



Lund University Master of Science in
International Development and Management
June 2020

Transforming the climate change-gender nexus?

Revisiting gender mainstreaming in the context of climate change and disaster risk reduction: experiences from the Swedish Embassy in Bangkok



Author: Sofia Karlsson

Supervisor: Catia Gregoratti

Abstract

The gendered nature of impacts from climate change and disasters has become increasingly apparent. As such, this thesis analyses gender mainstreaming at the Development Cooperation Section of the Swedish Embassy in Bangkok with specific reference to its climate change and disaster risk reduction contributions in the Asia-Pacific region. Gender mainstreaming is contextualised within a wider theoretical debate on neoliberalism and the gendered nature of institutions that constrain the potential of such processes. Through semi-structured interviews and a content analysis of project documents, this thesis examines how gender is mainstreamed and to what extent this process can be characterised as ‘transformative’ using a five-criteria framework developed by van Eerdewijk (2013).

The thesis finds that gender mainstreaming can only to some extent be categorised as transformative. Whilst there is a high ambition on gender mainstreaming, and some innovative support functions have been developed, the process is hindered by significant external and institutional constraints. Staff adopt several tactics to overcome these, the most prominent of which is the promotion of a technical and instrumental approach to gender mainstreaming that is seen as less politically sensitive. They also promote a ‘business-case’ for gender mainstreaming. However, such tactics have been criticised by several feminist scholars.

Keywords: gender mainstreaming, climate change, disaster risk reduction, feminist institutionalism, gender expertise, neoliberalism

Word count: 14,996

Acknowledgements

There are many people who have made this research possible. I would like to thank my lovely participants, who took time out of their busy days to answer my many questions. Your commitment to gender equality has been an inspiration to me.

Many people at the Embassy, including my amazing internship supervisor, also provided invaluable guidance in the early and late stages of my research. I can only hope that this thesis is interesting and useful for you.

Thank you also to my supervisor, Catia, who has been a hero throughout this entire process. You have truly mastered the art of being a 'critical friend'. I am similarly grateful to my thesis supervision group whose feedback and encouragement I have much appreciated.

I am also indebted to my current internship supervisor at the Swallows India Bangladesh. Thank you for being so flexible and giving me time to work on this thesis whilst also doing an internship with your organisation.

Lastly, a massive thank you to my family. Despite an unexpected move back home as the result of a pandemic, you have provided constant support. This has allowed me to work unimpeded at home and has also kept my mental health intact through a very stressful time.

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Table of Contents.....	iv
Acronyms and abbreviations.....	vi
List of figures and tables.....	vii
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Aim and research questions.....	2
2. Background	3
2.1. The climate change-gender nexus in the Asia-Pacific region.....	3
2.2. Swedish development cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.....	4
2.2.1. Steering documents.....	5
2.2.2. Regional contributions.....	6
3. Theoretical framework	8
3.1. Feminists and institutions.....	8
3.1.1. Feminist critiques of neoliberalism.....	8
3.1.2. The gendered nature of institutions.....	10
3.1.3. Gender experts and subversive accommodation.....	12
3.2. Conceptualising and situating GM.....	13
3.2.1. History and definition of GM.....	13
3.2.2. Tinkering, tailoring or transforming?.....	14
3.3. Analysing the transformative potential of GM.....	16
4. Methodology	18
4.1. Feminist methodology.....	18
4.2. Research design.....	18
4.3. Data collection.....	20
4.3.1. Interviews.....	20
4.3.2. Content analysis.....	21
4.4. Analysis of data.....	22
4.5. Ethical considerations.....	22
4.5.1. Anonymity and consent.....	22
4.5.2. Reflexivity and positionality.....	23
4.6. Limitations.....	25

5. Findings and analysis	26
5.1. Towards a broader concept of gender equality	26
5.1.1. Conceptualisation of GM	26
5.1.2. Portrayal of women	28
5.1.3. Addressing structural inequalities	28
5.2. Incorporation of gender into the mainstream	30
5.2.1. Prioritising gender equality	30
5.2.2. Changing agendas	32
5.3. Equal representation in decision-making	34
5.4. Institutional changes	36
5.4.1. Tools and processes	36
5.4.2. Capacity building	37
5.4.3. Gender expertise	39
5.4.4. Transforming institutions?	40
5.5. Intersectionality and inclusion of feminist movements	41
6. Conclusions	44
7. Bibliography	46
7.1. Literature	46
7.2. Empirical material	52
8. Appendices	54
8.1. Detailed information about selected contributions	54
8.2. Interview participants	56
8.3. Interview guides	57
8.4. NVivo nodes	63
8.5. Consent form	64

Acronyms and abbreviations

ADB = Asian Development Bank

ADB² = African Development Bank

ADPC = Asian Disaster Preparedness Center

BRDR = Building resilience through inclusive and climate adaptive disaster risk reduction in Asia-Pacific 2017-2023

CEF = The Clean Energy Fund

Climate Finance = Strengthening the Governance of Climate Change Finance to Enhance Gender Equality

COP = Conference of the Parties

CSOs = Civil Society Organisations

DRR = Disaster Risk Reduction

EmPower = Strengthening Human Rights and Gender Equality through Climate Change Action and Disaster Risk Reduction

ESCAP = The Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

EU = The European Union

FFP = Feminist Foreign Policy

GAD = Gender and Development

GGCA = Global Gender and Climate Alliance

GM = Gender Mainstreaming

MFA = Ministry for Foreign Affairs

NGOs = Non-Governmental Organisations

POs = Programme Officers

QAC = Quality Assurance Control

SADDD = Sex-, Age- and Diversity Disaggregated Data

Sida = The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency

The Embassy = The Development Cooperation Section of the Swedish Embassy in Bangkok

UN = The United Nations

UNEP = United Nations Environment Programme

WID = Women in Development

WOCAN = Women Organizing for Change in Agriculture and Natural Resource Management

List of figures and tables

Figure 1. Map of the Asia-Pacific region.

Figure 2. Funding to Asia (regional) in 2019.

Figure 3. Analytical framework.

Figure 4. Schematic of the actors selected for the case study.

Figure 5. NVivo nodes used for coding.

Table 1. Detailed information about selected contributions.

Table 2. Interview participants.

1. Introduction

In recent years, the gendered nature of climate change impacts has been recognised by researchers and development practitioners (Cohen 2018). Women can be more vulnerable to impacts of climate change and are less able to successfully cope and adapt because of societal constraints and gender roles –for example, many women in the Global South work in the small-scale agricultural sector, which is hard-hit by climate change (GGCA 2016). At the same time, women often have relatively limited access to resources and decision-making power, which exacerbates their vulnerability. On the other hand, many women also have relevant knowledge on climate change and disaster risk reduction (DRR) which is currently being side-lined. This not only complicates efforts to achieve gender equality but also limits the efficiency of policies aimed at mitigation and adaptation.

Thus, development actors have begun to address this climate change-gender nexus. Whilst bigger institutions have been slower to respond to this change, many are now including this perspective in their work. Gender mainstreaming (GM) is a popular approach employed by several big donors. In perhaps the most well-used definition from the Council of Europe, GM is described as such:

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

However, its potential for transformative impact has been questioned (ADB 2012; Parpart 2013; Brouwers 2013; Davids *et al.* 2013; Grown *et al.* 2016). Alston (2014) thus argues that an analysis of GM is crucial if we want to examine how effectively development actors address the issue of climate change with gender-sensitivity.

Issues of climate change and DRR are particularly important in the Asia-Pacific region, where many small island nations have been singled out as especially vulnerable to rising sea levels. It is also a region where many marginalised groups are already feeling the effects of climate change (GGCA 2016). The Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida), acting through Swedish Embassies in the region, has been particularly vocal about pushing for GM in its climate change and DRR contributions. Made possible by an internship

at the Development Cooperation Section of the Swedish Embassy in Bangkok ('The Embassy'), this thesis will analyse how GM is conceptualised and practiced at the Embassy in relation to these ambitions.

1.1. Aim and research questions

The aim of this research is to examine recent efforts to mainstream gender into Sida-funded contributions on climate change and DRR in the Asia-Pacific region. This is especially pertinent, given that the current strategy has now run for some years and recommendations are being prepared for the upcoming strategy. In addition to this more practical perspective, this thesis also aims to answer Alston's (2014) call to re-examine GM in the new context of climate change and DRR. The research questions are as follows:

- How does the Embassy mainstream gender into its regional development projects on climate change and DRR?
- To what extent can this process be categorised as transformative?

The research will examine the internal processes at the Embassy, where this strategy plays out, as well as its relationship with Sida and its immediate partners.¹ Research conducted on the climate change-gender nexus often centres on the material impact of development projects on women in the Global South (MacGregor 2010). However, less attention has been paid to the institutional processes that impact on and influence GM in the design and implementation phases of development projects. This is especially interesting at the Embassy, which is comparatively removed from the beneficiaries of its projects and instead works closely with partner organisations on a regional level. The arena of research is thus principally the Embassy and its staff, in tandem with its immediate sphere of influence.

Before explaining the theoretical underpinnings of this paper, a brief description of the context will be given to familiarise the reader with the Asia-Pacific region and with the Embassy itself. Then the methodology will be outlined, followed by findings and analysis. Lastly, key findings will be summarised and recommendations for further research will be given in a concluding chapter.

¹ The Embassy does not implement its own projects, but rather funds contributions that are implemented by other organisations. Immediate partners are those organisations that are primarily responsible for carrying out funded contributions, although these organisations often in turn have implementing partners on a local and national level.

2. Background

2.1. The climate change-gender nexus in the Asia-Pacific region

Actors working on climate change and DRR have traditionally ignored gender and other social dimensions in their work (Dankelman 2010). However, recently the importance of gender in climate change has been recognised by academics and practitioners alike (Cohen 2018). Women and men are impacted in different ways by climate change and by natural disasters because they face different structural constraints. Cultural and social norms, the gendered division of labour and other socioeconomic inequalities work to create different impacts on men and women as well as determine who can access resources and information, which then shapes the capacity to adapt and respond to climate change and natural disasters (Tschakert and Machado 2012; Kaijser and Kronsell 2013; Djoudi *et al.* 2016).

Women are not only more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change and disasters, they can also be powerful agents of change, often with relevant knowledge about mitigation and adaptation in their local contexts (Dankelman 2010). For example, Sultana (2013) found that women's groups were involved in post-disaster restoration and adaptation projects in South Asia. However, these groups were limited by social, political and cultural factors, as well as their inability to access credit, markets and appropriate technologies. Women are also underrepresented in decision-making (GGCA 2016).

In the Asia-Pacific region (see Fig 1 for map), climate change and DRR are particularly poignant issues. Coastal areas, especially low-lying islands in the Pacific, are hard-hit by rising seawater (GGCA 2016). Asia-Pacific is also the most disaster-prone region in the world (ESCAP 2020). Existing patriarchal norms and growing inequalities, coupled with a dependence on agricultural activities for women's livelihoods, means that many women in the Asia-Pacific region are particularly at risk. For example, as many as 58 per cent of the economically active women in the Asia-Pacific region work with agriculture (ESCAP 2017). Almost half of countries in the region also reported that gendered power relations were significant barriers to the implementation of gender policies and programmes (ESCAP 2014). Of course, gendered impacts vary between parts of the region and are highly dependent on the local context. The Asia-Pacific region is diverse and complex, and little research has been done on these impacts in Southeast Asia and the Pacific in particular (GGCA 2016). As such, development work in this region takes place in the context of complex social and environmental

challenges as well as a shrinking civic space and the prosecution of human rights defenders (Amnesty International 2020). It is here that the Embassy must situate its work.



Fig 1. Map of the Asia-Pacific region. Source: cash1994/Shutterstock.com.

2.2. Swedish development cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region

As one of the larger Swedish Embassies in the region, the Development Cooperation Section of the Swedish Embassy in Bangkok is responsible for carrying out the *Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation in Asia and the Pacific region 2016–2021*. This strategy covers South Asia, South-East Asia and small island states in the Pacific.² This section of the thesis provides a brief outline of the policies and guiding documents that steer the work of the Embassy and gives an overview of the existing contributions at the time of writing.

² Adjacent sub-regions affecting the strategy's implementation may be involved when relevant.

2.2.1. Steering documents

Whilst the Embassy has significant freedom in its day-to-day operations, it is guided by policies and guidelines from the Swedish government. The three most important steering documents are the feminist foreign policy (FFP); existing guidelines on GM from Sida; and the regional strategy.

First, the FFP was adopted in 2014 as the first explicitly feminist foreign policy in the world. It emphasises three ‘Rs’ to strengthen in the quest for gender equality: *Rights, Representation and Resources*. Additionally, this work is always based on the *Reality* in which women live. This policy aims to apply a “systematic gender equality perspective” throughout the work of the Swedish government abroad, including its Embassies (MFA 2019: 9).

Second, Sida has various guidelines on how to work with gender, where it defines GM as:

the process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, policy or programme, in all areas and at all levels before any decisions are made and throughout the whole process (2015: 1).

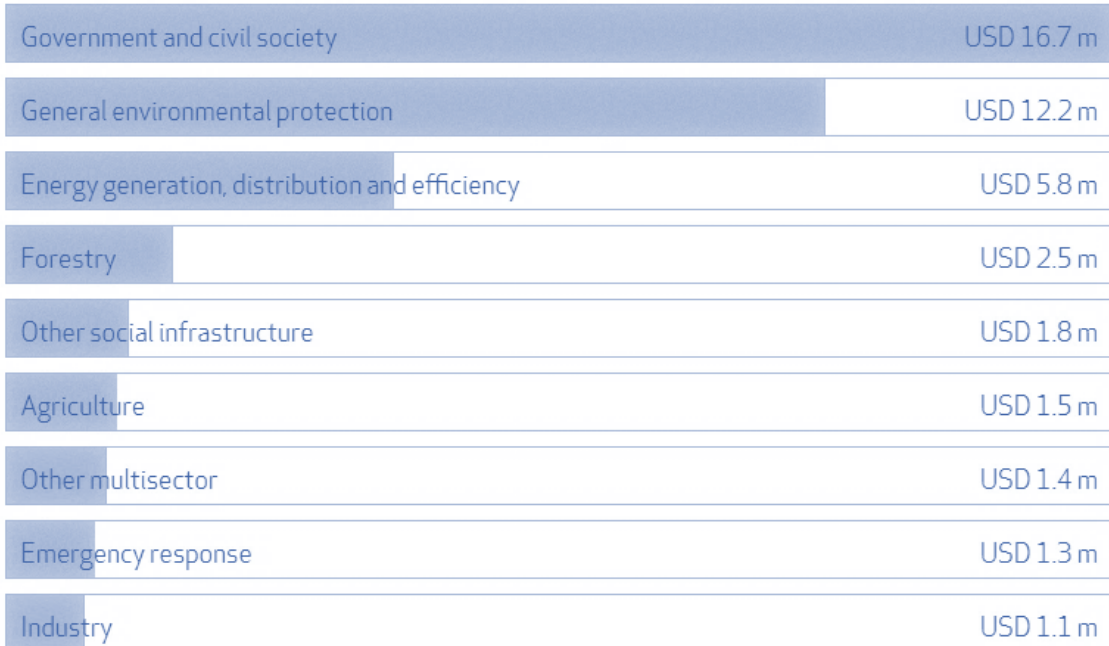
These guidelines call for a gender analysis as the starting point for GM, followed by a combination of three approaches: integration of gender equality, targeted gender activities and gender-aware dialogue. Whilst the first is often seen as the only way to mainstream gender, Sida also includes targeted activities and dialogue under the umbrella of GM.

Lastly, the regional strategy aims to contribute to increased regional integration and collaboration for sustainable development. The climate change-gender nexus is highlighted, and the Embassy aims to follow a policy of *gender integration* as well as GM (MFA 2016: 7). This strategy illustrates a high ambition to work on the climate change-gender nexus. As stated in the Introduction, a new strategy is being prepared, which means that this is an opportune moment to reflect on the progress of the current strategy.

All of these policies and guidelines influence the work of GM at the Embassy, which will be discussed further in Findings and analysis.

2.2.2. Regional contributions

The Embassy funds around 40 projects in the region, where about ten of these primarily concern climate change and/or the environment. The distribution of funds from Sida to Asia through the regional strategy in 2019 can be seen in the table below (Fig 2).



Government and civil society	USD 16.7 m
General environmental protection	USD 12.2 m
Energy generation, distribution and efficiency	USD 5.8 m
Forestry	USD 2.5 m
Other social infrastructure	USD 1.8 m
Agriculture	USD 1.5 m
Other multisector	USD 1.4 m
Emergency response	USD 1.3 m
Industry	USD 1.1 m

Fig 2. Funding to Asia (regional) in 2019. Source: Openaid (2020).

The most recent evaluation of GM in the contribution portfolio took place in 2015 in preparation for the current strategy (Andersen 2015).³ Key recommendations from this evaluation were to push for a gender analysis as part of the design of projects; to move beyond stand-alone gender policies; and to move away from an ‘add-on’ to a systematic approach to GM in contributions. However, much is likely to have changed since this evaluation.

This thesis has chosen to examine in more detail 4 contributions that are particularly relevant to climate change and DRR. These contributions are:

³ The Embassy will perform a follow-up evaluation this year, which will complement the more theoretical findings from this thesis.

‘EmPower’: This project is implemented by UN Women and UNEP and has 5 workstreams: women’s leadership; use of sex-, age- and diversity disaggregated data (SADDD); capacity-building of national institutions; access of women to renewable energy sources; and support to regional normative processes addressing climate change, DRR and gender equality.

‘Climate Finance: This project is implemented by UNDP and supports governments to implement budget reforms that enable the delivery of gender-responsive climate change related investments.

Clean Energy Fund ‘CEF’: This is a multi-donor fund presided over by ADB that aims to enable investments in clean energy projects by offering technical assistance and grant components.

‘BRDR’: This project is implemented by ADPC and has 3 workstreams: capacity building for regional cooperation on DRR; uptake of risk-informed approaches to development and social protection; and enhanced gender equality and rights-based approaches in climate change and DRR.

More details about how these contributions were selected can be found in Methodology 4.2. More details about the contributions themselves can be found in Appendix 8.1. After this short background, the next chapter will explain in detail the theoretical underpinnings of this thesis, outlining an analytical framework that combines key insights from feminist critiques of neoliberal development actors with feminist institutionalism and literature on gender expertise. The next chapter also explores GM in more detail and describes ways of analysing its transformative potential, lastly explaining the 5 criterion that will be used to structure the findings and analysis later in this thesis.

3. Theoretical framework

This theoretical chapter will outline major feminist debates on GM, focusing on institutions as the site where GM is conceptualised and implemented. First, the impact of neoliberalism on development institutions and GM will be explained, together with some feminist critiques of this process. This is then complemented by key theorising from feminist institutionalism and research on gender expertise. Combining these two theoretical approaches allows the thesis to capture how feminists have theorised and debated external and institutional constraints on GM. Then, the chapter will go into more detail on GM – its contested conceptualisation, its critiques, and its potential for transformative impact. Lastly, the criteria that will be used throughout the thesis to analyse this transformative potential will be outlined.

3.1. Feminists and institutions

Gendered practices and power relations are embedded in social, political and economic contexts and have to be addressed in those settings (Parpart 2013: 392).

The practice of GM takes place in institutions, from donors and development actors to governments and civil society organisations (CSOs). As such, it is crucial to study institutions as a site of resistance, change and (potentially) transformation. Feminist critiques of neoliberalism coupled with feminist institutionalism has much to offer to such an analysis by addressing external and institutional constraints on GM.

3.1.1. Feminist critiques of neoliberalism

Institutions are embedded in and influenced by wider societal practices, norms and discourses. One such discourse is neoliberalism, with its principal emphasis on the importance of individual entrepreneurial freedoms and free markets (Harvey 2007: 2). Development actors have embraced, to various extents, a neoliberal approach to development in line with international agreements like the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (Holvoet and Inberg 2013). Post-colonial and feminist scholars have pointed out that this neoliberal logic has important implications for institutions and the way that they operate, enforcing a focus on

neoliberal market solutions, quantitative indicators, and a technical and instrumental approach to development (Kothari 2005; Parpart 2013).

A neoliberal framing of climate change and DRR constructs it as a technical and scientific issue, devoid of a people-centred approach. Actors that work with climate change and DRR tend to devalue social sciences and qualitative data, which means that it is particularly difficult to make gendered issues visible (Cohen 2018). Since there is a lack of empirical evidence of the gendered nature of climate change, these technocratic organisations often disregard the issue despite overwhelming anecdotal evidence. Even in cases where women are taken into account, relational and structural gendered power relations are often overlooked. Instead of a focus on a relational ‘gender’, these institutions focus on a depoliticised ‘woman’. Several researchers argue that this has led to the depoliticisation and instrumentalisation of an issue that is deeply political (Kajiser and Kronsell 2013; MacGregor 2013; Swyngedouw 2013; Gaard 2015; Bondesson 2019; Ensor *et al.* 2019).

This neoliberal framing also stresses a ‘business-case’ for development, including for gender equality (Chant and Sweetman 2012; Roberts 2014). This stipulates that investments in gender equality also lead to the achievement of other development aims and is therefore a ‘win-win’ approach for institutions. It usually entails empowering women by integrating them into the labour market (Gregoratti *et al.* 2018). Whilst it is seen as strategy to convince reluctant actors to work on gender, many feminists have criticised its tendency to depoliticise gender equality and its questionable transformative potential (*Ibid.*).

This logic often leads to portrayals of women as ‘entrepreneurs’ (Cornwall and Rivas 2015) and ‘agents of change’ (Parpart 2013). Whilst many women do have relevant knowledge about climate change and DRR that should be acknowledged, these portrayals mean that responsibility for climate action is frequently delegated to women and might simply increase their burdens (Wester and Doma Lama 2019). At the same time, women are portrayed as vulnerable victims of climate change impacts (Arora-Jonsson 2011; Djoudi *et al.* 2016). Both narratives risk obscuring structural inequalities that create and reinforce the roles of women in local communities, ignoring that gendered hierarchies and power relations constrain the agency of women (Resurrección 2013: 34). If such a discursive positioning is not complemented by a careful analysis of these constraints, it risks backsliding from a focus on gendered power relations to a focus on women only that could potentially do more harm than good (Wester and Doma Lama 2019). Ultimately, Resurrección argues that:

while it may be politically strategic to muster the entry of gender into climate negotiations through a centred and climate-vulnerable feminine subject, climate programmes will be better served by more agile understandings of women, men and their actual multi-dimensional experiences and adaptations to a changed climate. A climate change policy regime will therefore benefit less from political imaginaries of women and environment ties, but from flexible readings of life on the ground, or in short, a stronger and more complex social analysis of climate, environment, power and people that informs response and action (2013: 41).

It is within such neoliberal logics that the struggle for gender equality more broadly and GM more specifically plays out. However, these feminist critiques of neoliberalism must be complemented with theorising on institutions themselves as a site of study. Here, feminist institutionalism can be a useful complement.

3.1.2. The gendered nature of institutions

Feminist institutionalist researchers emphasise the constructed and relational nature of gender relations, played out and embodied in institutions. Institutions are “complex sites of interactions and conflict between organisational structures and discourses, social networks and staff members’ personal beliefs and attitudes” (Roggeband 2013: 334).

In the book *Gender, Politics and Institutions*, Mona Lena Krook and Fiona Mackay (2011) attempt to outline key concepts of feminist institutionalism. Feminist institutionalism crucially points to the *gendered nature of institutions*. Not only are women excluded from decision-making based on macro-scale patriarchal structures, but institutions themselves can act as causes of inequality on a micro-level. Conceiving institutions as gendered can help explain “the ways in which institutions reflect, reinforce, and structure unequal gendered power relations in wider society” and ultimately, how these can be undermined in order to further gender equality (*Ibid.*: 6). Gendered practices, norms and attitudes – formal and informal – can act to constrain gender equality, including attempts at GM, even if institutions have stated commitments to increasing the representation of women.

In her study on EU climate change policy, Gill Allwood (2014) uses feminist institutionalism to investigate why commitments to GM have been ignored or side-lined in implementation. She finds that the nature of the institution, and tensions between its formal and informal rules, norms and practices, have contributed to this resistance to GM. For example, even when an

institution is formally committed to GM, informal practices often lead to a lack of implementation. This informal arena is defined as:

socially shared rules, usually unwritten, that are created, communicated, and enforced outside of officially sanctioned channels. By contrast, formal institutions are rules and procedures that are created, communicated, and enforced through channels widely accepted as official (Helmke and Levitsky 2004: 727).

The climate change-gender nexus is also particularly challenging, as it cuts across multiple policy areas and includes multiple institutions, all who differ in their formal and informal practices. Allwood argues that:

Feminist institutionalism helps explain why gender mainstreaming rules have not been followed and reveals how institutions constrain actors and gender mainstreaming efforts. It enables us to examine the institutional constraints, opportunities and resistances that affect gender mainstreaming within climate change policy-making (2014: 5).

Acker (2012) suggests that this theorising should be expanded to include an intersectional approach to GM in institutions, as institutions are not only gendered but also racialised and classed. Interactions in these institutions are influenced by multiple forms of difference and inequities. One salient example is the valuation of Western scientific and technical expertise over other forms of knowledge, particularly grassroots and feminist knowledge.

But whilst institutional practices often act as a barrier to change and to greater gender equality, the complex interplay between formal and informal practices, norms and attitudes also leaves room for contestation. As such, there is room for agency, especially within the informal arena, but this agency always takes place within institutional constraints. Feminist institutionalism thus conceptualises the agency of feminists as bounded (Mackay 2011: 190). In the context of development, change is normally pushed for by gender experts within larger institutions. These experts thus become an importance site of contestation that this chapter will now turn to.

3.1.3. Gender experts and subversive accommodation

Gender experts can act as important sources of information, knowledge and resources in the implementation of GM (Veitch 2005). But whilst gender experts are now common in institutions, their existence has been controversial. In trying to accommodate and contest institutional practices, there is a significant risk that gender becomes depoliticised as it is institutionalised as a technical and instrumentalist exercise. This worry was put forth by feminist activists from the Global South as early as the 1990s (Baden and Goet 1997). Gender experts can be complicit in this change and have been criticised for their lack of accountability to grassroots feminist movements (Kothari 2005).

However, gender experts might choose to employ such instrumental arguments to convince institutions where there is significant resistance to gender equality. For example, gender experts adopt practices of promoting the previously mentioned ‘business-case’ for gender equality. This practice is contested. On the one hand, Baden and Goet (1997) argue that instrumental arguments can be discredited as a ‘business-case’ cannot always be made for gender equality. One such example would be calls for climate justice, where there are few economic benefits for involved institutions. In addition, simply presenting empirical evidence to an institution overlooks the institutional barriers that this chapter has outlined. They thus emphasise the importance of organisational change. Kothari (2005) puts the blame on gender experts for this instrumentalisation and criticises them for co-opting and depoliticising feminist arguments.

On the other hand, Ferguson (2014) reflects on her own position as a gender expert and argues that there is indeed potential for feminist action within this complex positioning. She emphasises the bounded agency of gender experts within institutions and the emotional fatigue of this work. Gender experts are tasked with the difficult undertaking of promoting messages on gender that “both appeal to institutions and promote change within them” (2014: 384). Springer (2019) found that gender experts often utilised quantitative data, despite a clear preference for more qualitative data, in order to garner interest in GM amongst colleagues. Eyben (2010) proposes that gender experts employ a tactic of *subversive accommodation* where their work can indeed lead to changes within institutions. She argues that gender experts have managed to keep gender on the agenda within development institutions through employing various tactics and that room can be made within normal institutional activities for “learning, sharing and plotting” for feminist transformative change (2010: 59).

Another difficulty arises from the relative marginalisation of gender experts within male-dominated institutions. Gender issues are often seen as external to an institution – that is, relevant only in external programmes and not as something to be work on within the institution. This disregards key feminist institutionalist thinking on institutions as gendered, and often creates resistance to institutional change. Ferguson argues that:

gender equality and women’s empowerment become framed as problems “out there” – that is, problems for the Global South and “beneficiary” countries. While it is broadly acceptable for gender experts to highlight gender inequality in “developing” countries, it is more problematic to do so in reference to the headquarters of international institutions (2014: 387).

Ultimately, it has to be recognised that gender experts are constrained within institutions, and that their work is often filled with tensions and divisions (Kunz and Prügl 2019).

3.2. Conceptualising and situating GM

The previous section served to situate GM as part of wider theoretical debates on how feminists have approached the study of institutions. It showed that feminist writing on both institutionalism and critiques of neoliberal development actors have shown much interest in GM as a practice. Following this discussion, this section then will illustrate the history and contested nature of GM, as well as a basis for categorising GM efforts within climate change and DRR as ‘tinkering’, ‘tailoring’ or ‘transforming’ (Rees 1998). Key critiques of GM and barriers towards transformative GM will also be outlined.

3.2.1. History and definition of GM

GM was adopted as a practice by the UN at the Beijing Conference on Women in 1995 and has since become very popular with development actors (Walby 2005). GM was conceptualised against a backdrop of a discursive shift from women in development (WID) to gender and development (GAD) where gendered power relations became the focus of interventions. In line with feminist institutionalism:

The idea of gender mainstreaming was, and is, that institutions, policy-making and decision-making processes themselves are gendered and therefore risk to reproduce inequalities. The implication of this idea is that gender equality cannot (only) be realised by separate and relatively isolated gender or women programmes, but that policy-making institutions and processes themselves, at macro, meso and micro levels, need to be transformed (van Eerdewijk and Davids 2013: 304).

But whilst these definitions exist, the meaning of gender mainstreaming is far from straightforward and is instead open for a host of different interpretations (Davids *et al.* 2013). GM efforts vary greatly between places and actors. It also goes through hybridisation and changes when it moves from bigger development institutions – such as the UN or the EU – to smaller organisations in regional, national or even local contexts who have different conceptualisations of gender equality and operate in distinct social and political contexts (Walby 2005). As an approach, it can be both feminist and non-feminist depending on policy-makers' interpretation (Lombardo and Meier 2006). This necessitates an analysis of GM that considers the specific socio-political context and institutional structure of the development actor that is implementing the practice. At the same time, there needs to be a way of analysing this practice and examining its potential. The next section will outline one possible way of doing this, where GM efforts are categorised as either 'tinkering', 'tailoring' or 'transforming'.

3.2.2. Tinkering, tailoring or transforming?

There are multiple ways of analysing GM (Jahan 1995; Walby 2005). This thesis follows the framework developed by Teresa Rees (1998) in her book *Mainstreaming Equality in the European Union*. She came up with a system that qualifies gender equality strategies as 'tinkering', 'tailoring' or 'transforming' to describe increasing levels of ambition. 'Tinkering' and 'tailoring' do not address the constraints and challenges that were raised in the previous sections on neoliberalism and feminist institutionalism. For example, Subrahmanian (2004) criticises efforts at GM for being too 'narrow' to capture and address gendered power relations and structural inequalities in the context in which specific institutions work. 'Tinkering' and 'tailoring' both involve strategies that are instrumental in nature; that depoliticises gender equality; and that prioritise technocratic and efficiency-based solutions.

Many researchers have specifically criticised GM efforts by development actors as falling within the fields of 'tinkering' and 'tailoring' only, not reaching 'transforming' (ADB² 2012;

Parpart 2013; Brouwers 2013; Davids *et al.* 2013; Grown *et al.* 2016). MacGregor (2013: 624) see it as a practice that may be “confined to getting the word ‘gender’ included in key policy documents” and Alston (2014) criticises current efforts as ‘tick the box exercises’ where the focus lies on gender statistics and gender budgeting. This, she argues, comes at the expense of real transformative change. Roggeband and Verloo (2006) argues that many development institutions are stuck in a ‘diagnosis/prognosis’ paradox, where structural inequalities are part of the analysis but seldom successfully become part of the proposed solutions.

‘Transforming’ is thus seen as something that addresses and moves beyond these critiques. Crucially, it scrutinises institutions and their formal and informal practices. Cornwall and Rivas argue that:

Such an approach would refocus discourses of inclusion away from the ‘poor communities’ onto the organisations that claim to be working in the name of the poor, at the local, national and international level. It would invite hard questions to be asked about who is at the table, who decides, who acts, who strategises and who benefits. And it would bring into the equation other questions, other oppressions and differences – of class, race, ethnicity, age, disability and sexuality. As such, it would present a means of going beyond the ‘add women and stir’ approach, with all its pitfalls and tokenisms (2015: 415).

However, researchers disagree upon what exactly ‘transforming’ or ‘transformative’ means in this context, and whether the lack of progress means that GM should be abandoned as a political project. Whilst the latter question is outside of the bounds of this thesis, given its limited ability to change guiding documents at Sida and at the Embassy, the former question is crucial to elaborate on further. In the Findings and analysis, this thesis will analyse ‘transforming’ in more detail. The figure below (Fig 3) outlines the analytical framework of this thesis with key theoretical concepts. One central question remains: how shall the transformative potential of GM be determined? The next section will outline five criteria to do just this.

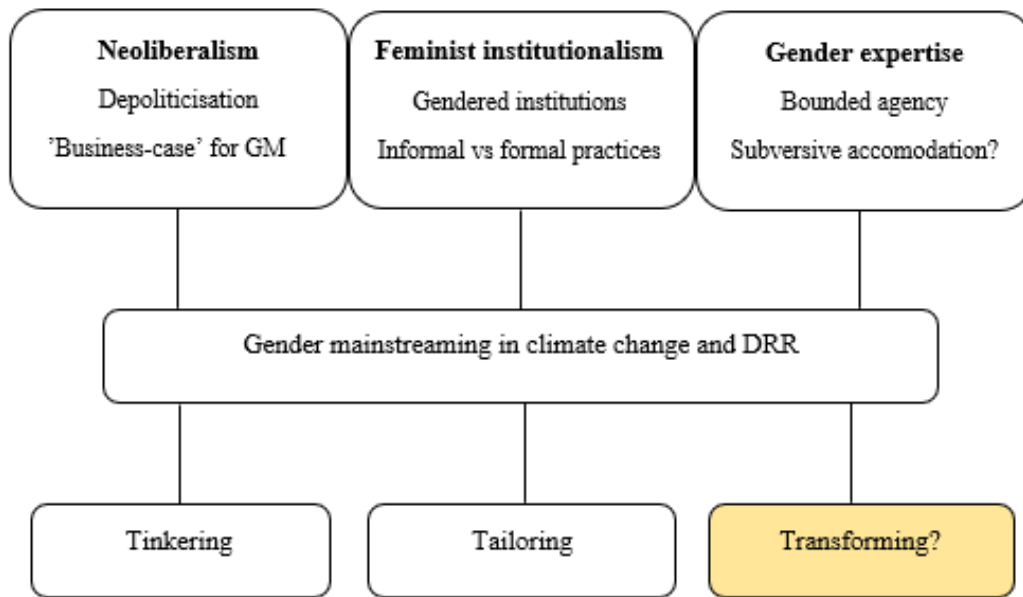


Fig 3. Analytical framework. Source: author.

3.3. Analysing the transformative potential of GM

Anouka van Eerdewijk (2013) has developed five criteria to examine the transformative potential of gender mainstreaming in institutions. She used these criteria to study Dutch development agencies and their GM efforts, who have similarly high ambitions for gender equality. These criteria are adopted from Lombardo and Meier (2006) who argue that these criteria allow a move from GM as ‘an open signifier’ to instead push for a concept that “reflects concerns that are present in feminist agendas” (*Ibid.*: 154). As such, these criteria are an appropriate point of departure for the analysis to determine whether GM can be categorised as ‘transformative’ or whether it instead falls within ‘tinkering’ and ‘tailoring’. Van Eerdewijk (2013) argues that gender mainstreaming can be categorised as transformative when the following five criteria have been met:

1. There has been a shift from a focus on ‘women’ to a broader focus on structural inequalities and gendered power relations.
2. A gender perspective has been incorporated into the mainstream, which involves a prioritisation of gender issues and changing the agendas of institutions.

3. Equal representation of women and men in decision-making has been emphasised. This includes not only representation but also challenging structures, practices and norms that determine who is listened to.
4. There have been institutional changes, both formal and informal, relating to policies, practices, attitudes and norms of the organisation. This includes, but is not limited to, acquiring gender expertise.
5. There has been a shift towards an intersectional approach to GM that also enables the participation of civil society and feminist movements.

These criteria will be used to analyse GM and to answer the research questions. More details on each criterion will be given in Findings and analysis, but they mirror concerns from feminist critiques of neoliberalism as well as insights from feminist institutionalism. For example, criterion four answers calls to pay closer attention to institutions as sites of resistance and struggle. These criteria have not been applied to the climate change-gender nexus before, so here the thesis adds value to the wealth of already existing research on GM. Moving on, the next chapter will outline the methodology of the thesis.

4. Methodology

This chapter will outline the methodology of the thesis, discussing its epistemological underpinnings, the research methods employed, the analysis of data, and salient ethical considerations and limitations.

4.1. Feminist methodology

This thesis is underpinned by post-structural feminist epistemology, which emphasises the way that social relations, and gender relations in particular, are constructed and reproduced in specific contexts through structures, practices and norms (Kronsell 2006). This refocuses attention away from specific groups (such as ‘poor women’) and instead examines the societal processes that creates these groups, allowing for a much more nuanced analysis that considers intersections and contestation within presumed groups. Exposing the social construction behind common drivers of inequality, such as patriarchal gender norms, is a first step towards challenging such processes.

Whilst there is great diversity in feminist methodology, most feminists emphasise the situated nature of knowledge (Haraway 1988). Knowledge reflects the particular context in which it has been created, and also reflects the thinking of the knowledge producer(s). Feminist research does not then aim at generalisability, but rather in-depth and contextualised knowledge. In addition, feminist methodology aims at affecting change, often political, and not the production of research in a vacuum away from broader feminist activism and struggles (Holvikivi 2019).

4.2. Research design

The research has been undertaken as a qualitative case study of GM at the Embassy, where I also interned for five months. Because of the internship, it was practical to pick this site for my research – however, the Embassy also has stated high ambitions on GM and sees itself as somewhat of a pioneer working on the climate change-gender nexus, which makes it an interesting case study in addition to a practical one.

Case studies are a good fit for studying processes such as GM in-depth and in a specific location, whilst also situating those processes in wider society (Creswell 2014). GM at the Embassy has not been studied in isolation – in fact, the Embassy is embedded in a sphere of influence where it is guided by Sida and itself a significant influence on its immediate partners. Four specific contributions (run by five immediate partners) have been selected for closer study. These immediate partners have been selected based on the following criteria:

- i) The partner has stated ambitions to work with GM
- ii) The partner primarily works with climate change and/or DRR⁴

These contributions were outlined in 2.2.2. In addition, the women-led network Women Organizing for Change in Agriculture and Natural Resource Management (WOCAN) has been contracted by the Embassy to provide capacity building for its immediate partners and is thus an important actor in GM efforts. All these have been included in the study, with emphasis of the Embassy as a site of GM (see Fig 4).

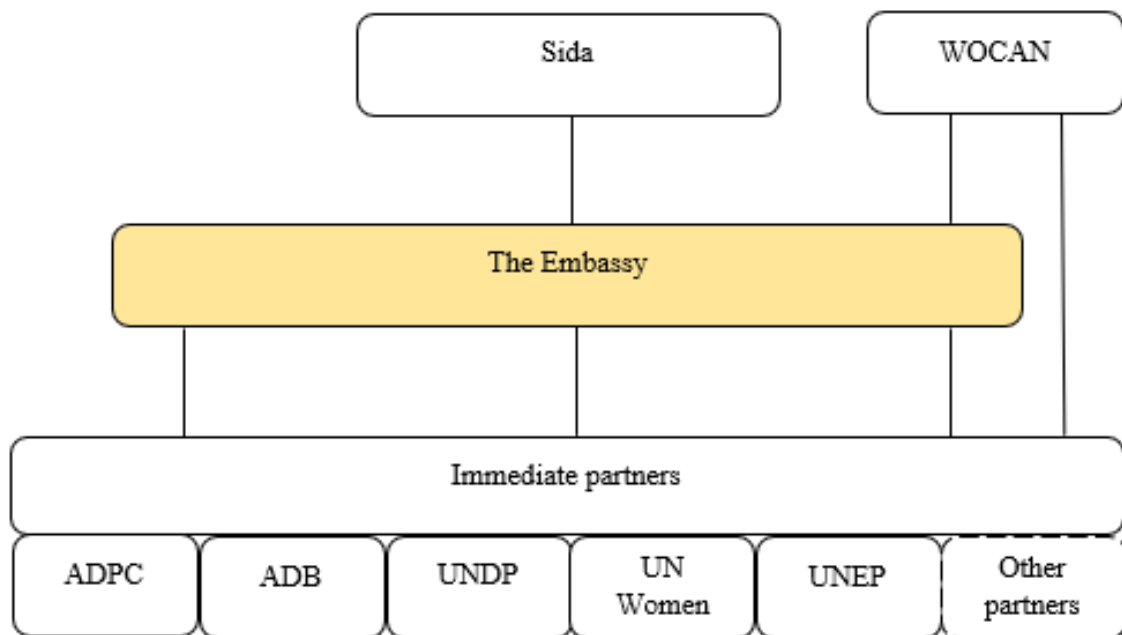


Fig 4. Schematic of the actors selected for the case study. Source: author.

⁴ Most of the Embassy’s immediate partners work with environmental issues, and many also work with climate change and/or disaster risk reduction. However, many of these contributions primarily focus on gender or human rights and have instead mainstreamed climate change and DRR into their projects as an add-on. Because of limited time, only contributions that primarily work on climate change and DRR were picked for more in-depth study.

Whilst all actors studied frequently undergo internal and external evaluations (for example, see Sida's Helpdesk for Environment and Climate Change 2019), these tend to be more quantitative, and seldom question assumptions or go beyond the agreed-upon indicators for monitoring. Instead, this thesis adopts a qualitative approach and does not attempt to evaluate as such, but rather analyse GM through major feminist theories and debates.

4.3. Data collection

Data has been collected between November 2019 and January 2020 through semi-structured interviews and a content analysis of relevant external and internal documents. Using multiple sources of data allows for a 'crystallisation' that leads to more complex and in-depth understanding (Tracy 2010: 844).

4.3.1. Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were held with a gender specialist from Sida (1 interview), with a representative from WOCAN (1 interview), with all programme officers (POs)⁵ and the Head of Section at the Embassy (9 interviews) and with staff at immediate partners (4 interviews). Relevant staff at ADB could unfortunately not be reached for an interview. Interviews were all individual, except for one partner interview where an extra member of staff joined of their own volition. Interviews were held either at the Embassy, at the offices of partners, or over Skype (for a detailed list, see Appendix 8.2).

Semi-structured interviews are common amongst feminist researchers, as they allow for flexibility and a measure of control given back to the participants who can bring up topics that they hold as particularly important. Sampling of interviews was purposive, a widely used method in qualitative research for the identification and selection of information-rich cases (Creswell 2014). As such, participants were selected based on their knowledge of GM. Staff at the Embassy helped me select and contact relevant non-Embassy participants.

Despite coming from different institutions, the group of participants was quite homogeneous – middle-aged, well-educated, with years of experience in bigger development institutions, and often either from the Global North or with an education from the Global North. About half of the staff at the Embassy were sent-out staff from Sweden, and half were local staff from

⁵ I did not interview administrative staff as they are less involved in GM.

Thailand. Most were white, with a few exceptions, and there was only three men who participated, which reflects broader trends amongst gender experts (Ferguson 2014). Many also had a background in gender studies or self-identified as a gender expert, although not all participants felt comfortable with that label.

The topics of the interviews ranged from the conceptualisation and practice of GM to challenges encountered in this endeavour. POs responsible for the four selected contributions were asked specifically about these contributions, else discussion was about GM in general. Non-Embassy participants were asked to give their views on the effort to mainstream gender at the Embassy and in their individual contributions, where relevant. Separate interview guides were created for the different types of participants (Appendix 8.3). All interviews were held in English, even when everyone involved spoke Swedish, as that was the working language across all institutions. It also allowed Swedish-speakers to translate in their own words and as such removed one layer of unnecessary interpretation.

4.3.2. Content analysis

A qualitative content analysis of key documents was undertaken for selected contributions. The following types of documents were included:

- i) Guiding documents (feminist foreign policy, strategies, briefs)
- ii) Project documents (proposals, appraisals, annual reports)
- iii) Meeting notes (annual meetings with partners, quality assurance meetings)
- iv) Speeches made at events organised by partners

Almost 300 documents were reviewed, but some of these were found to be unrelated to GM. This research allowed for more detailed knowledge about the practice of GM. In particular, it provided details that the participants did not have time to raise, simply forgot or did not deem important. At the same time, since turnover of staff is high at these institutions, it allowed for a more long-term outlook. Of course, many of these documents are written for the benefit of donors or other actors. As such, it should be emphasised that they likely focus heavily on the positive and may not raise challenges internal to the organisation. Nevertheless, this polished presentation does give an important indication of the intent behind GM, if not the actual practice of GM. The meeting notes, however, did provide an insight into the daily work of POs

and their dialogue with partners. Such an account still reflects the priorities and politics of individual POs but will be significantly less ‘polished’ than other selected types of documents.

4.4. Analysis of data

Interviews were transcribed manually and in-verbatim. They were then coded in NVivo according to the five criteria that form the analytical basis of this thesis. Within these five criteria, sub-codes were developed from a close reading and re-reading of the source material, allowing for significant themes in the interviews to emerge (Appendix 8.4).

Many participants expressed differing views on many issues, particularly the conceptualisation of GM, but I made an effort to include this diversity of answers in my analysis instead of creating a false sense of agreement. This follows a recommendation by Creswell (2014) who suggests that contradictory findings can lead to a more nuanced and complex understanding of the issues at hand. This also reflects feminist institutionalist thinking on the importance of individual actors within institutions.

4.5. Ethical considerations

A unifying premise of feminist research is the importance of protecting the participants of your research, especially if they are at risk from prosecution. Whilst my participants face minimal risks of the latter, there are important issues of anonymity and consent as well as reflexivity and positionality to reflect upon.

4.5.1. Anonymity and consent

Interviews were conducted only after getting written informed consent from all participants, who were given time to read through the consent form (Appendix 8.5) and ask questions before we began. Many were very interested in my research, and I spent a significant amount of time explaining its purpose.

All participants have been given a letter-number combination⁶ to anonymise their answers. Anonymity should, in theory, allow participants greater freedom to criticise without risk of

⁶ A letter-number combination, unlike more traditional pseudonyms, allows for classification of participants into groups. A denotes staff from the Embassy; B denotes immediate partners; and C denotes other participants.

adverse consequences. Such a system minimises the risk for internal strike between staff at the Embassy or between the Embassy and partners. However, the sample size is quite small, so it is likely that anyone who is familiar with this particular context will be able to distinguish some of the participants, especially the representatives from the partner organisations. Whilst I considered removing details about the individual contributions to minimise this risk, ultimately I decided that this information added important contextualisation. Since no participants are ‘vulnerable’ in the traditional sense, and much of the information about the contributions is available online anyway, the risk of adverse impacts on my participants is minimal.

4.5.2. Reflexivity and positionality

Feminist research challenges the idea that a researcher can and should keep their distance from their participants in search of some rational objectivity. This is criticised both from a theoretical opposition to masculinist epistemological authority and from a practical realisation that this is unattainable (Holvikivi 2019: 136). Instead, feminist researchers call for reflexivity and the critical interrogation of one’s own position in relation to the participants. Research ultimately reflects and has the potential to reinforce or challenge power relations. An awareness of positionality and how this has impacted on research is thus a principal tenet of much feminist research, meant to provoke reflection on these issues of power (Rose 1997).

Some important issues came up during the research. I quickly noted that I, too, had bought into the branding of Sweden as a champion of gender equality (Jeziarska and Towns 2018) and had to spend some time reflecting on this whilst writing. As a white (and Swedish) researcher from the Global North, many participants shared a similar background to my own, especially the sent-out staff from the Embassy, but some local staff and participants from partner organisations were from the Global South. However, they were similarly well-educated and of middle/upper class. Unexpectedly, because of my young age and my position as an intern, I found myself in a position where the participant was the powerful one in the relationship. This eased many of my worries that I was taking advantage of my participants or exploiting them.

However, this was moderated in my interviews with partner organisations because of my apparent association with the Embassy. Despite assurances that I was a researcher first and foremost, and not at all involved with funding, it is likely that partners of the Embassy still saw me as a ‘donor’ or at least someone who could report back to the people who make decisions on their funding. This placed me back into a position of power, however much I tried to assure

participants of the confidentiality of the research. This links to a greater debate around the donor-partner relationship and the inherent imbalance in power between the two actors, something that feminist researchers are very conscious of (Kabeer *et al.* 2013). Nevertheless, participants did seem genuine in their comments, and were frank enough about other topics that I believe they would not have shied away from criticising the Embassy if they wanted to.

In addition, with some participants who were from a different cultural background, there were most likely cultural differences that went unrecognised in interviews and might have impacted on the way that my questions were understood. Working in an intercultural office, however, the participants are already used to navigating such issues.

Returning to my interviews with staff at the Embassy, I found myself facing an unexpected challenge of interviewing people that I had become friends with. Holvikivi (2019) reflects upon such an experience as a previous gender expert now researching her former colleagues. This type of research involves a higher degree of personal and professional proximity and can be challenging for various reasons. It undoes neat distinctions between researcher and participants, and there is a risk that participants divulge more than they feel comfortable with because of your friendship. At the same time, however, participants are able to trust that the researcher shares a common purpose. In this case, for example, it was clear that everyone involved worked toward the end-goal of gender equality, even if our proposed way of getting there sometimes differed. Holvikivi argues that “solidarity does not, then, signal complete agreement, but rather alliance” (2019: 135). She proposes that researchers employ a concept of *critical friendship* to ensure research becomes “(more) methodologically rigours, ethically sound and politically responsible” (2019: 138). This concept is taken from Chappell and Mackay (2015 in Holvikivi 2019) who suggest that critical friendship means balancing constructive criticism with support and an emphasis on a common goal. The former involves critical analysis and challenging assumptions in a constructive way. The latter stresses the importance of research that reflects the constraints and context that practitioners face. Research must thus not only be overly critical but also fundamentally be useful to those who partake. As such, it is my hope that this thesis will be a starting point for discussion and reflections that will benefit all participants in their work as development practitioners.⁷ Many participants also told me that they enjoyed this type of interviewing, since they rarely have time for such critical reflections in their day-to-day work.

⁷ Both the thesis and a separate document with more practical recommendations will be sent to the Embassy and to all participants after the hand-in, with the hope that the research findings can benefit them in their work.

4.6. Limitations

One major limitation is that this research is limited to the Embassy and its immediate sphere of influence. However, even immediate partners often have implementing partners of their own who then in turn work with grassroots organisations. As such, I do not attempt to represent the perspectives of these grassroots organisations or the intended ‘beneficiaries’ of these contributions. Additionally, since most of these contributions have only been implemented for a short period of time, this thesis does not pretend to examine how these projects are actually implemented on the ground – instead, it looks at design and intentions, and reported early activities. The lack of external data collection is thus a significant limitation, especially as participants are likely to emphasise the positives of the work that they do. There is much need for research on the ground, once projects are being implemented, but this is unfortunately outside of the scope of this thesis. Nevertheless, what they choose to focus on (and not focus on) gives an important indication of the nature of GM at the Embassy.

Moreover, only 4 contributions have been studied in detail. Although some findings certainly apply to the whole Embassy – particularly the tools and processes available to all POs – many findings are specific to these contributions. The next chapter will outline these findings as well as provide an analysis in line with the research questions.

5. Findings and analysis

This section is structured according to van Eerdewijk's (2013) five criteria that were outlined in 3.3. By examining to what extent these criteria have been fulfilled, this thesis will categorise GM at the Embassy as either 'tinkering', 'tailoring' or 'transforming' (Rees 1998). The latter category is the focus of the analysis. In order to answer the research questions, this section explores both how the Embassy intends to mainstream gender into its climate change and DRR contributions in the region as well as to what extent these attempts can be categorised as transformative.

5.1. Towards a broader concept of gender equality

This first criterion examines whether GM goes beyond a focus on women to instead address structural inequalities in gendered power relations. In interviews and documents, three themes emerged: an at times confusing conceptualisation of GM, the dual portrayal of women as vulnerable and also agents of change and/or entrepreneurs, and the attention to structural inequalities discursively but not in practice. These are discussed below.

5.1.1. Conceptualisation of GM

Whilst official guidelines on GM exist and have been outlined already (see 2.2.1), it is ultimately the POs and staff that must implement the practice. One PO emphasises the role of individuals working within these institutions:

I think that...it's...that these organisations, when we talk about them we talk about them as the Embassy or Sida as a thing, but when you look at them they are these collections of individuals and groups that have different agendas and interests and are-they're all steered by these different steering mechanisms. Strategies, and instructions from the government. But if you look at those documents you'll see that they're often...I don't know how to say-they're often very broad (A4).

As such, their understanding of GM matters. When asked to define and elaborate on GM, many participants gave answers that differed and sometimes contradicted each other in terms of

where the focus should lie. In particular, POs disagreed on whether mainstreaming gender in programmes or in institutions should be the first step. However, there was agreement that both programmatic and institutional GM were needed, and that a gender analysis should always be performed when a new contribution is being assessed. This strong focus on a gender analysis is perhaps in response to a recommendation from a previous evaluation to adopt this practice early in the design of projects (Andersen 2015).

A more important point of contention, perhaps, concerns the related concepts of GM and *gender integration*. Both are mentioned in the regional strategy, but according to many POs, gender integration has been proposed as a way of going beyond GM – signifying that some POs share the view of many researchers that GM has not led to the transformative results that were sought for (Grown *et al.* 2016). Gender integration was proposed as a more ambitious policy (A1, A3) and linked to institutional change. For example, one PO described it as such:

I think the first thing you can do is actually mainstreaming, eh, that like- I say, that's how you, you know, develop the design of your programme and how would you sort of kind of strengthen it in your programme setting. [...] But whereas integration is more kind of like deeper down on, you know, how the organisation operate and it's not sort of- it becomes part of everything that you do, rather than mainstreaming which is kind of like this first step, and then integration is kind of go deeper (A5).

Nevertheless, this view was not shared by all POs. When asked if the two were the same, one PO replied: “I'm not a gender expert, so I don't know. But I think for me, it would have the same meaning, yes” (A2). It is clear, then, that there is some conceptual confusion around GM and gender integration at the Embassy.⁸ When asked if there is an agreed-upon way of working with GM at the Embassy, one PO points out that there is limited space build a common understanding and suggests that the approach to GM most likely varies in practice (A3). This could potentially hamper efforts to implement the policy. Ultimately, this conceptual confusion is part of informal practices and contrast with formal definitions and guidelines. According to Subrahmanian (2004), such confusion could explain why GM has not been translated into transformative practices in institutions.

⁸ For clarity and consistency with the theoretical chapter, gender mainstreaming and not gender integration will be used from this point on, despite definitional confusions.

5.1.2. Portrayal of women

All participants avoided the victimisation discourse so prevalent in climate change and DRR (Arora-Jonsson 2011; Djoudi *et al.* 2016). Whilst the vulnerability of women was brought up, it was linked to a critique of gendered power relations and was always accompanied by an emphasis on women as agents of change (the Embassy, 2017). This is reflected also in many contributions. For example, ADPC (2018) intends to highlight what they call ‘women champions’ in DRR. One PO noted:

Well, if we want to adapt to climate change and mitigate it, in the analysis you really need to have the full picture. And the full picture is, of course, also half of the population [laughter]. And apart from how women, girls, boys, men are affected, I think also they are drivers of change. I mean, sometimes you only talk about women being victims when it comes to climate change, but I think also they are very much a driver for change. And we- I mean, that’s very important to also utilise that potential (A1).

However, this portrayal of women as agents of change is also frequently accompanied by portrayals of women as entrepreneurs and as good investments – note the focus on ‘utilising potential’ in the quote above, referencing efficiency-based arguments that have been criticised by feminists (Chant and Sweetman 2012; Roberts 2014) and outlined in 3.1.1. Without an accompanying focus on structural inequalities, such a portrayal could put more responsibility on women without addressing gendered power relations and risks increasing their burdens (Tschakert and Machado 2012; Resurrección 2013; Wester and Doma Lama 2019).

5.1.3. Addressing structural inequalities

The confusing conceptualisation of GM at the Embassy and its portrayal of women begs the question – does it aim to implement a GM that addresses structural inequalities? Discursively, both the Embassy and immediate partners identify structural inequalities as an important issue to address. Gendered power relations and their impact are noted, illustrated here through a focus on men and on masculinities. One immediate partner observed that “gender is not only women – men, women, girls, boys and the relationship there” (B1) and pointed out that this was something that the Embassy had pushed for in the set-up of the contribution, which ultimately led to the introduction of planned activities to engage men. As such, the Embassy

avoids the common pitfall with GM of seeing ‘gender’ as synonymous with ‘women’ that is found in many development institutions (Grown *et al.* 2016).

However, whether this is fully implemented in contributions is difficult to examine. Simply sensitising men to gender issues is unlikely to lead to significant change in gendered power relations. The EmPower project, as an example, only indirectly addresses behavioural and social norms (UN Women 2019). One immediate partner notes these difficulties, and points out that they are often outside of the scope of the project:

[the project] encourage women entrepreneurs, but then those entrepreneurs may not have opportunities to get access to the credit lines, get additional investments to increase their production lines or improve their productivity- I don’t know, get more harvest and improve their incomes, things like that. Just because they are not trusted agents by the banks and they cannot get extra money. And then again through the project, it goes already well outside of the project scope, but that’s our environment, that’s where we operate (B1).

This links back to the previous discussion of the portrayal of women as entrepreneurs and agents of change. Whilst this project had attempted to overcome this problem by partnering with a national financing institution, few of the other contributions attempt to change these norms. For example, ADB cites increased access to renewable energy in its annual reporting and how this will positively impact women, but do not discuss potential structural barriers that could prevent women from gaining access (ADB 2012; 2013). Whilst there is potential for renewable energy to have significant positive impacts on the lives of women, it is unlikely to happen without also addressing such issues. The following exchange represents the view of many POs:

Interviewer (‘I’): Do you think the approach to gender mainstreaming is going to lead more kind of systemic change or change that addresses kind of the root causes of the problem?

A1: I do hope so. That’s why we’re here.

I: How likely do you think it is [laughter] that that will happen?

A1: Hm. ...Yeah, it’s difficult to say. Can’t really say, sometimes you’re positive and sometimes I get really negative, you know. ...I think it’s- I mean, the society really needs to change in so many ways, and of course changing behaviour takes time and there is a lot

of resistance from various...various groups, I mean everything from more religious to economic resistance, within families, you know.

This illustrates the bounded agency of staff working with GM, who cite persistent structural inequalities as barriers to GM despite their best intentions. However, some POs also disagree that this transformative agenda is indeed the end-goal, referring to the lack of projects that address root causes (A4). It perhaps also reflects what Roggeband and Verloo (2006) calls the ‘diagnosis/prognosis’ paradox, where structural inequalities are part of the analysis but seldom successfully become part of the proposed solutions. As such, this ‘structural inequalities’ criterion is only to some extent fulfilled.

5.2. Incorporation of gender into the mainstream

The second criterion analyses GM in terms of its incorporation into the mainstream, focusing on whether agendas of institutions have changed to make gender equality a priority, both internally and more broadly.

5.2.1. Prioritising gender equality

Motivation for GM was high amongst POs, who frequently cited both personal engagement and policies like the FFP and the strategy as reasons for why worked on GM. This was true also amongst POs who did not refer to themselves as gender experts. One PO explains:

Well, it's in our instructions, it's one of the five perspectives that we're supposed to consider whatever we're doing. And apart from that, of course, half of the world's population constitutes of women so gender it's really important to include if you want to work with leaving no one behind and Agenda 2030 and so on. That's the sort of short and simple answer to that [laughter] (A1).

These five perspectives refer to guidelines from Sida. In addition to gender equality, POs have to account for a rights perspective, conflict prevention, environment and climate and finally a poor peoples’ perspective on development (Sida 2017). Whilst these are certainly important issues, coupled with more administrative matters (A9) they can leave POs with too little time on their hands, which forces them to prioritise amongst these issues:

I think maybe main challenges would be that we have a lot of different things we work with, and it's our responsibility to follow up different aspects, different issues. And so a matter of time. I mean, is it-do you- how much time can you put into each thing, each aspect? (A4)

The Embassy then attempts to garner similar interest in GM from its immediate partners through 'hard' financial incentives – essentially, only funding contributions where gender is included as an issue – and more 'soft' approaches where earmarking of resources and dialogue are used to promote these issues. The Embassy is seen as 'in the forefront' of this type of work and particularly the focus on integration of climate change and gender in the strategy is praised by POs as a reason for this (A8, A9). In interviews with immediate partners, they too were aware of this focus. Referring to the FFP, one immediate partner said:

And the number of times they have spelt out, this is what I know by heart by now how we work with [laughter] the foreign policy, the feminist foreign policy of Sweden, which is very great but special resources and always mentioned, and they want to show, they want us to show to them that really, whatever we do, it fits into that broader framework or that policy that Sweden has been pushing (B3).

The four contributions selected for further study in this thesis differ somewhat in their stated ambition on GM, but it is included – at least on paper – in all of them. Certainly, progress can be seen between phase I and phase II of the 'Climate Finance' project where gender equality is much more visible in phase II. Projects that have been designed more recently and by POs with significant gender expertise tend to emphasise the importance of gender more than others, and often include gender in their principal outcome. When the EmPower project was being designed, for example, the responsible PO commented that "there has not been any other program or projects that have been implemented on this scale and in this region before" in terms of an integrated approach towards the climate change-gender nexus (the Embassy 2018: 8). However, it is crucial to take this analysis a step forward to examine whether the Embassy together with its immediate partners have managed to change climate change and DRR agendas more broadly to include gender concerns.

5.2.2. Changing agendas

When attempting to change agendas, the Embassy and its immediate partners come across many of the problems mentioned in the theoretical chapter: primarily, the often isolated nature of gender experts and GM within institutions (Ferguson 2014), and the technocratic nature of many climate change and DRR actors (MacGregor 2013; Swyngedouw 2013).

This is certainly recognised as an issue by many participants who argue that climate change mitigation in particular is usually gender-blind (B1) and that many institutions that they work with, such as financial ministries, have processes that are ‘set in stone’ and do not change quickly (B3). However, many international frameworks, such as the Sustainable Development Goals or the Sendai Framework for DRR, now recognise the gendered nature of climate change and DRR. Many of the selected contributions have thus chosen to offer technical assistance and capacity building in order to implement these frameworks with a gender perspective intact. For example, the Climate Finance project supports the integration of climate change and gender concerns into government budget processes. Whilst it is recognised that climate financing is an important area of climate change mitigation and adaptation that rarely have the capacity to mainstream gender (GGCA 2016), feminist researchers have raised concerns that this technical approach might depoliticise and instrumentalise gender equality (Kaijser and Kronsell 2013; MacGregor 2013). Other approaches by immediate partners – such as convening regional fora, producing guidelines, calling for more quantitative SADDD data and disseminating research – again risk instrumentalising the issue. For example, SADDD data on its own, without more qualitative data, do not capture more relational and structural understandings of gendered impacts on climate change and DRR (Springer 2019).

Attempts at advocacy are built on the ‘business-case’ for gender equality. For example, one immediate partner describes their strategy to convince the government of the importance of GM:

So for them they start then internalising and seeing that, ‘ah, so it’s about making the effectiveness of this investment, it’s about making it sustainable, not just doing that’. And that is what we’ve been really trying to do, to build this kind of narrative and convincing evidence and argument why the ministry of finance in planning and budgeting processes they should take into consideration gender issues (A3).

Whilst the Embassy does offer political support as a vocal actor on gender equality (B2), there is some resistance to a more explicitly political approach amongst participants, both within the Embassy and within immediate partner organisations. Women's rights language had been toned down in some country activities because it was deemed too sensitive (UN Women and UNEP 2019) and calls for more discursive focus on climate justice by researchers (Gaard 2015; Djoudi *et al.* 2016) have not been met. Reminiscent of Eyben's (2010) tactic of subversive accommodation, participants argue that this more technical and depoliticised approach is more pragmatic:

I think the gender politics are more challenging to use in relation to someone who's not interested. But I think that the more technical, practical approach of using facts, figures, analysis and results, can work better on some people. But if you say, "but yes, by doing this you will actually know where, dah dah dah", and not making it too much about the gender politics, but it's more about how do you, who do you want to reach and how do you make sure that the intervention is correctly, you know, designed from the beginning. But it's not, you don't have to bring in your personal view about...you know, things. Coming back to the gender, if you're brought up in an unequal environment that you've been accepting, you don't have to challenge that (A3).

However, offering this type of support ignores institutional resistance and the gendered nature of institutions, who are not necessarily prepared to take this information to heart. As such, whilst many of these activities are useful, they may not be enough on their own without a push for institutional change of a more political nature. This will be discussed further under the institutional change criterion.

At the same time, almost all communication from the Embassy includes human rights language and a more politicised call for gender equality *whilst also* promoting a business-case, suggesting that POs have adopted a tactic of 'dual justification'. Ultimately, then, the Embassy only to some extent fulfils this criterion.

5.3. Equal representation in decision-making

This criterion emphasises the need for GM efforts to push for equal participation and representation in decision-making. This involves both numerical representation and, crucially, addressing gendered power relations that exclude women from decision-making (Lombardo and Meier 2006).

Participation in decision-making is a strong discursive focus for the Embassy and its immediate partners, particularly for EmPower (UN Women and UNEP 2017) and BRDR (ADPC 2017). For example, the BRDR project has a specific workstream on women's leadership and empowerment in DRR. There is also a recognition that simple numerical representation is insufficient:

So it's more on the quality that you have to improve or you have to count in, are they already included, we have a number of the women participate in our workshop, but come on [laughter], that's only the number. It's more about how you change the dynamic of women living in such projects (A9).

Proposed activities to increase participation focus on capacity building at all levels, including of CSOs and grassroots women's organisations. For example, EmPower aims to "leverage its convening power to create an enabling environment for women to access and participate in economic and political platforms to affect change" (2017: 13). BRDR also aims to support the grassroots network Asian Humanitarian Partnership to increase its capacity. However, inviting CSOs to the table does not necessarily mean that they will be listened to. It also does not mean that CSOs automatically represent the most marginalised – instead, staff at bigger CSOs that can attend such meetings are often not the beneficiaries that the Embassy intends to reach (Narayanaswamy 2014). And CSOs, much like other institutions, are gendered.

At the level of communities, again, much emphasis is placed on increasing the participation of women in the market by supporting women entrepreneurs (B1). For example, a project in Eastern Indonesia funded by CEF provided training in basic maintenance of installed solar PV systems with a specific focus on women (ADB 2018). Whether this project also addressed gendered power relations was unclear. Whilst EmPower does plan to engage men to bring about behavioural changes and attitudes towards women's entrepreneurship, as the project is only now starting to be implemented, the results of this are yet to be seen. Attention to these gendered power relations are somewhat lacking in the other selected contributions. When asked

if they also address issues of equal representation of women in the ministries they work with, one immediate partner replied:

B2: In ministries? Hm, not so much. [...]

B3: And I don't think we can. We cannot really ask the ministry how many women do you have employed, it's going to be quite [laughter].

B2: UN Women might be able to.

B3: Ah, yeah, in terms of labour, division of labour.

I: But it's a bit hard for you to go?

B3: We are limited by the project approach, yeah.

Whilst such capacity building is needed, it risks ignoring gendered power relations if not designed with these in mind. For example, Rees (1998) lists such 'women-only trainings' as one example of tailoring. Cornwall (2016) argues that a shift in consciousness that challenges cultural and social norms is needed for capacity building to be transformative. But much like GM, capacity building is somewhat of an 'open signifier' and it is then up to the POs to interrogate further what this capacity building entails and how it addresses such issues. This requires both significant gender expertise as well as time and resources.

One curious aspect to note is that participation and decision-making is discussed only as an issue external to the Embassy, relevant only for immediate partners and for programmatic work. This suggests that the Embassy itself is not seen as an arena of contention or struggle. This omission is interesting, especially given the pervasiveness of gendered and neoliberal influences on institutions (Kothari 2005; Krook and Mackay 2011).

Ultimately, whilst the Embassy and its immediate partners to a large extent pushes for participation in decision-making, an attention to structural inequalities is sometimes lacking in practice. As such, this criterion is again only partially fulfilled.

5.4. Institutional changes

This criterion analyses whether GM goes beyond mainstreaming of gender in programmatic work to also push for mainstreaming in institutions. This includes changes in organisational cultures of decision-making and gendered power relations, and often requires the acquisition of gender expertise and new policy tools (Lombardo and Meier 2006: 154). This section will discuss tools and processes that exist; capacity building as a method of building gender expertise; and efforts to change organisational structures.

5.4.1. Tools and processes

The acquisition of tools for GM, such as gender policies, gender indicators and gender budgets, is something the Embassy pushes for in all its contributions, and many of the selected contributions have these. However, such tools are often not enough. For example, whilst the Embassy successfully encouraged CEF to introduce a target to mainstream gender into 30% of its energy projects, this percentage is quite low, and the definition of mainstreaming was relatively unambitious (ADB 2014). These tools must then be further probed to make sure that they are not ‘tick the box exercises’ that do not lead to transformative impacts (Alston 2014).

There are also tools for POs at the Embassy to use – for example, to ensure gender is properly mainstreamed, there are questions that POs must answer on the internal tracking system and gender markers to indicate the level of ambition regarding gender for each contribution.⁹ Sida (2016b) has also published several thematic briefs on its gender toolbox, some that relate explicitly to the environment. However, there is a recognition amongst POs that efforts at GM must go beyond these basic tools:

I mean, I’ve been looking into these toolboxes, I’ve been looking into these things and I don’t think- they tell you a lot what you should do, you should do this and that analysis, but they don’t give the examples in how to do that, where in the process do you start, how do you conduct this difficult dialogue with an unwilling partner, for example, how do you make them interested? (A3)

⁹ These follow OECD DAC guidelines on Gender Equality Policy Markers. Contributions are marked as having gender equality as a principal objective (2); having gender equality as a significant objective (1) or having no relevance to gender equality (0). For more information on these markers, see Sida (2016a).

This reflects feminist institutional theorising on the importance of addressing underlying gendered power relations in institutions that side-line these tools, even when they do exist. Tensions between formal policies and tools and the informal practices are thus worth further examination. POs themselves mentioned that gender analyses and pushing for a gender policy had been most useful when the organisation itself had been in charge of the process, ideally with management involved (A3, A7, A9). This was seen as a way to change informal attitudes amongst decision-makers. As such, properly designed tools can “can help organisations think more deeply about gender relations” (Subrahmanian 2004: 89) but this assumes that institutional change is part of the design. POs linked this to capacity building around gender, which will be discussed below.

5.4.2. Capacity building

Apart from capacity building in programmatic work, which has already been discussed in 5.3., capacity building is also used as a mechanism of increasing awareness and knowledge about GM at the Embassy and with immediate partners.

At the Embassy, capacity building is provided both from Sida and in-house from colleagues with gender expertise. Sida provides a consultancy-based gender helpdesk that POs can use for assistance with project appraisals and other types of documents. For example, this helpdesk assessed the Climate Finance proposal and suggested improvements (ORGUT 2016). There is also a senior gender advisor that can offer support to POs if they request it in advance as well as a gender network. There is thus much support that can be accessed from Sida, although some POs pointed out that it can take time to figure out where to turn for support (A4), especially for local or new staff who do not have connections at Sida already (A7).

However, most POs agreed that in-house capacity building was the principal method through which they had gained knowledge on GM. First, there is a gender focal point at the Embassy, who can provide some assistance. But the gender focal point is also responsible for contributions of their own, and as such, their time is limited (A9). Second, before any decision is taken on a new contribution, there are Quality Assurance Control (QAC) meetings. In these QAC meetings, someone is responsible for providing comments from a gender and human rights perspective, which ensures that these issues are always raised. It also raises the awareness and knowledge of all participants in the meeting. Nevertheless, there are not many spaces for learning outside of these meetings, once the appraisal is done:

And then of course we can learn from each other and I think that's where I think the conversation regarding, so what have we learnt and why are, where have we encountered problems, hurdles, challenges, and where are the good stories. And I think we are not that good in collecting that, we are so- we assess, and then we work. But how do we con- and I think that's maybe a mistake, you do it in the assessment and then you forget about it (A3).

Feminist institutional scholars argue that capacity building rarely allows for more analytical reflections (Bustelo *et al.* 2016) that could provide these spaces for learning. Whilst internal capacity building is planned for the upcoming year, these happen maybe every two or three years – outside of these workshops, it falls upon individual POs (A9). Despite these limitations, in-house capacity building has led to a high level of understanding of gender and GM:

First of all I think we had different levels of understanding, like I'm coming from the environment engineering background, so we have roughly knowledge what is gender, you know, but then with the capacity building we have along the way, so I think now we have more or less the same level of understanding (A6).

With immediate partners, the Embassy has contracted an external organisation, WOCAN, to run capacity building on gender. This focuses specifically on institutional change (C2), and is recognised as quite innovative:

And what is interesting to know is that one might think that this, what [the gender focal point] identified a few years ago that we need like a helpdesk to support our partners, that that would be something that most Embassies have identified. But that's a very unique, and no one else have done this. So that says quite a lot, I think (C1).

However, whilst capacity building in the form of gender trainings is a commonly used practice in GM, researchers have again raised concerns that it does not automatically prompt institutional change. Callerstig (2016) challenges the assumption that changes in individual behaviour will lead to institutional changes, given significant institutional resistance. This difficulty is recognised by POs and reflected in a focus on 'management buy-in' and a flexible understanding of what capacity building is needed. For example, early workshops with WOCAN did not start from a bottom-up understanding of what immediate partners needed, but this is now common practice (A6).

5.4.3. Gender expertise

Both the theoretical chapter and previous findings has demonstrated the importance of gender expertise and of individual actors within institutions. Although the understanding of gender equality is generally seen as high amongst POs, there is still room for improvement, particularly in terms of thematic knowledge on the climate change-gender nexus:

Sometimes in dialogue, because we all dialogue in different ways, some are very strong in the full knowledge and then some are maybe more expert in one area but they won't then bring in gender. It could be quite difficult, I mean, you really have to be good at the thematic area (A7).

Given the recent expansion into the Pacific, many POs are unlikely to have specific knowledge about the climate change-gender nexus in this area. Whether POs have the time and resources to build this capacity is unclear. The Embassy is, however, willing to fund the acquisition of gender expertise amongst their partners.

Whilst not all participants identify as gender experts, they are still responsible for carrying out activities that require such expertise. As such, they have to adopt strategies to promote GM in their contributions, institutions and programmes. Ferguson (2014) argues that this is often difficult, especially when gender is marginalised in institutions that primarily work on other issues. This is relevant for some contributions more than others – for example, ADB has historically worked less on gender than UN Women, and only has a gender focal point for the entire organisation. Here, the role of the PO is critical. For example, getting partners to use WOCAN can be a challenge:

But to get a partner from not thinking about gender at all to actually sending a request, eh, for an outsider to come in and look at their institution, I mean, that is.. that is a process we have to look into and work with the partners, that's where the involvement and knowledge of the programme officer is so critical. Because they deal with the partners directly, right. So at that moment, they have to be able to kind of like, okay, this is most strategic, why don't we talk about gender issues here, things like that. So that's a critical space (C2).

POs also have to advise immediate partners on how to build engagement on gender issues within governments and technical organisations that they work with as well as within their own

institutions. Here, since many of the immediate partners are gender experts who have migrated to climate change and DRR (B1, B2, B3, B4), there is sometimes space for common strategising. For example, both staff at UNEP and staff at the Embassy have cooperated to raise this issue at higher levels in the institution:

Because these projects do have that influence. Now in UNEP people know that there is a whole team working on gender equality and climate change, which has never happened before. Nowhere does it, eh, happen in that sense. So that has a very strong symbolic value and a message as well, and we often, as much as possible, we try to communicate these results within UNEP, to headquarters, to other regional offices, when it's big global meetings like UN Environment Assembly or COP¹⁰, all these things, we try to also like, "we're doing this, we're doing this, we're doing this" so it gets more integrated (B1).

This strategising is an example of the potential for feminist and transformative spaces within institutions that Ferguson (2014) and Eyben (2010) argue is one potential benefit of gender experts. It takes place largely in the informal arena – in annual meetings and in unofficial conversations at conferences and workshops.

5.4.4. Transforming institutions?

Ultimately, however, these tools, processes and gender experts must lead to institutional changes if GM is to be categorised as transformative. Challenging gendered power relations within institutions, however, can be particularly difficult (Ferguson 2014). Nevertheless, at least in substance, the Embassy tries to address these challenges:

So I think what we really try to promote is that it's not only about the programme, it's about how should we kickstart in your organisation or institutionalise so that it can be kept for the longer-term and people can make use of it. Which I don't think other agencies have done that. So I think Sweden is really, really strong in this (A5).

This is certainly difficult, but WOCAN in particular has been effective at doing this:

¹⁰ COPs [Conference of the Parties] are global meetings where the governing body of an international convention gather. The most relevant such convention is the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change.

It's good we got WOCAN to help us, otherwise it's, we don't think we'd be able to come this far, particular in regards to the institutional capacity building. If you look at the WOCAN model, they talk about the norms, culture, and policy of the organisation before they go into the programme (A9).

For example, the BRDR contribution has been working heavily on influencing ADPC as an institution and trying to promote gender issues into its core values. At the beginning of the programme support, they were very much isolated from other parts of the organisation, but they have now started having workshops with management to promote these institutional changes in attitudes and thinking (A4). Again, this 'buy-in' from management is seen as a prerequisite for broader institutional changes (A7).

Ultimately, this section has shown that the Embassy certainly pushes for institutional change and has also in practice managed to some extent to change the institutional practices of their immediate partners by moving beyond simple tools. WOCAN in particular has been a useful innovation, and significant gender expertise exists both within the Embassy and within immediate partners.

5.5. Intersectionality and inclusion of feminist movements

This final criterion examines whether GM includes an intersectional approach as well as feminist concerns from CSOs and grassroots movements.

Certainly, there are nods to diversity and to intersectionality in GM efforts. One PO notes:

But from what I observe is that... the gender concept in this region is not only gender but it comes with other intersectionality. Because here in this context we have to discuss whether it's not only men women but maybe disability, maybe you're indigenous, or not women but it's the rich and poor men, the fisher men or the migrant men, trafficking victims (A9).

However, there is a lack of implementation of this intersectional approach in practice (A8). ADPC and EmPower work with disability in addition to gender, although only to a limited extent (B4). Otherwise, there is little practical attention to diversity. This is also the case for ongoing mainstreaming in institutions, despite a recognition that institutions are not only gendered but also racialised and classed (Acker 2012). Hunting and Hankivsky (2020) argue

that insufficient research has been made on the relationship between GM and intersectionality, and caution that the strong focus on gender in GM tends to impede an intersectional approach because it assumes that gender is always the most important factor to consider. There are also concerns that an intersectional approach will amount to an ‘add-on’ model that again side-lines the focus on relational and structural barriers to equality (Verloo 2006; Yuval-Davis 2006). This is an interesting avenue for further study, especially as some participants noted that the climate change-gender nexus was ‘difficult enough’ to mainstream, suggesting an add-on understanding of intersectionality.

A similar process is at hand regarding the participation of feminist movements in GM efforts. The Embassy and many of the contributions stress the importance of participatory research as the basis for the design of new contributions and activities, and significant time is often given to do such research in an inception period. One immediate partner noted how the input from community-level consultations changed the design of the project:

For the one that I work a lot on, again, this renewable energy entrepreneurship, women-led- if we would not have a clear voice and involvement of the community, we wouldn’t be able to implement this. [...] Like I was mentioning earlier, these women in Cambodia are doing vegetable gardens and these things, we didn’t think about that in the beginning. We thought, okay, it’s probably agricultural sector, maybe some women will have livelihoods working in making some crafts and things like that, but that’s not the case at all. They’re growing vegetables and selling it in the market, like it’s a new business. Then we learnt, okay, here is an opportunity to provide solar home system for them to increase their productivity and grow more vegetables (B1).

However, feminist and post-colonial researchers have put forth considerable criticism of the potential of such methods to capture the voices of the most marginalised in a community (Cooke and Kothari 2001; Hickey and Mohan 2004). This critique centres on the depoliticised and technical nature of such exercises in many development settings and its lack of attention to existing power structures that prevent the most marginalised from participating. Women often feel unable to participate in group discussions when men are present, and even if they do, their complex stories are frequently reduced to quantitative statistics (Kothari 2005). Whilst EmPower has contracted local CSOs and provided detailed guidelines meant to avoid such issues, the Embassy is drastically limited in its ability to examine these practices further. Field

visits are rare and POs are reliant on the information provided to them through their immediate partners:

I: How much do you get to hear here at the Embassy from those communities, do you hear it through partners or-?

A1: Through partners, mainly, or if you go on field trips, which we should do much more I think, not only to these big meetings but go and see, meet the beneficiaries.

The Embassy organises workshops with all of its immediate partners, which have proven to be a good method of sharing knowledge amongst partners (B1). POs learn from some of the more feminist organisations that they fund (A6). POs and other participants also meet representatives of external CSOs at meetings that they attend, but this is again limited by time. It is also not necessarily the case that the feminist organisations funded by the Embassy or the CSOs at these meetings represent wider feminist movements on climate change and DRR. Narayanaswamy (2014) has criticised Northern development actors for assuming that CSOs from the Global South automatically represent the voices of marginalised women, ignoring that many of these are themselves gendered institutions and that there is much diversity amongst organisations. As such, there is no official and sustained way of garnering input from these grassroots movements and communities, suggesting that POs are not accountable to ‘beneficiaries’ (Kothari 2005). Roggeband (2013: 338) suggests creating “strong feedback loops with feminist networks consisting of actors from different contexts as to refresh and reconsider GM goals.” Such a network could complement the current strong focus on contextual gender analyses and workshops hosted by the Embassy, ensuring that GM is not simply ‘expert-driven’ (Brouwers 2013: 27).

Ultimately, the Embassy performs poorly on this criterion, and only to some extent absorbs feminist input and practices an intersectional approach to GM. Now, this thesis will summarise the most important findings of this chapter and conclude with recommendations for further research.

6. Conclusions

The five criteria provided by van Eerdewijk (2013) has proved a useful framework to answer the research questions posed by this thesis. It has examined both how the Embassy mainstreams gender into its climate change and DRR contributions and to what extent this process can be categorised as transformative.

Across these five criteria, there is a significant difference between discourse and practice, where the Embassy and its immediate partners to a large extent proclaim a more transformative approach but then somewhat loses sight of this when it is translated into the design of activities. A ‘diagnosis/prognosis’ paradox is apparent in much of this work (Roggeband and Verloo 2006) where attention to structural inequalities and gendered power relations are identified as a problem but then not necessarily targeted in interventions. Much of the activities that have been proposed to address these issues in practice – capacity building, participatory research – require further research to determine their impacts on the ground. This type of qualitative and reflexive research is seldom included in more technical and instrumental evaluations, and it is largely up to individual POs to do this work, many who do not have the time or resources to go on field visits. Relatedly, a lack of input from feminist and grassroots movements is a significant barrier to transformative GM.

The role of individual staff, whether they identify as gender experts or not, has become increasingly apparent. Because participants were aware of the institutional constraints under which they work, they had adopted various strategies to promote GM as proposed by Ferguson (2014) and Eyben (2010). The most crucial of these tactics is a focus on a technical and instrumental approach to GM, reminiscent of the ‘business-case’ for gender equality, which has been adopted to overcome resistances within highly technocratic climate change and DRR institutions. Given the central place of the FFP in communication, this is somewhat surprising. This ‘business-case’ has resulted in a focus on portraying women as both agents of change and as entrepreneurs. However, whether this approach has been successful in going beyond a ‘tick the box’ approach to GM is debatable (Alston 2014). Significant efforts to push for institutional change, whilst promising, have been largely centred on immediate partners, and not on the actors with which they in turn work.

As such, efforts to mainstream gender within climate change and DRR contributions can only to some extent be categorised as transformative. Whilst there are areas where the Embassy has performed better – including a strong discursive focus on structural inequalities and

innovative support functions to promote institutional change – much of this work instead falls within ‘tinkering’ or ‘tailoring’ (Rees 1998). This is a result both of the larger neoliberal context in which the Embassy is embedded, with its instrumental view of gender equality (Kothari 2005; Chant and Sweetman 2012; Parpart 2013; Roberts 2014), as well as institutional constraints pointed out by feminist institutionalist researchers (Krook and Mackay 2011; Allwood 2014). Despite a move from GM to ‘gender integration’ and proclaimed high ambitions, perhaps expectations on GM as a practice should be kept relatively low, given the context in which it takes place (Subrahmanian 2004).

Many areas in need of further study have emerged. These include a need to study the actual implementation of these projects, once they have run for a longer time, as well as closer attention to ‘open signifiers’ like capacity building and participatory research. In addition, how and whether GM can work in tandem with intersectional and/or human rights approaches needs critical enquiry (Cornwall and Rivas 2015; Hunting and Hankivsky 2020).

Ultimately, this thesis does not mean to discourage current efforts at GM – rather, it aims to open up a space for reflection and learning, especially given the upcoming review of the strategy. Reflexivity, spaces for dialogue with feminist movements, and a deeper contextual understanding of the climate change-gender nexus on a local, national and regional level could significantly enhance GM efforts and ultimately lead to a more transformative agenda. This agenda would refocus on structural inequalities and gendered power relations, not only discursively but also in practice, whilst recognising the need for broader institutional change that addresses the neoliberal and gendered nature of the institutions that are responsible for gender mainstreaming.

7. Bibliography

7.1. Literature

- Acker, J. (2012). Gendered Organizations and Intersectionality: Problems And Possibilities. *Equality, Diversity and Inclusion* 31(3), 214-224.
- ADB (2012). *Mainstreaming Gender Equality*. Tunisia: African Development Bank, Operations Evaluation Department.
- Allwood, G. (2014). Gender Mainstreaming and EU Climate Change Policy. *European Integration online Papers (EIoP) Special issue 1*(18, Article 6), 1-26.
- Alston, M. (2014). Gender Mainstreaming and Climate Change. *Women's Studies International Forum* 47, 287-294.
- Amnesty International (2020). *Asia-Pacific 2019*. <https://www.amnesty.org/en/countries/asia-and-the-pacific/report-asia-pacific/>, Accessed 2020-04-15.
- Arora-Jonsson, S. (2011). Virtue and Vulnerability: Discourses on Women, Gender and Climate Change. *Global Environmental Change* 21(2), 744-751.
- Baden, S. and Goet, A. (1997). Who Needs [Sex] When You Can Have [Gender]? Conflicting Discourses on Gender at Beijing. *Feminist Review* 56, 3-25.
- Bondesson, S. (2019). Why Gender Does Not Stick: Exploring Conceptual Logics in Global Disaster Risk Reduction Policy. In Kinnvall, C. and Rydström, H. (Eds.) *Climate Hazards, Disasters, and Gender Ramifications*. London: Routledge, pp: 48-66.
- Brouwers, H.M. (2013). Revisiting Gender Mainstreaming in International Development. Goodbye to an Illusionary Strategy. *ISS Working Paper Series / General Series* 556, 1-36.
- Bustelo M., Ferguson L. and Forest M. (2016). Introduction. In Bustelo M., Ferguson L. and Forest M. (Eds). *The Politics of Feminist Knowledge Transfer. Gender and Politics*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp: 1-22.
- Callerstig AC. (2016). Gender Training as a Tool for Transformative Gender Mainstreaming: Evidence from Sweden. In Bustelo M., Ferguson L. and Forest M. (Eds.) *The Politics of*

Feminist Knowledge Transfer. Gender and Politics. London: Palgrave Macmillan, pp: 118-138.

Chant, S. and Sweetman, C. (2012). Fixing Women or Fixing the World? 'Smart Economics', Efficiency Approaches, and Gender Equality in Development. *Gender & Development* 20(3), 517-529.

Cohen, M. (2018). Gender and Climate Change Financing: Coming Out of the Margin. *Feminist Economics* 24(3), 188-190.

Cooke, B. and Kothari, U. (2001). *Participation: The New Tyranny?* New York, NY: Zed Books.

Cornwall, A. (2016). Women's Empowerment: What Works?. *Journal of International Development* 28(3), 342-359.

Cornwall, A. and Rivas, A. (2015). From 'Gender Equality and 'Women's Empowerment' to Global Justice: Reclaiming a Transformative Agenda for Gender and Development. *Third World Quarterly* 36(2), 396-415.

Council of Europe (1998). *Gender Mainstreaming: Conceptual Framework, Methodology and Presentation of Good Practices*. Council of Europe. EG-S-MS (98) 2 rev.

Creswell, J. (2014). *A Concise Introduction to Mixed Methods Research*. Thousand Oaks, California: SAGE Publications.

Dankelman, I. (2010). Introduction: Exploring Gender, Environment and Climate Change. In Dankelman, I. (Ed.) *Gender and Climate Change: An Introduction*. Washington, DC: Earthscan, pp: 1-21.

Davids, T., van Driel, F. and Parren, F. (2013). Feminist Change Revisited: Gender Mainstreaming as Slow Revolution. *Journal of International Development* 26(3), 396-408.

Djoudi, H., Locatelli, B., Vaast, C., Asher, K., Brockhaus, M. and Basnett Sijapati, B. (2016). Beyond Dichotomies: Gender and Intersecting Inequalities in Climate Change Studies. *Ambio* 45(S3), 248-262.

Ensor, J., Wennström, P., Bhattarai, A., Nightingale, A., Eriksen, S. and Sillmann, J. (2019). Asking the Right Questions in Adaptation Research and Practice: Seeing Beyond Climate Impacts in Rural Nepal. *Environmental Science & Policy* 94, 227-236.

ESCAP (2014). *Review of the progress and remaining challenges in implementation of the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in Asia and the Pacific*. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.

https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/Beijing20_Review_Progress_%28E%29.pdf,

Accessed 2020-03-15.

ESCAP (2017). *Gender, the Environment and Sustainable Development in Asia and the Pacific*. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.

<https://www.unescap.org/sites/default/files/publications/SDD-Gender-Environment-report.pdf>, Accessed 2020-04-25.

ESCAP (2020). *ICT and Disaster Risk Reduction*. Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific. <https://www.unescap.org/our-work/ict-disaster-risk-reduction>, Accessed 2020-04-28.

Eyben, R. (2010). Subversively Accommodating: Feminist Bureaucrats and Gender Mainstreaming. *IDS Bulletin* 41(2), 54-61.

Ferguson, L. (2014). "This Is Our Gender Person": The Messy Business of Working as a Gender Expert in International Development. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 17(3), 380-397.

Gaard, G. (2015). Ecofeminism and Climate Change. *Women's Studies International Forum* 49, 20-33.

GGCA (2016). *Gender and Climate Change: A Closer Look at Existing Evidence*. Global Gender and Climate Alliance. <https://wedo.org/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/GGCA-RP-FINAL.pdf>, Accessed 2020-04-20.

Gregoratti, C., Roberts, A. and Tornhill, S. (2018). Corporations, Gender Equality and Women's Empowerment: Feminism Co-Opted? In Nölke, A. and May, C. (Eds.) *Handbook of the International Political Economy of the Corporation*. Cheltenham, UK: Edward Elgar Publishing, pp: 93-105.

Grown, C., Addison, T. and Tarp, F. (2016). Aid for Gender Equality and Development: Lessons and Challenges. *Journal of International Development* 28(3), 311-319.

Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies* 14(3), 575-599.

- Harvey, D. (2007). *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: OUP Oxford.
- Helmke, G. and Levitsky, S. (2004). Informal Institutions and Comparative Politics: A Research Agenda. *Perspectives on Politics* 2(04), 725-740.
- Hickey, S. and Mohan, G. (2004). *Participation--from tyranny to transformation?: Exploring new approaches to participation in development*. New York, NY: Zed Books.
- Holvikivi, A. (2019). Gender Experts and Critical Friends: Research in Relations of Proximity. *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 2(1), 131-147.
- Holvoet, N. and Inberg, L. (2013). Gender Mainstreaming in the Context of Changing Aid Modalities: Insights from Two Paris Declaration Champions. *Journal of International Development* 26(3), 317-331.
- Hunting, G. and Hankivsky, O. (2020). Cautioning Against the Co-Optation of Intersectionality in Gender Mainstreaming. *Journal of International Development* 32(3), 430-436.
- Jahan, R. (1995). *The Elusive Agenda: Mainstreaming Women in Development*. London: Zed Books.
- Jeziarska, K. and Towns, A. (2018). Taming Feminism? The Place of Gender Equality in the 'Progressive Sweden' Brand. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy* 14, 55-63.
- Kabeer, N., Sudarshan, R., and Milward, K. (2013). *Organizing Women Workers in the Informal Economy: Beyond the Weapons of the Weak*. London: Zed Books.
- Kaijser, A. and Kronsell, A. (2013). Climate Change Through the Lens of Intersectionality. *Environmental Politics* 23(3), 417-433.
- Kothari, U. (2005). Authority and Expertise: The Professionalisation of International Development and the Ordering of Dissent. *Antipode* 37(3), 425-446.
- Kronsell, A. (2006). Methods for studying silences: gender analysis in institutions of hegemonic masculinity. In Ackerly, B., Stern, M. and True, J. (Eds.). *Feminist Methodologies for International Relations*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, pp: 108-128.
- Krook, M. and Mackay, F. (2011). Introduction: Gender, Politics, and Institutions. In Krook, M. and Mackay, F. (Eds). *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp: 1-20.

- Kunz, R. and Prügl, E. (2019). Introduction: gender experts and gender expertise. *European Journal of Politics and Gender* 2(1), 3-21.
- Lombardo, E. and Meier, P. (2006). Gender Mainstreaming in the EU. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(2), 151-166.
- MacGregor, S. (2010). 'Gender and Climate Change': from Impacts to Discourses. *Journal of the Indian Ocean Region* 6(2), 223-238.
- MacGregor, S. (2013). Only Resist: Feminist Ecological Citizenship and the Post-politics of Climate Change. *Hypatia* 29(3), 617-633.
- Mackay, F. (2011). Conclusion: Towards a Feminist Institutionalism? In Krook, M. and Mackay, F. (Eds). *Gender, Politics and Institutions*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp: 181-196.
- Narayanaswamy, L. (2014). NGOs and Feminisms in Development: Interrogating the 'Southern Women's NGO'. *Geography Compass* 8(8), 576-589.
- Parpart, J. (2013). Exploring the Transformative Potential of Gender Mainstreaming in International Development Institutions. *Journal of International Development* 26(3), 382-395.
- Rees, T. (1998). *Mainstreaming Equality in The European Union*. London: Routledge.
- Resurrección, B. (2013). Persistent Women and Environment Linkages in Climate Change and Sustainable Development Agendas. *Women's Studies International Forum* 40, 33-43.
- Roberts, A. (2014). The Political Economy of "Transnational Business Feminism". *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 17(2), 209-231.
- Roggeband, C. (2013). Gender Mainstreaming in Dutch Development Cooperation: The Dialectics of Progress. *Journal of International Development* 26(3), 332-344.
- Roggeband, C. and Verloo, M. (2006). Evaluating Gender Impact Assessment in the Netherlands (1994–2004): A Political Process Approach. *Policy & Politics* 34(4), 615-632.
- Rose, G. (1997). Situating Knowledges: Positionality, Reflexivities and Other Tactics. *Progress in Human Geography* 21(3), 305-320.
- Springer, E. (2019). Bureaucratic Tools in (Gendered) Organizations: Performance Metrics and Gender Advisors in International Development. *Gender & Society* 34(1), 56-80.

- Subrahmanian, R. (2004). Making Sense of Gender in Shifting Institutional Contexts: Some Reflections on Gender Mainstreaming. *IDS Bulletin* 35(4), 89–94.
- Sultana, F. (2013). Gendering Climate Change: Geographical Insights. *The Professional Geographer* 66(3), 372-381.
- Swyngedouw, E. (2013). The Non-political Politics of Climate Change. *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 12(1), 1-8.
- Tracy, S. (2010). Qualitative Quality: Eight “Big-Tent” Criteria for Excellent Qualitative Research. *Qualitative Inquiry* 16(10), 837-851.
- Tschakert, P. and Machado, M. (2012). Gender Justice and Rights in Climate Change Adaptation: Opportunities and Pitfalls. *Ethics and Social Welfare* 6(3), 275-289.
- van Eerdewijk, A. (2013). The Micropolitics Of Evaporation: Gender Mainstreaming Instruments in Practice. *Journal of International Development* 26(3), 345-355.
- van Eerdewijk, A. and Davids, T. (2013). Escaping the Mythical Beast: Gender Mainstreaming Reconceptualised. *Journal of International Development* 26(3), 303-316.
- Veitch, J. (2005). Looking at Gender Mainstreaming in the UK Government. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7(4), 600-606.
- Verloo, M. (2006). Multiple Inequalities, Intersectionality and the European Union. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 13(3), 211-228.
- Walby, S. (2005). Introduction: Comparative Gender Mainstreaming in a Global Era. *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 7(4), 453-470.
- Wester, M. and Doma Lama, P. (2019). Women as Agents of Change? Reflections on Women in Climate Adaptation and Mitigation in the Global North and the Global South. In Kinnvall, C. and Rydström, H. (Eds.) *Climate Hazards, Disasters, and Gender Ramifications*. London: Routledge, pp: 67-85.
- Yuval-Davis, N. (2006). Intersectionality and Feminist Politics. *European Journal Of Women's Studies* 13(3), 193-209.

7.2. Empirical material

ADB (2014). *7th ANNUAL DONOR CONSULTATION MEETING: Minutes*. Internal document, on file with the author.

ADB (2018). *Clean Energy Financing Partnership Facility: Annual Report 2017*. Internal document, on file with the author.

ADPC (2017). *Building resilience through inclusive and climate-adaptive disaster risk reduction in Asia-Pacific: Project Proposal*. Internal document, on file with the author.

ADPC (2018). *Final Inception Phase Report*. Internal document, on file with the author.

Andersen, H. (2015). *Gender Analysis and Review as Basis for the Regional Strategy of Asia, 2016-2020: Draft Report*. Internal document, on file with the author.

MFA (2016). *Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation in Asia and the Pacific region 2016–2021*. Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

<https://www.government.se/4a6b76/contentassets/4be274e3951b4c269553956c442214db/strategy-for-swedens-regional-development-cooperation-in-asia-and-the-pacific-region-20162021.pdf>, Accessed 2019-12-02.

MFA (2019). *Handbook Sweden's feminist foreign policy*. Ministry for Foreign Affairs.

<https://www.government.se/4ae557/contentassets/fc115607a4ad4bca913cd8d11c2339dc/handbook---swedens-feminist-foreign-policy.pdf>, Accessed 2019-12-11.

Openaid (2020). *Sida's aid to Asia, regional, via all organisations for all sectors 2019*.

<https://openaid.se/aid/swedish-international-development-cooperation-agency/asia-regional/2019/>, Accessed 2020-04-03.

ORGUT (2016). *Gender assessment of: "UNDP, Strengthening the Governance of Climate Change Finance to Enhance Gender Equality (2017-2021)"*. Internal document, on file with the author.

Sida (2015). *[Tool] Gender Mainstreaming*. Sida Gender Tool Box.

<https://www.sida.se/contentassets/9d450477fa6b49be81a77ded3c2e474a/gender-tool-mainstreaming.pdf>, Accessed 2020-02-20.

Sida (2016). *[Tool] Gender Equality Policy Marker*. Sida Gender Tool Box. <https://www.sida.se/contentassets/fa74787eb621485096d7bc60e35c9518/18529.pdf>, Accessed 2020-05-10.

Sida (2016). *[Brief] Gender and the Environment*. Sida Gender Tool Box. https://www.sida.se/contentassets/0b57532e484543199b0485c0984d731a/gender_and_environment.pdf, Accessed 2020-01-19.

Sida (2017). *[Tool] How Sida Works with Gender Equality*. Sida Gender Tool Box. https://www.sida.se/contentassets/4fd9964764a14e698634abfa9ebf9999/how_sida_works_with_gender_equalitydoes_may-2017.pdf, Accessed 2020-04-02.

Sida's Helpdesk for Environment and Climate Change (2019). *An assessment of how well the Embassy of Sweden in Bangkok and their partners fulfil Sida's requirements on mainstreaming and integrating environment and climate in the portfolio of the Strategy for Sweden's regional development cooperation in Asia and the Pacific region 2016–2021*. Internal document, on file with the author.

The Embassy (2017). *Dialogue Messages Sweden's Regional Development Cooperation in Asia and the Pacific*. Internal document, on file with the author.

The Embassy (2018). *UN Women/UN Env_ Strengthening HR/ Gender through CC action and DRR: Appraisal of Intervention, Final*. Internal document, on file with the author.

The Embassy (2019). *ADB Clean Energy Financing Partnership Facility: Appraisal of Contribution Amendment*. Internal document, on file with the author.

UN Women and UNEP (2017). *Strengthening Human Rights and Gender Equality through Climate Change Action and Disaster Risk Reduction: Project Proposal*. Internal document, on file with the author.

UN Women and UNEP (2019). *Final Inception Phase Report*. Internal document, on file with the author.

UNDP (2017). *Strengthening the Governance of Climate Change Finance to Enhance Gender Equality: Programme Document*. Internal document, on file with the author.

8. Appendices

8.1. Detailed information about selected contributions

<p>Strengthening Human Rights and Gender Equality through Climate Change Action and Disaster Risk Reduction ('EmPower')</p>	<p>Strengthening the Governance of Climate Change Finance to Enhance Gender Equality ('Climate Finance')</p>
<p>Partner organisation: UNDP and UN Women</p> <p>Description: The project aims to address key drivers of gender-based vulnerability and enhance human rights through mainstreaming gender and human rights concerns in climate change and DRR actions in Asia and the Pacific. It will work in five focus areas: women's leadership; use of sex-, age- and diversity disaggregated data; capacity-building of national institutions; access of women to renewable energy sources; and support to regional normative processes addressing climate change, DRR and gender equality. The project will be implemented in Bangladesh, Cambodia and Viet Nam and at the regional level in Asia and the Pacific. The project duration is 2018- 2022 (UN Women and UNEP 2017; 2019).</p>	<p>Partner organisation: UNDP</p> <p>Description: Since 2012 UNDP has been working with Sweden to generate knowledge and understanding of how to integrate a response to climate change within the budget process in Bangladesh, Indonesia, Thailand and Cambodia. Building on existing partnerships and on the experience of supporting budget reforms in the first phase of the UNDP-Sweden partnership, this second phase of the programme will continue to support governments to implement budget reforms that enable the delivery of gender-responsive climate change related investments that would have positive impacts on poverty and human rights. This second phase runs for 2017-2023 (UNDP 2017).</p>
<p>Building resilience through inclusive and climate adaptive disaster risk reduction in Asia-Pacific 2017-2023 ('BRDR')</p>	<p>Clean Energy Fund ('CEF')</p>
<p>Partner organisation: Asian Disaster Preparedness Center ('ADPC')</p> <p>Description: The goal of the program is to strengthen regional cooperation to protect development gains and build resilience of</p>	<p>Partner organisation: Asian Development Bank ('ADB')</p> <p>Description: A multi-donor fund supported by Australia, Norway, Spain, the United Kingdom and Sweden. The facility is part of</p>

<p>people in Asia-Pacific to disaster and climate risks through inclusive and gender-responsive risk reduction measures. There are three outcomes of the program:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Strengthened capacity for regional cooperation 2. Uptake of risk-informed approaches to development and social protection to reduce disaster and climate risk and vulnerability 3. Enhanced gender equality and rights-based approaches in disaster risk management and climate change adaptation in the region (ADPC 2017). 	<p>ADB's Clean Energy Program, CEP, which is an umbrella for ADB clean energy initiatives. It supports technical assistance, grant components of investment projects, and any other activities that may be agreed upon between financing partners and ADB. The CEP only provides funding to cover the "viability gap", i.e. a minor share of a project budget which makes it eligible for CEF-funding e.g. energy access to a school that is rehabilitated. Sweden has supported this fund since 2008 (The Embassy 2019).</p>
---	---

Table 1. Detailed information about selected contributions. Source: author.

8.2. Interview participants

Participant	Details	Date and location	Length of interview
<i>The Embassy</i>			
A1	Head of Section	2019-12-04, at the Embassy	00:33:22
A2	Programme Officer	2019-12-04, at the Embassy	00:24:19
A3	Programme Officer	2019-12-18, at the Embassy	00:40:02
A4	Programme Officer	2019-11-21, at the Embassy	01:14:10
A5	Programme Officer	2019-12-09, at the Embassy	00:47:21
A6	Programme Officer	2019-12-04, at the Embassy	00:41:52
A7	Programme Officer	2019-12-04, at the Embassy	00:28:06
A8	Programme Officer	2019-11-19, at the Embassy	00:08:30 (1 hour) ¹¹
A9	Gender Focal Point	2019-12-19, at the Embassy	00:38:05
<i>Immediate Partners</i>			
B1	Programme Staff	2019-12-13, at UN Regional Hub in Bangkok	00:37:30
B2	Programme Staff	2019-12-13, at UN Regional Hub in Bangkok	00:42:14
B3	Programme Staff	2019-12-13, at UN Regional Hub in Bangkok	00:42:14
B4	Programme Staff	2019-12-13, over Skype.	00:52:54
B5	Programme Staff	2019-12-20, over Skype.	00:18:48
<i>Other</i>			
C1	Sida Gender Specialist	2019-12-19, over Skype.	00:22:45
C2	WOCAN	2019-12-17, over Skype.	00:25:23

Table 2. Interview participants. Source: author.

¹¹ The recording of this interview unexpectedly stopped recording after 08:30 minutes, but the full interview was approximately 1 hour long. Detailed notes were taken to complement the short recording.

8.3. Interview guides

Gender Specialist & WOCAN

What is gender mainstreaming?

- Where did the concept come from? How did you decide upon this definition?
- What are the most important aspects to promote in gender mainstreaming? Pick 3.
- How does it fit in with Swedish priorities?
- Is everyone in agreement on what gender mainstreaming is?

How does gender mainstreaming fit in with the Embassy's integrative approach?

- What are the differences, if any?
- How was this focus agreed upon?

Why should we work towards gender mainstreaming?

- *Pay attention to the way women are portrayed (agency, virtue, vulnerability)*
- If we talk more specifically about climate change, why is looking at gender important?
- What will happen if we don't include gender in climate change mitigation and adaptation? What will happen if we do?

How do different groups relate to climate change?

- How are they impacted by climate change?
- How do they perceive climate change?
- How are they addressing climate change?

Who is gender mainstreaming for?

- *Pay attention to intersectionality*
- Talking again specifically about climate change, who does gender mainstreaming benefit?

How do our partners see gender mainstreaming?

- Is their understanding the same as ours?
- Is our view of gender mainstreaming appropriate for this context?

How do current approaches outside the Embassy suggest that we address climate change?

- Are these approaches gender sensitive? Why/why not?

How does Sida assist the Embassy?

- What support can the Embassy get from you?
- What guidelines/processes exist at to facilitate this process?

- Is the support technical?
- Do you tailor advice to the regional context?

How has the Embassy managed to mainstream gender?

- What does the Embassy do well?
- Where does the Embassy need more support?

In dialogue with the Embassy, how do you reconcile differences?

- *Pay attention to issues of power*
- Does your understanding of gender mainstreaming get transformed in dialogue with the Embassy? Why and how?
- Is the process of gender mainstreaming top-down or bottom-up?

How impactful has the Embassy's efforts to mainstream gender been?

- What results have you seen?
- Is there an area that has performed better or worse? Where does climate change rate?
- Is it transformational? Does it address the root causes of the problem?

What are the main barriers to gender mainstreaming at the Embassy?

- Is there enough time and resources allocated to gender mainstreaming?
- Is gender mainstreaming a priority at Sida?
- Is there resistance? If so, where from?
- Do our climate change projects face specific challenges?

Does gender mainstreaming reach the most marginalised?

- Are groups excluded?
- Is gender mainstreaming intersectional?

Staff at the Embassy

What is gender mainstreaming?

- Where did the concept come from? How did you decide upon this definition?
- What are the most important aspects to promote in gender mainstreaming? Pick 3.
- How does it fit in with Swedish priorities?
- Is everyone at the Embassy in agreement on what gender mainstreaming is?

How does gender mainstreaming fit in with the Embassy's integrative approach?

- What are the differences, if any?
- How was this focus agreed upon?

Why should we work towards gender mainstreaming?

- *Pay attention to the way women are portrayed (agency, virtue, vulnerability)*
- If we talk more specifically about climate change, why is looking at gender important?
- What will happen if we don't include gender in climate change mitigation and adaptation? What will happen if we do?

How do different groups relate to climate change?

- How are they impacted by climate change?
- How do they perceive climate change?
- How are they addressing climate change?

Who is gender mainstreaming for?

- *Pay attention to intersectionality*
- Talking again specifically about climate change, who does gender mainstreaming benefit?

How do our partners see gender mainstreaming?

- Is their understanding the same as ours?
- Is our view of gender mainstreaming appropriate for this context?

How has our climate change partners (ADB, UNDP, UN Women & UNEP, ADPC) worked with gender mainstreaming?

- Which project has done well and why?
- Where can improvements be made?

How do current approaches outside the Embassy suggest that we address climate change?

- Are these approaches gender sensitive? Why/why not?

How does the Embassy implement gender mainstreaming?

- What are the main activities?
- What guidelines/processes exist at the Embassy to facilitate this process?

How does the integrative approach work in practice at the Embassy?

- Is there a division between gender/human rights and climate change/environment at the Embassy?
- If so, what creates this division?
- If so, what does this division mean for gender mainstreaming?

What support is given from Sida?

- Is the support technical?
- Do they have knowledge about the regional context?

How do you work with partners to implement gender mainstreaming in their projects?

- What are the main ways partners can implement gender mainstreaming?

What capacity do partners have to do this?

- To what extent do partners follow-through on gender mainstreaming in their organisation as well as their projects?
- What has been successful in dialogue with partners?
- What support from the Embassy have partners found useful/not so useful?

In dialogue with partners, how do you reconcile differences?

- *Pay attention to issues of power*
- Does the Embassy's concept of gender mainstreaming get transformed in dialogue with partners? Why and how?
- In what ways do you leverage your position as a donor?

Is there support for gender mainstreaming amongst communities?

- How far removed is the Embassy from the beneficiaries of your projects?
- How do you make sure that you understand the need of beneficiaries?
- Is the process of gender mainstreaming top-down or bottom-up?

How impactful has the Embassy's efforts to mainstream gender been?

- What results have you seen?
- Is there an area that has performed better or worse? Where does climate change rate?
- Is it transformational? Does it address the root causes of the problem?

What are the main barriers to gender mainstreaming at the Embassy and with partners?

- Is there enough time and resources allocated to gender mainstreaming?
- Is gender mainstreaming a priority at Sida; at the Embassy; and with partners?
- Is there resistance? If so, where from?
- Do our climate change projects face specific challenges?

Does gender mainstreaming reach the most marginalised?

- Are groups excluded?
- Is gender mainstreaming intersectional?

If the PO works with a selected project, also:

For [project], how have they worked with gender mainstreaming?

- What is their understanding of gender mainstreaming?
- How has your dialogue progressed on this topic?
- What have they done well?

- What have they done less well? Where is there room for improvement?
- What are their main challenges?

Immediate Partners

Why do you work towards gender mainstreaming?

- If we talk more specifically about climate change, why is looking at gender important?
- What will happen if we don't include gender in climate change mitigation and adaptation? What will happen if we do?

How do current approaches suggest that we address climate change?

- Are these approaches gender sensitive? Why/why not?

Is there support for gender mainstreaming amongst communities?

- How far removed is your organisation from the beneficiaries of your projects?
- How do you make sure that you understand the need of beneficiaries?

Does your organisation have policies or strategies on gender?

- *Specific question to Empower: How has the collaboration between UNEP and UN Women worked, specifically relating to gender mainstreaming?*

What is gender mainstreaming?

- Where did the concept come from? How did you decide upon this definition?
- What are the most important aspects to promote in gender mainstreaming? Pick 3.
- How does it fit in with your priorities?
- Is everyone at your organisation in agreement on what gender mainstreaming is?

Is your understanding of gender mainstreaming, e.g. policies, different from the Embassy's?

- What could the Embassy learn from your approach?
- Have you learnt anything from the Embassy?

How do you implement gender mainstreaming?

- What are the main activities?
- What guidelines/processes exist at your organisation to facilitate this process?
- What capacity do you have to implement gender mainstreaming?

What support is given from the Embassy?

- What type of support does Sida provide?
- What has been useful? Not useful?
- Where do you need more support?

In dialogue with the Embassy, how do you reconcile differences?

- In what ways does the Embassy leverage its position as a donor?

How impactful has your efforts to mainstream gender been?

- What results have you seen?
- What has worked? What hasn't worked?
- Does it address the root causes of the problem?
- Will it lead to systemic change?

What are the main barriers to gender mainstreaming at your organisation?

- Is there enough time and resources allocated to gender mainstreaming?
- Is gender mainstreaming a priority?
- Is there resistance? If so, where from?

Does gender mainstreaming reach the most marginalised?

- Are groups excluded?

8.4. NVivo nodes

The following were the nodes used to code interviews and structure the content analysis.

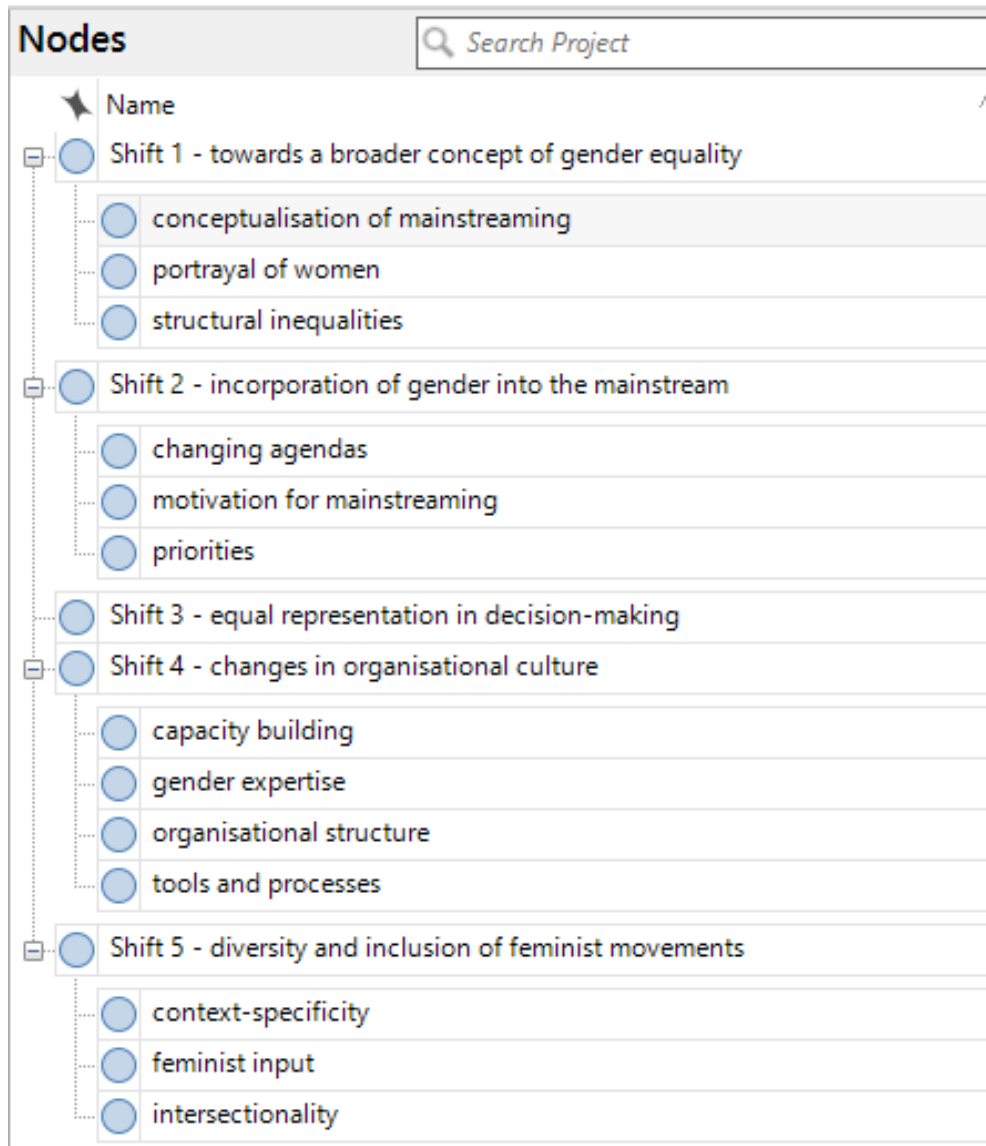


Fig 5. NVivo nodes used for coding. Source: author.

8.5. Consent form

Participant Consent Form

Thesis: Gender Mainstreaming in Climate Change Projects

Consent to take part in research

- I..... voluntarily agree to participate in this research study.
- I understand that even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time or refuse to answer any question without any consequences of any kind.
- I understand that I can withdraw permission to use data from my interview within two weeks after the interview, in which case the material will be deleted.
- I have had the purpose and nature of the study explained to me in writing and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the study.
- I understand that participation involves participating in this hour-long semi-structured interview on the topic of gender mainstreaming in the climate change projects funded by the Embassy.
- I understand that I will not benefit directly from participating in this research.
- I agree to my interview being audio-recorded.
- I understand that all information I provide for this study will be treated confidentially.
- I understand that in any report on the results of this research my identity will remain anonymous. This will be done by changing my name and disguising any details of my interview which may reveal my identity or the identity of people I speak about.
- I understand that disguised extracts from my interview may be quoted in the thesis and in the presentation (“defence”) of the thesis.
- I understand that scanned consent forms and original audio recordings will be retained on a personal USB stick until the exam board confirms the results of the thesis.
- I understand that a transcript of my interview in which all identifying information has been removed will be retained for two years from the date of the exam board.

- I understand that under freedom of information legislation I am entitled to access the information I have provided at any time while it is in storage as specified above.
- I understand that I am free to contact any of the people involved in the research to seek further clarification and information.

Names, degrees, affiliations and contact details of researchers.

Researcher

Sofia Karlsson

Master's student, International Development and Management (LUMID), Lund University

sofiaelinor.karlsson@hotmail.com

+46721980548

Supervisor

Catia Gregoratti

Senior lecturer, Department of Political Science, Lund University

catia.gregoratti@svet.lu.se

+46 46 222 45 10

Signature of research participant

Signature of participant

Date

Signature of researcher

I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study

Signature of researcher

Date