Gender and Climate Change

Women as agents of change in Nepal

(Photo: Annabel Cook)

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Abstract

Climate change is one of our time's greatest threats to human security and livelihood. It is a reality that affects both the environmental and social spheres of our lives, and influences what we associate with a healthy planet; safe drinking water, clean air, and sufficient food. Nepal is one of the many countries that is experiencing the disastrous and detrimental impacts of climate change, leaving thousands of Nepalese people in vulnerability to climate change induced risks. Such risks only enhance the existing issues in Nepal, such as poverty and inequality, and climate change will not only prolong these issue, but also eventually create more problems.

Various national and international development organizations dedicate their work to climate change response in Nepal. The focus is to help the country and its people to overcome, cope with, and adapt to the changes that climate change has brought about. This is achieved by developing policies and projects which address the impacts of climate change, and it is often with mitigation and adaptation strategies. The Nepalese people's livelihoods and human rights are central aspects when organizations are working with climate change and its detrimental impacts and risks. Gender also plays an important, yet often unrecognized role in the climate change debate. Climate change affects everyone, however, it has become more widely acknowledged that men and women experience climate change differently. There are various determinants which produce differential effects, such as certain gendered roles and relations. In Nepal, women constitute the majority of the poor, and they are therefore among the most vulnerable to the impacts of climate change.

All this considered, a question remained, and that was to what extent gender is integrated in the policies and strategies developed by the organizations in the response to climate change. This thesis therefore aimed to analyze the (gendered) policies of three development organizations which work with climate change in Nepal. The analysis provided an understanding of the relationship between the gender policies of the organizations, and how and to what extent such policies have been implemented on a ground level in Nepal. To understand this relationship, theoretically grounded thoughts on how to incorporate gender measures in organizational policies and practices were reviewed and analyzed in relation to the organization's policies.

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Abbreviations

CARE	Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere
CBS	Central Bureau of Statistics
CFUG	Community Forest Users Groups
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
COP	Conference of the Parties
FECOFUN	Federation of Community Forest Users Nepal
GBV	Gender Based Violence
GED	Gender Equality and Diversity
GESI	Gender Equality and Social Inclusion
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
MoE	Ministry of Environment
NAPA	National Adaptation Programmes of Action
NASA	National Aeronautics and Space Administration
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NRM	Natural Resource Management
NTNC	National Trust for Nature Conservation
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFCCC	United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organization
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

1.0 Introduction

Climate change is a reality that affects both the social and environmental spheres of the world. It affects what we know as a functioning and healthy planet: clean air, sufficient food supplies, safe drinking water, and secure shelters. Due to an increase of carbon dioxide and other greenhouse gases, caused mainly by human activities and influences, sea levels are rising, glaciers are melting, and weather patterns are changing. It is a fact that more extreme weathers and disasters will become more frequent and intense. Consequently, it is estimated that in the future, between 2030 and 2050, climate change will cause roughly 250.000 more deaths additionally per year, from malnutrition, heat stress, and diseases such as malaria and diarrhea (WHO, 2017). Moreover, a continued emission of greenhouse gases will cause further global warming of the planet and eventually long-lasting changes in the environmental system. This will lead to an increase of severe, irreversible, and pervasive impacts on both people's lives and the eco-system. Climate change will not only amplify the existing risks that the nature and humans already are influenced by but also keep creating new risks for all systems (IPCC, 2014).

The risks caused by climate change are unevenly distributed and are often having a more extensive effect on poor, disadvantaged people and communities, in all countries no matter what level of development (IPCC, 2014). Future climate change risks entail that food security will become weakened, human health problems will be significantly worsened, poverty will be prolonged, displacement of people will increase, among many things. In addition, there are risks from storms, extreme precipitation, landslides, inland and coastal floods, air pollution, heat stress, and droughts. Unfortunately, these risks are amplified and poorly administered in societies that lack essential infrastructure and services or that are situated in exposed areas (IPCC, 2014). It is estimated that communities and people in rural areas are expected to experience significant climatic impacts on food supply and security, water availability, infrastructure, and agricultural incomes (IPCC, 2014). Consequently, poverty and inequality are relevant elements in this discussion since climate change creates risks that, altogether, results in prolonged poverty and pervasive inequality in the society.

Nepal is a country that is highly affected by the impacts of climate change. It is a relatively small country that is landlocked between India, on its southern side, and the Tibetan region of China, on its northern side. Nepal is therefore very characteristically known for its diverse physiography within rugged terrain and mountains. However, the country is annually dominated by the Asian monsoon and poverty is a widespread problem (Shrestha & Aryal, 2011). In Nepal, the main occupation and source of income is within the agricultural sector, which is highly supported by rainfed farming practices. In addition, tourism is also an important source of income for many Nepalese people where they depend on trekking and tours to the Himalayan glaciers. Yet, due to global warming, the glaciers and glacier lakes are shrinking rapidly and this will not only affect the water resource availability but also damage many people's livelihoods, as for example their health and source of income (Shrestha & Aryal, 2011). The climatic changes that are affecting Nepal are therefore creating major risks that enhance existing issues in the Nepalese society, such as poverty and inequality, and climate change will predictably therefore eventually create more problems. Additionally, the impacts also affect the gendered relations between women and men in Nepal. Climate change is believed to have different effects on women and men; in some cases, it leaves women more vulnerable and disadvantaged than men, and vice versa. This is also the case in Nepal (Mainlay & Tan, 2012).

But why should climate change and gender even be analyzed together? Does climate change not affect everyone? Hence, is it not a global issue rather than a gender issue? These questions often arise when one speaks of climate change and gender, and it is therefore important to understand why and how climate change is gendered. Climate change does, indeed, affect everyone, both male and female, yet some determinants which produce differential effects, such as relations and roles, are gendered. As mentioned above, not all climate change impacts affect women and men in different ways; sometimes there are cases where gender matters and sometimes it does not (Nagel, 2016). When focusing on Nepal, the women constitute the majority of the poor, and they are therefore also among the most vulnerable. The women are highly dependent on natural resources in order to secure their livelihoods, which happens through their responsibilities for

family farming and other activities, such as collecting water and biomass for energy (Mainlay & Tan, 2012). Hence, many Nepalese women are exceedingly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change which affect the water resources and eventually damage their source of income from agriculture. The climatic impacts influence the women's livelihoods, health, and also creates more unequal gender relations between women and men (Mainlay & Tan, 2012). Thus, during a crisis, women have a harder time challenging status quo in their relation to men which consequently may entrench their existing unequal roles and responsibilities. Moreover, Nepalese women have less opportunity to access relevant information and to achieve skills to cope with the impacts of climate change and adapt to it (Mainlay & Tan, 2012).

In Nepal, the people and country's capacity to overcome and cope with the climatic impacts is very low (Shrestha & Aryal, 2011), and there are therefore various NGOs and international organizations that work with climate change policies, laws, and adaptation planning in Nepal. Among these organizations, there are also departments within the Nepalese government and international programmes that have focus on the climate problems, for example the Ministry of Environment and the National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPAs) established by the UNFCCC (Mainlay & Tan, 2012). When climate change is addressed within organizations or institutions, sustainable development and equity is the basis for determining or evaluating climate policies. In order to achieve sustainable development and equity, the impacts and risks of climate change needs to be limited and controlled. Yet, countries' past and future contributions to cause global warming are entirely different and, consequently, countries also encounter varying challenges and incidents from climate change. Hence, each country has separate capacities to address how to mitigate and adapt to the environmental changes (IPCC, 2014).

1.1 Purpose of the study

The question is, however, if these organizations, either national or international, have gender sensitive policies and processes incorporated when they are working with mitigation and adaptation strategies in Nepal. Gender is an important aspect in this matter since the majority of

women in Nepal are working in the agricultural sector, and they are therefore in a vulnerable position when a climate crisis strikes. Nevertheless, given that these women have dedicated themselves to agriculture and farming, they have a great deal of knowledge on sustainable resource management and leading sustainable practices within the households, such as managing crops, planting seeds, taking care of animals, etc. (UNFCCC, 2014b). Women in Nepal can therefore be agents of change and important actors in the approach to make a difference within the politics of climate change. It is important to involve these women in the work of the organizations and institutions, so that their voices can be heard and their issues can be addressed.

There are many organizations and institutions that work with climate change in Nepal, undertaking different projects. In this thesis, focus will be on CARE International, CARE Nepal, and the UN, respectively, each of them working in Nepal. CARE and the UN have both created gender sensitive policies that promise gender equality in their work with climate change. For instance, CARE International has developed a guideline on commitments and implementation of gender policies in their projects. It is called CARE International Gender Policy and it commits to supporting gender equality and principles introduced in international agreements (CARE, 2009). CARE also has an office in Nepal, where they run projects on women and girl's empowerment, climate change, and natural resource management (NRM), among others (CARE Nepal, 2015). In 1992, the UN created the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) as a framework for international collaboration to combat climate change. Later on, two treaties were founded, the Kyoto Protocol (1998) and the Paris Agreement (2015), that both charted new courses in the global effort to overcome climate change (UNFCCC, 2014a).

The aim of this thesis will therefore be to analyze the gendered aspects of the policies of CARE International and the UNFCCC. By comparing the policies or finding contrasting elements between the policies of CARE International and the UNFCCC, an analysis will be able to provide an answer to how or to what extent the Gender Policy of CARE International either align or differ from the framework of the UNFCCC. When this has been discussed, there will be an analysis of how the policies of CARE Int. are either visible or ignored in the practices on the

ground level, namely in the work of CARE Nepal. Additionally, a theoretical framework will introduce concepts and present thoughts and recommendations on how to address gender equality and integrate gender into development policies and practices.

1.2 Research question

Based on the above considerations, one might ask what the relationship is between the organizational gender policies of CARE International and the UNFCCC and the organizational practices of CARE Nepal; and how these gender policies are put into practice by CARE. In addition, in order to comprehend this relationship, it would also be fruitful to analyze the relationship between the policies and the theoretically grounded thoughts on how to integrate gender concerns in development policies and practices. In order to narrow down the focus to a more specific research question, the aim of this research is therefore to analyze:

How does CARE International Gender Policy align with the organizational policies and practices of UNFCCC and CARE Nepal? And to which extent do these policies and practices mirror recommendations based on theoretical approaches to gender sensitive measures against climate change?

2.0 Theoretical framework

2.1 Patriarchy and gender relations

The definition of patriarchy has been developed through the years and has a history of being utilized amongst social scientists, e.g. Weber in 1947, who used it to characterize a system of government where men ruled the society through their leading roles within the households. The term has been advanced since then, especially by radical feminists who put more focus on male domination over women and less on how men dominated each other, and by dual system theorists who developed a theory where patriarchy existed alongside capitalism (Walby, 1989).

To achieve a more specific explanation of patriarchy, Sylvia Walby (1989) defines patriarchy as *"a system of social structures, and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women"* (p. 214). It is an unequal system within the society where men hold the primary power in all domains, such as the social, political, and economic domains. Walby finds it important to use the term 'social structures' since patriarchy rejects the biological determinism, and is a result of a social construction of gender in which every individual man is legitimated to be the dominant one and every individual woman is confined to be the subordinate one (Walby, 1989).

When analyzing gender relations, the concept of patriarchy is an important tool (Walby, 1989). World Health Organization (WHO, 2017) defines gender relations as *"social relations between and among women and men that are based on gender norms and roles"* (¶*Gender relations*). Gender relations often create hierarchies between groups of women and men which leads to unequal power relations that subsequently disadvantage one group over another (WHO, 2017). The patriarchal system therefore enforces gender relations, restraining women as the subordinate ones, due to their feminine traits and roles, and men as the dominant ones, given their masculine supremacy, and it creates an unequal hierarchy of power where men dominate the social, political, and economic systems.

Nepal is an example of such a system. Patriarchal systems tend to exist mostly in feudal societies (Walby, 1989), and Nepal is a feudal society with Hindu culture and traditions (Jha, 2016). This will be reviewed and further elaborated in the background section of the analysis.

2.2 Power and feminist perspectives

In both political and social theory, power is a highly disputed concept and through history, there have been various contributions to how power should be conceptualized and understood. Although there also have been many disagreements among the theorists, there are two overall definitions: firstly, that power is about getting an individual to do something you want them to do (power-over), and secondly, that power is a capacity or ability to act (power-to do something) (Allen, 2005).

Max Weber (1978) formulated the classic definition of power where he describes it as *"the probability that one actor within a social relationship will be in position to carry out his own will despite resistance (...)"* (p. 53). With similar grounds, Robert Dahl (1957) presented his concept of 'intuitive idea of power' in which he explains what power entails a social relation between people. According to him, every individual has an intuitive idea of what power is but it is, nevertheless, a social phenomenon that is difficult to grasp. Additionally, every person knows that some people have more power than others, and people often associate the word 'power' with influence, control, authority, etc. Dahl defines the intuitive idea of power as *"A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do something that B would not otherwise do"* (p. 202-203). Weber and Dahl are therefore both examples of theorists who believed that power is an act to get a person to do what you demand, namely the concept of power-over. On the other side, Hanna Pitkin, together with Thomas Hobbes and Hannah Arendt (Allen, 2005), argued that power is about being capable of acting your own way, as described by the concept of power-to. Pitkin claims that *"power is a something - anything - which makes or renders somebody able to do, capable of doing something. Power is capacity, potential, ability, or wherewithal"* (Pitkin, 1972, p. 276). Pitkin challenges the concept of power-over by stating that, indeed, one may have the

power over another which is relational, but it is not a relationship. One may also have the power to accomplish something, all by oneself, and this kind of power is not relational at all. However, it might involve other people if the actions involve social or political aspects, but it does not need to be that. She therefore concludes that power may exist without being exercised, without getting someone to do something, given that power is implied in one's capacity and ability to choose (Pitkin, 1972).

The concept of power is also a central point of discussion for feminist theory. Based on power relations, feminist studies make a gender-based relation between power and subordination and recognize that the concept of power-over is itself a product of male domination (Allen, 2005). Much work of feminist theory is dedicated to study and criticize women's subordination by analyzing the intersecting dimensions between sexism and different forms of subordination, such as racism, class oppression, caste, etc. However, the specific concept of power is not often explicitly discussed in the feminist literature, which makes assessing feminist perspectives on the topic a challenge. Yet, one can identify three main aspects of how feminists have conceptualized power: as a resource, as domination, and as empowerment (Allen, 2005).

When talking about power as a resource, the concept is understood as a positive social good that is presently believed to be unequally distributed between women and men. The feminists who conceptualize power in this way, such as Susan Moller Okin, argue that the goal is to redistribute this resource in a way so that women have equal access to power as men (Allen, 2005). Okin (1989) based this argument on her work, where she analyzed the gender-structures within families, by which she determined that these structures often unequally distribute the burdens and benefits of familial life between wife and husband. She therefore presupposed that power is a resource that is unjustly distributed between women and men, and that it needs to be redistributed in more equal ways. Iris Marion Young (1990) argues against the way Okin understands power, which she calls the 'distributive model of power'. She asserts that by bringing power under the logic of distribution, it misinterprets the true meaning of power. If one should conceptualize power in distributive terms, it would be *"a kind of stuff possessed by*

individual agents in greater or lesser amounts" (p. 31). However, this perspective, Young claims, only leaves power structures or relations to be understood as a 'pattern of the distribution of this stuff' and she finds several problems with this type of understanding (Young, 1990, p. 31).

Firstly, Young argues that it can be obscuring to regard power as a possession or characteristic of individuals given that power rather is a relation than a thing. Even though the exercise of power often can be measured in the possession of certain resources, such as money, military equipment, etc., these resources should not be confused with or related to power itself. As Young argues: *"The power consists in a relationship between the exerciser and others through which he or she communicates intentions and meets with their acquiescence"* (Young, 1990, p. 31). Secondly, when theorists only analyze the atomistic paradigms of power, the focus is often situated on specific agents or roles that have the power, and on other agents over whom these powerful agents exercise power. Even though the relational character of power is recognized, power is also often treated like a dyadic relation, i.e. it consists of two parts, namely the ruler and subject. This dyadic view on power fails to identify the larger structure in the background, a structure of agents and actions that mediates between the agents in a power relation (Young, 1990). If an agent can succeed having institutionalized power over another, there should be numerous third agents who execute and support the will of the powerful agent. Young uses an example of a judge who may have power over a prisoner, but only if he or she has the network of practices realized by prison guards, policemen, recordkeepers, administrators, lawyers, etc. In the background, there are many agents who must do their job for the judge to realize his or her power, and most of these people will never, in fact, directly interact with each other (Young, 1990). Therefore, according to Young, when one understands power as a resource, and in distributive terms, one fail to recognize the mediating and supporting function of third agents in a power relation.

Hence, Young does not view power as a resource, but rather as domination. Young (1990) argues that when one understands power in a distributive way, that it is a kind of thing that can be

distributed, exchanged, or traded, one tends to ignore the phenomenon of domination. When Young speaks of domination, she refers to a *"structural or systemic phenomena which exclude people from participating in determining their actions or the conditions of their actions"* (p. 31). Domination is structural because the restraints that people feel are often the intended or unintended consequences of the actions that agents make, such as the actions that authorize the judge's power over a person. However, it is important to notice that, within such a system of domination, there will always be individuals who are more powerful, and others who are moderately more powerless than them (Young, 1990). The powerful agents draw upon resources of domination, and this structured operation is perceived as a process. As power is produced and reproduced through various agents outside the actual relation between two agents, as the example with the judge, this 'dynamic nature of relations' is a continuous and ongoing process. Power is productive and functions as *"dynamic processes of interaction within regulated cultural and decisionmaking situations"*, where many different people are agents with power even though they might not have it, or are not privileged (Young, 1990, p. 33). Young therefore stresses that as long as power is understood as patterns of distributions instead of a structural system with domination as processes, the existence and nature of domination cannot be identified in a society (Young, 1990).

In addition to understanding power as linked to power-over relationships, domination, and hegemonic masculinity, some feminists have also argued for a reconceptualization of power to be an ability or capacity, or more specifically, the capability to transform or empower oneself and others (Allen, 2005). This will be further elaborated in the next chapter, where the concept of empowerment will be reviewed with a focus on power.

2.3 Empowerment

Empowerment is a popular concept that is frequently used by various non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and institutions, such as the World Bank and Oxfam. Originally, the term was affiliated with approaches within development in which focus was on local, grass-root, and

community-based initiatives and activities, and a growing dissatisfaction with top-down and mainstreaming approaches. Yet, more recently, the term has been embraced more by mainstream development agencies (Parpart, Rai & Staudt, 2002). The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) defined empowerment as being about people, both women and men, being able to take control over their lives, such as building self-confidence, gaining skills, setting their own agendas, solving problems, and developing self-reliance (Parpart, 2014). Empowerment has therefore become an acknowledged tool within development; it is comfortable and unquestionable, a concept that numerous different agencies, organizations, and institutions can agree on (Parpart *et al.*, 2002).

However, Jane L. Parpart, Shirin M. Rai, and Kathleen Staudt question the fluid and poor definition of empowerment, and how it can be used to address women's empowerment within a male dominated world. They therefore proposed an approach to women's empowerment in which they focused on four issues (Parpart *et al*., 2002). Firstly, empowerment should be analyzed in global, national, and local terms given that the most marginalized communities are affected by both global and national forces. Global forces can be economic, political, or cultural and they tend to marginalize some groups while enhancing other groups' power. Furthermore, it is important to understand that this is a largely gendered process as well. If one ignores the multilevel, intersecting character of the problems and the struggle poor, marginalized communities experience, one will misunderstand empowerment and its relation to our inter-connected global and local world (Parpart *et al.,* 2002).

Secondly, in order to facilitate and understand women's empowerment, it is important to analyze a more nuanced aspect of power. The action verb 'to empower' implies the ability to exert *power over*, an act of making things happen. It suggests *"the ability to change the world, to overcome opposition"* (Parpart *et al.,* 2002, p. 5). There is a transformatory sounds to this word, empower, since it has an implicit promise of change; often to a better and more equitable world. However, empowerment is not just the ability to exercise power over other people or resources, yet it also involves the exercise instead of possession of power. It can therefore be argued that

empowerment cannot exceed or transcend power relations given that it is entangled in the relations of power throughout all levels of society (Parpart *et al.,* 2002). Parpart *et al.* (2002) agree with the conceptualization of power by Jo Rowlands (1998, as quoted by Parpart *et al.*), where *"empowerment must be understood as including both individual conscientization (power within) as well as the ability to work collectively, which can lead to politicized power with others, which provides the power to bring about change"* (p. 4). Furthermore, a feminist insight and analysis of power also proven relevant given that it has allowed scholars to move away from the traditional notion of power being the ability to exert *power over* structures, resources, and people. It does, on the other hand, remind us that power is a fluid and relational concept that is connected to have control over knowledge, potential, and agency (Parpart *et al.,* 2002). Thus, the concept of empowerment allows us to incorporate different notions of power that help recognize *"the importance of individual consciousness/understanding (power within), and its importance for collective action (power with) that can organize and exert power to challenge gender hierarchies and improve women's lives"* (Parpart *et al.,* 2002, p. 7-8).

Thirdly, empowerment exists in institutional, discursive, and material contexts even though it is a process where women and men experience and subvert power relations. Whether people gain skills, develop consciousness, or make decisions, the individual empowerment occur within the constraints of discursive practices and institutions. Groups can be empowered through collective action, yet these actions are often restrained by the structures of power that the groups experience. Thus, there should be an analysis of the broader political and economic structures, the cultural and discursive aspect of society, and the conception of human rights, practices, and laws that affect and oppress women and men and even flourish in marginalized communities (Parpart *et al.*, 2002).

Lastly, and the fourth issue, empowerment should be perceived both as a process and an outcome. It is a process given that it is a fluid, unpredictable concept that establishes attention to the struggle of marginalized groups and communities. Empowerment can also be perceived as an outcome that can be reviewed against expected achievements. Hence, it is important to measure

the outcomes in order to keep policy-makers and development agencies honest and genuine in their work (Parpart *et al.*, 2002).

By combining these four dimensions in both analysis and praxis, empowerment can be fully understood and facilitated (Parpart *et al.*, 2002). With a focus on these issues in an analysis of women's empowerment, Parpart *et al.* remind us that approaches of empowerment always is a fixed entity within institutional structures of the society and, therefore, these approaches must be analyzed and understood at that level. Certain empowerment approaches have been associated with development practices and issues, such as education, leadership training, micro credit, representation, land rights, and grassroots participatory approaches (Parpart *et al.,* 2002). However, according to Parpart *et al.*, these should be framed in the broad forces that global, national, and local contexts embed on marginalized groups and communities. In other words, empowerment should be analyzed in global, national, and local terms since the most marginalized communities are affected by both global and national forces. These forces tend to marginalize some groups while enhancing other groups' power, and this is where empowerment can make a change.

2.4 Agency

Thirty years ago, Amartya Sen (1985) created a framework around the concept of agency. Sen speaks of the agency role, which is the act of exercising agency by an individual. This act or role is characterized as being a rational agent of construction, and people are seen as having the moral power to have the understanding of the good. Agency may be especially important in a person's own life and concerning one's well-being, since it is very likely for a person's well-being to be influenced by his or her agency role (p. 186). In other words, agency is about what a person is free to do in order to achieve the goals or values that he or she considers as important. It is an ability to overcome barriers, to be heard in the society (either as an individual or together with others), and to question and confront situations of oppression or deprivation. Agency also has an intrinsic value in the sense that it is important in its own right, regardless of whether the agency

roles are exercised in a way that they increase well-being or not (Hanmer & Klugman, 2015). Hence, the fact that one is able to be a rational person with an understanding of what is good and bad does not mean that the exercise of one's agency role will increase one's well-being; it may also lead to a decrease of well-being. Agency is what a person does to achieve a goal with the right moral approach, and it can have different outcomes for the person exercising the agency role.

In an extension to Amartya Sen's work on agency, there has been a further development towards women's agency and empowerment. Naila Kabeer defines women's agency as something that *"leads to empowerment when its exercise questions, challenges, or changes regressive norms and institutions that perpetuate the subordination of women"* (Kabeer, 2008, as quoted by Hanmer & Klugman, 2015, p. 237-238). Women can exercise agency in many ways; they can do it as individuals or collectively, within their families, and through their participation at a political level, within the market, or through other formal and informal institutions. It can therefore be seen both as an absolute concept (e.g., women being able to work outside the home) and a relative concept. In other words, a woman's own sense of agency can increase through learning more and new knowledge, which is an absolute increase, but this can also either increase or decrease her influence within the family, a relative increase (Hanmer & Klugman, 2015). Kabeer conceptualizes agency as a concept of choice, where people have the power to exercise the ability to make choices. This refers to the capacity of defining one's goals and act on them, and encompasses finding the meaning, skills, purpose, and motivation to bring oneself to action, using one's 'sense of agency' (Hanmer & Klugman, 2015, p. 240). Kabeer's definition of agency is founded in feminist theory, where she connects individual agency with institutionalized power relations of gender. There is an emphasis on the interlocking factors (e.g. ideological, cultural, and social) that constitute the unequal power relations of gender structures of constraint. According to Kabeer, it is important to identify the rules, norms, and practices that are associated with family and kinship in order to fully understand the factors behind unequal power relations. The capacity for choice includes three dimensions: agency, resources, and achievements. These dimensions are so interrelated that they are indivisible, yet their mutual interactions give

opportunity to make changes in the lives of disempowered groups. Consequently, agency (in all its forms) is a critical aspect for women's empowerment (Hanmer & Klugman, 2015, p. 240).

However, many scholars (e.g., Sabina Alkire, 2008) have questioned to what extent the practice of women's agency and empowerment can be measured. Sabina Alkire (as quoted by Hanmer & Klugman, 2015) made an useful reference between women's agency and domains, noting that women's agency can be measured in relation to domains of capability. The domains that Alkire selected to measure women's agency involve choices around sexuality, marriage, the exercise of reproductive rights, childbearing, decision-making, participation, and engagement in politics and collective action (p. 238). Hence, Alkire conceptualizes agency as a capability approach, which also draws on feminist theory. It involves the *"exploration of how gender roles, norms, and behaviors impact women's and men's ability to exercise agency differently and how women's agency is often restricted compared to men's"* (Hanmer & Klugman, 2015, p. 240). Thus, when identifying these roles, norms, and behaviors that disproportionately affect women and men, one can measure women and men's capability of choice or agency. Sometimes these roles, norms, and behaviors restrict women's capability to exercise their agency, of which restrain them from achieving empowerment. Again, it is evident that agency is one of the most essential factors in achieving women's empowerment, since increased agency can lead to the realization of women's empowerment.

Agency has also often been measured in assets, such as financial, physical, and human assets. The reason for this measurement is because these assets often are seen as prerequisites of agency. It can involve indicators such as education, literacy, land ownership, finance, employments, social capital, media etc. (Hanmer & Klugman, 2015). For example, a woman's decision-making power within the household can change and increase as a result of joining a women's group or receiving new knowledge through the social media, which can affect her and her husband's attitudes to the roles, norms, and practices. However, it is important to notice that increased access to assets do not always result in increased agency. It always depends on the individual and other structures of constraints, whether or not increased access to assets results in improved

agency (Hanmer & Klugman, 2015). Moreover, the position of an individual in a society, and culturally and traditionally specific rules and norms also shape people's conceptions of what is desirable and possible to achieve in one's life. For example, whether or not a woman will benefit from business training is highly dependent on her income group and social status, such as which caste she belongs to in Nepal (Hanmer & Klugman, 2015). Therefore, when measuring to what extent women's agency has been/can be practiced, it is also important to analyze the social, cultural, and economic dimensions and gender structure constraints. Such norms, rules, and behaviors can easily make it difficult for women to exercise their agency, and thereby challenge the realization of women's empowerment.

2.5 Gender mainstreaming

The concept of gender mainstreaming was officially noticed and recognized in Beijing in September 1995, where representatives from 192 countries and women and men representing non-governmental organizations were gathered at the Fourth World Conference on Women. A plan was adopted, Platform for Action, and one of the essential goals was for the UN and its signatory states to mainstream gender matters into their policies in order to assure, before any decisions are made and implemented, that an analysis is made on how the policies would affect both women and men (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002).

Gender mainstreaming therefore makes a promise for gender equality, empowerment, and transformation, and it has become a central pillar in development discourses, policies, and implementation (Parpart, 2014). The concept also guarantees that gender is in the core considerations at all stages of policymaking, not only for certain departments or ministries that deal with women but for all actors, institutions and organizations, who work across a different range of areas. Here, gender and empowerment is considered when policies are developed, legislated, implemented, and evaluated (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002).

After gender mainstreaming has been officially adopted as a policy in many developed countries and among international development organizations and institutions, such as the UNDP and the World Bank, it is important to acknowledge that it was not the traditional nor the only approach to gender equality policies (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002). For example, Teresa Rees (1998) introduced three broad approaches to gender issues and equal opportunities: equal treatment, positive action, and mainstreaming. Firstly, and the most common approach, equal treatment has its roots in the concept of equality which implies that *"no individual should have fewer human rights or opportunities than any other"* (p. 21). Such a policy indicates creating and implementing equal rights for women and men, for example the right to equal salary for equal work. Yet, Rees identified some flaws in this policy; simply that it is ineffective when it challenges power relations and inequalities within a society. Given a lack of analysis of the relationship between the private and public spheres, the policy fails to recognize the fundamental issues of gender inequality and tends to ignore the patriarchal structures. If there is granted equal access for both women and men, it will only benefit a certain group of women. Hence, the equal treatment approach will inevitably reproduce more unequal relations that already exist in a broader context (Rees, 1998).

Rees therefore highlighted the second approach, positive action, in which *"the emphasis shifts from equality of access to creating conditions more likely to result in equality of outcome by equalising starting positions"* (Rees, 1998, p. 25). Positive action contributes to assist women in competing more effectively within the existing structures of the society. More specifically, it involves adopting certain actions for women in order to help them overcome the obstacles and advance from their unequal starting points within a society characterized by patriarchal structures. Such actions have been based on measures to determine reasons behind the barriers to women's participation in employment, education, and training. These measures seek to find methods to facilitate women's participation and give them an equal starting point. Moreover, they are equipped to address the ways in which women are 'different' from men and thus 'disadvantaged' (Rees, 1998). In other words, the policy is meant to accept and acknowledge the differences between women and men, and utilize this to create more equal starting positions for

women within a male dominated society. In order for this approach to succeed, measures and projects should be implemented, such as women-only training management and leadership trainings which are designed to teach women to take leadership and come through in a male dominated labor market (Rees, 1998). In more extreme situations, positive discrimination is utilized which implies to *"bring about changes to the status quo through mechanisms designed to increase the participation of the under-represented group"*. This can be done by applying, for example, affirmative action measures or quotas (Rees, 1998, p. 27).

Lastly, Rees identified the last approach to equal opportunities as gender mainstreaming. The concept of gender mainstreaming is originally based on the notion of politics and differences that *"respect and respond to differences, rather than seeking to assist women to fit into male institutions and cultures by becoming 'more like men'"* (Rees, 1998, p. 29). Feminists have moved further away from equal treatment, and appointed their tasks to change and challenge the male supremacy of organizations. This was done by, for example, demonstrating that many employers often tended not be gender-neutral, which systematically created a scene where one gender would be favored above another. Hence, it was established that transformation of institutions became the most important agenda instead of pursuing an improvement of women's performance, starting point, and access to organizations (Rees, 1998). Thus, gender mainstreaming is a concept with extensive potentials by which it promises to involve gender dimensions in international governance. Nevertheless, the concept is also challenging and demanding given that it requires that all central actors within a policy process adopt a gender perspective. Especially challenging in a way that some of these actors may have little interest or experience working with gender issues (Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2002).

2.5.1 Implementing gender mainstreaming

The abovementioned problems of lack of interest or experience working with gender issues has raised questions about the implementation of gender mainstreaming in organizations, institutions, and state-led development agencies. It is a concept with bright potentials, yet it has met many

challenges and has been, at times, a disappointment in its implementation. Solutions have often been proposed, yet it is common that these solutions only call for more of the same, such as more resources, stronger institutions, greater commitment, and more accountability (Parpart, 2014). To summarize, the transformative agenda of gender mainstreaming is to challenge the existing and established gender hierarchies and practices within, for example, development institutions. The actual idea of gender mainstreaming was based on the assumption that *"the gender order of a society can be changed through deliberate and focused interventions at every level"* (Parpart, 2014, p. 384). This can only be achieved through a collective agreement that gender mainstreaming is everyone's responsibility and job. Jane Parpart (2014) therefore states that, in order to understand the gap between promise and implementation, one need to examine the resistance towards gender mainstreaming policy goals. In some cases, there have been problems with institutional resistance, such as isolation of gender staff from the management units, hierarchical organizational culture, weak gender skill base, little accountability and follow-up, and reluctance to recognize the gender staff as professional colleagues. Moreover, when resistance and skepticism against gender mainstreaming occur within institutions, it often affects the agency leadership and this can, eventually, influence the support to implementing gender mainstreaming policies (Parpart, 2014). Various scholars and activists have presented ideas for solutions, where they have looked at strengthening women's activism, improving organizational processes, providing culturally sensitive gender training, and receiving more financial resources to challenge the patriarchal structures. Yet, some of these initiatives have proven to only regard women and girls and ignore other relevant factors. This can have bad consequences for mainstreaming gender equality (Parpart, 2014).

Gender mainstreaming continues to promise gender equality and fundamental and institutional change. However, Jane Parpart (2014) emphasizes that gender has increasingly been reduced to only regarding women and girls, moving further away from considering gender relations and structural equality. Mainstream development agencies tend to focus mainly on women and girls, which then suggests that gender equality only can be achieved by women and girls alone. In these cases, Parpart (2014) indicates that *"women and girls are represented as change agents*

who do not need to cooperate with men or reformulate established gender relations" (p. 387-388). This way of assuming gender allows the development agencies to structure gender equality as a problem for only women and girls, which furthermore enables a framework that solely focuses on men being a developmental problem (Parpart, 2014). Women and men can therefore easily be perceived as two separate, contained categories, which results in a binary construction of gender as two distinct and opposing groups. When this is prevalent within development discourses, relevant complexities are disregarded, particularly concerning the fluidity of gendered identities and the gendered character of structural inequality. It also disregards the need to address and explore gendered practices and relations that together weaken gender equality and keep maintaining gendered privileges (as well as ethnic, classed, racialized privileges) in an unequal system and society (Parpart, 2014).

When analyzing and understanding the extent of gender mainstreaming within organizations and development institutions and agencies, one has to remember and acknowledge the underlying factors that often are ignored in the process. Instead of only focusing on women and girls, leaving men to be the 'problem' of, for example, gender-based violence and HIV/AIDS, there needs to be a clear view on the broader and collective goals of gender mainstreaming. Firstly, and according to Jane Parpart (2014), there should be an emphasis on understanding the complex and fluid nature of gender practices; not only focusing on women and girls as the only ones, who can achieve gender equality. Secondly, the role of societal forces is critical in the resistance and support of gender equality, both within development agencies and institutions and the broader society. This agenda requires innovative leadership, the ability to learn from others, and an open mind towards a changing world. However, when taking the abovementioned agendas into account, gender mainstreaming can help create a more fair and equitable, gendered world.

3.0 Methodology

Within the field of methodology, there are quantitative and qualitative research methods, and Alan Bryman (1984) is one of many scholars who have distinguished between them. The quantitative design emphasizes fixed measurements, testing of hypothesis, and less involvement in field work. As opposed to the quantitative method, the qualitative method is a more flexible and fluid concept. It focuses on finding new or unexpected information about a topic, and it furthermore gives the researcher the opportunity to alter the research plans after discovering such new findings. These two concepts therefore differ in a way that quantitative research can be perceived as an experimental approach, given that this method involves testing out hypotheses to reach to a conclusion, for example. However, qualitative research is a method of understanding the ways in which, for example, women in Nepal can be agents of change, and how this understanding can be identified through research. This involves bringing the understanding 'out into the open', and it can often be done through interviews, transcriptions, and field work (Hannabuss, 1996, p. 22).

Throughout the research, both quantitative and qualitative research methods have been employed in order to carry out the analysis. Existing quantitative data has been utilized by means of statistics, documents, public reports, articles, etc. Statistics, articles, and reports have been searched for in order to review the extent of global warming and the impacts of climate change in Nepal. Moreover, there has also been a search for reports and statistics on gendered aspects of the Nepalese society, such as gender roles and relations within the different sectors: social, cultural, and economic. This kind of quantitative information was needed to acquire a broader understanding of the Nepalese society and the cultural and traditional norms that divide the gendered roles and relations between women and men in Nepal. Additional information on the climate changes that are happening in Nepal, such as the risks and impacts, but also how Nepalese rural people adapt to the changes, has been important to find as well. When searching for this, there has also been a focus on women in particular, for example on how they are affected disproportionately by the impacts of climate change. This quantitative information can,

altogether, structure a review of the abovementioned, which will provide the necessary background knowledge to establish a basis for the analysis.

In addition to the quantitative methods, this research has been based primarily on a qualitative research method, namely document analysis. Existing documents and reports have been collected to form the analysis from CARE International, the UNFCCC, and CARE Nepal, respectively. Information about the documents, which are subjected to analysis, is listed in the table below:

Name	Published by	Year
CARE International Gender Policy	CARE	2009
Hariyo Ban Program Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Mainstreaming Strategy: Promoting Transformational Leadership and Social Justice in Natural Resource Management and Climate Change	WWF Nepal & CARE Nepal	2013
Paris Agreement	The UNFCCC	2015
Biodiversity, People and Climate Change: Final Technical Report of the Hariyo Ban Program, First Phase	WWF Nepal & CARE Nepal	2017

Documents, as being records of human activity, are a valuable source of data when interpreting and analyzing a case study research. Along with observations and interviews, documents also represent one of the main types of data within qualitative research. By conducting a document analysis, a window can open up to various historical, social, personal, political, and economic dimensions of the case study and, occasionally, present something new beyond observations and interviews (Olson, 2010). There exists a broad variety of documents that can be used during a case study research, both written, physical, and visual materials. Hence, documents are categorized within three main materials: 1) public records, 2) personal documents, and 3) physical material. There is also a fourth category which consists of the documents created by the researcher, including research journals and field notes (Olson. 2010). Traditional public records, such as the ones used in this research, include every document that is available for public use. These documents comprise of maps, articles and archives, court documents, wills, company and government policy documents, manuals, and much more (Olson, 2010).

When document analysis is employed in a research, it is important to identify and select the documents based on whether they are useful/relevant or useless/insignificant as data for the particular case study. This can be done by validating the chosen documents' source and authenticity. By knowing the source of the documents, the researcher can determine the likely purpose of the document, as well as the perspective from which it was created (Olson, 2010). Therefore, it is also relevant to distinguish between primary and secondary sources when working with document analysis. When speaking of primary sources, the data is observed or created by the author of the work, and the researcher has first-hand interaction with the data (Lombard, 2010). Primary sources thus provide original materials and enable researchers to get close to an event, time period, or project. On the other hand, secondary sources are the outcome of work that rests on primary sources. Secondary sources interpret, analyze, discuss, summarize, or evaluate primary sources, and they therefore offer second-hand interaction for the researcher to study (Lombard, 2010).

In this research, primary public documents and reports are the predominant source of data. The documents developed by CARE International, CARE Nepal, and the UNFCCC are primary sources given that the organizations are the authors, who have been directly involved in the development of the policies and practices that are of interest to my study and therefore will be analyzed. Secondary sources have also, to some extent, been used in this research. Such sources include reports that have analyzed primary sources of statistics regarding, for example, climate change and gender issues. In addition, this research is also a case study in the sense that the research addresses climate change and gender with Nepal as the case and point of departure. Documents have therefore proven relevant to analyze in order to interpret and understand the different gendered dimensions of the policies of CARE Int. and the UNFCCC. Having acquired this knowledge, the policies can be further analyzed with the case of Nepal, namely how these policies are implemented in the projects of CARE Nepal.

With a focus on CARE Int., CARE Nepal, and the UNFCCC, I choose to conceptualize the analysis as three levels, namely macro, meso, micro levels. Because of the complex structure of the problem formulation, this conceptualization gives the analysis a more meaningful structure. The analysis will cover three levels of organizational influence, thoroughly analyzing the different policies they have developed to address gender inequality in their work with climate change. Firstly, there is the UNFCCC which is an international, supranational institution and constitutes the macro level. On the meso level, there is CARE International which is also an international, supranational organization. The organizations are placed like this given that, even though the UNFCCC does not have any direct influence on CARE Int., it is still very doubtful that an organization, such as CARE Int., would work against the international standards of human rights of the UN. Lastly, CARE Nepal will represent the micro level of analysis given that it is an organization that works on a national level. CARE Int. is situated between the UNFCCC and CARE Nepal, since CARE Int. does not have as much influence as the UNFCCC, but is raised above the national branches of CARE Nepal since it works on a global level.

It is important, however, to emphasize that CARE Int. and its member countries and offices are not related, by any means, to the UNFCCC. Hence, CARE Int. is not committed to follow the standards promoted by the international agreements of the UNFCCC; there is no further obligation between the two institutions. However, it can be argued that the UN holds soft power over CARE Int., since it would seem inconceivable that CARE Int. would be working against the international declaration of human rights by the UN. The reasons behind choosing to analyze CARE International Gender Policy vis-a-vis the policies of the UNFCCC can merely be found in the curiosity of understanding if the discourses, policies, and recommendations, which prevail on this level of institutions, indeed get through on a ground level.

4.0 Setting the scene for the analysis

4.1 Gender and climate change

It has become generally acknowledged that the global climate is changing, and that the Earth is becoming warmer. This current warming trend is very significant because it is likely to be the result of human activity (greater than 95% probability) that can be traced back to the mid-twentieth century and will continue proceeding at an unprecedented rate over the next decades of millennia (NASA, 2017). These are striking facts, since each of the last three decades has been substantially warmer than any decade since 1850. The period from 1983 to 2012 has been recorded to be (likely) the warmest 30 years in the last 1400 years in the Northern Hemisphere. There has been a linear trend showing a warming of 0.85°C in the period of 1880 to 2012 on the average global land and ocean surface temperature (IPCC, 2014). This change can bring some localized benefits, for example, fewer winter deaths in extreme climate areas and increased food production in certain areas. Yet, the overall health effects of climate change are overwhelmingly negative, since the impacts affect all social and environmental dimensions of people's livelihoods (WHO, 2017).

It has also been more widely accepted that gender is an essential part of climate change. Climate change affect women and men differently, given that women and men have different socially driven responsibilities and roles. Such impacts from climate change can have intense influence on women's health, livelihood, and gender roles (CBS, 2017). Women's health can be influenced by many different factors. One main factor is lack of access to water resources, which leads to an increase of workload for women and, in so doing, there can be detrimental consequences for women's reproductive health. Regarding women's livelihoods, climate change related conflicts can induce increasing violence, anxiety, and depression for women (CBS, 2017). For example, floods and droughts can damage households' harvest so that there is no source of income and no food. This leaves a household vulnerable and desperate, and conflicts based on this sometimes lead to violence against the woman, as well as anxiety and depression. When climate change has

such a harmful impact on a household's agriculture (source of income, food, and security), there have been cases where the male head of household has migrated in search of better income alternatives. This leaves the women to take a new role, besides her own, and take on additional burdens to do the extra work of her husband's (CBS, 2017).

Gender differences in men and women's roles, economic responsibilities, duties within the family, education, health, and political rights can make women and men more or less vulnerable to climate change effects and impacts (Nagel, 2016). Analyzing gender in everyday social life is very important in order to understand the human dimensions of climate change, and how women and men are influenced differently. There are many social factors that play a role in the gendered aspect of climate change, such as women and men's places in society, cultural definitions of femininity and masculinity, the moral economies that define female and male worth, and what proper behavior is, among others. Wherever women and men are placed within the social society, it shapes the different levels of vulnerability for women and men to the impacts of climate change. For example, these gender differences can shape men and women's access to resources after climate change related disasters, and their ability to participate in the political and scientific processes that frame adaptation and mitigation policies (Nagel, 2016). Indeed, gendered dimensions of climate change are often a reflection of the gendered dimensions of the social life of women and men. Thus, gender inequality has a broader effect on the unequal impacts of climate change, which tends to leave women more vulnerable than men (Nagel, 2016).

In order to understand how women and men are placed within the Nepalese society and, thus, understand how climate change impacts women and men differently, one has to look at the patriarchal system in Nepal. As mentioned in the theoretical framework, Nepal is a feudal society with Hindu traditions and culture, and it is typically within such (feudal) societies that patriarchy exists. The fact that Nepal is a patriarchal system is reflected through legal discrimination (citizenship) and restricted access of property and land. Women and girls are often very dependent on fathers, husbands, brothers, and sons; for example, it is customary that if a woman

needs a passport, she is only allowed to obtain it if her husband, father, or guardian approve it. Likewise, if a woman gives birth to a child and the husband/father is dead, it is very difficult for the woman to pass on her citizenship to the child if she does not have any male relatives (Nowack, 2015). Women and girls are also educated less than men and boys, fed less nutritiously, and girls are sometimes given less care than boys when they grow up. Although it is also very common that girls are valued just as much as boys, there are also cases where girls are raised to be married away. In rural areas, it is normal that women, when they are married, move to their husband's home; sometimes far away from their own family, which causes these women to lose the support and companionship of their families and friends (McHugh, 2002).

The patriarchal structures also have an effect on the gender relations in Nepal. Women and girls' contribution to and participation in the country's economic progress is constrained by a lack of formal employment and opportunities to find other options to secure their livelihoods. The reasons behind this is limited access to economic resources and, in most households, the women are engaged in unpaid, home-based labor (CARE, 2015). For example, 78.8% of the unpaid, home-based labor force is female, where women only comprise of 15% of the workforce. Moreover, women only share 44.8% of the total share of wage in the agricultural sector (CARE, 2015, p. 1). In Nepal, it is common that girls help their mothers undertaking domestic work, while boys are not expected to help within the household. Furthermore, Nepalese women have a higher workload than the average global workload. This can be explained by the fact that 78% of the economically active Nepalese women are involved in agriculture, which is a figure that keeps increasing due to extensive male labor migration from rural areas. However, it has resulted in a raise in women's agricultural employment wage from 19.9% (2009) to 44.8% (2011), a raise that has been more than doubled in 3 years (CARE, 2015, p. 2). Regarding education of women, around 57.4% of the female population in Nepal are literate, whereas the percentage of male literates is 75.1% (above 5 years old) (CARE, 2015, p. 2-3). In Nepal, gender roles vary between caste, religion, ethnic group, and socio-economic class. Traditional family structures are overwhelmingly based on beliefs that men are superior in relation to women and are respectful to elders. Such traditional structures disadvantage Nepalese women and girls with practices,

including early marriage, dowry, polygamy, stigmatization of widows, seclusion of women (purdah), son-preference, family violence, and segregation of girls when they have menstruation (chhaupadi) (CARE, 2015). Hence, such unequal gender relations and roles in Nepal play a predominant factor in why women and girls are in a more vulnerable position when climate change induced disasters strike.

Concerning Nepal and climate change, the country is one of the most vulnerable countries in the world that has experienced direct impacts from climate change. In a period from 1975 to 2005, annual temperatures in Nepal have increased with 0.06°C while rainfall has been decreased by 3.7 mm (-3.2%) per month, per decade (CBS, 2017). Climate change impacts have affected different sectors of the society, including agriculture, water resources, energy, forest, and biodiversity. One of the most visible impacts from climate change is observed from the Himalayan glaciers and glacier lakes, which are changing at an unusual rate. The Himalayan glaciers are retreating annually with about 10-60 m, which is such a fast rate that has caused small glaciers of less than 0.2 km^2 to vanish completely (CBS, 2017). Such changes of the glaciers have caused an increased frequency of floods, which leaves more than 1.9 million of Nepalese people to high vulnerability and, furthermore, an additional 10 million will be exposed to other climate change risks and disasters (CBS, 2017). Climate change also has disastrous impacts on the natural resources and biodiversity in Nepal. It causes an occurrence of pests and diseases and threats to forest conservation and extinction of species. There are major impacts on the health sector, where diseases such as typhoid, malaria, dengue, and meningitis become increasingly vector borne. In addition, other diseases such as typhoid, cholera, and diarrhea has become more frequent, mainly because of extreme flooding, drought, and poor sanitation (CBS, 2017). A change in the rainfall pattern, together with extreme weather incidents, insufficient water supply, the spread of crop disease and pest have had direct impact on the agricultural sector of Nepal. Rural farmers crop production is affected by climate change, which thereby damages the food security and increases the vulnerability of people's livelihoods (CBS, 2017).

A survey conducted by the Government of Nepal's Central Bureau of Statistics (CBS) in 2016 provided data about the impacts and effects of climate change in Nepal. This data deals with multiple dimensions of climate change impacts, including demography, households, level of education, knowledge and conceptions about climate change, adaptation practices, among others. The survey incorporated 75 districts of Nepal and, in order to get reliable information about the climate change impacts, only respondents above 45 years old and who have lived in the same location for the past 25 years were considered eligible for the study. In the survey, 5,060 samples of households were enumerated (CBS, 2017). This survey gives a more clear insight to how climate change has affected Nepal, its people and their livelihoods, and how they adapt to these changes.

The survey showed that there was a higher participation of women than men in the study. The female population constituted 52.40%, whereas the population of men constituted 47.60%. The average household size was 5.05, where it also showed that there were more male household heads (81.65%) than women (18.35%) (CBS, 2017, p. 14). In the Nepalese society, it is very common that men are the heads of household, yet there are also cases where there are female heads of household. In such cases, the husband or father might be diseased or migrated to find a better source of income. Moreover, women and girls are often favored less education than men and boys in Nepal, and the survey also shows that there are more illiterate women than men. Indeed, 54.07% of the male respondents had knowledge about climate change, while only 39.08% of the female respondents knew about climate change. There is an increase of knowledge about climate change along with an increase of level of education, which shows that education is an important factor for climate change awareness (CBS, 2017, p. 32). In Nepal, women are less educated than men, and it only leaves women more vulnerable given their lack of knowledge about how to cope with and adapt to the changes and impacts.

75.5% of the households noted that agriculture is their main source of income (CBS, 2017, p. 14). In response to the climate change disasters, households have adopted different adaptation measures in order to cope with the impacts of climate change. There are various farm-based

measures, and off-farm based measures developed with consultation experts. The most adopted farm-based measure is the use of inorganic fertilizer (60.46%), followed by the practice of mixed cropping (55.47%) and cultivation of improved seeds (53.50%). There is a small percentage of households that have adopted an agriculture insurance as adaptation measure (0.86%) (CBS, 2017, p. 189). Similarly, households have also adopted off-farm based measures, where the majority has changed their food consumption habits (70.64%), followed by community-based NRM (56.72%) and shifting to non-agricultural employment options (45.10%) (CBS, 2017, p. 189). NRM adaptation measures involve cooperation between local people in a community to manage natural resources, such as water, forests, wildlife, and fisheries (USAID, 2016). However, this survey also shows that it is common that people need to find another employment options, and sometimes it involves migration, which is mainly the male head of household who leaves the local community to find another job. The man then leaves his wife to deal with the extra burdens of work, sometimes without sufficient knowledge about how to cope with or adapt to the impacts of climate change.

4.2 The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

In the effort to fight climate change, the United Nations created an international treaty in 1992, which was called the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, or better known as the UNFCCC (2014a). It was developed as a framework for international cooperation to fight climate change by limiting the increasing global temperature and coping with the inevitable impacts resulting from climate change. To strengthen the global response to global warming, the country parties initiated negotiations in 1995 and two years later, the Kyoto Protocol was adopted. The Protocol legally binds the developed countries parties to emission reduction objectives. Today, there are 197 Parties to the Convention and 192 of these Parties have ratified the Kyoto Protocol (UNFCCC, 2014a). More recently, the 2015 Paris Agreement was adopted as the latest step towards a common, global effort to combat climate change, introducing a new course. The Paris Agreement seeks to advance and strengthen the actions and investments that are needed to secure a sustainable low carbon future. The central aim of the

Agreement is to encourage a strong global response to the threats of climate change by keeping the temperature rise below 2°C. Moreover, it pursues to limit the average temperature increase of this century even further to 1.5°C. The Agreement also aims to strengthen the country parties' ability to cope with the impacts of climate change. By now, 147 country parties have ratified the Paris Agreement (UNFCCC, 2014a). Nepal signed the Paris Agreement on the 22nd of April, 2016, and it was ratified the 5th of October, 2016 (UNFCCC, 2016).

Within the Convention, there is a Conference of the Parties (COP). This is a decision-making body of the Convention, by which all states, that are parties to the Convention, are represented. The COP meets every year, where the state parties review the implementation of the Convention and other legal instruments that the Convention has adopted. They also take necessary decisions to ensure and promote an effective implementation of the policies (UNFCCC, 2014a). Another important key task for the COP is to review the national communications and different emission inventories submitted by the Parties. By reviewing this information, the COP evaluates the effects of the measures that the parties have carried out, and they assess the progress they have made in the pursuit of achieving the ultimate goal of the Convention (UNFCCC, 2014a). The latest meeting, COP22, was held in Marrakech, Morocco, in November 2016, and the next will be held in Bonn, Germany, in November 2017. The outcome of COP22 successfully showed the world that the implementation of the Paris Agreement has commenced, and the constructive and multilateral cooperation between the parties continues fighting climate change (UNFCCC, 2014a).

The UNFCCC also recognizes the importance of including gender into its processes and policies. According to the Convention, there is a significant and evident connection between climate change and gender which should be acknowledged (UNFCCC, 2014b). Climate change has the largest impact on poor, marginalized people who rely on natural resources to secure their livelihoods. It also has an enormous impact on the people who are the most vulnerable and have the least capacity to respond to the hazards of climate change, such as droughts, floods, and landslides. Women are commonly at higher risks of being burdened by the impacts of climate

change due to poverty and discrimination. Women are often prevented from fully contributing to the climate-related planning, policy-making, and implementation because of unequal participation in decision-making processes and patriarchal structures within the society (UNFCCC, 2014b). Yet, the UNFCCC (2014b) believes that women indeed can, and do, play a relevant role in the response to climate change. With their leadership in and local knowledge on sustainable resource management and creation of innovative sustainable practices within households and at a community level, women can make a great contribution to the climate debate. In addition, giving women the opportunity to participate at the political level has resulted in greater responsiveness to local citizen's needs. Women's participation has also often resulted in an increasing cooperation between political parties, ethnic and religious groups, and more sustainable peace for communities. According to the UNFCCC, if women's participation is left out of the process of implementing policies or projects, it can only increase existing inequalities and decrease effectiveness (UNFCCC, 2014b).

4.3 CARE International

The history of CARE can be traced back to the end of World War II, 1946, where it responded to millions of people in need of food and relief supplies. Back then, the organization was known as the Cooperative of American Remittances to Europe and consisted of 22 American charities who came from civic, labor, cooperative, and religious backgrounds (CARE International, n.d.). With Europe recovering from war, CARE increasingly got more involved in Asia, first in Japan followed by the Philippines, Korea, India, and Pakistan. By the early 1950s, CARE also worked in a number of Latin American countries and had operations in Africa in the beginning of the 1960s. Two decades later, by the early 1980s, CARE's longer-term development programs began focusing on improving women's status and encouraging their participation within the society (CARE International. n.d.).

In recognition of CARE's more broadened service offering, more developed geographical scope, and wider focus area of its programs, the organization changed its acronym in 1993 to

Cooperative for Assistance and Relief Everywhere (CARE International, n.d.). Today, more than seven decades later, CARE has evolved to become a global poverty-fighting organization, one of the largest in the world. It provides relief to people who are affected by disasters and emergencies, contributes to economic empowerment that strengthens people's livelihoods, with a central focus on women and girls, who often are marginalized and among the world's poorest. CARE has activities and projects running in 90 countries, going all the way from helping communities that are facing severe droughts in Ethiopia to families that are torn apart by the wars in Syria and Yemen (CARE International, n.d.).

As explained above, CARE has evolved to become a strong development organization with a clear vision and mission on how to save lives and reduce poverty. It seeks a world where poverty has been overcome and everyone can live in security and dignity. CARE strives to achieve this vision by working globally to save lives, defeat poverty, and realize social justice. At the center of their focus it has women and girls because, according to the organization, poverty cannot be overcome until all people have equal rights and opportunities. Of course, CARE provides assistance and help to everyone, regardless of race, nationality, sexuality, or creed, by addressing the rights of vulnerable and oppressed groups. Yet, the focus is particularly situated on women and girls since they are among the most vulnerable people, disproportionately affected by poverty and discrimination (CARE International, n.d.). In an effort to achieve this vision and complete its mission, CARE has five areas of focusing its programmes: 1) food and nutrition security and climate change resilience, 2) humanitarian response, 3) right to a life free from violence, 4) sexual, reproductive, and maternal health and rights, and 5) women's economic empowerment (CARE International, n.d.).

CARE International also works with climate change. According to CARE, its work with climate change is primarily based on the fact that climate change is the single greatest threat to achieving the vision of the organization, namely to overcome poverty and secure social justice. CARE aims to empower poor and marginalized people and communities to take action on climate change and build knowledge about it to ensure a collective, global change (CARE, 2017). CARE's

programmes and practices that involve climate change and sustainable development and that, moreover, include a focus on gender will be elaborated later in the analysis. There will be a focus on CARE Nepal and its work with climate change in Nepal.

As presented above, CARE has women and girls at the center of their focus and work (including in their work with climate change) and it supports gender equality and equity. Not only does the organization support gender equality, it also strives to acknowledge the importance of implementing and mainstreaming gender into CARE's organizational framework, such as in their policies, practices, and strategies. In addition, CARE commits itself to incorporating gender equality into all aspects of its work, both as a means to fight gender inequality as well as to overcome poverty more effectively. In order to commit to these principles, CARE Int. developed a Gender Policy in 2009 based on international agreements between itself and the Country Offices and members (CARE, 2009). This Gender Policy will be subject to analysis, and will therefore be reviewed and analyzed in the section of analysis.

4.4 CARE Nepal

CARE started working in Nepal in 1978, and it was one of the first international aid organizations to work in the country (CARE, 2016). Today CARE Nepal is a well-run Country Office of CARE that works to address the systemic and structural causes behind poverty and social injustice. It is causes such as discrimination based on class, caste, gender, and ethnicity, as well as poor governance and vulnerability from conflicts, natural disasters and climate change impacts. CARE Nepal has identified three key matters that are foundation for their current programs: 1) empowering women, 2) securing livelihoods and effectively managing natural resources, and 3) addressing equity and social justice. In Nepal, CARE works with some of the poorest and most vulnerable communities, with a focus on Dalits (who are recognized as the most excluded caste or lowest class), poor families, socially excluded indigenous people, single women, marriageable girls and boys, people with HIV/AIDS, and people affected by natural disasters or conflicts (CARE, 2016).

Before CARE Nepal focused on the abovementioned themes, the initial focus was directed at addressing the basic needs of poor people and vulnerable communities. This was done through infrastructure development, natural resource management, and agriculture extension activities. Given that rural Nepalese people highly depend on agriculture and farming to secure their livelihoods, this was the way forward for CARE in order to help the poor, vulnerable communities (CARE Nepal, 2015). However, the focus changed slightly in the 1900's, where CARE adopted a more diversified framework and community-based 'human infrastructure development' approach. With this new framework, the local people and communities were more at the center of focus. Since 2000, CARE Nepal has been working alongside local NGOs, federations, networks, and community groups to address the underlying problems of poverty, inequality, and conflict through social mobilization and the promotion of gender, social justice, and social inclusion (CARE Nepal, 2016).

CARE International has made a strong emphasis that it has placed a special focus on working alongside poor women. According to CARE Int., if poor women are equipped with the right resources and knowledge, they would have the power to make a difference for families and help entire communities to escape poverty (CARE Nepal, 2016). Incorporating women's issues in all its programmes and ensuring women's active participation is also a cross-cutting criteria for CARE Nepal when strategies, policies, and projects are developed. Moreover, CARE Nepal work closely with landless people, different groups of caste (such as Dalits and Janajatis), people with HIV/AIDS, sex workers, and conflict and disaster affected people. Working closely with these marginalized and vulnerable groups, CARE Nepal therefore ensures that women are not excluded from the programmes and projects, but keeps women as a part of its center focus (CARE Nepal, 2016).

5.0 Analysis

The paragraphs above have introduced an essential background knowledge about the situation in Nepal regarding climate change and gender. Furthermore, background information about the three organizations, the UNFCCC, CARE International, and CARE Nepal, has presented their history, field of work, and view on gender (also in relation to climate change). The following paragraphs of the analysis will continue with analyzing CARE International Gender Policy vis-a-vis the theoretical framework, the UNFCCC, and lastly, the practices of CARE Nepal. Subsequently, there will be a discussion by which the research question will be answered: How does CARE International Gender Policy align with the organizational policies and practices of UNFCCC and CARE Nepal? And to which extent do these policies and practices mirror recommendations based on theoretical approaches to gender sensitive measures against climate change?

Given the rather 'complex' structure of the problem formulation, the analysis is divided into three sections. The first section (5.1) will analyze CARE International Gender Policy in relation to the theories introduced in the theoretical framework. The second section (5.2) will introduce a comparative analysis between the policies of CARE International and the UNFCCC and, finally, the last section (5.3) will analyze CARE Nepal's practices vis-a-vis the Gender Policy of CARE International. The theories will be further reviewed in the two last sections as well.

5.1 CARE International Gender Policy vis-a-vis theoretical framework

CARE International Gender Policy was developed in 2009 by CARE International with a framework providing guidelines to implement gender sensitive measures in their organizational policies and practices. In the Policy, CARE recognizes the unequal power relations between women and men, and girls and boys, and that such inequalities should be addressed. Hence, with these guidelines and commitments, CARE can make sure that gender is incorporated in all

aspects of its work and, by doing so, they can address and challenge existing gender inequalities within the society (CARE, 2009).

The Gender Policy starts with introducing a set of principles that CARE commits to in order to incorporate gender in the programmatic and organizational practices. The commitments revolve around promoting gender equality as an explicit internationally recognized human right, supporting women's rights and empowerment, implementing strategies, and actively holding CARE staff accountable to the standards of gender equality (CARE, 2009, p. 1). The Policy mentions women's empowerment as being one of the important strategies toward ending poverty, human suffering, conflicts, and gender inequality (see page 1, point c). Later in the Policy, CARE presents its own interpretation of women's empowerment. It *"involves awareness-raising, building of self confidence, expansion of choices, increased access to and control over resources and actions to transform the structures and institutions which reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination and inequality"* (CARE, 2009, p. 6). This explanation of women's empowerment can also easily be identified in the theoretical framework of empowerment introduced in this research. Both interpretations by CIDA and CARE mention the ability to take control over one's life, which is about building self confidence, setting one's own agenda, gaining skills, or expanding choices. CARE also states in the explanation that women's empowerment can lead to increased access to and control over resources that can be used to transform institutions and structures which sustain gender inequality. Jane Parpart *et al.* express as well, with a focus on women's empowerment, that empowerment exists in an institutional context where both women and men experience and subvert power relations. Groups can be empowered through collective action and by having control over resources, yet it can also easily be restrained by the structures of power that the groups experience. All this shows that empowering women can be the way to transform the structural and institutional power that keeps reinforcing gender inequality. In the response to climate change, by empowering women, they would have more resources to participate in, for example, decision and policy making with their local knowledge on natural resource management. Hence, women would be able to challenge the

dominant power structures and relations that restrain them from participating on a community level.

In order to avoid that the empowerment of women and other groups would be restrained by institutional structures of power, Jane Parpart *et al.* propose a solution. They state that an analysis of the broader political, cultural, and discursive structures is important, together with a deeper understanding of the conception of human rights, practices, and laws that oppress marginalized groups. The first principle of commitments in the Gender Policy declares that CARE commits to promoting *"gender equality as an explicit internationally recognized human right"* (CARE, 2009, p. 1). By assuring this, CARE already makes a statement that as long as gender equality is not recognized as a human right, an equal world cannot be reached and the empowerment of women and men, girls and boys, is not possible. The fact that CARE states that it recognizes gender equality as a human right, demonstrates that the Gender Policy can work effectively, according to Jane Parpart *et al.* Furthermore, the second principle of commitments announces that CARE will *"address systemic and structural practices that create barriers to the realization of women's rights and gender equality (...)"* (CARE, 2009, p. 1). This is also an example of how CARE takes the structures into account which create barriers and restrain gender equality. According to the theory of Parpart *et al.* this is the right strategy to avoid unequal power structures, e.g. forced by patriarchy, to restrict women's empowerment.

CARE's explanation of women's empowerment also covers the aspect of power, of which it states that *"empowerment comes from within; women empower themselves. Increase women's power through power to; power with and power from within which focus on utilizing individuals and collective strengths to work towards common goals without coercion or domination"* (CARE, 2009, p. 6). Since empowerment comes from within, women's power can be increased by exercising power to, power with, and power within. Women's empowerment is not an act of power-over, which entails an act of getting an individual to do something you demand. Empowerment is rather an act of being able to do or capable of doing something. It is about capacity, potential, and ability. This view on power is presented by Hanna Pitkin and the concept

of power-to, where she argues that power is implied in one's capacity or ability to choose. In addition, Jane Parpart *et al.* also presented how empowerment is related to power itself. They stress that it is important to look at a more nuanced aspect of power. This way of conceptualizing power involves acknowledging it as not being the ability to exercise power over others, but power rather implies the exercise instead of possession of power. Thus, power is not something one possesses and uses to get someone to do what he/she demands. Yet, it is rather something one uses to work collectively, which can lead to politicized power with others, and eventually this can provide power to bring about change. Thus, the way CARE acknowledges women's empowerment has many similarities to how empowerment has been theorized in this research. CARE uses women's empowerment as a concept of giving women an opportunity to strengthen their capability or ability to make choices and enhance their agency. This kind of power can help challenge gender inequality and gender relations within a patriarchal society, and empower women to take leadership roles. CARE also uses the concept of empowerment to ensure that women can work together collectively to achieve collective political power (e.g., leadership), and eventually be able to make a change.

As learned from the theoretical framework, increased agency can lead to increased empowerment when the exercise of agency questions, challenges, and changes the regressive norms that perpetuate the subordination of women. In the Gender Policy, CARE has some programming principles that are the objectives of its Gender Equality and Diversity (GED) work. The last principle (6) entails identifying and addressing the underlying causes of poverty and denial of rights. According to CARE, unequal gender relations are one of the underlying causes to this. CARE believes that *"implementing strategies to improve the social agency, structures, and key relationship position of women and other diverse subordinated and marginalized groups will result in lasting and fundamental improvements in the lives of people with whom we work"* (CARE, 2009, p. 7). This example from CARE also emphasizes that by improving the social agency of women and other subordinated, marginalized groups, it will improve their livelihoods. When agency is exercised in a way that challenges the norms, rules, and behaviors which tend to subordinate women and other marginalized groups, it will empower them and thereby change

their lives. CARE strives to develop strategies that can make a difference for women, giving them a chance to increase and improve their sense of agency. For example, according to Naila Kabeer, having the ability to make a choice can be improved by finding a meaning or motivation to do it, and acquiring new knowledge and skills to realize it. There are various ways that women can exercise agency, for instance within their families, as an individual or collectively, and participating on a political level. In addition, Sabina Alkire presented agency as a concept of capability, which involves women having a voice and choice within different domains, such as decision-making, participation, and collective action. In some cases, structures of regressive norms, rules, and behaviors restrict women from exercising their agency roles and, consequently, it suppresses the achievement of women's empowerment. Hence, CARE promises to improve women's agency and, according to the theories by Kabeer and Alkire, this could be done by helping women acquiring new knowledge and skills in order for them to challenge and change the norms, rules, and behaviors that restrain the women's agency and empowerment.

Besides covering women's empowerment and agency, CARE International Gender Policy also has its own description of gender mainstreaming. The concept of gender mainstreaming is known to be used by many organizations and institutions in order to assure that gender issues are incorporated at all organizational levels. The concept also highlights the importance of ensuring that an analysis is made on how policies affect women and men, since policies can have very different outcomes for women and men, girls and boys. CARE has used the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations' definition of gender mainstreaming, which entails *"the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels"* (CARE, 2009, p. 6). Both the theoretical framework about gender mainstreaming and this description caption the importance of assessing and analyzing the implications of policies and programmes, given that it can have disproportionate consequences or benefits for either women and men. The description of gender mainstreaming further states that *"it is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres so that women and*

men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated" (CARE, 2009, p. 6). Teresa Rees, who was presented in the theoretical framework of gender mainstreaming, introduced three broad approaches to equal opportunity. The last approach was identified as gender mainstreaming, in which Rees emphasized the importance of respecting and responding to differences rather than seeking a way to fit women into male institutions or cultures, and vice versa. This coincides very well with CARE's own description of gender mainstreaming. According to the Gender Policy and the theories, gender mainstreaming is a strategy to ensure that both women and men's needs, concerns, and experiences are incorporated at all levels of the organizational work. By doing this, CARE can promise that men and women will benefit equally from the projects and programmes, and thereby assure that gender inequality is not perpetuated.

For CARE, gender mainstreaming means *"applying gender analysis to all aspects of our work, including advocacy and communications. Gender is not a separate issue; it crosscuts all issues and sectors"* (CARE, 2009, p. 6). This example shows that CARE really believes that gender is important to incorporate in all levels and sectors. Gender crosses all these sectors and cannot be seen as a separate issue. According to Teresa Rees, the act of applying gender to all aspects of organizational and institutional governance is promising, and thus gender mainstreaming has extensive potentials. However, it can also be a challenging and demanding concept to apply, since gender mainstreaming requires all central actors to adopt a gender perspective when designing a policy. Sometimes these central actors may have little interest or experience in working with gender sensitive issues, which can make the implementation of gender mainstreaming a great challenge. Nevertheless, CARE has also developed commitments within the Gender Policy concerning this challenge.

Some of the commitments make a clear promise to how gender can be effectively mainstreamed into CARE's organizational strategies, practices, and implementation. Such examples can be seen in point d, g, and h (CARE, 2009, p. 1). By comparing these four principles with the theory of Jane Parpart on implementing gender mainstreaming, there can be found similarities. Point d commits CARE to *"actively involve men and boys as allies in promoting gender equality"*

(CARE, 2009, p. 1). One of the main aspects that Parpart stressed in her theory, was that gender increasingly has been narrowed down to only regard women and girls. Some development agencies tend to mainly focus only on women and girls, and that gender equality only can be reached by them alone. This is also one of the reasons why gender mainstreaming can be a challenge. However, CARE chooses to actively involve men and boys when promoting gender equality, both in means of not excluding men and boys from achieving gender equality but also making a statement that it not only a job to be done by women and girls. Men and boys are also important actors in achieving gender equality. According to the theories, this statement and commitment is the right way to effectively implementing gender mainstreaming.

The two next points (g and h) are somehow interconnected, when put up against the theoretical framework. Point g emphasizes that CARE should *"monitor, evaluate and institutionalize organizational learning regarding specific gender equality results",* while point h states that the organization also should commit itself to *"actively hold ourselves and others accountable to gender equality standards"* (CARE, 2009, p. 1). One of the major problems with implementing gender mainstreaming in organizations, according to Jane Parpart, is the fact that there sometimes can be an institutional resistance from central actors towards gender mainstreaming policy goals. This type of resistance and skepticism can often result in lack of support for mainstreaming gender into the organizational work. Besides resistance, it can also be ignorance and lack of experience working with gender issues, as explained earlier by Teresa Rees. However, again, CARE works the other way around. Instead of ignoring the importance of its own institutional learning about gender specific issues, CARE announces in these two points that monitoring, evaluating, and institutionalizing organizational learning is essential. CARE furthermore emphasizes that it will hold itself accountable to gender equality standards, which helps reassuring that CARE will implement gender effectively in its programmes and practices. It shows that CARE will make sure that there is no institutional resistance or skepticism against mainstreaming gender into its work. With learning and training, central actors within CARE will not be ignorant and lack experience working with gender issues.

Additionally, one clear aspect within the Gender Policy shines through, namely the emphasis on involving not only women (and children) and girls, but also men and boys. Traditionally, when gender has been highlighted, it has often been reduced to concerning only women and children. This is a (typical) conservatist way of viewing women as mothers, regularly putting women together with children in the same category. However, according to CARE International Gender Policy, key organizational policy, planning, and programmes should *"be based on data disaggregated by sex, age and other relevant diversity factors such as ethnicity, religion, caste, etc."* (CARE, 2009, p. 3). Throughout the policy, CARE mentions not only women and girls, but makes an effort to incorporate men and boys as well. There is no level of discrimination, and the Gender Policy is good at involving all genders and other diversity factors. However, a few times there is only an emphasis on women, such as when the policy speaks about empowerment and women's rights regarding fighting gender based violence, sexual exploitation, and abuse (see page 1, point b). It can be discussed why men and boys are not included when speaking of gender based violence (GBV), sexual exploitation, and abuse given that women and girls are not the only ones being exposed to these types of violations. Men and boys can also be vulnerable to this violence (e.g., in conflicts); just because it is gender specific does not indicate that it is only women and girls who are exposed to it. Nevertheless, the Gender Policy makes a good effort not to separate women and girls from men and boys, and it makes a clear statement that gender should not be described as a binary construction, leaving women and men as two distinct and opposing groups of people. According to Jane Parpart, this is also the way to implement gender mainstreaming effectively. When gender is perceived this wrong way, as a binary construction, other important factors are disregarded. Such factors could be the gendered character of structural inequality, for example, unequal relations in rights, roles, opportunities, etc. In the Gender Policy, CARE states that is *"recognizes that power relations between girls and boys, men and women are unequal, and that such inequalities should be addressed"* (CARE, 2009, p. 4). Thus, CARE recognizes the unequal relations between men and women, boys and girls, taking the structural inequalities into account in their policy.

5.2 CARE International Gender Policy vis-a-vis the UNFCCC

When the UNFCCC and the Parties created the Paris Agreement in 2015, there was an increasing recognition of the importance of involving both men and women equally in the processes of the Convention. There was also an advanced focus on including gender in the development and implementation of national climate policies, by establishing a gender responsive agenda under the Convention, which addresses issues of gender together with those of climate change. It is important to keep in mind that the (gendered) policies of the UNFCCC only concern climate change, whereas the policies of CARE mostly refer to poverty. The Gender Policy promotes equal realization of human rights for girls, women, boys, and men in the elimination of poverty and injustice (CARE, 2009).

The Paris Agreement makes a clear statement that when Parties take action against climate change, they should respect, promote, and consider their commitments to take gender equality and women's empowerment into account, among other things. This is emphasized in the beginning of the Paris Agreement:

"Acknowledging that climate change is a common concern of humankind, Parties should, when taking action to address climate change, respect, promote and consider their respective obligations on human rights, the right to health, the rights of indigenous peoples, local communities, migrants, children, persons with disabilities and people in vulnerable situations and the right to development, as well as gender equality, empowerment of women and intergenerational equity" (UNFCCC, 2015, p. 2).

In this example, the Paris Agreement emphasizes the importance of incorporating gender into the programmatic and organizational practices, both when the UNFCCC and the Parties take action against climate change. This is also an important part of the Gender Policy, where CARE promises to include gender in all the organizations' practices. In addition, both the Paris Agreement and the Gender Policy position gender in relation to human rights. According to the

Gender Policy, one of the commitments is to *"promote gender equality as an explicit internationally recognized human right"* (CARE, 2009, p. 1). Even though the Gender Policy makes a more clear statement about this, it is also evident that the Paris Agreement does not recognize human rights and gender equality as two separate categories. As learned from Jane Parpart, it is important have a deeper understanding of human rights if gender should be mainstreamed effectively in the organizational policies and practices. The fact that both CARE and the UNFCCC take human rights into account and acknowledge that gender is a part of human rights, shows that both organizations are on the right track to mainstream gender into their programmes and implementation. However, instead of having a separate point for gender equality and women's empowerment in the Paris Agreement, they are emphasized together with *"migrants, children, persons with disabilities and people in vulnerable situations"*. This is a classic, conservative way of categorizing gender equality and, especially, women together with children and vulnerable groups. Cynthia Enloe, a Research Professor in the Department of International Development and feminist theorist and writer (Clark University, 2017), made a known reference to 'womenandchildren' in her book *Bananas, Beaches and Bases: Making Feminist Sense of International Politics* (Enloe, 2014). With this reference, Enloe emphasizes that women and children often are considered indistinguishable, put together as 'one'; always connected with vulnerability and innocence. In the case of the Gender Policy, there is no categorization or putting women in a box with children or disabled and vulnerable groups. Here, the box is more straightforward, containing both girls, women, boys, and men without indicating that they are part of a vulnerable, disabled group.

One specific aspect shines through both in the Paris Agreement and the Gender Policy, which is the empowerment of women. According to the Gender Policy, CARE should *"support the empowerment of women and girls as a key strategy toward ending poverty, conflict, human suffering and gender inequality"* (CARE, 2009, p. 1). In the above example from the Paris Agreement, women's empowerment is mentioned in relation to the fact that Parties are encouraged to take the concept into account when addressing climate change. As introduced in the theoretical framework, the concept of women's empowerment involves the power within

(conscientization) and the ability to work together collectively (power with other), which eventually can lead to power to bring about change for the women. If women's empowerment is supported by the Parties, existing inequalities could decrease and the actual process of implementing the policies and projects could increase. This could be done by including women at a leadership level, where they can work together to contribute with their local knowledge on how to adapt to the impacts of climate change. In fact, women's agency and leadership role within climate action is often unrecognized, yet plays a critical role in climate responses (UN-Women, 2015). In the climate debate, women's agency is considered as their leadership in and knowledge of sustainable natural resource management, household practices, responding to disasters and other climate change related crises, such as floods and droughts. There are existing gendered inequalities that limit women's access to land, education, financial resources, health rights, among others, and lack of opportunities which limit their capacity-building for adapting to and coping with the impacts from climate change (UN-Women, 2015).

Thus, in the promise to promote and support women's empowerment, both CARE International Gender Policy and the Paris Agreement strive after challenging the existing inequalities and give women the opportunity to exercise their agency and leadership roles in the action towards climate change and poverty. The way CARE relates to promoting empowerment is by *"understanding and engaging the power relations between women and men and between other subordinate and dominant groups (...)"* (CARE, 2009, p. 7). Unequal relations and gender inequalities limit women from exercising their agency roles and limit their access to land, education, and financial resources. According to the theory of agency, the interactions between agency, resources, and achievements give women the opportunity to change their lives and become empowered. For example, helping women in Nepal to acquire new knowledge and skills about sustainable farming, together with offering resources in terms of education, money, crops, etc. and giving them motivation, could help them build their capacity and ability to cope with climate change impacts and, therewith, advance the women's empowerment. As a result of advanced empowerment, the women can challenge the existing gendered relations and inequalities and improve their livelihoods.

The Paris Agreement also incorporates gender when it is addressing both adaptation action to climate change and capacity-building. This can be found in Article 7 and 11, respectively. As learned from above, gender inequalities often limit women's opportunities to successfully adapt to the impacts of climate change. Article 7 sheds light on the following:

"Parties acknowledge that adaptation action should follow a country-driven, gender-responsive, participatory and fully transparent approach, taking into consideration vulnerable groups, communities and ecosystems, and should be based on and guided by the best available science and, as appropriate, traditional knowledge, knowledge of indigenous peoples and local knowledge systems, with a view to integrating adaptation into relevant socioeconomic and environmental policies and actions, where appropriate" (UNFCCC, 2015, p. 9).

This example emphasizes the importance to follow a *"gender-responsive participatory and fully transparent approach"* in the adaptation action to climate change. Hidden in the word 'gender-responsive', there is women's agency and leadership. The Gender Policy also states that *"implementing strategies to improve the social agency, structures, and key relationship positions of women and other diverse subordinated and marginalized groups will result in lasting and fundamental improvements (...)"* (CARE, 2009, p. 7). It is important to give local women (and men) the opportunity to participate at a leadership and political level of developing adaptation strategies. This way, men and women's agency is enhanced and it will, according to both the Paris Agreement and the Gender Policy, benefit and improve the lives of the local people, who are affected by the impacts of climate change. This was also introduced in the theoretical framework, where it was emphasized that women's agency can be exercised through their participation at a political level, within the labor market, and the family. The improvement of agency and leadership is one of the most essential aspects for achieving women's empowerment, and the UNFCCC's strategy is to use gender-responsive policies to make it possible. Article 7 also states that the action should be based on and guided by local, indigenous knowledge and systems and, by doing so, the local needs can be integrated in the policies and actions. Within

CARE International Gender Policy, there is also a commitment that emphasizes that the organization should *"analyze and implement strategies to manage potential risks and harms to women, girls, boys and men"* (CARE, 2009, p. 1). Even though this is not in direct relation to climate change, it has the same purpose as to what is introduced in the Article of the Paris Agreement. Strategies should be made in order to manage potential risks of climate change and how to adapt to the impacts, and both women and men should have the opportunity to participate. With their local knowledge about how they have managed to adapt to and cope with the climate changes, strategies can be implemented to the benefit of the locals.

In the final Article, where gender has been incorporated, the Paris Agreement emphasizes the importance of capacity-building in the climate change debate. Increasing people's capacity-building in the response to the climate change impacts includes strengthening their ability to cope with and adapt to the risks and disasters. This has been further elaborated in Article 11 of the Paris Agreement:

"Capacity-building should be country-driven, based on and responsive to national needs, and foster country ownership of Parties, in particular, for developing country Parties, including at the national, subnational and local levels. Capacity-building should be guided by lessons learned, including those from capacity-building activities under the Convention, and should be an effective, iterative process that is participatory, cross-cutting and gender-responsive" (UNFCCC, 2015, p. 15).

Again, the Paris Agreement stresses that it should be *"participatory, cross-cutting and gender-responsive"*. For people to cope with and adapt to the impacts of climate change, strategies are needed to guide the local communities. These strategies should be based on local knowledge and systems in order for it to be successfully implemented, hence, the local women and men should have the opportunity to participate in the decision-making process. Given that it is intended to be gender-responsive, as elaborated above when reviewing Article 7, there is also an emphasis on strengthening women's agency and empowerment. In this matter, when speaking

of capacity-building, by including women in the action against climate change, they could build their capacity to ensure their own and families' livelihoods during disasters. With an enhanced leadership role, women could help develop strategies with their own local knowledge and get the opportunity to participate on a community level. By giving women this chance of participation, existing gender inequalities could be challenged as well. Not only would the inequalities and unequal relations between men and women be challenged, but a further empowerment of the women would also be achieved. According to the theories of agency, if the women could exercise their agency roles as participation on a community or political level taking a leadership role, it would lead to their own empowerment. This way agency and women's empowerment are greatly interconnected.

However, in relation to the Gender Policy, there is no direct mentioning of capacity-building or having women participate in developing strategies or policies. CARE recognizes that *"power relations between girls and boys, men and women are unequal, and that such inequalities should be addressed"* (CARE, 2009, p. 4). In order to address these inequalities between men, women, boys, and girls, CARE Int. emphasizes that *"CARE must approach its work in a gender sensitive way"* (p. 4). Oppositely, the Paris Agreement emphasizes that the Parties of the Convention should address their work on climate change with gender-responsive approaches. So what is the difference between approaching gender inequalities in a gender sensitive way and gender-responsive way, concerning climate change? This will be further discussed below.

The UNFCCC has more focus on women's agency and leadership role, compared to CARE International Gender Policy, as a measure to ensure women's empowerment and challenge gender inequality. This is UNFCCC's gender-responsive approach, which ensures and gives women an opportunity to participate in the decision-making of policies and strategies in the response to climate change. However, CARE International Gender Policy has outlined a more gender sensitive approach. This gender sensitive approach includes the acknowledgment of the unequal power relations between women and men, boys and girls, and addressing such systemic and structural practices that create barriers for realizing gender equality. Though, here it is

important to take into the account the different perspectives of the policies. Of course, the UNFCCC has made policies toward combating climate change and CARE Int. has made an overall Gender Policy for all of its work. Hence, when aligned up against each other, there will be found significant differences in both organizations' line of policies and approaches towards ensuring gender equality.

5.3 CARE International Gender Policy vis-a-vis practices of CARE Nepal

5.3.1 Hariyo Ban Program

One of the major programs composed of various projects, that CARE Nepal was part of, is the Hariyo Ban Program. The report is called *"Biodiversity, People and Climate Change: Final Technical Report of the Hariyo Ban Program, First Phase"* (2017) and contains a full description of the Hariyo Ban Program, projects, and results. The Program ran from 2011 to 2016 with the intentions of reducing the disastrous impacts of climate change and threats to biodiversity (forest, plants, animal life, etc.) in Nepal. Phase 1, which will be subject for this analysis, included three core themes: biodiversity conservation, climate change adaptation, and sustainable landscapes. These issues were addressed with an additional focus on governance, livelihoods, and gender equality and social inclusion (GESI) as cross-cutting themes (WWF Nepal, 2017). The project was funded by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID) and in collaboration with CARE Nepal, World Wildlife Fund (WWF), National Trust for Nature Conservation (NTNC), and the Federation of Community Forest Users Nepal (FECOFUN). They worked closely with various stakeholders and beneficiaries at different levels, such as the Government of Nepal, local communities and community-based organizations, NGOs, and the private sector (WWF Nepal, 2017).

When addressing the three themes, the Hariyo Ban Program also made a strong effort to promote better NRM, governance, and GESI. These cross-cutting themes were incorporated in the program to help achieve the objectives of the Program and improve the lives of poor,

marginalized people and women. This was realized by enhancing leadership and participation of women and marginalized people and promoting equitable sharing of benefits from conservation of natural resources (WWF Nepal, 2017). In the executive summary, the report presents the results from GESI approaches, which include an increase of involving men and decision-makers to promote leadership and participation of women and marginalized people, improved progress in reducing gender-based violence in NRM, mobilization of change agents for social transformation, and improved internal governance of forest groups. The GESI strategy was mainstreamed into the work of climate change adaptation, where focus was on the differential impacts of women and men, and other marginalized and vulnerable groups (WWF Nepal, 2017). The GESI strategy will be further analyzed later in the analysis.

As mentioned above, the Hariyo Ban Program ran for 5 years and managed different projects within the three themes: biodiversity, climate change adaptation, and sustainable landscapes. Due to the extensive span of focus areas in the Program, this analysis will only address the gendered aspects within the three themes. The analysis will review these themes and analyze the gendered aspects in relation to CARE International Gender Policy. The analysis will provide an idea about to what extent the standards of the Gender Policy can be found within the practices of the Hariyo Ban Program, and how much gender indeed has been implemented.

Biodiversity is the first theme that is introduced in the report. The Hariyo Ban Program used a threat-based approach to biodiversity conservation, and this involved identifying and ranking the different threats to ecosystems, focal species, protected areas, critical forest corridors, sub-basins, and landscapes (WWF Nepal, 2017, p. 19). Since forest-dependent communities play important roles in biodiversity and are stewards of the forests, the Program *"had a major focus on helping improve local livelihoods and internal governance of NRM groups, and empowering women and marginalized people to participate in and benefit from forest management, to improve forest condition and human well-being"* (WWF Nepal, 2017, p. 19). Women's empowerment is an important concept in the Program when addressing biodiversity and conservation, as well as it is an important part of the Gender Policy. One of the commitments of CARE is to *"support the*

empowerment of women and girls as a key strategy (...)" (CARE, 2009, p. 1). According to the example of the Hariyo Ban Program, women's empowerment entails participation and gender equity, and this is the way to improve fundamental human well-being. In certain areas, it is similar to how CARE has conceptualized women's empowerment. CARE believes that women's empowerment involves *"awareness-raising, building of self confidence, expansion of choices, increased access to and control over resources and actions to transform the structures and institutions which reinforce and perpetuate gender discrimination and inequality (...)"* (CARE, 2009, p. 6). Awareness-raising, building of self confidence, and expansion of choices can be argued to fall under the term 'participation', which Hariyo Ban considers as empowerment. When women get the opportunity to participate in the community at a leadership level, they become aware of how climate change impacts affect them and how to adapt to and cope with the impacts, for example. Women then have the ability to make more choices and, hence, build their self-confidence. Hariyo Ban also mentions that women and marginalized people should benefit from forest management, and this corresponds with the term of equity. The Gender Policy presents a description of gender equity, which entails: *"Justice in the distribution of resources, benefits, and responsibilities between women and men, boys and girls"* (CARE, 2009, p. 6). Thus, the empowerment of women leads to gender equality and equity, where women and men equally benefit from forest management and resources.

In addition, according to Jane Parpart *et al.* and their theory of empowerment, the concept of empowerment should be analyzed in global, national, and local terms given that marginalized groups often are affected by global, national, or local forces. They also emphasize that it is important to acknowledge that this process is largely gendered. There are various intersecting, cross-cutting aspects of the problems and struggle that marginalized groups experience. If these aspects are not identified, one will misunderstand the real intention of empowerment. When reading through the report of the Hariyo Ban Program, there is a strong emphasis on involving cross-cutting aspects to the three main themes of the Program's projects. These aspects include livelihoods, governance, and GESI. By identifying and incorporating these cross-cutting aspects,

the Hariyo Ban Program can implement the right tools to empower women and marginalized people who are affected by climate change impacts in Nepal.

There is one example in the report, where women have been empowered in the biodiversity and conservation work of Hariyo Ban. The Program made an approach called Women in Conservation and Social Transformation, which was developed to reduce poaching and other illegal activities that put animals and species in danger. This approach engaged communities to help poachers find alternative livelihoods and stop the illegal work. Hariyo Ban established six women learning centers, and women were engaged in the community as key change agents and catalysts. The premise of the approach was that by helping poachers change their livelihoods, could help change the poachers' perceptions of conservation and motivate them to support conservation projects and initiatives (WWF Nepal, 2017, p. 26). This project involved women and gave them an opportunity to participate in the community to help poachers and educate them about the importance of conservation. This is a great example of how local women in Nepal can be empowered.

With the second theme, sustainable landscapes, the Hariyo Ban Program aimed to reduce deforestation and forest degradation by addressing shifting cultivation, overgrazing, poorly planned roads, unsustainable harvesting of firewood, and uncontrolled fire (WWF Nepal, 2017). One of the examples, where Hariyo Ban made a difference for women, was when they supported communities to reduce shifting cultivation and helped restore vegetation cover on the steep slopes. In many rural communities, the income from selling brooms is critical for ensuring people's livelihoods during the off-season of agriculture production. Hariyo Ban therefore helped planting broom grass, which increased the source of income for many families. Women's livelihoods were improved in a sense that they now had more money to feed their families better, to buy clothes, and pay for their children's education. In some cases, men have stopped migrating to find work elsewhere and returned home to collect broom grass (WWF Nepal, 2017, p. 42). The main objective for CARE International Gender Policy is to *"promote equal realization of dignity and human rights for girls, women, boys, and men, and the elimination of*

poverty and injustice" (CARE, 2009, p. 1). In this support from Hariyo Ban, the women and their families have received help to find a source of income outside the agriculture season of production, and it has helped them overcome problems of insufficient food, clothes, and lack of education for the children. This is a step towards ending poverty, albeit a small one. Moreover, the extra workload of those women's whose husbands migrated to find other alternative for source of income, is reduced and women's livelihoods have been improved.

Additionally, Hariyo Ban has also worked with reducing the impacts of unsustainable firewood harvesting. Many rural households still depend on firewood for cooking and heating in higher altitudes. It is normally women who collect firewood, which involves much time and hard labor. Pollution from the open fires in the kitchens also affects the health of women, girls, and young children. Along with this, the collection of firewood is the most common reason for unsustainable use of the forests and it causes forest degradation, which is one of the biggest threats to Nepal's biodiversity (WWF Nepal, 2017). According to the Gender Policy, one of the commitments is to *"analyze and implement strategies to manage potential risks and harms to women, girls, boys and men"* (CARE, 2009, p. 1). Unsustainable firewood harvesting has potential risks and harms to all people in the communities, both with collecting wood and air pollution within the households, which harm women and girls' health, and degradation of forests, which eventually will damage the biodiversity and thereby people's livelihoods. As stated by CARE in the Gender Policy, if people are exposed to risks or harms, strategies should be analyzed and implemented in order to manage the potential risks and harms. The Hariyo Ban Program had a focus on promoting fuel efficiency, such as installing biogas plants in households as alternative energy to reduce the threat of unsustainable forest harvesting, reduce GHG emission, and enhance women's livelihoods and health (WWF Nepal, 2017, p. 45).

The Hariyo Ban Program approached climate change adaptation by integrating community and ecosystem adaptation. This approach, that Hariyo Ban used, acknowledged both ecosystem and human rights principles and used improved management of ecosystems in order to help vulnerable people's ability to adapt to climate change and increase their resilience. The process

of assessing local vulnerability and design adaptation strategies included *"resilience building of ecosystems services where relevant, and took into account differential vulnerability of women, poor people, and marginalized groups"* (WWF Nepal, 2017, p. 55). Other awareness-raising and capacity building activities were implemented in order to distribute knowledge about climate change and its impacts, and convey the options and practices to adaptation and resilience building to avoid the adverse impacts of climate change. 18,831 people, including citizen scientists, government staff, women leaders, NGOs, and NRM organizations were trained by the Hariyo Ban Program on various aspects of climate change; for example, the impacts, adaptation planning, and vulnerability assessment (WWF Nepal, 2017). CARE International Gender Policy does not mention anything about gender and adaptation and resilience building in the policy. The Policy only emphasizes the importance to analyze and implement strategies to manage risks and harms to women, girls, men, and boys. This is simply because CARE International Gender Policy is not directed toward climate change and those specific strategies, such as adaptation and resilience strategies. However, when the Hariyo Ban report speaks about awareness-raising and capacity building activities, where women leaders were part of the people who received training and knowledge about climate change impacts, etc., one can argue that empowerment is implicitly incorporated. Some of the aspects of women's empowerment included awareness-raising and capacity building. The Gender Policy believes that women's empowerment plays an important role in eliminating poverty, conflicts, human suffering, and gender inequality (CARE, 2009, p. 1). The Hariyo Ban Program also supported mainstreaming of GESI sensitive approaches when designing climate change adaptation strategies. The GESI strategy and how it has been incorporated in the Hariyo Ban Program will be elaborated next, and it will also be further analyzed in relation to CARE International Gender Policy.

5.3.2 Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Mainstreaming Strategy

As mentioned in the beginning of this section of analysis, GESI was incorporated in the Hariyo Ban Program as a cross-cutting theme. CARE International Gender Policy also acknowledges this in their conceptualization of gender mainstreaming: *"For CARE, mainstreaming gender means applying gender analysis to all aspects of our work, including advocacy and communications. Gender is not a separate issue; it crosscuts all issues and sectors"* (CARE, 2009, p. 6). Both the Gender Policy and Hariyo Ban recognize gender as a cross-cutting aspect and that it is not a separate issue. By this recognition, there is an emphasis on the importance of including gender in all dimensions of Hariyo Ban's work, and this is what CARE believes is a main aspect of mainstreaming gender into organizational programmes and practices. Correspondingly, according to the theory of gender mainstreaming, this concept makes a promise for gender equality, empowerment, and transformation. Gender mainstreaming also guarantees that gender is included in all considerations of policy-making and at all levels. It can be argued that the fact that Hariyo Ban recognizes gender as a cross-cutting aspect of its work, the Program mainstreams gender with the right intentions. The right intentions are, according to the Gender Policy and theory, to incorporate gender to all aspects of decision-making and practices, which provides a promise for empowerment and gender equality.

The strategy of Gender Inequality and Social Inclusion (GESI) was prepared by Shikha Shrestha from CARE Nepal and Gender and Social Inclusion Coordinator for Hariyo Ban Program (WWF Nepal, 2013). The strategy is introduced in the document: *"Gender Equality and Social Inclusion Mainstreaming Strategy: Promoting Transformational Leadership and Social Justice in Natural Resource Management and Climate Change"* (2013), and it provides a guide for the Hariyo Ban Program and its consortium of partners to mainstream GESI into its activities. The GESI framework was implemented in Hariyo Ban's work because there are several barriers, which limit the full participation of women and marginalized groups (such as Dalits and Janajatis) in development activities. Such barriers include, for example, poverty, landlessness, illiteracy, domination of other higher castes, geographical remoteness, women's workloads, gender biased

attitudes, lack of participation and educational opportunities, and lack of recognition for climate change based knowledge and skills of GESI target groups (WWF Nepal, 2013). Therefore, the goal of the GESI framework is *"to engage and empower women and marginalized people in equitable benefit sharing through meaningful participation in Hariyo Ban Program initiatives"* (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. vii). The Hariyo Ban Program was developed to promote fair and equitable distribution of benefits, where the guidelines of GESI further emphasized the importance of empowering deprived and marginalized groups through GESI initiatives. This was done by 1) increasing access for women, Dalits, indigenous, marginalized, and poor people to participation and leadership in decision-making processes, as well as in the management of natural resources and biodiversity at a community level. 2) Ensuring equitable and fair benefit sharing through monitoring, informing, and enabling distribution in communities and by holding public hearings and audits. 3) Increasing accountability through creating awareness and capacity among stakeholders, and in particular with respect to how policy is formulated by other levels of institutions (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. viii).

The third point, where focus is on how policy is formulated by other institutions, the document further elaborates that the GESI framework is aligned with international policies and conventions that are related to GESI. For example, the GESI strategy supports national policies and Nepalese organizations and institutions, such as Nepal's Biodiversity Strategy 2002 and the Ministry of Environment (MoE), and their frameworks on promoting the involvement of women and other marginalized and indigenous groups under the UNFCCC (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. viii). As learned from analyzing the UNFCCC's policies vis-a-vis CARE International Gender Policy, the Paris Agreement emphasizes the importance of following *"a country-driven, gender responsive, participatory and fully transparent approach, taking into consideration vulnerable groups, communities and ecosystems, and should be based on and guided by the best available science and, as appropriate, traditional knowledge, knowledge of indigenous peoples and local knowledge systems (...)"* (UNFCCC, 2015, p. 9). This example is from the adaptation action, which shows that the UNFCCC promotes the involvement of indigenous people and follows a gender-responsive approach. When the UNFCCC was adopted in 1992, Nepal signed it June 12,

1992 and became a Party to the Convention in 1994 (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. 7). National organizations, institutions, and policies that address climate change in Nepal therefore follow the policy of the UNFCCC, and the GESI strategy supports this, especially the fact that women and indigenous people should be involved in the climate change response.

In relation to CARE International Gender Policy, there are various alignments that correspond between the Policy and the GESI strategy. Both the Policy and GESI strategy are, in general, intended to improve and promote the explicit incorporation of gender in programmatic and organizational practices, as well as the empowerment of women and other vulnerable groups. When the GESI strategy was developed, a rapid GESI assessment was made with each of the four organizations in order to shape the strategy. The result from the assessment showed that each organization was at a different stage and had its own experience working with GESI mainstreaming (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. 11). However, the document states that: *"With a major focus on rights-based approaches, CARE has the most experience and capacity in GESI, and strongly recognizes that empowerment of women and socially excluded groups is essential for strengthening their stewardship role in biodiversity conservation and climate change"* (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. 14). A rights-based approach entails the realization of human rights as the ultimate goal of development, and it focuses on those people and groups who are marginalized, excluded, and discriminated against. To ensure that interventions reach the most secluded and marginalized parts of the society, there is often required an analysis of gender norms, power imbalances, and different forms of discrimination (UNFPA, n.d.). This rights-based approach can also be seen in CARE International Gender Policy, as the first line under "Gender Policy Commitments" emphasizes: *Through this policy CARE seeks to promote equal realization of dignity and human rights for girls, women, boys and men (...)"* (CARE, 2009, p. 1). Additionally, the Policy also states that *"unequal gender relations are one of the underlying causes of poverty and rights denial (...). Implementing strategies to improve the social agency, structures, and key relationship positions of women and other diverse subordinated and marginalized groups will result in lasting and fundamental improvements (...)"* (CARE, 2009, p. 7). The Gender Policy thus has major focus on human rights, empowerment of women,

mainstreaming gender into all aspects of its work, and improving the lives of subordinated and marginalized groups. This is also acknowledged in the GESI strategy report, where CARE is recognized as the organization which has the most experience and capacity with GESI.

CARE's approach is further summarized in a diagram called "Empowerment framework" (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. 14). This diagram shows three focus areas, which overlap each other: agency, relations, and structures. This diagram is not in the Gender Policy; however, it is very equivalent with the above statement, where it is emphasized that strategies should be implemented to improve women's and vulnerable people's social agency, structures, and key relationship positions. According to the diagram, these three focus areas is the approach towards the empowerment of women and marginalized groups. Throughout the Gender Policy, there is a strong focus on the empowerment of women, yet there is no specific mentioning of agency, structures, and relations as being a predominant part of women's empowerment. It has been mentioned in the Policy, as showed above, but not in relation to an empowerment framework. This can be explained by the fact that CARE International Gender Policy is mainly addressing gender inequality, human rights, and social injustice in the fight against poverty. In this document, presenting the GESI strategy, focus is predominantly to involve and empower women and marginalized people in climate change response, NRM, and biodiversity. There is a huge difference given that both policies address each their domain. This is why the next sentence is included beneath the diagram: *"The Hariyo Ban Program will focus more on agency and structures, and will work to improve relations mainly within the domain of NRM governance"* (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. 14). Analyzing the Gender Policy vis-a-vis the GESI strategy, it is evident that CARE's gender policy has more focus on agency in terms of skills and knowledge, self-esteem, and personal aspirations, which is introduced in the diagram. However, and oppositely, Hariyo Ban and the GESI strategy conceptualize agency in terms of participation and leadership. It is two ways to address women's empowerment, each with their own benefits and effectiveness to approach the specific domain (poverty and injustice or climate change). Hence, since CARE's diagram on empowerment framework is included in the GESI strategy document, one would assume that the GESI developers have used CARE's approach as foundation to design

the strategy. However, the GESI strategy has more focus on agency as participation and leadership training.

As learned from the theoretical framework about agency, the concept is about what an individual is free to do in order to achieve her/his goals or values in which she/he considers as important. It is an ability to overcome barriers, to be heard in the society, and challenge situations of oppression or deprivation. Women's agency can be practiced through participation, and her agency can be increased by learning new knowledge and skills. This is highly related to both CARE and the GESI strategy's way of addressing agency, as being the exercise of participation and learning new knowledge and skills. The theory of agency states that increased agency can lead to increased empowerment, and this is also why agency is such an important aspect of both CARE International Gender Policy and the GESI strategy. For example, the GESI strategy's goal is to empower women and vulnerable, marginalized people through participation and leadership. In addition, according to the theorist Naila Kabeer, it is important to identify the rules, norms, and practices associated with family and kinship in order to fully understand the unequal power relations between men and women. The diagram's second focus area, under relations, shows that there is focus on *"power dynamics within households, with intimate partners and support from others"* (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. 14). In CARE International Gender Policy, it is also emphasized that CARE *"recognizes that power relations between girls and boys, men and women are unequal, and that such inequalities should be addressed"* (CARE, 2009, p. 4). CARE therefore recognizes that there are unequal power relations between men and women, and that such inequalities should be addressed in order to empower the disempowered men and women. By identifying and addressing these inequalities, the unequal norms, roles, and practices within households, agency can be exercised effectively and thereby lead to increased empowerment.

Since the GESI framework is a mainstreaming strategy, the document also expresses that there are challenges of mainstreaming GESI in NRM. Many of these challenges, that are introduced in the GESI document, can also be found presented in the theoretical framework about gender mainstreaming and its implementation. In the recent years, there have been poor ratings about

gender mainstreaming, women's empowerment, and social inclusion issues in Nepal by most of the national reports, for instance Nepal Human Development Report (WWF Nepal, 2013). The fact that these issues have not been efficiently addressed in Nepal, there have been very negative implications for the livelihoods of women and low caste groups, such as marginalized Dalits and Janajatis. These groups of vulnerable and marginalized people have not been fully considered while development policies and projects have been developed and implemented (WWF Nepal, 2013). While the assessment was running in the course of developing the GESI strategy, the important institutional stakeholders of Hariyo Ban (USAID, WWF, CARE, etc.) shared their experiences of the challenges they met when addressing GESI target groups (WWF Nepal, 2013).

For example, Janajatis claimed that there was a constant tendency for program designers to overlook the group's cultural and traditional knowledge and skills in managing natural resources. Both groups of Janajatis and Dalits and poor women are very dependent on forest resources to secure their livelihoods. Despite this has been referred to in project documents, Janajatis, Dalits and poor women are not usually acknowledged as significant stakeholders by some development programmes. Consequently, these groups of people are often left unaware of upcoming development initiatives, which normally are shared with key actors within the community. These key people are often high caste people or men, who rarely count Janajatis, Dalits, or poor, single women important enough to include in preliminary discussions (WWF Nepal, 2013). According to the theory of Jane Parpart, this scenario is a very common factor to why gender mainstreaming is ineffectively implemented in development programmes and activities. Sometimes key actors within development organizations and programmes have lack of interest or experience working with gender issues, and they therefore show resistance and skepticism against including women and marginalized groups in the work. In this case, where Janajatis, Dalits, and poor women are not considered as important members of inclusion in the development activities, it is an extreme case of skepticism, patriarchal structures, and discrimination against low caste and poor people.

At the same time, in the theory of gender mainstreaming, Jane Parpart also emphasizes the problem of only focusing on women and girls, which suggests that women and girls are the only ones who can achieve gender equality. Mainstream development agencies sometimes tend to move away from considering other issues, such as gender relations and unequal structures. Men can also easily be perceived as the developmental problem, and the result is often that women and men then are observed as two separate, opposing groups. When reading through the listed challenges of mainstreaming GESI, there is a focus on the structures that restrain women and low caste groups from participating in NRM and being represented in decision-making, such as patriarchy and discrimination of gender, caste, and economic situation. Thus, men are not seen as the sole problem of mainstreaming GESI, yet they are a part of the problem given their dominant position in society. This is because of the traditional practices and roles, in which women are only seen as housewives, and patriarchal structures within the communities. Women, Dalits, and Janajatis are restrained from participating at the community level and from being represented in decision-making because of such structures in the Nepalese society. In the above example, it is high caste people and men who are the reason for women and the low caste groups to be socially excluded from the development activities.

Despite these challenge, the GESI strategy was effectively incorporated in the Hariyo Ban Program. The strategy was developed to help Hariyo Ban with 1) build a GESI sensitive organizational culture, 2) build capacity to address GESI issues, and 3) implement interventions for increased participation of women, Dalits, and indigenous and poor people in decision-making, and equitable benefit sharing (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. 93).

The Hariyo Ban Program improved the capacity for leadership and advocacy for women and other marginalized groups by increasing their knowledge and understanding of relevant approaches and concepts within NRM and climate change adaptation. Moreover, the Program applied a Gender Responsive Budgeting and Auditing tool, which turned out to be very effective. It is developed to analyze the proportion of development budgets and spending, and ensure that it is 1) directly gender responsive, 2) indirectly gender responsive, and 3) gender neutral. One of

the commitments of CARE International Gender Policy also commits to *"ensure that key organizational policies, systems and practices including but not limited to budgeting, human resource recruitment, training and management, and decision making support women's rights and gender equality"* (CARE, 2009, p. 1). This way, Hariyo Ban can ensure that gender is considered during budgeting and spending development funding, and it is also an important aspect of the Gender Policy. Furthermore, with help from the GESI strategy, the Hariyo Ban Program acknowledged that empowering women and marginalized groups was not the only aspect of GESI, but the strategy also depends on involving and engaging men and decision-makers in the effort. Hariyo Ban and the GESI strategy developed a framework for men and decision-makers' engagement and support of leadership training of women and marginalized groups, as well as adopting anti gender-based violence initiatives (WWF Nepal, 2013). Again, this corresponds greatly with the Gender Policy. One of the commitments emphasizes the importance of *"actively involve men and boys as allies in promoting gender equality"* (CARE, 2009, p. 1). In the effort to engage and involve men as allies and supporters of gender equality, leadership training of women, and to be part of anti-GBV initiatives, there is a higher chance of effectively mainstreaming gender and GESI in all segments of the society. Hence, men and decision-makers also play an important and active role in this matter so that all marginalized groups can be reached.

According to the report, 5,985 people received trainings on GESI mainstreaming, as well as governance advocacy, planning, and implementation, of which 3,981 of these people were women. An overall number of people who benefitted from GESI targeted activities is 34,830, including 6,510 Dalits, 16,012 Janajatis, and 29,104 women (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. 94). Hariyo Ban also successfully increased the number of women and other marginalized people within executive committees of CFUGs (community forest users groups). The Program successfully helped increase women and marginalized people's leadership positions of different community and civil society institutions and organizations. In 2013, a rapid assessment conducted by Hariyo Ban on representation of women and marginalized people in leadership positions in CFUGs showed that 47% had women as either secretary or chairperson. Three years later, by 2016,

women represented 70% (WWF Nepal, 2013, p. 94). These numbers show that the Hariyo Ban Program, together with the GESI strategy, has made a great impact on a high number of women's livelihoods in Nepal and empowered both women and marginalized people. This has been achieved through participation, leadership training, and opportunity of representation in decision-making, which has given the women a chance to be agents of change in the response to climate change.

6.0 Discussion

There are many different national and international institutions and organizations that work with climate change response in Nepal, where the main focus is to help the country and its people to overcome the disastrous impacts of climate change. This is achieved by developing policies, strategies, and programmes which deal with mitigation of and adaptation to climate change. However, the question is to what extent gender is integrated in such policies and programmes. Therefore, with point of departure in the guidelines introduced in CARE International Gender Policy, the aim of this thesis was to analyze the relationship between the organizational gender policies of CARE International and the UNFCCC, and how these gender policies were put into practice by CARE Nepal. In order to understand this relationship, the gender policies of CARE International and the UNFCCC and practices of CARE Nepal were also analyzed in relation to the theoretically grounded thoughts on how to incorporate gender measures in organizational policies and practices.

The main findings from the analysis of CARE International Gender Policy and the theoretical framework's recommended measures to include gender in policies and practices showed that the theories closely correspond with the Gender Policy. The Gender Policy has eleven commitments to promote equal realization of human rights and to incorporate gender in its organizational practices, and women's empowerment is one of them. CARE's own description of women's empowerment can easily be identified with the one introduced within the theoretical framework. Both descriptions and conceptualizations entail the ability to take control over one's life, building self confidence, setting one's own agenda, gaining skills, and expanding choices. Moreover, according the Gender Policy, women's empowerment is also about increased access to and control over resources, and the effort to transform institutions and structures which keep sustaining gender inequality. According to the theory of empowerment, as long as the Gender Policy recognizes gender as a international human right, an equal and equitable world can be reached and the empowerment of women, men, girls, and boys can be realized. This is one thing that the Gender Policy has made a strong emphasis about; that gender should be recognized as an

explicit internationally recognized human right. As a part of women's empowerment, the concept of power also plays an essential role in CARE International Gender Policy. Since empowerment comes from within, women's power can be increased by exercising power to, power with, and power within. Moreover, as learned from the theory, power is about capacity, ability, and potential. Thus, the way CARE uses women's empowerment is realized in giving women an opportunity to strengthen their capacity and ability to make a choice, and a woman's agency can thereby be improved. This type of increased power can help challenge the existing inequalities within a patriarchal society and empower women to take on a leadership role. Additionally, the concept of agency is also identified in CARE International Gender Policy, where CARE promises to improve the social agency of women and other marginalized people. According to the theory of agency, women's agency can be improved by helping women acquire new knowledge and skills and, consequently, this will help women challenge and change the norms, rules, and behaviors that restrain women's empowerment and equality. All this has been learned from the theoretical framework, where empowerment, power, and agency was introduced and reviewed, when it was analyzed in relation to the Gender Policy. This theoretical knowledge provided new insight to how these concepts, empowerment, agency, and power, could help incorporate gender into organizational practices and thereby advance gender equality.

Gender mainstreaming has also proven important to include in the theoretical framework, since it is the one concept that explicitly deal with mainstreaming gender issues and measures into organizational policies, programmes, and practices at all levels. Both the theory of gender mainstreaming and CARE International Gender Policy description of the concept caption the importance of assessing and analyzing the implications of programmes and policies. They both have a focus on identifying if there are disproportionate consequences for women and men when a policy is developed. Moreover, the theory also emphasizes that it is essential to respect and respond to differences instead of trying to find a way in which women can fit into a male dominated world. According to the Gender Policy, and in accordance with the theory, CARE acknowledges gender mainstreaming as a strategy to ensure that both women and men's needs, concerns, and experiences are integrated and responded to at all levels of work. This way, the

Gender Policy ensures that women and men will equally benefit from the projects and programmes that CARE implements. The theoretical framework on implementation of gender mainstreaming also opened up to understanding that CARE International Gender Policy has great commitments to implement gender mainstreaming effectively. For example, the theory stresses that gender has increasingly been narrowed down to only regard women and girls, and this was a challenge for implementing gender mainstreaming. However, the Gender Policy makes a strong emphasis that it is not only women and girls who can achieve gender equality, but also men and boys. The Gender Policy does not create a binary construction around gender, which tends to leave women and men as two opposite, distinct groups of people. Additionally, the Gender Policy has a strict commitment to hold CARE and its members and offices accountable to gender equality standards. All this is, according to the theory of gender mainstreaming, an effective way to ensure that gender is indeed mainstreamed into CARE's organizational practices.

This study has also shown that there are various similarities between CARE International Gender Policy and the policies of UNFCCC, and a few differences. CARE International Gender Policy was analyzed vis-a-vis the Paris Agreement, and both policies emphasize the importance of incorporating gender into the programmatic and organizational policies. In addition, the Gender Policy promotes gender as an internationally recognized human right, which can also be seen in the Paris Agreement, although not as specifically expressed as in the Gender Policy. However, it is evident that the Paris Agreement does not recognize gender and human rights as two separate categories. Nevertheless, there is one clear difference between CARE International Gender Policy and the UNFCCC's Paris Agreement. The Gender Policy makes a great effort to address gender in terms of acknowledging both women, men, girls, and boys, and actively involve men and boys in promoting gender equality. Gender equality is something all should fight for and promote, it is not just a job for women and girls. Oppositely, as learned from the analysis, the Paris Agreement tends to place women in same category as children and vulnerable groups, which Cynthia Enloe called an indistinguishable relationship between 'womenandchildren'. When women and children are considered indistinguishable, always mentioned together as 'one person', they are often associated with vulnerability and innocence. In this matter, the Paris

Agreement shows that it has a bit of a conservative view on women, where women are easily put in relation with children since that is the traditional way of viewing women, namely being a bearer of children, and the vulnerable and oppressed sex.

Even though there is such a difference between the Paris Agreement and CARE International Gender Policy, there is one major aspect that they both agree on. This is women's empowerment. According the Gender Policy, women and girls' empowerment is a key strategy toward ending poverty, injustice, and gender inequality. The Paris Agreement encourages all member Parties to take women's empowerment into account when addressing climate change. Both organizations have different ways of incorporating women's empowerment in their policies, given that they have different areas of focus, poverty and climate change. Women's agency and leadership play an important role in climate change response, and this is the approach that the Paris Agreement has towards improving women's empowerment. Throughout CARE International's Gender Policy, there is not any specific mentioning of women's empowerment in relation to women's agency and leadership. However, the Gender Policy has a more gender sensitive approach to address gender inequality as opposite to the Paris Agreement, which uses gender-responsive approaches. CARE International's gender sensitive approach entails acknowledging the unequal power relations between women and men, girls and boys, and addressing such structural practices that create barriers for realizing gender equality. The UNFCCC's gender-responsive approach consists of women's agency, leadership roles, and participation, which is the ideal approach in the response to climate change adaptation and capacity building. Nonetheless, both CARE International Gender Policy and the Paris Agreement have integrated agency as an important aspect, yet in different proportions, where the Gender Policy has less agency in its policy compared to the Paris Agreement.

When CARE International Gender Policy and the practices of Nepal was analyzed together, there were also found many significant similarities. The Hariyo Ban Program and GESI mainstreaming strategy were subjects for analysis, and it was clear to see that gender issues had been integrated in the activities and programmes. The Hariyo Ban Program addressed three

themes, biodiversity, climate change adaptation, and sustainable landscapes, and GESI was a cross-cutting aspect. An important aspect from CARE International Gender Policy is women's empowerment, and this concept has also been incorporated in the Hariyo Ban Program. Hariyo Ban emphasizes that participation and equal benefit sharing is key strategies to ensure women and marginalized people's empowerment, whereas the Gender Policy believes that women's empowerment can be improved through awareness-raising, building of self confidence, and expansion of choices. Nonetheless, it can be argued that the Gender Policy's conception of women's empowerment is similar to the one of Hariyo Ban, since participation, by and large, entails building of self confidence and expansion of choices. However, it can be argued that the Hariyo Ban Program followed a strategy that is more related to the policy of the UNFCCC, given that they both put empowerment together with participation, leadership, and agency. This can be explained by their shared focus on climate change, where such strategies are more common compared to CARE International's strategy toward ending poverty and social injustice. Thus, the Program addressed the gender issues with a mix of gender sensitive - and responsive approaches, where the gender sensitive approach can be seen in the GESI strategy.

The main objective of CARE International Gender Policy is to promote equal realization of dignity and human rights for women, girls, men, and boys, and the elimination of poverty and injustice. This can also be identified in the Hariyo Ban Program, where they helped women and men to find alternative sources of income outside of the season of agricultural production. This is a step toward ending poverty; it especially made a difference for some women and men, because now they had money to buy food, clothes, and pay for education. The trend of out-migration of men was also reduced in that area, and this enhanced women's livelihoods since their workload was decreased. Additionally, one commitment of CARE International Gender Policy is to analyze and implement strategies to manage potential risks and harms that affect women, men, boys, and girls. The Hariyo Ban Program, developed strategies to manage risks and harms impacted by collecting firewood and air pollution. These risks and harms had major effects on women and girls' health and livelihoods and forests conservation, since unsustainable harvesting of wood results in degradation of forests. As the Gender Policy also promised, the Hariyo Ban

Program promoted fuel efficiency by installing biogas plants inside people's households and thereby implemented strategies to manage the risks and harms for women, girls, men, and boys.

Compared to the Hariyo Ban Program activities, the GESI strategy had more in common with CARE International Gender Policy. The most substantial similarities between the Gender Policy and GESI strategy were that they shared the same view on gender mainstreaming, such as recognizing gender as a cross-cutting aspect, which should be included in all aspects of organizational work, and women's empowerment. The GESI strategy acknowledged CARE as the one organization (out of four partners) that had the most experience and capacity working with GESI mainstreaming. Hence, there are many similarities between the way the Gender Policy and the GESI strategy use and conceptualize women's empowerment. A diagram was presented in the document of the GESI strategy, and it showed CARE's approach to empowerment. In the analysis, it was argued that the GESI strategy had used CARE's approach and empowerment framework as basis to develop the strategy. However, it is also emphasized that the GESI strategy focus more on agency as leadership and participation compared to CARE International Gender Policy, which focus on skills and knowledge, self-esteem, and personal aspirations. Thus, the GESI strategy deployed both gender sensitive - and responsive approaches to the Hariyo Ban Program.

Moreover, since the GESI framework is a mainstreaming strategy, the challenges of implementing gender mainstreaming were also addressed. Just as in the analysis of the Gender Policy vis-a-vis the theories, the theoretical framework provided useful information on how gender can be mainstreamed effectively into organizational policies and practices. The GESI strategy addressed some of the same issues as the Gender Policy, as for example not only regarding gender equality to women and girls. Both the Gender Policy and the GESI strategy emphasize the importance of involving men and boys (and decision-makers) as allies in promoting gender equality. Results from the Hariyo Ban Program, where the GESI strategy was mainstreamed in its activities, also show that GESI made a difference for many Nepalese women, both in increasing the number of women's participation and representation at a

community level. This was a successful strategy toward empowering women and marginalized groups, and improving their livelihoods.

0.7 Conclusion

The results of the analysis and discussion have provided an answer to the problem formulation, which was introduced in the very beginning of the thesis: How does CARE International Gender Policy align with the organizational policies and practices of UNFCCC and CARE Nepal? And to which extent do these policies and practices mirror recommendations based on theoretical approaches to gender sensitive measures against climate change?

The study demonstrated that there are various aspects that align when CARE International Gender Policy is analyzed vis-a-vis the UNFCCC and CARE Nepal. The analysis has also provided an insight to how the different levels of organizations and institutions operate, and how they somehow are correlated when gender is on the agenda. One aspect that was interesting to analyze was to what extent the gender policies of CARE International and the UNFCCC indeed were implemented in the ground practices, programmes, and activities. CARE Nepal had, with its Hariyo Ban Program and GESI strategy, a great amount of gender measures integrated in its practices and activities in Nepal. An analysis of the Hariyo Ban Program and GESI strategy showed that they used both gender sensitive - and responsive approaches to address the gender issues in Nepal.

With its gender approach, CARE Nepal's activities and initiatives made a difference for many Nepalese rural women in terms of women's empowerment, agency, participation and leadership, and improvement of livelihoods. CARE International Gender Policy was developed with the intention of realizing women, men, girls, and boys' dignity and human rights, and incorporate gender in all its aspects of work when fighting poverty and injustice. Women's empowerment, agency, and gender equality were also main focus of the Gender Policy. The Paris Agreement was designed with the purpose of addressing and fighting climate change impacts with strategies,

such as adaptation and capacity building strategies. In the Agreement, there is also an emphasis on women's empowerment, agency, participation, and leadership, and how important it is to involve local, indigenous, and vulnerable groups in the response to climate change adaptation. It is evident that all three organizations work with the same agenda on gender, and it all comes together when CARE Nepal implement its policies and activities in Nepal.

By analyzing the theoretical framework vis-a-vis the different policies of CARE International and the UNFCCC, and also the practices of CARE Nepal, a more broad and profound understanding surfaced. The theories, that entailed how gender measures can be integrated in organizational policies and practices, opened up for details which would not have been discovered if not for the theories. The theoretical framework provided a strong structure to the thesis by including theories that could contribute with gendered measures in the climate change response. The theories of power, empowerment, and agency provided guidance around how power and empowerment of women could be reached through power within (individual consciousness) and power with (collective action) to challenge barriers that restrain the realization of gender equality. Agency plays an important role in achieving empowerment, and it can be achieved in various of ways, such as through participation, leadership, awareness-raising, among others. The theory of gender mainstreaming emphasized the importance of incorporating gender into the design, legislation, implementation, and evaluation of policies. The theory also provided a framework of how gender mainstreaming could be effectively implemented, which turned out to be something both CARE International Gender Policy and the GESI strategy had major focus on. As importantly, the concept of patriarchy gave insight to what extent there exists a patriarchal system within the Nepalese society. Conclusively, this analysis has therefore provided a further understanding of how close theories of certain concepts correspond with organizational policies and gender policies. This was the case in this thesis since the gender policies of CARE International and the UNFCCC, together with the practices of CARE Nepal, do, in a great extent, mirror the recommendations within the theoretical framework.

It has been fulfilling and enlightening to learn that there is a line of teamwork, perhaps rather implicit, between such different organizations and institutions. For example, the GESI strategy supports the national organizations, institutions, and policies of Nepal that work with climate change under the guidelines and standards of the UNFCCC. Having the UNFCCC at the top with its internationally and globally acknowledged policies about climate change, it is great to see that a policy, such as the GESI strategy, supports the policy of the UNFCCC. Not only this example, but the whole analysis provided an insight to how well the gender policies of CARE International and the UNFCCC align, as well as how these policies have been incorporated greatly in the practices of CARE Nepal. It can altogether be seen as collective action between CARE International, the UNFCCC, and CARE Nepal toward giving Nepalese women a chance to become agents of change in the response to climate change.

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