

Climate institutions for transformative and just climate politics

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*Gendered norms and practices in Nordic and Baltic Climate Policy
Institutions: Implications for the Climate Transition (Nordforsk:2024-
2027)*

- The aim is to study how gender equality is understood in and practiced by Nordic and Baltic climate policy institutions and support the implementation of inclusive climate strategies
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- Jón Geir Pétursson Professor in Environment and Natural Resources, University of Iceland.
- Nina Tynkkynen, Professor in Environmental Governance, at Åbo Akademi
- Post doctoral, PhD student and research assistants in Sweden, Finland, Iceland and Lithuania



Crisis

- *...we are not all in this together. We're on the same rough seas, but we're in very different boats. And some of those boats are very leaky. And some of those boats were never given oars. And some of those boats have high-powered motors on them. We are not all in the same boat.*
- Cynthia Enloe 2020

Climate institutions



- **Formal and informal institutions** (norms, civil servants ,institutional culture)
- **Climate institutions:** *frame* and *develop* climate policies
- Climate institutions distribute resources, invite and include/exclude
- **Climate institutions** produce and reproduce certain knowledge by promoting certain norms and values (epistemic power)
- **Global North:** Responsibility, Normative, resources-green decarbonised welfare states

Representation, path-dependency and stickiness in institutions

- Representation in institutions- critical mass- critical actions. Moving beyond gender binary, intersectional lens. Democratic deficit without inclusion-

Institutional inertia or resilience: Institutions want to do "business as usual" (March and Olsen 1989, Kenny 2007, Munck av Rosensköld et. al 2014)

- **Path-dependency**, based on previous experiences, such as gender-blindness. This may make the inclusion of gender appear less "appropriate" in comparison to technical and economic solutions (educational background)
- **Stickiness:** Path dependence makes institutions 'sticky' and opportunities for innovation and change are thereby constrained by previous choices (Kenny 2007: 93)-
Elitist, scientific stickiness of climate change



Early results: gender and climate policy-making



- Gender balanced representation vs. imbalanced
- Link between descriptive and substantive representation not confirmed
- Uncertainty about how to include gender
- Failure to gender-mainstream documents- gender invisibility and lack of intersectional thinking (homogenous group)
- Limited recognition of the heterogeneity the EU public
-Failure to gender mainstream documents
- Double democratic deficit in the EU confirmed



Abstract

This article explores the link between gender representation and climate policy-making in Scandinavia. We ask to what extent equal descriptive representation (critical mass) results in substantive representation (critical acts). Our study shows that women and men are equally represented in administrative and political units involved in climate policy-making, and in some units women are in the majority. However, a text analysis of the outcomes, that is, the Scandinavian climate strategies, reveals a silence regarding gender, further confirmed through interviews. Accordingly, a critical mass of women does not automatically result in gender-sensitive climate policy-making, recognizing established gender differences in material conditions and in attitudes toward climate issues. In interviews, we also note that policy-makers are largely unaware of gender differences on climate issues in the Scandinavian context. We discuss why a critical mass of women in climate policy-making has not led to critical acts and offer alternative explanations informed by feminist IR theory. For example, poststructural feminism claims that masculine norms are deeply institutionalized in climate institutions; hence, policy-makers adapt their actions to the masculinized institutional environment. Thus,

- **FEMINA POLITICA**
- **The Double Democratic Deficit in Climate Policy-making by the EU Commission:**
- GUNNHILDUR LILY MAGNUSDOTTIR, ANNICA KRONSELL
- Early European Union (EU) gender research focused primarily on policy areas that were directly relevant to women, e.g., regarding their equal rights and employment (Kantola 2010, Hubert 2012, van der Vleuten 2007, Stratigaki 2012). Recently, studies have emerged in other policy domains, exemplified by gender perspectives on migration (Mushaben 2012), agricultural policy (Prügl 2012), development aid (Debuscher 2014) and security policy (Kronsell 2015), inter alia. These studies have confirmed a lack of gender inclusion and awareness in those policy areas. Abels and Mushaben (2012) edited volume demonstrated the democratic deficit in the EU regarding gender. Because women are both underrepresented within EU institutions and gender awareness is lacking in EU policy-making we called this a double democratic deficit. It excludes women and it excludes gender.

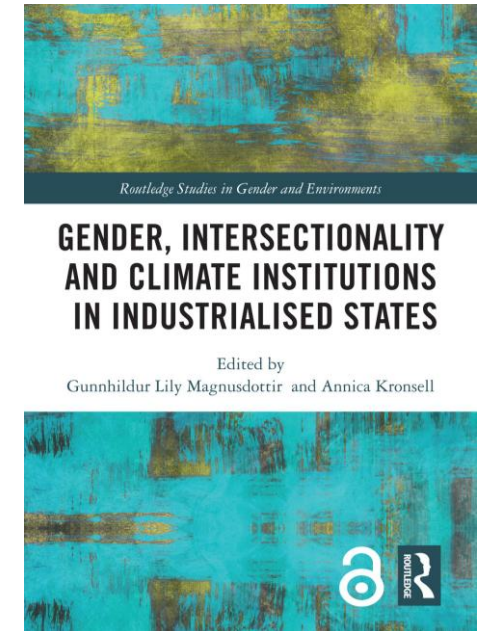
Aim and focus of the project (Formas 2019-2025)

- *Why has Swedish climate policy hitherto generally not recognized the importance of including social differences?*

What are the main institutional challenges to further inclusion of gender and other climate relevant social factors in climate policy-making?

Research project: Intersectionality and Climate Policy-making: Ways Forward to a Socially Inclusive and Sustainable Welfare State (FORMAS)

- National level 4 governmental agencies:
 - The Swedish Environmental Protection Agency
 - The Swedish Transport Administration
 - The Swedish Energy Agency
 - The Swedish Innovation Agency
- Municipal level : Stockholm, Gothenburg, Umeå
- Interviews, critical policy analysis, focus groups





Swedish climate authorities

- [T]he most common disease is civil servant activism. That you want so much with your own agenda so that you push something very hard yourself, more than what you actually have a mandate for, either from a political or civic point of view. And to be honest, it is actually very common in the environmental field, and that's probably because it is so important... (iSTA06)
- What we do is that we work with regard to our taskmaster, the government, and then give them the analysis that they need to have, or *what we judge they need doing*. (iSEPA02, our emphasis)

Results from Swedish climate authorities and other North-European studies

Ecological modernization vs well-being economy. Efficiency and technical knowledge still prioritized over social welfare (middle class focus- solar panels and electric cars)

Recognition but difficult to translate into real actions (similar to gender-mainstreaming, FFP)- how to do equal climate policy?

"Good governance" equals technocratic "gender-neutral" bureaucracy (credibility and legitimacy important)

Urgency- crisis discourse- time pressure (but we are not all in this together...)

Institutional inertia: Doing business as usual – resisting change:
Path-dependent processes
Natural science stickiness

Institutional layering- parallel process to rather than integrated with climate change

Moving forward: How can climate institutions develop just and socially inclusive climate policies?

- Cooperation and coordination across levels and sectors and policies
- Extending the knowledge base in climate institutions on social differences (educational background)
- Include gender experts, and other civil servants – with understanding and knowledge of social justice issues
- Formal legal frameworks on gender and social inclusion are crucial building blocks for pursuing equality and equity in institutions but they have to become integral to climate policy making (not **layering**)

