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Men, masculinities and climate change

A study of climate change impacts in cases from Greenland, Australia Peru and
South Africa



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Abstract

‘Climate change is not gender neutral’ is a statement that has gained more recognition within the climate change debate over the last decade. This has resulted in a new field of research called *gender and climate change*. The mainstream gender and climate change debate has earlier almost exclusively focused on women’s vulnerability. A brief reading of the literature clearly shows that men are rarely observed in this context. The objective of this thesis is to broaden the understanding of the relation between gender and climate change by bringing men into the discussion. I have selected four cases/countries where existing research on men’s gendered experiences of climate change are mentioned. These take place in Greenland, Australia, Peru and South Africa. The result show five common findings between the cases: gendered responsibilities, changing traditional gender roles, psychological impacts, alcohol consumption and violence against women. The concept *hegemonic masculinities* is utilized as a framework used to understand why men are negatively affected by climate change. Masculine norms of attitudes and behavior identified in the multiple case studies are invulnerability and unwillingness to seek help. The analysis show that in times of climate variability can masculine norms be damaging for both men and women. A second analytical framework, the *gender transformative approach* brings the analysis to critically reflect upon masculinities and climate change as functions of power. From this perspective this thesis concludes that the gender and climate change discourse needs to move beyond a focus on women’s vulnerabilities, which divide the world into two classes: women as victims and men as perpetrators. This approach rather urge for a focus on the structures of power and domination within laws, behaviors and institutions that generates injustices.

Key words: *gender, climate change, masculinities, gender transformative approach*

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1. Introduction

Climate change is a global concern; it does not adjust to national borders and cannot be managed at a national level in isolation from globalization, economic liberalization and geopolitical conflicts (UNDP 2010, p. 16-17). Environmental degradation is affecting the planet on a social, economic and ecological level, and is widely considered as a defining social challenge of our time (Bob and Babugura 2014, p. 3; Mearns and Norton 2010, p. 7). The impacts of climate change on people are partially a function of social status, poverty, power, access to and control over resources. Recent research points at the importance of including *gender* in the debate about climate change because men and women experience and adapt to climate change differently (UNDP 2010, p. 14). This recognition has resulted in an emerging field of study within the climate change discourse, the gender and climate change approach.

Israel and Sachs (2013, p. 40-41) explain that although climate change is a global phenomenon, certain nations and particularly the developing countries in the global South, are more likely to experience and suffer from global warming. Though it is not just the gap between rich and poor that is expected to get worse. The mainstream gender and climate change literature argues that climate change is reinforcing gender inequalities (Mearns and Norton 2010, p. 133). It is widely recognized that women in developing countries constitute one of the poorest and most disadvantaged groups in the global society. Being identified as the 'poorest of the poor' makes women in developing countries in many cases the target of gender and climate change interventions (Tuana 2013, p. 27).

Environmental degradation, however, is not an isolated concern for women in developing countries in the global South. Climate change has also been identified to impact men, in developing and developed countries all over the world. Parbrink highlights the importance of including the gender perspective of climate change from a more critical point of departure. He describes one quite unusual, but still as important, perspective on climate change by bringing men into the discussion of gendered impacts of climate change. As the global temperature increases and the polar ices melt, men's hunting on Greenland become more and more limited. The platform of hunting has become much more limited, and men

lose hunting as a source of income and become dependent on their wives' economic activities. According to Parbring, hunting is an important part of the *masculine* identity of Inuit men on Greenland, and due to global warming they cannot maintain their identity. In a short period of time, men have moved down from the top to the bottom of the social hierarchy on Greenland. This has led to increased consumption of alcohol and will according to Parbring most likely also increase gender-based violence, attempts to commit suicide, and other social problems (Parbring 2010, p. 21). This perspective, the 'crisis of masculinity' due to climate change, has only been brought up a few times in the gender and climate change debate. In general, there is relatively little written about men in the field. There is a gap, or rather a paradox, within the gender and climate change debate and research. Although it is acknowledged climate change impact men and women differently, a discussion about the male side of gender is largely lost in the mainstream debate about the relation between gender and climate change.

1.1 Literature review

"*The threats of climate change are not gender-neutral*" (UN Women Watch 2008). The general recognition within the international community is, as mentioned above, that the effects of climate change vary among regions, between different ages, income groups and between men and women. People living in poverty in developing countries are likely to experience significant impacts of climate change including droughts, deforestation and rising sea-levels (UN Women Watch 2008). In the literature today, high emphasis is put on women's disadvantages and limited access to resources and limited participation in decision-making related to climate change. Within development studies, men are generally considered as the *problem*, and little effort has been devoted to men's possible vulnerabilities and gendered conditions (Cornwall 2000, p. 22). Development organizations and institutions that have adopted gender into their programs have in practice continued to focus on women. 'Masculinity', on the other hand, has been given little attention within the development research and literature, which becomes even more evident within the climate change context (Bannon and Correia 2010, p. ix; Chant and Gutmann 2010, p. 1).

1.2 Research objective and questions

The objective of this thesis is to develop the understanding on the gendered dimensions of climate change. I will draw attention to men and masculinities, through a critical qualitative study of cases within the gender and climate change discourse that point out men's gendered

experiences of climate change. The questions that the thesis will answer, in order to meet the research objective, are the following:

- What similarities can be found between cases that have identified *men* in the context of gender and climate change in *Australia, Greenland, Peru* and *South Africa*?
- How are masculinities, male gendered norms and stereotypes, perceived to affect men and women in the context of climate change?
- How can structural issues related to the interaction between men, masculinities and climate change be addressed from a gender transformative approach?

1.3 Relevance

Feminist studies is generally based on the understanding that the social construction of ‘a woman’ and femininity are created through the frame of gender order. Feminist theorists have earlier mainly focused on women, though a growing field of studies is the critical examination of maleness and the social construction of men (Järvilouma et al 2003, p. 11). The significance of including men into the gender equality work has started to gain attention within feminist studies, but also on the international agenda. *HeForShe* is an initiative that illustrates this discursive shift from women-exclusive towards a gender equality framework. The UN Women Solidarity Movement for Gender Equality describes the role of men in gender equality initiatives:

Given the crucial role of men and boys as advocates and agents of change, HeForShe provides a platform for men to self-identify with issues of gender equality and its benefits, which liberate not only women, but also men, from prescribed social roles and gender stereotypes (UN Women 2014, p. 3).

The recognition of including men into the gender debate is increasing. Combining the two emerging fields of men’s studies and gender and climate change will contribute to a more holistic and inclusive discussion about the relation between gender and climate change. Järvilouma et al (2003, p. 25) declare that gender is discursive, ideological, a construction but also a phenomenon that has practical and material consequences for both men and women. Furthermore, they claim that femininities and masculinities are produced and sustained in systematic ways to institutionalize different forms of power. Gonda (2015) argues that ‘gender’ is not synonymous with ‘women’, and to only focus on women’s vulnerabilities

during and after climate change is not sufficient for understanding the gendered impacts of climate change. Similar, Nagel (2012, p. 471) argues that understanding men's place and perspectives is an important aspect in the relationship between gender and climate change. Tuana states the following: "*the importance of gender, and the impacts of climate change, cannot be effectively understood as long as we approach it from an aggregate perspective*" (Tuana 2013, p. 29). She explains that gender cannot be studied in a vacuum. Gender has to be studied in relation to the complex context of intersecting power relations; otherwise there is a great risk of too extensive simplification, homogenization and aggregation (Tuana 2013, p. 29). Both Nagel and Tuana point out why this perspective of gender and climate change is relevant. It invites to a deeper discussion about inequalities and power structures and makes it possible to address structural social issues that affect women and men in times of environmental stress. For whom is this relevant?

1.4 Analytical frameworks

Denzin and Lincoln (2013, p. 23) summarize the qualitative research process through three interconnected terms, categorized as theory, method and analysis; or ontology, epistemology and methodology. In relation to these terms stands the researchers fundamentals formed by gender, class, ethnicity and culture. They explain that all researchers speak on the basis of a distinct interpretive community (Denzin and Lincoln 2013, p. 26). Creswell (2014, p.187) also highlights that it is important to consider the role of the researcher when doing qualitative research. He points out the importance of identifying possible biases, values and personal background that can influence interpretations made in the study. The ontological framework of this research is based on feminist theory, though with a critical perspective. The research problem and questions, and theories are selected from a critical perspective, questioning the structures and mechanisms that produce injustice and inequalities.

Methodological framework

Both in reference to the research topic and theoretical framework is this thesis a critical feminist study, a study of power and oppression in terms of gendered structures (Merriam 2009, p, 35). The thesis will be conducted as a multiple case study, where cases are used to provide insight to an issue (Stake 2005, p. 445). The cases in a multiple case study are selected and therefore have to present common characteristics. These common characteristics can be detected if asked: a case of what? The cases selected are countries where climate change impacts on men have been documented. The case study-method is divided into three

phases, where the first phase is about designing the research: specifying the research problem and deciding on the research objective, select cases and formulate the general questions that will be asked to these cases (George and Bennet 2005, p.73). The second phase is where the case study is presented: asking general questions and transforming the descriptive explanations into analytical explanations which can be analyzed in the third phase (George and Bennet 2005, p 89). The third phase is called ‘implications of case findings for theory’: this part will focus on the re-contextualization of how we understand gendered impacts of climate change (George and Bennet 2005, p. 110).

Theoretical framework

Two analytical tools will be used in this thesis: the concept of masculinities and a gender transformative approach that has its roots in social justice theory. To understand men’s gendered attitudes and behavior, this thesis will apply the theory of *hegemonic masculinities*. This is a concept that allows a discussion about power relations and structures of domination and is based on the notion that masculinity is a pattern of behavior that allows male domination over the female (Connell, 2008, p. 115). Cornwall and Rivas (2015, p. 410) argues that the current gender agenda is not likely to deliver the equal and equitable societies that feminist movement has fought for. The theoretical framework will therefore approach the concern of gender and climate change from a transformative approach of gender justice. This implies a shift from an “aiding the other” paradigm towards: “*the realization of rights as part of the response to injustice arising from structures of power and domination*” (Cornwall and Rivas 2015, p. 410).

1.5 Limitations and Delimitations

One important notion in the “social dimensions” of climate change discourse is the intersection of factors that reinforce climate vulnerability. Gender is just one of several sources of inequalities, such as class, ethnicity and age, et cetera, that influences climate change impacts. Only focusing on gender has its limitations in situations where different structures of inequalities interact. This limitation will be further discussed in the analysis as it is not just an issue for this thesis but a general problem within the development discourse.

The second delimitation can be found in the process of *case selection*, a significant task in a multiple case study. A critical reflection on the method is that only one case from each country is included in the research. This is somewhat problematic to draw conclusions based on one person’s observations. To avoid misunderstandings and

misinterpretations a discussion of the contextual circumstances of each case will be provided in connection with the case studies. The decision to study four cases limits the ability to draw generalizing conclusions, at the same time as there is a risk of overgeneralizations. Why? Climate change is affecting countries all over the world, and these four cases cannot cover the experiences of all men everywhere, every time. Gender and climate change are bounded to its contexts, and not treating them as such will risk making rushed and inaccurate conclusions. Access to data is another concern of case selection within this field of study. The literature review has revealed that little has been written about men, gender and climate change. This makes it difficult to find cases that can be compared at the same level of abstraction. For this and other reasons, the objective of this thesis is not to acquire universal knowledge about gender and climate change. The four cases are rather intended to illustrate if there exist any patterns in how men experience and adapt to climate change in different contexts. The four cases are not considered representative for all contexts, or as Mearns and Norton states, it “cannot hold true for all people in all places” (Mearns and Norton 2010).

1.6 Structure of thesis

This thesis will be structured accordingly: Chapter 2 *Literature and Relevance*, continues the discussion from the introduction, explaining what has been written in the field of gender and climate change, and by whom. Chapter 3, *Methodology*, methodological considerations and the structure of a multiple case study will be described. The methodology chapter also contains a discussion about case selection, explains validity of the cases selected and goes deeper into the discussion about generalization. Chapter 4, *Theory*, will provide conceptualization of the key concepts *gender* and *masculinity* and argue for the analytical framework used in the analysis, and lastly the operationalization of the concepts masculinities and the theory *gender transformative approach*.

In Chapter 5, *Findings and research result*, the answers of the first research question: *What similarities can be found between cases that have identified men in the context of gender and climate change in Australia, Greenland, Peru and South Africa?* will be presented. Chapter 6 *Analysis* is intended to answer the two remaining research questions: *How are masculinities, male gendered norms and stereotypes, perceived to affect men and women in the context of climate change? How can structural issues related to the interaction between men, masculinities and climate change be addressed from a gender transformative approach?* And lastly, Chapter 7 *Conclusion*, the results of the case studies, answers to the research questions and suggestions for future research are presented.

2. Literature review and relevance

The relevance of this study strongly builds on the existing research of gender and climate change. As already noted in the introduction, knowledge concerning men's vulnerabilities is rarely discussed within the gender and climate change debate. To further illustrate this I will provide a more extensive literature review that addresses what has been written in the field, and by whom.

2.1 Gender and climate change

From a historical point of view gender and climate change is a rather new approach. Terry explains that the mainstream research and policy discourse of climate change is stereotypically masculine, where emphasis has been put on complex computer models and technologies such as eco-friendly cars, and neoclassical economic approaches like carbon trading (Terry 2009, p. 1). There are also alternative approaches, like sustainable development, human rights and climate justice perspectives, which are stressing social dimensions of climate change without putting gender equality on the agenda. Awareness of the complex interactions between gender and climate change has grown the last decades both within feminist circles but also in the climate change discourse. Gender dimensions of climate change have been identified in studies of human vulnerability, adaptation and mitigation in relation to climate change effects (Terry 2009, p. 1). MacGregor argues that the gender-sensitive research that has been done in the gender, environment and development have almost exclusively focused on “*material impacts on women in the Global South*” (MacGregor 2010, p. 224). The main actors in the gender and climate change debate are Gender, Environment and Development scholars and feminists working for entities within the United Nations such as UN Women, and international organizations like Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) and Global Gender and Climate Alliance (GGCA) (MacGregor 2010, p. 224). Two important books on this topic are *Research, action and policy: addressing the gendered impacts of climate change* edited by Margaret Alston and Kerri Whittenbury (2013); and *Climate change and gender justice* edited by Terry, Geraldine (2009). In both books are cases on gender and climate change collected.

What arguments are central in the mainstream gender and climate change debate?

In the literature and research about gender and climate change today, high emphasis is put on women's gendered vulnerability. Gender inequalities and women's disadvantage and limited access to resources and limited participation in decision-making related to climate change are two general approaches in the field. The reason for focusing on women is adequate for several reasons, partially explained by the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC):

Women are predominantly responsible for food production, household water supply and energy for heating and cooking. As climate change impacts increase, these tasks are becoming more difficult. However, women have knowledge and coping strategies that give them a practical understanding of innovation and skills to adapt to changing environmental realities as well as to contribute to the solution (UNFCCC 2014).

Bannon and Correia also explain that there are obvious reasons why 'gender' is mainly about women: women are more disadvantaged in many ways in both the developed and developing countries, in absolute terms. Nevertheless, gendered impacts are not only a concern for women (Bannon and Correia 2006 p. 3). Gonda (2015) explains that working towards gender equality in the context of climate change requires an investigation of how gender inequalities play out in climate change policies and interventions.

'Gender' is not a new approach in the context of development policies and interventions; in 1995 new development policies acknowledged that men and women need to be directed differently by development interventions. This signifies a shift in the development discourse from a women exclusive 'Women in Development' approach towards the 'Gender and Development' approach. Despite its intentions, Bannon and Correia (2006, p. ix) argues that the new Gender And Development policies has failed to integrate gender issues and that gender has remained a one-sided topic within development studies, only focusing on women. Reading into the literature of gender and climate change this women-exclusive focus becomes evident. Extensive research points out women's vulnerabilities and the disproportionate burdens women have to bear during and after climate change-related disasters. Moreover, little has been written on gender relations between men and women in that context (UNDP 2010, p. 16-17). With regard to these arguments one might ask: why men? If women face greater social and economic disadvantages, why is it important to discuss men and masculinities in the context of climate change? According to the report "Men and

Masculinities” published by the International Labour Office (ILO), men and boys are the gatekeepers of gender equality (2013, p. 5). Chant (2000) argues that approaching gender from a women-exclusive perspective takes away the transformative potential of gender interventions. In order to change women’s lives, a structural shift in the male-female (masculine and feminine) power relation is necessary (Chant 2000, p. 8).

3. Methodology: Critical research through a multiple case study

Both in reference to the research topic and theoretical framework, this thesis is a critical feminist study, a study of power and oppression in terms of gendered roles and norms. In the following section I will argue for research design and method for data collection, and discuss some important considerations necessary when studying gender. Contextual circumstances, generalizations/representativeness and case selection are some of the critical points highlighted below.

3.1 Methodological frame: qualitative abductive research

Over the last two decades, an interest in men and masculinities has emerged. Studies about ‘men and masculinity’ have provided new opportunities within gender research. ‘Men and masculinity’ scholars have also received criticism, particularly within research of sexual and other forms of gender-based violence (SGBV) and development studies. Critics argue that a focus on men and masculinities might result in reduced resources for women, who already are disadvantaged in many aspects (Connell 2008, p. 17). Connell expose a methodological problem within masculinity studies: the predominant focus on descriptive methods. Connell claims that descriptive studies provide important knowledge about specific contexts and problems, but fail to create more general understandings in terms of general ideas and beliefs about men and masculinities (Connell 2008, p. 18). The descriptive study of men and climate change is complemented by a theoretical analysis of masculinities which will provide a deeper understanding about men and masculinities in the context of climate change.

In order to study gendered impacts of climate change, this thesis will be conducted as a qualitative abductive analysis based on a gender analysis framework. Danermark et al. (2002, p. 88) declares that abduction can provide a deeper understanding of a particular event or case, by re-contextualizing them in relation to general structures and theories. He raises two questions in relation to abductive research: *“how can we make assumptions that individual events may be part of a general more universal context or structure? What makes us see universal structures in individual cases?”* (Danermark et al.

2002, p. 88). Danermark's two questions translate well into the research objective of this thesis. General structures such as gender are not directly observable, and therefore require concepts and theories in order to create new understandings (Danermark et al. 2002, p. 88). The concepts that will be used in the analysis will be described in the next chapter on theory.

3.2 Research method

First and foremost this is a critical study. *Critical qualitative research* raises questions about power relations, such as the gendered power relation between men and women, and focuses less on the individual and more on the context. Merriam (2009, p. 35) writes that critical research often originates from feminist theory, focusing on power and oppression in terms of gender: "*Indeed, power dynamics are at heart of critical research*" (Merriam 2009, p. 35). The critical methodological framework is consistent through the whole thesis: research objective, questions and theoretical framework are all based on a critical perspective. Conducting a critical study means not only to be critical about structures in society, it also demands the researcher to critically reflect their role as a researcher, and then explain their biases, assumptions and theoretical orientation (Merriam 2009, p. 219).

The general assumption of this critical gender study is based on the understanding that men and women face different challenges and opportunities based on expectations connected to their socially constructed gender roles. The theoretical orientation that frames my basic values and interpretations is based on the postmodern feminist perspective. Postmodern feminists criticize the western economic rationalism for its evident lack of differentiation of race, class and ethnic identity (Visvanathan 2011 p. 10). The critique is that women in underdeveloped countries are assumed to be a homogenous group with collective experiences and interests. Women in the global South are often portrayed as poor, victims and unable to control their position. This critique is applicable for the men and masculinities studies as well. Hearn describes how generalizations about men have been made based on relatively small-scaled and non-representative data on men and masculinities of the global North (Hearn 2014, p. 455).

3.2.1 Research design: Multiple case study

According to Stake (2005, p. 445) there are three types of case studies: the first is the intrinsic case study undertaken to create a better understanding of a particular case. There is no intention of generalizing, and the purpose is not to create a new theory (theory-building)

(Merriam 2009, p. 48). The second type is *instrumental case study*, where a case is used to provide insights to an issue or to redraw generalizations. The case is of secondary interest, with a supportive role, and facilitates understanding of something else. Stake explains that the case is still looked at in depth, and its contexts examined because it helps to pursue the external interest, or in this case - the research problem. The third type is a *multiple case study* (Stake 2005, p. 445). A multiple case study is an instrumental case study extended to several cases. The selected cases may be previously known to present common characteristics (Stake 2005, p. 446). The heading of this section has already revealed that the third type, the multiple case study, will be used here.

A case study can be designed differently depending on theoretical framework and research objective. In accordance to Stake's definition of a multiple case study, the cases selected to support the understanding of the research problem has to manifest common characteristics. Cases used in this study are intended to support the understanding about gendered impacts of climate change. The method is divided into three phases: 1) designing the research: specifying the research problem and deciding on the research objective, select cases and formulate the general questions that will be asked to these cases (George and Bennet 2005, p.73); 2) carrying out the case: asking the questions and possibly transforming the descriptive explanations into analytical explanations which can be analyzed in the third phase (George and Bennet 2005, p 89); 3) implications of case findings for theory: this part will focus on the re-contextualization of how we understand gendered impacts of climate change (George and Bennet 2005, p. 110). Phase one begun in the introduction, where research problem and objective are declared. In the following section of this methodology chapter I will go through the task of case selection. The last task of phase one, formulating general questions, is presented in the theoretical framework chapter.

3.2.2 Case selection

One important reason for using a multiple case study method is that it allows for examining how a phenomenon works in different environments (Stake 2006, p. 23). Stake explains that one unusual aspect of multiple case studies within social science is the selection of cases. Three questions that have to be asked are according to Stake: why are the cases relevant for the study, does the cases provide diversity across contexts and do the cases provide opportunities to learn about the contexts?

Cases where men's gendered impacts of climate change are identified can be found at different levels of abstraction, in different geographical areas and in relation to different types of climate change. What is connecting these examples is the notion that men are affected by climate change differently than women and that it has an impact on gender equality. The cases selected for the analysis are from *Australia, Greenland, South Africa* and *Peru*. The main reason for selecting cases from these countries is that they all have documented the effects of climate change from a gender perspective that not only focuses on women. One significant comment that needs to be highlighted, and will be brought up later in the thesis as well, is that the ambition of this thesis is not to find a universal understanding about gender and climate change. The discussion and analysis is based on findings from the four countries, which “*cannot hold true for all people in all places*” (Mearns and Norton 2010, p. 7). Withdrawn from this study is commonalities and patterns rather than generalizing examples about how men experience and adapt to climate change. To avoid overgeneralizations, the contextual circumstances will be further discussed in the following section.

3.2.3 Validity of data collection

All information about the cases, the data, has been collected from existing research. This means that all empirical evidence is based on secondary data. Using secondary data has its limitations but also opportunities. Boetto and McKinnon (2013, p. 20) highlights some difficulties and limitations that are associated with analysis of secondary or existing data, including *contextual issues, validity* and *timeliness*. They explain that the difficulties associated with analyzing documents written for some other purpose is that the information obtained can be inaccurate or invalid when applied to the alternative research purpose. In order to overcome the issue if the alternative purposes that do not parallel with the original intent of the existing research, Boetto and McKinnon suggest that the researcher must make every effort to honestly represent the work of the authors.

Secondly, *contextual* circumstance of the data has to be taken into account; this means that the research providing earlier research usually have some specific intent, as to promote the interests of a particular group (Boetto and McKinnon 2013, p. 20). In the discourse of gender and climate change, the interest of women and the advocacy of women empowerment is often the intention of the reports. Through applying a critical perspective,

this thesis moves beyond the focus of “poor women in the global South” towards an examination of unequal power relations.

The third issue of using secondary data, *timeliness*, relates to the limitations of using data that is too old and irrelevant at the time of analysis (Boetto and McKinnon 2013, p. 20). This limitation is not of particular concern given the research topic. The phenomenon of gendered impacts of climate change is a relatively new field of research, which means that all research and data used in this thesis are relevant within the current international debate and discussion on the subject. Using secondary data is not only associated with limitations, it is also providing opportunities. Given the timeframe of this thesis, using secondary data makes it possible to select cases that are relevant to the subject, but also provide diversity across different geographical areas and climate change contexts (Stake 2006, p. 23).

4. Theory: From social justice towards a gender transformative approach

In order to address the structural issues of climate change's gendered impacts I will build my analytical framework upon a conceptual framework of masculinities and a theoretical framework that is based on the social justice theory of *transformative justice*, adapted to a gender perspective. In the following section I will start with a discussion about the key concepts of the study, and thereafter describe the general arguments of the theoretical framework.

4.1 Main concepts

Gender

First and foremost, the central concept of this thesis is *gender*. This thesis is based on the understanding that gender is bound to its context; it is not fixed but constantly shaped by changing conditions. The importance of gender is no longer a contested topic, though despite its recognition on international, national and local arenas, gender interventions sometimes fail to meet its intentions when it is equated with women's issues. Gender is often understood as a socially constructed phenomenon which involves behaviors and attitudes that frame what is feminine and masculine, female and male in different contexts. Connell (2008) declares that gender is relational, created in the interaction between men and women, male and female, and is shaped by historical, social, cultural contexts. Alston notes that gender, gender relations and gender justice is fundamentally a question about power (Alston 2013, p. 8). Mainstream feminist studies recognize 'woman' and 'femininity' as social constructions that take place within a frame of gender order. *Gender order* is often described as patterns of power relations that shape notions about masculinity and femininity. "Any given gender role acts in relation to other gender roles within the whole gender system of that particular society" (Järvilouma et al. 2003, p. 11). According to this understanding are masculinities not equivalent to men, but rather a pattern that position men in a gender order.

Masculinities

The second key concept, *masculinities*, has a central role in the understanding of gendered relations and division of power. Men and masculinities is an emerging field of study within the development discourse. People who have argued for including men into the ‘gender and development’ discourse have generally used ‘women as victims, men as problem’ approach (Cornwall 2000, p. 22). Arguments related to this ‘men as problem’ discourse rarely engage in the core assumptions that constitute the men-in-general category, treating men as a homogenous group. Analyzing the category of ‘men’ involves looking at a diversity of male identities. Connell (2008) is often referred to in the discussion about men and masculinities. She clarifies that masculinities are multiple and change over time and place. The form of masculinity that is referenced in this thesis is what Connell conceptualize as “*hegemonic masculinity*”, a concept that has influenced the thinking in studies of men, gender and social hierarchy (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p. 829). The concept was invented as a critique of masculinity, heterosexuality and homophobia and to understand why the male to female relation is oppressive (Donaldson 1993, p. 645).

Hegemonic masculinity is understood as a practice which allows men’s dominance over women, thus it is not just a set of role expectations and identities but rather something that is done, a behavior. Behavior or characteristics associated with hegemonic masculinity are: courage, risk-taking, competitiveness, success and violence (Donaldson 1993, p. 644). One important aspect of hegemonic masculinity is that it is not assumed to represent the behavior of the majority; only a small group of men match the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. “*Consequently, ‘masculinity’ represents not a certain type of man but, rather, a way that men position themselves through discursive practices*” (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p. 841). Conceptualizing masculinity in this way suggest that masculinity of normative character, meaning that masculinity determine what is expected of men, by themselves and others.

International Labor Organization (2015, p. 5-6) states that from a feminist perspective, there is a need to understand different forms of masculinities and their impact on women. Furthermore, there is a need to understand how dominant masculinities can be damaging for men as well. This notion is shared by Alston and Kent who have studied the role of masculinities in the context of droughts in Australia:

In good times this normative masculinity has served men well, allowing them to accumulate resources, power and influence. In the current drought this position

has been exposed as intrinsically unhealthy for men, because the very stoicism so indicative of rural masculinity limits men's ability to seek help during times of extreme stress (Alston and Kent 2008, p. 144).

The norm of being a man means being tough, brave and invulnerable, characteristics that according to Greene and Levack (2010, p. 1) leads to risk-taking behavior such as abuse, violence and unsafe sex. The pursuit of masculinity, of self-control and invulnerability reduces men's willingness to seek help. Greene and Levack (2010, p. 1) declare that men in vulnerable situations, such as violent, low-income, conflict affected (and climate affected) settings are more likely to experience feelings of helplessness and fatalism. Another important aspect to highlight is the recognition that masculinities depends on the specific gender relations in a context or social setting (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, p. 836). This notion will be taken into consideration within the study of the cases, identifying the climate change and gendered contexts of each case through the general questions stated at the end of this chapter. Once again, it is important to highlight that hegemonic masculinity is not a type of man. It is rather patterns of behavior and structures within institutions that benefits the male through subordination of the female.

4.2 Theoretical framework

Climate change threatens to make the world profoundly more unequal than it already is; climate change and its impacts represent a growing global injustice (Otzelberger 2014, p. 9). According to Mearns and Norton (2010) climate change is one of the defining global social justice issues of our time. It is an issue that illuminates the concern of global inequalities. Climate change strengthens the image of a polarized world, between the 'developed' countries with heavy greenhouse gas-emissions and the 'developing' resource-poor countries that will and in some places already do suffer the worst consequences of climate change. A common recognition within social justice and climate change debate is that climate change is reinforcing social inequality and injustices such as gender inequalities (Mearns and Norton 2010, p. 7; Otzelberger 2014, p. 9).

Climate change is a phenomenon that is unconscious about social dimensions of inequalities and injustices such as gender, ethnicity, age and class. Denton (2002) explains that droughts, floods, tsunamis, hurricanes and sea level rise affects whole communities, and should therefore, in theory, affect men and women, rich and poor – equally. Nonetheless, in reality it is commonly noted that poor and marginalized people are most severely affected by

climate change impacts (Denton 2002, p. 10; Otselberger 2014, p. 9). It is generally acknowledged that both causes and effects are highly linked to deep inequalities between the *Global North and South*, between *rich and poor*, and between *gender groups* (Otselberger 2014, p. 9). In order to reach the structural changes needed to achieve a just and equal world, Cornwall and Rivas promotes a transformative approach of social justice which will be described below (Cornwall and Rivas 2015, p. 397).

4.2.1 A gender transformative approach and structural change

Structural change of inequalities is at the heart of the social justice approach that is called transformative justice. “*Transformative justice theorists seek not only to respond to the immediacy of the conflict or harm but also to situate it in a broader framework addressing structural issues*” (Capeheart and Milovanovic 2007, p. 61). Transformative justice is a rather new field of research. It has emerged through the ‘Restorative justice approach’ which focuses on repairing and restoring harm caused by a crime or conflict. But unlike restorative justice, transformative justice moves beyond a focus in the direct harm (Capeheart and Milovanovic 2007, p. 65). Miller (2000, p. 20) argues that this approach has an empowering effect, offering prevention and protection by looking at the social roots from which the crime or conflict arise. Hendra et al (2013, p. 110) declare that gender injustice (gender inequality and gender-based discrimination) is often recognized as the main driver of global inequality. Integrating a gender perspective to the core assumptions of the transformative justice approach will translate into what is called *gender transformative approach*. The gender transformative approach (GTA) has grown attention within the development discourse, and is today a relevant approach within the post-2015 development agenda (Cornwall and Rivas 2015; Hendra et al. 2013). The transformative perspective both focuses on decisions and actions of those with power, and at the same time emphasize the need of more equal power relations. This statement leads us into the next theoretical discussion regarding the role of men and boys in gender equality. “*Gender equality is first and foremost a transformative enterprise*” claims Hendra et al (2013, p. 111). Greene and Levack (2014, p. 4) define GTA as programs that try to shift harmful gender norms by addressing power disparities among men and women. This definition is further developed by Rottach, Schuler and Hardee:

Gender transformative approaches, at the right end of the continuum, actively strive to examine, question, and change rigid gender norms and imbalance of

power as a means of reaching health as well as gender-equity objectives. Gender transformative approaches encourage critical awareness among men and women of gender roles and norms; promote the position of women; challenge the distribution of resources and allocation of duties between men and women; and/or address the power relationships between women and others in the community, such as service providers or traditional leaders (Rottach et al, 2009, p. 8).

Combating injustices requires transformation of unequal power relations, ensuring that all people can develop without limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices (Hendra et al 2013, p. 112). Cornwall and Rivas state that gender transformative approach invites into a more effective discussion about patriarchy, privilege and power (Cornwall and Rivas 2015, p. 409). Transformation is inherently about change, and the change discussed here is change of hegemonic *power structures*. The process of structural change is highlighted by Abrahamsson (2003): “*When a sufficient number of structures has been changed or replaced by others the very foundation upon which the historic bloc and its discourses are based erodes. From this very process discursive transformation and change of power structures is emanating*” (Abrahamsson 2003, p. 18). Briefly, when issues become non-manageable within the framework of prevailing structures, opportunities of structural change are created. One significant precondition to achieve structural change is the possibility of using such an opportunity (Abrahamsson 2003, p. 97). Does climate change bring such opportunities? The outline of the thesis is to highlight gendered impacts of climate change, and apply a gender transformative approach which involves examining gendered stereotypes and traditional norms of masculinity.

4.2.2 Operationalization of theory:

In the following section I will describe how the concept masculinities and theory of gender transformative approach will be operationalized. Operationalization means translating the theoretical framework into questions that will structure the findings and analysis. The case study will be structured by general questions that will be asked to the cases to collect data for the analysis. The multiple case studies are descriptive, set to answer the first of the three research questions constructed to fulfill the research objective. The first research question is:

- 1) What similarities can be found between cases that have identified men in the context of gender and climate change in Australia, Greenland, Peru and South Africa?

As mentioned in the beginning of this chapter, concepts such as gender and masculinities are highly framed by its context. Therefore, in order to answer the first research question it is important to understand the context of each country, which will be done by answering these three questions:

1.1) What is the climate change context of the country or area studied?

1.2) What socially constructed gender roles are identified in that area or country?

1.3) What link between men and climate change is identified in each context?

After having collected data in regard of these three questions, I will return to the theoretical discussion about masculinities and gender transformative approach. In this thesis I will approach the issues of gendered impacts of climate change from two perspectives that derive from the transformative justice theories. The first perspective is derived from Hendra et al. (2013) article: *Towards a new transformative development agenda: the role of men and boys in achieving gender equality*. The core argument in the article is that a transformative approach is needed in order to tackle the deep-rooted, universal challenges of inequality and discrimination. The perspective provided by Hendra et al (2013, p. 112) allows to examine gendered stereotypes and traditional gender norms of masculinity and femininity. In the analysis this will be done by answering the question:

- 2) How are masculinities, male gendered norms and stereotypes, perceived to affect men and women in the context of climate change?

The second perspective on gender transformative approaches is taken from Cornwall and Rivas (2015) article: *From 'gender equality and 'women's empowerment' to global justice: reclaiming a transformative agenda for gender and development*. In this article, Cornwall and Rivas argue that a gender transformative approach of discrimination would mean moving beyond dividing the world into two classes, the victims and perpetrators. This transformative approach let us examine assumptions, stereotypes and limiting beliefs (Cornwall and Rivas 2015, p. 410). Moreover, transformative approaches invite a more effective discussion about masculinity, privilege and power (Cornwall and Rivas 2015, p. 409). This, in turn, is a matter

of structural transformation of power. The third research question that operationalizes the theory of gender transformative approach is:

- 3) How can structural issues related to the interaction between men, masculinities and climate change be addressed from a gender transformative approach?

The third question is designed to give a more critical reflection on issues related to masculinities and climate change.

5. Findings and research results

In this chapter, a more in-depth description of the cases will be provided to give a background for the theoretical analysis. Furthermore this section is set to answer the first research question: *What similarities can be found between cases that have identified men in the context of gender and climate change in Australia, Greenland, Peru and South Africa?* In reference to the research design presented above, the thesis now moves into the second phase of the study. In the first phase, in the theory chapter, general questions were formulated to allow an analysis of each case in a way that “answers are provided to the general questions” (George and Bennet 2005, p. 89). As mentioned above the study of each case will be structured after three questions:

- 1) What is the climate change context of the country or area studied?
- 2) What socially constructed gender roles are identified in that area or country?
- 3) What link between men and climate change is identified in each context?

The answers, the findings, will then constitute the data for the third phase of the study where the findings are used to illuminate the research objective.

5.1 Findings from Greenland: Melting ice and crisis of hunter identity

The first case is based on the findings of studies made on Inuit communities and people on Greenland. Malin Jennings’ research on Greenland is the one that most clearly highlights gender relations, which has already been touched upon in the introduction. Jennings original interviews are unfortunately not available which is a problem for the reliability as her findings only can be accessed recounted by others. Jennings research can be found in two articles: the first is published by Bosse Parbring (2010) in “Nordic Information on Gender” (NIKK), with the title: *“The impact of climate change on Inuit and Sámi societies”*; and the second article *“North and South”* published on Equal Climate (n.d). Johann Hari has also documented men’s experiences of climate change in the article *“The arctic is melting”* (Hari 2009). Inuit

communities are highly dependent on the environment, which is changing fast. All three articles emphasize the Inuit people living on Greenland and their experiences of climate change, and how they adapt to these changes.

The findings

In the introduction I mentioned a situation on Greenland where the warmer climate has contributed to increases in poverty and social issues. This case was published in the NIKK magazine in 2010 (Parbring 2010) produced by the Nordic gender institute. The article is based on the interviews and findings of Malin Jennings research on Inuit communities on Greenland. Parbring explains in the article that the global impacts of climate change affects women and men differently, in the global South as well as in the North. Equal Climate also highlights that the impact of climate change is affecting rich and poor, men and women, differently. Equal Climate is a web portal created by the Nordic council of Ministers in cooperation with Nordic gender institute NIKK (Equal Climate 2008). The case of Greenland shows that climate change not only affects rural women in the South.

Climate context: In the article from 2010, Parbring explains that according to the Intergovernmental panel on climate change (IPCC) the ices on Greenland are melting ten times as fast as it did just a couple of years back. Johann Hari (2009) declares that the melting of the Arctic ice is accelerating due to a phenomenon that is called “feedback”. Feedback can be understood as a small amount of warming that is triggering more warming. When the Arctic sea ice was white and smooth, 80 percent of the warm rays from the sun bounced back to space. When the ices started to melt the smooth surface changed and fewer sun rays bounced back. In 2009, 90 percent of the warming from the sunrays was absorbed. Hari describes it as “*we have replaced a mirror with a sponge*” (Hari 2009)

Parbring (2010) explains that these climate changes are devastating for the people on Greenland that make their living on fishing and hunting. In the small Inuit communities on Greenland, such as Thule in the Qaanaaq region, hunting of seals, polar bears, narwhals and walrus are the only means of survival (Greenland-guide n.d.). Jennings describe that a warmer climate has shortened the time of hunting, as the ice is freezing later and melting earlier every year. According to Parbring, hunters can no longer support their families with financial security, and men are becoming more and more dependent on their wives’ waged labor (Parbring 2010). The impacts of climate change have affected the gendered relations between men and women, as family income is becoming more dependent on women’s waged labor which means the gendered roles of men and women are challenged.

Being a good hunter is a significant factor for the Inuit male identity, “*Hunting is our identity*” emphasizes Niels Gundel (Hari 2009). When hunting no longer can secure the livelihoods of hunters and their families, they have to seek financial support from the government. This will according to Jennings, lead to feelings of powerlessness and shame (Parbring 2010). As mentioned earlier, the social hierarchy is disrupted and the hunter is no longer on the top. The climate change is therefore not only affecting Inuits’ economic resources but also their identity. The powerlessness that Jennings describes will create insecurity that within short might lead to gender based violence, alcoholism, suicides and other social problems (Parbring 2010).

5.2 Findings from Australia: Droughts and masculinities

The data collected in this case is based on three reports that have noted men’s vulnerability in relation to climate change in Australia. The first two “*Gender and climate change in Australia and the Pacific*” (Alston 2013); and “*Climate change, Women’s Health, Wellbeing and Experiences of Gender Based violence in Australia*” (Whittenbury 2013) are designed to highlight the gendered impacts of climate change, and focuses on gender and climate change emphasizing on women’s subordination and empowerment. Both Alston and Whittenbury have studied climate change and experiences of gender in Australia and more specific in the Murray-Darling Basin which has been identified as especially vulnerable to impacts of droughts and declining water supplies (Alston 2013, p. 175; Whittenbury 2013, p. 219). The third article “*The Big Dry: The link between rural masculinities and poor health outcomes for farming men*” written by Alston and Kent (2008) focuses on men and masculinities more specifically. The contextual circumstance of this article is that it is based on the understanding that dominant forms of power, such as hegemonic masculinities, have more than one dimension. It can be both supportive and harmful for men.

The findings

Moving from the colder climate in the arctic towards a warmer, much warmer, climate in Australia, shows that the rising temperature is affecting countries all over the world, differently. Alston declares that “*climate change impacts are adding significant impetus to long-established and ongoing rural restructuring*”, adding to other factors such as technological development and changing production practices (2013, p.178). During the last

decades, critical changes of the climate have made huge impacts on the rural agricultural livelihood in Australia. In these years a widespread drought brought significant economic, environmental and social consequences (Alston and Kent 2008, p. 134). Alston explains that in Australia, climate change impacts are adding significantly to the existing uncertainties in agriculture. Climate change has increased the temperature which has resulted in catastrophic droughts, bushfires, declining water irrigation and furthermore water and food insecurity. A governmental report, Alston explains, predicts up to 90 percent reduction in watered agriculture over coming decades (Alston 2013, p. 178). Alston supports the recognition that there is a gendered dimension of climate change. She claims that droughts and declining water availability have had significant social and gendered consequences in the Murray-Darling Basin area in Australia (Alston 2013, p. 175). This leads into the second question about constructed gender roles, what is the gendered context in Australia?

When Alston and Kent describe the gendered roles of men in Australia they refer to the concept of *Rural masculinities* (2008, p. 136). The concept is derived from the ideas of hegemonic masculinity, which has already been described as a pattern that allows men's dominance over women, an order in society that prioritizes men's concern and subordinates women (Connell 2008, p. 115). In the rural context, the men's gendered roles are related to their greater access to power and resources. According to the social construction of rural masculinities, "*men are portrayed as strong and tough, rugged individuals who are stoical in the face of adversity*" (Alston and Kent 2008, p. 136). The dominant masculinity in the rural context is, according to Alston and Kent, not only referring to the dominance over women but also the dominance over land. Ownership and control over land and agricultural resources is in the rural Australian context a significant source of power (Alston and Kent 2008, p. 136). Alston illustrates the relationship between rural hegemonic masculinity and climate change with the following statement:

Women own less than 15% of land and therefore are disadvantaged in decision-making forums; are over-represented amongst those most critically impacted by climate events; are over 14 times more likely to die in a disaster (Alston 2013, p. 182)

Access to resources has given men a hegemonic position in rural areas, giving them benefits in terms of status, wealth and political power. With a focus on rural livelihood, Alston have stated that "*while a dominant masculine hegemony has benefited rural men in good times, the drought exposes how inherently unhealthy this position can be*" (Alston and Kent 2008, p.

134). This connects to the third question: what is the link between gender and climate change in the Australian context?

One gendered consequence is identified in the link between gender, violence and climate change. Alston (2013, p. 181) declares that there is a growing recognition that gender based violence (GBV) is increasing in Australia, though regardless of but worsened by climate change. This recognition is also pointed out by Whittenbury (2013, p. 217) who in her study of the Murray-Darling Basing area found emerging evidence that GBV increased during the years of drought. The understanding made from that study is that financial stress and pressures following a long period of droughts are associated with GBV. Although Whittenbury focuses on women's health and GBV, she also mention some key factors that impacts men specifically, including social isolation, an articulated sense of emasculation when losing the role as provider, and mental health such as depression and suicide. The link between climate change and gender based violence are also believed to be related to men's increased consumption of drugs and alcohol (Whittenbury 2013, p. 217).

Similar impacts are addressed by Alston and Kent (2008) who point out that men's understanding of impacts of droughts often refers to challenges posed to them as 'farmers', and all hegemonic features that entails. "*Nonetheless, it is clear that their identity is innately shaped by their farming role and that the current threats to farming were threats to their sense of self*" (Alston and Kent 2008, p. 142). Thus climate change is threatening men's identity as farmers and family providers, which has resulted in a growing sense of powerlessness and hopelessness (Alston and Kent 2008, p. 143). Furthermore Alston and Kent suggest that the drought in Murray-Darling Basin area is threatening gender relations and long-established patriarchal dominance in rural society. "*Power relations are affected by women's off-farm income-generating activity, which has become essential to farm family survival*". (2008, p. 137). Changes in allocation of duties and income responsibilities during the drought, challenges the masculine ideal of a male breadwinner and add to the uncertainty about gender roles and relationships of power (Alston and Kent 2008, p. 139).

5.3 Findings from Peru: sea-level rise and declining fisheries

The third case is based on the research of Naomi Joy Godden, who conducted a case study in a fishing village and wrote the article "*Gender and Declining Fisheries in Lonitos Perú: Beyond Pescador and Ama De Casa*" (2013). The context of this article is the recognition that

impacts of climate change, such as sea-level rise, coastal erosion, inundation and pollution are affecting the fisheries and livelihoods in Lobitos, in coastal Peru (Godden 2013, p. 252). Furthermore, Godden notes that gendered roles in rural livelihoods are changing due to climate change.

The findings

In the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's (IPCC) fifth assessment report, Peru is presented as one of the eight most vulnerable countries to climate change impacts on fisheries. This is proposed as an effect of global warming and limited societal capacity to adapt to climate change impacts and opportunities (IPCC 2013, p. 1526). Some of the predicted coastal impacts of climate change in Latin America in general and Peru in particular are according to Godden (2013, p. 254) sea-level rise, coastal inundation and erosion, decreased access to fishing grounds, pollution which will affect the marine ecosystem fisheries. Furthermore Godden explains that decline in Peruvian fisheries reinforces the need for adaptation so that climate change vulnerability and fishers' poverty will be reduced (Godden 2013, p. 254). Godden has studied gender and climate change in the coastal community called Lobitos, in Peru (2013, p. 255). The area where Lobitos is located has experienced severe climate extremes, such as the phenomenon El Niño or El Niño-Southern Oscillation (ENSO). ENSO has a 3-8 years cycle, with different intensities and impacts which make them highly unpredictable. Though the relationship between ENSO and climate change is still unclear it is recognized that global warming and rises in sea temperature are predicted to intensify climate extremes (Godden 2013, p. 254; Reyes 2002, p. 60)

The context of gender roles in Latin America and Peru is still highly patriarchal, a gender order which is reinforced through institutions such as the state, capitalism, and the Catholic Church (Godden 2013, p. 252). The main theoretical framework on gender in Latin America is recognizing gender in the division between machismo and marianismo, which illuminate the division between male and female patterns of attitudes and behavior. Stevens suggests that the pattern of machismo-marianismo provides logic behind the division of labor between the sexes. Machismo is characterized with an identity based on sexist attitudes and behaviors which includes self-confidence, bravery and domination over women. Marianismo thus implies the female culture which teaches that women are semi-divine, morally and spiritually stronger than men (Stevens 1973, p. 315). The gendered division of labor is further explained by Godden who state that Marianismo conceptualizes women as subordinated, dependent on their men. Women are dedicating themselves to household and family needs

and according to Godden is this contributing to men's dominance: "*the idealized femininity of women which spiritual and moral superiority to men 'legitimizes' their subordinate and domestic and societal role*" (Godden 2013, p. 253). As already mentioned, Peru is grounded on patriarchal structures. This means that the socially constructed gender roles dictate male dominance over women. Research on violence against women in Peru shows that women who are employed, and have a higher education than their husbands and have the dominant decision making power in the household, are more likely to be abused than women whose status is equal or lower than their husbands (Flake 2005, p. 368).

How is this machismo-marianismo division shown in the climate change context? According to Godden, climate change is affecting the fishermen's capacity to generate secure and reliable income. Being the primary income earner is an important measure of men's traditional gender roles, and when men no longer maintain this position it is affecting the social construction of masculinity (Godden 2013, p. 251). Godden identifies a shift in the gender roles in the climate change context. Declining fisheries is impacting men's ability to economically support their families which has led to an increase in women's participation in the public economy. Declining fisheries have led to a diversification of livelihoods and a starting transformation of gender roles and relations in Lobitos. Godden argues that the experience of change in this fishing community reveals that climate change adaptation can be both empowering and oppressing for women (Godden 2013, p. 260-261). However, emerging research is indicating that climate change and disasters is increasing the risk of violence against women, which suggests that the masculine machismo is still deeply rooted and sometimes reinforced by climate change (Godden 2013, p. 261). Flake has researched the gender relations in Latin America and has suggested that "*men use violence to sustain their control over women, challenging the threat of women's employment to their masculinity*" (Flake 2005, p. 368).

5.4 Findings from South Africa: Droughts, failed crops and insecurity

The fourth case is based on the report *Gender and Climate Change: South Africa Case Study* written by Agnes Babugura (2010). The contextual background of the study is the lack of knowledge about the interrelations between gender and climate change. In order to create policies that can take the gendered differences into account, Babugura addresses the question of how it is possible to reduce vulnerability of men and women to future climate change. One

important message that Babugura raises is that South Africa comprises various communities with different backgrounds, beliefs, norms and values that influence gender relations, and therefore the study cannot be used for generalizations of all communities in South Africa (Babugura 2010, p. 5). This is important to note as this is a general problem within all studies. Even though this thesis aims to find patterns or commonalities between the cases, it is of great importance to point out that these findings do not necessarily apply to all cases in all contexts.

The findings

Climate change in the context of South Africa is to a large extent similar to the vulnerabilities given the whole African continent, including “*poverty, limited institutional capacity, limited access to capital, markets, infrastructure and technology; ecosystem degradation; low levels of resilience to disasters and resource based conflict*” (Babugura 2010, p. 17). The predictions of climate change in South Africa are that by the end of this century, around 2100, the temperature will have increased with about 3 to 4 degrees at the coast and 6 to 7 degrees in the inland. IPCCs report from 2007 projects that the Southern Africa will experience extended drought in the winter and more rainfall during summer (Christensen *et al*, 2007, p. 866). Climatic conditions that have already hit African countries are droughts, which had significant impacts on agricultural production; thus reduced growing seasons have threatened food security in the whole country and continent (Babugura 2010, p. 17). Climate extremes, such as floods and droughts are expected to escalate, and sea-level rise will have significant effects along the coast line (South African National Paper 2009). The African continent, Babugura argues, is not only facing the consequences of climate change, but is at the same time exposed to several stressors such as health, political and socio-economic factors which are perceived to intensify the stress from climate change (2010, p. 14).

Babugura (2010, p. 18) explains that in trying to understand gender and climate change in South Africa, it is first important to understand the background for gender and gender relations in this specific context. The contemporary social relations such as gender, race and class are closely related to South Africans’ history of colonialism, capitalism and apartheid. “*Subsequent settler domination under regimes and apartheid exacerbated and institutionalized new forms of racial and gender inequalities*” (Baden *et al* 1998, p. 6). To understand gender relations in the South African context, the Commission of Gender Equality expresses similarities between the socially constructed order of apartheid and patriarchy. A patriarchal society favors male domination and teaches what is appropriate behavior and attitudes for women and men; whereas an apartheid society, such as the former South Africa,

favors white people and teaches what is appropriate for white and black (Commission on Gender Equality 2000, p. 46). “*Socialization, cultural barrier and negative stereotyping reinforce the belief that decision-making belongs to men*” (Babugura 2010, p. 20).

Within the two rural communities in South Africa, where Babuguras have conducted field study on the links between gender and climate change, several traditional gender roles are identified. According to traditional division of labor men are expected to provide for the family’s financial security. Men are also responsible to protect family assets and look after the livestock. Women are in this context responsible for the household activities, caring for children and manage the garden. How are these gender responsibilities perceived to be affected by climate change? Babugura answers the following: “*Due to climate change, mainly droughts, men can no longer secure their livestock and eventually most men lost all of their livestock*” (Babugura 2010, p. 36). These climate change impacts have influenced changes in gendered roles and relations, a change mostly driven by women. Variable and unfavorable climate conditions have forced rural women and men, whose livelihood solely been dependent on agriculture, to look for alternative activities and employments to secure their livelihoods. In the two communities that Babugura studied, some men were reported to be inadequate as heads of household as many were unemployed. High unemployment, HIV/aids and changing livelihood conditions have resulted in changes of the gendered roles and structures within households (Babugura 2010, p. 36).

The study of these two communities in South Africa shows that climate change impacts have a gendered dimension. Women and men reported to be affected in relation to their gendered roles and responsibilities. Babugura’s study shows that men’s inability to maintain their role as providers for their families makes men feel helpless. Emerging from Babugura’s fieldwork and in her discussion with men it was clear that the climate change impacts on men are more psychological. The men in the study reported that the more extreme climate conditions, such as extensive periods of droughts, have resulted in feeling stress when crops failed (Babugura 2010, p. 44). Furthermore, men indicated that they feel helplessness and powerlessness when they see women bear the extra burden and take on extra economic responsibilities that traditionally belong to the men. In relation to the discussion about climate change Babugura explains: “*When asked how they cope [with climate change], they simply remarked that they drink alcohol to take away the stress*” (Babugura 2010, p. 58). According to Babugura, men in the rural communities turn to destructive behavior as a coping mechanism, including sexual relationship with multiple partners and increase in alcohol abuse (Babugura 2010, p. 58). Also important to highlight is the recognition that climate change

impacts are highly interlinked to its context, and that contexts are changeable. “*In the communities studied gender roles are undergoing transformation due to climate related stressors which are heightened by other underlying factors such as unemployment, poverty and HIV/AIDS*” (Babugura 2010, p. 66).

5.5 Findings summary: Cross-country results and commonalities

As already discussed in the methodology chapter, broad generalizations is not the ambition of this thesis. Both gender and masculinities are context bounded and for this reason there is a high risk of overgeneralizations influenced by prejudices and preconceptions if aiming to create homogenous knowledge about men, masculinities and climate change. Connell (2008, p. 21) explains that a study of masculinities is not just a question about traditional gender roles and relations, masculinities should be used to illuminate central issues of power. Before I turn to the analytical discussion about power structures, a summary of the findings will be presented by asking: what commonalities can be found between the cases; are there any similarities between how men adapt and cope with climate change within the cases studied? After reading into the cases presented above, it is possible to identify some characteristics which are repeated within all the cases.

In the cases studied it is evident that men adapt and cope with climate change differently than women. In the reports and documents, it is generally argued that men face several difficulties with adapting to and coping with climate change. The first common factor identified between the cases is the *gendered division of responsibilities*. Traditional gender roles presuppose that the man is responsible for family income and livelihood. In the literature, men’s ability to support and provide the family is described to be impacted by climate change on different levels. In Greenland men’s ability to hunt is limited by the melting ices (Parbring 2010); in both Australia (Alston and Kent 2008) and South Africa (Babugura 2010) are extreme weather conditions such as prolonged droughts killing crops and livestock; and in Peru (Godden 2013) fishing becomes limited by conditions such as El Niño and sea-level rise. The gendered consequence of changed opportunities of income is that men alone are unable to provide financial security for their families. Despite the different environmental contexts between the cases, it is shown that men in rural areas are vulnerable to climate change as their income is dependent on a predictable climate.

The next commonality identified between the cases is that climate change is *affecting the traditional gender roles*. When men loses their source of income, women has to step in and take on some of the economical responsibility that was earlier a task for their husbands. In the cases it is documented that men who cannot cope with climate change become dependent on women's waged labor. In the context of South Africa, men also have to engage in the household and gardening work that has earlier been women's responsibility.

The third finding from the cases is that climate change has a *psychological impact on men*. In relation to the two commonalities stated above, losing control over family income and shifting gender roles, feelings of helplessness and powerlessness are documented. All cases draw attention to psychological stress related to responsibilities associated with traditional gender roles and all cases notes an increase in *alcohol abuse* and *violence against women*. In the context of Peru, Godden explains that further research is needed to ensure the relationship between violence against women, alcohol and climate variability (Godden 2013, p. 258). These four themes or findings are in different ways interlinked, where one is a cause and consequence of the other. These commonalities are also expressions of gendered impacts and therefore an expression of masculinities and power relations. How these findings relate to the theory of masculinities will be further discussed in the analysis.

6. Analysis

Male gendered norms are often associated with the concept of masculinities, and the male domination over the female is associated with hegemonic masculinities. “*While in good times this hegemonic position provides men with power, privilege, and prosperity, in difficult times it serves to restrain them*” (Boetto and McKinnon 2013, p. 26). The findings presented above will be analyzed through the conceptual framework of *masculinities* and theory of *gender transformative approach*.

6.1 Men, masculinities and climate change

Above, five types of ‘impacts’ or links between men, gender and climate change are identified. These links are: gendered responsibilities, changing traditional gender roles, psychological impacts, alcohol consumption and violence against women. In the analysis I will call them impacts, but one could rather approach them as links or a chain of changes that appear within all four cases. These impacts cannot be studied isolated from each other as they are interlinked, or an effect of each other. Alston and Kent argues that, in the context of Australia, an understanding of why men has been adversely affected by climate change requires an understanding of hierarchal gender relations and the function of hegemonic masculinity in rural areas (Alston and Kent 2008, p. 144). It is argued that focusing on deconstruction and transformation of hegemonic masculinity, rather than dealing with the direct impacts, will provide a more effective solution of climate change adaptation (Boetto and McKinnon 2013, p. 26). Applying the findings to the discussion about hegemonic masculinities will constitute a frame for the following analysis of how structures of masculinity can be transformed to promote gender equality.

As mentioned above, the issues related to men and climate change are interlinked. The theory of *hegemonic masculinities* is a framework that helps us to understand why climate change impacts men according to this pattern. *How are masculinities, male gendered norms and stereotypes, perceived to affect men and women in the context of climate change?* The traditional male norm consists of attitudes and behaviors that imply being brave and adventurous, tough and invulnerable. The male norm also involves *gendered responsibilities*, the first impact from the analysis, which means to provide for families

livelihood and economic security (Greene and Levack 2010, p. 1). The system of hegemonic masculinity has allowed men to accumulate resources, power and influence (Alston and Kent, 2008, p. 144). It is expressed within all the cases that in the patriarchal societies they live in are men considered, by the community and themselves, to be responsible for family income. In times when the normative masculinity is threatened, when men's sources of income in different ways become limited or completely disappears because of changed climate conditions, the masculine norm of invulnerability adversely affects men and women. The result of the multiple case study shows that there is a masculine pattern of unwillingness to seek help amongst rural men affected by climate change. In the context of sea-level rise, melting ices and droughts are men's hegemonic position threatened when they can no longer maintain their livelihoods which are highly linked to resources, power and influence.

What is clear is that changing circumstances have impacted on men's sense of their hegemonic position and have had serious impacts on their mental health. In Australia the drought has exacerbated men's mental health problems and the way men respond is complicated by the dominance of a particular hegemonic form of rural masculinity that leads them to stoicism and a lack of help-seeking behavior when their health is compromised (Alston and Kent 2008, p. 136).

The link between masculine norms of invulnerability, self-control and lack of help-seeking behavior might in times of disasters and climate change be implied as lack of adapting capabilities. The cases show that masculine attitudes and behavior can be harmful for men and women in times of climate change. The male gendered impact of temperature and sea-level rise is that some men in rural areas no longer can sustain their male responsibilities and obligations interlinked to their masculine identity. Within Inuit communities on Greenland (Parbring 2010; Hari 2009) hunters and the hunter identity have always had a high hierarchal position in the society. As the ices melt and the masculine identity is threatened, hunter men lose their dominant position and quickly move down the social hierarchical ladder. As already declared the hegemonic masculinity is threatened by climate change and the case of Greenland is supporting this recognition. This brings us to the second finding, *changing traditional gender roles*, which in the existing literature and research is documented to be linked to difficulties for men of fulfilling their responsibilities as head of the household.

Unemployment is a central issue for men within all the cases, but as Haywood et al note: "*Examining the impact of unemployment on masculinity can unintentionally reinforce the notion that unemployment is simply a problem for men*" (Haywood et al. 2003, p. 36). The

studied women living in rural areas are affected by unemployment too. In the cases studied, women have experienced an increased workload when they have to continue with the unpaid work at home and take on other financial activities when their husbands become unemployed. Women have become important actors for adaptation strategies, and have also taken on some of the economic responsibilities from men. Shifts in the traditional gender roles support the 'masculinity in crisis' theory. The structure of hegemonic masculinity that has legitimated men's domination over women is now challenged when men become dependent on women's alternative economic activities and waged labor. Godden identifies this shift in fishing communities in Peru, where declining fisheries has led to an increase in women's participation in the public economy (Godden 2013, p. 260-261). Similar impacts are identified in the other cases as well. Reyes notes that for rural women, there has been a shift from focusing on survival strategies and demands linked to practical needs, to engage in wider development processes like gender needs and their role as social actors in local consultation (Reyes 2002, p. 67). The impacts of climate change can both be empowering and oppressive for women. Empowering when women are included into the community not only as subjects to their men but as important actors for sustainable development; oppressing if this is done without addressing structural patterns of hegemonic masculinities and male dominance over the female.

In the rural communities studied by Babugura (2010) men indicated that unemployment and low incomes have prevented men from fulfilling their roles as economic providers. According to Babugura men felt helpless and had low self-esteem seeing their wives taking on economic responsibilities (2010, p. 58). Some of the results highlighted in the studies of gendered climate change impacts are: mental health problem and suicide in Australia (Alston and Kent 2008); men's destructive behavior of alcohol abuse and having multiple sexual partners in rural communities in South Africa (Babugura 2010, p. 53); increased alcohol consumption and domestic violence on Greenland (Parbring 2010); and violence against women in Peru (Godden 2013, p. 261; Flake 2005, p. 368). According to Godden emerging research indicating that climate change and disasters are increasing the risk of violence against women, which suggest that the machismo, masculine structure, is still deeply rooted and sometimes reinforced by climate change (Godden 2013, p. 261). According to this statement, put at a higher level of abstraction, one could argue that the rural crisis is a crisis of rural masculinities (Ni Laoire 2001).

6.2 Climate change and masculinity from a transformative approach

Repeating what has already been said in the theory chapter: structural change of inequalities is at the heart of the social justice approach that is called transformative justice. A transformative approach makes it possible to examine, not solely the immediate response to a conflict or harm caused by climate change. It is a framework that place 'harm' into a broader context of structural inequalities and injustices (Capeheart and Milovanovic 2007, p. 61). A *gender* transformative approach of climate change shows that climate change can imply both *challenges* and *opportunities* for structural transformation of gender inequalities. The current debate about gender and climate change generally focuses on the *challenges*, with the understanding that climate changes are reinforcing gender inequalities (Mearns and Norton 2010, p. 133). Analyzing the cases presented above indicates that climate change creates opportunities of change (Abrahamsson 2003, p. 97).

All four cases within the study indicated that gendered divisions of responsibilities are affected by climate change. The cases illustrate how different climate change impacts are challenging traditional gender roles and norms. The situation conceptualized above as 'crisis of masculinities', means that men's domination over women is threatened due to this shift in traditional gender roles. In these cases and contexts the crisis is identified when men become dependent on women's economic activities. Impacts of climate change may, therefore, have an empowering effect on women, but can also have an oppressive effect when structural patterns of hegemonic masculinities are not addressed and challenged. This perspective suggests that a crisis of masculinities could be implied as opportunities for gender transformative justice. Whether these changes lead to successful transformation of gender inequalities requires a deeper discussion about masculinity, privilege and power (Cornwall and Rivas 2015, p. 409).

According to Rottach et al (2009, p. 8) gender transformative approaches are encouraging *critical* awareness about gender roles and norms. Applying a gender transformative approach means moving beyond dividing the world into two groups of people: the victims and perpetrators. Within the mainstream gender and climate change discourse this division has been widely used and criticized. Terry (2009) claims that women's gendered vulnerabilities often are the focus when gender issues are commented within the climate change debate: "... *there is a tendency to present women as victims, rather than as agents capable of contributing to solutions, and to make broad generalizations that lump together all women in the global South*" (Terry 2009, p. 3). Likewise there is a tendency to present men as

perpetrators and not take into account the ways masculinities and patriarchy can have a negative effect on gender in general: women, men and people with non-normative gender expressions. While it is widely documented that women are more vulnerable to climate variability, men are affected by climate change, gendered roles and norms too, but differently (Alston and Kent 2008). Mearns and Norton (2010, p. 139) expresses similar critical reflections on the gender and climate change debate, claiming that when men are brought up, it is often to point at “men in general” for causing climate change, with little or no consideration of which men they talk about.

If we look at the rules, norms, and aspirations of the institutions which are involved in the debate through a feminine framework, we can understand the inequalities which exist in global decision making and power structures, and see how the legacies of colonialism still shape the main institutions in developing countries today (Boyd 2009, p. 103-104).

Boyd’s statement not only brings up hegemonic masculinity in the sense of male domination over female. Decision-making and power structures also concerns differentiations of hegemonic power between men. This approach brings in other differences and forms of oppressions, such as class, ethnicity, age and sexuality (Cornwall and Rivas 2015, p. 409). “*By large, climate mitigation projects have been informed by Western ideas of science and development, and predominantly driven by ‘masculine’ interests*” (Boyd 2009, p. 101). Mearns and Norton use the concept *intersecting inequalities* to illustrate the complex interactions between different forms of disadvantage based on gender, class, ethnicity, age, caste and sexual orientation. They criticize the tendency within mainstream gender analysis of climate change that conceptualizes women as a homogeneous group: “the poorest of the poor”, irrespective of their class, age, ethnicity or location. This can be seen as a critical reflection made against the mainstream reliance on generalizations of both women and men “*that cannot hold true for all people in all places*” (Mearns and Norton 2010, p. 139). Whereas men in most societies enjoy benefits delivered by systems of hegemonic masculinity and male privilege, men can also share experiences of indignity, subordination and insecurity as a result of discrimination, social or economic oppression (Mearns and Norton 2010, p. 140).

Gender transformative justice is a framework that addresses structural issues, aiming for structural change of inequalities (Capeheart and Milovanovic 2007, p. 61). Above, climate change is identified not just as a challenge, but also as an opportunity to address structural

inequalities. In regard of this, Abrahamsson (2003, p. 97) mentions a significant precondition to achieve structural change, namely the possibility of using such an opportunity. In the context of climate change, this requires efforts made to enable a gender transformative approach. Seizing opportunities can be difficult when other stressors are present. One result from this study is that climate change is not affecting people in a vacuum, but is to a large extent interlinked with other social issues and stressors that affects their livelihoods, which might have an impact on climate change adaptation strategies (Babugura 2010, p. 58).

7. Conclusion

“*The threats of climate change are not gender neutral*” is the mainstream argument within the gender and climate change discourse. Although this paper supports this recognition, critically it also identified lack of knowledge when it comes to the meaning of this statement. Frequently mentioned in this thesis, the current mainstream gender analysis of climate change is almost exclusively focusing on women, in terms of ‘vulnerable women’ or approaching women as ‘the poorest of the poor’. When men have been brought into the analysis it has generally been when pointing at men and masculine behavior as responsible for climate change. Few cases can be found that moves beyond the generalizations of women as ‘victims’ and men as ‘perpetrators’. In this thesis I have identified four countries where studies have been made on how climate change impacts men, these countries are: Greenland, Australia, Peru and South Africa. Even though gender and climate change impacts are context bounded this study has identified five commonalities between all four cases. The five findings are: *gendered responsibilities, changing gender roles, psychological stress, alcohol and violence against women*. And in a broader context they are all interlinked and relate to male norms.

The analytical concept *hegemonic masculinities* have provided a framework to understand why men are affected by climate change as described by the cases in this study. According to this critical framework, hegemonic masculinity can be both empowering and oppressing for men. In times of wealth is the pattern of masculinity providing men with resources, power and influence. Climate change impacts, however, are generally not associated with wealth and prosperity. This study has shown that in times of climate variability hegemonic masculinity can also have a destructive effect on men. Masculinity is described as a pattern of attitudes and behavior, a norm that men strive to comply with. Masculine attitudes and behavior identified in the multiple case studies are: strong, tough, invulnerable and unwillingness to seek help. For people living in rural communities land and access to agricultural resources are of significant importance for the masculine identity. When these resources become limited it affects the male power and influence, which in combination with the attitudes and behavior mentioned above puts men in a vulnerable, insecure situation. Within the cases of this study it is possible to identify a *crisis of masculinity*, which has partly been generated by climate change. If hegemonic power structures are not addressed there is a

risk that men take on destructive behavior, in the cases of this study are these behavior related to alcohol and violence. This implication of the analysis must be understood from a critical perspective. The statement does not necessarily mean that men experiencing climate change *will* adapt destructive behavior. What the theory of *hegemonic masculinities* rather suggests is that patterns of masculine behavior and attitudes in the context of climate change may result in, and somewhat “legitimate”, these destructive behaviors. Consequently it is not sufficient to only identify vulnerabilities, it is also relevant to discuss how these destructive behaviors can be opposed. For this issue, a gender transformative approach has been applied to the analysis, which aims for a structural transformation of social injustices. Combating injustices requires transformation of unequal power relations, ensuring that all people can develop without limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles and prejudices. A gender transformative approach is challenging the hegemonic masculinity that harms men and women. The approach is described as a tool for identifying behaviors and institutions that treats one group of people in subordination of others. The implication from the cases studied in this thesis is that climate change can be both empowering and oppressive for men and women. And for the oppressive structures to change there is a need to seize the opportunities that climate change brings. This can be done by including a transformative perspective into the “gender and climate change” programs and adaptation strategies at international, national and local levels. The four cases used in this study are not representative, globally or even nationally. They can only be used as examples, and possibly point out how structural issues can be addressed at a theoretical level. Additionally, there is a need to further study gendered dimensions of climate change that similar to this study focuses on forms of injustices and discrimination within specific contexts. The time of exclusive focus on “poor women in the global South” has passed. This approach signifies a discursive shift towards a global *‘realization of rights as part of the response to injustice arising from structures of power and domination’* (Cornwall and Rivas 2015, p. 410). This statement emphasizes the role of all genders, women, men and those with non-normative gender expressions, in the work towards a just and equal world.

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