

Women's Voices in Climate Change - a Case Study from Uganda

An Intersectional Discourse Analysis on Ugandan Climate
Policies: Exploring the Problem Representations, Silences,
Assumptions, and Impacts in Women's Representation



LUNDS
UNIVERSITET

Abstract

As the global climate crisis continues to develop, the significance of climate policies in creating sustainable mitigation and adaptation plans to prevent climate change's adverse effects increases. The ability of climate policies to effectively address those most affected is crucial to prevent disparities among people. In Uganda, women, especially those who are in a vulnerable state due to overlapping oppressions and discriminations, have a higher risk of experiencing adverse effects of climate change due to deep-rooted structural inequalities. Representation of women in all their diversity matters as it can either reinforce or challenge these structural inequalities that are boosting the vulnerabilities. This thesis has aimed to examine how women are represented in Ugandan climate policies by studying the problem representations, assumptions, silences, and the possible impacts of these representations. The analysis was carried out using discourse analysis with Carol Bacchi's WPR approach as a method and intersectional feminism as a guiding theoretical approach. It was found that Ugandan climate policies did not represent women in all their diversity efficiently, as they failed to acknowledge intersecting vulnerabilities, structural drivers of gender inequality, and did not include women to a significant extent in mitigation and adaptation plans. The study found that Uganda presents a case of the radical potential paradox, where gender mainstreaming has been applied to policies but has not led to sustainable growth in gender equality due to insufficient representation of women.

Keywords: Climate Change, Climate Policies, Intersectional Feminism, Uganda, Discourse Analysis, Policy as Discourse, WPR Approach, Intersectionality in Policies, Women's Representation, Women and Climate Change, Health and Climate Change.

Words: 9849

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude to all my close ones back home in Helsinki for supporting me these past three years. Your encouragement concerning both my academic and personal life has been invaluable to me.

Secondly, I would like to thank my friends in Lund for all the wonderful memories and for making my experience here unforgettable.

I would also like to give a special thank you to my colleagues during my internship at Plan International Finland for inspiring me to write about Ugandan women's experiences in the climate crisis.

Finally, I want to honor my late grandmother Irja. I owe much of who I am today to her unwavering example of always standing her ground, which inspired me to become the feminist I am today.

Table of Contents

Abbreviations.....
1. Introduction.....	1
1.1. Research aim and question.....	2
1.2. Language and reflexivity.....	2
1.3. Outline.....	3
2. Setting the Scene.....	4
2.1. Important context.....	4
2.2. Literature review.....	7
3. Theoretical and Analytical Framework.....	11
3.1. Theoretical Framework: Intersectional Feminism.....	11
3.2. Methodology.....	13
3.2.1. Research design.....	13
3.2.2. Method for data collection.....	13
3.2.3. Sources and data.....	14
3.2.4. Data analysis.....	15
3.2.4.1. Data management.....	17
4. Analysis.....	19
4.1. The Problems Represented.....	19
4.1.1. Women as a vulnerable group.....	20
4.1.2. Women as a group burdened with reproductive labor.....	20
4.1.3. Women as vulnerable stakeholders with limited political power.....	21
4.2. Assumptions underlying the problems.....	21
4.2.1. Assumption of gendered and homogenous state of vulnerability.....	21
4.2.2. Assumption of traditional gender roles and norms and the heteronormativity, binary gender role and identity assumption.....	22
4.2.3. Assumed effectiveness of participation.....	23
4.3. Silences.....	23
4.3.1. Silence of intersectional perspectives.....	23
4.3.2. Silence on causes for gender inequality.....	23
4.3.3. Silence of human rights perspective.....	24
4.3.4. Silence of women in adaptation and mitigation plans.....	24
4.4. Possible impacts of problem representations.....	25
5. Discussion.....	27
5.1. Suggestion for future studies.....	28
5.2. Limitations.....	28
6. Conclusion.....	29
7. References.....	30
8. Appendices.....	34
8.1. Appendix I.....	34
8.2. Appendix II.....	36

Abbreviations

4WCW = the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995

AWID = Association for Women's Rights in Development

COP = Conference of the Parties

COP28 = the 2023 United Nations Climate Change Conference

EIGE = European Institute for Gender Equality

EM-DAT = the Emergency Events Database

ESSP = Environment and Social Safeguards Policy

ESSF = Environmental and Social-Safeguards Framework

LDCs = Least Developed Countries

LGBTQIA+ = Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Queer or Questioning, Intersex,

Asexual and other sexual and gender minorities

MWE = Ministry of Water and Environment

NAPA = National Adaptation Programmes of Action

NCCP = Uganda's National Climate Change Policy

NDC = Nationally Determined Contribution

SOGIESC = Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression, and Sex Characteristics

UNDP = the United Nations Development Programme

UNFCCC = the United Nations Framework Convention of Climate Change

UNHCR = the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees

WHO = the World Health Organization

WPR = What's the Problem Represented -Approach

1. Introduction

As temperatures rise and weather patterns become increasingly unpredictable globally, Uganda emerges as a highly affected area in the ongoing battle against the worldwide climate crisis (The World Bank Group, 2021, pp. 5-6). The prevalence of adverse climate change-induced effects on, for instance, human health in Uganda is mounting, fueled by the accelerating changes in temperatures, rainfall patterns, and occurrences of disasters and extreme weather events. As climate change persists in transforming environments globally, its impacts are disproportionately felt the most among people experiencing various pre-existing vulnerabilities (Alston, 2014, pp. 291-292; Denton, 2002, pp. 13-14, 18). Vulnerabilities and privileges of an individual are constituted by the perception of the combination of intersecting social identities that include, e.g., gender, race, class, disability, religion, ethnicity, and sexuality by the society, community, or people around us (Smooth, 2013, p. 11; UNHCR, n.d. pp. 4-5). Some social identities are exposed to discrimination and social exclusion within communities or societies (UNHCR, n.d., p. 5). Marginalized groups with fewer resources to adapt are especially at risk of climate change. Ugandan women, especially those experiencing intersecting vulnerabilities alongside the gendered cultural norms, rules, and discriminations that contribute to heightened inequality in various fields, have a lower adaptive capacity (Sen Roy, 2018, p. 55; World Bank Group, 2021, pp. 12, 14) to climate change compared to men and hence risks to suffer from the adverse effects of climate change more.

The risk that people living with vulnerabilities bear is worsened by the absence of effectively targeted climate action and policies (Alston, 2014, pp. 287-289; Acosta et al., 2019, pp. 10-11; Preet et al., 2010, p. 6). Yet, there is a gap in research and a lack of comprehensive exploration into how women in all their diversity are represented in climate policies. The research problem in this thesis is formulated as an attempt to fill this gap. The aim of the thesis is to contribute to the research on the representation of women in climate policies, focusing on the example of the Ugandan case to shed light on the current state of representation and to highlight possible factors in the policies hindering the manifestation of gender equality.

1.1. Research aim and question

This thesis aims to analyze the discourses, language, and rhetoric regarding the representation of women in all their diversity in connection to climate change in Ugandan climate change policy documents and assess that representation through the intersectional feminist theoretical approach. A particular focus in the research has also been put on the recognition of climate-induced gendered health risks, as it is one of the most pressing factors affecting gender equality in climate change. The representation of women is analyzed through Carol Bacchi's "What's the Problem Represented" (WPR) approach, as it is a feasible method to analyze what is argued to be important regarding women in climate change and how women are framed and represented according to the policies by analyzing problem representations, assumptions underlying these representations and the issues that are left unaddressed in the policies. The research question is formed around the WPR method.

The research question is the following:

What issues do Ugandan climate change policies call attention to regarding women, what assumptions may underlie this representation of issues, what issues remain unaddressed, and what are the possible impacts of this representation?

1.2. Language and reflexivity

In this research process of analyzing representations and discourses in policies on topics related to gender, equality, vulnerabilities, and identities, it has been essential to understand that language and tone have a critical role in influencing the discourse regarding, for instance, gender, identity, and equality within policy but also in research (Paiz, 2021, pp. 2, 14; Paiz & Coda, 2021, pp. 268-270).

This thesis is committed to employing language and tone that aligns with these intersectional feminist ideas regarding language, recognizing its power to either reinforce or challenge existing thought patterns. Intersectional feminists stress the importance of using inclusive and non-harmful language, including considering different perspectives and identities and not reinforcing harmful norms, roles, or

stereotypes (Knisely, 2021, p. 164). To give an example of this approach, this thesis uses the term “people with diverse SOGIESC” (Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression, and Sex Characteristics) instead of the popular term LGBTQIA+ to include also people who have diverse SOGIESC but who do not feel represented in the LGBTQIA+ abbreviation that is based on a narrow categorization (Smith, 2023).

Understanding the potential biases linked to the researcher’s standpoint as a Nordic woman doing research about Ugandan women’s experiences is crucial. Reflexivity has been practiced throughout the research process to acknowledge potential biases and mitigate their impact on the process and the research results.

To summarize, this thesis aims to incorporate the ideas of intersectional feminism not only into its research topic, analysis, and methodologies but also into its language and tone, and through this, to walk the talk of the importance of discourses argued in the research.

1.3. Outline

So far, this thesis has introduced the topic, aim, and research question, highlighted the importance of tone and language, and shared insights into reflexivity in the thesis writing process. The following section, “2. Setting the Scene”, will introduce the background and important context of the thesis, climate change and its impacts in the context of Uganda, highlighting the particular impacts climate change in Uganda has on human health and how it affects people differently based on the intersection of social identities. Distinct focus will be put on women’s intersectional experiences related to climate change and to justifying the importance of women’s voices in climate change discourse. The justification of the importance of women’s inclusion continues in the literature review that is also carried out in part “2. Setting the Scene,” with an in-depth examination of scholarly literature on women’s representation in climate policies. At the end of the literature review, gaps in the current literature that are aimed to be filled with this research are identified. Section three, “Theoretical and Analytical Framework,” is dedicated to introducing the intersectional feminist framework used as a theoretical background for this thesis and the overall research design, the sources and data, and the methods for data collection and analysis, including discourse analysis, policy as discourse thinking and Carol Bacchi’s WPR approach. Sections number four and five

are dedicated to the actual analysis and discussion of women's representation in the Ugandan climate policies by introducing and discussing the issues seen as problematic concerning women in climate change in the climate policies, the assumptions about women underlying this "problem representation," the quiet spots and the possible impacts this problem representation can have regarding women. Section six concludes the thesis and is followed by the references and appendices.

2. Setting the Scene

2.1. Important context

According to the Climate Risk Country Profile of Uganda drafted by the World Bank Group in 2021, Uganda's average temperatures have risen by 1.3°C since the 1960s, with the number of hot days and nights also significantly increasing (the World Bank Group, 2021, p. 5). The annual rainfall in Uganda has significantly decreased while the frequency and duration of droughts have increased (the World Bank Group, 2021, p. 6). At the same time, the percentage of total rainfall emerging from extreme rainfall events is increasing due to the rise in the intensity and frequency of extreme rainfall events. Extreme rainfall contributes to a heightened risk of floods and landslides, and the number of such disasters has significantly risen in Uganda in the last 30 years (the World Bank Group, 2021, pp. 6, 9).

Climate change affects humans in various ways. Due to the limited scope of a Bachelor's thesis, it was decided that out of all these ways, it would be better to delve deep only into one: health. The significance of this study (about women's representation in climate policies) is argued through climate change's direct impacts on human health that manifest disproportionately among people, affecting especially people living with intersecting vulnerabilities in climate-vulnerable areas.

According to Sen Roy (2018, p. 56), Africa has the largest concentration of climate change-related deaths. The five most common causes of death in Africa include malaria, diarrhoeal diseases, and lower respiratory infections, all of which can be linked to be a cause of or further exacerbated by climate change (Sen Roy, 2018, p. 56). Statistics

from Uganda show a similar impact. In Uganda, in 2019, lower respiratory infections, malaria, and diarrhoeal diseases were among the top six most common causes of death when taking into account males and females of all ages (WHO, 2019). According to data from the International Disaster Database EM-DAT (Appendix I), between the years 2000 and 2022, there were altogether 26 reported epidemics of diseases linked to being a cause of or further exacerbated by climate change in Uganda, including yellow fever, cholera, acute diarrhoeal syndrome, ebola haemorrhagic fever, measles, hepatitis e, Marburg and meningococcal disease (EM-DAT, 2024; El-Sayed & Kamel, 2020, pp. 22337-22338, 22341).

In the so-called Global South, the intensified rainy seasons, dryness, and warmer weather have created more favorable conditions for the spread of vector-borne diseases such as malaria or dengue fever due to the increased suitability of weather conditions for mosquitoes, ticks, and various parasites to breed (Sen Roy, 2018, p. 54). Ebola hemorrhagic fever and Marburg are vector-borne diseases transmitted to humans from wild animals. Changes in climate affect the behaviors and habitats of these animals and can result in humans being in closer contact with them, resulting in the spread of these diseases (El-Sayed & Kamel, 2020, pp. 22336, 22341).

Droughts and floods can affect water availability and quality and lead to the use of contaminated water, which increases the risk of outbreaks of diarrhoeal diseases, cholera, and hepatitis E (Denton, 2002, pp. 14-15; Newell et al., 2010, p. 9) Worldwide, the risk of developing cardiovascular diseases is going to increase with rising temperatures and extreme highs, leading to an increase in heat-related mortality (Sen Roy, 2018, p. 54). Growing air pollution levels can affect the risk of developing lower respiratory diseases such as asthma or bronchitis (Denton, 2002, p. 15; El-Sayed & Kamel, 2020, pp. 22340, 22347). Increased occurrence of natural hazards and shocks also present a significant health risk globally. According to EM-DAT data (Appendix I), altogether 3560 deaths caused by 36 floods, five droughts, and nine landslides were reported in Uganda between 2000 and 2024 (EM-DAT, 2024).

Changes in rainfall patterns also negatively affect agricultural production and the distribution of clean water, further exacerbating food and water insecurity (Mwesigye 2021, pp. 39-40, 49). A study by Mwesigye (2021) on climate-induced water and food insecurities in households in Uganda revealed that every month of drought led to a 3%

increase in the risk of food shortage and reduced number of meals per day by 0.04 (Mwesigye, 2021, p. 49). Long-lasting droughts can lead to malnutrition, which can affect the weakening of the immune system and can cause a lack of growth and development in children (Sekiyama et al., 2020, pp. 21-22). In addition, the World Bank Group writes that water scarcity due to droughts increases the risk of conflicts arising in Uganda (the World Bank Group, 2021, p. 12).

The effects of climate change on individuals' health vary not only geographically but also due to various other factors, leading to disproportionate impacts of climate change between people. An individual's adaptive capacity plays a determining role in climate change's impacts on their health (Sen Roy, 2018, p. 55). For instance, socioeconomic status, existing societal and cultural norms, and access to resources all influence one's adaptive capacity (World Bank Group, 2021, pp. 12, 14). People with existing vulnerabilities, such as those living in poverty, with existing health issues, employed in climate-vulnerable sectors, or residing in regions at high risk of climate-related disasters, have a lower capacity to adapt to the direct or indirect effects of climate change, including rising temperatures, increased levels of pollutants, the spread of infectious diseases, disasters, and conflicts (Sen Roy, 2018, p. 55; Denton, 2002, pp. 11, 14-15, 18).

An individual's gender also contributes to their level of vulnerability. According to Sen Roy (2018, p. 53), the health impacts of climate change are more significant on women than on men, especially in the so-called Global South. This is due to overlapping vulnerabilities. These vulnerabilities include factors such as inequality caused by gender and cultural norms and lack of women's empowerment and representation. Inequality caused by harmful norms and discrimination, along with patriarchal structures and ideologies, can limit women's access to resources, decision-making, and healthcare, increasing their vulnerability in the face of the climate crisis (Sen Roy, 2018, p. 53). The lack of women's representation in decision-making processes further exacerbates this issue, as women's perspectives are unfrequently considered, leading to a lack of understanding of their experiences and widening the gender equality gap in climate change (Nellemann et al., 2011, pp. 32-33, 56, 58; The World Bank Group, 2022, p. 14).

2.2. Literature review

After discussing the health impacts of climate change and how they manifest on different people due to intersecting vulnerabilities or oppressions and highlighting the reasons why women's representation in climate change-related policies is significant, this part of the thesis presents important findings from existing literature regarding women's representation in climate policies overall and in Uganda.

A growing interest by feminist political scientists and policy analysts to analyze women's representation in policies can be detected. This growing interest can be attributed to the need for researchers to examine how, although women have been more included in policies after the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women (4WCW) in Beijing in 1995, where action plans for the promotion of gender equality were put out (including a specific strategy for gender and environment that pressed for integration of women in sustainable development programs, environmental decision-making and called for evaluation of gendered impacts of environmental policies) and the worldwide gender mainstreaming agenda began, gender equality in policy areas has not yet manifested in anticipated pace and ways (Gumucio & Tafur Rueda, 2015, p. 44; Alston, 2014, pp. 288-290; Acosta et al., 2019, pp. 9-10; Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 301; Preet et al., 2010, p. 2). The primary purpose of this literature review is to identify key factors in policies affecting the realization of gender equality to support the analysis, focusing specifically on the literature on (intersectional) feminist climate policy analysis globally and in Uganda and to address gaps in the existing literature.

In the existing literature, one widely discussed topic regarding women's representation, perspectives, and inclusion in climate policies is *gender mainstreaming*. Gender mainstreaming in the context of policy formulation refers to the incorporation of gendered concerns and analysis by governments at all levels (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 297). Arora-Jonsson (2014, p. 295) writes that gender has become an important factor in environmental policy-making. However, even if gender mainstreaming has been widely popularized in climate policies after the 4WCW in 1995, according to scholars, it has not had a significant effect on gender equality worldwide or in Uganda (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 296; Acosta et al., 2020, pp. 556, 570; Alston, 2014, p. 287). Arora-Jonsson

(2014) writes that gender mainstreaming has not led to gender equality because it has become a “formalistic ritual” (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 301) that the decision-makers situated in patriarchal institutions and structures have not fully understood or acknowledged and hence have not carried out in an efficient, truly representative and equality-indulging manner (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, pp. 301, 305-306).

The following parts of the literature review will delve deeper into why gender mainstreaming and representation of women in climate policies have not contributed to satisfactory enhancements in gender equality.

According to Debusscher and Ansoms (2013), the *transformativity* of policies is essential for gender equality. Transformativity of policies, according to them, is shaped by the ability to raise the voices of marginalized populations and empower them to criticize existing power relations (Debusscher & Ansoms, 2013, p. 1129). In their analysis, the authors focus on gender equality policies in Rwanda, where they found that the policies do not live up to their transformative potential (Debusscher & Ansoms, 2013, pp. 1129-1130). Debusscher and Ansoms (2013) found that issues that affect the policies to be unable to live up to the transformative potential include that women’s inclusion is mostly through *instrumentalizing them as tools* to achieve development goals, but ignoring them when it is not effective modernization- or development wise for instance through not challenging the unequal division of reproductive care work, prioritizing certain objectives over others (Debusscher & Ansoms, 2013, pp. 1120, 1130). Debusscher and Ansoms (2013) also argue that the Rwandan gender equality policies are muchly discursively framed to align with donors’ wishes but show no genuine interest in the improvement of women’s situation, visualized with the lack of investments and focus on results-oriented frameworks that are not feasible to tackle deep-rooted structural issues such as norms and power structures that continue to deepen gender inequality (Debusscher & Ansoms, 2013, p. 1130).

Arora-Jonsson (2014) argues that women are often included in policies through *market-oriented ideology* and *neoliberal motives*. Examples of this are the concepts of *smart economics* (used by the World Bank) and the “*win-win*” narrative, where women’s inclusion and *investing* in women is argued to be important due to it leading to economic growth (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 297). This narrative is based on the assumption that women’s inclusion has to be profitable in some way and lacks a human

rights-based approach. This narrative can also contribute to a more considerable burden for women due to adding up responsibilities to, for instance, getting employed or educated on top of the overlooked household burden (Debusscher & Ansoms, 2013, pp. 1119-1121). The issue, according to Arora-Jonsson, with this kind of inclusion is that it lacks acknowledgment of the structural burden women have to carry already, disvalues the burden of unpaid care work, and normalizes the narrative that women's inclusion has to somehow be profitable to the society as a whole, not just a rights-based issue (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, pp. 301-302).

The concept of *the governance of gender* is another recurring theme in scholarly publications regarding women's participation. Governance of gender refers to "adding women to existing structures and organizations that continue to be dominated by certain groups of men." (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 303). Arora-Jonsson argues this to be problematic as "Women have often been expected to join organizations and accommodate themselves to existing norms and structures rather than that the structures be changed to accommodate their subjective positions, need and ideas to redress disadvantage" (Arora-Jonsson, 2013, p. 187 in Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 303). Denton writes about the problem of the inclusion of women in environmental conservation in the form of tree-planting schemes aimed at tackling desertification (Denton, 2002, p. 13). According to Denton, as women lack control over land or resources and their expertise is not considered, their involvement in environmental conservation projects like such might seem inconsiderate and demeaning (Denton, 2002, p. 13).

The impact of different perceptions of *gender* is also a discussed topic in literature in the field of women's representation in policy. Arora-Jonsson (2014) writes that the concept of gender in policies is usually used as a descriptive *concept of* (the stereotypical) *women* or the *differences between men and women* (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 2014). Arora-Jonsson (2014, p. 296, referring to Scott, 1988; Butler, 1990; Haraway, 1991) argues that gender should be seen more as an analysis of *relationships of power*: in the ways that "women" and "men" are defined and categorized and what has been normalized for them by institutions. The conceptualization of gender in policies matters for the ability to reach all-encompassing representation. In addition, Schöter and Taylor (2018) argue that also the pure neglect of gender in the policy is a control mechanism,

and its analysis helps to understand the motives and presuppositions of policymakers (Schröter & Taylor, 2018 in Acosta et al., 2019, p. 16).

Acosta et al. (2019) write about gender discourses in Ugandan climate policy, recognizing five problematic trends concerning women's representation: overlooking or neglecting gender perspective, not focusing on sector-specific gendered perspective but often using a same "*template*" for inclusion of women in all contexts, keeping the prescriptions of gender very simple and e.g. often in bullet points, not targeting the cultural harmful practices affecting women's rights and finally lacking gender responsive budgeting (Acosta et al., 2019, pp. 16-17).

Denton and Arora-Jonsson write that as discussions around climate change have become technical, focusing on numbers in "*emission reductions*" (Denton, 2002, p. 12) and "*carbon calculations*" (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 295), the representation of climate change's impacts on humans and especially those living with vulnerabilities has been left subsidiary (Denton, 2002, p. 12; Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 295).

This chapter has shared examples of problems in the representation of women in climate policies. The next part discusses the gaps in the existing literature.

Arora-Jonsson (2014) highlights the importance of analysis of the hidden meanings, motivations, and formulation processes of policies in research about women's representation in climate policies (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 305). Scholars in feminist policy analysis argue for the importance of studying knowledge production and problematizations in policy making (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 305; Bacchi, 2009, pp. xi-xiv, 234-235). The WPR analysis of women's intersectional representation in climate change policies aligns with these quests as it aims to, for instance, discover what kind of knowledge and assumptions certain problematizations in policies are based on and what possible implications this problematization might have (Bacchi, 2009, pp. 5, 15).

Intersectional feminist perspective to this day has a relatively low presence in feminist policy analysis, and, for instance, even if there are multiple relatively easy-to-use frameworks for feminist policy analysis that involve tools for the analysis e.g., the Moser Gender Planning framework or the gender analysis matrix framework, used by many international organizations such as the EU (EIGE, 2019, pp. 6-7), there is a clear lack in existing frameworks for intersectional feminist policy analysis, with this

literature review not finding any frameworks that included tools for analysis. Haintz et al. support this finding by stating that there is indeed a lack of existing frameworks that would be suitable for intersectional policy analysis, in their case to study policies concerning women's reproductive health (Haintz et al., 2023, p. 126). Arora-Jonsson (2014, pp. 305-306) writes about the importance of examination of structures, privileges, unequal relations, mechanisms of governance, and power, which all are central topics in intersectional feminism. Hence, incorporating an intersectional feminist perspective in this study aims to fill a gap in existing research.

3. Theoretical and Analytical Framework

3.1. Theoretical Framework: Intersectional Feminism

Smooth (2013) defines intersectionality as “the assertion that social identity categories such as race, gender, class, sexuality, and ability are interconnected and operate simultaneously to produce experiences of both privilege and marginalization” (Smooth, 2013, p. 11). Intersectional feminism, is based on the same assertion but has a narrower focus on women's intersectional experiences. Intersectionality was first made famous by Kimberlé Crenshaw (Smooth, 2013, p. 13) in 1989 who in her revolutionary text “Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics” examined black women's inequality in the United States. Crenshaw claims that more attention should be paid to the intersectional experiences of people. Crenshaw writes that even when discussing discrimination, the focus has been put on the most successful and privileged members of the discriminated group, and hence, people who are marginalized or discriminated against in multiple ways do not get their voices heard. She explains, for instance, that when discussing discrimination against women, often the white women's experience is taken into account, and black women's experience is overlooked

(Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140). Crenshaw calls for intersectional analysis because, according to her, without it, the experiences of all people, especially those who are disadvantaged in many ways, cannot be fully understood: “Because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated” (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140). Crenshaw criticizes how disadvantages or oppression are often thought of from a single-axis angle. She argues that having categories of, for instance, sexism and racism and then just combining those to explain black women’s experience is not sufficient as, in reality, the experience is something more complicated and can not be categorized or thought through a single axis framework (Crenshaw, 1989, p. 140).

Critique of the intersectionality framework centers around its complexity in analysis (Smooth, 2013, p. 30). As intersectional analysis is based on the idea that oppression can not be measured by just combining categories of oppression but with a deeper understanding of individual experiences caused by the intersection of multiple different levels of oppression overlapping in different complex ways, the suitable methodologies to use in intersectional analysis can be hard to identify (Smooth, 2013, p. 31). The progress of intersectionality as a theoretical framework to enjoy larger popularity in the field of political science has been inconvenienced by its lack of clear guidelines and definitions (Smooth, 2013, p. 30). Intersectionality analysis is also critiqued as even if it argues against categorization (essentialism), it is still often carried out with a focus on just smaller categories (Smooth, 2013, p. 22). Smooth (2013, p. 30) writes that the absence of clear rules about which categories to choose as intersecting in the analysis and how many categories can be included adds up to the challenge of the framework.

Albeit the “methodological challenges of intersectionality” (Smooth, 2013, p. 32), Smooth (2013, p. 32) argues that there is a need for expansion in the use of intersectional analysis in the field of political science as it can work as a tool to analyze the recognition and representation of different people and groups of people in laws or policies created by institutions and through that to analyze the values and assumptions lying behind them. According to Smooth, “The potential contributions of political scientists to the study of intersectionality lie precisely in illuminating the structural effects and the processes by which institutions contribute to identity constructions and

mobilizations” (Smooth, 2013, p. 25). Since intersectionality is concerned with identity categories formed by institutions in laws and policies, it is well-suited to addressing the research question of analyzing the representation of women in all their diversity within Ugandan climate policies.

Many of the methodological challenges associated with intersectionality are connected to the use of quantitative methods and an additive approach, often used when discussing the effects of, e.g., gender and race in political science research (Smooth, 2013, p. 31). However, this method is not suitable for intersectionality analysis as it does not allow the researcher to dig deeper into meanings, power structures, and representations that are an integral part of intersectional analysis (Smooth, 2013, p. 31).

This thesis, however, makes use of qualitative methods and the WPR method, which, by its nature, integrates a deep analysis of knowledge, presuppositions, representations, and problematizations formed through policies. Intersectionality, discourse analysis on policies, and the WPR method share many similarities in focus; hence, combining them in this research is seen as feasible.

3.2. Methodology

3.2.1. Research design

The aim of the thesis is to analyze representations of women in all their diversity in Ugandan climate change policy documents by examining the problem representations, underlying assumptions, silences in the discourse, and possible impacts of the representations on women. The method for analysis involves qualitative data analysis of policy documents, discourse analysis more specifically supported by “policy as discourse” thinking, and Carol Bacchi’s “What’s the Problem Represented to be” approach as an analytical tool. The analysis is guided by the intersectional feminist theoretical framework.

3.2.2. Method for data collection

The data for the analysis was collected from the FAOLEX database and the archive of laws and policies on the Ugandan Ministry of Water and Environment website. First, all

the climate change-related policies were gathered and organized in a table (Appendix II) where the name of the policy, publication year, publisher, type of the policy, and page count were recorded. 18 climate change-related policies were identified.

After gathering and organizing possible data, a preliminary examination of the policies was conducted to identify suitable policies to use as data for this thesis. The criteria for data selection included that the selected policy documents had to: 1. Relate directly to climate change 2. Are broad in terms of the subject area and impact (to assess the policies that have the broadest impact and, e.g., not tied to a specific sector to assess the overall climate change response), and lastly, 3. Include considerations for gender aspects of climate change to examine the representation of women's intersectional experiences connected to climate change. Additionally, documents that were too extensive in terms of, for instance, the number of pages were ruled off due to the limited scope of a Bachelor's thesis.

3.2.3. Sources and data

Four policies were identified as suitable for the analysis of this thesis: the National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPA) from 2007, the Uganda National Climate Change Policy (NCCP) from 2015, the Environment and Social Safeguards Policy (ESSP) from 2018, and the Updated Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC) under the Paris Agreement from 2022.

The National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPA) program was initiated by the Conference of the Parties (COP) of the United Nations Framework Convention of Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2001 to support the climate change mitigation and adaptation work of least developed countries (LDCs) (UNFCCC, n.d.; NAPA, 2007, p. vii). Uganda's 2007 NAPA introduces existing climate change vulnerabilities in Uganda, as well as coping strategies, interventions, and an implementation framework (NAPA, 2007, pp. v-vi).

Uganda's National Climate Change Policy (NCCP) from 2015 was implemented to support Uganda's National Development Plans (2010-2015, 2016-2021) and Uganda's Vision 2040 with a multi-sectoral implementation strategy for climate change interventions in Uganda (NCCP, 2015, p. iv). The main objective of the policy is to "...

ensure that all stakeholders address climate change impacts and their causes through appropriate measures while promoting sustainable development and a green economy.” (NCCP, 2015, p. 13).

Uganda’s 2018 Environment and Social Safeguards Policy (ESSP) introduced the Environmental and Social-Safeguards Framework (ESSF) for all development programs and projects of the Ministry of Water and Environment (MWE) (ESSP, 2018, p. i). The aim of the framework is to safeguard the integration of environmental and social considerations in all phases of MWE projects and programs as well as to establish risk screenings and monitoring and reporting procedures to mitigate social and environmental risks of MWE projects and programs (ESSP, 2018, pp. i-iii).

Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), established under the Paris Agreement, are national climate action plans that represent, for instance, commitments and strategies for climate change mitigation and adaptation, climate change risk and outcome analysis, and national targets and plans for cutting emissions (UNDP, 2023). The NDCs are to be updated every five years (UNDP, 2023). Uganda’s latest Updated NDC is from 2021, and its key topics include, for instance, addressing sectoral vulnerabilities, building capacity to adapt, and increasing resilience of people and built and natural environment and ecosystems (Uganda NDC, 2022, p. i)

The chosen policies were selected as they cover climate change from varying policy dimensions, such as mitigation, adaptation, and safeguarding, which all help to provide a more holistic view of the representation of women’s intersectional experiences connected to climate change. Finally, the selected policy documents also directly address climate change and express gender considerations, which makes the policies applicable to answering the research question about the intersectional representation of women connected to climate change.

3.2.4. Data analysis

This thesis’s research method involves discourse analysis to examine relevant Ugandan national climate policy documents. In more specific terms, discourse analysis is shaped

by “policy as discourse” thinking and guided by Carol Bacchi’s “What’s the Problem Represented to be” approach. The intersectional feminist approach is the theoretical framework guiding the analysis.

According to Worrall (1990), discourse “embraces all aspects of a communication, not only its content but its author (who says it?), its authority (on what grounds?), its audience (to whom?), its objective (in order to achieve what?)” (Worrall, 1990: 8 in Jupp, 2006 in Punch, 2014 p. 371). *Policy as discourse* thinking starts with a premise that “concepts are not descriptive of anything, but that they are ‘proposals about how we ought to proceed from here’.” (Tanesini, 1994, in Bacchi, 2000, p. 45). The WPR approach mirrors the policy as discourse thinking and starts with a premise that policies include representations of what the policy-makers consider a problem that needs to change (Bacchi, 2012, p. 21). The approach can be used to analyze how this ‘problem’ is presented and critically assess the representation of the problem. Bacchi argues that what constitutes a problem is subjective, from policy-makers but also from analysts. Hence, reflexivity as a researcher is highly important (Bacchi, 2012, p. 22). The approach can be used to examine deep-rooted assumptions in problem representations in policies (Bacchi, 2009, pp. 4-5). The WPR approach argues that people are governed not through policies per se but by the problems presented in them: the framing of proposals according to the approach creates an idea of what is a problem (following a relativist premise that the truth is not absolute but depends on, for instance, the context or individual perspective) (Bacchi, 2012, p. 22). Bacchi writes: “the ‘WPR’ approach serves as a much needed interruption to the presumption that ‘problems’ are fixed and uncontroversial starting points for policy development. It reminds us that the banal and vague notion of ‘the problem’ and its partner ‘the solution’ are heavily laden with meaning. To probe this meaning, the ‘WPR’ approach recommends ‘problem’-questioning as a form of critical practice” (Bacchi, 2012, p. 23). The WPR approach includes six guiding questions:

What’s the problem represented to be?: An approach to policy analysis

Question 1: What’s the ‘problem’ represented to be in a specific policy?

Question 2: What presuppositions or assumptions underlie this representation of the ‘problem’?

Question 3: How has this representation of the ‘problem’ come about?

Question 4: What is left unproblematic in this problem representation? Where are the silences? Can the “problem” be thought about differently?

Question 5: What effects are produced by this representation of the ‘problem’?

Question 6: How/where has this representation of the ‘problem’ been produced, disseminated and defended? How could it be questioned, disrupted or replaced?

This chart is adapted from: Bacchi, C.L. (2009) *Analysing policy : what's the problem represented to be?* Pearson, p. 2.

*The questions that are marked with bold font are to be used in the analysis of this thesis

Applying Bacchi’s WPR chart to the analysis of Uganda’s climate change relevant policy documents can work as a tool to assess problem representations in them, highlighting what the policy-makers think needs to change, what is not taken into account, and what possible impacts this problem representation might have. Bacchi (2009) explains that the questions work more as guiding questions than a structured framework for the analysis and application of the questions (how many and in which order) is up for the researcher to decide (Bacchi, 2009, p. 233). The analysis part of this thesis aims to examine Uganda’s climate policies with the first, second, fourth, and fifth WPR questions.

This thesis does not aim to generalize the findings but critically examine, for instance, what is being problematized and what is not in the policies (problem representations), the underlying presumptions and assumptions in the problem representations, and possible effects of the problem presentation.

3.2.4.1. Data management

In order to analyze the problem representations surrounding women related and climate change, a coding approach was utilized to identify relevant sections within selected climate policies. This approach involved different phases to ensure that the relevant sections within the policy documents were identified and organized.

The first phase involved initial data exploration. This phase included reading the policies and highlighting significant parts related to the predetermined code: “women”. This phase utilized deductive coding, selecting “women” as the predetermined category to be able to analyze parts that were relevant to the research aim.

During the second reading phase, the parts where the category “women” was mentioned were re-read, and the category “diversity” involving subcategories (see Table 1) was included in order to highlight all relevant parts in the policies that included possible intersectional perspectives on women’s representation. This phase involved both inductive and deductive coding, connecting emerging themes (subcategories) with the predetermined categories (codes). Inductive memoing was also carried out in this phase to record patterns and issues for further analysis.

The final phase of coding was carried out using the NVivo software’s text search query tool to mark all important parts in the texts, including the main categories and subcategories, to continue to the discourse analysis and the WPR method phase of data analysis that would focus on the highlighted text parts discussing the category “women” and within that category, the category “diversity”.

Table 1: The coding scheme

Code	Subcategories
“Women”	“woman OR women OR girl OR girls OR female OR females”
“Diversity”	“disability OR disabilities OR deaf OR blind OR elderly OR old OR young OR child OR children OR girl OR boy OR teenager OR race OR discrimination OR caste OR sexism OR LGBT OR LGBTQIA+ OR queer OR homosexual OR gay OR homophobia OR transgender OR transphobia OR indigenous OR poor OR feminism OR ethnicity OR religion OR age OR immigrant OR misogyny”

4. Analysis

4.1. The Problems Represented

Bacchi's WPR method is based on the premise that problematizations found in policies give insight into the knowledge, assumptions, and priorities of those who have formed the policies, as policies are cultural products (Shore and Wright, 1997 in Bacchi, 2009, p. ix), formed in accordance with the culture that the policy-makers inhabit. Due to policies not being formed in a vacuum, the "truths" that the policies are often based on are socially constructed and do not necessarily hold true to all but are formed through assumptions, understandings, beliefs, priorities, and different contexts of the policy-makers (Bacchi, 2009, p. 26; Bacchi, 2012, p. 22). Bacchi argues that policies do not "solve" problems but "produce" them in accordance with what the policy-makers think needs to change (Bacchi, 2012, p. 22). As Foucault puts it: "[M]y problem is to see how men [sic] govern (themselves and others) by the production of truth" (Foucault, 1991, p. 79 in Bacchi, 2009, p. 26). Bacchi (2012, p. 22) proposes that policies affect lived lives due to policies creating a specific understanding of problems through problematizations, which are then going to be targeted in the implementation of policies. Analyzing policies through the WPR lens can give insight into how the world is ruled by interpretations, assumptions, and understandings. This is important as an acknowledgment of these personal factors affecting policies and, through that, the lives of people can lead to more representative and effective policies if taken into consideration by the policy-makers.

The analysis began with an in-depth examination of problematizations regarding women in Ugandan climate policies, following the first question of Bacchi's "What's the Problem Represented" approach. All of the selected Ugandan climate policies acknowledged that there are issues that lead to women having an unequal situation in the climate crisis. To study the problematization further, this stage of the analysis examined what the Ugandan policies suggest are the causes (problems) for women's unequal situation in relation to the impacts of climate change.

Three predominant problematizations contributing to women's lack of adaptive capacity were found in the Ugandan climate policies: women are a vulnerable group, women are burdened with reproductive labor, and women are vulnerable as stakeholders and lack political power. Next, these problematizations are going to be explained in more depth.

4.1.1. Women as *a vulnerable group*

The most predominant problematization in the policies regarding climate change and women was *women's vulnerability*. The Ugandan Environment and Social Safeguards policy's (ESSP) (2018) Environment and Social Safeguard (ESS) principles discusses women under "marginalized and vulnerable groups" subsection (ESSP, 2018, p. 8), the National Climate Change policy (NCCP) (2015) labels women as "vulnerable populations" and "most marginalized" (NCCP, 2015, pp. v, 2), discusses adaptation and mitigation processes to "reduce the vulnerability of women" (NCCP, 2015, p. viii), argues the vulnerability of Ugandan economy through climate change's "stronger negative impact on women than on men" (NCCP, 2015, p. 7), argues the importance of low carbon climate resilient development through "improving lives of the poor and vulnerable" (NCCP, 2015, p. 10) who are described "often women and children" (NCCP, 2015, p. 10), argue for participation of "women and other vulnerable groups" (NCCP, 2015, p. 14), highlights "concentrated action to improve women's status" (NCCP, 2015, p. 16) and argue for gender mainstreaming to "reduce the vulnerability of women" (NCCP, 2015, p. 17).

4.1.2. Women as *a group burdened with reproductive labor*

The second visible problematization in the Ugandan climate policies is women's responsibility over household activities and reproductive labor. These responsibilities are problematized in the policies as they keep women away from "other productive economic activities" (NAPA, 2007, p. 2), affecting their ability to generate income and hence making them more vulnerable to climate change's adverse effects (NAPA, 2007, p. 2). Additionally, it is argued that women's burden with reproductive labor puts them at risk of illnesses due to their primary responsibility for caring for ill family members

(NAPA, 2007, p. 2) and increases their stress during droughts due to their main responsibility for household needs (NCCP, 2015, p. 3).

4.1.3. Women as *vulnerable stakeholders with limited political power*

The last significant problematization in the Ugandan climate policies is that women are represented as vulnerable stakeholders with limited decision-making power and participation. The Ugandan NDC (2022) highlights the importance to “Enhance women participation in decision making processes across all levels to enable their contribution in the assessment of need and prioritization of climate actions” (NDC, 2022, p. 49). Similarly, the National Climate Change Policy advocates for the “participation of women and other vulnerable groups” in policy-making (NCCP, 2015, p. 14).

4.2. Assumptions underlying the problems

4.2.1. Assumption of gendered and homogenous state of vulnerability

As mentioned before, women are in many parts of the policies labeled as a *vulnerable and marginalized group*. However, *the vulnerability*, what it entails, and its causes and implications are not elaborated to a great extent in any of the policies. In a couple of parts, *women’s vulnerability* was elaborated briefly, and explanations included limited access to and control over resources, especially land (NDC, 2022, p. 49; NCCP, 2015, p. 17) and overall *gender inequality* (NCCP, 2015, p. 17; NDC, 2005, p. 4), but these were never examined in detail. Different levels of vulnerability were not discussed, and the discourse grouped all women together. The lack of elaboration around vulnerability and its causes assumes the concept of vulnerability as 1. a homogeneous and static condition and 2. as something that is experienced by all women (as a *group*) and that the connection between womanhood and vulnerability is inherent.

4.2.2. Assumption of traditional gender roles and norms and the heteronormativity, binary gender role and identity assumption

In the process of forming the Ugandan NDC (2022), gender analysis was carried out. According to the NDC, this was conducted to “highlight the **different roles** of women and men, the challenges they face in the light of climate change, and priorities for climate action, particularly in improving resilience and adaptation” (NDC, 2022, p. 49, emphasis added). This framing can be viewed as problematic as it assumes the binary of gender and traditional gender norms. Another example where the assumption of traditional gender roles is visible is framing women as vulnerable due to their burden of household chores and their role as a mother, as explained before in part “4.1. The problems represented”. Problematic in this narrative is that it assumes heteronormative family structures to apply to every woman — that all women are heterosexual and mothers, part of nuclear families. This assumption marginalizes individuals who live in alternative family structures and who have diverse SOGIESC (Sexual Orientation, Gender Identity and Expression, and Sex Characteristics), who, through this framing, are not considered and left unrepresented.

Climate change vulnerability is also primarily associated with being female in Ugandan climate change policies, as presented in the examples in part 4.1. before. This assumption disregards the experiences of gender-nonconforming, transgender, and non-binary people, who might have similar experiences of vulnerability but are not taken into account due to the binary view on gender in the policies.

The exclusion of people with diverse SOGIESC in the Ugandan climate policies aligns with the Ugandan general legislative stance, with its origins in the British colonial law (Gupta, 2013, p. 87), which does not acknowledge the rights of people with diverse SOGIESC, presenting a vast inclusivity gap in the Ugandan legislation (Human Rights Watch, n.d.).

4.2.3. Assumed effectiveness of participation

The Ugandan climate policies have an underlying assumption that women's participation and inclusion in decision-making will lead to mitigation and adaptation approaches that are more effective in bringing about gender equality. This assumption involves seeing women's participation as something that can give new perspectives and ideas that can contribute to more comprehensive and effective climate solutions. Women's participation and inclusion in decision-making have been seen as important from feminist viewpoints for a long time (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 296). However, the underlying assumption that women should participate and be involved in the institutions and decision-making bodies in Uganda as they are now might be a contested idea from an intersectional feminist point of view, referring to the concept of *the governance of gender* (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 303) discussed in the literature review part that argues that the institutional patriarchal structures "that continue to be dominated by certain groups of men" (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 303) should be changed before women's participation in them could lead to efficient outcomes for gender equality.

4.3. Silences

4.3.1. Silence of intersectional perspectives

Although the Ugandan climate policies discuss multiple social identities, including disability, poverty, and age (both young and old) and their connection to climate change, they do not fully recognize the contribution of the intersection of social identities in bringing about diverse experiences on different human beings. The policies also fail to acknowledge intersecting vulnerabilities that exacerbate climate change's impacts on individuals. Particularly, the Ugandan climate policies do not include people with diverse SOGIESC or ethnic minorities at all. As previously discussed in part 4.2.2., the exclusion of the voices of people with diverse SOGIESC reflects the broader Ugandan legislation.

4.3.2. Silence on causes for gender inequality

Some Ugandan policies, such as the NCCP (2015, p. 17) and the NDC (2005, p. 4), argue that women's vulnerability is caused by gender inequality. However, these

policies do not extensively explore the underlying reasons for this inequality that could, from an intersectional feminist viewpoint, include for instance patriarchal structures, sexism, colonialism or capitalism.

4.3.3. Silence of human rights perspective

In Ugandan climate policy, the importance of advancing women's lives and reducing their vulnerability is not framed from a human-rights perspective. Instead, gender equality is often justified within the policy discourse through a neoliberal lens, emphasizing the economic benefits of women's empowerment, such as increased employment and purchasing power. This approach, however, overlooks the deeper structural factors affecting inequality. For instance, discourse within the Ugandan NDC (2022) illustrates this perspective:

“... there is considerable evidence and broad international consensus that advancing gender equity helps reduce poverty, supports inclusive growth and other general development outcomes, and enhances the effectiveness and sustainability of development initiatives” (NDC, 2022, p. 1).

Arguing the importance of women's well-being through their ability to then contribute to society better instrumentalizes women as tools to reach goals, not representing women as right-holders.

4.3.4. Silence of women in adaptation and mitigation plans

The Ugandan NDC (2022) presents priority adaptation and mitigation actions and targets. These include environment and ecosystems, water and sanitation, agriculture, forestry, fisheries, energy, transport, manufacturing, industrial processes and mining, cities and the built environment, tourism, education, health, disaster risk reduction (NDC, 2022, p. 15). Even if the policy document starts with highlighting the gender-responsive approach and gender mainstreaming in policy on the very first page, under the aforementioned priority sectors' adaptation and mitigation action plans, gender or women are not discussed to a great extent. The health sector adaptation actions include the implementation of interventions that consider policies regarding

reproductive health care (NDC, 2022, p. 24), and the education sector adaptation actions include that improving education and awareness regarding climate change should use gender disaggregated data as an indicator (NDC, 2022, p. 25). Apart from these inclusions, the representation of women or gender-related issues in the adaptation and mitigation action plans is non-existent. Gender mainstreaming is discussed under means of implementation in the very last part of the document — this could be seen as gender mainstreaming being considered as an afterthought, not taking it into consideration in the core planning and actions, undermining gender perspective’s importance during the full NDC process.

4.4. Possible impacts of problem representations

Intersectional feminist theory highlights the importance of gender-transformative discourse. The *Transformative potential* of policies, according to Debusscher and Ansoms, is assessed through “the policies’ capacity to address the deeply ingrained societal norms and practices within which gender inequalities are embedded” (Debusscher & Ansoms, 2013, p. 1112). Lack of gender transformativity in policies involving gender aspects can result in reinforcing gender roles, heteronormative structures, harmful binary perspectives on gender, and disregard experiences of trans- or gender non-conforming people (MacArthur et al., 2022, pp. 6, 8). Arora-Jonsson (2014) writes: “References to ‘gender,’ framed as already known truisms about men and women and the environment promote the status quo as structures and unequal relations that cause disadvantages are not questioned and continue to persist” (Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 304).

The absence of discussion on the factors behind gender equality, such as the patriarchal power structures, deep-rooted gender roles and norms, the legacy of colonialism, and the prioritization of economic growth, portrays women as passive victims of an unknown force, rather than addressing the systemic and structural issues that contribute to their vulnerability. The lack of addressing the systematic and structural issues can result in ineffective action as sustainable change in equality requires structural changes (Acosta et al., 2019, pp. 16-17).

Vulnerability has an intersectional nature, as an individual's vulnerability varies based on, for instance, the combination of different social identities (such as class, race, or disability) and geography. As the varying stages and factors contributing to vulnerability are not considered in Ugandan climate policies, there is a risk that women's voices in all of their diversity are left unheard. Bishwakarma et al., (2007) write that intersectional analysis of policies is focused on examining "the way specific acts and policies address the inequalities experienced by **various** social groups" (Bishwakarma et al., 2007, p. 9, in Hankivsky & Cormier, 2011, p. 217, emphasis added). The intersectional feminist theory challenges the simplistic portrayal of women as a "generic group" (Hankivsky et al., 2014, p. 6). This criticism stems from the notion that when women are grouped together, their diverse experiences and needs are overlooked (Haintz et al., 2023, pp. 131-133). As discussed before in the literature review part, Crenshaw (1989, p. 140) emphasizes that seeing women as a generic group is also problematic because frequently the experiences of the most privileged within the group are considered the most; that is, for instance, that the voices of white women are heard more than those of black women, and black men's voices are heard more than black women's. As intersectional policy analysis entails the notion that intersecting social identities contribute to all individuals having widely varying experiences, needs, and meanings, grouping people by gender and assuming that all the individuals in the group have shared experiences will not result in policies that bring about change for all (Hankivsky & Cormier, 2011, p. 217).

Government policies influence priorities and resource allocation. If the policy does not include gender-responsive strategies and inclusion of vulnerable groups and people, inequality is exacerbated. If the needs of different groups are not taken into consideration, gender differences in access to healthcare, decision-making, and resources may be sustained, which could perpetuate current power dynamics and gender disparities. On the other hand, women's more inclusive representation can lead to more funding to better targeted programmes and effective climate action. According to Executive Director of UN Women Sima Bahous' remark at COP28, only 0.01% of global finance support projects address both women's rights and climate (UNFCCC, 2024). Overall, according to AWID (2021): "99% of development aid and foundation grants still do not directly reach women's rights and feminist organizations. In

particular, those groups working at intersecting forms of marginalization (LGBTIQ, indigenous, young feminists, and sex workers) are funded even less”.

5. Discussion

The gender mainstreaming framework was established at the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 with the goal of countries committing to advancing gender equality and women’s empowerment (Alston, 2014, p. 288). Acosta et al. (2019, p. 9; 2020, p. 555) argue that even if gender mainstreaming has been adopted in climate policy in Uganda, it has not sufficiently contributed to reducing gender inequalities. This paradox is called the *radical potential paradox* (Wittman, 2010, 51 in Alston, 2014, p. 289). Alston (2014, p. 290) argues that the radical potential paradox has been formed due to insufficient representation of women in climate policies. Insufficient representation is, according to Alston, for instance, due to governments’ lack of defining and committing to instruments that would contribute to structural changes regarding gender equality, including, for instance, not taking gender aspects into account in budgeting, not collecting gender-disaggregated data or doing gender auditing (Alston, 2014, p. 290). Wittman (2010) and Prugl (2010) (in Alston, 2014, p. 290) describe that deep-rooted patriarchal structures suppress the ability to live up to the “radical intent” for gender mainstreaming. This, they describe, is due to ‘soft measures,’ objectivity, and neutrality being applied in gender mainstreaming and, through that, paying lip service to structural deep-rooted inequalities.

Bacchi and Eveline (2010 in Alston, 2014, p. 290) argue that also one reason for gender mainstreaming not leading to sufficient reduction of gender inequality is due to the policy-makers not fully addressing or recognizing the problems connected to gender equality and hence not being able to form policies that would go about making change for equality. This thesis is formed around this argument as it investigated the problematizations found in Ugandan climate related policies to address possible factors (e.g. misconceptions, biases, lack of knowledge, insufficient representation) contributing to lack of gender equality in Uganda. The theoretical framework of intersectional feminism supported the analysis of representation of women’s experiences and voice as a guiding framework for assessment of the representation.

The analysis of Ugandan climate policies found that the policies align with the radical potential paradox. Even if the policies discuss the importance of women's inclusion and understanding of women's experiences, there are still many visible weaknesses regarding women's representation. For instance, the policies fail to introduce mitigation and adaptation plans that address different women's experiences and needs. Danton describes gender mainstreaming in the development sector as minimal action that does not involve multiple sectors, is carried out irregularly, and contributes only to slow changes in women's empowerment (Danton, 2002, p. 13). The policies do not either represent women from an intersectional perspective, which creates a lack of consideration of the experiences of women in all their diversity. Lastly, the policies do not challenge the existing gender norms and roles to a great extent or discuss or challenge the structural factors causing gender inequality.

5.1. Suggestion for future studies

Intersectionality argues that structural changes are necessary to bring about sustainable change regarding equality. It however should be noted that bringing about change in structural level is not something that can be reached overnight, but a "slow revolution" (Davids et al., 2013, in Arora-Jonsson, 2014, p. 305). In the meanwhile, to move towards inclusive policies, the development in integration of intersectionality is however important. This thesis has integrated an intersectional lens into policy analysis and with the findings and discussion from the data demonstrated the importance of it in regards to representation of women. To increase the use of intersectionality in policy analysis, the development of an intersectionality framework is crucial. As of now the use of intersectionality in policy analysis is hindered by lack of research of it as an analytical tool and limited existing guidelines to its use (Smooth, 2013, p. 30). Future studies are hence suggested to study the ways intersectionality could be integrated into policy analysis further.

5.2. Limitations

Limitations of this analysis include that examining the implementation of the policies is beyond the scope of this Bachelor's thesis, and hence, the results do not take into account the whole policy process and its effects on women and women's representation

but only examine the ways women are sought to be included in the implementation. It should also be noted that examining four Ugandan climate policies out of 18 climate policies that were found can only give an insight into the discourses but not explain the entire state of representation of women in the Ugandan climate policy framework. This leads to what was discussed earlier; this thesis does not aim to generalize the findings to represent the whole spectrum of the Ugandan climate policy environment and its stance on women but to give insight from four selected policies.

6. Conclusion

Informed by the intersectional feminist framework, this thesis has discussed how women are represented in the Ugandan climate policies by examining problem representations in the policies, probing the assumptions underlying the representation, identifying silences in the discourse, and emphasizing the possible impacts of this representation. The analysis found that even when gender issues and women are included in the policies, the representation of women lacks intersectional perspective, and the structures that reinforce inequality are not contested. The process of gender mainstreaming becoming a reality worldwide requires improved representation of women's intersectional experiences and real commitment from governments to challenge the structures and norms that reinforce inequality as otherwise, they risk becoming examples of the radical potential paradox. This thesis has contributed to the research of intersectionality and argues that intersectionality has an important place in research and politics that should be expanded as it aims for better representation of women in all of their diversity and, through that, to improve gender equality.

7. References

- Acosta, M., van Bommel, S., van Wessel, M., Ampaire, E. L., Jassogne, L., & Feindt, P. H. (2019). Discursive translations of gender mainstreaming norms: The case of agricultural and climate change policies in Uganda. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 74, 9-19. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2019.02.010>
- Acosta, M., van Wessel, M., van Bommel, S., Ampaire, E. L., Jassogne, L., & Feindt, P. H. (2020). The power of narratives: Explaining inaction on gender mainstreaming in Uganda's climate change policy. *Development Policy Review*, 38(5), 555-574. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1111/dpr.12458>
- Alston, M. (2014). Gender mainstreaming and climate change. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 47, 287-294. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2013.01.016>
- Arora-Jonsson, S. (2014). Forty years of gender research and environmental policy: Where do we stand? *Women's Studies International Forum*, 47, 295-308. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2014.02.009>
- AWID. (2021). Where is the Money for Feminist Organizing? https://www.awid.org/sites/default/files/2022-01/AWID_Research_WITM_Brief_ENG.pdf
- Bacchi, C. (2000). Policy as Discourse: what does it mean? where does it get us?. *Discourse: Studies in the Cultural Politics of Education*, 21(1), 45-57. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01596300050005493>
- Bacchi, C. (2009). *Analysing Policy: What's the Problem Represented To Be?* (1st ed.). Pearson Australia. ISBN: 9780733985751
- Bacchi, C. (2012). Introducing the 'What's the Problem Represented to be?' approach. In A. Bletsas & C. Beasley (Eds.), *Engaging with Carol Bacchi: Strategic Interventions and Exchanges* (pp. 21-24). University of Adelaide Press. <https://library.oapen.org/bitstream/handle/20.500.12657/33181/560097.pdf?sequence=1>
- Crenshaw, K. (1989). Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics. *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1989, Article 8. <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>
- Debusscher, P., & Ansoms, A. (2013). Gender Equality Policies in Rwanda: Public Relations or Real Transformations?. *Development & Change*, 44(5), 1111-1134. <https://doi.org/10.1111/dech.12052>

- Denton, F. (2002). Climate Change Vulnerability, Impacts, and Adaptation: Why Does Gender Matter? *Gender and Development*, 10(2), 10-20.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4030569>
- EIGE. (2019). Gender Mainstreaming - Gender Analysis. Luxembourg: Publications office of the European Union. ISBN 978-92-9482-243-7
- El-Sayed, A., & Kamel, M. (2020). Climatic changes and their role in emergence and re-emergence of diseases. *Environmental Science and Pollution Research*, 27(18), 22336-22352. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11356-020-08896-w>
- EM-DAT, CRED / UCLouvain. (2024). Brussels, Belgium – www.emdat.be
- FAOLEX Database. Uganda - Country Profiles
<https://www.fao.org/faolex/country-profiles/general-profile/en/?iso3=UGA>
(Accessed 20.4.2024)
- Gumucio, T., & Tafur Rueda, M. (2015). Influencing Gender-Inclusive Climate Change Policies in Latin America. *Journal of Gender, Agriculture and Food Security*. *Journal of Gender Agriculture and Food Security*, 1(2), 41-60.
<https://doi.org/10.22004/ag.econ.246049>
- Gupta, A. (2013). This alien legacy: The origins of ‘sodomy’ laws in British colonialism. In C. Lennox & M. Waites (Eds.), *Human Rights, Sexual Orientation and Gender Identity in The Commonwealth* (pp. 83-124). University of London Press.
<http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctv512st2.7>
- Haintz, G., McKenzie, H., Turnbull, B., & Graham, M. (2023). Inclusive Policy? An Intersectional Analysis of Policy Influencing Women’s Reproductive Decision-Making. *Social Inclusion*, 11(2), 124-135.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.17645/si.v11i2.6427>
- Hankivsky, O., & Cormier, R. (2011). Intersectionality and Public Policy: Some Lessons from Existing Models. *Political Research Quarterly*, 64(1), 217-229.
<https://ludwig.lub.lu.se/login?url=https://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&AuthType=ip.uid&db=edsjrs&AN=edsjrs.41058335&site=eds-live&scope=site>
- Hankivsky, O., Grace, D., Hunting, G., Giesbrecht, M., Fridkin, A., Rudrum, S., Ferlatte, O., & Clark, N. (2014). An intersectionality-based policy analysis framework: critical reflections on a methodology for advancing equity. *International Journal for Equity in Health*, 13. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12939-014-0119-x>
- Human Rights Watch. (nd). #Outlawed “The love that dare not speak its name”.
https://features.hrw.org/features/features/lgbt_laws/#_ftn1 (Accessed 18.5.2024)
- Knisely, K. A. (2021). L/G/B and T: Queer Excisions, Entailments, and Intersections. In J. M. Paiz & J. E. Coda (Eds.), *Intersectional Perspectives on LGBTQ+ Issues in*

Modern Language Teaching and Learning (pp. 153-182). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-76779-2_6

MacArthur, J., Carrard, N., Davila, F., Grant, M., Megaw, T., Willetts, J., & Winterford, K. (2022). Gender-transformative approaches in international development: A brief history and five uniting principles. *Women's Studies International Forum*, 95. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.wsif.2022.102635>

Mwesigye, F. (2021). Gender, weather shocks and food security: empirical evidence from Uganda. *CABI*, 38–55. <https://doi.org/10.1079/9781789247053.0004>

Nellemann, C., Verma, R., & Hislop, L. (2011). *Women at the Frontline of Climate Change: Gender Risks and Hopes*. United Nations Environment Programme, GRID-Arendal. ISBN: 978-82-7701-099-1

Newell, D. G., Koopmans, M., Verhoef, L., Duizer, E., Aidara-Kane, A., Sprong, H., Opsteegh, M., Langelaar, M., Threfall, J., Scheutz, F., der Giessen, J. v., & Kruse, H. (2010). Food-borne diseases — The challenges of 20 years ago still persist while new ones continue to emerge. *International Journal of Food Microbiology*, 139, S3-S15. <https://doi.org/https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijfoodmicro.2010.01.021>

Paiz, J. M. (2021). Opening the Conversation on Intersectional Issues in LGBTQ+ Studies in Applied Linguistics. In J. M. Paiz & J. E. Coda (Eds.), *Intersectional Perspectives on LGBTQ+ Issues in Modern Language Teaching and Learning* (pp. 1-21). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-76779-2_1

Paiz, J. M., & Coda, J. E. (2021). Reflections on Intersectionality in Applied Linguistics and World Languages Education: Lessons Learned and Paths Forward. In J. M. Paiz & J. E. Coda (Eds.), *Intersectional Perspectives on LGBTQ+ Issues in Modern Language Teaching and Learning* (pp. 261-277). Springer International Publishing. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-030-76779-2_9

Preet, R., Nilsson, M., Schumann, B., & Evengård, B. (2010). The gender perspective in climate change and global health. *Global Health Action*, 3(1), 5720. <https://doi.org/10.3402/gha.v3i0.5720>

Punch, K. F. (2014). *Introduction to Social Research*. (3rd ed.) SAGE publications Ltd. ISBN: 9781446240922

Republic of Uganda, Ministry of Water and Environment. *Laws and Policies* <https://www.mwe.go.ug/library/laws-and-policies> (Accessed 20.4.2024)

Republic of Uganda. (2007). *Climate Change Uganda National Adaptation Programmes of Action (NAPA)*. Retrieved from <https://unfccc.int/resource/docs/napa/uga01.pdf>

Republic of Uganda, Ministry of Water and Environment. (2015). *Uganda National Climate Change Policy*. Retrieved from

<https://www.mwe.go.ug/sites/default/files/library/National%20Climate%20Change%20Policy%20April%202015%20final.pdf>

Republic of Uganda, Ministry of Water and Environment. (2018). *Environment and Social Safeguards Policy*. Retrieved from

<https://www.mwe.go.ug/sites/default/files/library/MWE-ESS-Policy.pdf>

Republic of Uganda, Ministry of Water and Environment. (2022). *Updated Nationally Determined Contribution (NDC)*. Retrieved from

https://unfccc.int/sites/default/files/NDC/2022-09/Updated%20NDC%20_Uganda_2022%20Final.pdf

Sekiyama, M., Matsuda, H., Mohan, G., Yanagisawa, A., Sudo, N., Amitani, Y., Caballero, Y., Matsuoka, T., Imanishi, H., & Sasaki, T. (2020). Tackling Child Malnutrition by Strengthening the Linkage Between Agricultural Production, Food Security, and Nutrition in Rural Rwanda. In A. Gasparatos, M. Naidoo, A. Ahmed, A. Karanja, K. Fukushi, O. Saito, & K. Takeuchi (Eds.), *Sustainability Challenges in Sub-Saharan Africa II: Insights from Eastern and Southern Africa* (pp. 3-28). Springer Singapore. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-981-15-5358-5_1

Sen Roy, S. (2018). Health. In S. Sen Roy (Ed.), *Linking Gender to Climate Change Impacts in the Global South* (pp. 53-74). Springer International Publishing.

https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-75777-3_3

Smith, R. A. (2023). From LGBTQIA+ to SOGIESC: Reframing sexuality, gender, and human rights. *Open Global Rights*.

<https://www.openglobalrights.org/lgbtqia-to-sogiesc-reframing-sexuality-gender-human-rights/> (Accessed 17.05.2024)

Smooth, W. G. (2013). Intersectionality from Theoretical Framework to Policy Intervention. In A.R. Wilson (Ed). *Situating Intersectionality : Politics, Policy, and Power*. Palgrave Macmillan.

<http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/lund/detail.action?docID=1514164>

UNDP Climate Promise. (May 31, 2023). What are NDCs and how do they drive climate action?

<https://climatepromise.undp.org/news-and-stories/NDCs-nationally-determined-contributions-climate-change-what-you-need-to-know> (Accessed 22.4.2024)

UNFCCC. (2024). Closing the Gap, Boosting Ambition: Investing in Women in Key to Climate Action.

<https://unfccc.int/news/closing-the-gap-boosting-ambition-investing-in-women-is-key-to-climate-action> (Accessed 18.4.2024)

UNFCCC. (n.d.). National Adaptation Programmes of Action.

<https://unfccc.int/topics/resilience/workstreams/national-adaptation-programmes-of-action/introduction> (Accessed 22.4.2024)

UNHCR. (n.d.) Intersectionality Module 1 - What are ‘intersectionality’ and the ‘Age, Gender and Diversity’ approach?
<https://www.unhcr.org/what-we-do/protect-human-rights/safeguarding-individuals/intersectionality-and-age-gender-diversity> (Accessed 17.05.2024)

WHO. (2019). Top 10 causes of death in Uganda for both sexes aged all ages (2019), *The Global Health Observatory*
<https://www.who.int/data/gho/data/themes/mortality-and-global-health-estimates/gh-e-leading-causes-of-death> (Accessed 24.4.2024)

World Bank Group. (2021). *Climate Risk Profile: Uganda*.
https://climateknowledgeportal.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/2021-05/15464-WB_Uganda%20Country%20Profile-WEB%20%281%29.pdf (Accessed 25.4.2024)

8. Appendices

8.1. Appendix I

Appendix I: EM-DAT data: Uganda disasters (epidemics, floods, mass movements, droughts) years 2000-2024

Disaster Type	Disaster Subtype	Event Name	Total Deaths	Year(s)
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	22	2000
Epidemic	Infectious disease (General)	Acute diarrhoeal syndrome	13	2000
Epidemic	Viral disease	Ebola haemorrhagic fever	224	2000-2001
Flood	Flood (General)		1	2001
Epidemic	Bacterial disease		14	2001
Mass movement (wet)	Landslide (wet)		11	2001
Flood	Flood (General)			2001
Flood	Flood (General)			2002
Flood	Riverine flood		17	2002
Drought	Drought		79	2002
Flood	Riverine flood		5	2003
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	35	2003
Flood	Riverine flood		20	2003
Flood	Flood (General)			2004
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	3	2004
Flood	Riverine flood			2004
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	10	2005
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Meningococcal disease	11	2005-2006
Drought	Drought			2005-2006
Flood	Riverine flood		3	2006

Flood	Riverine flood			2006
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	43	2006
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Meningococcal disease	100	2006-2007
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Meningococcal disease	49	2006
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	11	2006-2007
Flood	Riverine flood		29	2007
Flood	Riverine flood		4	2007
Epidemic	Viral disease	Ebola Haemorrhagic Fever	36	2007-2008
Epidemic	Viral disease	Hepatitis E Virus	96	2007-2009
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	28	2008
Flood	Riverine flood		49	2008
Drought	Drought			2008-2009
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	8	2009
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	9	2009
Mass movement (wet)	Landslide (wet)		388	2010
Epidemic	Viral disease	Yellow Fever	48	2010
Drought	Drought			2011
Flood	Riverine flood		27	2011
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	118	2012
Mass movement (wet)	Landslide (wet)		18	2012
Epidemic	Viral disease	Ebola	35	2012
Flood	Riverine flood			2012
Epidemic	Viral disease	Ebola	3	2012
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	7	2013
Flood	Riverine flood		13	2013
Epidemic	Viral disease	Measles	2	2013
Epidemic	Viral disease	Hepatitis E Virus	19	2013
Flood	Riverine flood			2016
Mass movement (wet)	Landslide (wet)		15	2016
Flood	Flash flood		17	2017
Epidemic	Viral disease	Marburg	3	2017
Epidemic	Bacterial disease	Cholera	31	2018
Mass movement (wet)	Mudslide		51	2018
Flood	Flash flood		15	2019
Mass movement (wet)	Landslide (wet)		61	2019
Flood	Flash flood		8	2019
Mass movement (wet)	Landslide (wet)		20	2019
Flood	Flood (General)		3	2019
Flood	Flash flood		36	2019

Mass movement (wet)	Landslide (wet)		7	2019
Flood	Flood (General)		65	2019
Flood	Flood (General)		5	2020
Flood	Flash flood		3	2020
Flood	Riverine flood		11	2020
Flood	Flood (General)		1	2020
Flood	Flood (General)		7	2020
Flood	Flood (General)		1	2021
Flood	Flood (General)		3	2021
Flood	Flood (General)		1	2021
Flood	Flash flood		9	2022
Flood	Flood (General)		32	2022
Mass movement (wet)	Landslide (wet)		19	2022
Epidemic	Viral disease	Ebola	55	2022-2023
Flood	Flood (General)		16	2022
Drought	Drought		2465	2022
Flood	Flood (General)		23	2023
Flood	Flood (General)		2	2024

Source: EM-DAT, CRED / UCLouvain. (2024).

8.2. Appendix II

Appendix II: Overview of Uganda's climate policy framework and data sample with the selected policies for analysis in bold

Name of the policy	Publication year	Publisher	Type of policy	Page count
National Adaptation Programmes of Action	2007	Government of Uganda (GoU)	National Adaptation Programmes of Action	92
National Development Plan (NDP) 2010/11-2014/15	2010	The Republic of Uganda	National Development Plan	441
The National Policy for Disaster Preparedness and Management	2010	Directorate of Relief, Disaster Preparedness and Refugees, Office of the Prime Minister	The National Policy for Disaster Preparedness and Management	89
Uganda Vision 2040	2012	The Republic of Uganda	Development Framework	136

Guidelines for the Integration of Climate Change in Sector Plans and Budgets	2014	Ministry of Water and Environment	National guidelines for planning and budgeting	38
Uganda National Climate Change Policy	2015	Ministry of Water and Environment	Mitigation and adaptation framework policy	67
Second National Development Plan (NDPII) 2015/16-2019/20	2015	The Republic of Uganda	National Development Plan	344
Intended Nationally Determined Contribution (INDC)	2015	Ministry of Water and Environment	Intended Action Plan/Mitigation Policy	18
Environment and Natural Resources Sub-Sector Gender Mainstreaming Strategy 2016-2021	2016	Ministry of Water and Environment	National Gender Mainstreaming Strategy	54
The Uganda Green Growth Development Strategy 2017/18-2030/31	2017	National Planning Authority, Climate Change Department, GoU.	National Development Strategy	96
Strategic Program for Climate Resilience: Uganda Pilot Program for Climate Resilience	2017	Ministry of Water and Environment	Pilot Program	235
Standard National Climate Change Indicators and Indicator Reference Sheets	2018	Ministry of Water and Environment	List of Indicators	44
Environment and Social Safeguards Policy	2018	Ministry of Water and Environment	Safeguard Policy	22
National Adaptation Plan for the Agriculture Sector	2018	Ministry of Agriculture, Animal Industry and Fisheries	National Sectoral Adaptation Plan	96
Water and Environment Sector Performance Report	2019	Ministry of Water and Environment	Sectoral Performance Report	305
Third National Development Plan (NDPIII) 2020/21-2024/25	2020	National Planning Authority	National Development Plan	341
The National Climate Change Act	2021	The Parliament of Uganda	Legislation	33

Updated Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) under the Paris Agreement	2022	Ministry of Water and Environment	Action Plan/Mitigation Policy	69
---	-------------	--	--------------------------------------	-----------