also recognized that integrating and balancing economic, social, and environmental concerns in meeting our needs is vital for sustaining human life on the planet and that such an integrated approach is possible. The conference also recognized that integrating and balancing economic, social, and environmental dimensions required new perceptions of the way we produce and consume, the way we live and work, and the way we make decisions. This concept was revolutionary for its time, and it sparked a lively debate within governments and between governments and their citizens on how to ensure sustainability for development.



The 'Earth Summit' concluded that the concept of sustainable development was an attainable goal for all the people of the world, regardless of whether they were at the local, national, regional or international level.



124 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (1992), A new blueprint for international action on the environment, United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 3-14 June 1992 | United Nations

125 Ibid

One of the major results of the “Earth Summit” was Agenda 21, a daring program of action calling for new strategies to invest in the future to achieve overall sustainable development in the 21st century¹²⁶. Its recommendations ranged from new methods of education, to new ways of preserving natural resources and new ways of participating in a sustainable economy.

The ‘Earth Summit’ had many great achievements: The Rio Declaration and its 27 universal principles, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the Convention on Biological Diversity; and the Declaration on the principles of forest management. The ‘Earth Summit’ also led to the creation of the Commission on Sustainable Development, the holding of the first world conference on the sustainable development of small island developing States in 1994, and negotiations for the establishment of the agreement on straddling stocks and highly migratory fish stocks.

b) United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) treaty was adopted in 1992 and entered into force on 21 March 1994. The objective of the UNFCCC is to stabilise concentrations of GHGs in the atmosphere, to prevent anthropogenic interferences in the climate system, and to allow for enough time to permit ecosystems to naturally adapt to the change. This will help ensure that food production is not threatened and allow for sustainable economic development. One of its other purposes is to raise worldwide public awareness about problems related to climate change. The UNFCCC, which is tasked with setting climate change policy and negotiating climate change agreements, has been historically gender blind.¹²⁷ It provides guidance on the process to formulate and implement National Adaptation Plans (NAPs), in an attempt to reduce vulnerability to climate change and facilitate the integration of climate change in national development planning across sectors and levels of governance.

c) The Kyoto Protocol.

The Kyoto Protocol was an international treaty which extended the 1992 UNFCCC that commits state parties to reduce greenhouse gas emissions in accordance with agreed individual targets, based on the scientific consensus that global warming is occurring; and that human-made CO₂ emissions are driving it. The Kyoto Protocol¹²⁸ was adopted on 11 December 1997 but entered into force on 16 February 2005. It implemented the objectives of the UNFCCC by placing more responsibility on developed countries under the principle of “common but differentiated responsibility and respective capabilities”, based on the recognition that developed countries are historically responsible for the current high levels of GHG emissions in the atmosphere. The Kyoto Protocol was premised on assisting countries in mitigating and adapting to the hefty climate change effects through facilitation of formulation of mechanisms and techniques that can foster resilience to climate change. It focused on facilitating the development and deployment of technologies that can help increase resilience to the impacts of climate change. The Protocol’s first commitment period started in 2008 and ended in 2012, and ceased effect. During the first commitment period, 37 industrialised countries and economies in transition and the European Community committed to reduce GHG emissions to an average of five percent against 1990 levels.

During the second commitment period, parties committed to reduce GHG emissions by at least 18 percent below 1990 levels in the eight-year period from 2013 to 2020 known as the Doha Amendment to the Kyoto Protocol.¹²⁹ By October 2020, 147 states had accepted the Doha Amendment which subsequently entered into force on 31 December 2020, following its acceptance by the mandated minimum of at least 144 states, despite the second commitment period ending on the same day. Negotiations were held in the framework of the yearly UN Climate Change Conferences on measures to be taken after the second commitment period ended in 2020. This resulted in the 2015 adoption of the Paris Agreement, which is a separate instrument under the UNFCCC rather than an amendment of the Kyoto Protocol.

126 United Nations Conference on Environment and Development, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 3-14 June 1992, <https://www.un.org/en/conferences/environment/rio1992>

127 WEDO (2014). On the Road to Lima, What Is the Status of Gender Equality in Current UNFCCC Decisions? New Policy Guide, <http://ti-nyurl.com/n32tk63>

128 UNFCCC (1992). What is the Kyoto Protocol? https://unfccc.int/kyoto_protocol

129 Ibid

However, the Protocol fell short of acknowledging the uneven impacts of climate change on women and people of the Global South, and how the Protocol could be implemented for the benefit of marginalised women and communities in developing countries.¹³⁰ The omission of these dimensions on climate change mitigation and adaptation by the Protocol posed a risk of creating inconsistencies in terms of policy development by its member parties especially in terms of centring gender in the cocktail of climate change mitigation and adaptation policies.

d) The Paris Agreement¹³¹

The Paris Agreement was signed and adopted by member parties to the UNFCCC in France on 12 December 2015 with the supreme aim of fostering collective effort to thwart climate change and intensification of investments and actions pertinent for sustainable low carbon emissions. It marked a historic breakthrough in the international climate change negotiations as this was the first-ever universal, legally binding global climate agreement. The Paris Agreement in its preamble stressed the need for consideration of gender equality and women empowerment in actions aimed to address climate change. The Paris Agreement obliges parties to submit pledges every five years – so called Nationally Determined Contributions (NDC) – that set out what each country will do to tackle greenhouse gas emissions.

The Paris Agreement was also an important moment in the history of gender inclusion within the UNFCCC. The Preamble of the Paris Agreement calls on Parties to “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” while taking action on climate change. Article 7 acknowledges that “adaptation action should follow a country-driven, gender-responsive, participatory and fully transparent approach”. Further, the article elaborates on capacity building as being “guided by lessons learned, including those from capacity-building activities under the Convention, and provides that it should be an effective, iterative process that is participatory, cross-cutting and *gender-responsive*”. The Paris Agreement was also the first instrument to include provisions on loss and damage recognizing it as a key aspect for consideration in the climate landscape. As a stand-alone article (Article 8), loss and damage is separate to and distinct from the article on adaptation (Article 7).

Despite this, the Paris Agreement has been criticised for its failure to disrupt the global neoliberal agenda. For instance, the Paris Agreement is almost devoid of substantive language on the cause of human-induced climate change and contains no actions to curb, prohibit or stop the use of “fossil fuel”. The agreement is silent on the idea that developed countries have an ethical responsibility to reduce their emissions in proportion to their historical and ongoing share of global cumulative greenhouse emissions. Consequently, both liability and compensation are explicitly excluded. Further, the agreement has a goal but no firm action plan. Also, the Agreement includes a mechanism for internationally transferred mitigation outcomes, most likely to be an offsetting mechanism, although no clarity on its operation is as yet provided. Also, the Agreement includes a mechanism for internationally transferred mitigation outcomes, most likely to be an offsetting mechanism, although no clarity on its operation is as yet provided. Market actors are privileged while lay people and their context-specific concerns are marginalised

3.2 Gender and Climate change in the UNFCCC

The Cancun Agreements adopted at COP16, 2011 marked an important turning point for gender mainstreaming in the negotiations, particularly in the areas of adaptation and capacity building.¹³² Adaptation¹³³ is one of the areas in which gender is most well integrated (across 17 decisions of the UNFCCC focused on adaptation), beginning early on in the UNFCCC. In this regard, key decisions were taken to fast track integration of gender in climate adaptation. These include: Emphasis

130 Burns, B and Patouris, J. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Decisions and Conclusions: Existing Mandates and Entry Points for Gender Equality. WEDO, n.d. <http://www.wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/GE-Publication-ENG-Interactive.pdf>

131 UNFCCC 2015: <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/the-paris-agreement/the-paris-agreement>

132 *ibid*

133 UNFCCC. Online: <https://unfccc.int/topics/gender/the-big-picture/introduction-to-gender-and-climate-change/the-gender-action-plan-1>

that both party and non-party stakeholders must promote gender integration in climate action; that states must ensure that they develop country driven, gender responsive and participatory National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs) to guarantee gender equality; that the LDC Expert Group (LEG)'s mandate must include technical advice on gender-related considerations; and that the use of gender responsive tools and approaches in addressing water and climate change issues, and ecosystem-based approaches should be prioritised. This requires sex-disaggregated data in vulnerability and adaptation assessments.

Within the UNFCCC, the Lima Work Programme on Gender (LWPG) was launched in 2014 to advance gender balance and integrate gender consideration into the work of Parties and the secretariat in implementing the Convention and the Paris Agreement so as to achieve gender responsive climate policy and action. The LWPG was extended for three years in 2016, and consequently, a two-year Gender Action Plan (GAP) was adopted in 2017.¹³⁴ At COP 25 Parties agreed to a 5-year enhanced Lima work programme on gender and its GAP. Organised along 5 priority areas, i.e. Capacity-building, knowledge management and communication, Gender balance, participation and women's leadership, coherence, Gender-responsive implementation and means of implementation, and monitoring and reporting, the secretariat of the LWPG coordinates efforts aimed at collating¹³⁵ the work relating to gender that various actors are undertaking in order to facilitate key connections that can drive the uptake of gender-responsive approaches to climate policy and action within and outside of the UNFCCC process.

The Gender responsive approach, specifically on climate adaptation has contributed to enhancing the work towards aligning climate policies and action with other commitments, including the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). At Africa level, the Gender action plan aligns with commitments in the Africa Union Agenda 2063 and the Maputo Protocol 2013. UNFCCC Decision21/CP.22¹³⁶ invites parties to appoint and provide support for a national gender focal point for climate negotiations, and for national implementation and monitoring of climate action. The National Gender and Climate Change focal persons (NGCCFPs) are meant to improve national level implementation by connecting national and international processes. NGCCFPs are appointed via nomination by their respective UNFCCC National Focal Points.

The Paris Agreement was also an important moment in the history of gender inclusion within the UNFCCC. The Preamble of the Paris Agreement calls on Parties to “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



134 WEDO (2014). On the Road to Lima: What Is the Status of Gender Equality in Current UNFCCC Decisions? New Policy Guide. <http://tinyurl.com/n32tk63>

135 For more information on the process of submitting your work and messages, <https://unfccc.int/topics/gender/the-big-picture/introduction-to-gender-and-climate-change/call-for-submissions>, and <https://unfccc.int/topics/gender/work-streams/supporting-the-implementation-of-3CP25>

136 UNFCCC. Online: <https://unfccc.int/topics/gender/the-big-picture/introduction-to-gender-and-climate-change/the-gender-action-plan-1>



Gender is socially constructed, and intersects with other social relations (eg. age, ethnicity, sexual orientation, race, disability, religion). However, under the UNFCCC negotiations on mitigation, gender concerns are least incorporated¹³⁷, due to the fact that, in part, gender is mainly understood in the context of vulnerability, as opposed to being understood as an important social lens in developing all forms of policy¹³⁸. Despite this, key decisions to fast track integration of gender in mitigation actions include: the decision to enhance gender responsiveness in the development and implementation of national actions on mitigation (REDD+ & Response Measures) by developing countries; to consider the positive and negative impacts of the implementation of response measures to mitigate climate change on women and children; and on the effective engagement of women in the technical examination process for opportunities with high mitigation potential.

Opportunities	Gaps	Entry points for African eco-feminists
<p>In the Paris rulebook, Decision4/ CAM.1 clarifies that the planning process for Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) should include local communities and indigenous peoples, in a gender-responsive manner.</p>	<p>There are no guidelines on integrating gender into Nationally Appropriate Mitigation Actions (NAMAs), in the way that there are guidelines to do so for NAPs and NAPAs.</p>	<p>Create awareness of African feminists and eco-feminist organizations on NDCs, and NAMAs and identify advocacy areas with National designated bodies</p> <p>Build alliances with environmental activists at regional and global level to develop customized intersectional feminist and gender transformative guidelines for NAMAs for adoption and application by state parties.</p>

One of the areas that remain largely gender imperceptive is climate change mitigation technology. This technology varies from sector to sector but has one denominating factor i.e. it is gendered, neoliberal, capitalist and steeped in the legacies of neocolonialism. Taking the energy sector as an example, it is important to challenge all assumptions that what may be appropriate in developed economies, in terms of energy transition, can also be applied in our context. The concept of a just energy transition – that the shift to a sustainable economy must be a shared global responsibility, and that its benefits must be distributed fairly across the globe is a wrong assumption because communities in Africa contend with varying realities. In developed economies, the concept of energy transition is firmly rooted in reducing carbon emissions as the main priority. For many African countries, however, this is unlikely to be the case. Africa is a continent where more than 597 million people don't have access to electricity, with almost 60% of medical clinics not having access to a regular source of electricity. From a gender transformative and intersectional feminist perspective, the conversation around energy transition and or adopting climate change mitigation technologies must be less about reducing what currently exists in limited quantities and more about how to build a future that centers those at the margins to ensure that no one is left behind due to unfair and unsustainable climate action.

In conclusion, some environmentalists have raised concern that the UNFCCC, Kyoto Protocol and the Paris agreement are products of a neoliberal global political economy, simply designed to 'green' the global capitalist status quo without fully addressing the climate problem. They stress that the challenge lies particularly in the goal of the international development field's instrumentalists who emphasise economic growth and profit while extracting from women's labour, and the planet's resources. Such approaches often see women and other minoritised groups as independent actors who can "save" their communities if they are merely targeted with investments, while not changing the underlying economic and political systems that reproduce gender inequality and poverty.¹³⁹

137 UNFCCC. Online: <https://unfccc.int/topics/gender/the-big-picture/introduction-to-gender-and-climate-change/the-gender-action-plan-1>
 138 https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/NGCCFP_Workshop_PolicyOverviewandTools.pdf
 139 Burns, B and Patouris, J. United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) Decisions and Conclusions: Existing Mandates and Entry Points for Gender Equality. WEDO, n.d. <http://www.wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/GE-Publication-ENG-Interactive.pdf>

3.3. Understanding Climate Governance Structures and Actors

The UNFCCC, the Kyoto Protocol, and the Paris Agreement establish the institutional arrangements for the climate change intergovernmental process:

- a) A supreme governing body: The COP for the Convention, the CMP for the Kyoto Protocol and the CMA for the Paris Agreement;
- b) A process management body: The Bureau of the COP, the CMP and the CMA;
- c) Subsidiary bodies: two permanent subsidiary bodies – the SBSTA and the SBI – as well as other ad hoc subsidiary bodies established by the COP, the CMP, or the CMA as deemed necessary to address specific issues;
- d) Technical subsidiary bodies with limited membership (referred to in practice as the constituted bodies) established under the Convention, the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement;
- e) A secretariat; and
- f) Entities entrusted with the operations of the Financial Mechanism (i.e. the Global Environment Facility -GEF- and the Green Climate Fund -GCF-).

Collectively, these institutions participate in the process of developing policies and guidance to support Parties in the implementation of the Convention, the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement.

3.3.1. Governing bodies & process management body

a) Conference of the Parties (COP)¹⁴⁰

The COP is the supreme decision-making body of the Convention. All States that are Parties to the Convention are represented at the COP, at which they review the implementation of the Convention and any other legal instruments that the COP adopts and take decisions necessary to promote the effective implementation of the Convention, including institutional and administrative arrangements.

b) Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol (CMP)¹⁴¹

The Conference of the Parties, the supreme body of the Convention, shall serve as the meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol. All States that are Parties to the Kyoto Protocol are represented at the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol (CMP), while States that are not Parties participate as observers. The CMP oversees the implementation of the Kyoto Protocol and takes decisions to promote its effective implementation.

140 UNFCCC, Conference of the Parties (COP), <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/supreme-bodies/conference-of-the-parties-cop>

141 UNFCCC (2005). Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to the Kyoto Protocol (CMP), <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/supreme-bodies/conference-of-the-parties-serving-as-the-meeting-of-the-parties-to-the-kyoto-protocol-cmp>



c) Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to the Paris Agreement (CMA)¹⁴²

The Conference of the Parties, the supreme body of the Convention, shall serve as the meeting of the Parties to the Paris Agreement. All States that are Parties to the Paris Agreement are represented at the Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to the Paris Agreement (CMA), while States that are not Parties participate as observers. The CMA oversees the implementation of the Paris Agreement and takes decisions to promote its effective implementation.

d) Bureau of the COP, CMP, and CMA¹⁴³

The Bureau supports the work of the governing bodies through the provision of advice and guidance regarding the ongoing work under the Convention, the Kyoto Protocol, and the Paris Agreement, the organisation of their sessions and the operation of the secretariat. The Bureau serves during the sessions and also between sessions. The Bureau consists of 11 officers, the President, seven Vice-Presidents, the Chairs of the SBSTA and the SBI and the Rapporteur, elected from representatives of Parties nominated by each of the five United Nations regional groups and Small Island Developing States.

e) Secretariat¹⁴⁴

The UNFCCC secretariat provides organisational support and technical expertise to the UNFCCC negotiations and institutions and facilitates the flow of authoritative information on the implementation of the Convention, the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement. This includes the development and effective implementation of innovative approaches to mitigate climate change and drive sustainable development.

f) United Nations institutional linkage¹⁴⁵

The United Nations serves as Depository for the Convention, the Kyoto Protocol (including its amendments) and the Paris Agreement. The secretariat is institutionally linked to the United Nations without being integrated into any programme and is administered under United Nations rules and regulations.

g) Subsidiary bodies

1. Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice (SBSTA)¹⁴⁶

The SBSTA assists the governing bodies through the provision of timely information and advice on scientific and technological matters as they relate to the Convention, the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement. In addition, the SBSTA cooperates with relevant international organisations on scientific, technological and methodological questions.

2. Subsidiary Body for Implementation (SBI)¹⁴⁷

The SBI assists the governing bodies in the assessment and review of the implementation of the Convention, the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement. In addition, the SBI is the body that considers the biennial work programmes for the secretariat, which provide the strategic direction on how the secretariat can best serve the Parties and the UNFCCC process towards greater ambition of climate change action and support that is fully commensurate with the objectives of the Convention, the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement.

142 UNFCCC, Conference of the Parties serving as the meeting of the Parties to the Paris Agreement (CMA), <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/supreme-bodies/conference-of-the-parties-serving-as-the-meeting-of-the-parties-to-the-paris-agreement-cma>

143 UNFCCC, Bureau of the COP, CMP, and CMA, <https://unfccc.int/bureau-cop-bodies-page>

144 UNFCCC (1992). About the Secretariat: What is the purpose of the secretariat?, <https://unfccc.int/about-us/about-the-secretariat>

145 UNFCCC (2005). Advanced unedited version: Decision -/CP.11, Institutional linkage of the Convention secretariat to the United Nations, https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/cop11_14_7c_institutional_linkage.pdf

146 UNFCCC, Subsidiary Body for Scientific and Technological Advice (SBSTA), <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/subsidiary-bodies/sbsta>

147 UNFCCC, Subsidiary Body for Implementation (SBI), <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/subsidiary-bodies/sbi>

The SBSTA and the SBI have traditionally met in parallel, twice a year. When they are not meeting in conjunction with the COP, the subsidiary bodies usually convene at the seat of the secretariat in Bonn, Germany. Until 2022, 56 SB sessions¹⁴⁸ have been conducted, with the most recent one held in June 2022 in Bonn, Germany.

h) Technical Subsidiary bodies/ Constituted bodies

1. Adaptation Committee (AC)¹⁴⁹

The Adaptation Committee was established by the COP at its sixteenth session as part of the Cancun Agreements (decision 1/CP.16) to promote the implementation of enhanced action on adaptation in a coherent manner under the Convention. Its functions include providing technical support and guidance to the Parties; sharing of relevant information, knowledge, experience and good practices; promoting synergy and strengthening engagement with national, regional and international organisations, centres and networks; providing information and recommendations for consideration by the COP when providing guidance on means to incentivize the implementation of adaptation actions; and considering information communicated by Parties on their monitoring and review of adaptation actions, support provided and received.. The Adaptation Committee also serves the Paris Agreement.

2. Adaptation Fund Board (AFB)¹⁵⁰

The AFB supervises and manages the Adaptation Fund and is fully accountable to the CMP. The Adaptation Fund was established to finance concrete adaptation projects and programmes in developing country Parties that are particularly vulnerable to the adverse effects of climate change. The Adaptation Fund is financed by a 2 per cent share of the proceeds from certified emission reductions issued by the Executive Board of the Clean Development Mechanism and from other sources of funding. The Adaptation Fund also serves the Paris Agreement.

3. Advisory Board of the Climate Technology Centre and Network (CTCN)¹⁵¹

As the operational arm of the Technology Mechanism, the CTCN stimulates technology cooperation to enhance the development and transfer of technologies and to assist developing country Parties at their request. The CTCN is accountable to, and under the guidance of, the COP through an advisory board. The Advisory Board of the CTCN was established at COP 18 and gives guidance to the CTCN on how to prioritise requests from developing countries and, in general, it monitors, assesses and evaluates the performance of the CTCN.

4. Executive Board of the Clean Development Mechanism (CDM)¹⁵²

The CDM Executive Board supervises the Kyoto Protocol CDM under the authority and guidance of the CMP. It is fully accountable to the CMP. It is also the ultimate point of contact for CDM project participants for the registration of projects and the issuance of certified emission reductions.

5. Compliance Committee¹⁵³

The functions of the Compliance Committee of the Kyoto Protocol are to provide advice and assistance to Parties in implementing the Kyoto Protocol, promote compliance by Parties with their commitments and determine cases of non-compliance and apply consequences in cases where Parties are not complying with their commitments under the Kyoto Protocol.

148 UNFCCC (2022). Bonn Climate Change Conference, <https://unfccc.int/SB56>

149 UNFCCC (2022). Adaptation Committee, <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/constituted-bodies/adaptation-committee-ac>

150 UNFCCC (2021). Adaptation Fund Board, <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/constituted-bodies/adaptation-fund-board-afb>

151 UNTCTN & UNEP. About the Climate Technology Centre and Network (CTCN), <https://www.ctc-n.org/about-ctcn>

152 UNFCCC, What is the CDM Executive Board?, <http://cdm.unfccc.int/EB/index.html>

153 UNFCCC, The Compliance Committee of the Kyoto Protocol, <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/constituted-bodies/compliance-committee-cc>





6. Consultative Group of Experts (CGE)¹⁵⁴

COP 24 decided that the mandate of the Consultant Group of Experts on National Communications from Parties not included in Annex I to the Convention will be extended for eight years, from 1 January 2019 to 31 December 2026 and will be renamed the Consultative Group of Experts (CGE). In addition to assisting developing country Parties fulfil their reporting requirements under the Convention, the CGE will also support the implementation of the enhanced transparency framework under Article 13 of the Paris Agreement. This includes facilitating the provision of technical advice and support to developing country Parties to prepare their biennial transparency reports and providing technical advice to the secretariat on the implementation of the training of technical expert review teams.

7. Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage¹⁵⁵

The Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism was established by the COP at its nineteenth session by decision 2/CP.19 to guide the implementation of the functions of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage. The Warsaw International Mechanism is anchored in the Paris Agreement by its Article 8. The Executive Committee has technical expert groups that help execute its work in the following four strategic work areas: slow onset events, non-economic losses, comprehensive risk management, and displacement.

8. Joint Implementation Supervisory Committee (JISC)¹⁵⁶

The JISC, under the authority and guidance of the CMP, supervises the verification procedure for submitted projects to confirm that the ensuing reductions of emissions by sources or enhancements of anthropogenic removals by sinks meet the relevant requirements of Article 6 of the Kyoto Protocol and the joint implementation guidelines.

9. Katowice Committee of Experts on the Impacts of the Implementation of Response Measures (KCI)¹⁵⁷

The COP, CMP and CMA established the Katowice Committee of experts on the Impacts of implementation of response measures to support the work of the forum on the impacts of implementation of response measures.

10. Least Developed Countries Expert Group (LEG)¹⁵⁸

The COP established the LEG, the membership of which is to be nominated by Parties, with the objective of supporting the preparation and implementation strategies of national adaptation programmes of action. The LEG also serves the Paris Agreement.

11. Facilitative Working Group (FWG) of the Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples Platform¹⁵⁹

The FWG was established by the COP at its twenty-fourth session (decision 2/CP.24), in 2018, with the objective of further operationalizing the Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples Platform and facilitating the implementation of three functions related to knowledge, capacity for engagement, and climate change policies and actions. Half of the members of the FWG are representatives of Parties and half are representatives from indigenous people's organisations. To enhance the coherence of the actions of the LCIPP under the Convention, it is encouraged to collaborate with other bodies under and outside the Convention.

154 UNFCCC, Consultative Group of Experts (CGE), <https://unfccc.int/CGE>

155 UNFCCC (2017). The Executive Committee of the Warsaw International Mechanism for Loss and Damage, <https://unfccc.int/7543>

156 UNFCCC (2006). JI Supervisory Committee (JISC), https://ji.unfccc.int/Sup_Committee/index.html

157 UNFCCC, Katowice Committee of Experts on the Impacts of the Implementation of Response Measures (KCI), <https://unfccc.int/kci>

158 UNFCCC, Least Developed Countries Expert Group, <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/constituted-bodies/least-developed-countries-expert-group-leg>

159 UNFCCC, Local Communities and Indigenous Peoples Platform, <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/bodies/constituted-bodies/facilitative-working-group-of-the-local-communities-and-indigenous-peoples-platform>



12. Standing Committee on Finance (SCF)¹⁶⁰

The mandate of the Standing Committee on Finance is to assist the COP in exercising its functions with respect to the financial mechanism of the Convention in terms of the following: improving coherence and coordination in the delivery of climate change financing; rationalisation of the financial mechanism; mobilisation of financial resources; and measurement, reporting and verification of support provided to developing country Parties. It was established by the COP at its sixteenth session by decision 1/CP.16. Its roles and functions were further defined and its composition and working modalities elaborated on at COP 17. The SCF also serves the Paris Agreement.

13. Technology Executive Committee (TEC)¹⁶¹

The COP, by its decision 1/CP.16, established a Technology Mechanism to facilitate the implementation of enhanced actions on technology development and transfer to support action on mitigation and adaptation in order to achieve the full implementation of the Convention. The Technology Mechanism comprises the Technology Executive Committee (TEC) and the Climate Technology Centre and Network (CTCN). In accordance with Article 10 of the Paris Agreement, the Technology Mechanism shall also serve the Paris Agreement under the guidance of the CMA. As the policy arm of the Technology Mechanism, the TEC undertakes analysis and provides recommendations on policies that can accelerate the development and transfer of low-emission and climate resilient technologies.

14. The Paris Committee on Capacity-building (PCCB)¹⁶²

The Paris Committee on Capacity-building (PCCB) was established by the Conference of the Parties (COP) in 2015 as part of the adoption of the Paris Agreement to address gaps and needs, both current and emerging, in implementing capacity-building in developing country Parties and further enhancing capacity-building efforts, including about coherence and coordination in capacity-building activities under the Convention.

15. Cooperation with UN bodies/agencies and intergovernmental organisations Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC)¹⁶³

The IPCC is a scientific body. It reviews and assesses, at regular intervals, the most recent scientific, technical and socioeconomic information produced worldwide, relevant to the understanding of climate change. It does not conduct any research, nor does it monitor climate-related data or parameters. The UN Climate change process receives the outputs of the IPCC and uses IPCC data and information as a baseline on the state of knowledge on climate change in making science-based decisions. End of 2018, the IPCC Special Report on global warming of 1.5 C sent strong messages on the need to be more ambitious in taking action if the objective of staying well below 2 degrees is to be achieved. The IPCC is currently in its Sixth Assessment cycle. During this cycle, the Panel will produce three Special Reports, a Methodology Report on national greenhouse gas inventories and the Sixth Assessment Report (AR6). The AR6 will comprise three Working Group contributions and a Synthesis Report. The AR6 Synthesis Report will integrate and synthesise the contributions from the three Working Groups that will be rolled out in 2021 into a concise document suitable for policymakers and other stakeholders. It will be finalised in the first half of 2022 in time for the first global stocktake under the Paris Agreement.

160 UNFCCC, Standing Committee on Finance (SCF), <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/constituted-bodies/standing-committee-on-finance-scf>

161 UNFCCC, Technology Executive Committee: Strengthening climate technology policies, <http://unfccc.int/ttclear/tec>

162 UNFCCC (2015). Paris Committee on Capacity-building (PCCB), <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/bodies/constituted-bodies/paris-committee-on-capacity-building>

163 UNFCCC, Cooperation with the IPCC, <https://unfccc.int/topics/science/workstreams/cooperation-with-the-ipcc>



3.3.2. Finance and Financial entities

a) Green Climate Fund (GCF)¹⁶⁴

The GCF is an operating entity of the financial mechanism of the Convention and is accountable to and functions under the guidance of the COP. It is governed by a Board comprising 24 members (with equal numbers from developed and developing country Parties) and is intended to be the main fund for global climate change finance in the context of mobilising USD 100 billion by 2020. The GCF was established by the COP at its sixteenth session by decision 1/CP.16, designed throughout 2011 by a Transitional Committee and launched at COP 17 through decision 3/CP.17, including the governing instrument for the GCF. The GCF, as an entity entrusted with the operation of the Financial Mechanism of the Convention, also serves the Paris Agreement.

b) Global Environment Facility (GEF)¹⁶⁵

The GEF is an operational entity of the financial mechanism of the Convention that provides financial support to the activities and projects of developing country Parties. The COP regularly provides guidance to the GEF. The GEF, as an entity entrusted with the operation of the Financial Mechanism of the Convention, also serves the Paris Agreement.

c) Special Climate Change Fund (SCCF)¹⁶⁶

The Special Climate Change Fund (SCCF) was established to finance activities, programmes and measures relating to climate change, that are complementary to those supported by other funding mechanisms for the implementation of the Convention. The Global Environment Facility (GEF) has been entrusted to operate the SCCF. The SCCF, administered by the GEF, also serves the Paris Agreement.

d) Least Developed Countries Fund (LDCF)¹⁶⁷

The COP established the Least Developed Countries Fund (LDCF) to support the Least Developed Country Parties (LDCs) work programme and assist LDCs carry out, inter alia, the preparation and implementation of the national adaptation programmes of action (NAPAs). The Global Environment Facility (GEF) has been entrusted to operate the LDCF. The LDCF, administered by the GEF, also serves the Paris Agreement.

e) Bodies That Have Concluded Their Work

1. Ad Hoc Working Group on Further Commitments for Annex I Parties under the Kyoto Protocol (AWG-KP)¹⁶⁸
2. Ad Hoc Working Group on Long-term Cooperative Action under the Convention (AWG-LCA)¹⁶⁹
3. Ad Hoc Working Group on the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action (ADP)¹⁷⁰
4. Ad Hoc Working Group on the Paris Agreement (APA)¹⁷¹

164 UNFCCC, Green Climate Fund, <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/funds-and-financial-entities/green-climate-fund>

165 UNFCCC, Global Environment Facility, <https://unfccc.int/topics/climate-finance/funds-entities-bodies/global-environment-facility>

166 UNFCCC (2001). The Special Climate Change Fund (SCCF), <https://unfccc.int/topics/climate-finance/resources/reports-of-the-special-climate-change-fund>

167 UNFCCC (2001). Least Developed Countries Expert Group, <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/constituted-bodies/least-developed-countries-expert-group-leg>

168 UNFCCC (2005). Ad Hoc Working Group on Further Commitments for Annex I Parties under the Kyoto Protocol (AWG-KP), <https://unfccc.int/process-and-meetings/bodies/bodies-that-have-concluded-work/ad-hoc-working-group-on-further-commitments-for-annex-i-parties-under-the-kyoto-protocol-awg-kp>

169 UNFCCC, AWG-LCA bodies page, <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/bodies-that-have-concluded-work/ad-hoc-working-group-on-long-term-cooperative-action-under-the-convention-awg-lca>

170 UNFCCC (2011). Ad Hoc Working Group on the Durban Platform for Enhanced Action (ADP), <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/bodies-that-have-concluded-work/ad-hoc-working-group-on-the-durban-platform-for-enhanced-action-adp>

171 UNFCCC (2015). Ad Hoc Working Group on the Paris Agreement (APA), <https://unfccc.int/process/bodies/subsidiary-bodies/apa>



3.3.3. Country and Regional blocs

Currently, there are many countries and blocs leading the way on climate action, notably, the EU, the Umbrella Group, Group of 77 plus China, Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS) and Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Independent Alliance of Latin America and the Caribbean (AILAC), and the Alliance of Small Island States (AOSIS), whose members are facing the most immediate existential risks from climate change. AOSIS has at times coalesced with the Least Developed Countries Group on Climate Change (LDC Climate Change).¹⁷² However, the structure of global climate change negotiations bent towards great power politics.¹⁷³ There are two themes running through the process of climate change negotiations. One is the inconsistency among members of the Umbrella Group, especially between the EU and the United States, the other is the disagreement between developing countries.

In the UNFCCC negotiations, the Brazil, Russia, India, China and South Africa (BRICS) nations aside from Russia, have participated as members of the G77+China bloc, an umbrella grouping representing the interests of developing countries¹⁷⁴. The emergence of the BRICS as not only major economies, but major greenhouse gas emitters¹⁷⁵ over the last two decades, has made them central to global climate discussions. On 7 July 2017, on the margins of the G20 meeting in Hamburg, Germany, BRICS leaders were quick to reaffirm their support for the Paris Agreement calling 'upon the international community to jointly work towards the implementation of the Paris Agreement on Climate Change'¹⁷⁶(BRICS, 2017b).

While these four members of the BRICS have remained active members of the G77+China grouping, in more recent UNFCCC negotiations they have also forged a separate climate coalition, known as BASIC – Brazil, South Africa, India and China¹⁷⁷. The Copenhagen Accord negotiated by the BASIC countries beckoned that these countries were prepared to use their status as rising powers to shape the agenda of climate politics and since the Copenhagen conference they have insisted on promoting the four key interests of developing countries: common but differentiated responsibility; the primacy of national economic development; rejection of mandatory emission reduction targets; and adequate climate finance while at the same time creating the basis for compromise with the developed countries¹⁷⁸.

At the country level, national governments are also starting to change their structures to better address climate change and some countries have established climate councils composed of renowned experts to inform government approaches, and cabinets and heads of state and government are increasingly becoming directly involved in climate policymaking.

The return of a US administration committed to climate action and the Biden administration is helping to advance multilateral dialogue on climate change and, in the national context, is promoting a “whole of government approach” by including climate as a priority in all government departments¹⁷⁹.

The European Union has also increased its commitments under the Paris Agreement, and importantly, has proposed its first European Climate Law, which would enshrine its long-term roadmap for climate neutrality into law. This offers an example of how climate action can be protected from electoral cycles, which would give climate policy some degree of stability domestically, building trust among countries.

172 Yu Hongyuan (2015). Governance and power politics Evolution of the Global Climate Governance System and its implications, Online: <https://www.worldscientific.com/doi/pdf/10.1142/S2377740015500220>

173 Ibid

174 Christian Downie and Marc Williams (2018). After the Paris Agreement: What Role for the BRICS in Global Climate Governance? https://regnet.anu.edu.au/sites/default/files/publications/attachments/2019-01/Christian%20Downie_et_al-2018-Global_Policy.pdf

175 The BRICS are already among the top emitters of greenhouse gases in the world largely due to their consumption of fossil fuels. China and India are the first and third and largest greenhouse gas emitters in the world and Russia, Brazil and South Africa are not far behind.

176 Omuko-Jung and Lydia A. (2014). The Role of BRICS in the Future Climate Change Regime: Why Their Commitment and Participation is Important and How to Achieve it. Online: <http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.2599248>

177 Ibid

178 Ibid

179 Jimena Leiva Roesch, Julia Almeida Nobre, and Eimer Curtin (2021). Is the Global Climate Governance System Working?, <https://theglobalobservatory.org/2021/11/is-the-global-climate-governance-system-working/>

3.3.4. Non state actors i.e. Civil Society Organisations, Women Rights Organisations, Feminist movements

The UNFCCC recognizes non-state actors as important partners in implementing the agreement, however, a large group of structures, institutions, states, and non-state actors working in different ways and at different levels (local, national, regional, and global) — is not succeeding in implementation. In reality, Northern-based actors initiate transnational initiatives, design operations, and set the terms while South-based actors lack voice and influence in shaping the transnational sphere of governance.¹⁸⁰ Also, some groups including the youth, scientists, and committed business leaders have difficulty accessing these spaces and influencing outcomes particularly amidst the COVID 19 pandemic.

“While participating in COP 26 in Glasgow, two of colleagues received badges for only one-week participation which locked them out of processes that happened during week two of the physical events leaving them to only participate virtually. We also faced challenges accessing many of the forums where negotiations and strategizing were taking place as this was only open to participants with party delegates status.” A Kenya young woman shares her experience participating in COP 26.

3.4. Climate Financing mechanisms and the role of financial institutions

Climate finance has recently dominated climate discussions. It is critical to building momentum and generating trust between developed and developing countries. Under the Paris Agreement, developed countries committed to taking the lead in providing financial assistance to climate-vulnerable countries¹⁸¹. Climate-vulnerable countries often lack direct access to funding and face burdensome requirements to apply for and receive funding that direct time and resources away from implementation and thus create negative cycles of dependency¹⁸².

There are four major international public climate funds: The Adaptation Fund (AF), the Climate Investment Funds (CIF), the Green Climate Fund (GCF), and the Global Environment Facility (GEF). The AF, GEF and GCF are formally part of the financial mechanism of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), while the CIF sits outside of the Convention and is administered by the World Bank.

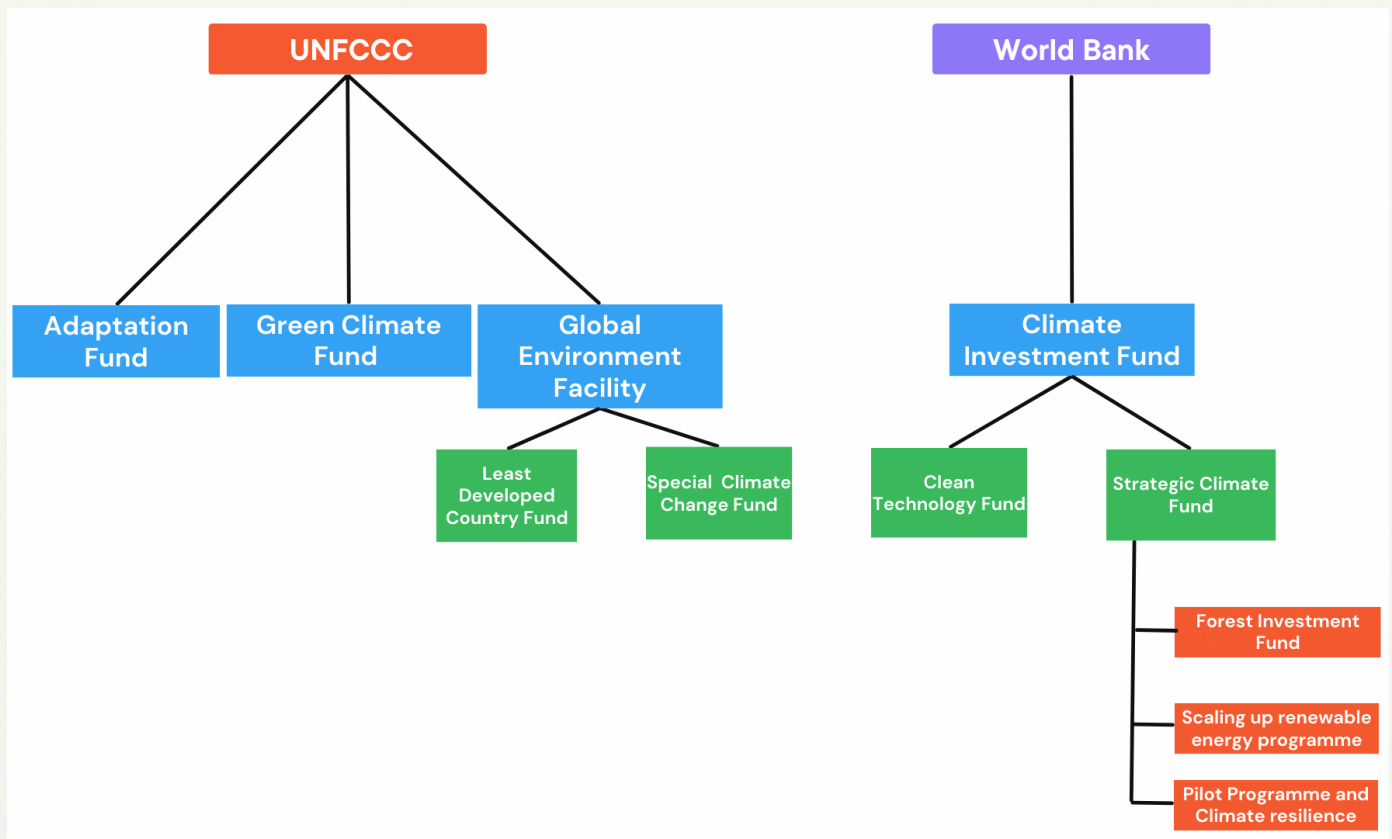


180 Ander Chan and Harro Van Asselt (2016).: Transnational Climate Change Governance and the Global South, <https://refubium.fu-berlin.de/bitstream/handle/fub188/19267/ChanxvanxAsseltxBerlinxdraftx100516.pdf?sequence=1&isAllowed=y>

181 Liane Schalatek (2009). Heinrich Böll Stiftung Washington D.C, Gender and Climate Finance: Double Mainstreaming for Sustainable Development.

182 Nancy Birdsall (2012). The World Bank and Climate Change: Forever a Big Fish in a Small Pond? https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/1426335_file_Birdsall_Big_Fish_Small_Pond_final_0.pdf

Fig. 1: Four Major International Public Climate Funds



All the four are multilateral mechanisms, or initiatives that do not rely on a single country and have distributed governance. This multilateral structure is considered to encourage recipient-country ownership and national governments’ autonomy in project decision-making.

- a) **Adaptation fund (AF):** In 2001, the Adaptation Fund (AF) was established under the Kyoto Protocol to “reduce vulnerability and increase adaptive capacity to respond to the impacts of climate change, including variability at the local and national levels.” The Fund is financed by a two percent share of proceeds of Certified Emission Reductions (CERs) issued under the Protocol’s Clean Development Mechanism projects – its main source of funds – but also receives voluntary contributions from governments and private donors.¹⁸³ The fund is set up to provide direct access for countries to the funds without the involvement of multilateral agencies such as development banks or UN agencies. Countries can access funding through AF-accredited Implementing Entities, which can be national, regional, or multilateral, that propose projects to receive the available funds, and implement climate action.
- b) **Climate Investment Funds (CIF):** Established in 2008, the CIF is administered by the World Bank. Currently, the CIF provides 72 countries with resources funded by 14 contributor countries. A total of 8.3 billion USD has been pledged directly to the CIF.¹⁸⁴ The CIF was originally created to trigger investments at scale in both developing and middle-income countries, specifically empowering “climate-smart growth and transformation.” It comprises two funds, the Clean Technology Fund (CTF) and the Strategic Climate Fund (SCF). Under the CIF, countries must first apply to become a “pilot country” of one of the four programs, and once approved, each country must develop an investment plan (IP) for that program. Development of an IP is a process often involving many rounds of consultations with different types of stakeholders to determine the investment details and explicitly stating expected contributions from the CIF and other sources.¹⁸⁵ The IPs must be approved by the CIF Trust Fund Committee before countries work with the MDBs to develop projects for funding.

183 UNCTAD (2003). An Implementation Guide to the Clean Development Mechanism, https://unctad.org/system/files/official-document/ditcted20031_en.pdf

184 Climate Investment Funds. (2015). An Overview of the CIF, Governance and Programming Information. Washington, DC: World Bank. https://www.climateinvestmentfunds.org/sites/default/files/knowledge-documents/cif_orientation_booklet_web_final_0_0.pdf

185 Hall, Cooper, Laura, Margaux Granat, and Tara Daniel (2019). Women’s Organisations and Climate Finance: Engaging in Processes and Accessing Resources. New York: Prospera and WEDO. Online: https://wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/WomensOrgsClimateFinance_EngaginginProcesses.pdf



- c) **Green Climate Fund (GCF):** The GCF was established in 2010 by the UNFCCC. The GCF disburses funding through an accreditation system. GCF operates through a network of over 200 Accredited Entities and delivery partners who work directly with developing countries for project design and implementation.¹⁸⁶ The GCF requires that any organisation (public, private, non-government – community based, regional, or national in their scope) submitting a funding proposal must be an Accredited Entity (AE)¹⁸⁷. AEs may be implementing entities and/or intermediaries. The GCF was founded with a strong emphasis on the principle of country ownership, and each country has a National Designated Authority (NDA). This is usually a ministry of finance or environment, with a designated focal point to serve as the representative between an NDA and GCF. They are fundamental for accessing readiness support, and signing off on every funding proposal submitted to the GCF Board with activities for that country.¹⁸⁸
- d) **Global Environment Facility (GEF):** The Global Environment Facility (GEF), one of the first multilateral channels for climate finance, was established in 1992 through the Rio Earth Summit as a pilot program. The GEF was created as an independent financial organisation to provide grants for projects related to environmental issues across six focal areas: biological diversity, land degradation, ozone layer depletion, international waters, persistent organic pollutants, and climate change. The GEF administers two funds established through the UNFCCC: The Least Developed Countries Fund (LDCF), and the Special Climate Change Fund (SCCF). Its decision-making body is the GEF Council. The GEF now includes representation from 182 member-governments and works with 18 implementing partners, acting as a secretariat to funnel money to these entities.

Recently, these funds have taken further steps to increase the visibility and participation of civil society, creating a role for non-governmental stakeholders through stakeholder observation and/or engagement policies and recommendations.¹⁸⁹

- e) **The World Bank:** The traditional Western donors have tended to rely heavily on the World Bank to manage whatever Global Public Good (GPG) programs they finance through their foreign aid budgets. Climate finance activists have argued that the western countries have favoured financing through the World Bank not only because of its technical and fiduciary capacity but because they have substantial influence there and can be confident they will retain some control of decisions on the use of funds.¹⁹⁰ But many developing countries and environmental non-governmental organisations would prefer that if there is any umbrella organisation for managing collective climate funds it should be one or another part of the United Nations. They are critical of the World Bank on the grounds it imposed and still imposes harsh and unreasonable conditions for its lending to low-income countries.¹⁹¹ Climate-vulnerable countries need supportive financing mechanisms that bolster their capacity to take climate action. Crucially, without changing the dynamics of the financing cycle, any promises that are made may have little impact on the ground.¹⁹²

- f) **The International Monetary Fund (IMF):** The IMF is working with a Network of Central Banks and Supervisors for Greening the Financial System and other standard-setting bodies to promote green finance more broadly and developing climate-related stress tests.¹⁹³

The IMF's approach to addressing climate change focuses on addressing challenges through fiscal and macroeconomic policies. The Fund has been publishing research on economic implications of climate change and provides policy advice to members to help them capture the opportunities of low-carbon, resilient growth.¹⁹⁴

186 GCF, About the Green Climate Fund, <https://www.greenclimate.fund/who-we-are/about-the-fund>

187 GCF (2022). Accreditation framework of the GCF, <https://www.greenclimate.fund/sites/default/files/document/accreditation-framework-gcf.pdf>

188 Ibid

189 Hall, Cooper, Laura, Margaux Granat, and Tara Daniel (2019). Women's Organisations and Climate Finance: Engaging in Processes and Accessing Resources. New York: Prospera and WEDO.online: https://wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/06/WomensOrgsClimateFinance_EngaginginProcesses.pdf

190 Nancy Birdsall (2012). The World Bank and Climate Change: Forever a Big Fish in a Small Pond? https://www.cgdev.org/sites/default/files/1426335_file_Birdsall_Big_Fish_Small_Pond_final_0.pdf

191 Ibid

192 Ibid

193 IMF, Green Finance, <https://www.imf.org/en/Topics/climate-change/green-finance>

194 Ibid



However, environmental activists are concerned that since the adoption of the Paris Agreement in 2015, the IMF has indirectly encouraged more than half of its member countries to develop fossil fuel infrastructure¹⁹⁵ by advising states to privatise energy projects thereby placing the responsibility of divestment from fossil fuels from the government and placing it in the hands of corporations yet governments are already having challenges holding corporations accountable and liable for any adverse outcomes. Instead of proactively helping member countries address the existential threat of climate change and the enormous financial risk it represents, the institution has instead promoted fossil fuel expansion and locked low- and middle-income countries into a reliance on coal, oil, gas, and other carbon-intensive exports.¹⁹⁶

The global financial system continues to invest, lend and direct capital flows to new fossil fuel exploration and infrastructure. Standard Chartered Bank (SCB), UK's coal bank, is investing billions in fossil fuel companies all over the world. In total, \$24 billion has been channelled into coal, oil and gas companies. SCB also finances the Canadian company First Quantum Minerals which is currently constructing a coal power plant in Botswana and Eskom in South Africa which is operating incredibly dirty coal plants and still has massive expansion plans.¹⁹⁷

Source: Fridays for Future

Africa requires new funds from wealthy nations and multilateral development banks to increase investment in tackling economic and non-economic loss and damage, decent green jobs, and gender-responsive public services. During COP 26 in Glasgow, it was made clear that a new and ambitious target for climate finance is urgently needed to address the climate crisis, noting that the current \$100 billion USD target per year is insufficient given the urgent needs of those most affected by the crisis i.e. African countries and Small Island States.

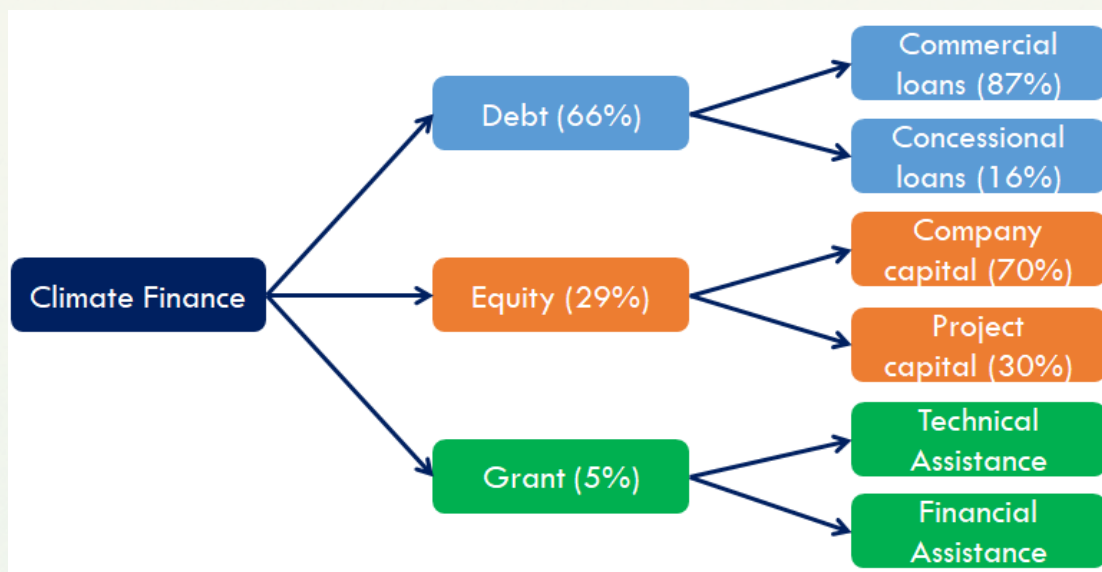
Just and inclusive global action on climate change is contingent on the delivery of timely and adequate climate finance. The availability of adequate, credible, predictable, new and additional climate finance holds the key in successful implementation of climate actions by developing countries, especially in Africa. Recent estimates for climate action in developing countries are laying out the case for trillions and not billions in new and additional financing needs. This is also in recognition of their current indebtedness, which, despite not having been triggered by the climate crisis, limits their fiscal space to be able to invest but also externally access financing in climate action.

195 Niranjali Amerasinghe and Jon Sward (2021). Opinion: IMF must recognize need for just, feminist, green transition, <https://www.devex.com/news/sponsored/opinion-imf-must-recognize-need-for-just-feminist-green-transition-102116>, Accessed 1 May 2022

196 Action Aid (2021). IMF Surveillance and Climate Change Transition Risks: Reforming IMF policy advice to support a just energy transition, <https://dev-actionaid.pantheonsite.io/wp-content/uploads/2021/08/IMF-x-climate-FINAL-1.pdf>

197 Fridays for Future (2021). Standard Chartered Must Stop 'Fueling the Climate Crisis', <https://fridaysforfuture.org/cleanupstandardchartered/>; <https://www.vice.com/en/article/g5bna9/standard-chartered-fridays-for-future-open-letter>

Fig. 2: What climate finance looks like¹⁹⁸.



3.4.1. Are climate financing mechanisms just and feminist?

Globally, women form the majority of the world’s more than 1.8 billion populations who live in poverty and of the close to 700 million in extreme poverty. 760 million women lack access to electricity while 2.6 billion still cooking with traditional biomass. These numbers are expected to further rise due to the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, climate crisis, wars, and food crisis among others¹⁹⁹. Women are disproportionately affected by climate change impacts which aggravate existing gender inequalities as a result of persisting gender norms and discriminations. Despite this, they also contribute to addressing the climate crisis in different ways²⁰⁰.

The Cancun Agreements²⁰¹ acknowledge that gender equality and the effective participation of women are important for all aspects of any response to climate change (UNFCCC, 2011). While the representation of women in Party delegations and among heads and deputy heads of Party delegations increased in 2021 compared to previous years to 49% and 39% respectively, the overrepresentation of men in the climate process persists as evidenced by speaking times, with men representing 60% of active speakers in the plenary, but claiming three quarters of the speaking time²⁰². Gender-responsive climate financing acknowledges that climate finance decisions are not made within a normative vacuum but must be guided by the acknowledgement of women’s rights as inalienable human rights²⁰³. Many climate funds started out largely gender-blind, but over the past decade significant efforts have been made to integrate gender considerations more systematically by updating and improving relevant fund structures and policies²⁰⁴. While important advances in existing climate funds have been made, new best practices for gender-responsiveness in funding climate actions are still needed particularly for African women and local communities on the continent.

198 Olivier Levallois (2020). The essentials of climate finance – a beginner guide, <https://www.hamerkop.co/blog/the-essential-of-climate-finance-a-beginner-guide>

199 Liane Schalatek (2022). Heinrich Böll Stiftung Climate funds update: Gender and Climate Finance, https://climatefundsupupdate.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/CFF10-Gender-and-CF_ENG-2021.pdf

200 Ibid

201 The Cancun Agreements were a set of significant decisions by the international community to address the long-term challenge of climate change collectively and comprehensively over time, and to take concrete action immediately to speed up the global response to it. They cover mitigation, adaptation, transparency, technology, finance, forests, capacity building. See UNFCCC, Intro to Cancun Agreements, <https://unfccc.int/process/conferences/the-big-picture/milestones/the-cancun-agreements#:~:text=What%20are%20the%20Cancun%20Agreements,the%20global%20response%20to%20it> and UNFCCC, Cancun Agreements, <https://unfccc.int/process/conferences/pastconferences/cancun-climate-change-conference-november-2010/statements-and-resources/Agreements>

202 UNFCCC (2021). Gender composition. Report by the secretariat. FCCC/CP/2021/4. Bonn: UNFCCC. https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/cp2021_04E.pdf

203 Liane Schalatek (2022). Heinrich Böll Stiftung Gender and Climate Finance, https://climatefundsupupdate.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/CFF10-Gender-and-CF_ENG-2021.pdf

204 Ibid

Under the current climate change finance regime, African women and communities do not have sufficient access to climate funds to cover weather-related losses, nor do they have funds to service adaptation and mitigation. Historically, climate finance has had limited focus on and benefit for the poorest and most disadvantaged populations within developing countries, and for women in particular. This exacerbates vulnerability and climate injustice, and overall reduces the resilience of such communities to the impacts of climate change. Gender-responsive climate change finance can play a role in creating an enabling environment for those who have typically been excluded.²⁰⁵

The Green Climate Fund (GCF), Climate Investment Funds (CIF), Adaptation Fund, and the Global Environment Facility (GEF) have all made attempts to mainstream gender. The GCF in particular places emphasis on the inclusion of women-centric and gendered programming while the GEF adopted a Policy on Gender Mainstreaming which requires all existing GEF agencies (mostly MDBs and UN agencies) to be assessed for their compliance with the GEF gender mainstreaming mandate. Unfortunately, the private-sector-led financing models have taken a toll on the funding ecosystem. Driven by profit oriented motives, the financing may not necessarily benefit those in most need of climate adaptation and mitigation interventions,²⁰⁶ because there is no mechanism that has been put in place to ensure that peasant women, indigenous women, and other vulnerable groups are able to benefit from, or access the GEF.

Yet, in an era of rising climate impacts, loss and damage from climate change is already a reality on the ground for vulnerable communities. And, financial support for development, for humanitarian needs, for disaster risk reduction and for adaptation and mitigation is all insufficient to meet these valid and essential purposes. There is no way that these sources of finance can stretch even further to encompass finance for loss and damage. Already, many African countries like other developing countries have raised concerns about the modalities of accessing climate financing. For example, many feel that the accreditation of National Implementing Entities (NIEs) is too slow and - like the approval of projects proposals, bogged down in onerous “micro-scrutiny” that is tying countries up in paperwork considered by some as unnecessary and counter-productive²⁰⁷. Concerns have also been raised that a significant proportion of the funding comes in the form of loans (See Fig. 2 above). The loans would only add to the debt burden of developing countries, especially in Africa and it is inconsistent with an understanding of adaptation finance as a compensation for harm caused by developed countries under the polluter pays principle.

While the most affected countries have re-echoed the two broad principles of international law, and specific agreements between Parties within the UNFCCC that mandate the provision of loss and damage finance i.e. the no harm rule and the polluter pays principle, little progress is being made in this regard. The no harm rule says that States have the responsibility to ensure that activities within their jurisdiction or control do not cause damage to the environment outside of their State. Where harm is caused there is an obligation to cease wrongful conduct and to make full reparation for any injuries caused. The no-harm rule is included in Principle 21 of the Stockholm Declaration 1972, and Principle 2 of the Rio Declaration 1992. The polluter pays principle is the notion that those responsible for pollution should be held liable for any harms caused by the activity. Principle 16 of the 1992 Rio Declaration encourages states to apply the polluter pays principle.

More specifically, Parties to the UNFCCC, in Decision 2/CP19, agreed to establish the Warsaw International Mechanism (WIM) for loss and damage. The WIM was agreed with three broad functions: a) Enhancing knowledge and understanding of loss and damage; b) Strengthening dialogue, coordination and coherence between various bodies on loss and damage; and Enhancing action and support, including finance, to address loss and damage²⁰⁸. However, not much



205 Mayesha Alam, Rukmani Bhatia, Briana Mawby (2015). Impact and Agency in Human Rights, Security, and Economic Development online: https://www.climateinvestmentfunds.org/sites/cif_enc/files/knowledge-documents/georgetown_women_and_climate_change_2015.pdf

206 Ibid

207 Durand, Alexis, Victoria Hoffmeister, Romain Weikmans, Jonathan Gewirtzman, Sujay Natson, Saleemul Huq, J. Timmons Roberts (2016). Financing Options for Loss and Damage: A Review and Roadmap. German Development Institute. Bonn. Available: <https://www.die-gdi.de/en/discussion-paper/article/financingoptions-for-loss-and-damage-a-review-and-roadmap/>.

208 UNFCCC (2014). COP Report of the Conference of the Parties to its nineteenth session, held in Warsaw from 11 to 23 November 2013, Ad-



progress has been made on this last element which includes facilitating the mobilisation of finance. This lack of progress on finance has been driven by developed countries unwillingness to make progress. Developed countries have moved from outright, public obstruction demonstrated in the early days, to a ‘go-slow’ mode, ensuring relevant negotiations are largely held behind closed doors (in 2015 and 2016 UNFCCC level loss and damage negotiations were held in meetings that were closed to observers), using procedural arguments to ensure any progress made is minute, and providing funding for the Secretariat to give support at a level that could be described as ‘skeletal’²⁰⁹, being provided on a “cooperative and facilitative basis”, rather than as “compensation or liability”.

Indeed, as the demands for climate action have sharpened to the call for climate justice, not just from countries in the Global South, but from a broad range of activists, especially women, youth and other minoritized people, a major point of contention between rich and poor countries is to acknowledge the need for a separate pool of money to address loss and damage, including historic harms. This separate pool known as climate reparations would be used to help poor countries adapt to a changing climate and would pay for irreparable losses, such as the disappearance of national territory, culture and ecosystems.

Resounding evidence has shown that the Global South, and particularly Africa are least responsible for the climate crisis. Unlike the global North that heavily relies on burning fossil fuels especially coal, and natural gas for their electricity, Sub Saharan Africa majorly relies on renewable energy for electricity i.e. hydro electricity, wind, solar and geothermal. Ethiopia, Kenya, and Zambia for instance rely on hydroelectricity estimated at 85%²¹⁰, 67.5%²¹¹, and 85%²¹² respectively of each country’s electricity resource. Within Latin America, Paraguay obtains essentially 100% of their electricity from renewable sources i.e. hydroelectricity²¹³.

This is why “It is important that the Global North own up to that responsibility of paying what they are due to the Global South,” a climate activist from South Africa organising with Fridays for Future MAPA (most affected people and areas). Demanding for reparations is not only a way of understanding our political context through the framework of decolonisation but can also be a starting point for radically reorienting our world towards climate justice. By demanding reparative justice, the wider injustices inherent to capitalism and neo-colonialism are brought into focus. However, the EU and US have remained strongly opposed to the call for climate reparations²¹⁴. During COP 26 in Glasgow, this was a “sticky” issue in the negotiations, during which the two economies, which are largely responsible for the climate crisis, disagreed with the proposal by developing countries for creation of a loss and damage finance facility. While the EU noted that their treasury was opposed to the creation of a new fund, the US argued that creating a fund for compensating individuals or governments for loss and damage was a red line. According to the U.S. climate envoy in Glasgow, “Washington wouldn’t support a decision that opens the way for lawsuits”²¹⁵.

Climate reparations are not a panacea but are better understood as one key part of a system of wider measures – including debt cancellation, a just transition away from fossil fuels, and ending corporate impunity – to achieve climate justice globally.²¹⁶

dendum, Part two: Action taken by the Conference of the Parties at its nineteenth session, <http://unfccc.int/resource/docs/2013/cop19/eng/10a01.pdf>

209 Julie-Anne Richards and Liane Schalatek, Heinrich Boll Stiftung (2017). A discussion paper on Financing Loss and Damage: A Look at Governance and Implementation Options, https://www.boell.de/sites/default/files/loss_and_damage_finance_paper_update_16_may_2017.pdf?dimension1=division_oen

210 Ashebir Dingeto Hailu, Desta Kalbessa Kumsa. (2021). Ethiopia renewable energy potentials and current state[J]. AIMS Energy 9(1): 1-14. doi: 10.3934/energy.2021001 shu

211 Mohammed Takase, Rogers Kipkoech, Paul Kwame Essandoh, (2021). A comprehensive review of energy scenario and sustainable energy in Kenya, Fuel Communications, Volume 7, 100015, ISSN 2666-0520, <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.fueco.2021.100015/>, <https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S266605202100008X>

212 USAID (2019). Zambia Power Africa Fact Sheet, <https://www.usaid.gov/powerafrica/zambia>

213 Pappis, I., Centurion, C., Ramos, E.P. et al. (2021). Implications to the electricity system of Paraguay of different demand scenarios and export prices to Brazil. Energy Syst 12, 911–939, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12667-020-00420-w>

214 Chloé Farand (2021). Climate reparations become a crunch issue as Cop26 goes into overtime, <https://www.climatechangenews.com/2021/11/12/climate-reparations-crunch-issue-cop26-goes-overtime/>

215 Zia Weise and Karl Mathiesen (2021). EU, US block effort for climate disaster funding at COP26, <https://www.politico.eu/article/eu-us-block-financial-support-climate-change-cop26/>

216 Anita Bhadani (2021). A guide to climate reparations, <https://www.yesmagazine.org/environment/2021/11/29/climate-reparations>

3.4.2. Key Questions for evaluating climate finance in your country/ community:

- Have women benefited from climate adaptation or mitigation projects in your country/ community? How?
- Were women consulted and involved in the design of the project and the allocation of resources? Can they specifically highlight how the project will benefit them?
- Does the government have the necessary institutional structures in place to facilitate your access to climate funds that meet your needs and the interests of your community, particularly the most vulnerable including women, people with disabilities and other minoritized groups?
- Are new structures necessary for enhancing access to climate funds for these groups or can they be managed under existing structures? If yes, please elaborate. You can develop these proposals into a position paper that you can submit together with your group to your government.
- How are local government/local authorities involved in managing climate finance and implementing climate adaptation and mitigation initiatives?





Chapter 4: Applying feminist intersectional approaches in climate justice advocacy in Africa and the Global South.

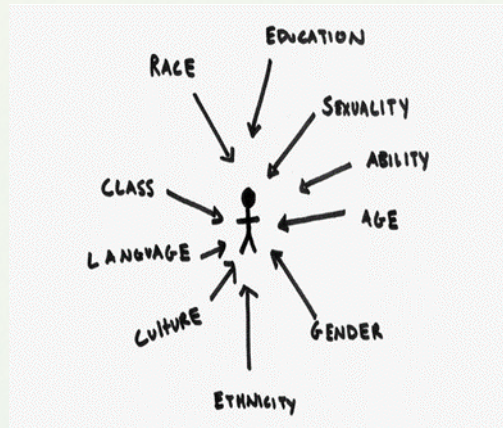
“There is one thing I almost never hear leaders talk about, and that is loss and damage. For many of us, reducing and avoiding is not enough. You cannot adapt to lost cultures, you cannot adapt to lost traditions, you cannot adapt to lost history, you cannot adapt to starvation. You cannot adapt to extinction.” **Vanessa Nakate**

This chapter provides practical guidance to feminists, climate justice activists, environmentalists and civil society on what and how to apply intersectional feminist climate justice approaches. It highlights that addressing climate crisis from an intersectional feminist perspective requires application of multi-dimensional approaches, tools and strategic interventions, while analysing the impact of the climate crisis on people already affected by historical economic, political and social injustices; gender inequality; racism; sexism; income inequality; poverty; people in rural areas and areas prone to natural disasters; people living with disabilities; the youth and elderly; among others. The chapter reflects on and draws lessons from bold feminist and transformative approaches and campaigns that have been employed to challenge unfair systems and transform power relations, overturn unfair and unjust decisions, and demand for women’s rights as human rights by feminists and social justice campaigners in different contexts. It makes the conclusion that enhancing the involvement and participation of African women in all their diversities is causally connected with stronger climate policies and therefore correlated with a just climate transition. It therefore unpacks various global and regional climate spaces specific to advancing women’s rights, gender justice and intersectional feminist climate justice approaches and emphasizes the need for these groups of people to mobilise each other to increase African women’s influence in these decision making spaces. The chapter thus proposes various traditional and contemporary communication, mobilisation and advocacy tools taking into account African women’s lived realities, particularly those in rural areas. It challenges climate actors to reclaim Africa’s oramedia such as the talking drums, the folk songs, itinerant dance, mime groups, drama, festivals, town criers, traditional wears, the artefacts, art works, paintings, stories, among others cultural architecture that reflect in the palaces, shrines, and African cities, towns and villages; as well as to take up spaces in contemporary spaces of media such as social media, podcasts, as young African women are doing.



4.1 Understanding intersectional feminist approaches in the context of the climate crisis

A feminist approach to climate justice recognizes climate change as a complex social issue that should be analysed using an intersectional approach. An intersectional approach acknowledges the interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class, ethnicity, age, sexual orientation and gender as they apply to a given individual or group. An intersectional analysis therefore means that the climate crisis must be approached not as a single issue crisis, but rather the intersection of many different crises. It strives to advocate for strategies that address the root causes of inequality, transform power relations and promote women's rights in the context of climate crisis²¹⁷.



Intersectionality recognizes that each person's complex identity affects how they are implicated and affected by climate change. This means recognizing the importance of power relations, situated contexts for different people, and how social groupings affect material outcomes. It's important to acknowledge that gender is central and intersects with all other social and economic factors that accelerate vulnerability.

Globally, women make up half of humankind, and therefore disproportionate impacts of climate change on women must be addressed as an urgent matter of equity, across the globe, women on average tend to be less educated, poorer, less mobile, and more long-

lived than men—all risk factors for vulnerability to climate change²¹⁸. Moreover, since women have large biological and cultural roles in human reproduction and livelihood production, even small gender-linked differences have huge impacts on humanity as a whole. For feminist organizations, an intersectional analysis of the climate crisis is important to define appropriate advocacy messages for their work. Feminists and women organisations have for decades employed different feminist and gender transformational approaches in their advocacy and programing work, (including in climate justice interventions) to deconstruct and transform gender inequalities in different contexts.

a) Deconstructing patriarchy and power structures

Transformation means change or renovation of the patriarchal system to recognize the rights of women. It calls for the society to change their concepts on the social legitimacy of the patriarchal traditions which has consistently become a stumbling block to realising women's rights. These patriarchal systems which are both bad for women and men can be transformed and deconstructed for the benefit of all. It's a system that operates by creating privileges and oppression.²¹⁹

There is huge room for transforming culture while deconstructing patriarchy with progressive reforms that creates equity, and empowers women in gaining their rights to land. This calls for the need to engage with patriarchal structures, deconstruct, reconstruct, and re-conceptualise notions of access, control and ownership and distinguish the positive aspects, and intervene where it can make the most difference for women.²²⁰ Therefore bearing in mind that patriarchy is the prime obstacle to women's advancement and development.²²¹ Feminist and gender focused organisations have attempted to put in place various strategies to transform the deep rooted inequalities on women' and other minority groups Including public awareness creation through traditional and social media

217 Anna Kaijser & Annica Kronsell (2014). Climate change through the lens of intersectionality, *Environmental Politics*, 23:3, 417-433, DOI: 10.1080/09644016.2013.835203

218 Women's Environmental Network (2010). "Gender and the Climate Change Agenda". Online. <https://www.gdonline.org/resources/Gender%20and%20the%20climate%20change%20agenda%2021.pdf>

219 Elaine Neuenfeldt (2015). *Identifying and Dismantling Patriarchy and Other Systems of Oppression of Women 2015*.

220 Kameri-Mbote P. (2013). I WANT IT AND I WANT IT NOW: Women and Land in Africa. Published in *2 Perspectives 6-9 (2013)*. International Environmental Law Research

221 Sultana, A. (2012). Patriarchy and Women's Subordination: A Theoretical Analysis. *Arts Faculty Journal*, 4, 1-18. <https://doi.org/10.3329/afj.v4i0.12929>



as this help with the mind-set change. For traditional media, Capacity building for journalists on gender sensitive reporting is very crucial in bringing rightful messages on gender justice to the public.

b) Social inclusion and intersectional analysis:

Women and girls are not a homogeneous group, several other social, economic and cultural factors including age, disability, sexual orientations, religion, education, locations and intersect with gender and determine one's ability to exercise or enjoy their full rights or denial in this case. A feminist and transformational programming remains cognisant of all these factors and should deliver programs informed by analysis based on intersectionalities to ensure that no one is left behind.

Key Questions

Who are the most marginalized groups of people in your communities?

What are the social economic gender-related demographic and ecological factors that perpetuate marginalization?

How does the intersection of different factors exacerbate or reinforce the existing gender inequalities?

How are people who experience intersecting inequalities excluded from decision-making processes?

c) Women's self-organisation and agency

Feminist movements believe that it is possible to change the world and change women's lives in the same movement this requires focusing on uniting women for a common agenda either in women only groups as well as creating spaces for them in different groups and platforms. Creating safe spaces allows women to discuss problems, share experiences and develop new skills and establish a political plan for change. Feminists believe that the only way to respond to these challenges is through alliances, coalitions and networks with other progressive social movements to build spaces of political articulation to collectively construct the political, economic and social project of the world they want²²².

d) Building women's leadership potential

Women's Leadership is key to increasing women's voice and their ability to influence decisions at family level and in public in both formal and informal decision making spaces. Feminists and gender focused organizations should strategically focus on building women's Leadership capacity including creating linkages between grass root women leaders and women in decision making platforms and adopt a transformative leadership approach a strategy that aims at building all leaders capacity to promote gender equality.

e) Innovation and scaling up best Practices

Learning and replication of existing feminist and gender transformative change is essential in causing positive change at scale. A number of international gender focused organisations have innovated practical tools and approaches. For example, Oxfam International works with Gender methodologies and approaches to address gender inequality and power imbalances at grassroots level. In communities where the Gender Action Learning (GALS) methodology²²³ has been implemented, positive changes have been registered in the lives of women and men in different communities where it has been implemented. In Uganda, the methodology has also been widely adopted by other

222 WEDO (2021). Feminist for economic Justice for People and planet. a feminist and decolonial global green new deal: principles, paradigms and systemic transformations. Online: https://wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/2021/06/FemEconClimate-ActionNexus_Brief_FemGND-1.pdf

223 Oxfam (2014). Rocky Road to Diamond dreams: GALS 1. Visioning and catalysing a gender justice movement. Implementation Manual V1.0. Online: [https://www.oxfamnovib.nl/redactie/Downloads/English/SPEF/140701_RRDD_manual_July_small\(1\).pdf](https://www.oxfamnovib.nl/redactie/Downloads/English/SPEF/140701_RRDD_manual_July_small(1).pdf)



international and local organisations and applied in government programs. Documented findings reveal that in communities where the methodology has been applied have witnessed gender transformative change around gender role and decision making at different levels and has also greatly contributed to growing women's confidence and voices²²⁴.

f) Collaborative partnerships

Beyond mere participation in policy events, it's important that feminist organizations develop strategic collaboration approaches through building institutional partnership with key state and non-state actors at different levels in the gender sector at different levels. This has the potential of harnessing and leveraging resources, and influencing decision-making processes.

g) Strategic partnerships with indigenous gender/women rights organisations (WROs)

Indigenous Women's rights organisations possess strong connections, therefore, grassroots women become an avenue through which women's agency can be further strengthened without creating parallel structures. International and regional women's rights organisations based in Africa have invested in establishing direct relationships with representatives of special interest groups of women, including women with disabilities, older women, Women in the informal sector, women in politics, women living with HIV and other diversity groups. This is a big step towards building a representative social movement for women's rights.

h) Influencing operationalization of legislations and policy frameworks

While legislation on gender equality exists across sectors globally, regionally and nationally, the major obstacles continue to exist in the budgets, human and institutional capacity to implement the framework in a gender responsive/transformational way. Feminist organisations should focus on bridging the gap between the legislation and strengthening accountability mechanisms including gender-responsive budgeting process through influencing and advocacy work.

4.2 Women Rights and Human Rights in the context of climate justice

Climate change affects the economic and social rights of countless individuals; this includes their right to food, health and shelter among others²²⁵. Women's rights have especially been infringed due to this crisis. Human Rights are universal legal guarantees that protect individuals, groups and peoples against actions and omissions that interfere with their fundamental freedoms and entitlements; The Fifth Assessment Report (AR5)²²⁶ of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) unequivocally states that "human influence on the climate system is clear, and recent anthropogenic emissions of green-house gases are the highest in history. It notes that "recent climate changes have had widespread impacts on human and natural systems." AR5 found that "people who are socially, economically, culturally, politically, institutionally or otherwise marginalised are especially vulnerable to climate change and also to some adaptation and mitigation responses.

224 IFAD (2014). Case study Gender Action Learning System in Ghana, Nigeria, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Uganda, <https://www.ifad.org/documents/38714170/40205133/Gender+Action+Learning+System+%28GALS%29+in+Ghana%2C+Nigeria%2C+Rwanda%2C+Sierra+Leone+and+Uganda.pdf/31ebaea7-3fd4-4370-a031-bfdb20ebc9f6?t=1555415260000>

225 UNEP (2015). Climate Change and Human Rights. Online: <https://www.unep.org/resources/report/climate-change-and-human-rights>

226 IPCC (2014). Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Fifth Assessment Report: Climate Change 2014 Synthesis Report Summary for Policymakers. Online: <https://www.ipcc.ch/report/ar5/syr/>

The Human Rights Council²²⁷ has recently recognized, for the very first time, that having a clean, healthy, and sustainable environment is a Human Right and adopted the resolution and the appointment of a Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of Human Rights in the context of climate change. The resolution recognise Human Rights implications of the adverse impact of climate change and the consequences most acutely affect women, children, persons with disabilities, indigenous peoples, local communities, peasants and other people working in rural areas, people living in conditions of water scarcity, drought and desertification, persons belonging to minority groups, homeless persons, persons living in poverty, older persons, migrants, refugees and internally displaced persons, those living in conflict areas and those already in vulnerable situations.

In addition to recognizing their agency in contributing to climate action and also contribution of Human Rights defenders, including women and indigenous Human Rights defenders, working in environmental matters, the council urges all States to take all measures necessary to ensure the protection of the rights and safety of all persons, including environmental Human Rights defenders, and underscoring the responsibility of all business enterprises, both transnational and others, consistent with the Guiding Principles on Business and Human Rights, to respect Human Rights, including the rights to life, liberty and security of Human Rights defenders, including environmental Human Rights defenders. A three year, special rapporteur on the promotion and protection of Human Rights in the context of climate change, was appointed with the following mandate to:

“Promote and exchange views on lessons learned and best practices related to the adoption of Human Rights-based, gender-responsive, age-sensitive, disability-inclusive and risk-informed approaches to climate change adaptation and mitigation policies, with a view to contributing to the achievement of the Paris Agreement and the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, which could help in the realisation of the Sustainable Development Goals, in particular Goals 13 and 14, to address the economic, cultural, environmental and social challenges that climate change poses for the full enjoyment of Human Rights for all and in particular to support the resilience and adaptive capacities of people in vulnerable situations to respond to the adverse impact of climate change; and to integrate a gender-responsive, age-sensitive, disability inclusive and social inclusion perspective throughout the work of the mandate among others”.



Climate change affects the economic and social rights of countless individuals: this includes their right to food, health and shelter among others. But women's rights have especially been infringed due to this crisis.

227 Human Rights Council (2021). Resolution 48/14: Mandate of the Special Rapporteur on the promotion and protection of Human Rights in the context of climate change. Online: <https://www.actu-environnement.com/media/pdf/news-38372-resolution-onu-rapporteur-impacts-changement-climatique-droits-homme.pdf>

The UN Legally Binding Treaty on Business and Human Rights²²⁸ provides guidelines for business operations but these are not legally binding and the enforcement mechanism is lacking. It is therefore important that a legally binding instrument on TNCs and Human Rights is adopted to ensure that TNCs are obligated to protect and respect Human Rights, the environment and public interest. Research and experience reveals that the voluntary codes of conduct and multi stakeholder initiatives are not effective in preventing corporate abuse of power and providing effective remedies.

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, and other Human Rights instruments require states to guarantee effective remedies for Human Rights violations. Climate change and its impacts, including sea-level rise, extreme weather events, and droughts have already inflicted Human Rights harms on millions of people. For states and communities on the frontline, survival itself is at stake. Those affected, now and in the future, must have access to meaningful remedies including judicial and other redress mechanisms.

The Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), adopted in 1992, is the international framework for the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity and the fair distribution of its benefits. The objective of the CBD is to promote the sustainable use of biodiversity. This convention recognizes that biodiversity includes not only plants, animals, micro-organisms and their ecosystems, but also human beings and their needs. To date, it has been ratified by 190 states. Women's participation has been explicitly addressed within the CBD. Paragraph 13 of the Convention mentions the important participation of women in the conservation and sustainable use of biodiversity: "Recognize the vital role that women play in the Convention on Biological Diversity, conservation and sustainable use of biological diversity, emphasising the need for the full participation of women at all levels of policy and implementation for biological diversity conservation."

In the African context, 19 years ago, the Member States of the African Union adopted the Protocol to the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights on the Rights of Women in Africa (Maputo Protocol) to advance and safeguard the rights of women and girls across the continent²²⁹. To date, 42 countries have signed and ratified the Maputo Protocol out of the 55 countries. The Maputo protocol unequivocally reinforces women's rights in totality, while expounding on specific and unique experiences of African women and sets the standards for women's human rights in Africa. For example, the protocol highlights the importance of protecting and enabling the development of women's indigenous knowledge systems given their importance in the realisation of the right to a healthy and sustainable environment. The protocol further addresses the women's right to productive resources such as land; including, among others, the need to protect women against the negative effects of globalisation.



228 Business and Human Rights Resource Centre (2014). Binding treaty: a brief overview, <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/big-issues/binding-treaty/>

229 African Union (2020). Press Release: Maputo Protocol Scorecard and index introduced to monitor implementation of Women's Rights, <https://au.int/en/pressreleases/20200623/maputo-protocol-scorecard-and-index-introduced-monitor-implementation-womens>

4.2.1. How ecofeminists feminists and indigenous women can apply the CEDAW in their advocating for gender responsive climate justice?

CEDAW Article 14 on the rights of women in rural areas has a number of protections which relate to issues facing indigenous women, including that States Parties “shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetized sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of this Convention to women in rural areas” (Art 14(1). This specific attention to the concerns of women in rural areas overlaps in places with the concerns often raised by indigenous women.

Again referring to Article 14(2), CEDAW emphasises the right to equal treatment for women in land and agrarian reform and in land resettlement schemes. The potential ramifications on indigenous peoples from land reform schemes are significant, and appropriate protections for indigenous women from such threats is not equal treatment, but acknowledgment of specific interests and rights.

Holding governments accountable to indigenous women Like all other Human Rights instruments, indigenous women can invoke the provisions of CEDAW to call on government responsibility in seeking redress for any discrimination or violation of their rights. Indigenous women, therefore, can use the CEDAW to assert their rights as women and can utilise its procedures and engage the Committee to influence State Parties through submission of a shadow/alternative report

The Shadow or Alternative Report

This is a report which is written by anyone in civil society and submitted to the committee when the State is reporting, or supposed to be reporting, to the Committee. The purpose of these reports is to provide information to the Committee that may be lacking in the official government reports, and to request the expertise of the Committee in coming up with recommendations for how violations of the Convention can be stopped. A shadow/ alternative report can take a number of different approaches, and the guidance that we provide here is general in nature. All reports should be tailored to express the specific problems of any given people. Indigenous women can use a shadow or alternative report to communicate the voices of indigenous women to the Committee, voices which may not be heard by the government in its preparation of its own report. Indigenous women can also provide information about their own experiences and circumstances which cannot be accurately presented by others. This may include information about the real situation of indigenous women with respect to access to justice or education, concerns that indigenous women have about inadequacies or gaps in existing laws and policies, or in the implementation of them, and about the obstacles that indigenous women face in trying to achieve their Human Rights.

Source: Tebtebba Foundation (2013) Realising Indigenous Women’s Rights: A Handbook on the CEDAW. <https://www.forestpeoples.org/sites/fpp/files/publication/2014/03/realizing-indigenous-women-s-rights-handbook-cedaw.pdf>



Despite the progressive Human Rights framework, climate change is undermining the enjoyment of Human Rights, especially of the people on the frontline of the climate crisis who have contributed least to the causes of climate change. Climate justice links Human Rights and development to achieve a Climate justice requires that climate action must ensure that those who have contributed the least to climate change but disproportionately suffer its harms must be meaningful participants in and primary beneficiaries of climate action, and they must have access to effective remedies²³⁰.

Pursuant to relevant Human Rights principles, climate assistance should be adequate, effective and transparent, it should be administered through participatory, accountable and non-discriminatory processes, and it should be targeted toward persons, groups, and people most in need. States should engage in cooperative efforts to respond to climate-related displacement and migration and to address climate-related conflicts and security risks²³¹.

A Human Rights based approach therefore addresses cross-cutting social, cultural, political and economic problems, while empowering persons, groups and peoples, especially those in vulnerable situations and this can make considerable contributions to climate change policies, making them less myopic and more responsive, sensitive, and collaborative.

4.2.2. Making the case for enhancing the participation and inclusion of women and other minority groups in climate decision making

Participation is a basic human right in itself, [and] a precondition or catalyst for the realisation and enjoyment of other human rights.²³² Women bear the brunt of climate change because they are the primary caretakers of households and the environment and therefore are powerful agents of change and their full participation in climate change adaptation and mitigation policies and initiatives is indispensable.²³³ The International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights and other Human Rights instruments guarantee all persons the right to free, active, meaningful and informed participation in public affairs. This is critical for effective rights-based climate action and requires open and participatory institutions and processes, as well as accurate and transparent measurements of greenhouse gas emissions, climate change and its impacts²³⁴.

In Africa, women have been affected more by ecological crises due to their responsible position in the family and community levels. They are the top house managers in their respective families, responsible for the well-being and general family livelihood. Therefore, ecological crises have forced women to play the leading role in the restoration, conservation and mitigation actions towards this crisis. The research survey conducted by Ondiba et al., 2020, argues that women from the local community have traditionally played significant roles in sustaining the Kakamega forest environment through the women entrepreneurship enterprise²³⁵. The women do participate in the cultivation and domestication of indigenous medicinal plants harvested from the forest. The study reported that women from about 26 households near the Kakamega Forest established Muliru Enterprise, a Small and Medium Enterprise (SME). Community-based enterprises and groups ably process plant materials from domesticated and cultivated *Ocimum kilimandscharicum*, *Ocimum suave* and *Lippia ukambensis* using a medicinal plant processing facility in Isecheno village in the southern part of Kakamega Forest²³⁶. It also processes medicinal, pest control products, essential oils and ointments. The products have received wide acceptance in the Kenyan market. A large fraction of community members receive livelihood from the projects while conserving the Kakamega forest.

230 Ibid

231 OHCHR (2015). Understanding Human rights and climate change, Online: <https://www.ohchr.org/sites/default/files/Documents/Issues/ClimateChange/COP21.pdf>

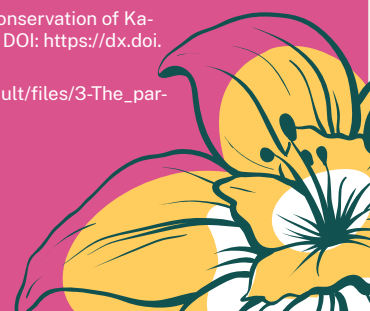
232 Ibid

233 UN Women, Women, Gender Equality and Climate change. Online: https://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/climate_change/downloads/Women_and_Climate_Change_Factsheet.pdf

234 UNEP (2015). Climate Change and Human Rights. Online: <https://www.unep.org/resources/report/climate-change-and-human-rights>

235 Ondiba Hesborn Andole, Kenichi Matsui, and Adwoa Oforiwa Antwi (2020). The role of women enterprises for the conservation of Kakamega forest, Kenya. *Journal of Advanced Research in Social Sciences and Humanities* Volume 5, Issue 3 (52-56), DOI: <https://dx.doi.org/10.26500/JARSSH-05-2020-0301>

236 ICIPE, The participating community-based enterprises and groups (MSMEs), online: http://www.icipe.org/sites/default/files/3-The_participating_community-based_enterprises_and_groups.pdf



Time and again, experience has shown that communities fare better during natural disasters when women play a leadership role in early warning systems and reconstruction. Women tend to share information related to community well-being, choose less polluting energy sources, and adapt more easily to environmental changes when their family's survival is at stake²³⁷. Surprisingly, most times climate actions are happening and women are left out of these spaces too when they design the project or program, they do not consult the indigenous women and this nullifies the sustainability of the project long term.²³⁸

The inclusion and consideration of women and their needs is not simply a moral right, but also a strategic approach to address climate change. While high-level discussions about climate change have historically been dominated by the issues of national pollution and industrial concerns, which are certainly critical, identifying and enacting effective mitigation and adaptation measures will depend on the consideration of gender-based vulnerabilities and the participation of women²³⁹. Women and girls, particularly of colour, need to be at the forefront of decision-making on climate change at the local, regional, national and international level to inform building of practical and durable solutions informed by their own experiences, expectations and capabilities.²⁴⁰

Evidence shows that women involvement in climate change decision-making is low²⁴¹ but worse for the African women²⁴². Women from the Global South have been systematically excluded from climate change related decision-making processes in as much as they are gravely and unequally affected by climate change and variability²⁴³. Climate change policies favour men at the expense of women resulting in the perpetuation of insubordination of women by men.

Both at the level of representation – policy makers are mostly men and the insights from women's lived experience with climate change are under-represented. This underrepresentation seriously compromises the effectiveness of climate change mitigation measures²⁴⁴, which require the involvement of all stakeholders. Research shows that the equitable participation of women and men in climate change decision making can provide the crosscutting experiences necessary for climate change policies that embody social equity and reflect and serve the needs of society.²⁴⁵ The 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action – recognizing women's full participation as fundamental to equality, development and peace – identifies “women in power and decision-making” as one of twelve critical areas of concern and calls on governmental bodies to commit to establishing the goal of gender balance.²⁴⁶ For example, Climate finance – decisions about how to use funds directed locally, regionally, or globally for climate change mitigation and adaptation – usually ignores the needs and views of women, which is inefficient at the very least²⁴⁷. Women's priorities and needs must be reflected in the development planning and funding. Women should be part of the decision making at national and local levels regarding allocation of resources for climate change initiatives.

237 ILO (2009). Green jobs: Improving the climate for gender equality tool, https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---gender/documents/publication/wcms_101505.pdf

238 FAO (2014). Post 2015 and SDGs: nourishing people, nurturing the planet, FAO and the post2015 development agenda papers. Online: www.fao.org/post-2015-mdg/

239 Tebtebba Foundation (2013). Realising Indigenous Women's Rights: A Handbook on the CEDAW. <https://www.forestpeoples.org/sites/fpp/files/publication/2014/03/realizing-indigenous-women-s-rights-handbook-cedaw.pdf>

240 UN Women (2009). Women, Gender Equality and Climate change. Online: https://www.un.org/womenwatch/feature/climate_change/downloads/Women_and_Climate_Change_Factsheet.pdf

241 European Institute for Gender Equality (2012). EIGE Annual Report 2012, online: <https://eige.europa.eu/about/documents-registry/eige-annual-report-2012>

242 BTeam (2019). For a just transition in Africa, we need women's leadership, <https://bteam.org/our-thinking/news/for-a-just-transition-in-africa-we-need-womens-leadership>

243 Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung (2018). Beyond Extractivism: Feminist alternatives for a socially and gender just development in Africa Online: <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/bueros/mosambik/15208-20190325.pdf>

244 Women's Environmental Network (2010). “Gender and the Climate Change Agenda”. Online. <https://www.gdnonline.org/resources/Gender%20and%20the%20climate%20change%20agenda%2021.pdf>

245 Janni Aragon and Mariel Miller (2012). Global Women's Issues: Women in the World Today/ extended version” (2021). Open Textbooks. 394., <https://mds.marshall.edu/oa-textbooks/394>

246 UN Women (2017). Shaping The International Agenda: Raising Women's Voices In Intergovernmental Forums: online: <https://www.unwomen.org/-/media/headquarters/attachments/sections/library/publications/2017/raising-womens-voices-in-intergovernmental-forums.pdf?la=en&vs=2321>

247 UNFCCC (2019). Differentiated impacts of climate change on women and men; the integration of gender considerations in climate policies, plans and actions; and progress in enhancing gender balance in national climate delegations: Online: https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/resource/sbi2019_inf8.pdf

It is also important to ensure gender-responsive investments in programmes for adaptation, mitigation, technology transfer and capacity building²⁴⁸.

A 2005 study indicated that countries with higher proportions of women in their national legislative bodies are more likely to approve environmental agreements. This finding correlates with research published in 2019 that greater women's representation in national parliaments is likely causally connected with stronger climate policies, which is then correlated with lower carbon dioxide emissions.

Source: 2020 Pocket Guide to Gender Equality under UNFCCC. Online: <https://wedo.org/2020-pocket-guide-to-gender-equality-under-the-unfccc/>

Women's involvement in the extractives industry in Zambia

In Zambia women are underrepresented in the decision making bodies of the extractive sector in the case of the Rufanyama Mining project, there is a stakeholder platform of over 10 people with only one (1) woman representative of which she is an alternative member. During the global extractive industry conference 2019, the gender provisions were a bit enhanced and it was necessary for all the multi stakeholder groups to have gender representation because the sector has been extremely male dominated. In terms of leadership and civil service, the women are behind. To make matters worse, the country's legislative assembly is highly male dominated with only 12.9% women representation in parliament.

Interview with an eco-feminist in Zambia, September 2021



Key Questions:

248 Balgis Osman-Elasha (2009). Women...In The Shadow of Climate Change, <https://www.un.org/en/chronicle/article/women-in-shadow-climate-change>

- What are the social cultural factors hindering women's participation in climate change programmes at individual level?
- What are social cultural factors that prevent decision makers from inviting women into climate change decisions making and planning spaces at community and national level?
- What resources and capacities do women need to engage in climate change programme actions?
- What is the role of feminist organizations in supporting women's participation in climate action?
- What barriers do feminists' organizations face and how can they overcome them?

Women Environmental Human Rights Defenders (WEHRDs).

Although women have played a forefront role in preventing and stopping environmental and climate-related injustices in the community, they have also suffered, and some succumbed to the harsh responses from the politicians, investors, law enforcers and many others. Such actions are directed to the defenders who expose the immense effects of the intended projects by the policymakers like the mining projects, oil projects and others that are likely to destruct and destroy the natural resources plus the ecosystem services they offer to the community. In the last decade, violence against EHRDs has received increased international attention. However, more work is still necessary to develop gender-responsive safeguards and response mechanisms as incidents of GBV against WEHRDs are on the rise, reinforcing gender inequality in public and private spheres.





Intimidation and violence against Raaya Ahmed, Lamu Women alliance, Lamu Island, Kenya

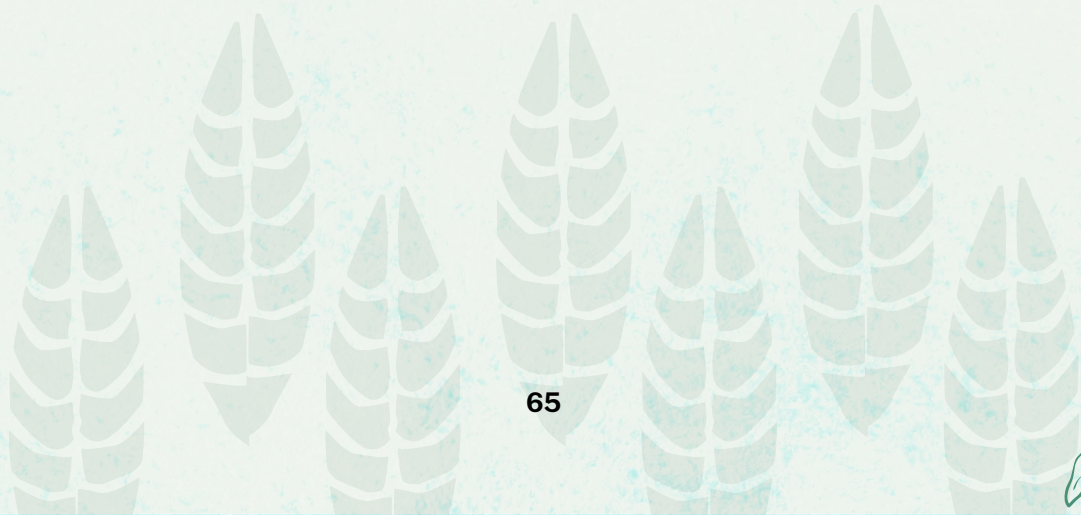
“I was one of the five petitioners on the Save Lamu project in Kenya, opposing the cola power plant. People attack me verbally. I was not and I am not the conventional type of woman like the one religion dictates. They always reminded me of not being a good mother and not having time for my family.

In 2016, I suffered intimidation from the police force one night-Ten (10) policemen came to search my house without a warrant I was in the house alone with my two children was accused of hiding an unlicensed weapon in the home I took this as warning to slow me down but I was determined not to give up. The Community tried to stop me because they feared for my life but I refused. We finally won in 2019! Raaya adds that, since 2016 she is oppressed financially by the government. She is not allowed to apply for jobs in her country (blacklisted on government jobs specifically) despite having the qualifications (2 diplomas and a Bachelors in Development studies). **Interview with Raaya Ahmed, October 2021)**

b. Violence against Ogoni Women

Since the grand protest of January 4th, 1993, Ogoni women have experienced first-hand, the violent reprisals instigated by the Nigerian military and their Shell counterparts. The first incidence of violence was on April 28th, 1993. Mrs. Karalole, an Ogoni woman, went to her farm very early in the morning. Upon arriving, she discovered it being bulldozed by Wilbros (a subcontracted company working for Shell) who were accompanied by well-armed soldiers. She attempted to protect what was left of her farm but was badly beaten. Mrs. Karalole then left to inform the rest of the villagers about what was happening. Thousands of villagers came out carrying leaves (a symbol of protest) and protested peacefully. The soldiers shot into the crowd of protesters. An Ogoni man, Mr. Atu, was shot dead and several others seriously wounded, including Mrs. Karalole, who later had her arm amputated from the gunshot wound she sustained. Despite this event, the Ogoni continued to organize.

Source: The Role of Women in the Struggle for Environmental Justice in Ogoni; the Federation of Ogoni Women’s Associations (FOWA): Diana Barikor-Wiwa, Online: <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/nigeria/role-women-struggle-environmental-justice-ogoni>



It's therefore important for women's rights and ecofeminist organisations to increase education, awareness raising efforts, research and data collection on the gender-differentiated violence and discrimination against women, indigenous and LGBTI+ defenders and support the campaigns of WEHRDs by providing spaces and visibility to their global clamours for justice, including to build awareness and mobilise resources and support; for example, facilitating events where defenders can build support networks and have platforms to share knowledge and developing mobile applications to share important resources and services to defenders.

COP26 COLOR CAMPAIGN

<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✱ 1 Nov / Indigenous feminists day ✱ 3 Nov / Feminist climate finance now! ✱ 5 Nov / Young feminists day ✱ 8 Nov / Climate justice for SIDS & LDCs! ✱ 10 Nov / Women want collective land rights ✱ 12 Nov / Protect WHRD & frontline feminists! 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ✱ 2 Nov / Feminist leadership for climate action ✱ 4 Nov / Just transition to a regenerative economy ✱ 6 Nov / NO false solutions! ✱ 9 Nov / Support gender-just climate solutions ✱ 11 Nov / Intersectional feminist climate action: until all of us are free!
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WOMEN & GENDER CONSTITUENCY

Uplift our demands for #FeministClimateJustice

4.3. Existing frameworks, structures and mechanisms: opportunities, gaps and entry points for regional and local ecofeminism advocacy.

The international climate change negotiations conducted under the auspices of the UNFCCC are often considered an open international regime in terms of allowing a multitude of Non-State Actions (NSAs) to attend the various conferences and meetings²⁴⁹. The UNFCCC Secretariat has an NGO-liaison section. This section facilitates engagements between state and NSAs. Since its inception in 1995, NSAs have been participating by holding side-events, engaging in protests, lobbying states, participating in dialogue, and more. The participation of NSAs at COP has been deepening and diversifying over time²⁵⁰.

There are two different spaces at the COP, i.e. the a 'Green Zone' which is open to the public and consists of exhibitions and unofficial side events, and the 'Blue Zone', where the intergovernmental negotiations take place as well as the majority of the informal hallway discussions among negotiators and observers, media engagements, bilateral meetings, workshops as well as all official side-events.

Participation in the Blue Zone at the COP is enabled only through badges that are issued by the UNFCCC Secretariat once a participant has registered under an accredited institution. Participation data in the Blue Zone for each COP is available on the UNFCCC website. The UNFCCC Secretariat, recognizes nine categories –or 'constituencies'– of NSA as observer participants to the annual COP. NGOs may apply to be admitted to Observer status, with decisions made by Parties at each COP to admit new NGOs. According to Article 7, paragraph 6, of the Convention "[a]ny body or agency, whether national or international, governmental or non-governmental, which is qualified in matters covered by the Convention, and which has informed the secretariat of its wish to be represented at a session of the Conference of the Parties as an observer, may be so admitted unless at least one third of the Parties present object. The admission and participation of observers shall be subject to the rules of procedure adopted by the Conference of the Parties. The participation of non-governmental observers in the proceedings of meetings, and of open-ended contact groups, is governed by rules 7 and 30 of the draft rules of procedure of the Conference of the Parties being applied, contained in FCCC/CP/1996/2, and by decision 18/CP.4. In this context, meetings designated as CLOSED are not open to observers²⁵¹.

249 Naghmeh Nasiritousi and Björn-Ola Linnér (2014). Open or closed meetings? Explaining non-state actor involvement in the international climate change negotiations, https://www.researchgate.net/publication/261098239_Open_or_closed_meetings_Explaining_nonstate_actor_involvement_in_the_international_climate_change_negotiations

250 Ibid

251 More information on NGO registration for COP can be obtained from this link: UNFCCC standard admission process for non-governmental organizations (NGOs), https://unfccc.int/files/parties_and_observers/observer_organizations/application/pdf/unfccc_standard_admission_process_ngos.pdf

A) Gender responsive specific spaces for engagement in the UNFCCC in which to advance intersectional feminist climate justice approaches

The early focus of the UNFCCC discussions on gender was on enhancing women's participation in the negotiations. Equal access to decision-making is a critical step towards achieving gender equality. From 2008-2019, there has been improvement in gender balance, but progress is slow and not consistently advancing²⁵². The average percentage of women across all national delegations did increase from 30% in 2008 to 39% in 2019, peaking at 40% in 2018, but there are variations within these overarching data²⁵³. Participation at the annual COP has varied more widely than at intersessional meetings²⁵⁴.

Women's participation is higher at UNFCCC intersessional meetings than at COP meetings in any given year²⁵⁵. This discrepancy persists with regard to the percentage of women Heads of Delegation at intersessional meetings and at COPs as well, with women never more than 35% of Heads of Delegation at intersessional meetings (2018), and never more than 26% at COP (in 2017)²⁵⁶. The lack of sustained progress in enhancing the representation of women, is why decisions on gender under the UNFCCC continue to largely focus on gender balance. In terms of women representation by region, Africa continues to lag behind at 30.9% compared to 51% for the Eastern Europe region.

It's important to increase women's participation and meaningful inputs into adaptation to climate change discussions, dialogues, policy-making and institutions. In particular, this can be done by ensuring that women professionals and gender experts participate and provide substantive inputs in all decisions related to climate change. Women's participation can also be ensured by UNFCCC compliance with Human Rights frameworks, international and national commitments on gender equality and equity, including CEDAW (Committee on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women). It will also be important in the future to insist on balanced representation by gender in the delegation of parties in U.N, UNFCCC and COP climate negotiation.

1. The Women and Gender constituency.

This is an important platform for engaging on and advancing women's rights, gender equality issues and the feminist climate justice narratives under the UNFCCC. The WGC is one of the nine stakeholder groups of the UNFCCC. Established in 2009 and granted full constituency status in 2011, the WGC membership consists of 30 women's rights, gender, and environmental civil society organizations that work together to ensure that gender equality is central to climate change policy. The WGC, with its broad variety of national and regional network organizations, represents hundreds and thousands of people across the globe. The WGC contributes feminist analysis to the negotiations and coordinates on common positions, submissions, and other advocacy materials and opportunities. Many of its activities, including training and advocacy events, are open to activists outside the membership, and Party delegates are welcome to join daily caucuses hosted by the WGC at COPs. The WGC website connects interested advocates, particularly feminist and women rights groups through the various WGC list serves, lists of events, the latest news, and other resources to improve knowledge on gender and climate within the UNFCCC as well as connections to others working on these topics.

2. Global Gender and Climate Change Alliance.

Within the UNFCCC COP-13 framework (2007), United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN) and Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) launched the Global Gender and Climate Alliance (GGCA). The principal objective of this Alliance is to ensure that policies, initiatives and decision making processes on climate change include the gender approach at global, regional and national levels. The fundamental principle is to guarantee the inclusion of women's voices in decision-making and in policy-making. The GGCA's objectives and strategies aim to:

252 WEDO (2020). Pocket Guide to Gender, <https://wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/11/2020-Guide-to-Gender-Equality-under-the-UNFCCC.pdf>

253 Ibid

254 Ibid

255 Ibid

256 Ibid

- a) Integrate the gender approach in world policies and decision-making to ensure full compliance with United Nations mandates on gender equality;
- b) Ensure that mitigation and adaptation financing mechanisms take equal account of the needs of poor men and women;
- c) Build capacities at global, regional and local levels to design policies, strategies and programmes on climate change that recognize gender equity.

3. Africa Group of Negotiators.

The Africa Group (AG), or African Group of Negotiators (AGN) is the only UN regional group that negotiates as a bloc. Made up of 54 countries, the AG negotiates as a group across UN processes. In order to strengthen their negotiating power at COP, African Countries meet before the COP as the AGN to establish a common position, advance African interests and strengthen their negotiating power. The AGN is a structure of all African Member States' senior officials, experts and negotiators in the UNFCCC negotiations, with the African Ministerial Conference on the Environment (AMCEN) providing political oversight on the group. The AGN operates as a regional coalition for pooling resources and power among African states. It seeks to advance common African interests on the issue of climate change and is chaired by a leader selected on a rotational basis.

The African Ministerial Conference on the Environment (AMCEN) was established in 1985 to strengthen cooperation between African governments on economic, technical and scientific activities in order to halt the degradation of Africa's environment and satisfy the food and energy needs of the continent's people. AMCEN has facilitated the broadening of the political and public policy legitimacy of environmental concerns in Africa. Whereas it's true that there is an African platform, representation of African women in global climate discussions is quite limited, therefore deliberate actions must be taken to give African women a platform to share their lessons in other areas of the world. Too often workshops, conferences and roundtables around gender are made up of speakers from the Global North – they have the money to get to these events and to get their message out there. We've got to support more voices from the Global South on the international stage.

4. The African Working Group on Gender and Climate.

In the case of Africa, the African Working Group on Gender and Climate Change was established in 2013. It is tasked with coordinating and providing leadership for Africa's engagement in regional and global gender and climate change processes. To advance the efforts of the working group, African leaders, through the Committee of African Heads of State and Government on Climate Change (CAHOSCC), agreed to develop the CAHOSCC Women and Gender Programme on Climate Change in 2014. This is aimed at engaging women in climate change-related actions. Among the planned activities is the provision of practical support in training women negotiators to ensure gender-responsive legislation and programme implementation in Africa.

B) Other space, opportunities and relevant processes for advancing intersectional feminist climate justice approaches

Policymakers are more likely to listen to you if you engage with their agendas and can link your concerns to events and processes that are already on their radars.

Example: Relevant political processes on environmental and climate action which are already on policymakers' agendas at national, regional and global level:

- Development/ review of the Climate change policy, Climate change Bill, for example in Zambia.
- The development/ review of the National Adaptation Plan
- The process of compiling/ review the country's Nationally Determined Contributions
- East Africa Community environment, climate change, food security related process
- The Africa Continental Free Trade Area Negotiations particularly on Intellectual Property rights to guarantee the protection of Africa's traditional farmers rights and Africa's indigenous seed varieties
- The Annual review processes of the Commission on the Status of Women

- The UNFCCC processes e.g. negotiations under COP, review processes under the SB
- The UN processes on Sustainable Development Goals e.g. the Regional Forum on Sustainable Development and the High-Level Political Forum on Sustainable Development
- The Universal Periodic Review Processes
- The process to elaborate a Legally Binding Treaty of Business and Human Rights

Key elaborated examples:

Commission on the Status of Women (CSW).

From 2002 until the present, the CSW has continued to promote awareness of the links between gender, disaster and climate change. In accordance with resolution 2006/9 of the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the CSW identifies emerging global themes that require global and regional actions in each of its annual sessions. Specifically, Resolution (ii) on Financing for Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment (E/CN.6/2008/L.8) requests governments to "integrate a gender perspective in the design, implementation, monitoring, evaluation and reporting of national environmental policies, strengthen mechanisms and provide adequate resources to ensure women's full and equal participation in decision-making at all levels on environmental issues, in particular on strategies related to the impact of climate change on the lives of women and girls." In 2022, the 66th session of the CSW was dedicated to the issue of climate change under the theme "Achieving gender equality and the empowerment of all women and girls in the context of climate change, environmental and disaster risk reduction policies and programmes".

The Universal Periodic Review (UPR) is a state-driven exercise.

Despite their limited role during the actual review, Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have many opportunities to take part and influence the UPR process. NGO participation can take five main forms:

a) Participate in the national consultations held by the State under Review;

These consultations should take place at least a year before the review in different cities and parts of the country and include a broad range of civil society organisations such as the national institution (if any), NGOs, human rights defenders, local associations, grass root organisations, trade unions, indigenous peoples, etc.

NGOs can seize this opportunity to run a national campaign to promote the UPR and bring it to the attention of the general public and the media

b) Send information on the human rights situation in the country;

The review of a country is based on three reports:

- A National Report prepared by the State concerned on the human rights situation in the country;
- A compilation prepared by the Office of the High Commissioner on Human Rights (OHCHR) containing information from treaty bodies, special procedures and UN agencies such as UNDP and UNICEF;
- A summary of ten pages prepared by the OHCHR containing information from the civil society.

Any civil society actors, national institutions, NGOs, human rights defenders, local associations, grass root organisations, trade unions, indigenous peoples, can submit information to the OHCHR, with or without the ECOSOC status.

c) Lobby members of the Working Group;

NGOs can lobby States in order to bring to their attention **specific issues** and to obtain that such issues be addressed during the interactive dialogue in the form of **questions** and/ or **recommendations**. Those issues can also be raised through advanced questions.

Due to the high number of NGO submissions, not all the listed issues are brought to the attention of members of the Working Group nor included in OHCHR summaries. Therefore, lobbying is a crucial part of the process to make sure that issues of interest are raised during the interactive dialogue.

Lobbying can be made both **in Geneva** and **in the State under Review**:

-In the State under Review (SuR): lobbying can take place in the country under Review through **embassies**. This lobbying must be done **3 to 4 months** before the date of review as the information has then to be sent to the capital and to the mission in Geneva.

-In Geneva: it is strongly advised to come at least **one month before** the date of review as drafting a statement takes time and notably consultations between the capital, the embassy in the country under review and Geneva.

d) Take the floor at the Human Rights Council during the adoption of the report;

Civil society organisations are not allowed to take the floor during the review but they can be present in the room. NGOs have the possibility to hold side events during the session of the Working Group. However, side events the day before the review should not be organised for lobbying as it will have limited impact on delegations' statements. Lobbying in Geneva should be made 1-2 months before the review. Side events can also be organised right after the review to debrief on the content of the review and the responses given by the Government. Right after the review, NGOs can hold press conferences and/or issue press statements to share their assessment of the review.

During the adoption of the report of the Working Group at the HRC plenary session (usually, a few months after the review), 20 minutes are allocated to NGOs to make a statement. In total, ten NGOs are given two minutes each.

To speak, NGOs need to sign up online the week before the beginning of the HRC session. NGOs also have the possibility to deliver their statement by video instead of travelling to Geneva. This option is given to organisations involved in the national process or having sent contributions for the summary of stakeholder information prepared by the OHCHR.

As during any Human Rights Council plenary, NGOs can submit written statements. However, written statements have less impact than oral ones.

e) Monitor and participate in the implementation by the State under Review of the UPR recommendations.

States have to implement the recommendations they have accepted and the voluntary pledges they have taken. At the next UPR, they will be reviewed on the implementation of those recommendations and pledges and on the human rights situation in the country since the previous review.

NGOs have an important role to play between two reviews. They can:

- Make recommendations and pledges public;
- Monitor their implementation;
- Engage in dialogue with the State reviewed to participate in their implementation;
- Report to the Human Rights Council on the progress by publishing a mid-term report or by making a statement at any "general debate" under item

Source: OHCHR: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/hr-bodies/upr/ngos-nhris>



The UN Legally Binding Treaty on Business and Human Rights

In June 2014, the UN Human Rights Council took steps to elaborate an international legally binding instrument to regulate the activities of transnational corporations and other business enterprises.

The binding treaty on business and human rights looks specifically at how businesses operate to make sure they are in line with our human rights. It will work in three key ways to protect human rights:

- **The state duty to protect:** it will reinforce governments' obligation to uphold the rights of their citizens and protect them from corporate abuses. This includes implementing laws on things like working conditions and making sure the minimum wage is enough to live a dignified life.
- **The responsibility of businesses and transnational corporations:** it will make sure corporations take action to ensure that they respect human rights and are not causing harm to individuals, communities, or the environments they operate in.
- **Access to remedy:** it will give power to the people and communities affected by human rights abuses to launch legal cases against corporations and access justice and compensation.



The treaty negotiations provide a unique opportunity for citizens and states to address the gaps that currently exists and creates an imbalance between the protection of the rights of citizens and the environment on the one hand; and the roles and responsibilities of corporations including protection of their interests on the other. Within the global economic system, different frameworks such as trade, tax and investment

agreements have allowed for corporations, through the Investor-State Dispute Settlement (ISDS) mechanisms, to sue governments in cases where they feel that their operations and profits have been interfered with through human rights, environmental and climate change legislation and regulations. This mechanism has consequently made it very difficult for governments to regulate corporate operations in the interest of their citizens.

The open-ended intergovernmental working group (OEIGWG) which leads the work of elaborating the Binding treaty has had seven sessions so far. Ahead of the **seventh session**, the Permanent Mission of Ecuador, on behalf of the Chairmanship of the OEIGWG, released a **third revised draft legally binding instrument on business activities and human rights**. The third revised draft served as the basis for State-led negotiations during the **seventh session**, which took place from **25 to 29 October 2021**.

Source: Business and Human rights resource centre: <https://www.business-humanrights.org/en/big-issues/binding-treaty/#:~:text=In%20June%202014%2C%20the%20UN,corporations%20and%20other%20business%20enterprises.>

4.4. Proposed step by step advocacy guide for Africa ecofeminist institutions

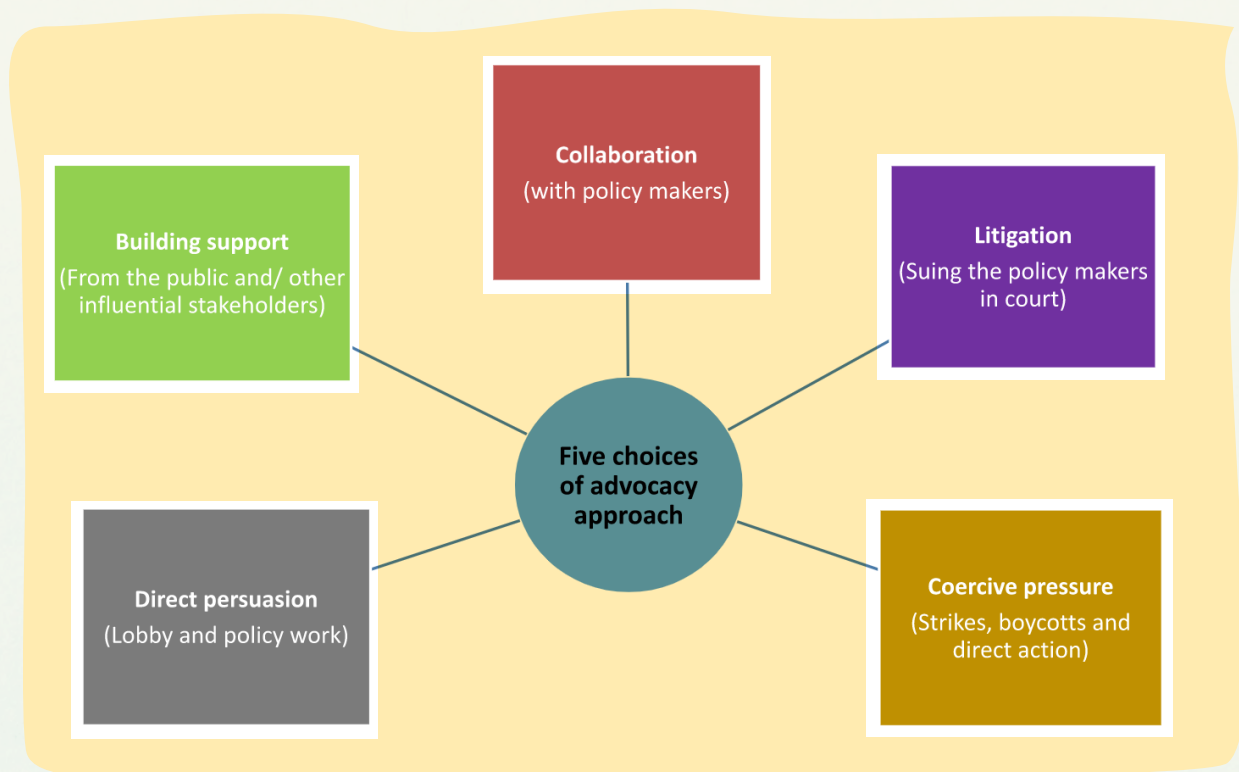
While a number of actors and activists doing social justice work are able to analyse societal problems and even propose relevant solutions, the advocacy infrastructure with its attendant bureaucracies remains intimidating and out of reach. Evidence has shown that many times when people encounter a new problem, it becomes so overwhelming that it leads to immobility instead of action. Thinking about where and how to start tackling the problem, who has the power to bring about the change desired, whether to recruit allies to lighten the load, and above all how to comprehensively articulate the exact change desired can be daunting without the right skills and tools. Moreover, some of the processes that are adopted to influence change simply reproduce the very systems of oppression they are looking to fight. Which raises the need for knowledge on feminist advocacy and movement building for social accountability.

Key ingredients of Feminist climate justice advocacy

- *Understanding the various forms and locations of gendered power –and how gender and other discriminations intersect.*
- *Tackling the underlying structural causes of inequality.*
- *Knowing that methods are political – what language or strategies we use will themselves create or hinder change.*
- *Knowing that backlash is likely, and that progress will never be linear.*
- *Recognizing that building transformative power must be of advocacy if change is to be sustainable.*
- *Working in alliance with others to maximise transformative power.*
- *Supporting feminist and women’s rights movements as part of advocacy*
- *Putting first the priorities of women, trans folks and gender expansive persons - recognizing that they face intersecting*
- *Prioritising inclusive, participatory methods for women, indigenous peoples, people with disabilities, and gender expansive people to connect experiences, learning and knowledge with action.*



Fig. 3: Five choices of advocacy approach



Source: Ian Chandler, the Pressure Group Consultancy

4.4.1. Steps to developing an effective advocacy strategy

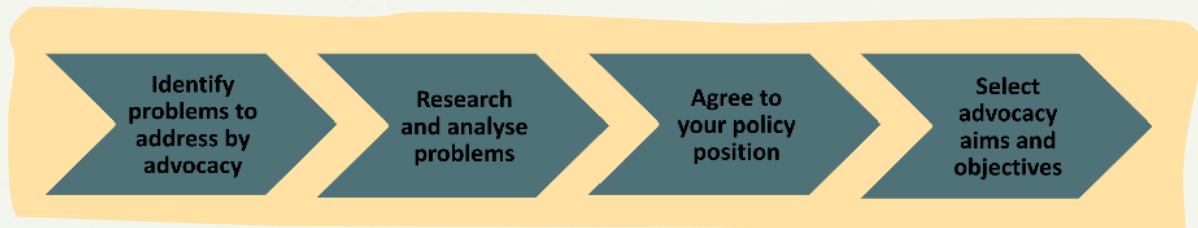
Step 1: Identify the problems and the solution

This is similar to context analysis. Different contexts have different challenges and opportunities and therefore it's important that for every target country a context analysis should be done to understand the entry points, and opportunities for advocacy. It's also important that the voices and views of the most minoritized groups are well taken into account in this entire process. Climate change advocacy activities certainly relate to the poor and vulnerable, and this is important, because in the context of climate change it is nearly always the poorest and most vulnerable members of society who suffer most from climate change impacts. This is in part because they live in places more likely to be affected by extreme weather events and because they often have climate-sensitive livelihoods, but also because they are poor and marginalised so have little sources of external help or alternative livelihood options they can choose when disaster strikes. Specifically, the research can focus on:

- *Undertaking a political economy analysis from an intersectional and feminist approach at community, national and global levels*
- *Conducting a socio-economic analysis of the climate crisis and the care economy.*
- *What policies and actions should your duty bearers and power holders at the national and global level adopt in the future to ensure intersectional feminist climate justice?*
- *Provide an evidence base for your advocacy – to demonstrate your legitimate case for a change in government policy towards feminist climate justice.*
- *Highlight and emphasise the implications of the various climate actions, particularly the “false solutions”/ solutions that undermine the rights, interests and welfare of indigenous communities. Provide specific alternatives/proposals.*

This research will be useful in defining the next steps of Action.

If we are to have a chance of being successful, we need to be very clear and focused on what we are trying to change. Not only does this help us to construct effective messages, but this also helps us to develop objectives that drive our choice of influencing strategy. There are a number of steps that you can follow to help you in this aspect of your planning.



a) Undertake a political economy analysis using an intersectional feminist lens at community, national, and global levels.

Currently, information on the effects of climate change is more documented in the Global Northern and less in Africa. There is quite a lack of data that gives impetus for influencing and positive change. Global South feminist organizations need to strengthen their capacity in Intersectional feminist climate analysis and document gaps and success stories of their advocacy and programme as a tool for policy and influencing decision making at country, regional and international levels. When examining the causes and effects of climate change, it's important to examine the social, cultural, economic and political dimensions on the impact of climate change on the quality of life of women.

In addition, the analysis needs to examine climate crisis from a patriarchal perspective, underscore the role of patriarchal power and how it plays in both private and public realms to create and accelerate climate injustice and their interconnectedness with economic power, social and cultural beliefs and practices, race religion and locations as the root causes of injustices against women and girls. There is therefore need to invest in research on specific resources and patterns of sex differentiated use, vulnerability and risk analysis among others. There are existing tools that can be adapted building in the feminist perspective including the Resource mapping tools. Trend analysis tool and Do no harm tools. Collection of sex and gender disaggregated data on the use of resources, the distribution of benefits of climate change related programmes and the participation of women in decision making in climate change structures at local national level is very important.

While undertaking research, it's important to appreciate that indigenous communities are made up of varied social classes and groups with differing degrees of political power and varying, often competing interests, and "highly differentiated access to, control over, and use of land resources. It is useful, therefore, to disaggregate the "rural poor", a term which encompasses men and women who are poor peasants, small scale farmers, agro-processors and traders, landless rural labourers, pastoralists, and subsistence fishers. The non-poor include chiefs, rich farmers, landlords, moneylenders, aggregators, and large traders. This is important because the climate crisis affects social classes and groups within the local community differently. Competing views of the problem, strategies for change and the alternatives envisioned need to be differentiated on the basis of socio economic class and gender as well as sexual orientation.

b) Conduct a socio-economic analysis of the climate crisis and the care economy.

Available research shows that the climate crisis increases the amount of time and energy spent on women's unpaid care work, as natural resources such as water and wood become depleted. When local water sources become polluted, the women and girls who are typically responsible for its provision must travel farther distances. Polluted water sources can also lead to chronic diseases among family members, thereby increasing their care needs. Furthermore, as women's time, poverty increases with the time spent on unpaid care work, their inability to engage in paid work further



increases economic pressures on families, together with women's financial dependence on men within the households. However, the costs of the climate crisis on unpaid care work is not valued in both the climate change and environmental sector and the economic realm alike. Feminist economic analyses posit that all the unpaid daily work continuously done by women in the domestic sphere and in community spaces is vital to the production of life as well as to the economy's function. Therefore, there is the need to embed the economy in our planet's systems and in society, and appreciate that economy is much more than what is sold on the market', as evidenced in "the economic activities of rural women, which often involve 'practices such as donations, exchanges and production for self-consumption.

The impact of care burden on the African economy needs to be analysed and documented, drawing patterns and linkages to the broader sectors of the economy. The burden of care that women face could lead to psychological issues. The expectation from society that they take care of anybody, and the psychological impacts that have in these kinds of situations of distress, might not be documented or brought out. This is also another issue that needs further study. Eco feminist organizations need to lobby and invest in undertaking the economic analysis of the care burden resulting from climate impact to give impetus to national governments to take appropriate action. There are already existing global resources highlighting this but this needs to cascade to national level to influence decision making and action that responds to the interests and needs women of all social, economic and sexual backgrounds.

Step 2: Formulating an advocacy plan - Identify advocacy issues, set goals, and identify power holders and allies

Data obtained from the above processes will be used to identify key priority issues/challenges to be addressed. Identification of advocacy issues should be followed by an objective and goal setting exercise. For each advocacy issue identified, a clear theory of change should be well detailed. For each issue, a comprehensive power analysis and mapping exercise should be undertaken to understand key power holders at different levels; and identify respective entry points as well as their interests. It's important for the ecofeminist to appreciate and understand how power plays a role in climate decision making taking into consideration all forms of power especially power over, invisible and visible power to be able to define appropriate tactics and advocacy messages as well as identify appropriate messengers at different levels.

Key Social norm analysis areas

How the stereotypes have impacted on the individual level confidence and leadership building ability, how have the gender norms and stereotypes impacted on household level decision making process?

Why norms and values are held in communities that exacerbate the gender inequalities in the face of climate crisis

What and how the norms, stereotypes undermine policy and decision making at different levels. This analysis sets pace for individual and social transformation.

In building knowledge and leadership capacity of grassroots women, Social norm analysis tools are very powerful in unearthing the root causes of gender inequalities. Social norms analysis tools have been used in different sectors and can be adapted by the climate justice actors. Feminists organisations need to undertake social norm analysis with grassroots women to understand the barriers and obstacles to their participation and benefit from climate change programmes by analysing gender stereotypes in both private and public spheres.

a) Establish an African eco-feminist network and rethink hub at regional and country levels.

At the African regional level, there are a number of eco feminist experts that have been instrumental in influencing climate change policy negotiations and majority also are engaged in feminist climate justice research. Interviews with key stakeholders reveal that these experts need to be further mobilized especially at country level and regional level to create a team of eco feminist advocates. The role of regional feminist's organizations Africa in this case, is very instrumental. This will involve creating Ecofeminist working groups who meet regularly to deliberate on emerging feminist climate change issues. These can act as ambassadors at the regional level but also at their respective country levels.

Coordination at the regional level could be collectively done by African feminist organizations as well as lead on identifying national feminist organizations to coordinate with at the national level. In most countries in Africa, there exist Feminist networks but majority lack knowledge on environmental and climate related issues.

Learning from the NAP Global Network:

In 2016, the NAP Global Network, a group of individuals and institutions working to enhance national adaptation planning and action in developing countries, began a pilot analysis of how gender considerations are integrated into national adaptation planning documents. Gender has become one of the Network's key themes, with three elements highlighted for a gender-responsive NAP Process:

Recognition of gender differences in adaptation needs and capacities.

Gender-equitable participation and influence in adaptation decision-making processes.

Gender-equitable access to financial resources and other benefits resulting from investments in adaptation.

The NAP Global Network has highlighted five ways NAP processes can support the GAP:

- Capacity building, knowledge management, and communication.
- Gender balance, participation, and women's leadership.
- Coherence.
- Gender-responsive implementation and means of implementation.
- Monitoring and reporting.

Three resources produced by the Network are noteworthy for their overarching relevance:

- Towards Gender-Responsive NAP Processes: Progress and Recommendations for the Way Forward reviewed NAP documents through 2018.
- The Toolkit for a Gender-Responsive Process to Formulate and Implement National Adaptation Plans (NAPs) produced in collaboration with the LEG and AC, supplements the LEG technical guidelines for the NAP process, and outlines entry points and enabling activities for a gender-responsive NAP.
- Conducting Gender Analysis to Inform National Adaptation Plan (NAP) Processes: Reflections from six African countries shares the experiences of Benin, Côte d'Ivoire, Ethiopia, Guinea-Conakry, Madagascar, and Togo to highlight lessons learned for other Parties planning and conducting gender analyses.

Source: 2020 Pocket Guide to Gender Equality under UNFCCC. Online: <https://wedo.org/2020-pocket-guide-to-gender-equality-under-the-unfccc/>

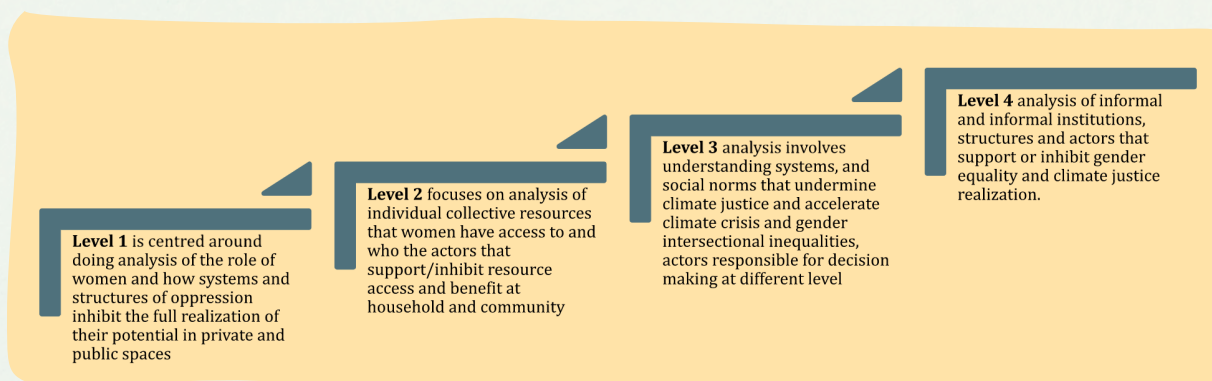
b) Facilitate a Feminist Multi-stakeholder mapping and dialogues to identify and agree on key issues.

Addressing intersectionality in climate justice requires concerted efforts of different stakeholders; this involves raising awareness especially with the spread of reactions to patriarchal ideas in societies. It is crucial to unite more with all segments of society and work from the bottom to raise awareness. Ecofeminists need to be individually and collectively prepared to challenge power and the role played by certain institutions in perpetuating inequality. In addition, there is a need to create spaces with the climate justice stakeholders and especially power holders in formal and informal institutions to discuss difficult intersectional topics, shift individual and collective consciousness and knowledge, and reimagine accountability and ownership of the transformational process. This process helps to build their political and technical skills to ensure that the policies and projects are just and inclusive of all marginalised and minority groups.

This dialogue process begins with undertaking capacity assessment of the power holders' understanding of climate and intersectionality issues, and organising tailored training. Going beyond training and orientation, this process should build an accountability mechanism to track the outcome of the training and capacity building provided.

Beyond building women's leadership, it's important to involve traditional authorities who are custodians of land and natural land resources in most of the African society especially where land is communally owned. In these communities, chiefs are consulted on who should participate and in the community and natural resources governance committee and due to patriarchal norms, it is most likely that they will not propose women representation. Causing a gender transformation for climate justice requires working with all actors in formal and informal institutions.

Fig. The gender at work framework provides good framework for analyses and presented below:



Source: Akina Mama wa Afrika

Step 3: Analyse who to target and when

Mapping where power lies and stakeholders:

Advocacy is all about influencing powerful actors to bring about the changes you are seeking. So it's useful to identify:

The powerful actors in your country and region in relation to climate action

Your potential allies likely to support the solutions and actions you are proposing

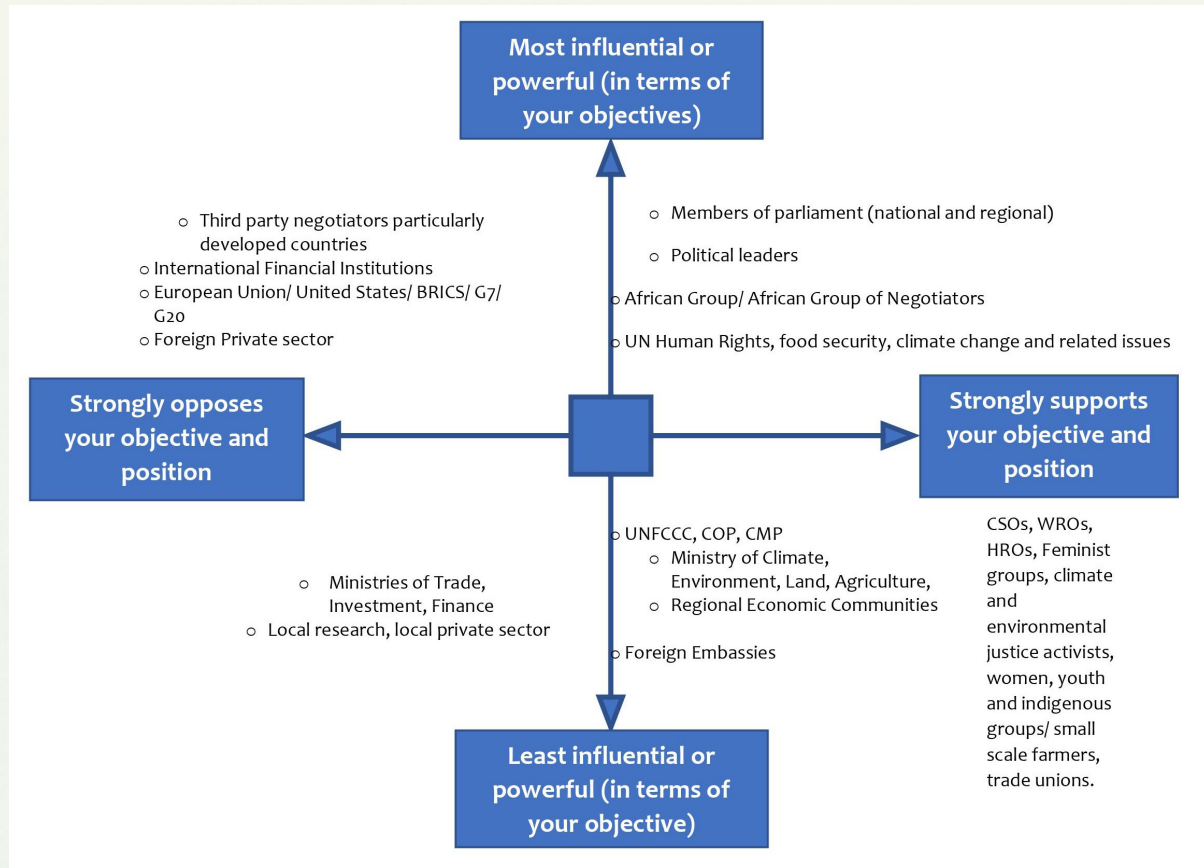
Your opponents likely to oppose the solutions and actions you are proposing.

Mapping Exercise

- Organize a brainstorm within your organization or network to identify all the actors who have a) some kind of power or influence over climate finance decisions in your country or b) some kind of stake/ interest in public or private finance or both.
- Note down each actor on a different sticky post-it note or small slip of paper
- Draw the following axis on a large piece of flipchart paper and place all the post-it notes in the appropriate corner of the axis. Where you place each actor will depend on a) their power/influence and b) how much they are likely to support or oppose your position on climate finance.

Mapping actors along the four lines helps to understand who to work with and their interests and how to work with them. This approach is especially relevant in the African context where women and other marginalised groups continuously contend with multiple development challenges and forms of discrimination and oppression beyond climate injustices.

Fig. 4: Power mapping and analysis



Understanding who hold what Power

In this regard, it is also important for feminists' organizations to appreciate the various facets of power to enable them undertake a thorough power analysis of the climate crisis in order to define and define entry points for their advocacy and engagement at different decision making levels. Power has different faces, and characteristic ranging from:

- i. Visible power:** Visible power describes the formal rules, structures, authorities, institutions and procedures of political decision-making. It also describes how those in positions of power use such procedures and structures to maintain control. Climate change negotiation spaces, climate financing decisions and national level climate change policy spaces are some of the examples where visible power is exercised. Evidence reveals that gender and intersectionality issues have gained recognition in global and national decision making areas; and resources allocated to gender issues are not synchronised with the reality on the ground. Feminist organizations and civil society need to counter visible power to be countered with strategies of political advocacy and seeking access to formal decision making processes.
- ii. Hidden power:** Powerful actors also maintain influence by controlling who gets to the decision-making table and what gets on the agenda. These dynamics operate on many levels, often excluding and devaluing the concerns and representation of less powerful groups. Evidence reveals that the representation of women in Conference of parties and other global climate change bodies including the energy sector is quite limited. Feminist organizations need to strengthen their organizations and build movement to build collective power and leadership to redefine the political agenda, and raising the visibility and legitimacy of issues, voices and demands that have been silenced.



iii. Invisible power: Invisible power shapes the psychological and ideological boundaries of participation. Significant problems and issues are not only kept from the decision-making table, but also from the minds and consciousness of those affected. By influencing how individuals think about their place in the world, this level of power shapes people's beliefs, sense of self and acceptance of the status quo. Processes of socialization, culture and ideology perpetuate exclusion and inequality by defining what is normal, acceptable and safe. Invisible power in the climate change agenda can be seen in the way the climate crisis has been studied. A lot of research done on climate change focuses on the scientific causes of climate crisis and less on the social, intersectional and gender dynamics and impact of climate crisis. Lack of this information limits the way indigenous communities and the feminists define and determine their level of engagement and response to climate crisis. However, amidst this challenge, for example, feminist organizations need to focus on re-imagining social and political culture, and raising consciousness to transform the way women and indigenous communities perceive themselves and those around them, and how they envisage future possibilities and alternatives to addressing climate.

Actions to take after undertaking your power analysis

- Influential stakeholders' neutral on the issue: Persuade them to agree with you.
- Disinterested allies: Persuade them that the issue is important.
- Influential allies: Build alliances.
- Allies of low influence: Increase their influence.
- Opponents of high influence
- Decrease their influence.

Identifying your map of influence

Once you have identified the key actors to target, you will need to think about chains of influence.

CSOs rarely get direct access to the actors whom they most want to influence—and even when they do, the powerful actors may not take action unless other influential actors are calling for the same action.

Who has influence over the most powerful actors? Can we influence these actors in order to influence the most powerful actors?



Fig. 5: An Influence map²⁵⁷

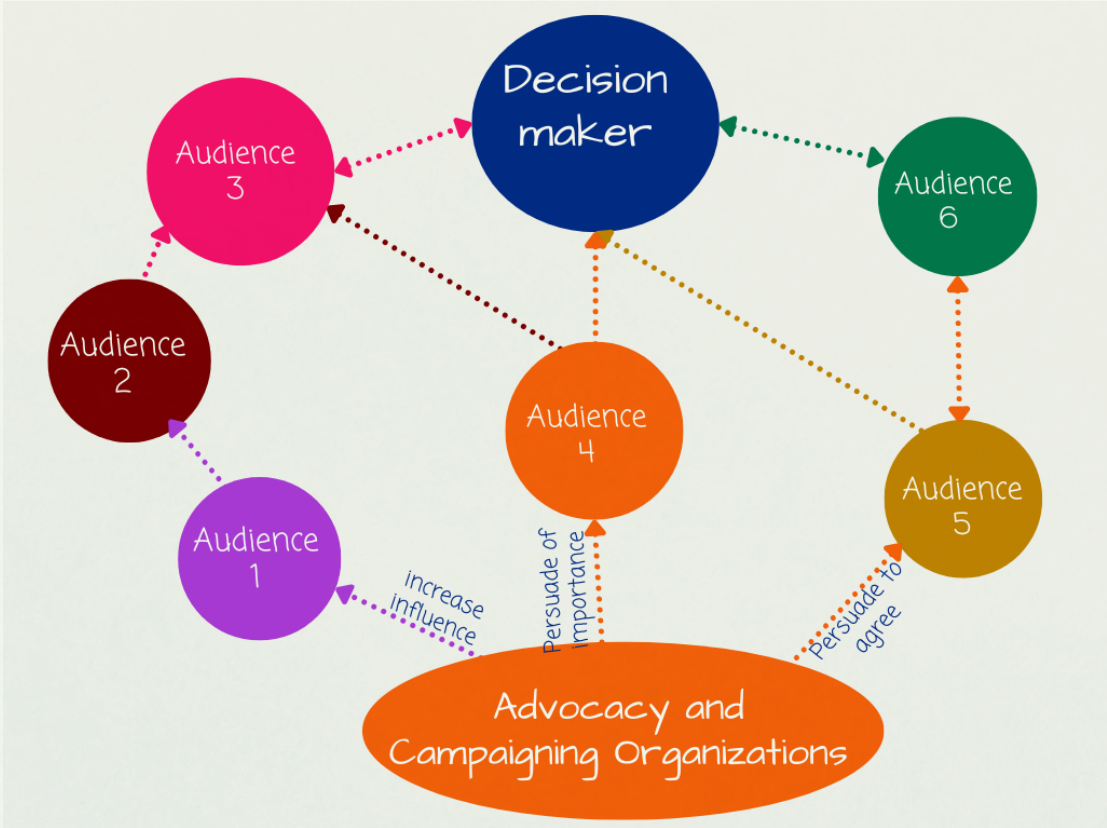
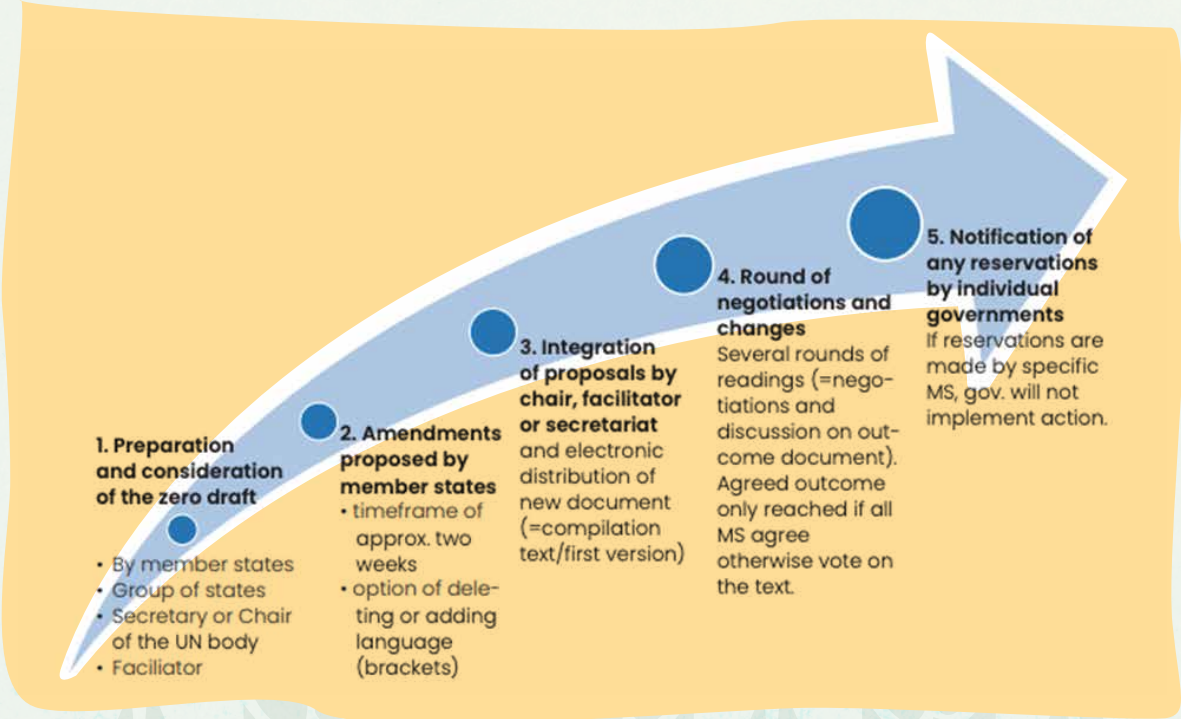


Fig. 6: Who takes part in negotiations and how is the process conducted?



257 Hannah Reid, Ian Chandler, Raja Jarrah and Peter With, Southern Voices on Climate, Climate change advocacy tool kit no. 2: Planning advocacy, <https://www.southernvoices.net/en/documents/the-advocacy-toolkits-en/4-toolkit-2-planning-advocacy-en/file.html>

Step 4: Mobilise and organise

Once an advocacy plan has been developed, it's important to mobilise for a coordinated advocacy. Within Alliances/ Networks, internal capacity should be assessed to identify and assign roles and responsibilities at different levels. This exercise is very important to ensure that everyone is involved and able to contribute and support and own the advocacy process. Any capacity gaps should be identified and where possible solicit support from potential allies identified above. And where resources allow, capacity building should be organised for the alliance member to fill the gaps. It's at this stage that both technical and financial resources are mobilised to support the implementation of the advocacy plan. Having a good plan without resources to implement makes the plan null and void.

a) Movement building, Women's Leadership and knowledge building on intersectional climate crisis.

The struggle for climate justice is largely fought by women whereas there seems to be a strong elite ecofeminist movement. Currently, the elite African eco feminists operate in abhor manner and reactive in nature. Therefore, there is need to proactively engage in movement building as a strategy for building agency to push back on the systems and structures that influence the pace of change and levels of existential insecurities, to demand the recognition and uptake of local solutions, influence the distribution of climate financing resources and a host of benefits on current and future outcomes.

There is also a need to create space for voices of grassroots women, to promote women leadership at community levels and to grow indigenous women collective leadership at grassroots level to strengthen their abilities to meaningfully engage in decision making fora in which climate justice solutions are being discussed. The ecofeminist movement should be supported to grow organically informed by indigenous experiences and efforts. Borrowing an example from the Rufanyama Cooper mining project in Zambia, the Zambia Alliance for Women has mobilised indigenous women and built their capacity to understand how the extractive sector affects them. Women have learnt how the extractives sector works and their role in the whole process and that they are important stakeholders in the process. The women have formed "*Citizen Agency Dialogue groups*" with 7 member committees all led by women and the majority of committee members are women. The groups have created platforms to engage with the local authority and ministry of mines and are able to advocate for themselves in those spaces.

In Uganda, National Association of professional Environmentalists (NAPE) has for the past 3 years been engaged in eco feminist building using the Feminist building schools approach. This is an excellent innovation that can be replicated by eco feminist organizations.



Example from Uganda

NAPE established feminist movement building schools in 2018 and the school targets women activists from the Albertine region both directly affected by the oil and gas sector, sugar plantations and palm oil in Kalangala. The feminist school is a space for collective learning and also an exchange where diverse activists come together and share experiences to resist extractives, large infrastructure developments, fosters skills and boasts feminism leadership for organizing. The school builds confidence among the rural women so that they can respond to environmental challenges and disasters. It brings in the element of deepening a collective vision that the women actually want from their own perspective that isn't government centred. This model creates solidarity with the women to know that they face the same issues so as to build a collective voice coming to challenge the power structures. The school educates women on how the development model works because if they don't get the information, it becomes difficult for them to challenge it. This approach builds a foundation of indigenous women led groups that advocate for their rights within their communities and stakeholder meetings. Confidence building in the women where they are able to articulate their issues and demands. *“Interview with the Gender and Food security officer, NAPE”, October 2021*

b) Project modelling to build legitimacy.

As ecofeminists, it's imperative to build our legitimacy for climate justice advocacy and this is strongly needed in the design of climate programmes and projects with and for indigenous women and communities. Learning from successful environmental campaigns, especially the Green Belt Movement in Kenya that campaigned against capitalists' extraction and exploitation of natural forests, has continued to inspire other campaigns across the continent. By campaigning for adoption and promotion of agroecology and calling for a halt in the use of chemical fertilisers that contribute to carbon emissions, the Zambia Community Technology Development Trust (CTDT) is promoting farmer saved seed systems so that farmers in the rural communities are meeting their food and nutrition security requirements as well as meeting their livelihoods with traditional seeds. Farmer saved seed systems have also been promoted in Uganda through the establishment of seed banks. This evidence is useful for influencing the campaign against directing climate financing to what has been dubbed as “false solutions” like production and promotion of improved seed varieties such as Genetically modified organisms (GMO) seeds and other actions that only seek profit maximisation at the expense of communities' food sovereignty and food security, welfare, health, and environmental sustainability.

c) Learning from successful ecofeminists advocacy and campaign initiatives in Africa.

Women's leadership and activism catalyses system change and climate justice. Women have long been leaders in environmental movements and activism influenced by the impacts of climate change and environmental degradation on their lives. One common characteristic across the campaigns highlighted below is that they all challenge the social and economic inequalities to transform power and decision making that impacts positively on women. Below are excerpts of successful ecofeminists campaigns in Africa.

Case study 1: The Green belt movement in Kenya

Green Belt Movement (GBM) was founded by Professor Wangari Maathai in 1977 under the auspices of the National Council of Women of Kenya (NCWK) to respond to the needs of rural Kenyan women who reported that their streams were drying up, their food supply was less secure, and they had to walk further and further to get firewood for fuel and fencing. GBM encouraged the women to work together to grow seedlings and plant trees to bind the soil, store rainwater, provide food and firewood, and receive a small monetary token for their work.

The Green Belt Movement instituted seminars in civic and environmental education, to encourage individuals to examine why they lacked agency to change their political, economic, and environmental circumstances. Participants began to understand that for years they had been placing their trust in leaders who had betrayed them and that they were sabotaging their lives by not working for the common good and failing to use their natural resources wisely. In 1989 the GBM slowly started to shift into advocacy roles when the Kenyan Government declared its plans to build a 60 story skyscraper and 30-foot statue in the Capital's Uhuru Park in downtown Nairobi. Maathai lobbied, wrote letters in opposition, and reached out for international support. She used her "international political alliances" to pressure the government to halt the project.

The Green Belt Movement learned that President Moi would not listen to their demands for change, so they determined who could exert pressure on Moi from the international community and targeted them instead. Mathai also built a broad base of support by her work with communities in the early days of the Green Belt Movement. She was able to leverage that base of support to advance her policy objectives later on when she was operating on a broader political scale. Throughout her activism, she maintained her relationship with her core constituency – women from rural communities – and they continued to benefit from the broader policy change she sought, so they remained engaged.

The Green Belt Movement began to advocate for greater democratic space and more accountability from national leaders. It fought against land grabbing and the encroachment of agriculture into the forests. It contested the placement of a tower block in Uhuru Park After a long battle with hostile backlash, the donor community had helped Maathai gain victory. In 1992, GBM established the Pan-African Green Belt Movement after the United Nations Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. This organization helped spread the GBM's organizational framework and agenda to environmentalists in other sub-saharan countries, under the guidance of Wangari Maathai.

Source: www.greenbeltmovement.org and <https://www.inclusivesecurity.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/05>



Case Study 2: Save Lamu Campaign in Kenya

Another significant campaign was “Save Lamu” in Kenya. It involved a massive coalition of the Lamu communities, those affected by the crisis, the local, foreign environmentalists and the Human Rights groups. They included; Save Lamu, Heinrich-Böll-Stiftung, 350 Africa, Centre for Human Rights and Civic Education, Muslims for Human Rights, National Resources Alliance of Kenya, American Jewish World Service and the Centre for Justice Governance and Environmental Action. The campaign employed a successful media campaign through the mainstream media and the social media platforms plus the street demonstrations including court petition.

The campaign saw success at Kenya’s National Environmental Tribunal, “the authorities had failed to carry out a rigorous environmental impact assessment; to engage the public in consultation and to inform local people of potential impacts of the proposed coal plant”. The court blocked the Lamu Coal Plant project.

The Save Lamu campaign was triggered by the government’s decision to build a coal plant in the area. The Lamu coal plant would emit highly polluting smoke from a 210-metre stack that would be the tallest structure in the East African skyline. As of 2010, Kenya was producing approximately 73 million tonnes of carbon dioxide annually which is approximately 0.1% of the total global greenhouse gas emissions. The energy sector contributed to approximately 11.37% of the emissions. The Lamu coal plant itself would emit 8.8 million tonnes of carbon dioxide annually once it became fully operational. Proponents of the Lamu coal urged that the plant would provide much-needed electrification to power economic activity in the village and in greater parts of Africa, and that this would lift many people out of poverty.

However, a study conducted by US-based think tank Institute for Energy Economics and Financial Analysis (IEEFA) showed that Kenyans were to bear up to US \$9 billion in losses from this deal. IEEFA highlighted in its report that, if signed, the Lamu deal would lock Kenyans into a 25-year undertaking that would cost US \$360 million annually even if the company generated no power.

A study prepared by Kurrent technologies on behalf of Amu power, the Kenyan company that would have served as the local implementer found that climate change-related outcomes from the project’s carbon emissions could lead to higher temperatures during summer, which would affect agriculture and threaten access to water. But these consequences were negligible compared to the economic benefits of electrification. The assessment also recommended a plant shut down should marine life suffer from the discharge of water from the plant into the ocean.

Raaya Ahmed, one of the residents of Lamu took lead in mobilising women to fights against the coal company, she held several sensitisation sessions across the island to get women understand and reject governments’ proposal of establishing the coal plant, although the rural women didn’t openly stage demonstration, they secretly supported her and she didn’t give up. She also offered to be part of the team to petition the government.

“We went to South Africa for exchange visits and witnessed the destruction of the coal power plants and mining, when we came back we did advocacy, wrote petitions, made noise on TVs, radios. Natural Justice and Katibba Institute gave us lawyers and went to court and I was one of their petitioners to stop the coal power plant. It was in court for three years but we won.” **Interview with Raaya Ahmed- Save Lamu Alliance, Kenya**



Case study 3: Save Zambezi Campaign

The Lower Zambezi National Park (LZNP) is an International Conservation Union (IUCN) category II protected area in south-eastern Zambia on the Zambezi River. The national park is within close proximity of the Kafue and Luangwa Rivers. The Lower Zambezi National Park (LZNP) not only provides refuge to globally threatened wildlife species such as Elephants and Wild dogs but is home to unique vegetation types that include Zambezi endemics and the only protected and intact lowland deciduous thickets in the Southern African region. In addition, the Lower Zambezi National Park (LZNP) shares boundaries with the Mana Pools World Heritage site to the south and it is also being considered for designation as a World Heritage site by UNESCO.

The government of Zambia approved a mining project in Lower Zambezi which was received with massive criticisms from environmentalists and eco feminists in the region and the entire country at large. Environmentalists urged that The nature of the proposed mining project would not only undermine the capacity of the LZNP to provide refuge to wildlife and unique vegetation but it would also undermine development of tourism for the area; may lead to large scale pollution and contamination of ground and surface water sources including the shared Zambezi River system.

Further, proceeding with the project would conflict with the provisions of several regional, bilateral and multilateral agreements including the SADC protocols on Shared Water Courses, Protocol on Forestry, Tourism, Wildlife and UNESCO World Heritage sites. They further urged that Lower Zambezi National Park has the potential for growth as a tourist destination with potential for sustainable income to the local community. Going ahead with the mining project even when the Zambia Environment Management Authority (ZEMA) has rejected the proposal citing serious environmental concerns has various local and international ramifications.

There was a lot of work done by women working in the forests to save the lower Zambezi national park in Zambia. The community petitioned the president of Zambia HE. Hakainde Hichilema for his intervention on the campaign “Save Zambezi, Safe Zambezi” when the Zambia Environmental Management Agency (ZEMA) approved the construction of Kangaluwi copper mine in lower Zambezi national park. Mwira Sulu, a female activist, used recorded video mobilising communities to sign the petition The video ran on social media platforms. She also used her Facebook and twitter accounts to create awareness and mobilize the communities against extractivism.

The campaign was led by The Zambia CBNRM Forum was established in 2004 and formally launched on 12th August, 2005 by the Former Ministry of Tourism, Environment and Natural Resources (MTENR). The Forum is a membership umbrella organization for Community Based Organizations (CBOs) or institutions with interest in or supportive of Community Based Natural Resource Management (CBNRM) in the country. As such, it provides a platform for CBNRM discourse, debate and development.

Source: Save Zambezi policy brief, 2014, interview with Eco feminist, Zambia, September 2021

Case Study 4: Federation of Ogoni Women's Associations (FOWA's) Struggles against the Oil industry in Nigeria

With the discovery of oil in the 1950s, the Ogoni were completely unaware of the consequences of oil drilling and were forced to accommodate the arrival of the oil industry hoping that the oil could make a relatively prosperous situation better, however, it did not take long for the Ogoni to see that this was not to be the case. Beyond the fact that the revenues from the oil did not return to the people, the social consequences of the unleashed environmental nightmare have been unbearable. The Ogoni saw their farmland being expropriated without compensation for oil extraction and faced no alternative means of survival. Pipelines often crisscrossed valuable farmland and poisonous gases flared into the atmosphere close to communities. Ageing oil equipment often failed and leaked oil into communities and farms without adequate clean-up or compensation. The standards applied by Shell were completely destructive of the environment, as well as the Ogoni that were dependent upon the land and rivers for their survival. The Polluted streams added burden for the women who have to travel further away from home to get water for their domestic chores, constant acquisition of new territory for oil exploitation and the resulting pollution from the industry, has left the Ogoni women with no means to feed or support their families. This gave rise to tensions in the home and community. The era of the most intense protests began on January 4th, 1993, when the Ogoni people took their future into their hands and peacefully protested nearly four decades of environmental devastation by the Shell oil company. Over 300,000 people participated from a total Ogoni population of 500,000 and not a single stone was thrown.

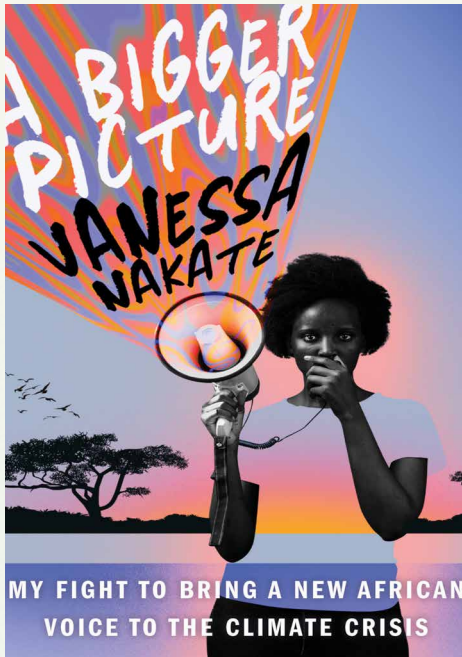
Women played a key role in organising that massive protest. FOWA was set up in 1993, along with eight other units which make up the Movement for the Survival of the Ogoni People (MOSOP). MOSOP is the democratic organisation which represents the voice of the Ogoni people in the Niger Delta. MOSOP acts as an umbrella organisation for a number of Ogoni groups, which together have a total membership of over 250,000 individuals: FOWA; National Youth Council of the Ogoni People (NYCOP); Council of Ogoni Churches (COC); Council of Ogoni Professionals (COP); Council of Ogoni Traditional Rulers (COTRA); National Union of Ogoni Students (NUOS); Ogoni Students Union (OSU); Ogoni Teachers Union (OTU); and Ogoni Central Union (OCU).

The struggle of Ogoni women culminated April 25th, 1997 when FOWA established their resolution against Shell for the injuries they have caused to the Ogoni over the past four decades and to insult Shell's arrogance. FOWA has united women of all generations and it was able to bring the thoughts of the women in the community together in one voice. There were 126 branches of FOWA, and one in every Ogoni village. On April 25, 1997, the Federation of Ogoni Women's Associations (FOWA), an umbrella organisation for all women's groups in Ogoni, the oil rich Niger Delta region of Nigeria, made a resolution. It stated "It is resolved that Shell cannot and must not be allowed in Ogoni...we say no to Shell as it remains Persona non grata in Ogoni."

This pronouncement, amongst five other resolutions, were made and signed (those who could not sign, thumb printed) by over 300 women leaders in Ogoni who represented FOWA's 57,000 registered members. FOWA won the complete loyalty of Ogoni women. Its success was not only rooted in its commitment to organising the protests against oil exploitation, but in its commitment to strengthening cultural practices and increasing the political role of Ogoni women at the village level. By ensuring cultural survival while fighting for environmental justice, FOWA has made itself one of the most effective grassroots women's movements in Africa.

Source: *The Role of Women in the Struggle for Environmental Justice in Ogoni; the Federation of Ogoni Women's Associations (FOWA): Diana Barikor-Wiwa. Online: <http://www.culturalsurvival.org/publications/cultural-survival-quarterly/nigeria/role-women-struggle-environmental-justice-ogoni>*

Case study 5: Young women for climate justice



The world currently has more young people than ever. It has been acknowledged that there is a need for inclusive support mechanisms that ensure the youth continue to amplify efforts to restore the planet.

Work by and for young people is a critical component of raising political ambition to actualize universal agreements on climate change such as the Paris Agreement which sets out a global framework to avoid dangerous climate change by limiting global warming to well below 2°C and pursuing efforts to limit it to 1.5°C. With the youngest population in the world, huge opportunities exist to engage millions of youths in environmental advocacy. However, young people face structural barriers when exercising advocacy and leadership hindering them from establishing institutionalised – as opposed to informal – means of political, cultural, and social participation that can be sustained in the long term. These barriers include resistance by authorities, exclusion from decision making, lack of awareness of how they can affect change and access to opportunities for them to learn about the issues impacting their lives.

In Africa, many youths became involved with climate change issues in 2006 when the African Youth Initiative on Climate (AYICC) was launched. This was during the 12th Session of the Conference of the Parties (COP 12) of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in Nairobi, Kenya. Since then, the youth-led campaigns for climate justice have grown in leaps and bounds and have gained momentum and secured spaces in key climate decision making fora

They have actively engaged in international debates and initiatives on climate change and in some cases been recognized as thought leaders to raise the voices and concerns of other youth, particularly in the Global South.

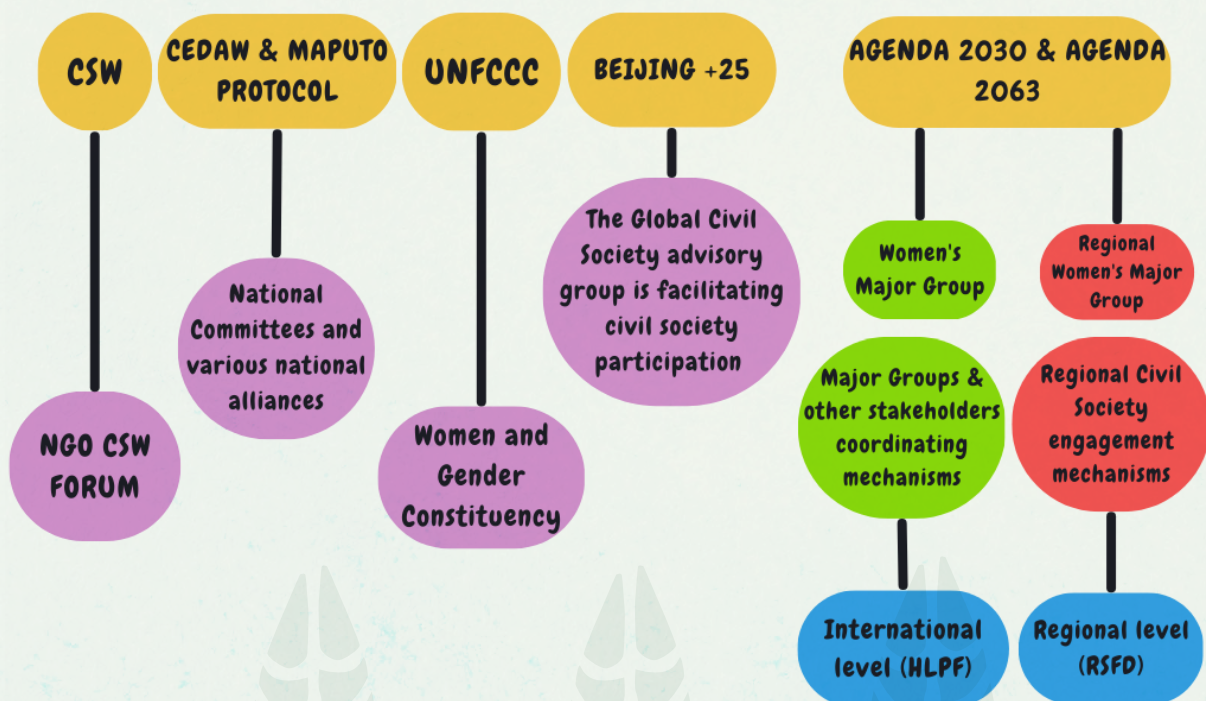
Using caravans such as the African Youth Climate Justice Caravan that was held across Kenya, Tanzania, Malawi, Zambia, Botswana and South Africa, street shows through rain and shine in Durban, South Africa in December 2011 to demand climate justice at COP 17, and social media campaigns such as the climate strikes by youth across the continent in countries like Tunisia, Kenya, Zimbabwe, among other, they have been able to mobilise themselves to campaign for climate justice.

These campaigns' greatest success has been the awareness raised, particularly in remote villages and in big cities, amongst youth, adults and elderly, and policymakers.

Case study 6: Global Feminist Climate Justice Advocacy



Civil Society Networks and Africa level and UN spaces: Who acts where? Where are the entry points for civil society?



Source: WECF, 2020

Step 5: Implement, learn and monitor the advocacy plan

Implementation of the advocacy plan should be done at different levels concurrently, where possible local advocacy efforts should feed into national advocacy; national into regional; and regional into global advocacy. Clear mechanisms for capturing lessons and information chains should be well built into the advocacy plan. Systems for review and reflection on different advocacy initiatives at different levels should be put in place and regular (if possible monthly and quarterly reflection and feedback meetings should be put in place). The national lead and regional leads remain responsible for coordinating the reflection and feedback processes. There are different channels and tools that can be used in delivering advocacy messages. Packaging advocacy messages is essential in determining the success of any advocacy campaign. There are a number of traditional ways of packaging advocacy messages through petitions, policy briefs, and Video documentaries among others. However, in the recent past, the technique of storytelling has become very instrumental as a method for packaging advocacy messages. Stories compel, influence and help to shift power holders to take appropriate actions.

a) Communicating the advocacy process and communicating during the advocacy process.

Media is one of the cost effective means of information transfers and has been used for both advocacy and awareness raising. However, studies show that women have a definite information deficit on climate politics and climate protection. This raises the question of how communities that directly face the brunt of the crisis in their day to day life can communicate their experiences and ensure that they inform decision and policy making processes but also hold government technocrats, politicians, negotiators accountable. For the media to benefit women and indigenous groups, appropriate channels and mechanisms must be adopted. Media engagement is not about receiving information but also about facilitating engagements between the rights holders and duty bearers. Below is an example of some of the types of media that can be used by intersectional feminist climate justice advocates:

Tools and methods of communicating during movement building and advocacy

a. Oramedia



Figure 5. Short animated film, *Polluters & Plunders: The roots of Africa's crises* by WOMIN

In Africa, oramedia has been traditionally used since time immemorial to transmit knowledge from one generation to the other. The enduring nature of the oramedia is best understood and appreciated when we realise that Africa remains an oppressed and suppressed continent in the shackles of patriarchy and imperialism, and the legacies of neocolonialism, coloniality, capitalism, neoliberalism, and of globalisation – and how all these have worked to distort Africa's knowledge and communication systems. Many women, because of the

patriarchal nature of African societies largely rely on oramedia for information shared by their peers. It is important to note that oramedia are highly effective than all other means of communication because they are interactive, interpersonal, combine verbal communications with non-verbal codifications, and they are simple, natural and less expensive. The high content of non-verbal in the oral media actually makes them more effective because non-verbal communicates the mind more

than verbal. When anybody wants to lie, it is non-verbal that readily contradicts the verbal lies. The rich diversity of Africa's oramedia includes various talking drums, the folk songs, itinerant dance, mime groups, drama, zines, festivals, town criers, traditional wears, the artefacts, art works, paintings, stories, and among others cultural architecture that reflects in the palaces, shrines, and African cities, towns and villages.

Arts and creative expression has the power to raise political consciousness, interrogate status quo, challenge dominant orthodoxies, amplify feminist thought and lived experiences, and advance actions for social justice and structural change. In 2020, AMwA under the auspices of the Women at Work campaign filled the auditorium at Century Cinemax Acacia in Kampala on 13th February a day before that year's Valentines celebration to premiere a short film, "Prickly Roses"²⁵⁸. The film exposes the lives of women working on flower farms in Uganda as part of the advocacy for decent working conditions for women engaged in the global horticulture value chain. Within climate justice advocacy, organizations like WOMIN²⁵⁹ have also made attempts to use animated short film series to tell part of the story that rural, peasant and working-class communities across the African continent have confronted from the start of colonisation to the present day global neo-liberal capitalism.

b. Visioning exercises

These are about creating spaces for solo or collective dreaming and dialogue as they reimagine a new world. Through these exercises, people are facilitated to communicate their shared themes and steps necessary to make these visions a reality. During this exercise, an illustrator can translate these dreams and actions into a visual, or written expressions such as poems.



258 AMwA (2020), Art Meets Activism at the Premiere of Prickly Roses, a Short Film about the Experiences of Women on Flower Farms, <https://www.akinamamawaafrika.org/art-meets-activism-at-the-premiere-of-prickly-roses-a-short-film-about-the-experiences-of-women-on-flower-farms/>

259 Womin (2021). Polluters & Plunderers: The Roots Of Africa's Crises, <https://womin.africa/polluters-plunderers-the-roots-of-africas-crises-animated-short-film-series/>

Figure 6. Illustration sketched during one of the AMwA sessions during the Global South Women's Forum in 2021



c. Poetry

As Ijeoma Umebinyuo, a Nigerian poet and feminist says:

“Writing is political. The more we think our voice is not important, the more we lose our right to own our narrative. The written word cannot be erased. Political dissidents are prosecuted for writing, how powerful is that? That writing stands in the face of oppression and does not back down. We must always remember, we have the key to that room, the room where your ideas and emotions are welcomed. You have the key. I know who I am and where I am from. Shrinking myself is not an option.”

Below is a poem that was written by an Ecofeminist, Elizabeth Mpofu who is the Chairperson of Zimbabwe Smallholder Organic Farmers Forum (ZIMSOFF) and the General Coordinator of Via Campesina in Zimbabwe as part of their activism for climate justice. This poem first appeared on [ZIMSOFF's Facebook page](#).

Climate Justice and Food Sovereignty Now!

*Oh! Oh! Nature mourns, Humanity perishes! Why? Seasons have changed
Now unpredictable and unreliable! Hotter, drier and shorter!
Winds and storms harsher and destructive Mother Earth mourns; the land is barren.
Women, men and children, plants and animals perish! Capitalist industrial agriculture, what have you
done?
Everywhere, Mother Earth crumbles. As toxics and harmful GMO seeds swell her belly.
Heavy machines trample her belly Their dark plumes polluting the sky,
A new baby, Climate Change, is conceived and born!*

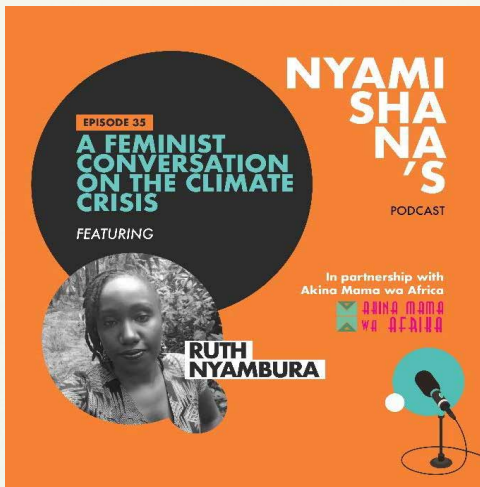
*Oh! What is all this? Ecological niches shrink
Biodiversity fast disappears. Greater uncertainty hovers everywhere
Heightened risks for us the food producers. Traditional agriculture knowledge is fast eroding
What and who shall save us? Climate change knows no peace,
Hungers for only for destruction! Greed for profits feed him!
Extreme, extreme, extreme weather phenomena, his fruits!*

*Environmental and humanitarian disasters! Floods, droughts, landslides, diseases!
Humanity cries: No Food! Nature cries: Inhabitable! Inhabitable! Is there a remedy?
Yes, but we hear only false solutions! Free Markets, REDD, climate Smart agriculture, green economy,
agro fuels, Carbon trading, land grabbing, more industrial farming, massive use of herbicides,
inorganic fertilizers and more GMOs!
Oh Lord! All to grow climate change! Why? Profits! Profits! More profits! cries Capitalism, his father!*

*But hope looms in the horizon. Food sovereignty, our hope!
Comes to restore social justice to humanity, Ecological sustainability to nature
Biodiversity and cultural diversity to all peoples of Mother Earth!
Arise ye peoples, women and men, the landless, peasants, indigenous farmers, forest and fisherfolks,
Let your hope be heard in all the corners of the earth!*

**Climate Justice and Food Sovereignty Now! Globalise the Struggle, Globalise Hope!
Viva La Via Campesina, Viva**

d. Podcasts



Digital audio informative file channels of information dissemination have become popular over the years with their introduction in the 1980s but popularized in 2004. The example of the podcast on “A feminist conversation on the Climate crisis” provides an excellent feminist critique of climate crisis and has been widely viewed globally. In addition, the podcast, “Feminist Climate Renaissance “. The “Women Speaks project” has also attracted over many viewers and given the powerful message it contains, this however and can be a platform for policy engagement but also for knowledge building to understand intersectionality feminist in climate crisis.

e. Community Telecentres

These are public places where people can access computers, the Internet, and other digital technologies that enable them to gather information, create, learn, and communicate with others while they develop essential digital skills. While each telecentre is different, their common focus is on the use of digital technologies to support bridging the digital divide, creating economic opportunities, and reaching out to minoritized and marginalized groups like women.

f. Social media

Today we see a lot of movement building happening online, through blogs, Instagram, Facebook and Twitter and other web based platforms follow a very similar path: an individual or group identifies an issue or problem or injustice that they believe has to be stopped or changed, and she/they decide to start an online campaign on the issue. For example, Fridays for Future Kenya on Instagram and Youth for Climate Tunisia on Twitter have used social media to demand for climate action as well as the protection of environment and human rights defenders.

Several online campaigns had their genesis generate from online activism like “Me too” movement that sparked conversations on sexual harassment and abuse of power by men. Climate campaigns would be more effective if run online, particularly targeting the Global North as it is one of the most popular forms of communication targeting both young and old, powerful and less powerful, rural and urban.

Recently, the live streaming of events and conferences with recordings provided after are enabling accessibility of information are excellent best practices for knowledge building and creation. Online movements have enabled people to connect with each other in ways that were not possible before the digital era. It has enabled new linkages between and across movements as well. This has created a whole new form of solidarity, collective power, and resistance, and the possibility of bringing together diverse actors who may never have otherwise connected.

Digital spaces have become critical sites where women – especially young women – have chosen to challenge dominant ideologies and ways of thinking, and to frame new ideas and perspectives. They have also given a space and voice to people who may be silenced or stigmatized in their own contexts – people who don’t fit into the normative social mold, such as LGBTQI people or sex workers or disabled people. Audio-visual communication tools play a critical role in raising awareness and mobilising people: memes, GIFs, songs, pictures and videos, personal testimonies, which have a powerful impact of their own. These are particularly effective and appealing to young people, who tend to be the majority of those who become part of virtual movement-building processes.



Fridays for Future Campaign

For example, the Fridays for future social media has made great strides in influencing and advocating for climate justice as illustrated in the example below: Fridays For Future is a youth-led and -organised global climate strike movement that started in August 2018, when 15-year-old Greta Thunberg began a school strike for climate. In the three weeks leading up to the Swedish election, she sat outside the Swedish Parliament every school day, demanding urgent action on the climate crisis. She was tired of society's unwillingness to see the climate crisis for what it is: a crisis.

At the time the campaign started, Greta was alone, but she was soon joined by others. On the 8th of September, Greta and her fellow school strikers decided to continue their strike until the Swedish policies provided a safe pathway well under 2°C, i.e. in line with the Paris agreement. They created the hashtag #Fridays for Future, and encouraged other young people all over the world to join them. This marked the beginning of the global school strike for climate. Their call for action sparked an international awakening, with students and activists uniting around the globe to protest outside their local parliaments and city halls. Along with other groups across the world, Fridays for Future is part of a hopeful new wave of change, inspiring millions of people to take action on the climate crisis, and we want you to become one of us! Friday for future campaign has so far attracted over 14 million followers across the globe. Currently the Friday for Future as a movement is running a social media campaign to stop Standard Chartered Bank from financing fossil fuel companies. Fridays for future fights against standard chartered bank's abuse of environmental and Human Rights by providing finance to fossil fuel expansion.

g. Telephones and Emails

Whereas social media has become a key mobilisation and advocacy tool, activists and advocates for human rights and social justice are also using other traditional tools and strategies to reach their messages to power holders/ decision makers. In Kenya, women's rights defenders use telephones as a critical tool for delivering and or asserting themselves by continuously sending text messages and or making telephone calls to politicians and key government technocrats.

h. Use of Radio

Women and other minoritized people in rural/ poor settings have more access to the traditional media including radio and radio talk shows. These are platforms where climate related information is disseminated. These minoritized and marginalised groups however need to be empowered with confidence to take part in radio programmes to share their knowledge and lived experiences; and demand accountability for transformative climate justice. An interesting example of the Community radio programme in Uganda, which is a good tool that can be replicated by organisations in the Global South.

Example of Green Radio community programme in Uganda

NAPE's Community green radio "Nyina Bwenge"-the mother of wisdom; women's wisdom being amplified) creates a space for women activists to air out their concerns but also engage different government leaders; the community radio covers 16 districts in the Albertine region.

Source: NAPE, <https://www.greenradio.ug/>

i. Television

In most of the environmental campaigns in Africa, most activists have used the Television to mobilise support and demand accountability. TVs are accessible by decision makers all over the world and thus remain a media tool for advocacy and influencing.

j. Newspaper articles

Print media is still an important tool for communication as it provides the "credible" option for information and wide coverage. Its tangibility creates a form of permanence and can be used for reference years ahead. These can now be incorporated into online engagements with links to news articles, press statements inserted in the Newspapers whenever need arises.



Conclusion

The climate crisis is a social justice struggle and climate action should be approached as such because those most affected are the least contributors to this crisis. They are also the ones facing the consequences of unsustainable climate solutions because they have been systematically excluded from participating in processes and spaces where these decisions are taken. The current climate discourse urgently requires that women, indigenous communities, people with disabilities, and other minoritized groups in Africa in particular and the Global South in general are visible in regional and global climate governance decision making spaces and that their narratives and lived experiences foreground all decisions and outcomes. Ensuring the inclusion and engagement of these groups of people in the conversations concerning climate policies and programmes is critical, not only to guarantee the protection of their rights, livelihoods, and critical ecosystems and biological diversity on which they survive, but also for the sustenance of the planet on which we all live. We therefore hope that this guide will challenge climate change government technocrats and policy makers, climate researchers, and environmentalists to join feminists, social justice advocates, human rights actors and women rights organizations on a journey to reimagine climate action and urgently adopt and apply an intersectional feminist approach as a lever for achieving a just climate transition.

Glossary

African Ecofeminism

African Ecofeminism operates at the intersections of ecological justice by using radical and African feminist traditions to critique power, challenge multinational capitalism and neoliberal models of transformation, and re-imagine a more equitable world.

Climate change adaptation

Climate change adaptation is about preparing for the current and future impacts of climate change. It means changing our activities and decisions so that we reduce the negative impacts of climate change and become more resilient. Adaptation also involves taking advantage of opportunities from climate change. Adaptation actions reduce vulnerability and increase resilience to current and projected climate risks at the national, regional and community levels.

Climate change

Climate change is the global phenomenon of climate transformation characterised by the changes in the usual climate of the planet (regarding temperature, precipitation, and wind) that are especially caused by extractive, exploitative and accumulative human activities.

Climate change vulnerability

The Hyogo Framework (adopted by the UN at the World Conference on Disasters in 2005) defines vulnerability as a 'set of conditions determined by physical, social, economic and environmental factors or processes which increase the susceptibility of a community to the impact of hazard. Vulnerability comprises three components: exposure, sensitivity and adaptive capacity. Exposure refers to the presence of a climate hazard; sensitivity refers to responsiveness of a system to the climate hazard and adaptive capacity refers to the ability of a system to change in a way that makes it better equipped to manage its exposure and sensitivity to climate hazards and or cope with adverse impacts. Vulnerability is rooted in the construction of everyday social space or social existence; that is, vulnerability needs

Climate crisis

Climate crisis is a term describing global warming and climate change, and their consequences. It has been used to describe the threat of global warming to the planet, and to urge aggressive climate change mitigation.

Climate finance

Climate finance refers to local, national or transnational financing—drawn from public, private and alternative sources of financing—that seeks to support mitigation and adaptation actions that will address climate change. The Convention, the Kyoto Protocol and the Paris Agreement call for financial assistance from Parties with more financial resources to those that are less endowed and more vulnerable. This recognizes that the contribution of countries to climate change and their capacity to prevent it and cope with its consequences vary enormously. Climate finance is needed for mitigation, because large-scale investments are required to significantly reduce emissions. Climate finance is equally important for adaptation, as significant financial resources are needed to adapt to the adverse effects and reduce the impacts of a changing climate.

Climate justice

Climate justice is a term used to frame climate change as an ethical and political issue, rather than one that is purely environmental or physical in nature. It examines concepts such as equality, Human Rights, collective rights and the historical responsibilities for climate change.

Climate mitigation

Climate change mitigation is about reducing greenhouse gas emissions from human activities.

Climate technology

These technologies used to address climate change are known as climate technologies. Climate technologies that help us reduce GHGs include renewable energies such as wind energy, solar power and hydropower.

Climate resilience

This can be defined as the capacity of a socio-ecological system to adapt, reorganise, and evolve into more desirable configurations that improve the sustainability of the system, leaving it better prepared for future climate change impacts. Resilience to Climate Change. It's the ability of a system to absorb disturbance and maintain function, structures, and feedback processes. For coping and adaptation to result in resilience, resources that would enhance men and women's capacity to adapt to climate variability and change need to be equally accessible. These include access to land, credit, agricultural inputs, decision-making bodies, and technology and training services, education, natural resources, mobility, access to equal economic opportunities, information and communication systems.

The Greenhouse Effect

The greenhouse effect is a result of the gases that absorb and re-emit solar energy that rises from the earth's surface in all directions, allowing the temperature to be higher than it would be if the atmosphere did not exist. Without GHGs, the planet's average temperature would be in the negative. GHGs are thus crucial for the maintenance and development of life as we know it. However, as a result of human activities e.g. the burning of fossil fuels and changes in land use, concentrations of GHGs in the atmosphere have increased markedly all over the world and have raised the Earth's temperature beyond the levels that would have existed through natural processes.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is a framework to understand how particular forms of interconnected identities work together to create one's lived experience. Intersectional paradigms remind us that discrimination cannot be reduced to one fundamental aspect of an individual's life. Rather we must critically consider the combinations of factors that make up one's entire identity. Intersectional feminism examines the overlapping systems that create unique modes of discrimination or privilege that women experience, based not just on gender but on race, ethnicity, sexuality, economic background, ability, nationality, citizenship, and a number of other axes.

Patriarchy

Patriarchy is a system of male authority which legitimizes the oppression of women through political, social, economic, legal, cultural, religious and military institutions.

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Akina Mama wa Afrika
Plot 1572 Valley Rise, Chief Close,
Off Kira-Bulindo Road, Bulindo, Wakiso.
P.O.Box 24130 Kampala Uganda
Tel: +256 414 543 681
Email: amwa@akinamamawaafrika.org
Website: www.akinamamawaafrika.org
Facebook: Akina Mama wa Afrika
Twitter: amwaafrika



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Netherlands