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Gender and Climate Change:

An Analysis of Public Policies in Peru

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Abstract

It is widely acknowledged that climate change will have severe consequences on human life. Due to cultural norms and practices, women and men have different rights and responsibilities regarding natural resources. Hence, women are often more vulnerable to climate change. Similarly, other factors, such as socio-economic status, class, or ethnicity, can create such vulnerability.

In international climate change negotiations, it has been criticised that debates have often focused on a simplified presentation of women. While it is important that gender appears in climate change policies, it is crucial *how* gender is framed in them. With an intersectional understanding of gender, climate change policies have the potential to decrease inequalities and to give vulnerable populations the capacities to better react to the impacts of climate change.

Worldwide, there are countries that are more affected by climate change. For instance, Peru is a country that is highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. Moreover, gender inequalities are a reality of many women and are deeply integrated in Peruvian culture. Finally, Peru is the first country in South America and the nineteenth worldwide to incorporate a gender lens in national climate change strategies. Therefore, it is a very interesting case to study gender and climate change. For this reason, I chose to carry out a policy analysis of the Peruvian Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change (PAGCC).

To analyse this policy, the 'What's the problem represented to be?' approach by Carol Bacchi was used consisting of a framework of six interconnected questions. Moreover, the analysis is guided by a theoretical framework of (feminist) political ecology, intersectional theory, and gender mainstreaming. I study the PAGCC in order to show how governments address gender in climate change policies. The aim is to demonstrate how gender is represented, what the limitations of this approach are, and what implication it has on different vulnerable groups to climate change.

There is a clear recognition in the PAGCC for gender-inclusive action in relation to climate change. Yet, there is a predominant and simplified discourse about women only. They are generalised as very knowledgeable about the environment and as agents of change for climate change policies. This shows that PAGCC takes traditional gender roles in Peru and the need for environmental citizenship as granted.

The generalising discourse does not intend to challenge gender discriminatory norms and root causes of vulnerability to climate change. Therefore, the PAGCC is in many parts sensitive to gender differences, but does not aim to transform gender relations. As a result, in many ways it

promotes the status quo and reproduces existing norms in Peruvian society. Moreover, it instrumentalises women as agents for mitigation and adaptation. Actions under the PAGCC could increase women’s workload in Peru and use them as resources for more sustainable development without empowering them.

Regarding intersectionality, the analysis focused on ethnicity. Although the PAGCC pretends to pursue an intercultural approach, it fails to challenge unequal power relations and discriminations against indigenous people. Only their traditional environmental knowledge and practises are presented as valuable for adaptation and mitigation. This means, that also indigenous populations are instrumentalised in climate change policies. As a result, the PAGCC and other programmes targeted at indigenous populations might not improve their social position in society and bring greater equality.

Looking at the implementation, the PAGCC has faced significant difficulties and is still not put into practise. At the same time, awareness and cooperation for gender in climate change policies among Peruvian ministries has increased. Still, the generalising discourse about women's vulnerability prevails.

Consequently, the PAGCC demonstrates that the Peruvian government is sensitised for the linkages between gender and climate change. Yet, it is unlikely that it has the potential to empower women and other vulnerable groups. Future policies need to address power relations between men and women and pay attention to the intersecting layers of inequalities that exist in Peru.

Keywords: gender, climate change, inequality, policies, power relations, discourse

Table of content

List of tables vi

List of figures vi

List of abbreviations vii

1. Gender and climate change: an introduction 1

1.1. Gender in international climate debates 2

1.2. Setting the context: climate change and gender equality in Peru 3

1.3. Problem formulation 4

2. Theoretical framework 5

2.1. Political ecology: the interaction of the political, economic, and the environment 5

2.2. Feminist political ecology: gender and the environment 11

2.3. Intersectional theory: the cross-cutting reality of gender 15

2.4. Gender mainstreaming: searching a strategy for gender equality 17

2.5. Connecting climate change, gender and policies 18

3. Methodological framework 22

3.1. Philosophy of science: ontological and epistemological considerations 22

3.2. Choice of theoretical framework 24

3.3. Data collection and method of analysis: A policy analysis with the WPR approach 25

3.4. Limitations of the study 29

4. The Peruvian Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change 31

4.1. What's the 'problem' represented to be? 33

4.2. What presuppositions or assumptions underpin this representation of the 'problem'? 38

4.3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about? 42

4.4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently? 45

4.5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'? 49

4.6. How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How has it been (or could it be) questioned, disrupted and replaced? 52

5. Implementation of the Peruvian Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change 54

5.1. Barriers for the implementation process 54

5.2. Effects on policy-making 55

6. Conclusion 57

7. References viii

8. Annex xv

Annex 1: Actions related to ancestral and traditional knowledge in the PAGCC xv

List of tables

Table 1: Ancestral knowledge in the PAGCC

Table 2: Targeted actions for women in decision-making processes

Table 3: Overview of main historic actions and events before the PAGCC

List of figures

Figure 1: Elaboration process of the PAGCC

Figure 2: Total GHG Emissions per sector in Peru in 2012

List of abbreviations

CEDAW	Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women
COP	Conference of Parties
ECLAC	Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean
ENCC	National Strategy on Climate Change (Estrategia Nacional ante el Cambio Climático)
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations
GHG	Greenhouse gas
INEI	National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (Instituto Nacional de Estadística e Informática)
IPCC	Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
IWRM	Integrated water resource management
MIMP	Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (Ministerio de la Mujer y Poblaciones Vulnerables)
MINAM	Ministry of Environment (Ministerio del Ambiente)
NDC	Nationally Determined Contribution
PAGCC	Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change (Plan de Acción en Género y Cambio Climático)
PLANIG	National Plan for Gender Equality (Plan Nacional de Igualdad de Género)
REDD	Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and forest Degradation
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WED	Women, environment, and development
WPR approach	‘What’s the problem represented to be?’ approach

1. Gender and climate change: an introduction

> *"People who are socially, economically, culturally, politically, institutionally or otherwise marginalized are especially vulnerable to climate change […]. This heightened vulnerability is rarely due to a single cause. Rather, it is the product of intersecting social processes that result in inequalities in socio-economic status and income, as well as in exposure. Such social processes include, for example, discrimination on the basis of gender, class, ethnicity, age and (dis)ability"* (IPCC, 2015: 54).

It is widely acknowledged today that climate change will have severe consequences on people's livelihoods around the globe and that it presents one of the main challenges of our time. The fourth assessment report, which is so far the most extensive report on the state of play of climate change produced by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), presents alarming signals to the world community: "Continued emission of greenhouse gases will cause further warming and long-lasting changes in all components of the climate system, increasing the likelihood of severe, pervasive and irreversible impacts for people and ecosystems" (IPCC, 2015: 8). Current and future generations will experience rises in sea and air temperature, a rapid melting of glaciers, and increased number of hazards which will have major impacts on their livelihoods. In addition, the influence of human activities on global warming is as certain as never before, while greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions are at an unprecedented high. This fact makes the IPCC call on policy-makers to develop strategies of adaptation and mitigation,[1] so that the risks of climate change can be reduced (IPCC, 2015).

At this point, it is important to return to the quote at the beginning of this chapter. There is an increasing agreement, that climate change does and will not affect everybody equally. The IPCC explains that the severity of its impacts depends on the vulnerability and exposure of an individual. Different vulnerability and exposure is caused by "multidimensional inequalities" (IPCC, 2015: 54) which often result in discrimination, for example on the basis of gender. Because of a range of social, economic, and cultural factors, vulnerable populations lack therefore the capacity to cope with and adapt to climate change leading to adverse effects for them.[2] Moreover, the latest IPCC report on global warming of 1.5°C explicitly addresses the issue of gender in the context of climate change. It states that well-developed and implemented adaptation policies that are adapted to national contexts can help to reduce inequalities (IPCC, 2018). Recognising the linkages between gender and climate change has therefore not only brought concerns about the disastrous impacts, but also the possibilities that well-developed climate change policies could entail for decreasing

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[1] Adaptation includes strategies to adjust to actual or expected effects of climate change, while mitigation means reducing the contributions to future climate change (Jerneck, 2018).

[2] Chapter 2.5 will provide a more in-depth introduction into the linkages between gender and climate change.

gender and other forms of inequalities: “Hopes are, therefore, high that climate change responses informed by sustainability will embody institutional, structural, or transformational opportunities to reduce poverty and turn vulnerability into well-being” (Jerneck, 2015: 1).

1.1. Gender in international climate debates

Despite the increasing evidence for the gendered impacts of climate change and the potential for change, concerns about gender are a quite new aspect in international climate change negotiations and agreements. Two major conferences of the United Nations (UN) in the 1990s, the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro (on sustainable development) and the Fourth UN Wold Conference on Women in Beijing (on gender equality), explicitly acknowledged that environmental degradation and gender quality needed to be addressed in a coordinated way. Despite this, the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) from 1992 does not include any considerations about gender. The following years of climate change negotiations were consequently silent on the issue (Buckingham and Le Masson, 2017). It was not before 2012 that gender appeared regularly on the agenda of the Conference of Parties (COP), the yearly international meeting on climate change in the framework of the UNFCCC; however, mostly with a reference to a more gender balanced participation at the UNFCCC negotiations, rather than assessing policies for their gendered impacts. Since then, gender has been a stand-alone agenda item and has been integrated into the Paris Agreement (UNFCCC, 2018b).

However, it has been criticised that gender in climate change debates has often focused on a simplified presentation of women as victims, having a closer relation to nature, or lack of female representation in discussions and policymaking about climate change (Arora-Jonsson, 2011; Resurrección, 2013). As a result, there has been a call for a more nuanced understanding of gender recognising that different women and men (from different class, ethnic background etc.) are affected in different ways by climate change (Denton, 2002). This also means, that debates about gender should not lead to a focus on women only. As Buckingham and Le Masson argue, “[i]f gender, and gender equality, is to be a meaningful policy objective, it must be recognised that it comprises relations between women and men, and between and among different groups of women and men” (2017: 2).

Research from Nicaragua shows for instance, that national climate change policies which included gender concerns did not serve the purpose to empower women or make them less vulnerable towards climate change. Instead they reproduced patriarchy and other forms of discrimination. Since women were presented in a simplistic way carrying out traditional ‘female’ tasks, they “end up bearing most responsibilities in the fight against climate change, thus making this gendering

an oppressive process that constructs women with particular traits, considered as immutable" (Gonda, 2017: 175). As a result, women appeared in decision-making spaces and participated in government projects, but this did not change their position in society. Gonda (2017) therefore argues, that greater attention needs to be paid to policies that already include gender concerns to study whether these actually serve the purpose of gender equality.

So while it is important that gender appears in climate change policies, it is crucial *how* gender is framed in such debates and policies. With an intersectional understanding of gender, climate change policies have the potential to give vulnerable populations the capacities to better react to the impacts of climate change. With this background in mind, I chose to carry out an analysis of a Peruvian climate change policy that integrates gender concerns, the Peruvian Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change (PAGCC).

1.2. Setting the context: climate change and gender equality in Peru

Peru is a very interesting case to study gender and climate change for several reasons. First, it is a country that is highly vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. According to the report of a British research centre, Peru is the third most vulnerable country to climate change in the world (La Prensa, 2015). The country has several characteristics that constitute this. Out of nine factors leading to vulnerability according to the UNFCCC, Peru composes seven: low-lying coastal areas, arid and semi-arid areas as well as forested areas, areas prone to natural disasters, exposure to droughts, and desertification, areas of high urban pollution, fragile mountain ecosystems, and significant economic dependence on the production and export of fossil fuels (MINAM, 2015). Additional to these vulnerabilities of the ecosystem, the country faces structural problems like poverty and inequality, which make it more difficult for parts of its population to adapt to climate change (Felandro, 2016).

Second, gender inequalities are a reality that many women face in Peru. The Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) notes that although there has been made progress, "discrimination against women and gender stereotypes […] are deeply entrenched in traditional attitudes, institutional practices and society as a whole, depriving women of the equal enjoyment of their rights" (CEDAW, 2014: 2). According to the Gender Inequality Index by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) which measures inequalities between men and women,[3] Peru ranks number 83 worldwide in 2017 (UNDP, 2018).

[3] The Gender Inequality Index reflects inequality in achievement between women and men in three dimensions: reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market.

Third, among countries in Latin America, only few governments have integrated gender concerns in their climate change policies.[4] As the first country in South America and the nineteenth worldwide to incorporate a gender lens in national climate change strategies, the Ministry of Environment (MINAM) therefore stated that the PAGCC "positions Peru as a leading country in the global debate on gender and climate change" (MINAM, 2016b: para. 3).[5]

Consequently, choosing Peruvian policies makes it possible to study a country that faces both big challenges related to climate change and gender equality. Former studies have already presented the gendered impacts of climate change in Peru in relation to climatic disasters related to El Niño (Reyes, 2002) and fishing (Godden, 2013). They have blamed the authorities to traditionally exclude women from policy creation (Reyes, 2002) and presented how climate change leads to a process of gender renegotiation due to changing possibilities of income generation (Godden, 2013). Since Peru recently has taken steps in terms of policies to address these issues, it is a particularly interesting country for investigation.

1.3. Problem formulation

This introduction has shown the importance of including gender concerns in climate change policies as well as the positive and negative consequences that this process can have. In this thesis, I will carry out a policy analysis using Carol Bacchi's 'What's the problem represented to be?' (WPR) approach and a theoretical framework of (feminist) political ecology, intersectional theory, and gender mainstreaming to study the Peruvian PAGCC. With this approach I aim to answer the following research question and its sub-questions:

- How do governments **address gender in climate change policies**, in particular public policies in Peru?
    - How does the **Peruvian Action Plan for Gender and Climate Change** problematise gender in the context of climate change?
    - What **limitations** does this policy have?
    - What are the implications of the PAGCC for **other vulnerable groups** to climate change?

The objective is to analyse the PAGCC regarding its representation of gender and the consequences of this approach.

[4] The Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean (ECLAC) sates that in 2017 only Brazil, the Dominican Republic, El Salvador, Honduras, Mexico, Panama, Paraguay, Peru and Uruguay have developed gender sensitive climate change policies (ECLAC, 2017).
[5] All translations of quotes originally in Spanish to English are carried out by the author.

2. Theoretical framework

To analyse how the Peruvian government addresses gender in the context of climate change, a comprehensive theoretical framework is necessary. The following chapter introduces (feminist) political ecology, intersectionality, and gender mainstreaming which will be used in this thesis. Common concerns among them are questions of power, inequality, and knowledge.

2.1. Political ecology: the interaction of the political, economic, and the environment

Political ecology offers a well-positioned framework to examine the effects of climate change on different people and how the political forces act in this context. In relation to gender, (feminist) political ecology makes visible various forms of inequalities in environmental management and policies. Since it lies at the core of political ecology to pay "attention at underlying social, cultural, institutional, and political drivers of persistent inequality" (Tschakert, 2012: 154), it is a valuable theoretical lens for studying how climate change and related policies affects existing gender inequalities that are causing or reducing vulnerability of certain women in Peru.

Political ecology is a conceptual framework that studies the relationships between political, economic, and social factors with environmental issues. Its origins lie amongst others in political economy, cultural ecology, radical development geography, and anthropology (Bryant, 1998; Walker, 1998). Political ecology emerged to provide a political analysis of environmental changes and criticised perceived apolitical research on environmental issues during the 1970s and 1980s. Environmental change (e.g. deforestation, drought, contamination) is not considered a neutral process, but rather as a consequence of global political and economic forces (Bryant, 1998; Peet et al., 2011; Robbins, 2012). As Bryant (1998) explains "[a]t the heart of political ecology research is the notion that politics should be 'put first' in the attempt to understand how human-environment interaction may be linked to the spread of environmental degradation" (Bryant, 1998: 80). As a result, political ecologists try to find the (human) causes rather than the symptoms of environmental changes (Paulson et al., 2005).

Due to its interdisciplinary nature and variety of topics, political ecology is a research field that covers a wide range of topics. In the case of Peru, political ecology will be used to study the reaction of an actor (the Peruvian government) to certain environmental changes (the effects of climate change) and to what extend these responses address the problems related to a socio-economic characteristic (gender).

Despite being a broad-based field, research in political ecology focuses on some key concerns and approaches, such as

> *"(1) the role of the local resource user and the capabilities and 'decision-making environment' that affect the ways that resources are used; (2) the ways that local resource use is shaped by social and economic relations at multiple scales (the household, the community, the market, the state, transnational capital); (3) the ways that historical processes have shaped and continue to shape these relations; (4) the ways that society and the "natural" or human-modified physical environment mutually shape each other over time."* (Walker, 1998: 132)

These concerns reveal important discussions about resource use, decision-making, local impacts from global forces, or how the environment is understood in society. In these discussions, concepts like scale, power, and knowledge are essential. To use political ecology in an analysis, it is therefore necessary to look at some central concepts of this framework.

2.1.1. Scale

Environmental problems can differ considerably with the area of research, the so-called scale: On the local scale, there can for example be problems with the contamination of an industry, while a region is experiencing strong floods and at a global scale greenhouse warming is contributing to a warmer climate. Moreover, the actors that are affected or involved in these conflicts as well as their interests and powers may be very different depending on the scale (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). On a national level, an actor might want to solve an environmental problem while on the local level, it might contribute to a second problem. Therefore, political ecologist explain power relations at different interconnected scales, ranging from the household, the community, the region, the national to the global level (Gezon and Paulson, 2005; Walker, 1998).

By including broader national and global forces at different scales, political ecologists go against the tradition of former environmental research. The former tendency was to abstract environmental problems from political and economic forces such as non-local policies or capital flows and blame local contexts instead: The fault was often given to local populations and problems like overpopulation, bad management, or lack of technology (Gezon and Paulson, 2005; Peet et al., 2011). Bryant and Bailey (1997) explain the motivation behind this situation:

> *"The 'deafening silence' of states, multilateral institutions and businesses when it comes to questions of political and economic causation is related […] to a close association with economic activities that have been major contributors to environmental problems at the local, regional and global scales."* (Bryant and Bailey, 1997: 35)

This shows the importance of studying local together with regional, national and global forces. In political ecology, a multiscale approach helps to show the bigger picture: global and local are not considered as separate, but in some cases as intersecting scales of analysis. Global influences

become part of the local, as for example people in a location are influenced by policies, authorities or material conditions that do not come from their local environment. At the same time, it is essential to not only study “rural or marginal spaces but also […] spaces in which powerful decisions are made […] that affect people in material locales” (Gezon and Paulson, 2005: 10). This shows the importance of studying policies which can have decisive impacts on people’s lives. Moreover, it becomes clear that, next to scale, also power is an essential concept in political ecology.

2.1.2. Power and knowledge

The power and social relations between different actors (for example the state, businesses, farmers, or indigenous groups) are important to understand their interactions with the environment, since power determines their possibilities to control their own and other actors’ access to resources (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). As earlier stated, political ecologists consider environmental change as a political and economic process. Actors strategically use their position, knowledge or representation to shape the environment: For example, the state can use its superordinate position over individuals to declare a certain territory as a protected area or as an area for industrial exploitation. It controls how this territory is used and who can access it by exercising power over nature and society. The results of this action lead to environmental change, for instance conservation or degradation. Consequently, environmental problems and their solutions are strongly connected to power and governance (Paulson et al., 2005; Peet et al., 2011). Similarly, this demonstrates the political context of environmental change does not only mean formal politics; there is a political dimension in many kinds of social relations: between a company that cuts down trees in the area of indigenous people or different farmers that struggle over the access to water for irrigation. Thus, ‘political’ is related to power and can be understood more generally as “power relations that shape and pervade all human interactions, [that] are characterized by challenge and negotiation, and are infused with symbolic and discursive meaning” (Paulson et al., 2005: 29).

Power differs between social groups and shows the capability of an actor. It is not equally distributed: For instance, the power of some actors results in a bigger impact of their actions in comparison to less powerful actors (Gezon and Paulson, 2005; Robbins, 2012) and it determines who benefits from environmental change and who loses (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). Various studies in political ecology have analysed the aspects of power, knowledge, interests, or practises among social groups regarding class, gender, ethnicity, or other sociocultural dimensions. Particularly in relation to gender, a feminist political ecology has emerged which explores the interactions between gender, politics and the environment as well as the underlying social relations. It will be presented in the next chapter.

Central to the work of political ecologists are two types of power struggles: first, struggles about material practises (who controls the environment?), and second, struggles about meaning or ideas (what we think about the environment, and why do we get to know certain knowledge?) (Bryant, 1998; Peet et al., 2011).

2.1.2.1. Struggles over material practises: Who controls the environment?

First, power can be understood as the "ability of an actor to control their own interaction with the environment and the interaction of other actors with the environment" (Bryant and Bailey, 1997: 37). For example, to access a certain resource means that the actor (e.g. a mining company) needs to have the power to justify and enforce control over this resource and to exclude other actors from accessing and using it. The state plays a crucial role in this context, since it has the capacity to dominate other actors and thereby is able to accelerate or regulate environmental problems: It controls who is able to exploit certain resources, how they are exploited and partly also for what they are used (Bryant and Bailey, 1997; Peet et al., 2011).

Conflicts over access to and use of certain resources are often linked to unequal power relations between different actors. Particularly in the global South, their origin lies often in the historical development of the country, the colonial legacy (Bryant, 1998).

2.1.2.2. Struggles over meaning or ideas: What do we think about the environment and why do we get certain knowledge?

Second, power is not only related to material practices, but also to the regulation of ideas about the environment and about how humans should interact with the former. This sort of power "is exercised within - rather than over - individuals, communities and societies" (Peet et al., 2011: 32) and it determines which environmental practises are considered as normal and natural by society. For instance, lawn landscapes are seen as natural and aesthetic areas by many people, although they are maintained using environmentally harmful chemicals and heavy machinery. As a result, the "natural" and "aesthetic" perception of lawns actually hides their negative environmental impact benefiting those who maintain these areas with harmful products and activities (Peet et al., 2011). Therefore, political ecology pays increasingly attention to how soft environmental power applies so that certain ideas and practises become institutionalised and normalised.

Researchers note the ways power operates in how we get to know about the environment (Gezon and Paulson, 2005). Our knowledge and understanding of the ecological system are constructed and shaped by economic and political forces. Consequently, "human knowledge of the environment can be interpreted, controlled, and indeed manipulated" (Peet et al., 2011: 34). Truth is considered an effect of power and is formed by discourses (language, stories, images etc.)

which make certain aspects intuitive or taken for granted. It is further strengthened by certain social systems or practices that reproduce these assumptions (Robbins, 2012). These discourses impact how people think about the environment and environmental crises determining how they act (or do not act) as a response.

When the ecological system is treated as “an unproblematic universal category, an arena of natural laws” (Paulson et al., 2005: 29) these discourses can hide the political nature of environmental crises: For example, talking about ‘natural’ disasters makes their tragic outcome and impact on people seem ‘normal’ and ‘natural’. Yet, the damages, losses, and deaths are often far from equally distributed among society and highlight the politicised nature of disasters through unequal access to resources, infrastructure, or social capital among different socio-economic groups (Peet et al., 2011). This leads to the related point that not all production of knowledge enjoys equal power: ”What sort of knowledge is produced […] and its legitimacy and authority, are central to the ways in which global environmental problems become, or do not become, “problems” and how they are construed and composed” (Peet et al., 2011: 4). Environmental problems and crises can thus be socially constructed phenomena. They become a problem because they are considered as such by different individuals and groups whose interests are affected negatively. This does not mean that problems and crises do not exist (Rocheleau et al., 1996), but that their representation and selection is political (Blaikie and Brookfield, 1987; Bryant, 1998).

Not all situations where environmental degradation concerns or threatens certain groups gain equal attention, raising the question why certain interests prevail and how discourse is related to power. Producing particular knowledge and constructing a problem can help certain actors to gain control over people and the environment (Paulson et al., 2005), for instance by actors who want to justify controversial actions in the environment (Bryant, 1998). An exemplary case are studies that deny the linkage between human actions and climate change. At a closer examination of these studies, the interest behind them becomes visible: Most of them are largely supported by corporate industries (like oil companies) or political parties whose power relies on continuing those activities that accelerate the warming of the climate. Therefore, these actors have an interest in denying the casual relation between human actions and climate change (Peet et al., 2011). This example also highlights the problematic of considering science as entirely neutral process or “as an adjudicator of environmental conditions or ‘truths’” (Peet et al., 2011: 38). Political ecologists do not question science as a form of knowledge production; on the contrary, it is an essential part of research in political economy. Yet, it must be stressed that science is never entirely independent from scientists’ social realities (like gender, class, or nationality) as well as economic and political interests which make research possible (Peet et al., 2011).

To sum up, political ecology analyses power in material struggles as well as what ideas and practices become normalized for people, how environmental problems are presented through discourse and the way knowledge about the environment is selected and validated which might be subject to political motivation and interests (Gezon and Paulson, 2005; Peet et al., 2011).

2.1.3. Linking scale, power, and knowledge: how does environmental changes affect people differently?

The previous introduction of concepts such as scale, power, and knowledge can be used as tools to study the dynamics of the politicised environment. Studies in the field of political economy aim to highlight how power relations shape the interaction of various actors with the environment and how environmental change impacts these people in different ways (Walker, 1998). In this context, Bryant and Bailey (1997) present three linked assumptions about the effects of environmental change on different actors:

First, the costs and benefits of environmental change are in most cases distributed unequally among different actors. While some benefit of a certain environmental change, others experience negative consequences. For instance, countries in Europe or the United States have contributed considerably to the emission of GHG like carbon dioxide and have long been responsible for most emissions worldwide. Today, new actors like China and India are among the countries with most emissions as well (Climatewatch, 2018). The activities which caused these emissions have made it possible for countries to develop economically and have brought enormous benefits through the creation of industrial activity, transportation, or heating (Moellendorf, 2009; The Royal Irish Academy, 2011). However, these gases contribute to the warming of the climate which has already led to sea-level rise and that is likely to continue in the future. This development is particularly threatening to low-lying developing countries and small island states which will experience significant risks in the future (IPCC, 2015) while it is mostly other countries that are largely contributing to climate change through emissions. Thus, the example of carbon dioxide and other GHG illustrates clearly the unequal distribution of costs and benefits in human-environmental interactions which occurs in many other situations worldwide.

Secondly, this unequal distribution of costs and benefits affect social and economic inequalities. For instance, there is growing evidence that climate change will not affect everybody equally (IPCC, 2015). Global warming will “tend to hit weaker actors the hardest due to their inability to respond flexibly to new social and ecological situations” while “the benefits associated with economic activities that are the main contributors to this environmental problem have largely accrued to powerful actors located primarily in the First World” (Bryant and Bailey, 1997: 33).

Hence, those who are already struggling to maintain their livelihood are often affected heavily by environmental changes and thereby socio-economic inequalities are reinforced even more.

Thirdly, due to the unequal distribution of costs and the different social an economic impact on society, environmental change alters the power relations of actors. When actors gain economic benefits through e.g. the exploitation of a resource, this impacts their power to control or resist other actors (Bryant and Bailey, 1997). For example, it is expected that the availability of water will decrease in certain areas due to changing weather patterns (IPCC, 2015). Therefore, in regions where water is used for irrigation, systems of water management need to adapt to this change. This does not mean the end of these irrigation systems, but that powerful actors are more likely than less powerful actors to impact the decision-making process of how water will be distributed in the future (Nightingale, 2009). Thereby, certain actors will strengthen their power by controlling who accesses this natural resource. Yet, Nightingale (2009) highlights that "it is also quite likely that old relations of power are turned upside down, particularly if the magnitude of the problem is such that marginalized groups organize collectively" (2009: 87). This means, that environmental change can also lead to resistance of an actor (or a group of individuals) against a more powerful actor and can for example impact power relations between men and women. A particular field within political ecology which focuses on gender relations - feminist political ecology - is a suitable framework in the context of gender and climate change.

2.2. Feminist political ecology: gender and the environment

Feminist political ecology as a sub-field in political ecology analyses gendered dimensions in environmental struggles (Elmhirst, 2011) building on prior scholarship in political ecology, as well as feminist studies in development, agriculture, forestry, and feminist theories of science (Jarosz, 2001; Rocheleau, 2008). Following the concerns of political ecology, the framework sees decisions about the environment not as politically neutral. It is concerned with power and decision-making processes as well as the social, political and economic forces that shape environmental policies and practises (Thomas-Slayter et al., 1996):

> *"Feminist political ecology treats gender as a critical variable in shaping resource access and control, interacting with class, caste, race, culture, and ethnicity to shape processes of ecological change, the struggle of men and women to sustain ecologically viable livelihoods, and the prospects of any community for 'sustainable development'"* (Rocheleau et al., 1996: 4).

Thus, feminist political ecology describes the interaction between power and intersecting identities of gender, class, race, and other variables when it comes to decision-making about the environment. Power and social relations are examined to show how they benefit certain classes and groups (Thomas-Slayter et al., 1996). Thereby it makes gendered inequalities, like access to,

distribution, and control of resources visible and how these inequalities are connected to questions of the ecosystem on which production and reproduction depend. Moreover, there is a focus on how actions and policies as a response to this environmental change impact gender inequalities (Hovorka, 2006; Jarosz, 2001). Feminist political ecology is therefore a useful framework in this thesis to analyse the policy responses of the Peruvian government to climate change and its impacts on gender.

The relationship between women and the environment has been studied by many researchers building on different schools like ecofeminism, feminist environmentalism, socialist feminism or feminist poststructuralism (Jarosz, 2001). In contrast to some of these schools describing women as naturally and culturally close to nature (Leach, 2007), feminist political ecology assumes that "gender differences in experiences of, responsibilities for, and interests in 'nature' and environments […] are not rooted in biology per se" (Rocheleau et al., 1996: 3). Rather, these gendered differences are the result of social perceptions and constructs of male and female and vary among cultures, place, and time (Jarosz, 2001; Rocheleau et al., 1996).

2.2.1. Gender: about the relations between women and men

This understanding of how men and women act, think and experience the environment in different ways which cannot be explained by biological differences is closely related to the concept of gender. Gender is a cultural and social construct which stands in contrast to the belief that only biological factors form characteristics of femininity and masculinity. Gender is therefore not naturally given (Celis et al., 2013; Hawkesworth, 2013; UN, 2001). Moreover, it is a cross-cutting issue and interacts with other socio-cultural variables such as race, class, age, or ethnicity (UN, 2001).[6]

Gender can be considered the "manifestation of the dynamic and context-specific relationships between women and men" (Dankelman, 2010: 10). Thus, it entails socially constructed attitudes or characteristics which are perceived as female and male in a culture. This implies that the concept of gender is not interchangeable with women only; gender includes both women and men as well as the relations between them (UN, 2001). Since it is context-specific, the understanding of gender varies among different cultures, classes, nations or time periods (Alston, 2013; Celis et al., 2013; Hawkesworth, 2013). In these different socio-cultural contexts, different gender systems are established. Gender systems "determine what is expected, allowed and valued in a woman/man and girl/boy in these specific contexts" (UN, 2001: 1) and are institutionalised in different ways, for example through the political and economic system, legislation, the education

[6] See also the chapter on intersectionality.

system, or traditions. In this thesis, gender is understood in line with Alston (2013) and Dankelman (2010) as socially acquired notions of masculinity and femininity by which women and men are identified in different cultural contexts.

Closely linked to the concept of gender are also debates about gender equality. Achieving greater gender equality has become a central policy goal of many governments and international organisations (Squires, 2013). Worldwide, inequalities between men and women can be found: For example, women are more likely to suffer violence from their partner than men, they are less represented among decision-makers, or have a lower income. While there is an agreement that equality, and amongst others gender equality, is a matter of human rights as well as a necessary conditions for sustainable development (UN, 2001), there is a significant debate about how gender equality is supposed to be measured and what is supposed to be measured. Redistributing material goods and income was demanded in early debates about inequalities; however, the understanding has been broadened to the acceptance of cultural identities and representation of different standpoints in policy making leading ultimately to processes such as gender mainstreaming (Squires, 2013). This means also that "[a]chieving greater equality between women and men will require changes at many levels, including changes in attitudes and relationships, changes in institutions and legal frameworks, changes in economic institutions, and changes in political decision-making structures" (UN, 2002: 1). Within this thesis, gender equality will be understood as a condition in which "the rights, responsibilities and opportunities of individuals will not depend on whether they are born male or female" (UN, 2001: 1). This means also that the perceptions, needs and interests of women and men are given equal weight in the development and implementation of policies. In this process, power relations are again very important.

2.2.2. Power and knowledge in feminist political ecology

In feminist political ecology, a central theme is studying gendered power relations in the context of the environment. Different resource users, owners, and managers can interact with each other in conflict or cooperation, in complementarity or coexistence. What impacts their interaction is what identities shape these actors and thus how their power relations are expressed. Unequal power relations can manifest themselves "as injustices in material conditions and normative expressions, within societal structures and institutions of various kinds, and lived, expressed, and reproduced through social practices" (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014: 419).

Drawing back on political ecology, also two types of power struggles can be identified: First, struggles over gendered material practises (What gender dimensions are there in environmental

rights and responsibilities?) and second, struggles over gendered meaning (What gender dimensions are there in knowledge and science?).

2.2.2.1. Struggles over gendered material practices: What gender dimensions are there in environmental rights and responsibilities?

Feminist political ecology deals with gendered material practices by analysing women's environmental rights of control, access, as well as their responsibilities in producing and managing resources for the household and community. Also, it studies the different possibilities of men and women to protect or preserve the environment as well as to influence the actions of others (Bryant, 1998; Rocheleau et al., 1996). Thereby feminist political ecology demonstrates unequal power relations in the interaction between gender and the environment. In particular in the global South, both imperial and indigenous forms of patriarchy limit women's access to land, credit, technology, and education which as a result restrict their power in interacting with the ecological system in various ways (FAO, 2011; Jarosz, 2001).

Control of natural resources is one important aspect. Studies highlight the gender differences in ownership and use of rights regarding land, trees, water, or other resources. It is often the case that many different users want to control these resources making it a power struggle between men and women, but also households from different classes or ethnicities as well as local or international actors (Rocheleau et al., 1996). For instance, control of land shows a strong gender dimension, as there are significantly less female landowners than male landowners worldwide (FAO, 2018a).

Access to natural resources is often related to the legal rights of a person. For instance, a person can access a resource because of legal rights in statutory law (de jure) or because it is a common practice (de facto). In many countries, men enjoy de jure rights, while women have access to resources due to de facto rights which has gendered impacts on the security and strength of tenure (Rocheleau et al., 1996). Increasing male migration from rural areas have for example made women become de facto managers of land and farms; however when it comes to access to natural resources like water or services like credit, these women do not have the de jure or de facto rights as their husbands (World Bank et al., 2008).

Women and men have different responsibilities in relations to producing and managing natural resources for the household or the community. Women are often responsible for producing, collecting and managing certain resources, like gathering fuelwood and water, buying food, and cooking. These are activities that are very time consuming and constitute a large part of many women's daily 'work'; however, these tasks are unpaid and mostly not considered as work. Due

to their responsibilities which include paid and unpaid work, women work typically longer hours than men (FAO, 2011; Rocheleau et al., 1996).

2.2.2.2. Struggles over gendered meaning: What gender dimensions are there in knowledge and science?

Moreover, feminist political ecology is concerned with unequal power relations that manifest themselves in the production of knowledge and research. Scholars ask the question of "what is science and who does it, in terms of the different possibilities for defining the relation of people and 'nature'" (Rocheleau et al., 1996: 7). Using feminist critiques of science, they challenge the domination of science by men and its instrumentalization for Western interests, the marginal role of women, and their interest in science, or the supposed objectivity of Wester science. For instance, gender inequalities are highlighted in the profession of scientists. Environmental research is largely carried out by men which is reflected in their work: Feminist political ecology makes gender bias in scientific studies visible thereby showing that science is not carried out in a (gender) neutral way (Bryant, 1998; Rocheleau et al., 1996).

Also, studies demonstrate local knowledge about the environment. For example, women in rural areas or indigenous groups have a certain knowledge about plants, agricultural processes, and food preparation of a specific area. This knowledge has been used by feminist and environmental movements to question the prevailing paradigm of professional science. It offers an alternative perspective on environmental issues related to personal health and the household (Jarosz, 2001; Rocheleau et al., 1996). A study on the use of crops in Malawi for instance highlighted how political, economic, and environmental forces together with gender inequalities within the households lead to a loss in agrobiodiversity in the country. Thus, related indigenous knowledge which is often situated in material and gendered practices was threatened to be forgotten (Kerr, 2014).

Building up on the definition of Rocheleau et al. (1996), feminist political ecology is not only concerned with gender as a variable in power relations but recognizes that not all women are the same. Scholars argue that "while gender is one critical variable, we read [Rocheleau et al.'s] work as a plural approach open to incorporating many kinds of difference" (Mollett and Faria, 2013: 117). Therefore, for a comprehensive analysis of gender relations in political ecology, it is necessary to pay attention to further intersecting realities.

2.3. Intersectional theory: the cross-cutting reality of gender

To understand underlying power relations, it is important to take account of various forms of inequalities. Intersectional theory offers such an approach. Intersectionality can be defined as "the

interaction between gender, race, and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power" (Davis, 2008: 68). Thus, it recognises that gender, race, class, sexuality, age, ethnicity, ability, and similar aspects are intersecting power relations and that they cannot be isolated from each other. These characteristics cause different experiences and inequalities. They highly influence an individual's standing in society as well as their ability to take influence within society. In this context, it is important to highlight the cross-cutting nature of inequalities: By belonging to different privileged and/or disadvantaged groups, individuals can experience several forms of inequalities (e.g. as an indigenous woman) or both privilege and disadvantage (e.g. as a homosexual man) at the same time (Crenshaw, 1991; Lloyd, 2013; Squires, 2013).

Intersectionality has close ties to black feminism. It emerged as a response to the inability of former theories to highlight the interrelation between various forms of inequalities. Often mentioned as the first to use intersectionality, Crenshaw (1989, 1991) for example analysed the intersection of gender, race, and class in the US. She argued that black women's concerns were different than those of most US feminist movements, because these movements dealt with the experiences of mostly white middle-class women. As a result, women of colour would have developed different ideas among feminist movements which were however largely ignored by existing movements. At the same time, anti-racism movements failed to acknowledge the gendered inequalities within their group. Therefore, she highlighted that an intersectional approach considering gender, race and class was needed to show the multiple dimensions of black women's experiences (Crenshaw, 1989, 1991). But also scholars from other backgrounds studied the intersections of different forms of disadvantages during the same time period. For example, Latin and Asian American women did similar studies taking the cultural and ethnic differences like religiosity, language, and citizenship status into account (Lloyd, 2013).

As initially noted, feminist scholars, but also researchers in feminist political ecology have argued for an intersectional approach (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014; Mollett and Faria, 2013; Nightingale, 2011). Particularly in relation to race, Mollet and Faria emphasise:

> *"[Feminist political ecology] needs race. […] Indeed, increased attention to race may open more critical analysis of natural resource control, distribution and access as a way to help "mainstream" gender in development policy and planning, in a more meaningful and plural fashion."* (Mollett and Faria, 2013: 123)

They make thus a connection to policy making and the incorporation of gender and intersectional realties in these actions. As Blofield and Haas state: "A consideration of inequality in its broadest

sense demands additional attention to issues of race–ethnicity, class, and sexuality" (2013: 712). Thus, when dealing with gender equality policies, but also in other contexts of inequalities, an intersectional approach is essential. Advocates of intersectionality claim that failing to consider the intersecting realities of power relations and inequalities will lead to both simplistic analyses and ill-conceived policy interventions (Squires, 2013). These arguments lead to the next part of the theoretical framework of this thesis which is related to gender concerns within policy making.

2.4. Gender mainstreaming: searching a strategy for gender equality

Historically, there have been different stages in gender equality policy aiming to reduce gender inequalities. Walby (1997) defines three stages: equal treatment, positive actions, and gender mainstreaming. While policies of equal treatment introduce legal rights for women (such as e.g. the right to equal pay), policies of positive action positively favour women (e.g. special training focusing only on women). Yet, gender mainstreaming is a more comprehensive approach that assesses organisational structures, policies and practices from a gender perspective (Walby, 1997). This "potentially revolutionary concept" (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002: 342) demonstrates a shift in gender equality policy which developed due to the failure of former policies to significantly change gender inequalities (Alston, 2006). It was established as a global strategy at the Beijing Conference on Women in 1995. Adopted at the conference, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action called policy makers for the first time to mainstream "gender perspectives in all spheres of society" (UN, 1995: 25). The following definition of gender mainstreaming has been widely used in research and practise:

> *"Gender mainstreaming is the (re)organization, improvement, development and evaluation of policy processes, so that a gender equality perspective is incorporated in all policies at all levels at all stages, by the actors normally involved in policy making"* (Council of Europe, 1998: 15).

Thus, gender mainstreaming is the systematic incorporation of gender issues in policies or programs as well as the organisational culture with the aim to promote gender equality. It highlights the constructed nature of gender and aims to make visible gendered assumptions, processes and outcomes. Mainstreaming gender in all areas of policy making reflects the idea, that also policy areas which do not explicitly address gender issues could indirectly influence gender equality and therefore maintain or worsen current inequalities. At institutional level, gender issues are consequently no longer only the concern of specific women's departments. Instead, they are dealt with in the whole organisation by various actors and in all stages of the policy process (Alston, 2014; Dankelman, 2010; Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002). While the idea of mainstreaming involves looking at gender concerns in all policies, targeted intervention can be a complementary strategy to narrow specific gender gaps within a certain topic. As long as a broader mainstreaming

strategy exists, these interventions can be useful to tackle problematic issues and do not stand in contradiction to the nature of mainstreaming (UN, 2002).

Also in gender mainstreaming, there is a concern to look at inequality in the broadest sense paying attention to intersecting realities of women and men. Multiple forms of inequalities including race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, and disability need to be considered in the process of gender mainstreaming making the process even more complex. Therefore, intersectionality is a tool that is often used to study policy outputs, but it is still starting to get incorporated into various stages of policy making (Blofield and Haas, 2013: 712; Squires, 2005).

A strategy to mainstream gender with lasting effects on various forms of inequalities is a complex and contested process. Walby (2005) highlights that there is a tension between mainstream policies and the goal to achieve gender equality as gender mainstreaming questions traditional policy paradigms. Gender mainstreaming implies fundamental changes in an organisation in order to challenge gender inequalities. Difficulties can appear since many actors are involved which do not always have the knowledge or interest in gender issues (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002). Therefore, it can be expected, that institutions might show resistance against gender mainstreaming in their policies. This might also be the case for policies in relation to climate change which is the concern of this thesis. The following chapter will demonstrate the linkages of theories that have been presented so far with climate change and gender policies.

2.5. Connecting climate change, gender and policies

Climate change is a global phenomenon which has been studied extensively from a (natural) science perspective. While climate change science and related political strategies have for a long time focused on mostly technological and economic research neglecting its impacts on societies and communities (Alston, 2013; Jerneck, 2018), the political and social dimensions of climate change are now increasingly gaining attention (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014). Already today, the impacts are experienced by communities around the world: Climate change reduces productivity in agriculture, threatens food and water security, or constrains access to energy resources (Alston, 2013; Hannan, 2009; UN Women Watch, 2009). For instance, the latest report by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) notes in this context that “climate variability and extremes are among the key drivers behind the recent uptick in global hunger and one of the leading causes of severe food crises” (FAO, 2018b: xii). Consequently, there is a need to study more closely how climate change impacts people all around the globe.

2.5.1. Gendered impacts of climate change

It is a common understanding that climate change will impact populations in all countries, both rich and poor, young and old, or women and men. However, there is concern that the consequences will not be experienced evenly, but that climate change will affect those stronger who "are most reliant on natural resources for their livelihoods and/or who have the least capacity to respond to natural hazards" (UNFCCC, 2018b: para. 1). Research indicates that particularly poor people's livelihoods are threatened by climate related hazards (IPCC, 2015) and/or those who are socially, politically, economically, or culturally disadvantaged (Global Gender and Climate Alliance, 2016). Gender is a critical variable in this context: Because of cultural norms and practices, women and men have different rights and responsibilities to sustain livelihoods, to access natural resources, or to participate in decision-making (Alston, 2013; Hannan, 2009; Jerneck, 2018). Therefore, paying attention to gender in the context of climate change "is crucial to question unfair labour markets, denial of rights, and unequal access to resources, which all contribute to vulnerability to climate change" (Buckingham and Le Masson, 2017: 9).

Women are often presented as particularly vulnerable towards the impacts of climate change. Being overrepresented among the poor, women might experience high risks since their livelihood is very dependent on natural resources which are impacted by climate change (Hannan, 2009; UNFCCC, 2018b). Moreover, the roles and responsibilities of women in developing countries often include the collection of certain local resources, such as water and fuel. With increasing shortages or droughts, this responsibility will lead to an increased workload for women and might result in less possibilities to gain an income or to be enrolled in school (UN Women Watch, 2009; UNDP, 2010). There are also studies suggesting the gendered impacts of climate change on health. The World Health Organization (WHO) states that "health risks that are likely to be affected by ongoing climate change show gender differentials" (WHO, 2014: 3). For example, analysing the period from 1981 to 2002 in 141 countries, a study found that disasters lowered the life expectancy of women in comparison to men and that this effect increased with the strength of the disaster (Neumayer and Plümper, 2007). Other highlight women's risk of being exposed to violence after disasters (Dankelman, 2010; UN Women Watch, 2009). At the same time, women are less present in decision-making bodies and have often limited access to education, training, institutional support, or information which reduces their possibility to react to the impacts of climate change (Dankelman, 2010; Hannan, 2009). The lack of women in high-level positions is particularly visible in environmental management: For instance, in 2015 only 12% of federal environment ministries were headed by women (Global Gender and Climate Alliance, 2016). Consequently, there are clear gendered impacts behind climate change which impact women in different ways than men,

while women are significantly less represented in decision-making related to environmental issues.

However, it is important to emphasise that vulnerability is not a characteristic of women per se. As Pearse (2017) notes, gendered vulnerability to climate change should not be considered “as intrinsic or ‘natural’ characteristics of women, but rather as expressions of existing gender inequalities and power relations in societies across the world” (2017: 3). The position of individuals in context-specific power structures shapes their capacity to respond and adapt to climate change. These power relations are determined by many different intersecting social categorisations including gender, socio-economic status, age, class, ethnicity, nationality, or sexuality which can create vulnerability (Djoudi et al., 2016; Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014; Tschakert, 2012). Disregarding these intersections can lead to generalisations about the effects of climate change on women, but also on men: As Arora-Jonsson (2011) explains, generalising women “tells us little about the configuration of social relations of power in particular contexts or how the vulnerability is produced for other groups such as certain groups of men” (2011: 742). The lack of intersectional analysis in climate change research and simplistic presentation of women as the most vulnerable and victims of climate change has been criticised extensively (Arora-Jonsson, 2011; Buckingham and Le Masson, 2017; Djoudi et al., 2016; Tschakert, 2012). The problem is that discourses and policies, particularly in developing countries, only focus on the vulnerability of women ignoring the reasons for this fact: the underlying gender inequalities and power relations. By generalising or ignoring several inequalities, climate change policies can reinforce existing inequalities because they encourage the continuation of these inequal power relations (Arora-Jonsson, 2011; Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014). At the same time, women are not a homogenous group, but can be privileged or disadvantaged because of their socio-economic status, ethnicity, or age (Arora-Jonsson, 2011; Buckingham and Le Masson, 2017). Still, the aim is not to include as many categories as possible, since there are many factors that can create vulnerability due to unequal power relations. Kaijser and Kronsell (2014) suggest therefore to widen the perspective and to reflect which factors might be important in a specific context. Then, the researcher can select some intersections that might be the most interesting and relevant ones keeping the bigger picture in mind. Such a strategy is crucial to understand the complex underlying power relations and the forces that try to maintain or reinforce various layers of inequalities which eventually make certain individuals vulnerable towards climate change.

2.5.2. Climate change policies: mainstreaming gender concerns

With the increasing evidence of the dramatic impacts of climate change on societies, governments have developed policies of adaptation and mitigation to respond to these effects. In this context,

there has been a call to “incorporate gender perspectives into […] national policies, action plans and other measures on sustainable development and climate change” (UN Women Watch, 2009: 6) by carrying out gender analysis, collecting sex-disaggregated data, or developing benchmarks and indicators that are gender sensitive (UN Women Watch, 2009). Without including gender concerns and involving women in decision-making, it has been acknowledged that climate change policies will not only be ineffective, but can also reinforce existing problems by normalising gender inequalities such as limited access to resources (Alston, 2014; UNFCCC, 2018b). Gender mainstreaming in mitigation and adaptation policies is necessary to address the gendered impacts of climate change and moreover to include women’s specific knowledge and expertise from their position in society and the place where they live[7] (Hannan, 2009; UN Women Watch, 2009). Thus, gender mainstreaming is a crucial tool “to ensure that women's rights and needs are addressed and that inequitable gender relations are challenged during and after climate disasters” (Alston, 2014: 289).

Yet, it has been criticised that gender concerns and women’s participation in decision-making have not been systematically taken into account in global discussions and negotiations on climate change so far (Buckingham and Le Masson, 2017; Hannan, 2009). In this context, the question arises in how far also institutions that create adaptation and mitigation policies are part of power structures and reproduce existing inequalities. Studying institutions can not only demonstrate how power is reflected in material terms, but also how norms are reproduced in its practises. There can be underlying assumptions and norms in institutions which are reflected in its policies and actions. Thereby, the bias of institutions impacts what norms become naturalised and can construct or strengthen injustices in society (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014; Thomas-Slayter et al., 1996). As initially noted, gender mainstreaming is a contested process. If gender concerns are integrated in climate change policies “foundered on the rocks of […] a resistant bureaucracy where profound gender biases are embedded in the justice and public administration systems" (Arora-Jonsson, 2011: 750), it can be expected that there might be resistance against such integration as well as a lack of commitment or knowledge to carry out policies with a gender perspective. Therefore, it is of interest in this thesis to study how gender is presented in the Peruvian policies and to analyse what discourse is told to give an idea of underlying assumptions in the responsible institutions.

[7] In this aspect, the context in which women live is particularly relevant to state to avoid simplifications, since their knowledge does not derive only from the fact that they are female, but due to intersecting realities (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014).

3. Methodological framework

This chapter gives an overview over the steps that were taken to acquire the relevant knowledge for answering the research question. First, I will start with introducing my ontological and epistemological standpoint of social constructivism which impacts the overall process of research. Second, I will give a justification for the theoretical framework that was chosen and how it will be used in this thesis. Third, the data collection and method for analysis, in particular the 'What's the problem represented to be?' approach will be introduced. Finally, I will outline the limitations of this study.

3.1. Philosophy of science: ontological and epistemological considerations

Ontology and epistemology are important concepts in the philosophy of science. The formulation of a research question and the choice of methods to answer this question are related to fundamental assumptions of the researcher related to ontology and epistemology.

Ontology deals with "the nature of what the researcher seeks to know" (Kuada, 2012: 58), that is to say with questions of reality. In social sciences, the debate related to ontology is related to the reality of the social world and its relation to individuals. There are two general and conflicting views in ontology:[8] In the first approach, scholars believe that social entities have a reality, that they are external to social actors and that they impose social actors' behaviour. Yet, scholars of the second approach state that these social entities are socially constructed by the actions or ideas of individuals. They believe that individuals create their own social world (Bryman, 2012; Kuada, 2012). Therefore, different understandings of ontology can influence how the social world is perceived and how to collect knowledge about it.

Epistemology is concerned with questions of what is regarded as acceptable knowledge. Dependent on the ontological approach, different knowledge is considered relevant. The question in social sciences is particularly related to the question if social world can be studied with the same rules and procedures as natural sciences. Researchers that follow the first ontological approach think that one can as an external observer find out the truth about a social entity. This approach emphasises that it is important to study the social world according to the principles of natural sciences. In contrast, those who follow the second ontological approach believe that the social world is relativistic. Therefore, research in social science does not need follow principles of natural

[8] There are many variations among these two big approaches in ontology and epistemology, such as objectivism/subjectivism, positivism/interpretivism, realism/constructivism. For simplification, these will not be presented in detail, but the common points of the two contrasting main ideas will be summarised.

sciences or generate objective knowledge. Instead, the social world is seen as "fundamentally different from that of the natural sciences" (Bryman, 2012: 28), because it is constructed and dependent on the standpoint. Studying the social world thus needs a different research procedure that can present the subjective meaning of social actions (Bryman, 2012; Kuada, 2012). Consequently, these contrasting viewpoints in ontology and epistemology can give different results in a research project and impact the theoretical framework and methods that are chosen.

3.1.1. Social constructivism

The analysis in this thesis follows the ontological and epistemological approach of social constructivism. Thereby, I acknowledge that the social world is shaped and constructed by individuals. This means that social constructivism stands in contrast to the formerly introduced first approach of ontology and epistemology stating that observation of the real world can lead to objective knowledge. Following social constructionist thinking means "to be ever suspicious of our assumptions about how the world appears to be" (Burr, 2015: 3). Thus, there is no ultimate truth about a certain social phenomenon which can be concluded through objective observation in social constructivism. Instead, it supports the belief that our understanding of the social world is shaped and produced by the social processes and interactions that happen within our cultural and historic context. For instance, discourses that is to say how we represent the world in texts or pictures, influence the way we think about the world. What we know is part of our culture "and we should not assume that our ways of understanding are necessarily any better, in terms of being any nearer the truth, than other ways" (Burr, 2015: 3).

Choosing a social constructivist view has impacts on the way that I conduct research. I am aware that my own background such as socioeconomic status, gender, nationality etc. influence how I formulate a research question, and perceive the data that I will analyse. In order to counterbalance my own impact, I aim to use a broad range of sources from authors with various backgrounds. For the analysis in particular, I draw back on articles and reports from Peru and the global South to include impressions from different cultural perspectives. Also, the use of a coherent theoretical framework and methods aim to limit my personal bias and to enable the reader to make a judgement about the analysis.

Furthermore, the theoretical framework that I have chosen needs to be in line with the ontological and epistemological approach. I argue that studying the impacts of climate change on individuals reflects the socially constructed assumptions behind gender, which have nothing to do with biological characteristics of men or women. It is the culturally dependent assumptions that create gender inequalities and lead to different consequences of climate change on women and men.

Also, I consider policies like the PAGCC not as neutral outputs of an institution but believe that they are influenced by the assumptions and norms of the institutions who develop these policies. By following the 'What's the problem represented to be?' approach, I acknowledge that policy is influenced by its cultural and historic context and is a cultural product. This ontological and epistemological approach has affected the choice of my theoretical framework which will be presented below.

3.2. Choice of theoretical framework

The central issues of this thesis are grounded in a theoretical framework consisting of (feminist) political ecology, intersectional theory, and gender mainstreaming. Each of them uses several concepts, such as power, inequality, or knowledge, to reach certain assumptions. The combination of these central assumptions and concepts form the theoretical foundation of this thesis.

First, political ecology (particularly with a feminist focus) is a useful lens to observe the relations between climate change and human actions. Peet et al. (2011) highlight that political ecology is particularly useful in climate change research to study "the complex political, cultural, and social dynamics at work" (Peet et al., 2011: 10). Next to a technological, economic, or environmental study of climate change, the different impacts of climate change on women and men demonstrate that it is particularly important to pay attention to further dynamics. Inequalities and underlying power structures between individuals need to be analysed as well as how these structures change with a warming climate. These concerns of power and inequality are central issues in political ecology (Tschakert, 2012). Since this thesis has a gender focus, feminist political ecology was therefore chosen to demonstrate political, cultural, and social dynamics in Peru that lead to gender inequalities and unequal power relations in environmental issues.

Second, intersectional theory is valuable in this thesis to not neglect heterogenic realities of women in Peru. The focus in this thesis will particularly be on the intersections of gender and ethnicity. Since there are big inequalities in Peruvian society regarding both gender and ethnic background, this was considered the most important intersection. For instance, Peru is a multi-ethnic country: In the last census in 2017, the National Institute of Statistics and Informatics (INEI) presented that over 25 percent of the population considered themselves as Quechua, Aymara, or another ethnic origin from indigenous communities (INEI, 2018). The realities of women with indigenous background can change significantly from those with a different ethnic background. The census for example reveals big differences in alphabetic and educational level regarding ethnic origin, creating less favourable conditions for persons with indigenous background. Also other factors, such as age or class can impact an individual's status in society and the inequalities

that he/she perceives. This will be kept in mind while carrying out the analysis; yet, as earlier highlighted it is useful to concentrate on the most relevant intersection which will in this case be gender and ethnicity. In this context, intersectional theory is important, since it draws attention to "a more nuanced analysis of power" (Djoudi et al., 2016: 249) in gender research. At the same time, it can help to reveal assumptions about social categories and their relations by showing generalisations about women in for example climate change policies (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014). Thus, intersectional theory was chosen to give a more comprehensive analysis of gender in climate change policies in Peru and to make visible if the intersecting realities of women in Peru are presented in the PAGCC.

Third, gender mainstreaming is a valuable strategy to address gender inequalities in policies and the process of decision-making. Since this thesis deals with the question how governments address gender in climate change actions, it focuses eventually on policies and programs. There has been an increasing call for holistic responses towards climate change that take into account gender inequalities in order to not reinforce existing ones (Alston, 2014; Hannan, 2009). Gender mainstreaming provides such a strategy to integrate women's and men's perspectives into climate change policies and has the potential to "create the space for transformative change in gender power relations" (Alston, 2014: 287). Yet, it is also emphasised that it is difficult to carry out effective gender mainstreaming, as institutions can show resistance towards such strategies or have a biased understanding of gender relations (Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002; Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014). Consequently, gender mainstreaming serves as a tool to analyse the Peruvian policies through the PAGCC and to demonstrate how gender is understood in Peruvian institutions.

The connection of these theories presents the theoretical framework of this thesis. They will support the research in the analysis and the collection of data.

3.3. Data collection and method of analysis: A policy analysis with the WPR approach

3.3.1. Choice of data

To find out how governments address gender in climate change policies, it was decided that qualitative data was the most relevant form of data which most of the analysis will rely on. Qualitative data can be valuable to find an answer to the explanatory research question and follows the nature of my ontological and epistemological approach.

Quantitative data is not used exhaustively in this thesis; it rather supports the arguments from the qualitative analysis by the occasional use of statistics or indexes. This is particularly the case when I study the contributions to GHG emissions in Peru, where quantitative data is necessary, but it serves mostly as starting point for analysing the contributions that different actors make to such emissions.

This approach follows the nature of one of the elements of the theoretical framework in this thesis, political ecology. Doolittle (2015) states that "[d]ivergent types of data can be used to support each other, to enrich our understanding with new perspectives and to provide a more complete view of the problem" (Doolittle, 2015: 527). Since political ecologists aim to analyse the interactions between society and the environment, they describe not only observable and measurable aspects of the environment. Moreover, they demonstrate what is less visible, that is, the underlying social, political, and economic processes. Therefore political ecologists tend to use qualitative data for their research, although there is no uniform methodological framework in the field and a pluralism of methods is frequent (Doolittle, 2015).

3.3.2. Policy analysis

In order to collect the main data for analysis, I chose to carry out a policy analysis of the Peruvian Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change. Since it is of interest to study, what discourse on gender and climate change is predominant in Peruvian policies, this document was chosen as a valuable source of information. It is particularly interesting, since it aims to guide further public action in relation to climate change and thereby gives an idea of how gender might be addressed in Peruvian climate change policies in the future.

Policy analysis eventually deals with documents deriving from the state which serve as source and subject of analysis in this thesis. What is central about policies is the idea of a problem in society which needs to be solved through government action. Thereby, policies "define a problem in a particular way and then set up categories and certain logics" (Blackmore and Lauder, 2005: 100). There is often a positive connotation towards policies, since it 'fixes something' in society. Yet, it has been highlighted, that documents deriving from the state have to be studied carefully, since they might contain some form of bias (Bryman, 2012). Eventually, defining the wrong problem in a policy can be "a fatal error" (Dunn, 2015: 6). By including or excluding certain information into the definition process of a problem, the future policies and their values are already guided in a certain direction (Dunn, 2015). However, the way the problem is defined, and the mode of intervention are often not questioned. Moreover, policies frequently do not state the problem they aim to deal with but only imply that something needs to change (Bacchi, 2009). This means,

it can be particularly interesting to study the problem formulation and bias in public policy in official documents from the state. This might demonstrate for whom these policies are carried out, on which assumptions they are developed, or whose values are promoted (Blackmore and Lauder, 2005). Studying the PAGCC of Peru can therefore highlight, what is considered a problem in relation to gender and climate change and how the Peruvian state aims to deal with this context.

There is no distinctive methodology for policy analysis, it can draw back on various methodological positions and methods (Blackmore and Lauder, 2005; Dunn, 2015). In line with the ontological, epistemological and theoretical foundations of this thesis, the 'What's the problem represented to be?' approach was chosen as tool to carry out the analysis of the PAGCC.

3.3.3. 'What's the problem represented to be?' approach

The WPR approach was developed by Carol Bacchi and constitutes of six related questions to study public policies and critically make visible the problem that these policies aim to deal with. The approach follows the idea, that policies are cultural products. They are formulated since something is seen problematic and needs to be changed through action. Therefore, policies include implicit assumptions about what is considered the as a 'problem'[9] which can be highlighted through asking certain questions (Bacchi, 2012).

The approach was chosen since it is a useful and straight-forward tool to analyse how the PAGCC addresses gender in the context of climate change. Since its presentation, the WPR approach has been used for studying policies in a different way, particularly with a focus on gender. It provides new perspectives and questions what is taken for granted in policy-making. Thus, it carries out a deep analysis of problem representations in policies while presenting an easily applicable methodology: Using the six questions as a sort of conceptual checklist which guide the analysis, it is possible to probe underlying assumptions about gender and other forms of inequalities in the Peruvian policies. Particularly, since there is a focus on silences in policies, the approach can be useful to show if the PAGCC includes an intersectional nature. Moreover, it emphasises the importance of power in the creation of 'problems', which goes in line with the thinking of political ecologists. Thus, the WPR approach is a valuable tool in this thesis and will be the form the method of analysis for the PAGCC.

The WPR approach is based on the following two assumptions: First, Bacchi emphasises that our societies are governed through problematisations. Policies are presented to 'fix' a certain social

[9] Problem in this context does not necessarily mean the 'traditional' idea of something difficult, negative, or something that needs to be solved, but refers to the kind of change that is implied by a policy.

problem.[10] However, for the governing process, it is crucial how these issues are understood, problematised and 'made problems': "After all, how you feel about something determines what you think should be done about it" (Bacchi, 2009: xiii). Problematisation of an issue includes defining a certain issue as problematic and as in need to be changed. These problematisations are the starting point for policies which suggest actions to 'solve them'. As earlier noted, policies do not always state what they problematise, but implicitly suggest that there is a problem which requires action. Therefore, policies contain problem representations, which are "the understanding of the 'problem' implied in any policy or rule" (Bacchi, 2009: xii).

Second, Bacchi suggests that we need to study problem representations that are contained in problematisations rather than 'problems'. "Rather than accepting […] a 'social problem', we need to interrogate the kinds of 'problems' that are presumed to exist and how these are thought about. In this way we gain important insights into the thought (the 'thinking') that informs governing practices" (Bacchi, 2009: xiii). Moreover, since problematisations include simplifying a part of a certain issue to make it a problem, they only tell a part of the story. Therefore, it is necessary to study the problem representation in policies to show what is included at what is left out.

The goal of the WPR approach is to interrogate problematisations in policies, by analysing the assumptions and effects in their problem representations. This means, it aims to show how a 'problem' is represented, rather than unveiling 'the truth' or the intention of policy-makers. To do so, it offers a set of six questions that can make assumptions in problematisations visible. The questions are the following (Bacchi, 2012: 21):

1. What's the 'problem' represented to be in a specific policy?
2. What presuppositions or assumptions underpin this representation of the 'problem'?
3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?
4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?
5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?
6. How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How has it been (or could it be) questioned, disrupted and replaced?

Looking closer at each single question, it becomes clear why Bacchi presents them: Question 1 is intended to help identify the implicit problem representation in a policy. When a government

[10] This does not mean that there are no troubling issues which need to be dealt with in society. But the WPR approach tries to challenge assumptions presumptions in the construction and representation of 'problems'.

proposes a policy, what does it want to change with this action, and what ‘problem’ is thereby created? The following questions seek to go deeper into analysing the policy its representation of a ‘problem’. Question 2 aims to highlight the underlying assumptions in the problem representation. These assumptions are taken for granted and form the basis of the problem representation. Thus, they might limit the way the ‘problem’ is understood. With question 3, the contingent practices and processes can be analysed which have supported the emergence of the ‘problem’. The roots of a problem representation might go back to key decisions that were taken in the past and that shape the current policy. Another point is that policies can leave gaps and limitations. In problematisation, policy-makers need to simplify a certain issue. These silences and alternative ways of understanding the ‘problem’ can be made visible with question 4. Asking question 5 helps to assess how problem representations impact on people’s lives and who benefits and who is neglected due to it. Effects can be, e.g. how individuals understand themselves, others, or the ‘problem’, how their material conditions are impacted etc. Finally, question 6 is a continuation of question 3 in how this ‘problem’ is continuously represented in discourses and disseminated. Furthermore, it seeks to highlight contestations of the problem representation. Thus, it gives awareness of the forms of power that are involved in creating a ‘problem’, keeping it in the discourse and in the ways the problem representation can be challenged (Bacchi, 2009, 2012).

3.4. Limitations of the study

There are some ways in which the research in this thesis is limited due to certain reasons. The decision to carry out a study of Peru and in particular the PAGCC means that the conclusions made in this thesis are not necessarily representative for climate change policies of other countries. Still, the analysis of the PAGCC can give interesting insights into how policies specifically directed towards gender and climate change are formed and what ideas lie behind their development in the case of Peru. Thereby, lessons can be learned for other countries who have or are planning to create such policies. Different results might have been found by analysing former Peruvian climate change policies, such as the National Strategy on Climate Change (ENCC). But, since the PAGCC is presented as a guideline for future policies in relation to climate change, it could be expected that it will produce similar ways of how gender will be addressed in further policies.

Moreover, in my intersectional analysis I chose to focus on gender and ethnicity. Changing the focus to other identities, such as age or class could bring different insights. Still, I argue that this intersection is particularly relevant in Peru, since gender and ethnicity are important factors for discrimination and inequality in the country. For instance, ethnicity in Peru is a factor which for a

long time has led to exclusion from the labour market, lower education, and wages, and, as a result, indigenous people are disproportionately present at the bottom of income distribution (Thorp and Paredes, 2010). Therefore, inequalities perceived due to class are also often affecting indigenous people in Peru.

4. The Peruvian Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change

The Peruvian government has been increasingly attentive to the effects of climate change on the country and has responded by developing public policies accordingly. The guiding framework for current climate change policies is the National Strategy on Climate Change from 2015. The ENCC envisions a Peru that "adapts to adverse effects and benefits of the opportunities that climate change imposes, laying the foundations for sustainable low carbon development" (MINAM, 2015: 43). It will be the main strategy for adaptation and mitigation efforts in Peru until 2021.

In this context, the government developed a new instrument, the Peruvian Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change. It aims to integrate a gender approach into climate change policies and was presented to the public in July 2016. The related press statement pointed out that Peru was the first country in South America and the nineteenth in the world to present such an instrument. Therefore, it was concluded that the plan positioned Peru as "a leading country in the global debate on gender and climate change" (MINAM, 2016b: para. 3). Still, gender concerns are far from being integrated into Peruvian climate change policies. In 2016, an analysis showed that only 30% of all national initiatives dealing with climate change incorporated a focus on gender (MINAM, 2016a). Thus, the PAGCC can be considered a first advance in terms of gender-sensitive climate change policies in Peru and constitutes an interesting document for analysis.

Having a time frame until 2021, the PAGCC is an important point of reference for further policies related to climate change and gender equality. It refers to the CEDAW and the UNFCCC as its guiding international conventions. With the ENCC and the National Plan for Gender Equality (PLANIG) as guiding legal framework at the national level, the PAGCC is supposed to "guide the actions of the different entities of the Peruvian state to achieve [...] the decrease of gender equalities in the country" (MINAM, 2016c: 6). Its overall objective is to incorporate a gender approach in the Peruvian policies and instruments that are related to climate change and the reduction of GHG emissions. Moreover, the PAGCC sets up four specific objectives regarding 1) the management of information, 2) strengthening of capacities, 3) incorporation of a gender focus in policies and management instruments, and 4) integration of a gender focus in projects and programs for adaptation and mitigation. The plan points out eight priority areas where gender gaps are presented: forests, water resources, food security, energy, solid waste, education, health, and disaster and risk management. To deal with these gaps, a matrix was developed in each area which presents desired results and their relation to the specific objectives, indicators, actions, and responsible entities.

The plan was developed in cooperation between the MINAM and the Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations (MIMP). The government received support by different national and international development agencies from Spain, the US, the UN, Finland, and Belgium and technical support of the International Union for Conservation of Nature. Moreover, it is the result of a multi-sectoral and participatory elaboration process throughout the country (see figure below). It included the analysis of the legal and political situation of regarding gender and climate change in Peru, interviews with specialists in gender and climate change, and workshops to gather information from stakeholders. In the formulation of the PAGCC, various representatives of the government, civil society, international cooperation, indigenous organisations, agrarian and women's rights groups, and academics were involved (Aguilar et al., 2015; MINAM, 2016c).

Figure 1: Elaboration process of the PAGCC (Source: (MINAM, 2018d))[11]

[11] Translation to English: 1 Elaboration of a document on the country context on gender and climate change; 2 Workshop for capacity building in gender and climate change; 3 National workshop to develop the first version of the PAGCC; 4 Macroregional workshops to revise and validate the plan; 5 Working day to revise with experts in the priority topics; 6 National public consultation on the second version of the PAGCC; 7 Drafting of the final version of the PAGCC which is approved.

With this first introduction, the national policy context, goals, and elaboration process of the PAGCC become clear. But how does the PAGCC address the gender in the context of climate change? And what effects does it have on people experiencing several inequalities in Peru? In the following, the 'What's the problem represented to be?' approach will be used to demonstrate the problem representations in the PAGCC.

4.1. What's the 'problem' represented to be?

By asking the questions 'What's the problem represented to be?', it is possible to identify the implicit problem representation in a policy. It helps to clarify what the government aims to change with the policy and what 'problem' is created thereby. Bacchi (2009) emphasizes that there can be multiple problem representations in a policy and that they can be interlinked or contradict each other. This might particularly be the case for the PAGCC, since many different actors (different entities of the state, civil society, development agencies, academia etc.) were involved in the development process which might have very different ideas about what the 'problem' consists and how to deal with it. Therefore, I decided to present the 'problem' that the PAGCC addresses and the most dominant problem representations that are included in this argument.

When analysing the PAGCC, it stands out that the plan is presented as an important advance in integrating gender concerns in public policies for adaptation and mitigation. Looking at the general objective of the plan, it states that "the Peruvian government […] incorporates a gender approach in its policies and instruments that face the adverse effects, benefit of the opportunities of climate change, and contribute to the reduction of GHG emission" (MINAM, 2016c: 24). More specifically, the PAGCC connects the most important national policies in gender and climate change, the PLANIG and the ENCC (MINAM, 2016c: 6). Having developed the PAGCC is considered a milestone towards integrating gender issues in policies related to climate change. Thus, the 'problem' that is created with the PAGCC is the 'lack of gender approach' in Peruvian policies that are relevant for climate change. By developing a plan that is supposed to guide further actions related to gender and climate change, the Peruvian government first problematises that there is a missing gender perspective in its policies and further presents a 'solution' to this 'problem'.[12] Consequently, the PAGCC is supposed to mainstream gender in Peruvian policies that are relevant for climate change, but also in the organisational culture of the government. It constitutes

[12] At this point, I would like to re-emphasize that the WPR approach does not aim to show whether a policy is dealing with the 'right' or 'wrong' issue. Thus, by using the WPR approach and showing that an issue (like in this case the lack of a gender approach) in a policy is problematised, I do not have the intention to judge whether this is the case or if it is the 'right thing to do'. Instead, the goal is to make visible what thinking was behind the formulation of that policy and how this affects different parts of society.

thus an interesting example of gender mainstreaming in climate change policies, since it can give an understanding of how gender is understood in the context of climate change in Peru.

Having clarified the ‘problem’ that the PAGCC deals with, it is necessary to give light to the problem representations, which are the understanding of the ‘problem’ which is implied in a policy. Bacchi (2009) suggests, that it is useful to study budget allocations to find out where priorities are set in a policy. This could help to get a better insight into how the problem is understood. However, the PAGCC does not allocate any funds. It only states that responsible public entities should make use of their annual budget in which the implementation of the PAGCC should be foreseen (MINAM, 2016c: 25). In order to identify the main problem representations, I will therefore analyse, on the one hand, the language used in the plan giving a hint of how the ‘problem’ is understood and, on the other hand, the actions proposed for ‘fixing’ it. By studying how the ‘problem’ is described and what is suggested as action, it is possible to find main problem representations that appear both in language and actions. Thereby, I was able to identify two predominant ways the ‘problem’ of lacking gender approach is understood.

4.1.1. Identification and valorisation of gender-specific knowledge

First, in the formulation of the ‘problem’, the PAGCC implies both in language and in its actions, that it recognises the different knowledge that results from gender-specific tasks and roles. It states that “women are not only **victims** but active agents of change and possess unique knowledge and skills” (MINAM, 2016c: 16, emphasis added). Thus, the plan implies by dealing with the ‘problem’ of a lacking gender approach, that the PAGCC can help to identify, valorise, and spread gender-specific knowledge.

The language highlights specific knowledge of women, particularly in the rural Amazon and Andean regions. Since there exist strong divisions of labour in these communities, indigenous women are often responsible for activities in the household and non-commercial activities in forests. This includes the preparation and management of food, taking care of the health of family members, or supply of water and fuel for the family (MINAM, 2016c: 37). These gender-specific tasks result in specialized knowledge of women in the context of natural resources; the PAGCC emphasises in particular their understanding and interest for species diversity and conservation. By drawing back on traditional practises and technologies, indigenous communities have managed to deal with diverse environmental conditions (MINAM, 2016c: 36). As it is the responsibility of women to take care of children, indigenous women are moreover presented as “intergenerational guardians and transmitters of traditional knowledge of their peoples” (MINAM, 2016c: 13). They have a great responsibility to pass on traditional knowledge and practises to the

next generation. However, their knowledge is often not valued and their possibility to contribute to community decision-making remains limited (MINAM, 2016c: 38). Consequently, the PAGCC problematises that women's wide knowledge about natural resources is not acknowledged and shared enough and that it is important to pay attention to gender-specific knowledge.

At this point, it is important to look at the proposed actions in order to understand if there is coherence with the language. Looking closer at the table presenting the results proposed in every of the eight priority areas shows how much the PAGCC pays attention to the identification and valorisation of ancestral and traditional knowledge.[13] In **four** of the eight priority areas (forests, water resources, food security, and health), several actions are presented so that ancestral and local knowledge and practices of men and women in this specific area contribute to adaptation, mitigation and/or other public policies.

Priority area	**Result**
Forests (MINAM, 2016c: 40)	Ancestral and local knowledge and practices of forest and wildlife management of women and men <u>contribute to the mitigation and adaptation to climate change</u>
Water (MINAM, 2016c: 52)	Ancestral and local knowledge and practices of women and men on the use and management of water resources <u>contribute to adaptation to climate change</u>
Food security (MINAM, 2016c: 80)	Local and ancestral knowledge and practices of men and women <u>contribute to food security in a context of climate change</u>
Health (MINAM, 2016c: 102)	Ancestral and local knowledge and practices of women and men are valued and incorporated in prevention and attention <u>to health problems associated with climate change</u>

Table 1: Ancestral knowledge in the PAGCC

Consequently, the actions suggested in these areas aim to make better use of traditional knowledge in natural resource management, food security, and health. Studying the actions closer reveals that there is an important difference to the language used in the introductory chapters: Unlike the language suggested, the actions are not necessarily targeted at (indigenous) women's knowledge only, but at men's and women's knowledge. The fact that actions include both men's

[13] A more detailed table with the proposed actions can be found in the Annex.

and women's knowledge gives a hint about the understanding of the term 'gender' which is presented as a concept that does not only target women but is relevant for both men and women.[14] This shows that there is a fine difference between the discourse in the text and the actions: The focus on women only versus the focus on women and men.[15] Moreover, the actions already give an idea of the argument behind the identification of women's (and men's) traditional knowledge: the benefit of such knowledge for adaptation and mitigation which is constantly repeated in these and other actions.

4.1.2. Increaing efficiency and effectiveness of adaptation and mitigation

Second, the PAGCC implies in both language and suggested actions, that incorporating women and their knowledge in actions for adaptation and particularly mitigation can make the latter more efficient and effective. By integrating a gender approach through the PAGCC in climate change policies, the plan "has the potential to improve efficiency and effectiveness of the country's response to the effects of climate change and the challenges of sustainable development" (MINAM, 2016c: 129). Thus, the plan implies by dealing with the 'problem' of a lacking gender approach, that the PAGCC can help to improve and strengthen existing efforts in adaptation and mitigation.

In the language used in the PAGCC, the advantages of integrating women and their knowledge for adaptation and mitigation are strongly emphasised. Without a focus on gender, the PAGCC points out that "gender gaps between men and women accentuate women's vulnerability towards climate change, limit their adaptive capacity […] and **do not contribute to the reduction of greenhouse gas emissions**" (MINAM, 2016c: 12, emphasis added). Since women are responsible for many tasks and decisions related to consumption in the household, they are considered important agents of change to reduce GHG emissions. This is for example the case for cooking, which is traditionally a female task and in most households is carried out through firewood and dung. In this context, the PAGCC points out "the important role that women play in the […] execution of policies for the use of cleaner technologies and less polluting technologies" (MINAM, 2016c: 60). Moreover, education is presented as very important so that the Peruvian population can "get to know, understand, reflect and participate proactively in actions related to the management of GHG emissions and adaptation to climate change" (MINAM, 2016c: 106). Increasing the level of education could sensitise the population and promote more environmentally

[14] This goes in line with the glossary that defines gender as "a concept that refers to socially constructed differences between women and men" (MINAM, 2016c: 4).
[15] The fact that international donors and development organisations were involved in the process of the PAGCC could lead to this ambiguity.

friendly habits and behaviours related to consumption. However, women and especially those from indigenous communities face problems accessing education which creates "an obstacle to participation and collaboration in the fight against climate change and decision-making related to measures for the management of GHG emissions and adaptation" (MINAM, 2016c: 109). Also, cultural barriers are pointed out that might prevent women from engaging more in technical careers like sustainable energy. Apart from education, also other significant barriers for women to participate in decision-making and sustainable management of resources are presented, such as limited access to land ownership or loans, or problems in public transport which creates disincentives for women to engage in economic or political activities. The plan therefore argues that it is necessary to include women in decision-making processes, and to promote education which will result in greater efficiency and efficacity in climate change efforts.

The PAGCC presents some actions related to the initially presented arguments, that women need to be involved more in the decision-making processes in natural resource management. They are targeted interventions specifically for women and can be found in two priority areas (forests and water resources) in the table below.

Priority area	**Result**	**Actions**
Forests (MINAM, 2016c: 40)	Increase of projects in forest management and wildlife that contribute to the reduction of GHG emissions and **in which women participate**.	• Implement forestry and wildlife projects that contribute to the reduction of GHG emissions with a gender focus • Develop innovation and elaboration projects of products to from forest management that contribute to the reduction of GHG emissions • Develop forest and wildlife management programs and projects that promote the access of women and men to bank credits of first level and seed capital to acquire innovative technologies • **Promote women's access to titles that enable the management of flora and fauna**
Water resources (MINAM, 2016c: 52)	Increase **the participation of women** in decision-making bodies related to integrated water	• Develop communication and dissemination strategies for the **greater participation and involvement of women** in IWRM

	resource management (IWRM)	• Implement affirmative action measures to promote access, **mainly of women**, in spaces for dialogue and decision making linked to IWRM

Table 2: Targeted actions for women in decision-making processes

As a result, this table shows that there is some coherence with the language and actions are planned to increase women's participation in water and forest management. The targeted actions are strongest in the management of water resources, while the focus in forestry seems mostly to be that projects contribute to the reductions of GHG emissions. This shows the underlying argument, that involving women in the management of natural resources is beneficial and can strengthen existing efforts in the reduction of GHG emissions. This argument was already present in the identification of traditional knowledge (in the former table) and is as well repeated in actions related to the sensitisation of the population and the promotion of environmentally friendly behaviour. Moreover, in the sector of energy, actions are proposed so that "women and men participate in capacity building and sensibilisation about the reduction of GHG emissions in the sector of energy and transport" (MINAM, 2016c: 64).

Consequently, the PAGCC follows the argument, that the lack of gender approach in policies is a 'problem', since involving women could make existing efforts more efficient and effective. The first and the second problem representation are interlinked: By first identifying and valorising gender-specific knowledge and practises, this knowledge can be applied by others and then be beneficial for adaptation processes. Moreover, by integrating women in decision-making processes, sensitising them, and making them aware of GHG emissions, they could make a contribution to adaptation and mitigation. Therefore, the 'problem' of a lacking gender approach implies, that not spreading gender-specific knowledge and not involving women in adaptation and mitigation efforts is an obstacle for successful climate change policies. This understanding of the 'problem' will be analysed more in depth in the following.

4.2. What presuppositions or assumptions underpin this representation of the 'problem'?

Moving on to the next question, I aim to make visible the underlying assumptions in the problem representations. As highlighted in the theoretical section, Kaijser and Kronsell (2014) emphasise that there can be underlying assumptions and norms in institutions which are reflected in its policies and actions impacting what norms become naturalised in society. Also, political ecologists show how actors through discourse can change and manipulate the understanding of a certain aspect of the environment, as they become taken for granted and intuitive in society and change

behaviour in relation the environment (Peet et al., 2011; Robbins, 2012). Moreover, gender systems, which are closely linked to the socio-cultural context and are institutionalised through the political system, determine what is expected from women and men in a society (UN, 2001). In relation to the WPR approach, Bacchi (2009) refers to the 'conceptual logics' which are assumptions that are taken for granted and need to be in place so that a problem representation makes sense. Policies depend on discourse, that is to say specific meaning systems. It is therefore the goal to demonstrate what meaning is created by the certain use of language and assumptions. Bacchi (2009) recommends identifying binaries, key concepts, and categories to carry out this task. The created meaning forms the basis for the arguments in the problem representation.

4.2.1. Assumptions about 'women' and 'gender roles'

It has been presented that the 'problem' of a lacking gender approach in the PAGCC implies, that gender-specific knowledge needs to be identified and valorised. While the language implied the importance of particularly (indigenous) women's knowledge, the actions suggested the collection of both women's and men's specific knowledge. It was explained that these gender-specific knowledge stems from gender roles and a gender division of labour which makes that women have a specific knowledge about the environment.

The discourse of women's 'wisdom' about nature relies on certain assumptions that go back to ideas of the women, environment, and development (WED) debates. It relies on the argument that women are mostly engaged in reproductive and subsistence-focused activities, which results in their close involvement with the environment and natural resources. Because of their tasks and responsibilities, women are dependent on natural resources and have distinct interests in conserving them, but moreover they have also created a deep environmental knowledge and expertise. This highlights their "special affinity with the environment, assigning them a key agency and stakeholder role in adapting and mitigating climate change" (Resurrección, 2013: 39). This image of 'wise' women however relies on a quite static conception of gender roles and division of labour with women as responsible for 'women's tasks' only. As a result, it portrays women as a homogenous group who operates in a parallel world to men (Leach, 2007; Resurrección, 2013).

Moreover, this dichotomy of male and female roles is a cultural perception that is deeply rooted in Peruvian and Latin American culture, based on the understanding of machismo and marianismo. Machismo describes the stereotypes of Latin male behaviour including among others aggression, self-confidence, sexism, and domination of women. In contrast stands the perception of marianismo, the stereotyped and idealised female behaviour: Women are supposed to be dependent on their husband, faithful, and dedicated to the needs of the household and the family

(Godden, 2013). These perceptions of masculinity and femininity demonstrate the patriarchal nature of societies in Peru and Latin America more generally, where the home "is considered the woman's natural place as a familial binding force as mother and wife" (Godden, 2013: 252). As a result, these stereotypes demonstrate men as the breadwinner who interact with the public, while women are responsible for domestic and unpaid tasks in the private sphere.

Consequently, the discourse about 'women' and 'environmental knowledge' in the PAGCC employs binaries of female/male and household/extra-household activities to create a certain meaning: the static and opposite nature of gender roles that are rooted in Peruvian culture. Emphasising gender-specific knowledge means, that there is an assumption about the opposite roles and division of labour between men and women. It is taken for granted, that women carry out 'female' tasks related reproduction and the household, while men are responsible for extra-household and productive activities (which contribute to environmental degradation). Thus, the existing gender system is reinforced with the Plan. Moreover, this can give insights into how gender and gender roles are understood. In this context, the PAGCC shows an ambivalent assumption: On the one hand, it clearly states that "societies assign to people different responsibilities, roles and personal and social realisation spaces according to their biological sex" (MINAM, 2016c: 4) and thereby defines gender as a socially constructed concept "that refers to socially constructed differences between women and men that are based in their biological differences" (MINAM, 2016c: 4). This means, that the PAGCC assumes that gender roles and differences are socially constructed. The actions to collect men's and women's environmental knowledge reflect this assumption, since it implies that both men and women hold valuable knowledge about the environment. Still, the generalisations about women's responsibilities and the discourse about women's 'wisdom' about the environment question this fact. It seems that there is sometimes a misconception of the term 'gender' as only a women's issue, particularly in the introductory chapters. A similar limited understanding about gender was found in a study from 2016 in Peru's local risk management and climate change adaptation networks. It highlighted that members of these networks often had the idea that 'gender' was equal to 'women' (Arana, 2016). In this context, the PAGCC gives the impression that being male, or female determines what knowledge, responsibility or interest a person holds about the environment and draws back on the stereotypes of machismo and marianismo.

4.2.2. Assumptions about 'women's contribution' to climate change adaptation and mitigation

Analysing the second problem representation revealed that the PAGCC implies the need to make women contribute to adaptation and mitigation. Through actions of sensitising them about GHG

emissions and using their knowledge could make climate change policies more efficient and effective.

This argument follows the idea of environmental citizenship. The latter is defined as a normative green political theory about how citizens should conduct a more sustainable lifestyle and living standard. The idea is that citizens need to take action and change their behaviour so that their environmental impact (GHG emissions through consumption, transport, energy etc.) is reduced. This means there is an emphasis on the responsibility of each individual to conduct a more sustainable lifestyle and living standard (Wolf et al., 2009).[16] Environmental citizenship is closely related to decisions in the private sphere, particularly with questions of consumption. With the rising awareness of the disastrous effects of climate change, there has been a discourse of consumers "as the positive agents of change" (Barr et al., 2011: 1224) or "agents of power" (Barr et al., 2011: 1225) who contribute to adaptation and mitigation by a change of (consumption) behaviour. Discourses about climate change in this context aim to make citizens feel 'empowered' and encourage them to act as agents for positive change (Jamieson, 2015). As a result, this creates a sense of responsibility in every citizen to act environmentally friendly. However, questions of living standards and lifestyle of a person are closely connected to the place and its economic development which is why environmental citizenship in many cases has been used widely in the global North (Wolf et al., 2009).

Nevertheless, discourses of responsibility and contribution to mitigation and adaptation are gaining prominence in Latin America as well. Indeed, environmental issues have been central to public debates and protests in Latin America; not at least because of the regions' large exploitation of natural resources and agricultural products. There are increasing debates that "rethink individual and collective engagement with ecological challenges" (Latta and Wittman, 2012: 2) and that deal with both questions of environmental rights and obligations. Yet, it is important to be aware of the different context in Latin America, where debates about nature are not necessarily only related to consumption, but often demonstrate "struggles for recognition and inclusion in the political collective with simultaneous struggles for economic and ecological survival" (Latta and Wittman, 2012: 5). In relation to Peru, Baldwin & Metzler (2012) argue that discourse about environmental citizenship can go even further. As climate change has been increasingly defined as a threat to the country, mitigation through the reduction of GHG is not only an economic question, but also one of security. Therefore, environmental citizenship is an important agent in

[16] There are however different views on how to integrate ecological and environmental concerns into the notion of 'citizenship', with a contrast between emphasizing rights or obligations/responsibilities (Latta and Wittman, 2012).

the strive for Peruvian climate security which encompasses limiting GHG emissions, mostly through forest conservation. Consequently, the discourse of the 'ecological citizen' in Peru relies on the assumption of "new responsibilities related to the management of forest carbon as a way to allay uncertain risks of climate change" (Baldwin and Meltzer, 2012: 32).

As a result, the discourse in the PAGCC about increased 'efficiency' and 'effectiveness' in climate change related efforts uses binaries like polluting/sustainable and human/nature. Thereby, it gives a responsibility to citizens (particularly women) in contributing to mitigation efforts. First, the PAGCC presents women as 'powerful' consumers which (due to their gender roles) make important decisions in the household and in transportation. By 'educating' them and making them aware of the impact of their decisions, they are encouraged to become 'good' citizens who have a responsibility to reduce GHG emissions by changing their behaviour. Second, the plan also creates the assumption that women currently are not fulfilling their full potential as ecological citizens. By highlighting that gender gaps limit the possibility of women to contribute to the reduction of GHG emissions (MINAM, 2016c: 12) and to participate in (sustainable) forest management, it implies that women could do more for environmental change. This aspect is moreover related to the discourse about women's 'wisdom' about the environment which means that "[g]ender is thus understood as a critical variable in shaping processes of ecological change, viable livelihoods and the prospects for sustainable development" (Resurrección, 2013: 34). Therefore, a central assumption in the PAGCC is the responsibility of women with regards to adaptation and particularly mitigation efforts relying on the ideas of environmental citizenship.

4.3. How has this representation of the 'problem' come about?

Moving to question 3, I aim to analyse what conditions allowed the identified 'problem' and its problem representations to take shape and to dominate against competing 'problems'. Certain decisions might have been taken so that a specific issue was chosen and considered 'problematic'. This analysis allows insight in power relations that made it possible that this 'problem' was identified and targeted in policies. Therefore, looking back into the history of Peruvian climate change policies and gender policies can help to understand how the 'problem' of a lacking gender approach has come about. In this context, an overview of the main historic decisions before the adoption of the PAGCC is useful.

Year	Action/event	Comments
2005	Plan for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men 2006-2010 (MIMP, 2005)	No focus on climate change, natural resources, and environment
2010	Second National Communication of Peru to the UNFCCC about Climate Change (MINAM, 2010a)	No focus on gender
	Plan for Adaptation and Mitigation towards Climate Change (MINAM, 2010b)	No focus on gender
2011	Ollanta Humala forms new government	Change of (some) political priorities
2012	Renaming of the Ministry of Women and Social Development to Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations	Change of responsibilities
	PLANIG: National Plan for Gender Equality 2012-2017 (MIMP, 2012)	**Connects gender and climate change, natural resources and environment**
Dec 2014	COP 20 in Lima with a Workshop on Gender and Climate Change	Announcement to develop a Gender and Climate Change Plan
2015	ENCC: National Strategy on Climate Change (MINAM, 2015)	**Mentions gender**, but does not mainstream
2016	Third National Communication of Peru to the UNFCCC about Climate Change (MINAM, 2016a)	**Mentions gender**, but does not mainstream
	PAGCC: Action Plan for Gender and Climate Change (MINAM, 2016c)	**Mainstreams** gender

Table 3: Overview of main historic actions and events before the PAGCC

Looking back at historic actions and events, it becomes clear that the problematisation of a lacking gender approach in Peruvian climate change policies has not been present until 2012. Before, two main climate change documents, the Second National Communication of Peru and the Plan for Adaptation and Mitigation were published in 2010, of which none mentioned a problematic of gender in relation to climate change. Also, the Plan for Equal Opportunities between Women and Men dating from 2005 did not make any reference in this context.

It was only under the government of Ollanta Humala after 2011 that the 'problem' of a lacking gender approach gained visibility. During the election campaign, Humala had presented social inclusion as one of his main priorities which constituted a change of discourse in Peruvian social policies (Vela et al., 2014). Once he was in power, this led to changes in the structure of the ministries: The former Ministry of Women and Social Development received its current name, Ministry of Women and Vulnerable Populations, and at the same time the Ministry of Development and Social Inclusion was created (CEPAL, 2013). But this also meant that the MIMP received further competences so that it "maintains the leadership in national and sectorial policies on women and […] the promotion and strengthening of gender mainstreaming in public polices" (MIMP, 2012: 11). After this, the National Plan for Gender Equality from 2012, was the first policy to make the connection between women and climate change, natural resources, and the environment. Setting up the objective to valorise the contribution of women in the sustainable management of natural resources, the PLANIG aims, amongst others, to increase the number of women who receive information and capacitation "to face the effects of climate change" (MIMP, 2012: 69). It suggests for example to encourage rural women to use clean technologies in domestic combustion. Consequently, the document already makes a slight reference to the problem representation of the PAGCC for the first time: That targeting women can contribute to a more sustainable use of natural resources and thereby increase mitigation efforts (for instance lower emission of GHG through cleaner technologies). Thereafter, the discourse on gender and climate change gained more and more attention. The twentieth COP in Lima was one of the first international climate change conferences carrying out workshops on gender and climate change leading to a decision that affirmed commitment to strengthen gender-sensitive climate change policies (UNFCCC, 2018a). It was also at this conference, that the Peruvian government committed to develop a plan on gender and climate change. The following ENCC mentions now for the first time gender in a climate change policy; however without implementing a gender approach coherently. A similar approach can be observed in the Third Communication to the UNFCCC in 2016. It is in this context that the PAGCC is presented in 2016 presenting a 'solution' to the 'problem' of a gender approach in Peruvian climate change policies.

Thus, I argue that the change of government has led to a change in (some) political priorities and power relations which led to the increasing focus on gender and climate change. Although Humala did not comply with many his mostly left-wing promises from the campaign period and later carried out policies that were similar to his neoliberal and conservative predecessors (Murillo Ramírez, 2012), some of his policies changed existing power structures. Particularly the strengthened role of the MIMP can be considered relevant for problematising the 'lack of a gender approach' in

climate change policies. As it was highlighted in the theoretical section, gender mainstreaming is a difficult process that often involves resistance from other actors. Having the exclusive competence of mainstreaming gender in public policies after 2012, the MIMP was now in a better position to push for a further integration of gender concerns. At the same time, the PLANIG already provided a strategy for first actions in this regard and a legitimisation to develop further gender-sensitive policies in relation to sustainable resource management. Therefore, the PAGCC can be considered an evolution of the strengthened role of the MIMP under president Humala and the National Plan for Gender Equality from 2012, which already presents the idea that women can contribute (more) to mitigation efforts.

4.4. What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the 'problem' be thought about differently?

Asking question 4 goes further to a more critical analysis in order to find out how the problem representations limit the way the problem is understood. As it is necessary to simplify complex issues to problematise them, certain simplifications, for example in form of binaries as identified in question 2, can give a distorted and misrepresented picture. The idea is thus to make issues that are silenced in the PAGCC visible, and to ask what fails to be problematised.

4.4.1. Power relations: where do gender inequalities come from?

On the one hand, the PAGCC relies on women's knowledge of the environment based on assumptions of gender roles. What is left unquestioned behind this assumption is to ask what creates this knowledge or these gender roles and consequently limits the understanding of gender roles as something static and 'natural'. However, this ignores the power relations that form these specific gender roles. As Leach (2007) points out: "[I]f women in any particular setting appeared to be closely involved with natural resources or ecological processes, […] [it] might be explicable in terms of unequal power relations, or lack of access to alternatives" (Leach, 2007). A discourse that does not take into account this fact simplifies women a homogenous group who is responsible for certain tasks and neglects (power) relationships with other actors. Their environmental interests and opportunities might be constrained by relations of tenure and property, or control over labour, resources, and decisions. Therefore, specific environmental knowledge might be the result of having a position of subordination and obligation (Leach, 2007; Resurrección, 2013). So while it can be indeed helpful to identify for example local knowledge of indigenous groups or women as alternative perspectives to personal health as earlier mentioned, this should not lead to a generalisation about women's roles and knowledge with relation to the environment and is

always dependent on an individual's economic resources, division of labour, and place (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014).

In fact, the PAGCC does mention inequalities between men and women in many areas. It presents these inequalities to argue for the increased vulnerability of women towards climate change. Therefore, in the areas of forests and water, one aspect of power, the participation in decision-making is encouraged. However, the root causes of these inequalities are not analysed in detail, for example questioning why women have socially constructed gender roles, such as being responsible for the household. This would involve a profound analysis of power relations that are deeply interwoven in the socio-cultural fabric of Peru. That a subordinate position of women might be a reason why women's possibilities are often limited is shown indirectly in the PAGCC in a quote of a women from a civil society organisation, stating that "no professor of Agricultural Engineering believed in us, but with our work […] now more and more communities have water" (MINAM, 2016c: 51). This shows that even though involving women in decision-making in the management of forest and water resources might be a first step, it might not necessarily lead to greater equality, since their voice might be unvalued or overheard. Studies from forest management in India and Sweden for instance prove this point (Arora-Jonsson, 2011) which is why gender mainstreaming needs to assess if more participation actually leads to an empowered position for women in society and to changing stereotypes on gender roles (Arana, 2016). However, such assessment as well as targeting cultural norms and forms of discrimination are neither part of the language nor the actions in the PAGCC.

4.4.2. Gender relations: power struggles between women and men

Closely related to power relations is another issue; the discourse in the PAGCC on women's vulnerability and knowledge neglects the fact that gender relates to both women and men. The proposed actions recognise this fact targeting both men and women, but the language and also the photos from the participatory workshop to develop the PAGCC give the idea that gender is a women's issue only. Yet, men are very important for achieving equal power relations, because unless they change their attitudes and behaviours, it is not possible to achieve gender equality. Furthermore, gender systems can also discriminate against men and create negative contexts for them (UN, 2001). Therefore, it would be important to consider power relations in the PAGCC and 'de-womanise' the ideas of gender and climate change.

4.4.3. Intersecting inequalities: indigenous populations

Another issue that relates to power relations is the concept of intersectionality. As presented in the theoretical section, individuals can perceive several intersecting forms of inequalities that are

shaped by his or her position in society. Policies dealing with issues of equality should therefore consider the context of intersecting inequalities to avoid simplifications and ill-conceived interventions (Squires, 2013).

With regards to intersectionality, the PAGCC highlights the need for an intercultural approach in the introductory chapter. It recognises "the cultural differences without discriminating or excluding […] between the distinct ethnic-cultural groups" and concludes that it is the state's responsibility to incorporate their different conceptions "in the provision of [public] services, as well as adapting them to their socio-cultural particularities" (MINAM, 2016c: 26). Yet, the PAGCC does not promote any actions to challenge disadvantaging power relations for indigenous persons. It is mentioned that indigenous people are often living in "conditions of extreme poverty" (MINAM, 2016c: 16) and that "children who do not participate in the school system are mostly indigenous" (MINAM, 2016c: 103). Among indigenous populations, gender gaps are bigger than the average, but this only leads to the conclusion that indigenous, and particularly indigenous women are very vulnerable towards climate change while also having important knowledge about the environement. In this context, the PAGCC again fails to question deeper rooted discrimination against indigenous populations in Peru. In contrast, it even states that

> *"Amazonian departments in Peru experience poverty in a particular way* ***due to the presence of a significant number of indigenous populations*** *and prominence of some extractive activities that are performed outside the law […]. In that scenario, inequalities between women and men are exacerbated* ***because many indigenous women do not speak Spanish, have limited access to education and live in rural areas far away of the city where there are public services available****"* (MINAM, 2016c: 39, emphasis added).

As a result, the apparently significant number indigenous populations are not only presented as responsible for the persistence of poverty in the Amazonas; they are also blamed for not speaking Spanish, not accessing education and living in remote areas. It is considered the norm for instance, that individuals need to speak Spanish; at the same time, policies such as the PAGCC are not available in indigenous languages which contradicts the initial statement of recognising the cultural diversity of different ethnicities in Peru. In this context, the PAGCC makes visible, how deeply rooted discriminations against indigenous people are present in political discourse and how policies still fail to challenge those cultural norms.

4.4.4. Responsibility for GHG emissions

Promoting environmental citizenship has become an important task of the MINAM and constitutes a central underlying assumption behind the PAGCC. On its website, the MINAM states that "if citizens do not change their way of life, sustainable development will not be more than a project. In order for it to become a reality, the population must assume an active role and share obligations

with the state and the private sector" (MINAM, 2018c, para. 1). Consequently, the idea of environmental citizenship in Peru also follows the idea that citizens (or in the case of the PAGCC mostly women) need to conduct a more sustainable lifestyle and amongst others need to take responsibility for the GHG emissions caused by their behaviour. Having a look at Peru's overall GHG emissions can give a better insight in this argument.

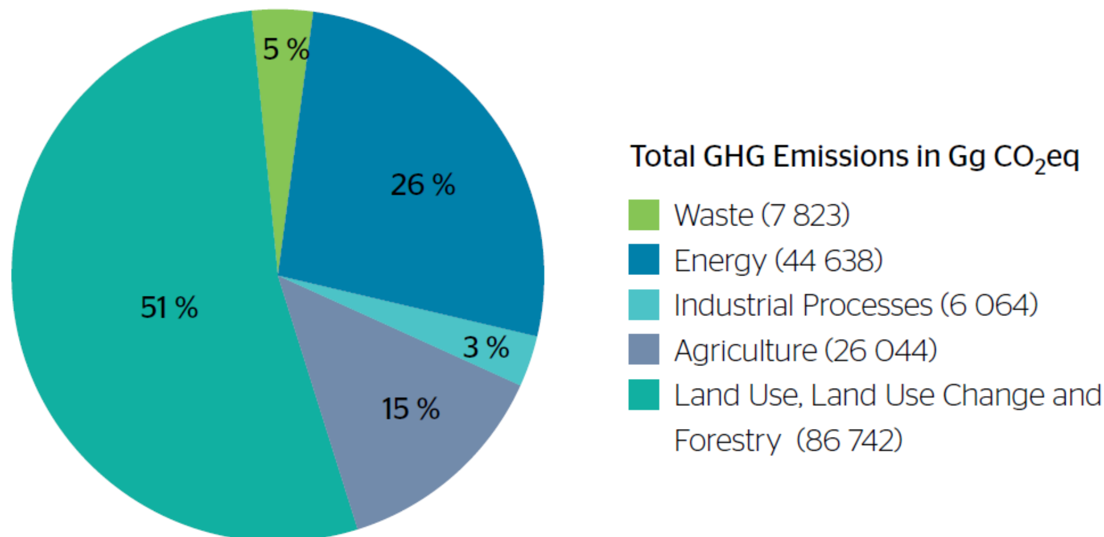

Figure 2: Total GHG Emissions per sector in Peru in 2012 (MINAM, 2016a: 29)

Looking at statistics from 2012 shows, that more than half of Peru's GHG emissions stems from land use, land use change and forestry. Within this category, forest and pasture conversion is the main source for GHG emissions next to changes in forest biomass. Thereafter the sector of energy and agriculture are the second and third most emitting categories (MINAM, 2016a). Indeed, these statistics show that the change of land use, or more particularly deforestation is a very problematic issue that leads to an enormous amount of GHG emissions. In governmental documents, small-scale and migratory agriculture has continually been presented as one of the main drivers for deforestation (Ravikumar et al., 2017). The PAGCC presents several direct and indirect causes, but also highlights in this regard that one of the main causes "has its origin in the pressure generated by migration and associated agricultural activity" (MINAM, 2016c: 32). However, this narrative has been criticised, since it relies on data that is vague and outdated. Moreover, certain small-scale agriculture that is carried out in the Amazon is based on shifting-cultivation which is a form of forest use that does not necessarily lead to degradation (Ravikumar et al., 2017). Other studies suggest that further factors, such as large-scale industrial plantations (palm oil, cacao), cattle pasture, a growing gold mining industry, and construction of roads could be growing drivers

of deforestation (Finer and Novoa, 2017). Moreover, it has been estimated that regions that are covered by oil and gas concessions in the Peruvian Amazon have increased enormously from 7.1 in 2003 to almost 50 percent of the entire region in 2010. This could lead to an exploration boom of hydrocarbon activities further into the so-far remote and intact Amazon in the future (Finer and Orta-Martínez, 2010).

As a result, this analysis shows another silence of the PAGCC: The fact that much of Peru's GHG emissions do not necessarily stem from citizen's consumption or lifestyle. Energy and agriculture do constitute a significant proportion, to which both men and women contribute with their behaviour. Thus, in this aspect stronger environmental citizenship among women could contribute to lower emissions. However, change of land use in form of deforestation is the major source of GHG emissions. In this context, it is misleading to encourage environmental citizenship, since other actors, such as national or international companies as well as the state might be behind processes like agricultural plantations, mining, or road construction. Consequently, the PAGCC ignores some of the main responsible actors behind deforestation and GHG emissions, while implying that women should take more responsibility by conducting a more sustainable lifestyle.

4.5. What effects are produced by this representation of the 'problem'?

The following question aims to assess policies in terms of what effects they produce for different social groups. It follows the assumption that producing a particular problem can help certain actors to gain control over a social group or the environment (Paulson, 2005). Therefore, certain problem representations can create difficulties for some parts of society in contrast to others who are not impacted or benefit.

4.5.1. Effects on women: Static power relations and instrumentalist approaches

The PAGCC accepts existing power relations between men and women. It states gender inequalities but does not challenge the power relations that lie behind them by clearly attributing reproductive tasks and household decisions to women. Apart from one short reference that certain household related capacities "should also be promoted among men, in an effort to transform traditional gender relations and incentivise their participation in caring responsibilities" (MINAM, 2016c: 77), the PAGCC never intends to challenge gender discriminatory norms and root causes of vulnerability to climate change, which are power relations. As a result, in many ways it promotes the status quo.

As earlier explained, increasing the number of women in decision-making bodies does not necessarily lead to an empowerment of women, since the cultural attitudes towards them would

probably stay the same.[17] This discussion about women's leadership and women's potential for sustainable development has become part of global debates on climate change. However, by ignoring power relations and seeing women as a homogenous group, "this approach risks regarding women in the global South as mere resources" (Tacoli et al., 2014: 1). For instance, involving women in projects because of their environmental knowledge can create additional responsibilities for them at the community level. These are added to already existing tasks at the household level which are likely to be intensified by environmental change. The risk is giving "women responsibility for 'saving the environment' without addressing [if they have] […] the resources and capacity to do so" (Leach, 2007: 72). As a result, such strategies may change women's role in a way that their responsibilities are expanded to more tasks, but without changing gender relations. Therefore, it is similarly important to 'de-womanise' the idea of gender (Arana, 2016) so that men change their attitudes an roles, so that women actually have the capacity to get involved in decision-making bodies (Resurrección, 2013). Moreover, the focus on women as potential agents for saving the environment changes the discourse about gender equality in environmental issues from a rights-based approach to an instrumentalist approach (Tacoli et al., 2014).Consequently, certain strategies that follow this approach can change the paradigm behind gender equality policies and have negative effects on women through increasing responsibilities without challenging power relations between men and women.

This means that the PAGCC could also have such effects, since it clearly states women's potential for more sustainable environmental management but accepts static gender relations. The promotion of women in the management of forests and water resources could risk giving additional responsibilities to women without challenging for instance men's roles and attitudes towards household tasks. Moreover, for instance the PAGCC mentions that "access to efficient and modern energy promotes gender equality and empowers rural women, because it allows them to devote more time to other activities, for example educational and productive" (MINAM, 2016c: 62). Yet, if traditional gender roles and power relations between men and women are not challenged, such projects would not necessarily empower women, since they would be expected to dedicate their 'new free time' to reproductive activities, such as taking care of children or the elderly for example. Furthermore, the paradigm behind the PAGCC shows, that there is no focus on gender equality with a rights-based approach. The plan emphasises the argument that it is necessary to engage women in activities that contribute to mitigation and adaptation, since they are "key agents

[17] In this context, Arana (2016) argues that the presence of empowered women in decision-making indeed can have positive effects for more gender quality in the long-term because it slowly can help to increase the entities' gender awareness.

of change for reducing GHG emission” (MINAM, 2016c: 13). Gender equality as a right for women is in contrast barely mentioned.

4.5.2. Effects on indigenous populations

In the PAGCC, indigenous populations are pictured as poor, less educated citizens living in remote areas. This creates an image of a ‘second class’ citizen who is blamed for its own misery. The only ‘positive’ attribute that is mentioned next to them is their great environmental knowledge. The PAGCC considers that “many women are intergenerational guardians and transmitters of traditional knowledge […] which is why they play a key role for the adaptation to climate change” (MINAM, 2016c: 13). Moreover, as climate change increasingly threatens Peru, the need for environmental citizenship and particularly forest conservation becomes urgent. In the context of programs such as Reducing emissions from deforestation and forest degradation (REDD), which aim to reward countries for conserving forests,[18] indigenous populations have a new important role: “Through REDD, indigenous peoples […] are reconfigured as environmental citizens, responsible for managing new risks against the threat of climate change through forest conservation and the circulation of carbon” (Baldwin and Meltzer, 2012: 32). Environmental citizenship of indigenous people includes thus the tasks to maintain and monitor the preserved forest which brings financial benefits to the country.

Therefore, indigenous people (or women) are similarly considered resources in the discourse of the PAGCC to face the negative effects of climate change following the instrumentalist approach that was just introduced. It has been criticised that environmental citizenship with a focus on responsibilities risks depoliticising ecological questions, because it emphasises individual behavioural change and not political debate or collective struggle (Latta and Wittman, 2012). Since “official discourse on indigenous rights is being harnessed to carbon offsetting and other ‘conservation’ projects” (Baldwin and Meltzer, 2012: 34), this means that there is a lacking focus on the rights of access, usage and territorial rights of indigenous populations. The latter have for a long time struggled to gain rights over their territories, also in the context of historical conservation projects, such as national parks (Baldwin and Meltzer, 2012). Moreover, the environmental citizenship among indigenous is based on assumptions “about the immanent capacity and moral authority of ‘the Indian’ to conserve nature” (Baldwin and Meltzer, 2012: 35) with the consequence that stereotypes about indigenous people might be reinforced and that the responsibility of ‘saving’ the Amazon forest might be put on their shoulder. Should they not want

[18] REDD is a climate mitigation mechanism developed by Parties to the UNFCCC which gives a financial value to carbon that is stored in forests, so that countries in the global South have an incentive to reduce GHG emissions from deforestation and keep forests standing.

to participate in programmes such as REDD, challenge their instrumentalization and claim actual rights regarding their territory, this could lead to presenting indigenous as 'bad citizens', making them responsible for deforestation, and repressive actions from the side of the state as it has happened in the past. As a result, the PAGCC and other programmes targeted at indigenous populations might not necessarily improve their social position in society and bring greater equality, since the motivation to include them is not based on rights, but on responsibilities.

4.6. How/where has this representation of the 'problem' been produced, disseminated and defended? How has it been (or could it be) questioned, disrupted and replaced?

The goal of the last question is to pay attention to the means through which a problem representation has become dominant achieved legitimacy. Also, it is questioned how to challenge certain problem representations.

4.6.1. Women as agents of positive environmental actions: the origins

With regards to the PAGCC, it is therefore necessary to analyse, where and how the problem representation of women's knowledge and women's contribution to climate change policies have been produced and disseminated. The way women are presented and instrumentalised in this Peruvian policy is however nothing new in the international context. It has been highlighted by several authors, that gender has been presented in a very generalised way (in terms of women only) when included in national and international climate change policies. Tacoli et al. (2014) emphasise that there has been a focus on the global dimension of environmental problems, which has led to an essentialist view of women, since it shifted the focus from the local context of gender relations "where their complexity, diversity, and interrelation with environmental change can be more adequately understood and addressed" (Tacoli et al., 2014: 2). Moreover, as there has been a lack of gender focus in international climate change negotiations, Resurrección (2013) argues that it was easier for feminist stakeholder to 'lobby' for a simplified WED discourse on women's role, natural resource use and knowledge in order to assign them key agency in adaptation and mitigation than a more complex focus on gender and power. The qualities of women's close ties with environmental resources provided an 'entry point' in the prevailing technical discourse about climate change. Thus, former WED's positions of women's closeness with nature have been taken up again in international documents and "the persistence of women– environment linkages today, quite simply, is the inertia of its adoption of past programmes" (Resurrección, 2013: 40).

Clearly, such generalising discourses about women and the environment, are spread at conferences, such as COP, or through documents of international organisations, such as the

UNFCCC, and would ultimately also influence the Peruvian government in their development of their Action Plan. Relying on a discourse of women as agents of positive environment action is "far less cumbersome for institutions […] than to frame policy that addresses the complex drivers of gendered vulnerabilities and relations of power" (Resurrección, 2013: 37). Furthermore, carrying out a different approach in the PAGCC, that would for instance question power relations, would mean questioning the status quo. Recognising that there are socially created gender differences and discrimination would mean that it is necessary to fight these attitudes that are deeply rooted in sociocultural norms. Yet, this constitutes a highly complex process and is likely to face much resistance (Schipper and Langston, 2014). Therefore, the discourse that was chosen in the PAGCC presented a more comfortable solution for the Peruvian government.

4.6.2. Searching for alternatives to the prevailing discourse

The discourse about women as positive agents of environmental actions is not the only possibility to integrate a gender approach in climate change policies, as it was conducted in the PAGCC. A different strategy could be the focus on power relations which are essential for understanding gender inequalities. For instance, Tacoli et al. (2014) suggest that "addressing gender has to be coupled with stronger commitment to resources to address the skewed gender relations, rights, power and equity" (Tacoli et al., 2014: 4). They highlight the need to study changing power relations and structural inequalities in society together with supporting voice and representation in decision-making. Moreover, there is a pledge to analyse power relations in order to increase the intersectional understanding of gender. Power relations have to be understood to make assumptions about vulnerability, since "different power relations are privileged in different situations and class, gender, ethnicity or nationality assume importance depending on the context". Only the fact that somebody is female should not lead to a generalisation about the person's vulnerability towards climate change. Also, Resurrección (2013) proposes to address the drivers of vulnerability (regarding gender, class, ethnicity etc.) so that practises are made visible which create the marginalisation of certain parts of society "instead of designing programmes that are 'one size fits all'" (Resurrección, 2013: 41). Consequently, focusing on power relations between men and women in policies could be an alternative strategy and lead to greater gender equality, if implemented correctly.

5. Implementation of the Peruvian Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change

The analysis of the PAGCC with the help of the WPR approach has highlighted some controversial aspects regarding this policy's underlying assumptions, silences, and effects. While it is important to study a policy in detail, Bacchi (2009) also highlights that its accompanying methods of implementation can provide further insight in the problem representations. Moreover, it has been emphasised that the implementation of gender mainstreaming, particularly at the local level, often faces many challenges and fails to lead to substantial change with regards to gender equality (Alston, 2014). Studying the implementation of the PAGCC could give further insights into how problem representations translate into practise and actually impact men's and women's interaction with the environment in Peru.

5.1. Barriers for the implementation process

The PAGCC proposes actions in eight priority areas (forests, water resources, food security, energy, solid waste, education, health, and disaster and risk management) and suggests that the actions in each area will be implemented by the responsible sector. It states also that the cooperation with entities who are responsible for Regional Climate Change Strategies at territorial level is key (MINAM, 2016c: 23). Regarding financial aspects, the plan does not allocate any budget, but requires each sector to foresee a part of the annual budget for the implementation of the PAGCC (MINAM, 2016c: 25). However, until today, the PAGCC has not been put in practice.

Several reasons could explain this fact: First, as different entities are responsible for carrying out the actions in the plan, this requires cooperation, both between sectors and the national, regional, and local levels of the state. In this context, Alston (2014) points out that a lack of political will at state or local level can be a barrier for implementation that needs to be addressed, so that gender mainstreaming can be successful. In Peru, the implementation is stalled since the different sectors in charge have not yet defined the plan for the implementation process. This process requires that actors from different sectors and government levels have the will to cooperate on this issue. Yet, the PAGCC was developed at national level and its content might not constitute a priority at regional or local level (Arana, 2017). In addition, there has been a change in the political landscape in Peru, which impacts the setting of priorities at national level. The PAGCC was developed under President Humala and only approved few days before the end of his mandate in July 2017, so it might be the case that the PAGCC did not necessarily constitute a priority under the following presidents Kuczynski and Vizcarra who, come from a different party than Humala. Thus, a lack of political will and changing priorities at national and local level might hinder the implementation.

Second, carrying out gender mainstreaming is a demanding process, requiring that all actors in the process adopt a gender perspective. In practice however, these actors might have little experience and knowledge about gender and how to include a gender approach, constituting another barrier for implementation (Alston, 2014; Hafner-Burton and Pollack, 2002). Mainstreaming gender is a relatively new responsibility for Peruvian government officials, and research in the past has shown that there is lack of clarity who is responsible for addressing gender issues in climate change relevant policies (Arana, 2016). Moreover, a change of government also often involves changes in public servants leading to a loss of staff who had already worked on the development of the PAGCC and thus gained important competences in gender and climate change policies (Arana, 2017). Missing effective strategies for mainstreaming gender in mitigation and adaptation efforts and a lack of gender-trained staff might therefore be another reason for the difficulties to implement the PAGCC.

Third, the specificity of a policy impacts how well it will be implemented. For instance, providing budgetary outlays in the policy makes it more specific with regards to which and how many resources will be used, so that it is actually more likely that the proposed actions will be carried out (Blofield and Haas, 2013). As earlier mentioned, the PAGCC does not have a specific budget for its implementation but is dependent on budget allocations to its actions in each sector. Therefore, lacking political will could for instance also lead to a lacking budget to carry out the plan.

5.2. Effects on policy-making

Although the PAGCC is not officially being implemented yet, it has nevertheless led to some developments within the Peruvian climate change policies. Gender is now present in important policies and laws regarding climate change and cooperation between the different sectors that implement these policies is increased.

Since the approval of the PAGCC in July 2016, a multisectoral working group for implementing the National Determined Contributions[19] (NDC) was created. It consists of 13 ministries who meet monthly to coordinate adaptation and mitigation with a cross-cutting approach in addition to their sectoral work in these areas. Dialogue and exchange with different entities of the state, the private sector, and civil society is also carried out. The working group recognised gender as an important cross-cutting issue and has discussed, among others, the process of implementing the PAGCC;

[19] NDCs are the efforts by a country to reduce national emissions and adapt to the impacts of climate change. The Paris Agreement requires each Party to prepare, communicate and maintain such NDCs about their post-2020 climate actions (UNFCCC, 2018c).

however, without presenting further results. They are planning to carry out further meetings with each sector to discuss how to implement the PAGCC (MINAM, 2017). Recently, it has been underlined that the MINAM and the MIMP continue to promote a gender approach in Peru's adaptation and mitigation measures under the NDCs (MINAM, 2018b); yet, without specifying the details.

Furthermore, a Framework Law on Climate Change has been adopted in April 2018 which includes an approach to "guarantee equality between men and women" (Government of Peru, 2018: art. 3.9). It aims to establish the general provisions for the management of adaptation and mitigation policies to climate change, in order to reduce the vulnerability of the country to climate change, take advantage of the opportunities of low carbon growth and fulfil international commitments (MINAM, 2018a). While the law makes reference to the UNFCCC and national frameworks such as the ENCC, it does not mention the PAGCC. With regards to gender, it affirms the principle of equality and participation in decision-making processes "considering an intercultural and gender approach" (Government of Peru, 2018: art. 2.6). Apart from that there are several references to women only, highlighting their human rights, and their vulnerability towards climate change next to indigenous populations.

Consequently, the PAGCC has faced significant difficulties regarding its implementation which still is not taking place yet. These may be related to a lack of political will in the different sectors and levels of government, lacking knowledge and strategies for gender mainstreaming, as well as a lacking own budget allocation. At the same time, awareness for gender in climate change policies in general has increased. The different ministries which are responsible for adaptation and mitigation to climate change, including the MIMP, have increased cooperation and have confirmed their commitment to incorporate a gender approach in the implementation of the NDCs. Also, a recent law mentions gender equality as guiding principle, promoting the participation of women and indigenous populations. While the latter shows some similarities with the generalising language about women and their vulnerability towards climate change, these developments consist nevertheless advancements in rendering public authorities more sensitive for the complex relation between gender and climate change.

6. Conclusion

The PAGCC is a policy that clearly recognises the need for gender-inclusive action in relation to climate change. It demonstrates various gender inequalities and gender roles in Peru and comes to the conclusion that those lead to a stronger vulnerability of women towards climate change. Problematising the lack of a gender approach in existing climate change policies, it is presented as a 'solution' in this situation. In other words, the PAGCC is supposed to guide further action at the sectorial and regional level and to systematically mainstream a gender approach in Peruvian climate change policies.

Throughout the document, gender is presented in an ambiguous way. On the one hand, gender is clearly defined as "socially constructed differences between women and men" (MINAM, 2016c: 4) and in line with this, many actions are proposed that target both men and women. On the other hand, however, there is a predominant discourse about only women, which stands in contrast to the previous definition of gender. Women are presented in a simplified way as very knowledgeable about the environment and as agents of change for more efficient and effective mitigation and adaptation policies. This reveals two ideas that are taken for granted in the PAGCC: First, the traditional gender roles in Peru clearly attribute reproductive tasks to women relying on the concepts of machismo/marianismo. Second, women are given responsibility to contribute to climate change policies through environmental citizenship and are encouraged to make more efforts for a sustainable lifestyle. Thus, in most parts of the PAGCC, a simplified discourse about women and the environment is used.

This narrative is similar to the argumentation made by some international organisations and in other national policies, for instance in Nicaragua (Arora-Jonsson, 2011; Gonda, 2017). With such a simplified discourse about women, it was easier for feminist stakeholders to push for a focus on gender in international climate change negotiations (Resurrección, 2013). Also in Peru, the inclusion of gender concerns is a relatively new phenomenon. Since gender mainstreaming is a complicated process that can create resistance (Schipper and Langston, 2014), a simplified discourse about women as powerful agents of change for more sustainable environmental management could have been the easiest way to address gender in Peruvian climate change policies.

However, such an approach comes with certain limitations. The generalising discourse does not intend to challenge gender discriminatory norms and root causes of vulnerability to climate change, which are power relations. In other words, the reasons for gender inequalities and gender roles are not questioned. This means that while the PAGCC could increase participation of women

in natural resource management, it would not necessarily empower these women, as cultural perceptions might give them a subordinate position to men in such activities. The limited understanding of 'gender' as a topic that concerns women only reinforces this situation and leaves men's attitudes and behaviours unchanged. Therefore, the PAGCC is in many parts sensitive to gender differences, but does not aim to transform gender relations for more equality between men and women. As a result, in many ways it promotes the status quo and reproduces existing norms in Peruvian society.

Moreover, the PAGCC instrumentalises women as agents for more sustainable development by emphasising women's environmental knowledge and encouraging environmental citizenship. Yet, this approach risks giving additional responsibilities to women for 'saving the environment' without making sure that they are actually empowered in their new tasks. As men's roles and attitudes towards for instance household tasks are not questioned, women would receive additional new tasks without being relieved in their traditional role (Leach, 2007; Tacoli et al., 2014). Gender relations are accepted as static. As a consequence, actions under the PAGCC could increase women's workload in Peru and use them as resources for more sustainable development without necessarily empowering them.

With regards to intersections of gender with other vulnerable groups to climate change, the analysis focused on ethnicity. Although the PAGCC pretends to pursue an intercultural approach recognising the cultural diversity of different ethnicities in Peru, it fails to challenge unequal power relations and discriminations against indigenous people. Ethnicity is blamed as a factor causing greater gender inequalities than 'the norm', and indigenous people are presented as less educated and poor. Moreover, a discourse about the contribution of small-scale farmers in the Amazon to deforestation is used accusing them for causing GHG emissions, while recent studies demonstrate that other actors are responsible for such processes (Finer and Novoa, 2017; Ravikumar et al., 2017). Consequently, the PAGCC shows indigenous populations and other people living in the Amazon as 'second class citizens' who are blamed for their own misery. Only the traditional environmental knowledge and practises of indigenous people (or particularly women) is presented as valuable, since it could lead to better adaptation and mitigation efforts. This means, that also indigenous populations are instrumentalised in climate change policies. They are given responsibility support the conservation of the rainforest, while questions of (environmental) rights are neglected. As a result, the PAGCC and other programmes targeted at indigenous populations might not necessarily improve their social position in society and bring greater equality.

Looking at the implementation of the PAGCC gave further insights in how its main ideas would translate into practise. The PAGCC has faced significant difficulties regarding its implementation which still is not taking place yet. At the same time, awareness and cooperation for gender in climate change policies in general has increased which might be an advancement, but the generalising discourse about women's vulnerability prevails.

Consequently, the PAGCC demonstrates that the Peruvian government is sensitised for the linkages between gender and climate change. Yet, it is unlikely that it has the potential to empower women and other vulnerable groups. If future policies aim to bring about change, they need to address power relations between men and women and pay attention to the intersecting layers of inequalities that exist in Peru.

7. References

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8. Annex

Annex 1: Actions related to ancestral and traditional knowledge in the PAGCC

Priority area	Result	Actions
Forests (MINAM, 2016c: 40)	Ancestral and local knowledge and practices of forest and wildlife management of women and men contribute to the mitigation and adaptation to climate change	• Identify and systematize ancestral and local knowledge and practices of women and men on forest and wildlife management that contribute to mitigation and adaptation • Incorporate knowledge and ancestral and local practices of women and men on forest management and wildlife that contribute to mitigation and adaptation in the Collective Knowledge Register or other records • Organise exchange platforms for knowledge and practices of women and men on forest management and wildlife that contribute to mitigation and adaptation
Water (MINAM, 2016c: 52)	Ancestral and local knowledge and practices of women and men on the use and management of water resources contribute to adaptation to climate change	• Document the ancestral and local knowledge and practices of women and men • Create platforms for ancestral and local knowledge and practices of women and men • Incorporate the knowledge and ancestral and local practices of women and men that contribute to adaptation in the Collective Knowledge Register or other records
Food security (MINAM, 2016c: 80)	Local and ancestral knowledge and practices of men and women contribute to food security in a context of climate change	• Document knowledge and ancestral and local practices of women and men in food security • Incorporate the ancestral and local knowledge and practices of women and men in the Collective Knowledge Register or other registries • Create exchange platforms for ancestral and local knowledge and practices of men and

		women that contribute to food security in a context of climate change
Health (MINAM, 2016c: 102)	Ancestral and local knowledge and practices of women and men are valued and incorporated in prevention and attention to health problems associated with climate change	• Document, record and disseminate local and ancestral knowledge and practices of women and men that contribute to prevention and response to health problems associated with climate change • Prepare a guide of ancestral and local knowledge and practices of women and men for the prevention and response to health problems associated with climate change • Develop a traditional medicinal plants first aid kit on the basis of the knowledge and ancestral practices as a contribution in the prevention and response to health problems associated with climate change • Promote the incorporation of ancestral and local knowledge and practices, of men and women, in the prevention, care and recovery protocols of health problems associated with climate change • Organize exchange platforms for knowledge and practices of women and men that contribute to the prevention and to the health problems associated with climate change