Gender and Climate Change

An Analysis of the Climate Change Policy of Mexico City

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Abstract

Climate change is one of human history's greatest threats and therefore one of the most complex challenges of our time. While we will all be affected by the impacts of climate change, we have to realise that we will not be affected in the same way. In fact, some people will be hit worse than others, especially in the developing countries, due to different factors, such as gender, age, ethnicity, economy and geography. Since people's vulnerability depends on these different factors, they are important to consider in climate policies to make sure that people will be able to adapt to the new situations, climate change bring.

In recent years, gender has become part of the political climate agenda on the international, national and local level. This is also the case in Mexico City, which in its Climate Action Program 2014-2020 (PACCM) has integrated a gender perspective to achieve gender equality. This thesis studies how gender is addressed in PACCM within the theoretical framework of (Feminist) Political Ecology, Intersectionality and Gender Mainstreaming. Guided by an anthropological approach, the analysis overall sheds light on the gender perspective in PACCM by analysing the language and context of the policy, the political motives to design it and subsequently discusses the effects of the gender perspective on women's resilience to the impacts of climate change. The analysis comes to the conclusion that PACCM integrates a comprehensive gender perspective with an aim to achieve gender equality, emphasising that women and men do not experience the impacts of climate change in the same way, and that women represent the most vulnerable group because of their position in society. This gender perspective in PACCM resembles a holistic approach, which does not only consider technical solutions, and this is important, not only to design a successful policy for adaptation and mitigation but also to ensure that gender inequalities will not exacerbate due to the impacts of climate change. However, since the climate policy enters a society highly affected by structural gender inequality, it can be questioned whether the good intentions of the government of Mexico City will be able to ensure gender equality, thus ensuring that the most vulnerable women will not be double-hit by the impacts of climate change.

This thesis is a humble contribution to the increasing studies of gender mainstreaming in climate policies, and it is therefore essential with further critical feminist studies to emphasise the importance of gender in relation to climate change.

Abbreviations

CEDAW: Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

COFEMER: Federal Commission of Regulatory Improvement (in Spanish: Comisión Nacional de Mejora Regulatoria)

COP: Conference of the Parties

ECLAC: United Nations Economic Commission for Latin America and the Caribbean

ECOSOC: United Nations Economic and Social Council

FPE: Feminist Political Ecology

GED: Gender, Environment and Development

GIA: Gender Impact Assessment

INMUJERES: National Women's Institute

IWGIA: International Work Group for Indigenous Affairs

NDP: National Development Plan

NGO: Nongovernmental Organisation

OECD: Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

PACCM: Climate Action Program 2014-2020 (in Spanish: Programa de Acción Climática Ciudad de México 2014-2020)

PE: Political Ecology

PROIGUALDAD: National Programme for Equal Opportunities and Non-Discrimination against Women (in Spanish: Programa para la Igualdad entre Mujeres y Hombres)

SDG: Sustainable Development Goal

SEDEMA: Ministry of Environment

SEMARNAT: Secretariat of Environment and Natural Resources (in Spanish: Secretaria de Medio Ambiente y Rescursos Naturales)

UN: United Nations

UNDP: United Nations Development Program

UNFCCC: United Nations Framework Convention for Climate Change

WED: Women, Environment and Development

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1. Introduction

"While we've made enormous progress in 25 years, the world is still running behind climate change. Today, the urgency to address it has never been more urgent." (UNFCCC, 2019).

These words come from the UN Climate Change Executive Secretary, Patricia Espinosa, on the 25th anniversary of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC). The Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 13, 'Take urgent action to combat climate change and its impacts', states that climate change affects every country on every continent, disrupts national economies and affect people, communities and countries all over the world. We are already experiencing changed weather patterns, and it is only expected to get worse. Sea levels are rising, weather events are more extreme and greenhouse gas emissions are now at the highest levels in history. Without action it is likely that the temperature will exceed three degrees Celsius this century, which will affect the poorest and most vulnerable people the most. (UN, n.d.1)

1.1 Gender and climate change

Climate change will have direct and indirect impacts on everybody's life. However, *"the majority of these deeply affected are women. What we can do first to change this injustice is to ensure that those perspectives and experiences shape and drive our action on climate change"* (Aguilar et. al., 2015).

In academic literature on gender and climate change, there is a common understanding that climate change impacts will affect women and men differently and that women will be the ones who will suffer the most (Jerneck, 2018). It is still a new field of study and there is therefore a need for more critical feminist studies to investigate the linkages between gender and climate change. Especially, there is a need for an intersectional approach, which does not study women as a homogenous group, who will be the same vulnerable towards climate change (Ibid), understanding that women are different, and that gender does not stand alone but always intersects with other social categories (Schipper & Langston, 2014).

To understand these gendered vulnerabilities requires a holistic approach, which does not perceive climate change as a *"techno-scientific problem requiring technical solutions"* (MacGregor, 2010: 230). Climate change has for a long time been framed as a global problem, assumed we will all be

affected equally (MacGregor, 2010). Yet, this scientific framing now seems to move towards gender mainstreaming in climate policies, which will be important to ensure gender equality in coming climate change policies. Not only does a gender perspective in climate policies have the potential to achieve gender equality, also, it will create more effective and successful adaptation and mitigation strategies and thus play an overall positive effect in the reduction of CO_2 emissions. (Otzelberger, 2011)

While gender has been a latecomer to climate policies, it is now an integrated part of many climate policies, resembling gender mainstreaming (Schipper & Langston, 2014). In Latin America, however, only few governments have adopted such gender-sensitive climate policies according to ECLAC (2019). One of these countries is Mexico, which has not only taken an initiative nationally, but also locally, which is expressed in Mexico City's newest climate policy, the Climate Action Program 2014-2020 (PACCM), which makes Mexico City an interesting case to study.

1.2 Mexico City

Mexico City is one of the most affected cities towards the impacts of climate change. With a population of around 22 million people, the city is home to 18% of the country's population. The city is expected to grow due to rapid urbanisation, especially rural indigenous people are expected to migrate to the capital, which makes the city even more vulnerable. (Baker, 2012) Especially, it is vulnerable towards heat waves causing heat island effects, droughts causing pollution and forest fires, rain and hail causing floods and landslides, earthquakes, severe storms and pandemics. It has had major impacts at the economic, social and environmental levels (SEDEMA, 2015). This vulnerability was a central element in the implementation of the city's Climate Action Program 2014-2020 (PACCM).

Mexico City is an interesting case to study. Not only is it a city highly affected by climate change. Also, it is a city in a country with high structural gender inequality ranking 74 on the Gender Inequality Index (UNDP, 2018). Although, the capital has achieved remarkable gender equality, 81% with men, (Frias, 2014), climate change risks eroding this progress, since it will exacerbate the differences between women and men, which make them differently vulnerable. Therefore, climate change is expected to erode progress in gender equality because it will upset livelihoods so the attached social norms will be recast, and 'traditional' gender roles will resurface. When women and

men are considered to be differently vulnerable towards the impacts of climate change, because of their socially constructed roles, and these roles will be exaggerated by climate change, women will be double-hit. (Schipper & Langston, 2014)

To avoid this, it is crucial to design a gender-sensitive climate policy, which Mexico City has achieved in its Climate Action Program 2014-2020 (PACCM), which constitutes this thesis' analysis.

1.3 Problem formulation

The thesis is structured as the following: First, the theoretical framework will be presented, which includes (Feminist) Political Ecology, Intersectionality and Gender Mainstreaming. Second, the methodological framework presenting an anthropological approach to policy analysis will be explained followed by the analysis of the Climate Action Program 2014-2020 of Mexico City with the aim to investigate how gender is addressed and how it affects women's resilience to climate change. The thesis is completed with a conclusion, which sums up the findings of the analysis.

The thesis aims to answer the following problem formulation:

How does the Mexico City government address gender in the Climate Action Program 2014-2020, and how does it affect women's resilience to climate change?

1.4 Research interest

The topic of this thesis was inspired by my internship in the autumn semester 2018 with UN Women Bolivia. During my internship, one of my main tasks was to investigate the gendered impacts of climate change. As this research combined two of my main interests; gender equality and climate change, I decided to choose this topic for my master thesis. During my research, I understood how this topic is much more complicated than one would think. While it is easy to state that women are hit the hardest by the impacts of climate change, the aim with this thesis is to show a more nuanced picture. As a master student in Development and International Relations with specialisation in Latin American Studies, I chose to study the current climate policy of Mexico City, which is extremely vulnerable towards the impacts of climate change.

2. Methodology

In this chapter, the methodological framework will be introduced. The chapter will present the thesis objective, social constructivism, research design including choice of theories, data collection and method of analysis including the anthropological framework to study a policy, and last, the limitations of this study.

This thesis emphasises the gender perspective in climate change. The overall objective with the research is to conduct an analysis of Mexico City's Climate Action Program 2014-2020 (PACCM) to study the gender perspective. The objective is to answer the problem formulation: How does the Mexico City government address gender in the Climate Action Program 2014-2020, and how does it affect women's resilience to climate change?

2.1 Social constructivism

As a researcher in social science, I acknowledge the world is constructed, which reflects this study and the choice of analytical framework explained later in the chapter. There is no single definition of social constructivism, rather it can vary depending on the study. In social constructivism, according to Vivien Burr (2015), social researchers "*take a critical stance toward our taken-for-granted ways of understanding the world and ourselves. It invites us to be critical of the idea that our observations of the world unproblematically yield its nature to us, to challenge the view that conventional knowledge is based upon objective, unbiased observation of the world.*" (Burr, 2015: 2). Social constructivism opposes positivism, which entails the assumptions that "*the nature of the world can be revealed by observation, and that what exists is what we perceive to exist.*" (Burr, 2015: 3). This means, I am cautious of my assumptions about how the world appears to be and I acknowledge there is no ultimate truth and further, how my research might be influenced by my own position. I believe no objectivity exists, and my research does therefore not reflect an ultimate truth. This study of the Mexico City government's climate policy and how it addresses gender will not depict an objective truth, rather, the study will be influenced by my decisions as a researcher, which will be reflected in my background and personal experiences. This means, other researchers conducting a similar study assumedly will reach other conclusions, since we are all influenced by different factors. Constructivism, according to Bryman (2012), in this way includes that researchers present a specific version of the social reality rather than one which can be regarded as definitive, which makes

knowledge viewed as indeterminate. Constructivism is "*an ontological position, which asserts that 'social phenomena and their meanings are continually being accomplished by social actors.*" (Bryman, 2012: 33). Social phenomena are thus considered produced through social interaction, where they are in a constant state of revision (Bryman, 2012).

It requires reflexivity of the researcher, since researchers are not value free and objective while conducting their research. Reflexivity requires for us as researchers to be sensitive to our cultural, political, and social context, which might influence the research through the choices we make and cannot be avoided. Therefore, it requires the researcher to be reflective about her or his own work, Bryman argues (Ibid): "*Values can materialize at any point during the course of research. The researcher may develop an affection or sympathy, which was not necessarily present at the outset of an investigation, for the people being studied*" (Bryman, 2012: 39). In this study of the gender perspective in a climate policy, it can be assumed that I as a white, western, female researcher with a privileged background from a well-developed country, Denmark, might feel sympathy for the Mexican people – and especially women – as I study how gender is addressed in the climate policy. Power relations is a central theme in my choice of theory, but it can also be apparent in my own research, as I am conducting a study of gender in a climate policy. Do I feel sympathy for these people, who will feel the impacts of climate change way worse than I as a western researcher can imagine, since the impacts will not be felt the same in my world as in theirs? Maybe, I do, and maybe this is why I chose to conduct this study. Though, since I am aware of this possible bias, I hope I can make the research transparent, so readers become aware of the considerations made during the research.

2.2 Research design

This chapter will present the choices behind the theoretical framework, empirical data and method of analysis.

2.2.1 Choice of theories

The theoretical framework consists of (Feminist) Political Ecology, Intersectionality and Gender Mainstreaming in order to conduct a nuanced study of Mexico City's climate policy's gender perspective. (F)PE is the main theory, which recognises the importance of power relations and how

climate policies with a gender focus can either reduce or increase existing gender inequalities. It is useful to understand the relationship between society and the environment and how environmental changes affect people, since it acknowledges that decisions about the environment are not politically neutral. Rather, actions and policies on environmental issues, such as climate change, might affect gender relations either reinforcing or reducing gender inequalities. FPE recognises that gender cannot stand alone, and intersectionality was therefore chosen to investigate how gender intersects with other social variables. Gender mainstreaming is a strategy for gender equality and was chosen since it is a tool to study policy outputs.

As theory guides the research, it depicts a deductive approach. In contrast, in an inductive approach, theory is the outcome of the research. (Bryman, 2012)

2.2.2 Data collection

The empirical data consists of Mexico City's Climate Action Program 2014-2020 as this is the current climate policy of the capital. The document can be classified as official according to Bryman (2012) since the sender is the government of Mexico City. It is available to the public, and it has not been produced specifically for this research (Bryman, 2012). It is in Spanish, but as the researcher is fluent in Spanish, it has not been a problem to understand it and translate particular parts, including the quotes presented in this thesis, where needed, to English. As it is always a risk of losing meaning, nuances and content, when translating documents, the researcher has aimed to stay as true to the intended meaning as possible.

The data was chosen since it demonstrates the local government's climate initiative and furthermore how a gender perspective was considered. It is tempting to assume such a document reveals something about a social reality, in this case, the government's reason to include gender in a climate policy. Documents are seen as representations of the reality of the government. In this case, how does it view gender in relation to climate change? According to Bryman, "*documents are windows onto social and organizational realities.*" (2012: 554). However, documents should still be viewed as a 'distinct' reality in their own rights. They should be analysed in the context, they were produced in, and also their implied readership. This is important, because the researcher has to be aware that documents are written "*in order to convey an impression, one that will be favourable to the authors and those whom they represent.*" (Bryman, 2012: 555). The researcher has to be aware that documents

might not show the complete reality, instead, they should be seen as something someone wrote for someone else to read it. Therefore, it is essential to interpret documents with a critical view and reflect on the motives behind them. In this case, the climate policy of Mexico City illustrates actions to combat the impacts of climate change. The policy is very detailed; however, it does not necessarily say what actually has been done. By analysing the document, it only becomes clear what the intentions are, not whether they have been implemented. Ideally, if a researcher wishes to use documents as a means of understanding aspects of a specific case, it is likely she or he will need to support the document analysis with other sources of data. In this case, the supplementing method was thought to be qualitative interviews with the government of Mexico City. However, even with help from the NGO in Mexico City Equidad de Género, it was unfortunately never possible to reach government officials.

2.2.3 Method of analysis

The method for the analysis will be an anthropological approach to policy analysis to understand the Climate Action Program 2014-2020 of Mexico City and more specifically; how it addresses gender, and how it affects women's resilience towards the impacts of climate change.

Anthropological approach to policy analysis

While many scholars tend to study policy as a given and seldom question its meaning, an anthropological approach offers new perspectives as policy is seen as a cultural phenomenon: *'"policy" is itself a curious and problematic social and cultural construct that needs to be unpacked and contextualised if its meanings are to be understood"* (Shore, 2012: 2)

In 1997, Shore and Wright (1997) presented policy as a new field of anthropology. It rethinks policy analysis as it goes beyond the conventional idea that policies can be studied as objective entities, which are results of decisions made by rational authorities aiming to address known problems to create desired outcomes. They argue policies have to be studied for what they are: socially constructed. The idea that policies are objective, resembles a positivist tendency, which is why policy anthropologists argue that "*policy analysis needs to be rescued from policy analysts*" (Shore, 2012: 4). The anthropological approach is a critical approach, which can help the researcher to 'step outside the box' to explore how policies reflect ways of thinking about the world and further acting upon it

(Shore, 2012). It is my aim to shed light on how the policy reveals more than just the actions for adaptation and mitigation. With an anthropological approach, I argue the analysis will highlight how the government acknowledges a gender perspective as an important factor in the climate crisis. It is important because as stated in the theory, women and men are affected differently by the impacts of climate change and thus is important to consider in such actions to combat climate change. It is not only important to ensure gender equality, but also to adopt more effective policies. The anthropological approach understands that policies reflect an understanding of the world, in where they are embedded (Ibid). Therefore, it is the aim to illustrate what a gender perspective in the climate policy can tell us about gender relations in Mexico.

Almost every aspect of human life is shaped by policies. From the moment we are born, we become subjects of policies, which classify, order and regulate our behaviour, define our status and frame the norms of conduct expected of us: "*Policies now impinges on all areas of life so that it is virtually impossible to ignore or escape its influence*" (Shore & Wright, 1997: 4). Policies are central to the organisation of our society as "*they connect disparate actors in complex power and resource relations and play a pervasive, though often indirect, role in shaping society.*" (Wedel et. al., 2005: 31). Policies are instruments, which institutions seek to "*act upon the world and to manage, regulate or change society.*" (Shore, 2012: 12). In this thesis, the 'policy' consists of the Climate Action Program 2014-2020 of Mexico City. It is an *instrument* to impose adaptation and mitigation strategies to reduce the impacts of climate change. The government seeks to *act upon* the threats of climate change to make the city and its population more resilient. The government thus seeks to *change society* in order to face the severe effects by climate change.

Policies express a "*will to power*" (Ibid) as authorities (i.e. the Mexico City government) decide the content. Policy makers decide what problem the policy has to solve resembling what these authorities consider important in society. This resembles power relations as the policy makers have the power over the citizens to make decisions about what to act upon. In the analysis, I aim to clarify how the government includes a gender perspective as this will show how gender in general is perceived in the Mexican society. However, it is not enough to illustrate whether a gender perspective is included or not, it is also necessary to emphasise *how*.

In the anthropological approach, a policy is not considered a neutral document. A policy reveals more than first assumed and is always part of a broader picture. For example, a policy reveals how patterns of events and social relations we observe within a particular field, relate to wider processes of globalisation and change occurring in economies and societies. This is in line with the theory of (F)PE, which connects different levels. This means, what happens on a local level is often influenced by the national and global level, and therefore a local event can tell us more about broader historical, political and cultural contexts. In line with the theory of (F)PE, the global can become part of the local, which in this case means, the climate crisis as a global phenomenon affects the local level, i.e. Mexico City. Regarding the gender perspective, it might on the local level also be influenced by both the national and international context and therefore "*many anthropologists study contemporary global processes and how global, transnational entities interact with states, nations, and local groups*". (Wedel et. al., 2005: 32).

An analysis of any policy requires more than just description. It is necessary to examine the context in which the policy is presented, the work it performs, its preconditions, and its effects (Shore, 2012). In the analysis, it will be studied in which *context* PACCM is presented, what *work* it performs, what the *background* is, and its *effects*.

The anthropological approach presents three aspects of policy study (Shore & Wright, 1997):

1. Policy as language
2. Policy as political technology
3. Policy as cultural agent

Policy as language

Though policies generally seem to be written in a neutral language with an aim to promote efficiency and effectiveness, they are fundamentally political and in fact, a key feature of 'modern power' (Wedel et. al., 2005). Political anthropologists therefore look at policy documents while "*analysing the meaning and interpretation given by language, as well as the guiding ideology, discourse and power concealed beneath the policy languages.*" (Khanal, 2010: 3). Language is power; the power to decide *what* to mention and *how*. A policy sets the political agenda involving a particular way to think

and argue. It involves naming and classifying and thus excludes other ways to think about a given issue. (Seidel & Vidal in Shore & Wright, 1997). Dominant policy discourses shape ways of classifying people and defining problems, which might lead to serious consequences (Shore & Wright, 1997). However, the meaning of a policy does not reside solely in the text, but also in the relationship between the text and the social structure and practice. Policies arise out of a particular context, in this case the climate crisis, and in many ways "*encapsulate the entire history and culture of the society that generated them*" (Shore and Wright, 1997: 7). This means they can be studied as social phenomena as they have important economic, legal, cultural and moral implications, and can create whole new sets of relationships between individuals, groups and objects (Shore and Wright, 1997).

In the analysis, I aim to investigate the language, which is an important factor for political anthropologists to emphasise how a gender perspective is addressed in order to interpret what it means in a broader context. Also, I aim to understand the context - both nationally and internationally - in which the climate policy has been presented.

Policy as political technology

When policies are understood as instruments of power, they also provide instruments for analysing the operation of power. Since policies create a web of relations, they provide researchers with a framework linking local practices with wider events and processes. Therefore, the framework will be used to understand how policies help to reinforce a new form of institutional regime or power. It explores the motives of policy makers to adopt the policy, and how it is an instrument to pursue certain political goals (Wedel, et. al., 2005).

In the analysis, I aim to investigate the motives of the policy makers to adopt the climate policy, i.e. the reasons to include a gender perspective and aim to achieve gender equality.

Policy as cultural agent

As policies are seen as cultural 'agents' as well as 'artefacts', their effects might escape the design and intentions of their authors, assuming 'policy authors' exist. Once a policy is created, it enters into complex relations and have unanticipated consequences. A policy is a social construct; it can be

conceptualised as a type of narrative or performance. Typically, it disguises the mechanism of its own operation, either by seeking to naturalise its arbitrariness or by concealing the hidden interests underlying its formation. (Shore, 2012)

In the analysis, I aim to discuss how a gender perspective in the policy might have other effects than intended by the policy makers.

This anthropological approach is used to unpack and contextualise PACCM. Also, it attempts to underline what has influenced it as well as what the effects of it will be. The approach guides me as a researcher to 'step outside the box' to explore how it attempts to achieve gender equality, the context in which it was created and further, the kinds of relations it produces; for example how a gender perspective will affect women's resiliency to climate change.

2.3 Limitations of study

While writing the thesis, I have lived in Mexico City. This has clearly been an advantage because I have had an office at the local NGO Equidad de Género, where I have been able to discuss the topic with the people working here. However, the intention while being in Mexico City was not only to have an office but more importantly to conduct qualitative interviews with the government of Mexico City. Unfortunately, even with help from Equidad de Género, this did not work out. This is clearly a limitation of the outcome of this thesis as qualitative interviews undoubtedly would have strengthened the analysis as it would have been able to compare the findings of the policy analysis with the answers from qualitative interviews. By conducting qualitative interviews, the outcome of the analysis would then not only have been based on the researcher's interpretation of the climate policy. Rather, it would have been possible to investigate whether these findings are in accordance with the reality. In other words, I would have been able to demonstrate whether the government of Mexico City has actually implemented the gender-sensitive actions as it is claimed in the policy. The reader therefore has to be aware that this thesis' analysis is only based on the policy document, hence, it focuses on what the government of Mexico City claims will be done to combat the threats of climate change. The researcher can unfortunately not prove whether the gender-sensitive actions in the climate policy, which seem very promising, have been implemented accordingly to this local climate policy. This limits the study as the analysis then will only stress the intentions of the government of Mexico City, while it cannot guarantee whether such good intentions have actually been carried out. In this way,

the analysis might give the reader a positive impression of the local climate policy, while it can be the case this does not resemble the implementations of the actions.

Due to time constraints, I have not been able to analyse the real effects of the climate policy, which is the current policy until 2020. In the analysis, I aim to argue what effects the gender perspective will have on women's resilience towards the impacts of climate change based on the theory. It is a weakness of the analysis and there is no doubt more time would have deepened the research.

Furthermore, the choice of conducting a study of the gender perspective in the climate policy cannot be replicated to other countries' climate policies. However, I argue the study is still relevant as it gives an insight in how a gender perspective in a developing country like Mexico with high gender inequality is considered.

3. Theory

The following chapter will outline the theoretical framework, which consists of (Feminist) Political Ecology, Intersectionality and Gender Mainstreaming. These three theories connect gender and the environment and will be used for the analysis of Mexico City's climate policy to shed light on how gender is addressed and what effects it will have on women's resiliency.

In the last decades, there have been several debates about gender and the environment. Especially two themes have been dominant: First, women are seen as either vulnerable or virtuous in relation to the environment and thereby also towards the impacts of climate change. Second, women – especially in the global South - are the ones who will be affected the most. These themes have been echoed in international debates on climate change and in policy statements in many countries. They have also received critique for generalising women's vulnerability and virtuousness, which can lead to an increase in women's responsibility without corresponding rewards. Climate policies targeting women as a homogenous group, who are the most vulnerable, might exacerbate gender injustices, which they were supposed to reduce. Therefore, feminist critical academics argue it is necessary to contextualise the debates on climate change. (Arora-Jonsson, 2011)

The theory of Feminist Political Ecology (FPE) can be understood as a critique to this generalised view on women (and overlook of men) and is a useful theory to approach gender and climate change. However, before turning to FPE, it is necessary to briefly sum up the origins of these two dominant themes on gender and climate change, which have been dominating both the academic literature and the international debates on gender and climate change.

Women as victims and virtuous

In development circles in the 1980s, the approach to study the connections between women, gender roles and relations and the natural environment was shaped by the Women, Environment and Development (WED) perspective, which is closely related to Ecofeminism. These perspectives laid the foundation for the theory of FPE, which emerged in the 1990s as a critique to simplistic views on women and their relations to the environment. They are important to mention, because they still dominate the discourse in gender and climate change debates. (Resurrección, 2017) WED presents a narrative of poor women from the global South as victims, since they are the hardest hit by the impacts of climate change. Women are also presented as agents of change since they are the most active to address environmental degradation. Hence, women are perceived as victims and saviours of the environment at the same time. In WED, the focus is on women rather than on gender, as FPE takes into consideration, which will be elaborated in the section of FPE. This narrative of women having a closer relation to nature than men has been echoed on the international level. (Ibid)

In the 1990s, this essentialist view on women and the environment, began to receive critique from critical feminist scholars, who argued such generalising discourses presented women as a homogenous group with a set of static and pre-defined roles. Amongst others, Arora-Jonsson (2011) states that "*Vulnerable or virtuous women in relation to the environment present a static conception of women's roles. Women tend to get represented as a homogenous group, suffering because of their marginal social position vis a vis men*" (2011: 748). Scholars criticised this emphasis on vulnerable women in the developing world, because it might lead to the consequence that gender is made invisible in the debates on climate change as it is assumed the problem is the vulnerability of women (Arora-Jonsson, 2011). It reinforces differences between women and men as given and unchangeable, when (poor) women are perceived as the most vulnerable towards climate change (Ibid). While these critical feminist scholars do not deny women are vulnerable in several situations, they question the generalisation, which does not explain the social relations of power in particular contexts or how the

vulnerability is produced for other groups, for example certain groups of men. As Arora-Jonsson (Ibid) claims, "*generalisations make it impossible to meet the highly specific needs of particular groups of women or men and to take advantage of the potential for climate change mitigation in different contexts.*" (2011: 748). Accordingly, it is important to include a gender perspective with focus on both women and men, and to recognise women are just as different as men: "*Women can be rich or poor, urban or rural, from different ethnicities, nationalities, households and families all of which produce specific results*". (Arora-Jonsson, 2011: 749). Such differences and social relations have to be recognised in order to avoid a generalisation of women's vulnerability.

Within these debates, Feminist Political Ecology (FPE) emerged, which will be introduced after a presentation of Political Ecology (PE).

3.1 (Feminist) Political Ecology

While the main theory in the theoretical framework consists of FPE, it is necessary to first introduce Political Ecology (PE), which FPE emerged from. (F)PE will in this paper be used to analyse the gender perspective in the climate policy of Mexico City.

2.1.1 Political Ecology (PE)

PE is a framework to understand the relationships between political, economic, and social factors within environmental issues. It can be used to study the impacts of climate change on different people in society, since environmental change, for example climate change, is not perceived as a neutral process, but rather a consequence of global political and economic processes (Bryant, 1998; Robbins, 2012), which will be felt unevenly by different social groups. Therefore, it is neither enough to look at climate change as an environmental, technological and economic problem as this is too narrow a focus, which makes it counterproductive. Instead, PE claims it is necessary to pay more attention to underlying social, cultural, institutional, and political drivers of persistent inequality and marginalisation (Tschakert, 2012). PE criticises tendencies among government and development agencies to address environmental problems with emphasis on technical solutions, thus ignoring ways in which nonlocal policies and capital flows influence and perpetuate resource-use patterns at local levels. PE finds it important to expand the analysis to consider several scales; from the local to the global, since local environmental problems often are caused by global decision-making (Walker,

1998). In this way, the global can become part of the local, and therefore, it is important to consider the full context in which an environmental problem takes place. In such a multiscale approach, PE explains how power relations among and between different scales affect environmental degradation, for example climate change, and furthermore how and why actors, depending on the scales, will be affected in different ways. (Robbins, 2012) This makes power relations a central aspect in PE, which will be clarified throughout the chapter.

Power relations can explain why environmental changes affect society in differentiated ways. Also, it explains the social and economic inequalities, which are either reinforced or reduced by environmental changes.

PE is a broad field of study. However, some main concerns are presented by Walker (1998):

"(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)

As PE emerged from the traditions of cultural ecology and political economy, it attempts to answer the questions these traditions failed to do: '*Why environmental problems are created, for whom, and how these change over time.*' To answer these questions, PE studies how human practices of resource use are shaped by social relations at multiple scales, as mentioned above, over time and the ways these relations shape and are shaped by the physical environment. PE studies social relations, which shape the ways people use natural resources, and furthermore, it studies how different groups of people in society are affected differently. As the patterns of resource use are shaped by social relations, it can be highly beneficial for some, while for others it is the exact opposite (Blaikie, 1985 in Gezon et. al., 2005)

Robbins (2012) presents five dominant narratives, which further illustrate how power relations are central in PE:

First, *degradation and marginalisation* explains environmental change, especially degradation, and the reasons for it. While land degradation has long been blamed on marginalised people, it is here understood in the larger political and economic context, which can explain land degradation in terms of exclusion, marginalisation and (over) exploitation of natural resources. This means some people will benefit from the land degradation, while others will not. The (over) exploitation of natural resources is a consequence of the dependency of natural resources for state development intervention and/or increasing integration in regional and global markets, which leads to increased (local) poverty, additional exploitation and land degradation. (Ibid)

Second, *conservation and control* explains conservation outcomes, especially failures. It explains how local producers (by class, gender, or ethnicity) have lost control over the natural resources to regional, national or global authorities, who perceive the local control as 'unsustainable', while they themselves seek to 'preserve' the environment under the mantra of 'conservation'. It happens despite the local production practices have historically been productive and benign. When authorities take over the control and management of natural resources within specific areas, it takes away the opportunities for local production practices, which leads to conflicts over access to resources. When local producers lose the control of these resources, it disables local livelihoods, which leads to increased poverty in these areas and an increased possibility for environmental degradation. (Ibid)

Third, *environmental conflict and exclusion* explains, who has access to the environment, especially the natural resources, and who is excluded. Exclusion often leads to conflicts between the resource user groups within or between communities, which are part of larger gendered, classed, and raced struggles. The conflicts over the environment arise when local resource users are denied access to resources, for example state authorities, private firms, or social elites, which cause pressure on the resources through land or water enclosures or appropriation. This scarcity of resources will eventually lead to environmental conflicts, which thus become 'socialised', since some resource user groups secure control over the resources on the expense of others based on social differences, such as gender, ethnicity, class, race, etc. (Ibid)

Fourth, *environmental subjects and identity* explains the identities of people and social groups, especially new or emerging ones. The narrative suggests changes in environmental management and environmental conditions create opportunities for local, and often dissimilar, groups to gather

politically, which will create new identities used to represent themselves politically. This new form of political action based on the relation to the environment can connect dissimilar groups across social categories, such as race, class, and ethnicity, and thereby represents a new form of collective political action, challenging national and global political and economic forces. (Ibid)

Fifth, *political objects and actors* explains the socio-political conditions, especially those deeply structured. It explains how political and economic systems are shown to be underpinned and affected by the nonhuman actors, for example rivers, trees, air masses, with which they are intertwined. Hence, it is about the non-human influences on politics, such as material items like roads, refrigerators and tropical soils and how these are interrelated with human struggles. (Ibid)

Robbins' notion of PE is an investigation of the interaction between humans and the environment, but also, a political exercise for greater social and ecological justice. It is a critical approach seeking to expose flaws in dominant approaches to the environment, which are favoured by corporate, state, and international authorities, while working to demonstrate the undesirable impacts of policies and market conditions, especially from the point of view of local people, marginal groups, and vulnerable populations. (Ibid)

Feminist Political Ecology (FPE) further this approach by including *gender* as a critical variable to understand the relationship between society and environment and how environmental changes affect people differently, for example how and why it affects women and men differently. This will be explained in the following paragraph.

3.1.2 Feminist Political Ecology (FPE)

FPE is a useful lens to approach gender and climate change and will in this paper be used in the analysis of the climate policy of Mexico City to demonstrate how the government addresses gender and how this might affect existing gender inequalities, since FPE recognises the relevance of power relations (incl. gender relations) in decision-making about the environment. Before connecting gender and climate change, FPE will be presented.

FPE was introduced by Dianne Rocheleau, Barbara Thomas-Slayter and Esther Wangari in their book 'Feminist Political Ecology: Global Issues and Local Experiences' (1996), as a subfield to PE, by

including *gender* as a critical variable to understand the relationship between society and environment and how environmental changes affect people. FPE can be used to study how the impacts of climate change will affect people in differentiated ways, since it acknowledges that women and men do not experience these impacts the same. While some scholars do not see any gender differences in ways people relate to the environment, others see the gendered experiences as a major difference, which is rooted in biology. FPE acknowledges that "*there are real, not imagined, gender differences in experiences of, responsibilities for, and interests in, "nature" and environments, but that these differences are not rooted in biology per se.*" (Rocheleau et. al., 1996: 3). Rather, they derive from the "*social interpretation of biology and social constructs of gender, which vary by culture, class, race, and place*" (Ibid). This means, gender is a constructed phenomenon, which is "*reproduced in and through practices, policies and actions associated with shifting and changing environments*", (Mehta, 2016: 272) and should therefore not be perceived as a pre-given fact.

FPE examines gender in relation to access to and control over but also knowledge of natural resources (Rocheleau, et. al., 1996). Central themes presented are the gendered environmental rights and responsibilities, where FPE questions who controls and determines rights over resources, quality of environment, and the definition of a healthy and desirable environment. As these are gendered, it means women and men do not have the same rights and responsibilities in relation to the environment based on socially constructed gender roles. Due to gendered differences, power differences between women and men lead to conflicts, where women are often in the centre of the struggles resulting in serious consequences for the women themselves, but also for the environment. The gender imbalance in environmental rights and responsibilities derives from power relations, therefore, changing gender roles or power can drive environmental transformation (Ibid). Also, the control over quality of environment is gendered; regarding the right to protect, change, or create environmental conditions that meet existing standards of quality, especially with respect to health, and the rights to determine the nature of the environment. (Ibid)

FPE shares the concerns of PE regarding how decisions about the environment are not politically neutral. Rather, actions and policies on environmental issues, such as climate change, might affect gender relations, either reinforcing or reducing gender inequalities. FPE expands the analysis of PE of power relations to include *gender* relations as it studies the connections between gender, politics and the environment as well as the underlying social relations. FPE can therefore be perceived as a

framework for bringing a feminist perspective to PE as it examines the place of gender in the political ecological landscape exploring gender as an important factor in environmental and political relations. In this way, FPE scholars challenge the WED approach, where women are understood to have a special relationship with the environment, which is supposedly both natural and unchanging. FPE scholars challenge this view by explaining women's possible closer relation to the environment by "*unequal power relations, or lack of access to alternatives.*" (Leach, 2007: 74).

To create effective and equitable policies, according to FPE, requires broad and specific understandings across levels of analysis. This means, "*Policies must be attentive to local social contexts, to local perceptions of issues, and to local concerns. Policies must also reflect understanding of the impact of global systems on the nation and on the local community in the context of blurring boundaries among all these levels.*" (Rocheleau et. al., 1996: 299-300). Incorporating feminist analyses can shed light on women and men's different positions in relation to institutions, which determine access to land, resources and the wider economy. With the emphasis on politics, the political and social context in which national and international governments make policy is recognised. This feminist perspective can further the design of policies for a more sustainable environment and for overcoming deep-rooted economic and political causes of poverty and environmental crises. Government policies often reflect a gender bias arising from systems based on an inherently patriarchal ideology and political framework, which is why they will mainly serve men's interests. (Rocheleau et. al., 1996)

In line with PE, FPE criticises the domination of techno-scientific solutions to environmental change ignoring holistic approaches. FPE is therefore a useful lens to approach the gender and climate change debate, since it offers valuable insights into relations between people and environment which can contribute to deeper analyses and better solutions. FPE helps us understand how women and men engage in complex and shifting relationships with the environment, which are embedded in place and shaped by intersections of for example gender, race, class, caste, culture, age, ethnicity, etc., which is central to the search for environmental and social justice. (Resurrección, 2017) When studying the gendered impacts of climate change, FPE is often used to look at the gender-specific impacts of climate change. Also, the approach is used to look at how knowledges, policies and practices related to climate change adaptation bring gendered effects. (Arora-Jonsson 2011 in Elmhirst, 2015)

Gender and climate change

In contrast to WED, FPE does not explain how women and men think and experience the environment differently by their biological differences, being either female or male. Gender is not seen as naturally given and unchangeable, rather, it is perceived as a social construct and understood as a cross-cutting factor intersecting with other socio-cultural variables, which will be elaborated in the section of intersectionality. Thus, gender is not a concept, which only includes women, in fact, it also includes men and the relations between women and men (UN, 2001).

While the theory of FPE has been presented, this section clarifies how the theory can be used in the gender and climate change debates. While inequalities in climate change can be theorised in different ways, FPE explains the gendered impacts, responses and decision-making power (Andersson, 2014 in Jerneck, 2017). This requires a contextual and intersectional understanding of climate change impacts and further a view of gendered subjectivities and identities (Sultana, 2014), which is why intersectionality will be introduced in the following paragraph.

FPE is considered a theory in continuously development, so there are several branches to be found. Some of the latest discuss climate change with insights from feminist post-structuralism meaning no pre-given identities exist, rather, identities are dynamically forged through everyday practices and discourses, which are power-laden in specific environmental contexts. (Resurrección, 2017) The effects of climate change have led to more frequent stresses, shocks, and disasters affecting people's lives and livelihoods, experienced in gendered and socially differentiated ways. Since climate change will impact the lives of women and men in different ways, FPE analyses of climate change are important. The focus on power has to be made central, the same has the more complex and contextual understandings of gender, which are often missing in the climate change literature. Greater attention to gendered identities can explain the existing complexities and bring into sharper focus the ways gender and climate change relations play out. (Sultana, 2014) In contemporary FPE, scholars warn that gendered vulnerability to disasters and climate risk do not derive from a single factor, such as being a woman, as emphasised in WED. Instead, the vulnerability derives from "*historically and culturally specific patterns of practices, processes and power relations that render some groups or persons more disadvantaged than others*" (Enarson, 2012 in Resurrección, 2017: 7). Vulnerability is seen as a process, which is shaped by existing inequalities in resource distribution and access, but also historical patterns of social domination and marginalisation (Resurrección, 2017). Through this

framing, it can be understood how people come to be gendered as either women or men – and as a result, differentially vulnerable towards the impacts of climate change (Ibid). According to Nightingale (2009), vulnerability does not derive from a set of intrinsic or fixed vulnerable characteristics, therefore, it is necessary to consider how different climate-related hardships affect specific kinds of people due to their different political, economic and social positions and their unequal power relations.

Insights from FPE can help explain how different groups of people understand, respond to, and handle the uncertainties in distinctive ways, thereby explaining the gendered implications of climate change. Although climate change is often framed as a global problem for all of humanity, its impacts and responses have to be carefully considered. Climate change is often portrayed as affecting the poor, especially women in the global South, nonetheless, it is further complicated by the gendered power relations, which intersect with other social categories, such as age, class, race, ethnicity. (Sultana, 2014)

What FPE can add to the debates within climate change, are the ways space, place, identities, and lived experiences are intersected by a range of processes and social relations. Gender is often selectively given attention with a focus only on women. Yet, it is important with a context-specific and complex gender analysis in climate change to not reproduce the 'women only' narratives portraying women as victims and agents of change at the same time (Ibid). While literature on gender and climate change has largely focused on women, scholars as Arora-Jonsson (2011) challenge this tendency to essentialise women's vulnerability towards climate change. These scholars emphasise it is necessary to recognise the historical and embodied contexts of both women's and men's lives prior to a disaster, because this can help explain why some groups of people are more vulnerable than others in relation to climate hazards. (Resurrección, 2017)

It is important not to romanticise women, their knowledge or participation in climate change adaptation and mitigation, but instead recognise their roles, responsibilities, and opportunities. It is crucial to balance the integration of gender without essentialising it, however, this is challenging. Especially since the essentialist views on women are easier to use in the case where it is necessary to talk to feelings in order to include women in the climate change debate. (Sultana, 2014)

FPE scholars argue broader contexts and constraints influencing gender are crucial to understand and address in processes of climate change. In other words, FPE recognises that impacts of climate change are experienced differently between women and men due to distinct roles, which are determined by cultural norms, the gendered division of labour, historically rooted practices and power structures, and persistent inequalities in society. (Ibid)

Gender cannot stand alone. It always intersects with other variables, which is why FPE calls for an intersectional analysis of the relations between society and environment and gender which does not distinguish gender from social categories such as age, race, ethnicity, class, disability, etc. Intersectionality is a rejection of the simple woman-man analyses presented in WED (May, 2014 in Resurrección, 2017). Therefore, the concept of intersectionality will be introduced in the following section.

3.2 Intersectionality

Scholars within FPE argue for an intersectional approach to study gender and the environment. Further, intersectionality is often used to study policy outputs and it will be used in the analysis to shed light on the gender perspective in the climate policy of Mexico City. In this paragraph, intersectionality as put forward by Kaijser and Kronsell (2014) will be presented as these authors look at the concept in relation to climate change.

By applying intersectionality, a simplistic understanding of gender divisions and singular gendered power relations in relation to the environment can be avoided (Elmhirst, 2015). In FPE, people are understood as not just women and men with culturally defined roles, rather, they inhabit multiple and fragmented identities that intersect with class, race, ethnicity, sexuality, etc. (Elmhirst, 2011 in Tschakert, 2012). This feminist theoretical lens is similar to the concept of intersectionality, which agrees gender never stands alone, but intersects with other social categories and thereby shapes people's lives and experiences. Thereby, intersectionality acknowledges differences among people, both women and men.

The concept of intersectionality emerged in the twentieth century and is considered to be introduced by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1991, who used the concept to explain the intersection of gender, race, and class in the US while studying black feminism. Since then, it has gained popularity and is now used

by different scholars in several ways, thus lacking a clear definition. Nevertheless, intersectionality does not need to be seen as a finished construct, rather it can be seen as a concept in continuous development, which can therefore be applied in different ways; a field of study, an analytical tool and a theoretical framework, which will be expanded in the next section: 'Applying intersectionality'. (Collins & Chepp, 2013)

Kaijser and Kronsell (2014) define intersectionality 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 in Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014: 418-419). Social categories should be understood as dynamic, changeable, and interlinked, not as fixed (Lykke, 2010 in Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014), and viewed in a historical context and embedded in power patterns, which might explain social inequalities. The researcher should always have in mind how social categories are constructed and negotiated, and in what ways they could have been different. An intersectional analysis can help explain construction of these social categories of individual and group subjectivities and how existing categorisations are mobilised in political projects (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014), which in this paper will concern the current climate policy of Mexico City.

Intersectionality is a relevant approach to study the differentiated impacts of climate change since it emphasises how different individuals and groups relate differently to climate change, due to their "*situatedness in power structures, based on context-specific and dynamic social categorisations*" (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014: 417). However, since "*situatedness is a process of continuous change, how can political projects for climate change adaptation and mitigation be designed that achieve emancipation without essentialising categories of promoting identities while others remain invisible?*" (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014: 423). The aim with intersectionality is to avoid an essentialisation, which led to critiques of WED. In this tendency for simplification, the gender perspective is often reduced to simple woman-man binaries, where women often are depicted as either vulnerable victims or saviours of the environment. Nevertheless, it does not only matter if you are a woman or a man, but also what social categories you intersect with. According to Kaijser and Kronsell, these depictions risk to reinforce categorisations without considering how differences are socially constructed and context-specific, and how they may shift in realities of climate change (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014).

Applying intersectionality

Intersectionality is used in various ways by different scholars. It can be used as both a theoretical framework and an analytical tool (Collins, 2015). In this paper, intersectionality will be used as a theoretical framework for what needs to be looked at when addressing the climate change policy of Mexico City. It will be inspired by the questions of Kaijser and Kronsell (Ibid).

The aim of intersectionality is not to incorporate as many social variables, which can explain the vulnerability towards climate change, as possible. Rather, the aim for the researcher is to reflect upon the factors, which might be relevant in the particular study (Ibid).

It is suggested an intersectional analysis should highlight the social categories, which are represented in, but also, absent from, the study. Here, the researcher can ask: *"Which identities are promoted and serve as ground for political actions? And which identities become invisible in such projects?"* (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014: 422). Further, the researcher can ask if there are any *"observable explicit or implicit assumptions about social categories and about the relations between social categories to be found in the empirical material?"* (Ibid).

Kaijser and Kronsell (2014) suggest asking the following questions in an intersectional analysis focusing on climate change.

- o *Which social categories, if any, are represented in the empirical material? Which social categories are absent?*
- o *Are there any observable explicit or implicit assumptions about social categories and about social relations between social categories?*
- o *What identities are promoted and considered to serve as grounds for political action?*
- o *What type of environmental knowledge is recognised and privileged?*
- o *What are the norms that set the standards for a 'good life'?* (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014: 429-430)

In recent climate policies, gender is included but often with a narrow focus on women as the most vulnerable group. This is what intersectionality aims to avoid. In such an analysis, it is important not only to look at the impacts of climate change on 'vulnerable people' but to extend the analysis to also

look at the underlying assumptions, which are naturalised and regarded as common sense, but which build on and reinforce social categorisations and structures of power, for example through institutional practices (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014). In other words, the analysis should explain how different groups of people are affected by the impacts of climate change, but also understand how these groups are portrayed and what it resembles as certain portrayals can increase rather than reduce existing inequalities. The inclusion of vulnerable groups in climate change policies will not necessarily increase equality. It all depends on how these vulnerable groups are portrayed; thus, what norms are behind such portrayals guiding the solutions in climate policies. (Ibid)

FPE scholars argue for intersectionality, also in relation to policy making's incorporation of the gender perspective. If intersectionality is not considered, it is argued, the outcome will be too simplistic. Intersectionality can generate alternative knowledge, which might be crucial in the formulation of more effective and legitimate climate policies. For intersectionality to be useful for studying politics of climate change, it needs to be informed also by theories generated in research fields that look into the relationship between society and nature (Ibid), which is why FPE is used as the main theoretical framework. Further, since this paper sheds light on gender and climate change in the climate policy of Mexico City, it is relevant to introduce the concept of gender mainstreaming.

3.3 Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming is a strategy for gender equality. It was officially recognised in the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995, which calls policy makers to mainstream gender perspectives into all policies: "*Governments and other actors should promote an active and visible policy of mainstreaming a gender perspective in all policies and programmes so that before decisions are taken, an analysis is made of the effects on women and men, respectively.*" (UN, 1995: 68).

The concept of gender mainstreaming is by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) defined as:

"The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic

and societal spheres so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality" (ECOSOC, 1997).

Thus, gender mainstreaming is a strategy to achieve gender equality, where gender is perceived as a socially constructed phenomenon, which is in line with FPE and Intersectionality. It is a tool to study policy outputs, which is why it is considered relevant in this paper. Former studies have shown how climate change has gendered impacts; thus, it is considered relevant to include gender mainstreaming in climate policies. However, adopting gender mainstreaming in adaptation and mitigation strategies have often failed according to climate change feminists (Alston, 2014).

Applying Gender Mainstreaming

Rather than being gendered, policies are actually *gendering*, Bacchi and Eveline argue (2010 in Alston, 2014). This means, policies may reinforce gender inequalities by the way they define the issue being addressed. Since policies can reproduce gender inequality, researchers before undertaking a gender analysis, should ask what the problem being solved is. In regard to climate change, one could ask: "*what are the differential gendered experiences, how are women and men viewed in this space, what are the factors creating gender inequality and inequitable power relations and, therefore, how do policy and interventions reinforce or break down these inequalities?"* (Bacchi et. al., 2010 in Alston, 2014: 290). The point is that it is necessary to understand what the problem is before it can be fully addressed.

When gender mainstreaming has been applied in a policy, follow-up studies have to be conducted to evaluate how the gender-sensitive policy has been implemented and its efficiency in addressing women's greater vulnerability to climate change as well as capacitation of women through gender equality as a central part of the solution. (Nhamo, 2014)

4. Analysis

This chapter analyses Mexico City's Climate Action Program 2014-2020 (PACCM). It is divided into three parts, which aim to clarify how gender is addressed and what effects it will have on women's resilience towards climate change. The analytical framework consists of an anthropological approach to policy analysis. Since qualitative interviews have not been possible to conduct, the

analysis does not include the implementations of the actions. The following analysis will therefore be based on the climate policy document.

4.1 Introduction

4.1.2 Mexico City

Mexico City is one of the most exposed cities to climate change. It has a population of around 20 million people, which accounts for 18% of the country's population, with a majority of women. 34.4% of the population live in poverty, and 4.3% live in extreme poverty. (SEDEMA, 2016b) Mexico City has experienced a rapid urban growth and the population is expected to increase, which gives rise to pressing issues such as "*intense demand for natural resources, inequality and social marginalization, informal settlements, waste generation, degradation of natural resources, and pollution.*" (SEDEMA, 2016b: 23)

The city has already been affected by climate change impacts such as heat waves causing heat island effects, droughts causing pollution and forest fires, rain and hail causing floods and landslides, earthquakes, severe storms and pandemics. These effects have had major impacts at economic, social and environmental levels. (SEDEMA, 2014b) According to the Ministry of Environment (SEDEMA), the impacts of national disasters between 1930-2013 have affected 56,308 people of the population and have had an economic impact of 4,135 million USD (SEDEMA, 2015: 19). Due to the effects of climate change, people have been injured, had health problems, lost their homes and businesses and in worst cases, lost their lives. Also, the infrastructure of the city has been destroyed, which has cost the government a lot to rebuild. (SEDEMA, 2016b)

Mexico City and its population are extremely vulnerable towards the impacts of climate change, which is acknowledged by the Ministry of Environment: "*The city faces resilience challenges on environmental, social, and economic issues, given its geographic situation, history of great social-environmental transformation, and social context.*" (SEDEMA, 2016b: 11). To combat this vulnerability, the government implemented the Resilience Strategy as part of the newest climate policy, PACCM, which will be analysed further in this chapter. In the Resilience Strategy, it is stated that Mexico City is weakened by several stresses, such as "*the inequality that exists at both a social and economic level as well as in the public space*" (Ibid) with emphasis on inequality, poverty, and

wealth concentration as the main stresses (SEDEMA, 2016b). Inequality is expected to be exacerbated by climate change and therefore *"these processes must be understood if the city is to step up and adapt to the challenges they present"* (SEDEMA, 2016b: 35).

The Green Plan

Climate change has with good reason been a concern for Mexico City in several years. In 2008, under Mexico City's 15-year urban strategy, the Green Plan launched in 2007 for sustainable development, Mexico City became the first entity in the country to develop a local plan on climate change, the Climate Action Program 2008-2012, consisting of strategies for adaptation and mitigation to reduce environmental, social and economic risks (SEDEMA, 2014a). During the implementation of this climate policy, six million tons of CO_2 emissions were mitigated, which is a decrease of 4.5% over the baseline scenario. Another important achievement was to make climate change a high priority in the capital. (SEDEMA, 2014a) With the Green Plan, Mexico City took an active role in initiating climate programs, which made it the first government in Latin America to launch a local climate policy (Baker, 2012) signalling that confronting climate change is a top priority in Mexico City for the left-wing government. Internationally, the Green Plan, which includes seven topics: land and conservation, habitability and public space, water, transportation, air, waste and climate gained recognition for focusing on fighting environmental and urban problems. Mexico City was seen as a role model for other big cities to follow, for example the UN recognised Mexico City as *"one of the largest and once most polluted cities in the world, is demonstrating that an agenda shift toward environmental sustainability is possible."* (UN, n.d.1).

4.1.3 Climate Action Program 2014-2020

In 2014, the second local climate policy was presented, the Climate Action Program of Mexico City 2014-2020 (PACCM), which is the guiding instrument for government policy on climate change in the capital, integrating, coordinating and driving actions to reduce environmental, social and economic risks from climate change while also promoting the welfare of the city's population. As with the first local climate policy, this also aims to reduce the high vulnerability of the capital. According to the government, cities are a main part of the problem *"because they consume a large portion – 60 to 80% – of the energy produced globally, and are responsible for a similar percentage of the world's CO2 emissions"* (SEDEMA, 2014a: 3). Also, the government recognises cities as part

of the solution, which is why "*local authorities have strong capabilities to combat climate change.*" (Ibid) In this way, climate change is not just perceived a national worry, it is also a local one, and therefore the government introduces initiatives to combat this serious threat facing the city and its population. Since Mexico City is one of the largest cities in the world and extremely vulnerable towards the impacts of climate change, it underpins the importance of studying the local climate policy of Mexico City, which will have a huge effect not only on the city and its population, but also contribute to a reduction of the global emissions. Today, over half of the world's population live in cities, and this number is only expected to increase as more rural people will move into the cities. Therefore, exactly, is it so crucial that a metropolis as Mexico City, as the first city in Latin America, takes an initiative to implement adaptation and mitigation strategies with a gender perspective to combat the threats of climate change, which will most likely lead the way for other cities to follow.

The main objective of PACCM is to improve the quality of life for the population and sustainable development with low carbon intensity in Mexico City. It seeks to reduce CO_2 emissions, reduce the vulnerability of the city and its population while increasing their adaptation capacities and ensure citizens are informed about climate change. The mitigation objective is to achieve a mitigation of eight million tons of CO_2 until 2020. The adaptation objective is to increase the city's resiliency as well as the population's adaptation capacities, particularly for the 5.6 million people who are perceived as the most vulnerable to extreme weather events, such as flooding and landslides. (SEDEMA, 2014a) These people's vulnerability is based on several factors such as geography, economy, education and gender:

> "*The degree of vulnerability is not equal for the entire population, since their geographical location, economic situation, education or gender determines their exposure to the effects of climate change. Eventually, these translate into risks for their human, economic and social integrity.*" (SEDEMA, n.d.1)

PACCM consists of 69 actions. 27 of these are from the previous climate policy 2008-2012, four are current actions, which were designed under the implementation of PACCM, and 38 are new ones, adjusted to the necessities of Mexico City. All actions fall under PACCM's seven strategies: urban and rural energy transition, containment of urban sprawl, environmental improvement, sustainable development of natural resources and biodiversity, building the city's resilience, education and

communication and research and development. Overall, these strategies focus on the efficient use of energy, responsible use and protection of natural resources and biodiversity, and the containment of the urban sprawl through research, education and communication, which serve to set targets for the mitigation of pollutant emissions as well as adaptation to the effects of climate change. (SEDEMA, 2014b) PACCM emphasises that all priorities consider a gender perspective as well as vulnerable groups, since they are the most affected, especially women and girls.

Creating resilience

PACCM aims to increase people's resilience, especially for the most vulnerable groups, whose vulnerability derives from 'permanent or dynamic' conditions such as age, gender, economic conditions, location, and social situation. In the Resilience Strategy, these vulnerabilities are addressed to generate multiple benefits not only to build urban resilience but also to reduce social inequalities and improve everyone's quality of life. (SEDEMA, 2016b)

Increasing the resilience means improving people's capacity to survive, adapt and grow independently of the adverse impacts they experience because of climate change. The Resilience Strategy was published in September 2016 with an aim to promote a more equitable society by paying attention to the most affected population (SEDEMA, 2016b). In order to build resilience, "*the past must be considered so that risks related with the city's history are better understood (…) Knowledge of both the past and the present is the foundation for a better understanding of the potential risks and unforeseen events that the city and its inhabitants may face.*" (SEDEMA, 2016b: 23).

With PACCM, the local government of Mexico City sets the political agenda and demonstrates what it finds important regarding the threats from climate change. In line with FPE, decisions about environmental issues, such as climate change, are not politically neutral. Rather, they resemble power relations, in this case power relations between the government and the citizens, as the government decides what the content of PACCM should be. As such, policies are not neutral.
The following paragraph will move on to the analysis in order to answer the problem formulation:

How does the Mexico City government address gender in the Climate Action Program 2014-2020, and how does it affect women's resilience to climate change?

4.2 Policy as language

The first part of the analysis will give an overview of the content of the policy. This will be done by presenting the gender perspective in PACCM. Also, the context, both nationally and internationally, in which PACCM was presented, will be outlined because it is necessary to understand what might have influenced the content regarding a gender perspective. The findings will be discussed further in the last paragraph of the analysis.

Gender equality

Mexico is one of the regions' most unequal countries and ranks 74 in the Gender Inequality Index by UNDP (2018). This inequality derives from social structures in society, where men dominate all areas of private and public life. It has existed throughout history and is better known as *patriarchy* as it positions women subordinated to men and affects women in every sphere of their lives, also in relation to climate change, where women are expected to be the hardest hit. (Frias, 2014) Despite this structural inequality is still high in Mexico, the country has made progress within women's rights in recent years. According to UN Women, Mexico is moving closer to gender equality:

> "*Mexico has made significant progress in the achievement of women's rights and gender equality, especially in key areas at federal level: strengthening of national laws to ensure women and men equality, strong gender institutionalism and increased public resources earmarked for gender equality*". (UN Women, n.d.)

Also in Mexican climate policies, a gender perspective has gained momentum, and PACCM is an example of how the national discourse with an increased focus on gender equality influences the local climate policy since PACCM states, the "*Climate Action Program of Mexico City has been designed taking into account the guidelines of the Special Climate Change Program and the National Climate Action Strategy*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 280). These policies are considered the two most important national climate policies striving to achieve gender equality. The National Climate Action Strategy is the guiding instrument for climate policies and provides a 10-20-40 year vision for Mexico towards a competitive, sustainable and low-carbon economy. It not only includes a reduction of greenhouse gases; it also aims to improve health and quality of life for the population in order to make Mexico more resilient towards the impacts of climate change. The vision on the long term is that Mexico will

become a socially equitable nation with a green economy with ecosystems and populations resilient to climate change. (SEMARNAT, 2013) The Special Climate Change Program is a planning instrument of the Climate Change General Law. It aims to reduce the vulnerability of the populations and the productive sectors and to preserve and protect ecosystems and environmental services and increase the resilience of the country towards the impacts of climate change. (SEMARNAT, 2014) Both policies include a gender perspective, where women are perceived as important decision-makers. Also, it is emphasised the policies consider differences between women and men so the policies will not exacerbate the disproportionate effects based on gender. PACCM was designed taking these two main national climate policies, which were implemented under the General Law on Climate Change implemented in 2012, into account. The implementation of the General Law on Climate Change made Mexico the second country in the world, after the UK, and the first developing country to adopt a climate law. The law sets the path for the country to achieve its goal for a reduction of CO_2 emissions by 50% from 2000 levels by 2050. Since Mexico is highly affected by the impacts of climate change, the law strongly emphasises adaptation strategies with an objective to reduce social and ecosystem vulnerability by strengthening the resilience of natural and human systems to reduce damage and risk. (LSE, 2012) The law also established the Climate Change Fund, which is used to finance climate initiatives in Mexico, such as the Special Climate Change Program and the National Climate Action Strategy.

Additionally, PACCM has also been influenced by the National Development Plan (NDP) 2013-2018, which aims to tackle the structural problems in the Mexican society. The NDP has five main lines of action: peace, inclusion, quality education, prosperity and global responsibility and three principles: democratising productivity, efficient governance and gender perspective. In the NDP, it was the first time a gender perspective was integrated as an essential principle, which aims to gender mainstream gender equality and women's empowerment in all its areas (COFEMER, 2013). Gender was made a cross-cutting development objective in the NDP in line with the 2006 General Law of Equality between Women and Men. As part of the NDP, the gender equality plan, National Programme for Equal Opportunities and Non-Discrimination against Women (Proigualdad) was adopted, which can be seen as a tool to "*acknowledge the central place of gender mechanism in leading or orientating public policies towards gender equality.*" (ECLAC, 2019: 26). It demonstrates the national government's commitment to gender equality and that the institutionalisation of gender is being consolidated in Mexico. The NDP requires all public policies to integrate a gender

perspective and aims to achieve gender equality "*into the three levels of government and the three powers of the State, and to strengthen its mainstreaming*" (ECLAC, 2019: 27). To realise this, it is essential to have bodies in governments to coordinate and institutionalise gender mainstreaming in public policies for the advancement of women. In Mexico, this body in government is the National Women's Institute (Inmujeres), which follows the objectives of a gender perspective as outlined in Proigualdad as the following: eradicating violence against women, promote women's access to paid, decent work and productive resources, achieve gender equality, promote a cultural change and recognition of women's rights, strengthen women's participation, develop safe environments, incorporate gender equality policies in all three levels of government. (OECD, 2017). In PACCM, Inmujeres is involved in several of the actions, which will be explained in the next paragraph concerning gender mainstreaming.

PACCM therefore entered a national context, where gender equality has become required to integrate in public policies. Also, PACCM entered at a time, where a left-wing mayor was in office, which generally is in favour of women's rights (Frias, 2014). In this context, it is no surprise PACCM strives for gender equality to "*offer women and men the same opportunities, conditions and forms of treatment, without leaving aside the particularities of each one of them, that allow and guarantee access to the rights they have as citizens*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 384) and that the gender perspective is integrated in over half of the 69 actions in PACCM.

It is not just nationally, however, gender mainstreaming finally seems to have found its place. Since 2012, gender has been on the international agenda in the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) and the "Lima Call for Action" on COP20, encourages "*all actions to address climate change and all the processes established under this agreement should ensure a gender-responsive approach take into account environmental integrity / the protection of the integrity of Mother Earth, and respect human rights, the right to development and the rights of indigenous peoples.*" (UNFCCC, 2015a: 7)

Later it was decided to develop a Gender Action Plan (GAP), which supports the implementation of gender-related decisions, the advancement of women's participation, the promotion of gender-responsive climate policies and gender mainstreaming, which was expressed in the Paris Agreement of 2015, where a gender approach was integrated. (UNFCCC, 2015b)

This international recognition of gender mainstreaming in climate policies is important as it sets the agenda for national governments all over the world, especially UN member states who have signed the UNFCCC, among them Mexico, who meet for the yearly Conference of the Parties (COP). The integration of gender mainstreaming is important because the execution of gender analyses, benchmarks and indicators contribute to more successful climate policies and at the same time also avoid reinforcing existing problems in society by normalising gender inequalities, which have been emphasised by the then Head of UN Women, Michelle Bachelet, at Earth Summit in 2012: "*We cannot afford to leave women marginalized, this is not sustainable. This social exclusion of women is not only hurting women, it is hurting all of us.*" (in Alston, 2014: 291).

It took years before the gender perspective gained momentum on the international agenda. In 1995, gender mainstreaming was presented as a development objective in the Beijing Platform for Action, still, gender was absent from climate policies, which focused mainly on technical solutions, neglecting social concerns. A reason for this can be the often male-dominated international discussions on climate change. When men set the agenda, it can explain the lack of gender awareness in climate policies, since men tend to focus more on technical solutions than gender relations (Hemmati & Röhr, 2007). In 1992, when the UNFCCC was adopted, gender was not integrated even though it took place at the Rio Earth Summit, where gender and women's issues were well integrated in Agenda 21. Not until 2001, at COP7, did gender come to the agenda within the UNFCCC itself as it was decided to improve "*the participation of women in the representation of Parties in bodies established under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change or the Kyoto Protocol*" (UNFCCC, 2002), which encouraged the Parties to take the necessary measures to enable women to participate fully in all levels of decision-making relevant to climate change. In 2010, at COP16, gender equality and the participation of women and indigenous peoples were recognised as important for effective action on all aspects of climate change. Then, in 2012, COP18 emphasised the necessity to strengthen and support data collection, "*including gender-disaggregated data, for assessing the risk of loss and damage associated with the adverse effects of climate change*" (UNFCCC, 2013: 23), especially for the most vulnerable developing countries, so they can enhance their adaptive capacities.

Thus, when PACCM was presented in 2014, it entered a context, where gender mainstreaming just had gained international momentum, which can be assumed to have influenced the local climate

policy of Mexico City and explain why gender was not integrated in the first climate policy in 2008 as gender was not given much attention in the local climate discussions.

Gender-sensitive actions

In contrast to the first climate policy of Mexico City, the current one clearly includes a gender perspective, which is integrated "*recognizing that the global problem of climate change has differentiated effects on men and women and that the risks faced by both depend of the social and gender roles that they develop.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 19). The gender perspective is demonstrated in the actions of PACCM, in some of them more explicitly than in others, which only claim the action includes a gender perspective without explaining how. The gender perspective is expressed in PACCM's new actions. For example, one action has the objective to "*generate indicators through the construction of a statistical information system on the effects of climate change by sex and age.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 258). The action is described as illustrated in the following quote:

"*Incorporate a gender perspective in public policies on climate change to reduce inequality gaps, starting from identifying precisely the substantive problem that makes the difference in the effects of climate change, develop a statistical information system on the effects of this by sex and age, as well as the study and analysis of prevailing inequities that enhance these effects.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 258).

PACCM, thus, does not only integrate a gender perspective in the language, but also in its actions, which is in line with the concept of gender mainstreaming and the aim to achieve both gender equality and a successful policy for adaption and mitigation. In the quote, it becomes clear that the government acknowledges existing inequalities, so women and men therefore do not experience the impacts of climate change the same. The quote also illustrates that PACCM aims to identify the 'substantive problem', which can explain the gendered impacts.

Since gender has not before been integrated in such a climate policy in Mexico City, it is assumed the government designed this action in PACCM to generate these gender-sensitive indicators first, which supposedly will be done through the 2014-2020 period. The action includes four activities:

1) a diagnosis of gender inequalities and climate change,

2) a diagnosis of factors and effects of climate change with a gender perspective,

3) a creation of an information system with statistical data by sex and age linked to climate change, and

4) an indicator system of the impacts of climate change. (SEDEMA, 2014b: 258)

The expected outcomes of the action are "*a report about gender inequalities related to climate change*, *a report about the gendered factors and effects of climate change* and *an information system*". (Ibid) With this outcome, the government of PACCM expects to integrate the gender perspective into all public policies on climate change. This action is allocated 1 million MXN.

In line with Proigualdad, the government of Mexico City in this action seeks to pursue the idea of designing a neutral policy, which will benefit everyone equally as emphasised in the following quote:

"*to rule out discriminatory behaviour or attitudes based on sexual differences, we emphasise that it is necessary to incorporate the gender perspective in the search for social development indicated by the global sign of equity.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 102).

Another action with an explicit gender perspective is the update of the Hazard and Risk Atlas, which contributes with an accurate and effective diagnosis responding to the needs of the population. The ambition is to update the atlas every five years, and therefore no data exists yet, by incorporating data on the differentiated risks of women and men. This is considered important, because Mexico City as one of the greatest megapolises in the world, is in risk of several climate hazards and in recent years has experienced several floods, landslides and heat waves: "*These events can affect the capital population in a greater degree in a situation of poverty, dependence and marginalisation, as well as aggravating some socio-environmental imbalances.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 219)

In the quote, PACCM emphasises that vulnerability depends on factors such as poverty, dependency and marginalisation, thus acknowledging how people's position in society determines how vulnerable they are towards the impacts of climate change.

PACCM as a local climate policy is an example of how the global becomes part of the local. Not only regarding climate change, which is said to be one of human history's biggest challenges, which as a

global phenomenon, brought on by centuries of capitalist development driven by fossil fuels, affects local populations, amongst them the population of Mexico City. Such a crisis requires governments to implement climate policies to take action to combat the climate crisis, also the increasing focus on gender mainstreaming internationally influences the local policy.

Women as agents

In the action 'Study, evaluation and relocation of human settlements in risk areas' (SEDEMA, 2014b: 223), which as well is a new action with a gender perspective, it is mentioned it will be "*taking into account the special needs of the most vulnerable groups of the population, such as women.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 273). It is not explained explicitly why women are viewed as vulnerable, and what their specific needs entail. However, since the objective is to increase the resilience of the city through a relocation of human settlements in risk areas, it can be assumed the government considers women in these high-risk areas particularly vulnerable. This can be underpinned by another new action focusing on access to commercial fuels, energy efficiency and renewable energy to improve women's health with the necessity to use fuels in poor housing. Since this is a gender-sensitive action, it is understood that women who live in poor housing will be more vulnerable not only because they live in a high-risk area, but also because women here often tend to be responsible for domestic tasks, such as cleaning, childcare and cooking. The latter is acknowledged in this particular action, where the objective is to "*reduce the incidence of lung tumours and respiratory disease; irritation of eyes and cataracts, of women exposed to pollutants coming from the burning of wood and garbage used for cooking and water heating.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 357). Another domestic task often carried out by women is water distribution activities and according to the Ministry of Government, women in some areas of Mexico City spend over 30 hours a week to do so (SEDEMA, n.d.2). When poor households do not have access to water at home, they have to retrieve it from water pipes outside the home, wells, rivers and streams (OECD, 2017). Thus, it can be argued that women's vulnerability derives from the sexual division of labour, where women are responsible for the reproductive tasks and men for the productive tasks. This may therefore also mean that women living in high-risk areas are poor.

Even though women are considered a vulnerable group, PACCM emphasises that women are not a homogenous group, and therefore, it is necessary to identify: "*differences between women, emphasising their sociohistorical and cultural character and the processes of subordination (…),*

showing that not all women experience environmental degradation in the same way" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 67).

PACCM, though, does not only mention women as the most vulnerable group. It also emphasises how crucial women's 'full' participation is (SEDEMA, 2014). This is because women are particularly "*knowledgeable, users and consumers of natural resources*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 67) in line with FPE, which stresses gendered responsibilities implying women and men have different responsibilities because of socially constructed norms. Women's participation is explained as "*integrating the advice of women previously trained in the subject, who make local decisions on the ground and control resources.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 269). This demonstrates how the government promotes the participation of women with a specific knowledge about the environment with an expectation to "*make it possible to clearly visualise the existing problems.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 270).

Women are further portrayed as important agents and not as victims as it has been common to perceive women, especially in the global South. Perceiving women as victims to environmental degradation derived from an understanding of women having a closer relationship to the environment, which was illustrated with the picture of a "*woman carrying firewood on her head across a barren landscape has become an environment and development icon*" (Leach, 2007: 67), which was not only used by NGOs but also within academic literature since the 1980s (Leach, 2007).

In PACCM, women's agency is related to the encouragement for their participation: "*Women participate as a key factor in the processes, that is, they are intermediary agents of the relationship between sustainable development and the environment, from a position not of "victims*" and moreover "*women represent a force that contributes to the management of the environment.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 68).

Here, PACCM emphasises women's contribution to the management of environment, which falls into the tendency of viewing women as saviours of the environment. This is not unusual, in fact, discussions on gender and the environmental have often been influenced by 'simplistic stereotypes' focusing narrowly on women's roles assuming women to be either victims or saviours of the environment (Leach, 2016). Even though this past tendency was criticised by FPE, it seems to have been "*brought to life again in the context of policy concerns with climate change.*" (Leach, 2016:

preface). The narrative of women as victims shifted towards a narrative of women as saviours from the 1990s, where women were recognised for their environmental knowledge because of their reproductive tasks (Leach, 2007). In the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development (UN, 1992a), for example, women's 'vital role' in environmental management and development was emphasised. Also, the Beijing Platform for Action (UN, 1995) mentions women's leadership role and how they often take the lead in promoting environmental matters giving women a powerful role in influencing sustainable development. (Resurrección, 2013) UN Women also shares this understanding as they state, "*women are not only vulnerable to climate change but they are also effective actors or agents of change.*" (UN Women Watch, 2011)

This emphasis on women as saviours of environmental degradation, which has been echoed in international climate change debates inspired by the WED approach, is assumed to have influenced the content of the climate policy of Mexico City, which explicitly emphasises the consideration of international agreements to make sure the PACCM has a "*clear vision and advances in gender and environment, considering the recognition of the fundamental role played by women in urban development*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 273). PACCM refers specifically to the Earth Summit held in Rio in 1992, which in Principle 20 in the Political Declaration states "*women have a vital role in environmental management and development. Their full participation is therefore essential to achieve sustainable development*" (UN, 1992a: 4) and Agenda 21 (1992b), where women are recognised as a 'main group' in sustainable development why their position therefore should be advanced, resembled in PACCM, stating "*it is therefore essential to have their full participation to achieve sustainable development*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 273). Since the new norm is to include gender in climate policies, the government of Mexico City has a reason to live up to this expectation influenced by an international pressure, which can be interpreted as macro-level forces impacting the local demonstrating how power relations influence local policies. Since decision-making is considered a *power*, it plays a crucial role what kinds of decisions are made. As a gender approach in climate policies was not yet considered internationally in 2008, it was neither a central theme in national nor local policies. In the first climate policy of Mexico City, a gender perspective was therefore not integrated, so it seems PACCM has been inspired by the international recognition of integrating a gender perspective into climate policies. Often the international level sets the stage for what national and local governments take into account. The power consists in the decision-making

regarding when and how to include a gender approach. Thus, this is an example of how the global becomes part of the local and how international climate debates might influence local ones.

4.3 Policy as political technology

The second part of the analysis sheds light on the motives for adopting PACCM with a gender perspective and how it is a goal to pursue certain political goals.

It can be argued that the integration of a gender perspective is a motive of the government to live up to the new standards of gender mainstreaming, since it is a tool to achieve gender equality and has become a tool for many governments worldwide. Gender mainstreaming is not only expressed in the language, PACCM also demonstrates a "*process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned actions (…) a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies (…) so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated.*" (ECOSOC, 1997), which is the UN definition of gender mainstreaming.

This is done with the support from the National Women's Institute (Inmujeres). Like many other countries, Mexico has established an institutional framework for gender equality through the 2006 General Law on Equality between Women and Men, which requires the national government to design and implement gender equality policies and institutionalise Inmujeres as the central gender institution to coordinate gender equality actions at federal, state and municipal level. Hence, the requirement for gender equality and gender mainstreaming in public policies also count for local governments. (OECD, 2017) According to OECD, Inmujeres has in recent years been successful in positioning gender equality high on the political agenda and the institution therefore plays a crucial role by providing technical support and advice on gender matters with an overall objective to "*foster an environment conducive to non-discrimination, equality of opportunity and treatment between women and men, women's equitable participation in the political, cultural, economic and social life.*" (OECD, 2017: 247). In PACCM, Inmujeres supports and advice the government of Mexico City in climate actions to ensure an integration of the gender perspective, which is necessary to achieve the goal of PACCM: gender equality. (OECD, 2017)

In PACCM, Inmujeres is mentioned as responsible for several of the actions, which is illustrated with a small gender symbol next to the title of the action, to ensure the process of gender mainstreaming in the actions for adaptation and mitigation and to ensure women's advancement in PACCM as in line with the NDP.

Gender-sensitive actions

As already mentioned, Inmujeres is responsible for several of the actions in PACCM. For example, in the chapter for Investigation and Development, Inmujeres is responsible for the generation of gender-sensitive indicators about the impacts of climate change with a gender perspective through the construction of a statistical information system on the effects of climate change by sex and age. Such a system is necessary, since this data does not yet exist as it was not included in the former climate policy, where gender mainstreaming was not carried out. This action resembles a gender impact assessment (GIA), which is crucial to carry out gender mainstreaming. This gender-based analysis will explore how women and men are differently affected by climate change and why some groups are particularly vulnerable, which shows a shift towards gender mainstreaming in climate policies in Mexico City in line with the national and international context. It shows the government's prioritisation of a gender perspective and furthermore that it allocates funds to gender-sensitive actions. More specific, this action includes a diagnosis of gender inequalities and climate change, a diagnosis of factors and effects of climate change, a creation of an information system with statistical data by sex and age linked to climate change and an indicator system of the impacts of climate change. The action is allocated 1 million pesos, which is not a lot compared to other actions, which are allocated up to 94,000 million pesos, which thus indicates that gender analyses are not the main priority for the government. Gender-responsive budgeting is a gender mainstreaming tool (OECD, 2017) and it is often the case that gender mainstreaming cannot be carried out successfully due to a lack of resources, especially financially.

While this gender-sensitive action was only allocated 1 million pesos, more than half of the in total 69 actions in PACCM includes a gender perspective.

One of them is the update of the Hazard and Risk Atlas also under the responsibility of Inmujeres, which has been allocated 7.5 million pesos, since climate hazards "*can affect the capital population in a greater degree in a situation of poverty, dependence and marginalisation, as well as aggravating*

some socio-environmental imbalances." (SEDEMA, 2014b: 219). It demonstrates that the effects of climate change do not affect everyone equally, but that it depends on different factors, such as poverty, dependence and marginalisation, which are associated with a high level of vulnerability in relation to climate change as well as fewer capacities for adaptation (Jungehülsing, 2012). All three factors mostly relate to women's vulnerability in a Mexican context, since poverty, dependence and marginalisation to a large degree are female and related to economic inequality (Ibid). According to OECD (2017), Mexican women are more likely to be poor than men. When these factors are considered in PACCM, it demonstrates an understanding of how efforts to achieve gender equality should be made side by side with efforts to achieve socioeconomic equality. It is crucial for a successful climate policy that gender is considered in this context and furthermore, to avoid inequitable gender relations will increase women's vulnerability and their possibilities for adaptation.

The implementation of PACCM's actions will be financed through the Environmental Climate Change Fund, administered by the Ministry of Environment in Mexico City. (SEDEMA, n.d.3)

To carry out gender mainstreaming, resources are necessary. Not only financial, also personnel. When Inmujeres supports the government of Mexico City in the implementation of actions, it can be argued there is a good chance that the gender perspective is integrated by gender specialists, who will supposedly contribute to the government's aim of designing a neutral policy.

Furthermore, the government of Mexico City has had help from the international community. In the Progress Report from 2016, a status of some of the actions has been presented. Regarding the gender-sensitive action to create an indicators system for adaptation to climate change and mitigation of greenhouse gases with the intention to "*properly improve, prioritize, monitor and evaluate adaptation and mitigation climate change actions*." (SEDEMA, 2016a: 110), the result is claimed to be 50% with no further details of what this practically means. Though, it is mentioned the result was achieved in collaboration with the German Corporation for International Cooperation (GIZ), which illustrates how a gender perspective is a high priority for the government. Together, they held several workshops to work on the gender and climate change linkages. One workshop was held to establish coordinating mechanisms between the gender and climate change links of the different agencies of Mexico City's government involved in PACCM, which identified more than 70 action lines in PACCM linked to Proigualdad, implemented by Inmujeres. Another workshop was held to develop a gender-sensitive

indicators system for PACCM as one of "*the main needs is to have a diagnosis and baseline to understand the impacts of climate change on Mexico City's women and men.*" (SEDEMA, 2016a: 111).

It is evident then, that gender mainstreaming is a new task for the government of Mexico City, which however, seems to prioritise it, and accepts the support from specialists from the understanding that gender analyses are necessary to conduct to understand the gendered impacts of climate change.

In sum, it is therefore argued it is not only in the language of PACCM a gender perspective is expressed. Also, the actions demonstrate that gender mainstreaming has been strived for by the government, which in PACCM is considered to be "*a complex process that demands new commitments and mechanisms, but, above all, the opening of consciences and the alliance of wills.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 69).

4.4 Policy as cultural agent

The third part of the analysis aims to discuss what effects the gender perspective in PACCM might have (others than intended) on women's resilience to climate change. Based on the two previous chapters, the paragraph will discuss the possible implications of the climate policy's gender perspective.

PACCM aims to make the population of Mexico City resilient towards the impacts of climate change. It aims to achieve gender equality and thus includes a comprehensive gender perspective, expressed both in language and actions. PACCM includes in total 69 actions of which 35 have a gender symbol in the title illustrating the goal of gender equality in these actions. It is assumed the policymakers in the government of Mexico City intend to create a gender-sensitive climate policy with the potential to not only achieve gender equality but also to create a more effective adaptation and mitigation policy. This resembles a holistic approach to climate change as it does not only consider technical solutions but also acknowledges the importance of citizens' population, especially women's. (Otzelberger, 2011)

There are many positive aspects in PACCM, demonstrating the government's willingness to take gender concerns into account. It acknowledges that women and men are differently affected by climate change and that women represent the most vulnerable group due to their position in society:

"*Climate change impacts affect women and men differently, being underprivileged girls and women the most vulnerable to the effects of this phenomenon due to the roles and stereotypes historically established, hence the importance of including a gender perspective in an effective way in the design of public policies on climate change*" (SEDEMA, 2016a: 16).

Moreover, women are not seen as a homogenous group, rather, they are different because of "*their sociohistorical and cultural character and the processes of subordination*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 67), which determine the vulnerability towards climate change and thus, how some groups of women will be more affected than others. Not only will some groups of women be more vulnerable, their position in society might also get worse: "*These events can affect the capital population in a greater degree in a situation of poverty, dependence and marginalisation, as well as aggravating some socio-environmental imbalances.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 219).

While PACCM states that vulnerability depends on poverty, dependence and marginalisation, it is argued that an intersectional approach has not been pursued by including social categories such as ethnicity, race, class, religion, disability, etc. to conduct a more profound analysis of the differences between women determining their vulnerability towards climate change. An intersectional approach would have been obvious to include as it helps to avoid a simplistic understanding of gender divisions and the gendered power relations in relation to the environment (Elmhirst, 2015). While it is explained that women are different due to their sociohistorical and cultural character and the processes of subordination, it is not explained what this exactly means. Social categories intersecting with gender can help explain social inequalities, therefore, it would have helped the government to know how to consider this in PACCM. As outlined in the theory, gender never stands alone, and therefore it is necessary to intersect it with other social categories, to explain differences between women and which factors determine their vulnerability.

The aim of intersectionality is not to include as many categories as possible. In a Mexican context, it would have been relevant to include ethnicity, since Mexico has the largest indigenous population

with 17 million people, representing 15% of the population, in the Americas (IWGIA, n.d.), who historically have experienced discrimination and marginalisation. Over 70% of them live in poverty (Roldán, 2018), which means they might be even more vulnerable and be double-hit by the impacts of climate change (Schipper & Langston, 2014).

Often an intersectional approach is ignored in climate policies (ECLAC, 2019: 29), and the consequence is that women's differences are not truly considered, hence simplifying that women no matter of ethnicity, age, race, class, religion, disability, etc. are the most vulnerable towards climate change.

Narrow focus on women

In PACCM, the gender perspective includes both women and men, which is a crucial aspect of gender mainstreaming. However, there is a tendency with a narrow focus on women. Women are mentioned as 'agents of the relationship between sustainable development and the environment' and 'a force that contributes to the management of the environment' and not victims. This is in contrast to the before-mentioned acknowledgement on women's differences and nevertheless ends up with a perception of women as a homogenous group. Such an essentialisation could have been avoided with an intersectional approach, which could have explained why specific women should be seen as key factors in relation to climate change. This perception of women resembles a tendency for simplification, where the gender perspective is reduced to simple woman-man binaries, where women are seen as either vulnerable victims or saviours of the environment. When PACCM does not intersect gender with other social categories, it does not consider how differences are socially constructed and context-specific and how they may shift in realities of climate change (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014). Throughout PACCM, gender is therefore presented in an equivocal way as women are both emphasised as the most vulnerable group but at the same time as caretakers of the environment. A perception, which can be assumed to derive from their reproductive roles in society, thus reinforcing status quo, instead of contributing to women's equality with men.

It is understandable though that women are perceived like this as it has been echoed on the international level. For example by UN Women:

"women are not only vulnerable to climate change but they are also effective actors or agents of change in relation to both mitigation and adaptation. Women often have a strong body of knowledge and expertise that can be used in climate change mitigation, disaster reduction and adaptation strategies. Furthermore, women's responsibilities in households and communities, as stewards of natural and household resources, positions them well to contribute to livelihood strategies adapted to changing environmental realities." (UN Women Watch, 2011)

Women's empowerment

When PACCM perceives women as 'agents', it risks increasing their burdens if they are expected to be the saviours of the environment. It falls into the often-used view on women as 'caretakers of the environment', who are expected to find a solution to the climate crisis, which the quote above is an example of. When women are allocated the responsibility for saving the environment, it might increase their workloads, also, it might reinforce traditional gender roles instead of supporting gender equality (Leach, 2007). This way of integrating women in climate change debates was put forward by the WED approach but criticised by FPE because it does not empower women, rather, it increases their responsibilities. Also, it was criticised for being too generalising and for romanticising women's relationship with nature. The theory states it is important not to romanticise women, their knowledge and participation in climate change adaptation and mitigation, but rather recognise their roles, responsibilities and opportunities.

Furthermore, when women are portrayed as a force contributing to the management of the environment, it risks keeping women in a position as responsible for the reproductive tasks, which they traditionally have always been, regarding responsibility for the household and the family.

When this is said, it after all might have been considered by the government in PACCM, which emphasises that women's participation should not "*place women in a triple day of work or perpetuate their character as responsible educators, now not only of family care but environment.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 67). This understanding comes from the Gender, Environment and Development (GED) approach as mentioned in PACCM as the model to follow since it acknowledges that discrimination affects women in line with the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), which Mexico committed to in 1981. CEDAW emphasises a commitment to establish institutions, which will advise on the impacts of government policies, monitor the situation

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of women, and formulate new policies to eliminate discrimination (OECD, 2017). With this understanding of women's roles, it can be argued it is not the purpose of PACCM to increase women's burdens, which would lead to 'time poverty'. Thereby, it is assumed PACCM will not contribute to women working longer hours in unpaid jobs, which would have gendered effects because too much domestic work makes it impossible for women to additionally engage in the labour market (Ibid). While rural women in general do more domestic work, it is an overall structural problem in the Mexican society, thus also in Mexico City (Ibid).

This leads the analysis further into emphasising how PACCM might in fact empower women.

Women's participation

When PACCM encourages women's participation, it will assumedly empower them, which is crucial to reduce their vulnerability. Women's empowerment is not only important for women themselves, rather, women's participation in all spheres of society (economic political and social) is contributing to the well-being of the society as a whole as gender policies most likely will contribute to a more balanced society. Consequently, gender policies are not just about women. Mexico is already on the right path to improve women's conditions and status in society, particularly through the NDP, which integrates gender mainstreaming based on the recognition that gender inequalities have to be eliminated to achieve full development. The NDP includes gender equality as a cross-cutting principle to support Mexico's goal to "*unlock its full potential*" (OECD; 2017: 42).

It is an important signal to send in PACCM that the government of Mexico City promotes women's participation. In PACCM, the strengthening of women's autonomy is seen as crucial to create resilience for the population towards the impacts of climate change: "*From this perspective, it is necessary to incorporate a vision of women's empowerment for equity and sustainable development.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 267). This support for women's empowerment is especially important in the Mexican context, where women's status in society have been dominated by men, their voices have been ignored, thus excluded women from decision-making both in private and public. Women's status in society derives from *machismo*, which perceives men as more worth than women. Machismo defines men's behaviour as dominant, controlling and aggressive and this cultural perception of male superiority, which has determined social roles and behaviour in Latin America, is still persistent. *Marianismo*, in contrast, is less known, defines women's behaviour based on the image of Virgin

Mary, which relates to passivity and submissiveness and acts like a role model for women. (Mayo & Resnick, 1996)

The Mexican government's commitment to promote women's status in society with the implementation of gender-sensitive policies has contributed to progress and is a reason to be optimistic. However, according to OECD, there is still "*long way to go on the road to gender equality*" (OECD, 2017: 23). Some women are still today marginalised and discriminated in society, highly caused by the economic inequality. Mexico has one of the lowest rates of female participation in the labour market with only 47% of women of working age as part of the workforce (OECD average is 67%), and with over half of Mexican women of working age in informal employment with little or no social protection (OECD, 2017). This sexual division of labour assigns the role of being in charge of reproductive work to women. It leads to economic inequality between women and men and keeps women in a position subordinated to men, influencing their status in society. These dominant gender relations position women disadvantageously to men. While men make decisions about economic issues, women make them about family and food (Jungehülsing, 2012). In Mexico, female-headed households still increase (Frias, 2014), which resembles the gendered responsibilities, where men are responsible for productive tasks, while women are responsible for the reproductive. Since women have been excluded from decision-making, their voices have not been heard, causing high gender inequalities in Mexico. Then, when PACCM recognises women's voices, it acknowledges they have something to say in society, and so, their needs can be considered, which might reduce their vulnerability towards climate change and make them more resilient. PACCM encourages all citizens to participate, however, emphasis is strongly put on women in particular: "*the active participation of the population and especially of the women is favoured.*" (SEDEMA, 2014b: 270).

Specific environmental knowledge

The emphasis on women's participation is underpinned by women's specific environmental knowledge stressed in PACCM, which states women are 'knowledgeable, users and consumers of natural resources'. In this formulation, it seems the government relies on women's knowledge of the environment based on gender specific tasks and roles. When women are viewed as closer to nature, it relies on fixed gender roles and a sexual division of labour, where women are responsible for 'women's tasks' only. Thereby, it ignores the gendered power relations leading to the formation of

these specific gender roles as something natural, which might contribute to a deepening of the inequalities women already experience and also increase their responsibilities without the necessary benefits (Arora-Jonsson, 2011).

Specific environmental knowledge attributed to women as explained earlier might be the result of women having a position of subordination and obligation (Leach, 2007; Resurrección, 2013). PACCM seems to acknowledge these gendered power relations as it emphasises women's *"sociohistorical and cultural character and the processes of subordination"* (SEDEMA, 2014b: 67), which is, however, not further explained. Still, it can be assumed the government considers gender relations as power relations between women and men, where women have been placed in a subordinated position in society with respect to men. What is not clarified in PACCM though, is, what causes this subordination. Therefore, it would have been relevant to question these gendered power relations through which women and men are assigned different roles and responsibilities, which is one of the fundamental elements structuring society and generally place women in a disadvantageous position in relation to men (Jungehülsing, 2012).

Economic, social and political conditions are important to determine vulnerability, especially in relation to climate change as they can explain why some women are more vulnerable than others and their capacities for adapting: "*women represent a particularly vulnerable population group, as a consequence of the dominant gender relations (…) characterized by unequal access to resources and decision-making power. This means that women are in a disadvantageous position in relation to men*" (Jungehülsing, 2012: 17). In order to achieve gender equality, reduce women's vulnerability and increase their resiliency, this should have been considered in PACCM. Climate policies should consider that because of the different economic, social, reproductive and political roles played by women, they have different capacities and different needs than men in response to impacts from climate change (Jungehülsing, 2012).

Complex social life

As the anthropological approach states, once a policy is presented, it enters into complex relations and therefore often has unanticipated effects, which leads to the policy escaping its design of the policy makers. Even though Mexico City has progressed significantly, the Mexican society is still challenged by gender inequalities. Women are in many spheres still subordinated to men, and

therefore it is also expected they will be hit the hardest by the impacts of climate change. To avoid this, climate policies should include a comprehensive gender perspective, which takes into consideration the differences between women and men and plan their actions after such differences. Even though PACCM has an explicit gender perspective, and Inmujeres is responsible for several of the actions to ensure gender mainstreaming, it can be discussed whether it can achieve gender equality. PACCM enters a sociocultural context, which although progress, is still affected by gender inequality, where men dominate women. It has in the analysis been explained how Mexico has implemented several policies with a gender perspective, also climate policies. However, the persistent challenges related to gender inequality are structural and this means a gap exists between what is formally stated and what is practically implemented. It is therefore claimed Mexican women do still not feel the positive effects of this gender mainstreaming (OECD, 2017). It is therefore argued it is most likely that PACCM despite its positive elements with gender references throughout the document, will not make women feel such positive effects either and thereby end up leaving women behind even though the opposite was the intention. This might be the unfortunate case although PACCM integrates a comprehensive gender perspective and thereby is not gender-neutral, which is understood as the first step to empower women (Jungehülsing, 2012).

Nevertheless, what can be in favour of PACCM, is the fact that Mexico City has reached the highest level of gender equality in the country, where women have reached 81% equality with men (Frias, 2014), so PACCM might still have some positive effects. This remarkable progress can be explained by modernisation, claiming high levels of development reduce gender inequality (Ibid). Also, it can be explained by a political will to achieve gender equality as PACCM was presented in 2014 under a left-wing mayor from the Party of the Democratic Revolution. Left-wing parties are more prone to promote gender equality (Ibid) and this can explain the political decision to promote gender-sensitive policies. This has not only been clarified in PACCM but also in the Women4Climate program, which Mexico City was the second city worldwide to implement. This program encourages the participation of women in local actions aimed at combatting climate change while promoting gender equity and was held for the second time in Mexico City to call for more inclusion of women in the design of public policies aimed to address climate change and global warming as expressed in a tweet of the mayor: *"I'm certain that caring for our environment is a commitment, cities have to make and starting today, from Mexico City, we encourage women as protagonists of this change."* (Moreno, 2018).

It is believed the government of Mexico City definitely moves in the right direction with PACCM, where it demonstrates the willingness to integrate a widespread gender perspective. Also, the participation of Inmujeres is assumed to ensure gender mainstreaming since this institution possesses the required gender expertise. Furthermore, the financial budget allocated to the gender-sensitive actions will assumedly ensure that they will consider both women's and men's specific needs to adapt to the impacts of climate change.

Moreover, and importantly, it is believed PACCM will be an inspiration for future climate policies, which will continue integrating a gender perspective and conduct new analyses of the gendered impacts of climate change contributing to the reduction of women's vulnerability and contribute to their resilience. The gender perspective is now on the local climate agenda as the government of Mexico City in PACCM signals it is a necessary component, and this is an important signal to send. PACCM shows how the government thinks about gender in relation to climate change, and how much emphasis it gets in relation to acting on the problem. PACCM is a reflection of how the government understands the world, and it is argued the local government understands climate change is real, for which reason it is necessary to gender mainstream climate policies because the population will experience the impacts differently. It is also believed future climate policies will continue with gender mainstreaming, especially since the new government with the mayor Claudia Sheinbaum Pardo is from the same left-wing political Party of the Democratic Revolution, which designed PACCM, and with her background in climate science, it can be assumed she will continue promoting women's rights. In fact, she has already officially announced a plan to tackle gender inequality in Mexico City: a construction of 300 pillars for women to learn different professions with the aim of the government to strengthen women's economic autonomy (Hernández, 2019), which shows her commitment to combat gender inequality in Mexico City.

Lastly, it is important to mention that since the analysis is based on the climate policy document, it does not elaborate on the implementations of the gender-sensitive actions. This means that even though it is argued the gender-sensitive actions give a reason to be optimistic regarding gender equality and increasing women's resilience to the impacts of climate change, it cannot be demonstrated whether these gender-sensitive actions actually will be implemented. This is important to be aware of when understanding the outcome of the analysis, since there often is a gap between policy and action.

5. Conclusion

Climate change is one of our times greatest threats, which will affect all of us, however, we will not be affected the same. This thesis has studied the climate policy of Mexico City with the aim to answer the problem formulation: "*How does the Mexico City government address gender in the Climate Action Program 2014-2020, and how does it affect women's resilience to climate change?*" The climate policy of Mexico City (PACCM) includes 69 actions to reduce environmental, social and economic risks from climate change while promoting the welfare of the population. 35 of them include a gender perspective. PACCM is an interesting climate policy to study not only because Mexico City and its population are extremely vulnerable to climate change, but also because it enters a structural unequal society, where gender equality has gained more political attention recently.

PACCM integrates a comprehensive gender perspective, which is expressed in both language and actions, demonstrating the government's willingness to consider the specific needs of both women men. PACCM aims to achieve gender equality, which is an important signal to send by the government, indicating gender equality is on the political agenda. This makes Mexico City an interesting case to study as the country is extremely affected by structural inequality, where women due to machismo have historically been subordinated to men. PACCM emphasises that women and men do not experience the impacts of climate change the same and that women constitute the most vulnerable group because of their position in society, where women due to the roles 'historically established', are dominated by men. While an intersectional approach is not fully integrated, PACCM does claim that vulnerability depends on factors such as poverty, dependency and marginalisation, which often concern women because of the sexual division of labour, which keeps women responsible for the reproductive tasks. Importantly, PACCM emphasises that women do not belong to a homogenous group, rather, their differences derive from their sociohistorical and cultural character and from subordination, which will determine their vulnerability towards the impacts of climate change and explain why some women will be more vulnerable than others. Mexico has the largest indigenous population in the Latin American region, so it would have been relevant to intersect gender with ethnicity to avoid simplistic understandings of gendered power relations. While indigenous people historically have been exposed to discrimination and marginalisation, they also constitute the poorest population group and therefore, they will also be particularly vulnerable towards the impacts of climate change, which should have been emphasised in PACCM.

While it is argued PACCM integrates a comprehensive gender perspective, it is emphasised that the gender focus often tends to present a narrow focus on women, thus ignoring men and power relations between women and men. Women are emphasised as the most vulnerable group but also mentioned as agents of the relationship between sustainable development and the environment and a force contributing to the management of the environment. This relies on women's specific environmental knowledge based on specific gender roles deriving from gendered power relations, which are not addressed in PACCM. This resembles an equivocal presentation of women, who are perceived as vulnerable and important agents, who are encouraged to participate, at the same time. If the government realises its intentions of involving women, it might contribute to women's empowerment without increasing their burdens, since PACCM claims that women's roles in society are considered and their participation should not place them in a triple workday. In the Mexican society, where machismo still dominates, women have historically been suppressed. When PACCM acknowledges their voices, it will not only benefit the women themselves, but the whole society, which will turn out more balanced. This emphasis on women's participation resembles a holistic approach in PACCM, which does not only rely on technical solutions to combat the climate crisis, but clearly expresses the importance of gender in its adaptation and mitigation strategies. Empowering women is assumed to positively influence their status in society and thereby increase their capabilities to create resilience towards the impacts of climate change.

Guided by an anthropological approach to policy analysis, it can be concluded there is reason to be optimistic for PACCM to achieve gender equality and accordingly avoid that women will be double-hit, by not only the impacts of climate change, but also by a climate policy which does not consider their specific gendered needs. Although, the policy enters a complex social life, and a Mexican society, which is still affected by structural gender inequality, Mexico City has progressed significantly, and it is believed the left-wing government will contribute to pursuing gender-sensitive policies, also regarding climate change. Therefore, this thesis claims that PACCM with the comprehensive gender perspective will most likely ensure that both women's and men's needs are integrated in the adaptation and mitigation strategies, which then will be more effective, but also increase women's resilience to climate change. Furthermore, with the support from Inmujeres, it is assumed that the gender-sensitive actions as described in PACCM will be implemented, monitored and evaluated.

Finally, the government of Mexico City does in PACCM demonstrate its recognition of the importance of integrating a gender perspective in a climate policy. However, it is important to underline that the outcome of the analysis is alone based on the written climate policy and therefore does not involve the implementation of the actions. Often, there is a gap between policy and actions, and while this thesis does not integrate the implementation of the gender-sensitive actions, it might be the case that PACCM will not create the positive impact as argued above. This is further underpinned of the fact that Mexico's previous gender-sensitive policies have not had the positive impact on women as expected despite the attempt to gender mainstream the policies. Therefore, it is crucial to point out that this thesis only points out the *intentions* of the government of Mexico City in the Climate Action Program 2014-2020, and not whether these intentions have actually been carried out. This means, while this thesis argues that PACCM presents a comprehensive gender perspective in its climate actions for adaptation and mitigation in Mexico City, it does not present the whole picture. If PACCM does not carry out these gender-sensitive actions and fully integrate the gender perspective, it might end up leaving women behind, which will hinder the aim of achieving gender equality even though this is the aim of PACCM.

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