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Feminist Climate Justice Report

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**feminist communities
for climate justice**

Contents

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List of Abbreviations

CAP: Climate Action Plan

CAP 2023: Climate Action Plan 2023

CGI: Community Gardens Ireland

COP: Conference of Parties

CSO: Central Statistics Office

CWI: Community Work Ireland

EGD: European Green Deal

EIGE: European Institute for Gender Equality

EPA: Environmental Protection Agency

EPAP: Energy Poverty Action Plan 2022

ESRI: Economic and Social Research Institute

EU: European Union

FCCJ: Feminist Communities for Climate Justice

FES: Friedrich-Elbert-Stiftung

GBV: Gender-Based Violence

GHG: Greenhouse Gas

GND: Green New Deal

HSE: Health Service Executive

IFA: Irish Farmers Association

IPCC: Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

LWPG: Lima Work Programme on Gender

NCDA: National Dialogue on Climate Action

NCM: Nordic Council of Ministers

NPF: National Planning Framework

NESC: National Economic and Social Council

NTA: National Transport Authority

NWC: National Women's Council

OECD: Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development

SDG: Sustainable Development Goal

SEAI: Sustainable Energy Authority of Ireland

SILC: Survey of Income and Living Conditions

SMP: National Sustainable Mobility Policy

UN: United Nations

UNFCCC: United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change

WGB: Women's Budget Group

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Executive Summary

This report provides a baseline review of Irish environmental and climate policy for the National Women's Council (NWC) and Community Work Ireland (CWI) Feminist Communities for Climate Justice project (FCCJ) from the perspective of intersectional feminist climate justice.

Baseline review aims and questions

Baseline reviews are designed to establish the current position, in this case with respect to Irish environmental and climate policy, from a particular vantage point and to identify gaps therein. This report identifies the gaps in knowledge, understanding and policy action, in relation to climate change and its impact on women and marginalised communities in Ireland. It does this with reference to intersectional feminist climate justice. The report is guided by three research aims as set out by the NWC and CWI:

- Examine Irish climate and environment policy from the perspective of women and marginalised communities, detailing
  » how climate change impacts differently on women and marginalised communities and
  » highlighting where these impacts have been a consideration and identifying where they have not.
- Identify key areas and strategies for improving the gender proofing of policy from this perspective.
- Reference relevant case studies, internationally and or nationally where this analysis does exist or where policy is reflective, as applicable.

These aims are addressed by three question sets. The first one adds a conceptual overview to the aims. The second set analyses policy. The third set seeks out examples of initiatives and policy developments that advance intersectional feminist climate justice policy proofing and in so doing improve climate policy making for women and marginalised communities.

Question Set 1: What does an understanding of the key concepts of climate justice, feminist climate justice, and intersectional feminist climate justice entail? What are the relationships between these concepts and the forms of holistic, transformative eco-social policy possibilities they anticipate? How can we construct a feminist intersectional climate justice conceptual framework of analysis to inform the reviewing and research process?

Question Set 2: What is the impact of Irish environmental and climate policy on women and marginalised communities across the six policy pillars of Just transition; Energy Poverty and Housing; Care; Transport; Food, Land Use, Agriculture and Biodiversity; and Health?

Question Set 3: How can we identify key areas and strategies for improving the proofing of policy from the perspective of women and marginalised communities? What case studies, policies, approaches, and examples of good practice, international and/or national, can help us to identify effective and impactful ways of policy proofing for these groups?

Key areas analysed

This report builds on an existing literature review carried out by the NWC/CWI project team and completed in August 2023 (NWC, 2023a). That review identified five key areas of investigation, namely:

- Just transition
- Care
- Energy Poverty and Housing
- Transport
- Food, Land Use, Agriculture and Biodiversity

For the purposes of this review, Health was added as a sixth area.

Methodology

The methodological approach adopted is a rapid review as a form of condensed systematic review. In addition to reviewing the *Climate Action Plan 2023* (CAP 2023) as the current centre piece of Ireland's response to the climate crisis, current national policies across the six areas listed above were also included. Policy critiques, research findings and other relevant information sourced from governmental, non-governmental and academic sources at local, national and international levels were also included in the review. Utilising a select number of academic databases our core keyword search terms were 'Climate Justice', 'Feminist Climate Justice' and 'Intersectionality and Climate Policy'. In the case of each area, additional keywords were added, corresponding to the area in question, that is, 'Just transition', 'Care' and so on. The analysis presented here is based almost entirely on desk-based research. However, it is complemented by reference to excerpts from a series of workshops and exercises about climate justice which the FCCJ project team held with numerous individuals and community groups across Ireland in 2023. These excerpts are referred to as 'Voices from FCCJ' in the report.

Key findings

Conceptual review

The conceptual review explores what is meant by climate justice, how it is gendered, and what an intersectional feminist climate justice as a concept, and as an analytical lens, entails. It sets out the fact that climate justice has both academic and activist lineages. It is a concept that holds diverse meanings and, in terms of justice work, needs to be considered as a 'work in progress' (Walker, 2012: 221). At its core is the idea that climate injustice is a compound form of injustice. It adds another layer to the injustices already experienced by people who may be economically, socially and politically marginalised, thus perpetuating and exacerbating existing inequalities and marginalisation. The section identifies at least five dimensions to climate justice which refer to distributional, recognitional and procedural aspects. There is a gendered dimension to each of them, however research here too is a 'work in progress' with data gaps abounding. In addition, the lack of recognition of diverse forms of knowledge and experiences of climate injustice amongst women and marginalised communities is a complicating factor. The ways in which these issues are addressed in feminist literature on climate justice is reviewed with reference to how feminist analyses are increasingly adopting an intersectional approach. This enriches our understanding of the interdependency and indivisibility of inequalities associated with climate change and the impact of climate policies in terms of how both climate change and climate policies are experienced by women and marginalised communities. Such an approach also points to the importance of developing climate policies that are transformative. These require full and fair inclusion of women and marginalised communities in climate policy decision making, and the undoing of the underlying intersectional inequalities that climate change and limited versions of adaptation and mitigation climate policy frameworks compound. **Figure 0.1** below summarises the key points and areas discussed in this section and how they relate to the six areas that the report proceeds to analyse from an intersectional feminist climate justice perspective.

Figure 0.1: Connecting climate policy, climate justice and intersectionality

Climate policy sectors

- Just transition
- Care
- Energy Poverty and Housing
- Food, Land Use, Agriculture and Biodiversity
- Transport
- Health

Dimensions of climate justice

Distributional inequalities:
- Carbon emissions
- Climate change impacts
- Climate policy burdens
- Climate policy benefits

Recognitional and procedural inequalities:
- Who, and whose knowledge, is recognised?
- Who participates in policy and decision making?

The intersecting, unequal experiences of women and marginalised communites

- Gender
- Disability
- Race and ethnicity
- Migrant status
- Family status
- Social class
- Age
- Tenure status
- Geographical location

Source: authors.

Just transition

This section on just transition explores how just transition policy has developed in Ireland using an intersectional feminist climate justice perspective. It discusses the existing definitions and understandings of just transition, finding that Ireland's approach to just transition policy is narrow in scope and does not adequately consider dimensions of climate justice. This section identifies the ways in which just transition policy both nationally and, in some cases, internationally, is gender-blind and not attuned to the inequalities and injustices women and marginalised communities face. Ireland's approach to just transition focuses heavily on how transitioning from a carbon intensive economy to a carbon neutral economy impacts male-dominated industries, without acknowledgment of existing gender-related inequalities within such industries. This section highlights the importance of funded projects that are locally led and catered to meet the varying needs of individuals and communities, ensuring a just transition for all.

Care

This section establishes core connections between care and climate change. It highlights the connections between the care crisis and the climate crisis and the fact that care for people and for the planet are also inter-related. It finds that care is invisibilised in Irish climate policy. This is, in turn, underpinned by the siloed nature of Irish climate policy and care policy, with neither recognising the connections between care and climate. Despite this lacuna in the Irish context, this section also identifies a growing body of policy critique and policy proposals from an intersectional feminist perspective in the international context. These situate care and the idea of a care economy at the core of climate policy. The care economy means recognising that care is the foundation upon which societies and economies are built. Care is understood in holistic terms as care for humans and care for all aspects of the natural world. In policy terms it entails an acknowledgement that care work is green work and requires a major investment in our social infrastructure, in providing decent jobs in care in all its forms and adequately valuing unpaid care.

Energy Poverty and Housing

This section addresses energy poverty and the related issue of housing as it relates to climate and environmental policy. It reviews the approaches to tackling energy poverty incorporated in Irish climate policy agenda and strategies from an intersectional feminist perspective. It highlights the inaccuracy and inadequacy of Ireland's expenditure-based method of measuring energy poverty. Additionally, this section points to the lack of disaggregated data to represent in detail the disproportionate impact of energy poverty experienced by marginalised communities in Ireland. This section then examines energy policy in the context of climate justice, analysing energy justice based on three tenets: distributional, procedural, and recognitional justice. The final section analyses Irish energy and housing policy measures against this backdrop, drawing attention to social groups who are particularly vulnerable to energy poverty including lone parent families, the Traveller community and people living in direct provision.

Transport

This section reviews Irish transport and climate policy in relation to climate and gender justice. Deploying an intersectional feminist approach, this section reviews policy documents such as the CAP 2023 and the National Sustainable Mobility Plan 2022, in relation to the transport needs and experiences of women and marginalised communities in Ireland. This section identifies a need for more representation of women and marginalised communities

in transport policy and planning. The steps towards gender mainstreaming in transport will help ensure that sustainable transport systems are developed with the central objectives of safety, accessibility, and affordability for all.

Food, Land Use, Agriculture and Biodiversity

This section explores the diverse but inter-related areas of food, land use, agriculture and biodiversity. All of these areas are addressed in Ireland's CAP 2023 and in discrete policy papers and all were specifically investigated for policy and literature on gender, intersectionality and marginalised communities. Gender, intersectionality and community are significant elements of each of these areas; for example, women and marginalised communities play significant roles in food production and agriculture in Ireland and these groups have an important role to play in climate action. However, despite some recent promising initiatives at both Irish and EU levels, policy on each of these areas lacks a clear and comprehensive focus. More work needs to be done to ensure joined-up policy that connects these four areas and places them at the centre of policy discussion and policy making in ways that benefit women and marginalised communities.

Health

This section details the interconnection between the impacts of climate change on health as they pertain to women and marginalised communities. It explores how climate and health policy fall short of recognising how climate change exacerbates existing health inequalities, particularly failing to acknowledge the correlation between climate justice and reproductive justice. This section details the origins of the relationship between climate and reproductive justice, followed by an analysis of reproductive justice

in relation to climate-related impacts in the Irish context. Additionally, the health implications of climate change are discussed in relation to mental and physical wellbeing as well as Gender-Based Violence (GBV). This section establishes that there is a stark lack of reproductive health mentioned in Irish policy related to the negative mental and physical health outcomes that can result from the impacts of climate change in Ireland.

Intersectional Feminist Climate Justice and Policy Proofing

This section builds upon the conceptual discussion of intersectional feminist climate justice and the analysis of the six key areas of Irish climate and environmental policy from an intersectional feminist climate justice perspective. Addressing the third question set mentioned earlier, it considers what may be done to proof policy to progress intersectional feminist climate justice for women and marginal communities. The section identifies several key policies and strategies that offer key recommendations on gender mainstreaming economies and society. It is noted that while these recommendations speak more specifically to women than to marginalised communities, they could arguably be extended to include a focus on marginalised communities, particularly through specifying an intersectional perspective. The recommendations analysed are drawn from United Nations (UN) organisation for gender equality, UN Women; the Nordic Council of Ministers (NCM), an inter-governmental body for countries in the Nordic region; and European Union (EU) sources. At the level of climate justice principles and related climate justice actions, the UN Women's 2023 report offers core principles - redistribution, recognition and representation - that speak to the distributional, recognitional and procedural dimensions of feminist climate justice and the policy domains and types of

actions that can be addressed to work towards realising feminist climate justice. Particularly notable in this document is the importance attached to recognising diverse forms of knowledge to fairly include women and marginalised groups in responding to climate justice and in climate policy decision making. At European level, the work of the NCM offers an example of an explicit commitment to feminist climate justice action. Again, the importance of participation based on diversity and inclusion, and the production of knowledge to inform and progress gender proofing and gender mainstreaming are crucial policy actions. Finally, the European Commission's Advisory Committee on Equality Opportunities for Women and Men offers a more detailed set of recommendations and actions on the gender equality dimensions of climate change. These offer a holistic suite of actions which, with some adaptations and additions, could significantly progress intersectional feminist climate justice in Ireland from its current almost absent baseline as identified in this report.

01.
Intersectional Feminist Climate Justice

This section outlines and presents an analysis of the key concepts of climate justice, feminist climate justice and intersectional feminist climate justice. The analysis will involve a review of the academic literature on these concepts - several of which are contested - the relationships between them, and the forms of holistic, transformative eco-social policy possibilities they anticipate. This analysis will be used to construct an intersectional gender climate justice framework that will inform the remainder of the review.

What is Climate justice?

This is a simple question with a complex answer. Climate justice is an **encompassing term** that is home to a diversity of perspectives on and dimensions of inequality related to climate change and to understanding climate change as a social justice issue. As a social justice issue, climate justice is a **compounding form of social injustice** (Walker, 2012: 179). This means that it adds another layer to the injustices already experienced by people who may be economically, socially and politically marginalised. Issues related to climate change are therefore neither a completely new set of issues, nor do they affect everyone equally. Experiences of climate change need to be understood both in relation to and adding to the experiences of inequality particular groups already encounter, including women and marginalised communities. Without this understanding, responses to climate change are highly likely to perpetuate and exacerbate existing inequalities.

Rather than a singular definition **a variety of ways of understanding** what it is exist. This is a point made repeatedly in reviews and discussions of climate justice (Preston et al., 2014; Aitken et al., 2016; Popke et al., 2016; Galgóczi and Algüç, 2021; Newell et al., 2021; Dolšak and Prakash, 2022). In the

absence of an agreed understanding Preston et al. (2014: 3) propose a working definition:

climate justice is about ensuring, both collectively and individually,
that we have the ability to prepare for, respond to and recover from climate change impacts and the policies to mitigate or adapt to them by taking account of existing and projected vulnerabilities, resources and capabilities.

Such a formulation, while useful, still raises many questions. Writing in 2012 Walker observed that 'It would be unwise to suggest that we can now, at this point in time, derive some perfectly determined and integrated formulation of climate justice, in part because of the challenges of knowledge, scale and power… in the context of climate change seeing climate justice as **a dynamic process of "working towards"** makes particular sense' (Walker, 2012: 209). Sultana (2022: 18) also captures the notion of climate justice as a process, in the sense of paying attention. She suggests that it is 'fundamentally about paying attention to how climate change impacts people differently, unevenly, and disproportionately, as well as redressing the resultant injustices in fair and equitable ways'. In other words, climate justice is a 'work in progress' (Walker, 2012: 221). Over a decade later this observation still holds true. However, in the intervening period academic

research and climate justice activism has grown substantially with the result that our knowledge of climate justice and climate justice issues, but also our understanding of the complexities of these, have grown.

Climate justice is both **an activist and an academic term** with knowledge and discourse deriving from both sources. It has its **roots in the concept of environmental justice** and in the justice claims and struggles of environmental justice movements (Schlosberg and Collins, 2014). A key point to be taken from this movement is the **understanding of the environment** and the shift the environmental justice movement achieved in terms of thinking about the environment from something 'out there' in 'nature' to the conditions integral to everyday life. In other words, the environment is 'where people live, work and play' (Novotny, 2000 in Schlosberg and Collins, 2014: 260)

The history of the environmental justice movement is traced to US based activism and the work of groups that demonstrated a strong undercurrent of environmental racism in relation to, for example, exposure to pollution and other environmental harms and the incidence of environmental related ill-health. Academic research and topics related to environmental justice expanded whilst the environmental justice frame/campaigning also expanded geographically beyond the US and with different emphases. In Western Europe for example, Köckler et al. (2018) note that environmental justice interests and discourse were not driven quite as much by grassroots movements and more by academic interest, particularly in issues of health inequality, and to a lesser extent by activist groups. In Ireland a strong tradition of grassroots environmental campaigning can be identified in relation to issues such as waste and incineration, but these campaigns tended not to use environmental justice framing (Davies, 2006). Later campaigns, such as resistance to fracking including the Love Leitrim campaign, have been more directly framed

by the justice issues involved, especially with respect to the procedural injustices faced by marginalised communities (Gorman, 2022).

By the early 2000s ideas and action around environmental justice began to overlap and intersect with climate justice, representing a range of strands and influences including particularly strong emphasis and interest from civil society actors in the Global South and from the alter-globalisation movement (Mary Robinson Foundation, 2013; Tokar, 2018). The first Climate Justice Summit at The Hague was held in parallel to the Conference of Parties (COP) 6 meeting of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 2000. However, 2007 is considered more of a landmark year for the growing prominence of the concept and need for climate justice. This is when the global network Climate Justice Now! was formed as a more radical response to climate justice issues (Mary Robinson Foundation, 2013; Aitken et al., 2016). Tracing the evolution of the concept and the struggles for climate justice since then, Schlosberg and Collins (2014) identify at least three broad conceptualisations of climate justice: academic theories, elite NGO policy formulations and grassroot views. Together, these might be seen as an eco-system of knowledge. Diverse ways of knowing and diverse interests are brought to the forefront which contribute not only to a more comprehensive picture of climate justice; but also, a more comprehensive picture of the power dynamics of climate justice, contestations in how climate

In other words, the environment is 'where people live, work and play'

(Novotny, 2000 in Schlosberg and Collins, 2014: 260)

justice is conceived, and gaps or blind spots in our knowledge.

The point of this brief sketch is set to out some parameters and context for understanding climate justice rather than to detail the actual evolution of the term or to detail the content of each conceptualisation. This background is the point of departure for formulating and documenting several dimensions of climate justice.

Dimensions of climate justice

Climate injustice involves a number of dimensions. At least five have been identified, which span **distributional, recognitional and procedural** understandings and elements of justice[1]. While these dimensions are conceptually distinctive they are, in practice, intertwined. And, as intertwined dimensions, together they constitute climate justice in **quintuple terms**, the first four covering distributional issues and the final one referring to recognitional and procedural issues [2]. In this regard, climate justice involves paying attention to the fact that particular groups:

1. are the least responsible for carbon and other greenhouse gas (GHG) emissions;

2. are more vulnerable to climate impacts;

3. bear greater burdens in terms of climate mitigation and adaptation policies;

4. benefit the least from such policies;

5. may not have their identities and experiences recognised and are not included in climate policy decision making in fair and inclusive ways.

This is the basis for a growing body of research investigating the nature of climate injustices both between and within high- and low-income regions and countries. We unpack some of these elements briefly here in a way that sets the scene for later, more detailed sections of this baseline review.

Some overarching points to be made include the fact that more is known about the dimensions at a global level rather than at intra-country level and there is still much to be known and mapped about the climate inequalities and injustices in high income countries. What we do know focuses most strongly on the economic dimensions of distributional and procedural climate justice which illuminates inequalities related to income, wealth and social class. Age and differences in geographical location also feature in the research on the various dimensions. This is followed by a 'long tail' (Preston et al., 2014: 11) in terms of knowledge of other inequalities – including those related to gender, race and ethnicity, disability, tenure and housing quality amongst other things.

On the **first dimension**, research and evidence on responsibility for climate harm, and CO2 emissions in particular, has focused on how this is patterned by income inequality. Notwithstanding global inequalities, in high income country contexts this research has focused most strongly on the relationship between CO2 emissions and income. Analysis of emissions across the entire EU shows that the top 1% of the income distribution has a carbon footprint of 43.1 tonnes, compared to 4 tonnes for the bottom 50% (Ivanova and Wood, 2020 in Galgóczi and Algüç, 2021: 115)[3]. This is also reflected in the disproportionate shares of the EU's overall carbon footprint: the top 10% of the EU by

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1   This does not exhaust the range of dimensions which can also include intergenerational (Meyer, 2017) and multispecies justice (Tschakert at al., 2021). Nor types of climate justice which can also include capabilities-based justice (Aitken et al., 2016).

2   Recognitional and procedural forms of justice can be seen as separate forms of justice, however, for the purposes of this report we look at them together as particularly intertwined aspects of climate justice.

3   Based on 2010 European Household Budget Survey data.

income is responsible for 26.6% the EU's carbon footprint, in contrast to 26.2% for the bottom 50%. Focusing on Ireland, data from the Stockholm Environmental Institute (2023) reveals a similar picture.

For 2019, it shows that the top 10% of Ireland's income distribution emitted 28% of consumption emissions compared to 29% for the bottom 50%. The top 0.1% had a per capita carbon footprint of 210.5 tonnes, and the remainder of the top 1% had a per capita carbon footprint of 63.6 tonnes. This compares to compared to 5.87 tonnes for the bottom 50% **(Figure 1.1).**

Figure 1.1: Irish income groups and per capita share of consumption-based emissions, 2019

Data source: Stockholm Environmental Institute Emissions Inequality Dashboard (2023)

Much of this inequality is related to differences in energy use, especially energy related to transport which is a carbon intensive sector. While not broken down in the Irish research, the European wide data shows greatest disparities for land transport (car journeys) and aviation (flights) with high income groups expending the most energy in these areas. More basic energy uses related to home heating, electricity and food constitute the greatest share of the carbon footprints of lower income groups (Oxfam Ireland, 2020). Marginalisation on the basis of income clearly matters for this distributional dimension of climate justice.

These inequalities carry through in vulnerability to climate which is the **second dimension.** Vulnerability is not a scientific given but a reflection of power in society. As Walker (2012: 187) points out, 'vulnerability is not simply a deterministic matter of location, physical characteristics and sensitivity. … vulnerability is socially produced, part of the wider political economy and culture, which typically means that those who are already disadvantaged in material, cultural and/or political terms are also those who are most vulnerable to hazards of various forms, including those deriving from climatic variability'. Part of this vulnerability stems from the fact that higher income groups and communities have greater means to

protect themselves from climate change impacts. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) (2021) shows the vulnerability of lower income households to air pollution and other forms of environmental degradation by virtue of being in poorer health, having less access to healthcare and not having the means to invest in air filtration and better-quality housing. The vulnerability posed by poverty in turn intersects with and is compounded by other factors such as age, whereby children in lower income households and older people are most vulnerable.

This pattern follows through in the **third dimension**, that is, in terms of the groups that bear the greater burden of climate mitigation and adaptation policies. Marginalised communities have the least ability to cope with and adapt to climate policies, and policy change can have regressive effects on these communities. This is evident in policies such as carbon taxation applied to fuel and transport to encourage reduced use. This can disproportionately affect lower income groups where such costs take up a higher proportion of their income (Galgóczi and Algüç, 2021).

The opposite effect also holds true in a **fourth dimension:** climate policies that incentivise more environmentally friendly consumption can have the effect of benefiting those already advantaged the most. This reflects the ability of wealthier groups to purchase electric vehicles and to retro fit their houses. They may also be more likely to have the jobs or skill sets not threatened by decarbonisation. Policies to encourage the purchase of electrical vehicles and renewable energy tend to disproportionately favour the wealthy who are usually early adopters and who can benefit from lower running costs after the initial capital investment, generally subsidised by the state (Galgóczi and Algüç, 2021). As Galgóczi and Algüç,

(2021: 124) put it, 'it is the privilege of the rich to afford a new electric vehicle and benefit from the subsidies and low operating costs'. This dimension again points to the way that climate policy impacts reproduce and exacerbate existing inequalities.

Finally, a **fifth dimension**, compounding these distributional dimensions of climate injustice, are closely related recognitional and procedural issues. Recognitional justice highlights the fact it is crucial to recognise and respect distinct experiences and forms of knowledge, particularly in terms of how climate harms are experienced by different and marginalised groups in society. Lack of recognition can be compounded by the fact that marginalised groups typically have the least power to participate in climate policy decision making. They are therefore less involved in decisions about, for example, mitigation/reduction targets and where resources should be used.

Feminist climate justice: the gendered dimensions climate justice

Bringing a feminist perspective to climate justice is to recognise that **all dimensions of climate justice are profoundly gendered.** This is to recognise that they reflect or implicate gender differences, biases and roles. In this sense, to return to Walker's (2012) point, feminist climate justice is an expression of how climate justice is a compounding form of injustice, which combines with and intensifies existing inequalities, in this case gender inequalities. Feminist climate justice work, both activist and academic, is about paying attention and making these connections that might otherwise be overlooked or buried (Sultana, 2022). A feminist lens also expands our understanding of the environment and what matters in terms of climate justice, extending the environment from 'where people live, work and play' to understanding women's own bodies as environments, vulnerable to pollution, control and exploitation (Gaard, 2018). Feminist scholarship on climate justice thus examines the 'iterative and multiple knock-on effects of socio-ecological changes to gender relations in any given context' (Sultana, 2022: 120).

In the early 2000s gender was not considered an element of climate justice and, if it was, it was generally restricted to concern about women living in poverty in the Global South

(Terry, 2009; MacGregor, 2010)

Feminist climate justice scholarship focuses on the social, economic and cultural conditions and norms that influence the position of women in society and that in turn have particular implications for how women are impacted by climate change. A key point is that the material circumstances that shape women's lives and the socio-economic position of women, regardless of their location globally, means that they are more likely to be living in poverty and disproportionately associated with many other indicators of socio-economic disadvantage (Terry, 2009; MacGregor, 2010; Perkins, 2019). In addition, their social roles as carers and provisioners, and the low value attached to these roles, reinforce their experiences of inequality and lack of power. From this point, feminist scholarship theorises the notion of **gendered vulnerability** to climate change as not intrinsic to or 'natural' characteristics of women but a product of the social, reflecting existing gender inequalities and power relations (Pearse, 2017).

Thus, in the way that these indicators are linked to climate injustice mean that **all distributional dimensions of climate justice are gendered:** women's lives, through their productive, consumption and social reproductive roles typically produce less CO2 emissions, yet they are more likely to bear the impacts of climate change and encounter less of the 'benefits' of climate policies (Perkins, 2019). Data, knowledge and attention to gender and climate justice has typically tended to focus on the Global South. In the early 2000s gender was not considered an element of climate justice and, if it was, it was generally restricted to concern about women living in poverty in the Global South (Terry, 2009; MacGregor, 2010). While knowledge and data has improved, it is still more readily available as it pertains to gender and climate in the Global South (Cohen, 2015; Global Gender and Climate Alliance, 2016). This is partly because the effects of climate change on women have been more 'visible and dramatic'

(Cohen, 2015: 57) in these contexts for disrupting the lives of women working in agriculture or, because of social roles and norms, render them more vulnerable following disasters. However, this may be at the risk of over-simplifying differences. MacGregor (2010: 277) suggests that this type of analysis, by focusing so heavily on the vulnerability of women in the Global South constructs them as 'one-dimensional subjects' who are seen as victims of climate change and whose situation is detached from women in the Global North.

Data and evidence on women and climate change in the Global North is still at an emerging stage (Magnusdottir and Kronsell, 2021; Eggebø et al., 2023). In terms of the distributional dimensions, research focuses more on emissions-based differences rather than on the differential impacts of climate change. As summed up by Cohen (2015: 66) 'in broad sweeps the literature tends to find that virtually everywhere throughout the world males account for greater consumption and greater carbon dioxide emissions than females.' Women's lower carbon footprint is linked to the underlying socio-economic position of women. Altogether, their unequal and segregated positions in the labour market, their uneven work-life balances and economic inequality mean that women's lives are typically less carbon intensive (Cohen, 2015). In terms of transport, research finds that men are typically more car dependent. Women are more likely to use public transport, walk or cycle (Eggebø et al., 2023) and their mobility patterns mean that they are more likely to travel shorter distances (Johnsson-Latham, 2007; Bonewit and Shreeves, 2015; Cohen, 2015). Diet based differences are also evident, with men more likely to be meat eaters (Bonewit and Shreeves, 2015). Such differences are not only socio-economic; there are gender norms at play here too. In this sense, power on both registers, the material and normative, reinforce each

other. In the transport sector for example the norm of 'affluent masculinity' influences eco-social solutions based on greening car ownership (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014).

Evidence on the gendered impacts of climate mitigation and adaptation policies is limited. However, the regressive effect of carbon taxes follows through from the fact that women are more likely to be found in low-income households. Thus, the taxes applied to carbon intensive household goods and services such as heating and electricity pose larger costs for women. At the same time there is little information on how men and women in households respond to such measures. Compensation measures for carbon taxes, particularly if these are channelled through the income tax system are also more likely to be regressive for women. Without poverty and gender proofing, income tax cuts disproportionately benefit men who are more likely to be higher earners (Chalifour, 2010). Chalifour (2010) noted that this area lacked empirical research, which is still the case over a decade later (Köppl and Schratzenstaller, 2023).

Recognitionally and procedurally, despite growing attention to gender in understandings of climate justice, in climate change policy that attention is lagging behind. Women's representation in climate policy decision making is still found to be limited and insights from women's lived experience of climate change are thus absent (Perkins, 2019; Morrow, 2021). This sits in contradiction with the fact that women have the potential to be stronger and effective agents of change regarding the climate. Typically, research on attitudes and behaviours finds the women are more knowledgeable, more concerned and more willing to take action about climate change, including being more supportive of pro-climate policies (Perkins, 2019) [4]. McKinney and Fulkerson (2015) find that there is a positive correlation between the

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4   We mention these findings as typical, rather than universal. Knight (2019) for example, finds that there is a

degree to which women hold positions of political power and countries carbon footprints. Mavisakalyan and Tarvedi's (2019) study of 91 countries finds that female parliamentary participation leads to more stringent climate policies.

Globally, the Bali COP13 conference in 2008 is considered a milestone in the attention given to gender in climate and climate justice policy making. Feminist campaigning for recognising gender equality in climate negotiations, encapsulated in the activist slogan 'no climate justice without gender justice' began to have an impact (Terry, 2009). Subsequently, the UN has made greater efforts to mainstream gender into climate policy, most especially with its launch of seventeen sustainable development goals (SDGs) in 2015. Yet, the UN focus is found to lack consistency, the realisation of procedural justice is found to lack concrete policy making actions, and the focus of gendered vulnerability still tends to focus mostly on women in the Global South (Bonewit and Shreeves, 2015; Cohen, 2015; Morrow, 2021).

In the Global North, gender perspectives tend to be, as Eggebø et al. (2023: 165) put it, 'more or less absent in environmental and climate policy'. The main exception to this is to be found in initiatives by the NCM, beginning with the publication of a document and a declaration in 2009 on gender and climate (Oldrup and Breengaard, 2009). This initiative sought to uncover the specifics of gender differences and climate change in Global North contexts and examined differences in how women and men affect the climate, are impacted by climate change and in their participation in climate policy decision making processes. Follow up, however, has also been less than systematic (Eggebø et al., 2023). Momentum has been growing since 2020, especially with the publication of *A Green and Gender Equal Nordic*

Region in 2022 (NCM, 2022; Eggebø et al., 2023). This is an explicit commitment to embed a gender perspective in climate action, informed by feminist action for climate justice and which recognises that gender equality is key to strengthening climate action and reaching the goal of carbon neutrality and inclusivity in the Nordic Region. We return to the Nordic example again in the final section of the report where examples of proofing policy from an intersectional feminist perspective are discussed in greater detail.

Complexities of feminist climate justice: progressing to the intersectional

While we can point to some of the emerging ways in which feminist climate justice and action is progressing, to draw on Walker (2012) again, it is clear from the outline presented here that these areas are a work in progress. Besides **a dearth of data and methodological complexities** in generating particularly fine-grained data, feminist scholarship and activism on climate justice is also a site of diversity, with differing emphases on what is important from a feminist perspective. Again, there is not a singular lens to be found here.

Regarding the **lack of data**, as Perkins (2019: 352) remarks, 'virtually all studies on gender and climate call for more research [and] better data collection'. In this regard, as she notes, 'much better equity-focused and gender-disaggregated data is necessary in order to measure and acknowledge distributional impacts and inequities'. There is, in general, a lack of gender disaggregated data and the data available tends to focus on the sectors where it is easier to disaggregate data. In terms of consumption and energy use for example, Terry (2009) notes that we know

gender gap in environmental concern which tends to be greater in more affluent countries.

more about how transport and mobility is gendered because emissions here can be more easily connected to particular groups of people. By contrast gender issues in the domestic energy sector are more difficult to decipher at an individual level because of a lack of data at intra-household level. As Cohen (2015: 71) points out, 'because the household is shared space, assigning gendered weight for consumption intensity is problematic'. Thus, what we know about gender differences tends to be associated with sectors where data is more amenable to disaggregation. Cohen (2015: 57) makes the point that disaggregated data is not always possible when differences can be dispersed: 'identifying the distinctions of experience itself is crucial for being included in policy discussions. But when the differential experiences are less visible through being diffuse as a community or income group, unpacking the implications is not straightforward'. To put it simply, counting matters in terms of getting gender issues noticed but counting is also complex.

There are further complexities generated by the **politics of knowledge.** MacGregor (2010) makes the point that the impacts of climate change and of differential vulnerability and hardship is not just a matter of fact gathering. She argues that 'in the impact-focused research there appears to be an uncritical acceptance of the scientific framing of climate change and positivist approaches to understanding and managing its inevitable consequences. There is an under-theorised belief that if 'impacts' can be measured and victims counted, then the 'gender and climate change' case will be made. … there is very little room for human voices - let alone the voices of those women who would wish to complicate or resist the way they appear in the climate story' (MacGregor, 2010: 227). Buckingham and Kulcur's (2017) study of climate decision making in the UK makes a similar point. As they find, it is 'not just about the numbers' but about challenging masculine norms in working practices in

both governmental and non-governmental contexts. Another issue is whether focusing on differential responsibility is the most effective way of highlighting gender climate justice. Skutsch (2002 cited in Pearse, 2017) for example questions the utility of efforts to attribute gendered responsibility for GHG emissions and argues it is 'vexed and politically challenging' (Pearse, 2017: 7). They suggest that it detracts from more important gender-based issues and alliance building and from focusing on issues such as overconsumption in the Global North and on corporate responsibility in this regard.

This in turn links to **how women are framed** in climate justice discourses and in climate policy. An undisputed point about vulnerability and gendered vulnerability from a climate justice perspective is that it is not a natural given but a product of inequality. Yet, there remain questions of whether theorising and framing the links between gender inequality and climate change are best represented by the concept of vulnerability and whether women are best represented as vulnerable in monolithic terms. Alaimo (2012 in Pearse 2017) argues that there is a risk that the concept of vulnerability reinforces gender dualisms and fixed gender roles and undermines gender diversity. MacGregor (2010) discusses this issue too, suggesting that equating gender with women is a shortcoming of much gender analysis. She suggests that 'most analyses of gender

It is 'not just about the numbers' but about challenging masculine norms in working practices in both governmental and non-governmental contexts.

and climate change fall into the familiar trap that gender-means-women. '… there is a singular focus on women and little or no mention of men (who are also gendered beings) other than as relatively less vulnerable and more culpable than women' (MacGregor, 2010: 228) McGregor identifies two key problems with this kind of analysis. The first is that women's experiences and behaviours are decontextualised. Consequently, issues related to gender and climate change are not understood in a gender relational frame which invokes issues of power and access to resources. The second problem is that there is a danger that women are understood monolithically and differences between women remain hidden. McGregor's concerns are echoed by many others (Kaijser and Kronsell 2014). As Kaijser and Kronsell (2014: 421) put it plainly: 'it is… quite pointless, to ascribe certain aspects of dominance or marginalisation to one single factor, as they are all part of a greater pattern'.

Intersectional feminist climate justice

This sets a context for understanding feminist climate justice in **intersectional** terms. This does not erase the complexities of understanding feminist climate justice but enriches how we are 'paying attention' to climate justice to return to Sultana's

What would climate justice mean for you and your life?

Intersectionality - justice is different in action.

Voices of FCCJ

What would climate justice mean for you and your life?

Decision makers must be more diverse and understand diverse communities.

Voices of FCCJ

(2022: 18) useful phrasing. Specifically, an intersectional approach enriches our understanding of how climate change impacts women and marginalised communities in holistic rather than isolated terms. It directs our attention to conceptualising privilege and marginalisation through connected, intersecting dimensions that generate what Patricia Hill Collins (1990) calls a 'matrix of domination'. Patricia Hill Collins (1990) together with Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989), coming from a Black Feminist perspective, are associated with the original articulation of the concept of intersectionality which they used to draw attention to the intersections of race and gender which generated quite different experiences for black women compared to white women in the US context. Intersectionality is a concept that gets to the heart of the interdependency and indivisibility of inequalities. It conveys the fact that justice issues are never singular and but reflect and connect several factors. These include gender, dis/ability, race, ethnicity, age, nationality, and migration status amongst others and all of which, depending on how they intersect, can compound privilege or oppression. Intersectionality has been defined by Davis (2008: 68) as 'the interaction between gender, race and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these'.

Intersectionality is a feminist concept and has evolved within feminist theory across several strands including anti-racist and post-colonial feminism, along with eco-feminism (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014). Yet intersectionality itself is not something that was integrated with environmental or climate justice in its early stages. Gaard (2018) notes that the emergence of environmental justice and intersectionality worked on two parallel tracks that did not converse. Despite advances by eco-feminist scholars and activists, its connection with climate justice and with feminist climate justice is also a work in progress but increasingly vital (Mikulewicz et al., 2023). Intersectionality provides us with a more nuanced view of the social vulnerabilities of climate change, thus avoiding analyses based on single social categories such as women, or those that are based on the binary categories of women and men (in other words analyses with non-intersectional understanding). This is borne out in studies that demonstrate that factors such as age, class and disability matter for how vulnerabilities **differ between** different groups of women and how vulnerabilities **differ within** different groups when it comes to the distributional dimensions of climate justice. Understanding the heterogeneity of women is important, especially the degree to which carbon emissions differ, when gender and class are looked at together (Conroy, 2022). The same goes for recognitional and procedural climate justice and for participation in

climate policy making; not all women's voices are equally heard or included (Sultana, 2022; Mikulewicz et al., 2023). Solutions to climate change influenced by intersectionality prompt similarly nuanced understandings, reframing 'debates away from reductionist solutions to more accountable assessments and action' (Sultana, 2022: 119). By providing policy detail that makes connections in the sense of studying the relationships amongst people and their interdependence, and recognising that social realities are situated within particular contexts rather universally applied, an intersectional analysis thus generates more responsive solutions (Perkins, 2019). Politically and policy-wise intersectional feminist climate justice is thus also about solidarity and fostering connection and alliances across difference. As Sultana (2022: 13) puts it, 'decision-makers paying attention to gender, race, class, and other axes of difference can thus avoid reductionist solutions to pursue more equitable ones **without cookie-cutter approaches or "one size fits all."'**

To fully value what intersectional feminist climate justice is about and its analytical and policy development potential it is also important to note **what intersectionality is not** and ways in which it is potentially misunderstood. Two points Statham (2020) makes are important here. The first is that 'intersectionality is not an 'oppression Olympics' (Statham, 2020: 12). It is not divisively about determining who is the most marginalised but being attuned to how individuals' and groups' experiences of marginalisation differ as multiple forms of inequality interact in distinctive ways. In this sense intersectionality is not the same as identity politics. While intersectionality recognises distinctive experiences these are contextualised in intersectional ways that promote solidarity and connection (Mikulewicz et al., 2023). Statham's (2020) second point is that using intersectional analysis is not about constructing a hierarchy of inequality whereby some forms

Opportunities and challenges in achieving climate justice.

Build allyship/solidarity.

Voices of FCCJ

of oppression, such as sexism, racism, classism or ableism are considered more important than others. Again, the point is to look at how particular factors compound each other in practice.

Realising such an analysis in practice is undoubtedly complex and there has been limited engagement with intersectional analysis in climate justice scholarship and policy analysis (Hathaway, 2020; Mikulewicz et al., 2023). Addressing the practicalities of **doing intersectional climate justice analysis** Kaisjer and Kronsell (2014: 422) note that

the aim of intersectionality is not simply to include as many analytical categories as possible, or list an – obviously not all-encompassing – number of factors that may determine responsibility and vulnerability in relation to climate change, but to widen the perspective and reflect upon what factors may be relevant in a particular setting. As a matter of research strategy, the individual researcher may need to select and prioritise the most interesting or relevant intersections in the particular case, while keeping in mind the bigger picture.

Staying true to an intersectional approach this means tailoring methodology to a specific context or case study rather than expecting a one size fits all or cookie cutter approach to intersectional analysis. At its most fundamental it means asking what Matsuda (1991 in Kaisjer and Kronsell, 2014) calls 'the other question', that is, always looking for what other factors apply in any given situation. Building on this, Kaisjer and Kronsell offer three sets of sensitising questions that can be applied in intersectional research.

Kaisjer and Kronsell (2014: 430) go on to note that different questions will be relevant in different cases and choices are to be made in any particular research project. In the case of a baseline review, the first set of questions speak to the identification of gaps with respect to women and marginalised communities while the third set of questions are also relevant in terms of policy change promoted and the degree to which it is influenced by an intersectional feminist climate justice agenda.

Box 1.1: Intersectional questions for climate justice

- Which social categories, if any, are represented in the empirical material? Which social categories are absent? Are there any observable explicit or implicit assumptions about social categories and about relations between social categories? What identities are promoted and considered to serve as grounds for political action? Are any other aspects of identity neglected or deemed insignificant?

- How are relations between humans and the environment portrayed? How is nature represented? What type of environmental knowledge is recognised and privileged?

- Are any norms for behaviour discernible in the material? Are there norms about the relation to other humans, resources, and nature? What are the norms that set the standards for a 'good life'? How are these norms reproduced, reinforced, or challenged? How are they reflected in institutional practices?

Source: Kaisjer and Kronsell (2014: 429)

What does intersectional feminist climate justice require? From adaptation to transformation to prefiguration.

The final set of questions posed above speak to one final element of intersectional feminist climate justice which is briefly addressed here as the final part of the opening section of this review document. Besides an analysis of who and how particular groups are represented in climate policies and the gaps therein, the type of climate policy approaches and overall change envisaged also clearly matters from a climate justice perspective and an intersectional feminist climate justice perspective specifically. Yet, again, the theme of diversity looms large here (Mary Robinson Foundation, 2013; Aitken et al., 2016). As with all areas discussed in this section so far, an intersectional feminist climate justice lens does not presuppose any particular political position or policy approach and is host to diverse views and actors (Pearse, 2017; Albertyn et al., 2023). Some tend towards the more pragmatic and focus on what can be achieved more incrementally and in the more immediate term, and some are more principled, focusing on structural change which can be more challenging to realise. That said, the underlying thrust of any justice perspective is a normative commitment to and a desire for system or transformational change which implies undoing or dismantling existing inequalities (Tokar, 2018; Krause, 2018; Mikulewicz et al., 2023; Zoll et al., 2023). Approaches and policies which support the status quo are therefore considered not up to the task of realising climate justice and of responding to the issues that an intersectional feminist approach brings to light.

Opportunities and challenges in achieving climate justice.

Economic model needs to change – free market system and focus on profit.

Voices of FCCJ

Typically, there is an antipathy towards climate policies that are premised on **adaptation** precisely because of how adaptation implies an adaptation to the reality of climate change, entailing risk management, minimal change and an avoidance of the root causes of climate change. Policy instruments veer towards those which are market based, such as carbon pricing, and which encourage technological innovations. The growth imperative is built in. Adaptation is thus sometimes dubbed 'business as usual with technology', such that existing marginalies, gender inequalities and gender norms remain unchallenged and are not dismantled. Adaptation can also incorporate mitigation and climate policies premised on mitigation build in efforts at alleviation of the impacts of climate change, such that there is recognition of the uneven burdens of climate change and efforts to intervene to modify these. Such approaches typically therefore attend to some of the distributional impacts of climate change, especially as they impact on people living in poverty. Yet, solutions are typically framed in technical, economic and managerial terms and are not socially nor gender sensitive (Alston, 2013). And

where gender mainstreaming is included, either by ensuring the representation of women in climate policy decision making and/or by ensuring the gender perspectives and gender equality influence policy goals, it risks becoming a technocratic exercise (Pearse, 2017). An explicit commitment to climate justice is rarely to be found within national policy contexts and their adaptation and mitigation policies. Moreover, when it is evident, such as in the Scottish Parliament's 2012 declaration to champion climate justice for example, what can appear bold is much more muted in practice (Aitken et al., 2016).

Approaches premised on **transformation and transformative change** are now coming to the fore (Krause, 2018, Newell et al., 2021) and potentially these have a greater affinity with an intersectional feminist climate justice lens and analysis. Still, once we go beyond the normative commitments to transformative change, what transformation means in practice and how it can be achieved is an open question. In particular, transformative policy approaches that are intersectional and feminist are again rare. One example is the US Green New Deal (GND) introduced to the US House of Representatives and Senate in 2019,

Opportunities and challenges in achieving climate justice.

Reframe how we address it – it doesn't need to be a sacrifice or hard but because we've left it for so long, we need drastic change.

Voices of FCCJ

What would climate justice mean for you and your life?

Leaving no one behind and reaching the furthest behind first. Listening, responding to communities who will have to adapt.

Voices of FCCJ

by Congresswoman Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez and Senator Ed Markey. Hathaway's (2020) analysis suggests that the GND represented a departure from conventional approaches to climate change and their reliance on technology and market-based instruments. Realised by the work of Rhiana Gunn-Wright, a black feminist activist, its approach was lauded for being inclusive and collectively determined (Hathaway, 2020; Roberts-Gregory, 2022). It contained and reflected a diversity of lived experiences and of how they intersect. It put 'frontline and vulnerable communities' at the centre, communities which included 'indigenous peoples, communities of colour, migrant communities, deindustrialized communities, depopulated rural communities, the poor, low-income workers, women, the elderly, the unhoused, disabled people, and youth' (GND, 2019 :4).

In naming these communities it clearly set out the links between climate change, poverty, inequality and economic injustice. As outlined by Gunn-Wright:

To take an intersectional approach seeks to make visible and address the various privileges and oppressions that we all have in order to build an activist movement that is more just, inclusive and coherent…We each carry different identities; each could be dominant, oppressed or a combination

of both. Our identities intersect and overlap. When we don't take into account this overlapping, people marginalised by the intersection of power structures are forgotten and not understood. As a result, it becomes impossible for them to ask for justice as our society cannot grasp their issue (Gunn-Wright, Pod Save America, 2019 in Hathaway, 2020: 17).

In practice, asking for justice in the GND meant setting out a package of policies that addressed health care, green work, transport and housing based on equity.
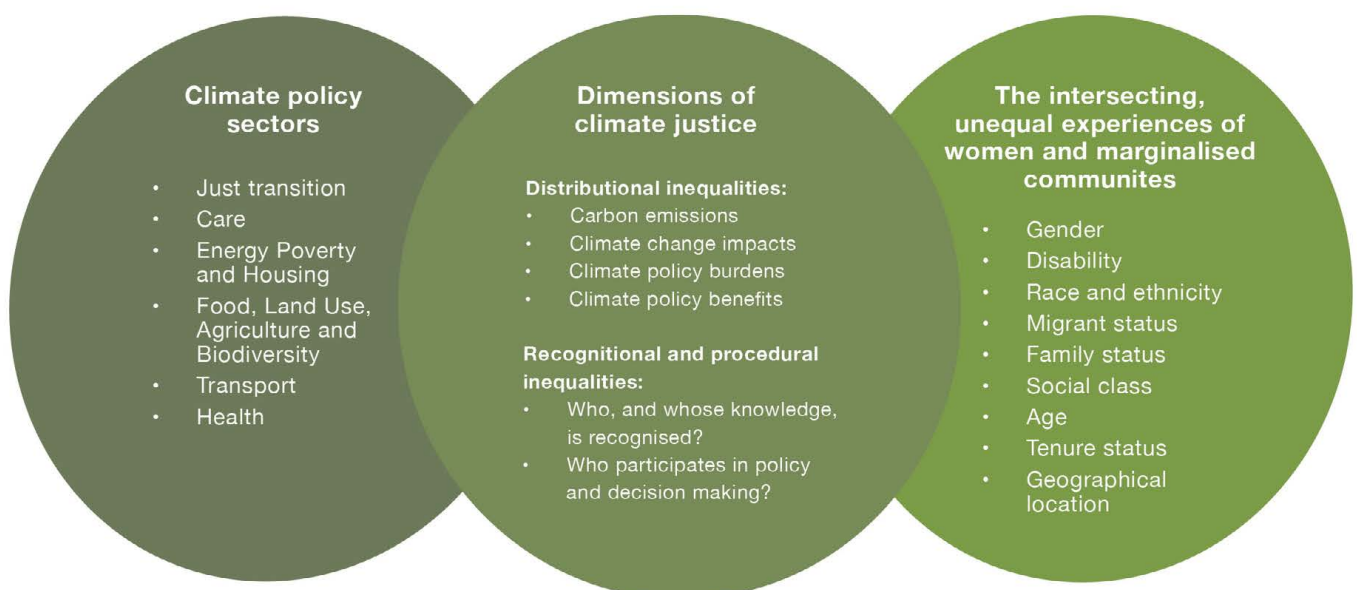
Ultimately not successful, the example does reflect the current status of intersectional climate justice as both 'an elusive and negotiated process' (Amorim-Maia, 2022: 101053). If intersectional feminist transformation for climate justice is elusive in fully fleshed out policy terms, it can still be seen in p**refigurative** terms. This can entail looking at how intersectional community development is already modelling transformative approaches to climate change on the ground and how these can be exemplars for what it is possible to achieve. Perkins (2019: 354) notes that:

Global solidarity and gendered partnerships are modelling how to build progressive, alternative governance structures capable of addressing climate change equitably, especially at the local/urban level…. Such initiatives and models include equitable local-economy institutions, cooperatives and land trusts, community gardens and food programmes, childcare and elder care cooperatives, support for victims of gender-based violence, water-harvesting schemes, community shelters, agroforestry projects and many other collective livelihood and care initiatives, which are appropriate for local socio-ecological conditions ….

A significant thread in such initiatives is the promotion of care as an ethical and relational principle, guiding networks of solidarity between people and planet and for building caring (rather than growing) economies (Sultana, 2022). In this way the baseline review is not only about gaps in policy and policy exemplars but also exemplars of intersectional feminist climate justice work in action.

Bringing the various sections and points discussed in this opening section together, **Figure 1.2** distils the connections between dimensions of climate justice, intersectional inequalities and the areas of climate policy this report proceeds to analyse.

Figure 1.2: Connecting climate policy, climate justice and intersectionality

Climate policy sectors

- Just transition
- Care
- Energy Poverty and Housing
- Food, Land Use, Agriculture and Biodiversity
- Transport
- Health

Dimensions of climate justice

Distributional inequalities:
- Carbon emissions
- Climate change impacts
- Climate policy burdens
- Climate policy benefits

Recognitional and procedural inequalities:
- Who, and whose knowledge, is recognised?
- Who participates in policy and decision making?

The intersecting, unequal experiences of women and marginalised communites

- Gender
- Disability
- Race and ethnicity
- Migrant status
- Family status
- Social class
- Age
- Tenure status
- Geographical location

Source: Authors.

In sum this opening section sets the scene for the remainder of the review. It has engaged with the literature of climate justice and discussions of climate justice from several strands of feminist scholarship in order to make sense of what climate justice is about and what a feminist perspective brings to climate justice. More than this, it looked at how an intersectional feminist perspective aims to be more fully inclusive of all marginalised groups and recognise that climate impacts communities in complex cross-cutting ways that require careful understanding. While the language involved might sometimes seem overly abstract, we end by returning to Sultana's (2022) points that offer a useful way of ultimately understanding what intersectional feminist climate justice is about, and how it is practiced: that is to say that it is ultimately about 'paying attention' and 'making connections'.

Opportunities and challenges in achieving climate justice.

Making language associated with climate justice more accessible and relatable.
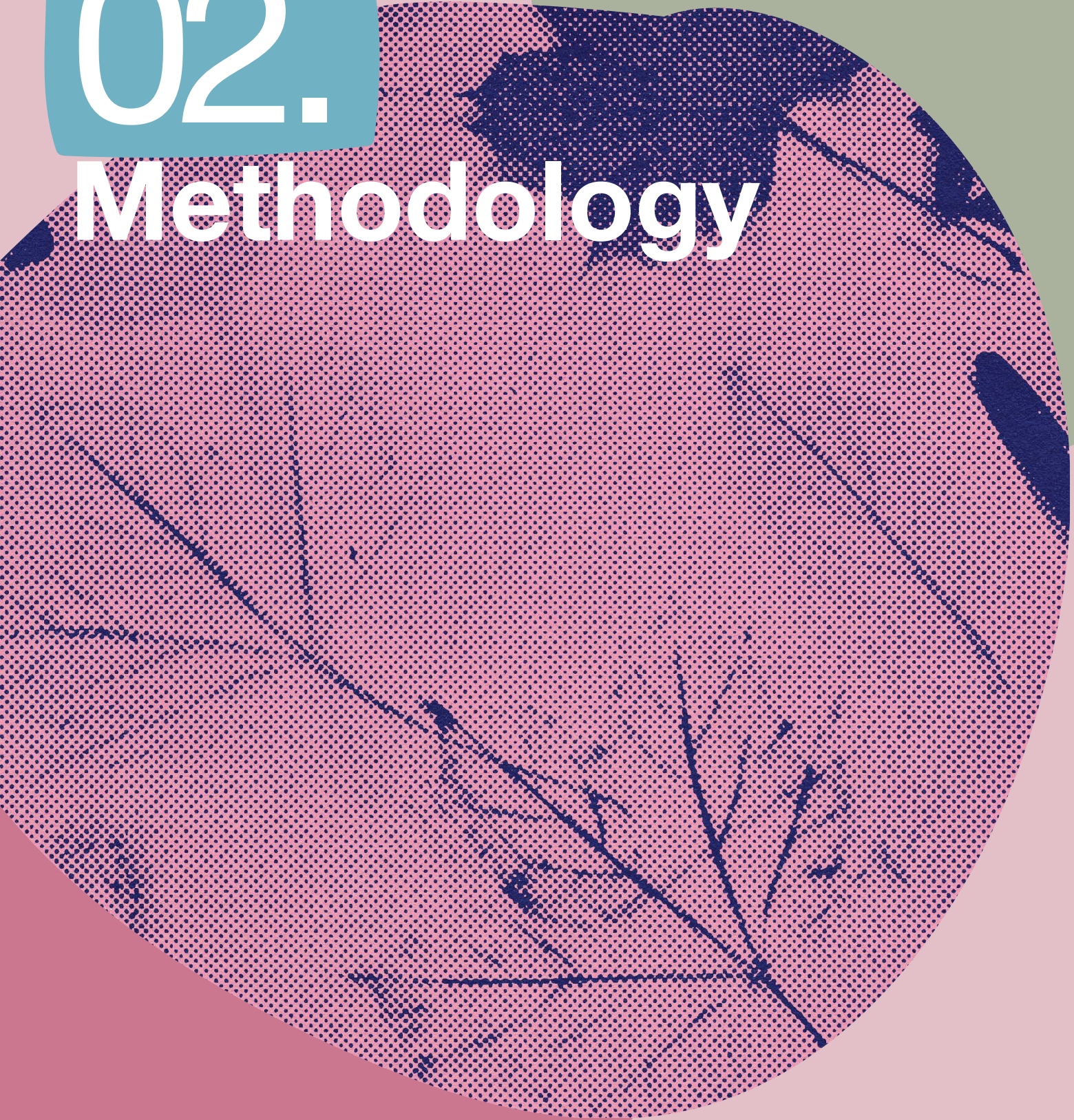
Voices of FCCJ

02.
Methodology

This research consists of a baseline rapid review and analysis of the impact of Irish environmental and climate policy on women and marginalised communities. The research was of eight weeks' duration, therefore the research team identified a rapid review as a suitable methodology for this period. A rapid review applies 'modified systematic review methods to accelerate the review process and complete a review rapidly while maintaining systematic, transparent and reproducible methods' (Gartlehner et al., 2022: 1). Rapid reviews offer a systematic approach tailored to a short research timeframe.

Rapid review

There are a number of approaches to conducting a rapid review. The research team chose a thematic approach that is suitable for reviewing questions concerning complex policy problems and involves the review of a range of relevant and current literature including policy, policy critiques, research findings and other relevant information (Wilson et al., 2021). This approach has two main stages:

Stage one: Consultation on the development of the research question(s). This stage consisted of initial discussions with key stakeholders on the research question, identifying and refining researchable questions and an initial scoping of the available literature on the topic.

Stage two: Refinement of the research question(s) and application of the rapid review methodology. The second stage consisted of ongoing engagement with key stakeholders, development and application of a systematised approach to reviewing the literature and application of a standardised method of analysing the results of the literature search, based on a clear division of labour between the research team.

Rapid reviewing can accommodate an element of primary research such as interviews with key informants that 'can provide additional insights and suggestions for literature that may not be found through database searches' (ibid.: 6). This primary aspect contributes to the development of an iterative and triangulated process whereby the review procedure and primary research elements inform each other.

Rapid review questions

The baseline rapid review focused on three main questions and sub-questions which were identified and developed using the NWC/CWI literature review (NWC, 2023a), the research call document and discussions with the FCCJ project team. The three focused questions are as follows:

Question Set 1: What does an understanding of the key concepts of climate justice, feminist climate justice, and intersectional feminist climate justice entail? What are the relationships between these concepts and the forms of holistic, transformative eco-social policy possibilities they anticipate? How can we construct a feminist intersectional climate justice conceptual framework of analysis to inform the reviewing and research process?

Question Set 2: What is the impact of Irish environmental and climate policy on women and marginalised communities across the six policy pillars of Just transition; Energy Poverty and Housing; Care; Transport; Food, Land Use, Agriculture and Biodiversity; and Health?

Question Set 3: How can we identify key areas and strategies for improving the proofing of policy from the perspective of women and marginalised communities? What case studies, policies, approaches and examples of good practice, international and/or national, can help us to identify effective and impactful ways of policy proofing for these groups?

Information has been gathered and collated on a systematised basis, per conventions for rapid reviewing (Wilson et al., 2021). However, the rapid review methodology has been supplemented by specific searches for additional materials and resources useful to answering the focused questions. This approach reflects the complexities of conducting intersectional analysis as discussed in the previous section and the need to identify case studies and exemplars of feminist climate change policies and practice.

For Question Set 1, information was sought from four main sources: (i) published systematic reviews of the key concepts of climate justice, gender climate justice, intersectionality and gender responsive climate action (ii) a small number of selected relevant academic databases (iii) confined/targeted searches for comparative information and (iv) conversations with community and women's groups to identify additional, ancillary information and insights on the themes of the research.

For Question Set 2, a similar approach to Question Set 1 was adopted, however the development of a framework of sources was directly informed by the content of the CAP 2023 which encompasses current state policy in five of the six policy pillars under review, and along with additional health policy sources for the sixth pillar.

For Question Set 3, a similar approach to Question Set 1 was used. Additionally, the analysis specifically sought relevant and insightful case studies, policies and approaches from the international and national contexts, where applicable.

The keywords used in reviewing the literature and resources were 'Climate Justice', 'Feminist Climate Justice' and 'Intersectionality and Climate Policy'. In the case of each area, additional keywords were added, corresponding to the area in question, that is, 'Just transition', 'Care' and so on. With reference to the conceptual framework discussed in section one and the complexities of doing intersectional policy analysis the rapid review is informed by Kaisjer and Kronsell's (2014: 422) points that it is important to avoid an 'cookie-cutter' one-size fits all approach on the one hand, and the inappropriateness of simply adding as many analytical categories as possible. In searching for and selecting literature across each of the key policy areas and analysing impact for women and marginalised communities we were therefore guided by the importance of tailoring our approach and the 'need to select and prioritise the most interesting or relevant intersection in the particular case, while keeping in mind the bigger picture' (ibid.).

Research ethics

The research was primarily desk-based however in the report the researchers also draw on excerpts from a series of workshops and exercises on the subject of climate justice which the FCCJ project team held with community groups and individuals in 2023. The guiding questions asked in these conversations were:

- What would climate justice mean to you, your life, community?
- Name some opportunities and/or challenges in achieving climate justice. What changes need to happen at: (a) a structural level (b) a community level?

- What skills, knowledge and/or experience do you have to help achieve climate justice? This could be in your community, county or country.

The selection and use of excerpts has been guided by the FCCJ project team. The excerpts are anonymised and contributors have given their informed consent for their replication of their words in the report. These excerpts are referred to as 'Voices from FCCJ' throughout the report.

Research timeline

The research adhered to the following timeline:

Stage 1	Induction of research assistant and establishment of research assistant and project work plan. Meeting and agreement with the FCCJ project team on the baseline review synthesis question(s).
Stage 2	Commencement of information gathering for the baseline review and development of a framework for the research report in consultation with stakeholders.
Stage 3	Commencement of information gathering for the baseline review and development of a framework for the research report in consultation with stakeholders.
Stage 4	Commencement of report writing.
Stage 5	Completion of draft report and consultation on draft report with stakeholders and selection of excerpts from conversations with community and women's groups throughout the project.
Stage 6	Report editing, finalisation and submission. Final meeting with FCCJ project team and planning for dissemination.

The research overran the initial deadline by one week.

Just transition

WATER is LIFE

NO TO MINING
LEITRIM

This section is about just transition and how it is being pursued in the Irish context. It considers the fact that different understandings of just transition exist, some of which are more expansive and inclusive than others and more reflective of climate justice issues and dimensions. It goes on to explore how just transition policy has been developing in Ireland, looking at who is included and who is impacted, from an intersectional feminist climate justice perspective.

Just transition and the National Climate Action Plan

Transitioning to a carbon neutral economy will require significant economic and societal transformations. In response to the rapid changes required to achieve a carbon neutral economy, Ireland has produced CAPs, the first published in 2019 and the most recent published in 2023. The CAPs have been influenced by international climate related policies such as The Paris Agreement 2015 (UN, 2015) and The European Green Deal (EGD) (European Commission, 2019). In coherence with EU and international climate standards, Ireland's CAP 2023 commits to reducing Ireland's GHG emissions by 51% from 2021 to 2030 and achieving net-zero emissions by 2050. Local, national, and global climate commitments to reduce GHG emissions will require a substantial change in how economies and societies function and therefore the targets set must be implemented in a way that consider the possible social costs of such changes, ensuring a just transition for all. There is no universal agreed upon definition of a just transition, however, this policy review will refer to the most recent definitions utilised in Irish climate policy. The CAP 2023 includes two definitions of a just transition,

one outlined by The Climate Action and Low Carbon Development (Amendment) Act 2021 and a definition provided by the National Economic and Social Council (NESC). According to the Climate Action and Low Carbon Development (Amendment) Act 2021 'a just transition to a climate neutral economy' requires the endeavour 'as so far as practicable, to maximise employment opportunities, and support persons and communities that may be negatively affected by the transition' (Irish Statute Book, 2021). Comparatively, NESC (2020) provides **a broader definition of a just transition which is more reflective of dimensions of climate justice**. It states that just transition 'seeks to ensure transition is fair, equitable, and inclusive in terms of processes and outcomes' (NESC, 2020: 57). The CAP 2023 states that climate policies aimed at delivering a just transition should 'seek to protect the most vulnerable' (Government of Ireland, 2022: 68). Ireland's Climate Change Advisory Council (2023) has encouraged the government to think more broadly about just transition. It is critical of its lack of focus on social justice and vulnerable groups and for not integrating social policies with climate policies, however this critical commentary does not extend to the role of care work as important work in a just transition, which is discussed further below.

The CAP 2023 includes four main principles to achieve a just transition:

1. An integrated structured and evidence-based approach.
2. Equipping people with the right skills.
3. Sharing the costs of transitioning so that the impact is equitable.
4. Social dialogue to ensure impacted citizens and communities are empowered.

The action plan states that as Ireland transitions to a green economy, employment opportunities, particularly in the Midlands region, are central to the process of a fair, equitable and just transition. **Just transition policy in Ireland focuses heavily on mitigating the impacts on employment in the fossil-fuel industry,** specifically peat extraction, while transitioning to a green carbon neutral economy. The CAP 2023 includes a dedicated section for 'delivering a just transition in the midlands region' of Ireland. This section emphasises employment opportunities and creation in sectors such as renewable energy, tourism, agriculture, and peatland restoration projects. The focus on employment in agriculture and the fossil-fuel industry is reflected in the NESC (2020) report *'Addressing Employment vulnerability as Part of a Just transition in Ireland'*. This report commissioned by the Irish Government, states that those most vulnerable to the transition to a low carbon economy 'are those employed in the supply of fossil fuels and generation of electricity from peat and coal, transport, parts of manufacturing and agriculture' (NESC, 2020: 9). The focus on employment, and particularly the vulnerability of those working in the fossil-fuel sector, is reflected not only in Irish just transition policy, but international climate policy and strategies as demonstrated in the technical paper 'Just transition of the Workforce and the Creation of Decent Work and Quality Jobs' published by the UNFCCC (2020).

This approach to a just transition both in Ireland and internationally appears to be **'framed narrowly around employment'** (Middlemiss et al., 2023: 2) and can often lack a gender-sensitive intersectional analysis and approach. Therefore, it does not adequately address the gender dimensions of the sectors of employment claimed to be most impacted by the transition to a green economy.

Just transition and gendered employment

The employment sectors mentioned in the CAP 2023 most vulnerable to the impacts of a transition to a carbon neutral economy are **mainly male-dominated industries**. As mentioned previously, the climate strategies and approaches to a just transition in Irish policy is influenced by international climate policy, such as the EGD. Similar to Irish just transition policy, the EGD dedicated a substantial but narrow focus to employment vulnerability in mainly male-dominated industries. Although these sectors of employment require attention, the strategies to mitigate the risks of those employed in such sectors pay 'too little attention to gender and intersectional inequalities' (Heffernan et al., 2022: 2). The CAP fails to acknowledge the gender dimension of employment in the energy sector which has experienced some increase in female representation however, it continues to remain male dominated nationally and internationally with a reported mean gender pay gap of 12.4% in Ireland (EirGrid, 2022: 4). The paper published by Friedrich-Elbert-Stiftung (FES), a political foundation in Germany, titled 'A Feminist European Green Deal', (Heffernan et al., 2021) claims that a gender-blind approach to a just transition leads to the risk of creating green jobs in the renewable energy sector that primarily benefit male workers and fails to tackle existing gender inequalities and segregation. Not applying an intersectional gender climate justice lens to just transition policy may result in the creation and implementation

of strategies that are blind to intersecting inequalities experienced by women and other marginalised communities.

Principle 2 of the just transition in the CAP 2023 does focus on supporting employees at risk and creating employment 'opportunities for people at the margins' (Government of Ireland, 2022: 75). Those deemed at risk include 'the long-term unemployed, people keen to return to the workplace after taking time out for caring duties, those recovering from illness, and disabled people or severe needs' (ibid.). This list of people deemed at risk of employment instability during the transition to a greener economy does not clearly state marginalised groups at risk such as the **Traveller Community and the migrant community in Ireland**. For instance, the CAP does not mention the Traveller Community as at risk or vulnerable group to the transition to a green economy, nor does it address the 'high rates of unemployment and health inequalities' (O'Neill et al., 2022: 6) that Travellers experience in Ireland. Additionally, although there is mention of caring duties in relation to employees at risk, the gender dimension of caring duties is not adequately addressed and could be further expanded upon. Both women and marginalised

communities such as migrants in Ireland are over-represented in care work. A report published by the Migrant Rights Centre Ireland (2020a) describes how as Ireland's care needs increase, so will the vulnerability of migrant workers, who's voices and experiences are often marginalised and invisibilised within the Irish care sector (care and care work is taken up again and discussed in more detail in the next section of the review). Without addressing how certain communities are vulnerable to the transition to a greener economy and analysing how those vulnerabilities can intersect, the frameworks to achieving a just transition will lack adequate catered supports when attempting to mitigate uneven impacts.

In the CAP 2023, the topic of gender is primarily mentioned in relation to international climate action through Ireland's commitment to supporting the fulfilment of targets set out by the SDGs and the Paris Agreement, both of which strive for sustainability underpinned by the achievement of gender equality. The CAP 2023 states that Ireland is committed to providing financial aid to developing countries ensuring that no one is left behind and climate action and policy is gender sensitive. Although it is vital that Ireland commits to providing international aid to support a global gender justice transition to net zero, **the CAP 2023 does not address gender inequality and climate justice within the Irish context.** The Sustainable Progress Index, which measures and compares the sustainable progress of 14 EU countries, found that Ireland ranked 10th place for the Gender Equality SDG. One of the indictors that contribute to Irelands lower ranking is the employment gap, which is attributed to the caring responsibilities carried out predominantly by women, and therefore a disproportionate number of women remain economically inactive (Clark et al., 2023: 46). Additionally, people from marginalised communities can be economically inactive due to social and economic exclusion.

Box 3.1: Women in Energy

An initiative of Renewable Energy Ireland that promotes women working in the energy sector. This initiative, inspired by Renewable UK's Switch List, aims to support the organisation of events that 'showcase the women who are building and leading Ireland's energy revolution'.

Source: Renewable Energy Ireland, 2020.

Box 3.2: Case Study: The BMZ Feminist Development Policy

The German Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ) deploys a feminist approach to policy which 'aims to eliminate discriminatory structures - for women and girls, and also for marginalised groups' (BMZ, 2023: 5). BMZ's development of policy is pursued utilising an **intersectional and gender-transformative approach**. This feminist development policy works at three levels: the implementation level, the international cooperation level, and the institutional level.

The BMZ approach to just transition goes beyond the premise of financial aid, adapting a feminist approach that takes account of the diverse lived experiences of women and marginalised communities globally. It aims to ensure that women's rights organisation and organisations of Indigenous Peoples receive access to climate finance as well as attempting to ensure that members of such organisations are involved in decision-making processes.

Source: BMZ (2023) Feminist Development Policy: For Just and Strong Societies Worldwide.

In Europe, it is particularly migrant women, women of colour, LGBTQ+ women, disabled women and single mothers who experience higher risks of poverty and social exclusion and are thus more exposed to the devasting impacts of the climate crisis (Nenning, 2022: 3). Intersecting inequalities result in heightened vulnerability to the impacts of the climate crisis and therefore need to be recognised and incorporated in climate and just transition policy.

Just transition and marginalised communities

The CAP 2023 does focus on regional inequalities, specifically in the Midlands of Ireland, as this is a region where unemployment levels are disproportionately high, and the employment sector is more dependant on agriculture and peat extraction. To mitigate the uneven impacts of transitioning to a green economy, the Government of Ireland have introduced The National Just transition Fund which is implemented through community-led initiatives. The National Just transition Fund supports 56 projects in the Midlands region including projects such as The Energy Communities Tipperary Cooperative and Kilcormac Development Association. The projects funded are locally led and place-specific, meeting the varying needs of communities, to ensure a just transition for all. Place specific and locally led initiatives are important mechanisms to reduce social exclusion which is a key indicator that climate policy is being created in an equitable, just, and fair manner (Middlemiss et al., 2023). Although the importance of focusing on regional disadvantage cannot be understated, there is a noticeable lack of analysis in Irish just transition policy of how marginalised communities within these regions are impacted. This gap in climate policy is reflective of 'a significant gap in our understanding of environmental justice in Ireland, particularly as it pertains to marginalised and vulnerable groups' (O'Neill et al., 2022: 9). **If just transition strategies are to mitigate uneven impacts, Irish climate policy must go beyond place-specific analysis**, incorporating a gender and intersectional lens to the current and future impacts of the climate crisis in Ireland. Promoting active community engagement

in climate conversations and policy involves the creation of localised community-led initiatives and educational programmes and is an important element of procedural and participatory climate justice. To encourage community engagement and participation in the just transition process in Ireland, the National Dialogue on Climate Action (NDCA), established by the Department of the Environment, Climate and Communications, facilitates social dialogue through citizen engagement sessions and the National Climate Stakeholder Forum. The CAP 2023 states that 'The strong participative approach of the NDCA will assist all stakeholders in identifying and prioritising what the challenges of transitioning are, and how to respond to them' (Government of Ireland, 2022: 77). Additionally, Irish climate policy aims to enhance skills development through education and training programs such as SOLAS's Green Skills for Further Education and Training 2021-2030 programme. The NDCA and educational programs align with the CAP principles of a just transition including the right skills, equitable impact, and social dialogue. **Yet, what these initiatives do not include is a gender or marginalised community perspective.**

In sum, this section has reviewed Ireland's

Box 3.3: The People's Transition Enniscorthy

The People's Transition model is a community-led initiative in Ireland that is set to be implemented in thirty communities from 2022-2025. This transition model is based on a bottom-up approach to participative decision making, ensuring that all community members can benefit from a zero-carbon society. The town of Enniscorthy, located in Wexford, has adopted the People's Transition Model, empowering local people to actively engage in the development of climate initiatives, such as the development of the Enniscorthy Community Allotment.

Source: TASC (2022) The People's Transition Enniscorthy

Opportunities and challenges in achieving climate justice.

Meeting people where they are at.

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Box 3.4: Case Study: Scotland's Place-Based Approach to a Just transition

The transition to net-zero in Scotland is characterised by a place-based approach. Scotland's Climate Emergency Skills Action Plan (CESAP) 2020-2025 recognises that a place-based approach is necessary to acknowledge and implement just transition strategies that take account of the opportunities and barriers of certain regions and communities. This action plan emphasises the need 'to take account of the gender dimension to the transition' that will reflect the Scottish Government's Gender Pay Gap Action Plan 2019, with the aim to support women in green jobs. Scottish just transition policy takes account of the dynamic and varying vulnerabilities and opportunities of regions through the comprehensive development of both rural and city just transition strategies such as the Transition to Net Zero Action Plan developed by the Scottish Cities Alliance. Additionally, similar to Ireland's CAP, Scotland's CESAP promotes initiatives to develop a circular economy focused on 'local production, low waste and recycling'. Applying a place-based approach that accounts for the experiences and rights of women and marginalised communities has the potential to deliver a holistic, well informed, and evidence-based response that mitigates negative impacts and provides opportunities for all when transitioning to a green economy.

Source: Skills Development Scotland (2020) Climate emergency Skills Action Plan 2020-2025

approach to just transition as reflected in Ireland's CAP 2023 and related policy documents. It finds that the definition and understanding of just transition is limited and narrow. It is not informed by a climate justice approach, much less an intersectional feminist climate justice approach, and consequently it is not attuned to the inequalities and injustices women and marginalised communities face in the context of just transition. Employment based initiatives are largely limited to male-centred industries in very place-specific contexts while the opportunities for communities to participate in just transition decision making and how just transition funds can benefit local communities are also rather limited. Ireland is not alone in its gender-blind approach to just transition. However, it is possible to point to more gender-sensitive approaches as outlined here. Communities organising around just-transition in more inclusive and participatory ways also provide a counterpoint.

04.

Care

This section examines care. Care and care work might seem rather disconnected to climate and climate policy. However, this is to ignore longstanding connections that have been made between care of people and care of planet, as well as the fact that care work is predominantly 'green' or low carbon work. Unlike the other policy areas addressed in the review, the analysis here is informed by the fact that care is virtually invisible in Irish climate policies. For this reason, the analysis begins with a wider discussion of why care is of central importance to climate policy and to intersectional feminist climate justice. It then proceeds to analyse the extent to which relevant Irish policy domains address care and climate, and the gaps therein from an intersectional feminist climate justice perspective. Thirdly, it points to international examples of policy analysis and initiatives where climate action is being informed by care, specifically around the idea of a care economy.

Connecting care and climate

Care is multi-dimensional. As Lorek et al. (2023) point out it involves at least three dimensions. It firstly can be understood as a mindset, referring to a disposition towards care centring on empathy, not only for humans but also non-humans and nature, and which can involve emotional, relational and ethical dimensions. This is encapsulated in the notion of an **ethic of care** and specifically a feminist ethic of care, with the work of Fisher and Tronto (1990) being widely quoted inspiration. According to Fisher and Tronto (1990: 40) care is a

'species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair our world so that we can live in it as well as possible. That world includes our bodies, our selves, and our environment, all of which we seek to interweave in a complex, life-sustaining web'.

Fisher and Tronto's point also reflects the second dimension of care, that is, understanding care as an **activity,** concerned with the wellbeing of humans, non-humans, nature and the physical environment, at multiple scales. Third, care can be understood as **care work**. Crucially this includes both paid and unpaid care work. It includes care work as paid work in the care sector of the economy involving social care, childcare and healthcare. It also involves care work which is paid but carried out in less formal settings; including care recipient's homes. It also encapsulates unpaid care work carried out in families and communities, including care for family members, neighbours and networks of friends. Widening the lens further to focus on environmental and climate justice, care work includes care for the environment in all its forms including for resources such as land and water, for species of all kinds, and community and public spaces. In this sense it has strong ties with **'repair' and**

repair work (Carr, 2023). This involves repair of objects, of bodies, of community infrastructures as a matter of routine, and work done in the aftermath of climate disasters such as floods and wildfires. It includes physical care and repair, but also intangible care and repair of relationships in communities and public spaces. It is also work that is frequently unpaid, carried out by unpaid community activists and community groups.

Feminist analysis highlights the fundamental importance of care to all of life, without which all other aspects of social and economic activity would cease to function. Care is central to feminist and intersectional social policy analysis (Williams, 2021). Core points include the fact that the majority of care work, both paid and unpaid, is perceived as 'women's work' and is carried out by women. Consequently, it comes with a care impact or economic disadvantage. Paid care work is typically low paid and precarious, especially childcare, older person's care and home-based personal care (Lightman, 2019). Care provision/ the care sector is also heavily marketised and privatised, which can imply weak protection of both care workers and care receivers. In Ireland, 70% of childcare and 85% of older person's care is delivered through private, for-profit services. (Murphy, 2023). These are sectors dominated by women workers and there are, moreover, intersections with class and migrant status, with women working in this sector likely to be from working class and migrant communities. The privatised nature of the care provided also makes access to care difficult due to affordability. Unpaid care work receives minimal recognition and limited state support, which is also gendered. The 2022 Census showed that 61% of unpaid carers are women compared to 39% who are men. Time spent caring is also gendered with women spending more hours per week in caring activity. 31.3% of female carers spend 43 or more hours a week

doing care work compared to 25.6% of male carers (CSO, 2023). This care is also more likely to be undertaken by people from disadvantaged or very disadvantaged communities (CSO, 2019a). For example, of those who provide 20 or more hours of care a week, 23% are located in very affluent areas, compared to 36% in very disadvantaged areas. In terms of state support, the largest care payment, which is means tested and paid at a rate of €248 per week in 2024 (which is below the poverty line) is paid primarily to women. In 2022 women comprised 77% (71,392) of Care Allowance recipients (Department of Social Protection, 2023).

Eco-feminism and feminist ecological economics point to the fundamental importance and links between care for people and care for planet. Care and environmental resources are treated as infinite and freely available. Both share characteristics of being invisible, undervalued and exploited, and without which life would cease to function (Dengler and Strunk, 2018). In this sense, the climate crisis is a symptom of our lack of care for the planet. As clearly illustrated by Raworth's doughnut model of economics the climate crisis breaks a safe planetary boundary alongside many others, including biodiversity loss and land use conversion. These breaches are

In Ireland, 70% of childcare and 85% of older person's care is delivered through private, for-profit services

(Murphy, 2023)

The proportion of Ireland's population providing regular unpaid care grew from 4% in the 2016 Census to 6% in the 2022 census which may also be an indication of a growing care deficit in Ireland

(CSO, 2023)

driven by other inequalities such as care and gender inequalities that altogether undermine the basis for a just and safe space for the flourishing of all forms of life (Raworth, 2017). These points are reflected in concepts such as the 'iceberg economy' (Mies, 2007) and the 'maintenance economy' (Jochimsen and Knobloch, 1997) put forward by feminist ecological analysis. Both reinforce the point that there is much caring activity of people and the environment occurring below the surface without which the visible, monetised economy would not operate. In this respect there are links to be made between care in this section and care for the land and natural resources as discussed with reference to social farming and urban gardening in the discussion of agriculture later in the review. There are also connections to be made to the section on just transition and the degree to which care (and repair) work is recognised as work in just transitions to a low carbon economy and how we approach just transition with an ethic of care (Carr, 2023; Barca, 2023).

The climate crisis interlocks with the reality of a **care deficit** and care crisis. The care deficit and care crisis are manifest in unfulfilled care needs, lack of care services, lack of time to care, and the undervaluing of care work whilst at the same time care is an increasingly commodified activity

(Fraser, 2016). The care deficit in Ireland and elsewhere is not a new phenomenon (Lynch, 2010; Featherstone, 2012). However, the importance of care and care as essential work was brought to surface by the Covid-19 pandemic when great swathes of the monetised economy came to a halt, but care activity was deemed an essential service. The intensification of care deficits during the pandemic generated profound burdens and distress, particularly on women and marginalised groups in their paid and unpaid caring roles, accelerating the notion of a care crisis (Barry, 2021; Dowling, 2022; Camilletti and Nesbitt-Ahmed, 2022). The proportion of Ireland's population providing regular unpaid care grew from 4% in the 2016 Census to 6% in the 2022 census which may also be an indication of a growing care deficit in Ireland. (CSO, 2023). Ireland's care deficit may also be indicated by the fact that Ireland has the highest reliance on unpaid caring in the EU, with most of this work related to childcare (Cantillon and Teasdale, 2021). Moreover, the fact that demographic changes in Ireland and elsewhere indicate that even more care will be needed in the future means that the crisis in care the pandemic revealed will be an enduring one if not addressed (Garavan, 2024).

There are also more pragmatic, **empirical connections** between care and climate. Care work is green or low carbon work, whether undertaken as paid or unpaid work. With regard to the latter, research on time use and everyday activities demonstrates the low carbon nature of care work. Smetschka et al.'s (2019) research in Austria found that time spent on personal care, household and care-work is relatively low carbon. By contrast, leisure time varies widely depending on the activity involved and, in particular, whether and what type of transport is used. Similar findings applied to care in research on energy use in household settings in France, where time devoted to care (providing care to other family members or to pets) is one of the lowest energy intensity activities

(De Lauretis et al., 2017). Smetschka et al.'s (2019) research also looked at the gendered distribution of time use, finding that men typically have more time and money to spend on leisure activities. In contrast, women, particularly if they are both working in paid employment and caring, experience a time-squeeze leading to more intense resource use, if financially feasible, to fulfil household and care work. This includes greater use of energy intense household appliances and pre-prepared food which typically has a higher carbon footprint. Similar findings emerged in research carried out in the UK context by Druckman et al. (2012). Another connection between time spent caring and climate stems from the fact that time women spend in paid work decreases during adverse weather events that cause school closures (e.g., high levels of pollution, flooding). Their time switches to caring for their children home from school (OECD, 2021). In the round such findings raise issues about the importance of time policies that encourage the redistribution of care and paid work which we return to below. In broad terms however, it implies that extra time spent on care work, in contrast to increase in paid employment has a minor impact of resource consumption and as such can be considered an environmental policy measure (De Lauretis et al., 2017). Yet this is a blind spot in labour market policy where, in general, there is a 'disregard for the domain of unpaid work' (Bohnenberger, 2022: 348).

Typically, jobs in health and care produce 26 times less GHG emissions than manufacturing jobs, and over 200 times less than agricultural jobs

(Diski, 2022).

Moving to care work as paid work in the formal economy, again the low carbon nature of care work in contrast to other types of work is notable. Yet there are blind spots here too. Reiterating the discussion in the section on gendered employment in just transition, Bohnenberger's (2022) analysis of green jobs shows that understanding of what they are tends to neglect care work and focus instead on sectors that concentrate on employment in renewable energy, retrofitting and recycling. This follows through in how green jobs are counted. Bohnenberger (2022) focuses on the Eurostat approach that treats the environmental goods and services sector as 'activities that measure, prevent, limit, minimise or correct environmental damage' (Eurostat, 2009 in Bohnenberger, 2022: 350). This obscures 'sectors with a high share of female employees as opportunities for green employment' (Bohnenberger, 2022: 350) including health care, social care and also education. Looking at the implications of this in the UK context, the Women's Budget Group (WGB), in its recommendation of a care-led response to the Covid-19 crisis, pointed out that employment in care services would fulfil the triple roles of improving employment, improving gender equality and meeting climate change targets because of the low carbon nature of the work. They calculated that investing in care would be three times less polluting per job created than jobs created in the construction industry (De Henau and Himmelweit, 2020). Care jobs also compare favourably to jobs in other industries. Typically, jobs in health and care produce 26 times less GHG emissions than manufacturing jobs, and over 200 times less than agricultural jobs (Diski, 2022). Having set out this broad terrain for understanding care and the connections between care and climate, the next section analyses Irish climate, environmental and care policy, where such connections are neither acknowledged nor inform policy.

Dis/connections between care and climate in Irish policy

The core point to be made in this section is that care and climate exist in very siloed spaces in Irish policy making. Ireland does have a dedicated carers strategy (albeit now out of date). However, this does not make any connections between care and issues of concern to intersectional feminist climate justice. On the other hand, **the centre piece of Irish climate policy invisibilises care**. In the CAP 2023, no consideration is given to the centrality of care to our survival and to the threats that the climate crisis poses, nor to the idea of care work as green work in any of the sectors where connections could be made, in particular industry and just transition. This follows through in cognate organisations and discourses. Care does not feature, for example, in the work of the Climate Change Advisory Council nor in the work of the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), which reflects its limited remit and vision on climate justice issues (O'Neill et al., 2022). We can, however, find some recognition of care in the 2020 government's adoption of a wellbeing framework. Yet this initiative remains limited and is marginal to core climate policy.

The most explicit mention of gender in the CAP 2023 is with reference to international development. The core statement on gender in the plan namely, that 'climate change impacts more on women and other marginalised groups, peoples, and communities through the exacerbation of pre-existing inequalities, including varying impacts in a just transition, and access to social and healthcare infrastructure in extreme climate events' (Government of Ireland, 2022: 266) chimes with much of the analysis in this baseline review. However, the narrow lens with which it is understood is problematic. It is understood exclusively with reference to the need for gender sensitivity in international development contexts. The impact of climate change on women and

> **The impact of climate change on women and other marginalised groups in Ireland is not acknowledged.**

other marginalised groups in Ireland is not acknowledged. While this statement does mention care, it is only in the context of access to care needed in the event of extreme climate disruption such as heat waves, wildfires, or flooding. As such then none of the dimensions of care outlined above, nor its fundamental role in a safe and flourishing climate future feature in the CAP 2023.

Besides this reference to care, the broad statement 'that we must take better care of our planet' (Government of Ireland, 2022: 8) in the forward by the Taoiseach, Tánaiste and Minister for Environment, Climate and Communications and Transport is the only other reference to care in the CAP 2023. This might be understood an expression of an ethic of care, but the action plan does not pursue this in any sense. Our responsibility to care and the importance of care work does not feature in any of the substantive sections of the plan. Sections where care work ought to play a role, namely with respect to industry, the public sector, just transition and agriculture do not take account of care. Sections on resources, including land and the marine environment do not consider the care of resources, or at least not outside of a growth lens, whilst sections on policy areas such as transport and the built environment do not consider the needs of carers and caring activity.

The section on industry rests on a limited notion of the green economy that does not include care work. Instead, it focuses on creating high quality employment in 'retrofitting, renewable energy, clean mobility, and sustainable agriculture' (Government of Ireland, 2022: 17). These are sectors where men are disproportionately employed. Investment is pledged to decarbonise industry and thus lower emissions. Investing in sectors which have clear supply issues, such as the care sector and the fact that care is relatively low carbon work is not included. The section on the public sector focuses on buildings, transport, waste, and energy usage and how these areas are where the public sector can reduce carbon emissions. There is no recognition of care work in the public sector, of investing in it and improving the employment conditions of care workers; nor of improving the supply of care services or basic services more broadly to improve the wellbeing and quality of life of carers and people cared for. Aspects of care and just transition are addressed in the section on just transition so it suffices to say here that care work is not envisaged in the set of actions to achieve a just transition in the CAP 2023.

The invisibility of care carries through in the work of Ireland's **Climate Change Advisory Council.** In its commentary and its responsibility to review, advise and provide evidence to support a just transition, care does not feature. Areas where care is of particular relevance do not recognise its role. For example, in its 2023 Annual Review it notes that the changed nature of the Irish climate will impact on the healthcare system and the health needs of the population. However, it does not comment on the implications of this for care nor on the limited response of the CAP 2023 which understands the challenge (listed in its annexe of actions) as 'building the climate resilience of the health systems' (Climate Change Advisory Council, 2023: 16). Actions here are limited

to how the healthcare system copes with severe weather events. No mention of the impact on care in any form is recognised.

The 2020 Programme for Government proposed the development of a **wellbeing framework** for Ireland. It follows the example of other countries in this regard including New Zealand, Scotland, and Iceland all of which have advanced the promotion of wellbeing in their policy making frameworks (Wellbeing Economy Alliance, 2020). This in turn is underpinned by the idea that the purpose of economies is to deliver wellbeing, as opposed to the classic economic goal of maximising consumption. It shifts the focus from measuring progress by GDP to measuring wellbeing for the purposes of 'achieving sustainable wellbeing with dignity and fairness for humans and the rest of nature' (Costanza et al., 2018, n.p.). The Irish version has been complemented by preparatory and consultative work by NESC and the main outcome to date is the creation of a wellbeing framework based on 11 dimensions of wellbeing centred on environmental, climate and biodiversity, subjective wellbeing, community participation, work quality, time use, and income and wealth. These are measured through 35 indicators. The framework is complemented by a Wellbeing Data Hub published by the Central Statistics Office (CSO) (CSO, n.d.). It is notable that care is recognised in this framework. The key measure involves the amount of time spent caring over 20 hours a week, but

> **There is no recognition of care work in the public sector, of investing in it and improving the employment conditions of care workers**

regular data is very limited and devoid of an intersectional lens. There are strengths and limitations to the current iteration of Ireland's wellbeing framework as noted by NESC (2023) It does contribute to the identification of inequalities and bring them 'into the policy space' and 'offers an opportunity to make environmental justice more explicit' (NESC, 2023: 31, 32). Yet, data available lacks the breadth and depth to do this and it lacks input from groups impacted by environmental and climate injustices. While data gathering and disaggregation is a challenge, Ireland is also an outlier in areas such as care and time use compared to other EU countries, the US and Australia (Cantillon and Teasdale, 2021). Nor is the wellbeing framework tied to any specific policy goals or outcomes. In short, the wellbeing framework offers the seeds of thinking about and acting on care from a feminist, intersectional climate justice perspective but much work in terms of data gathering and explicit policy commitment is needed to realise this.

Finally, mention can be made of the **National Carers Strategy** which was published in 2012 (Department of Health, 2012) yet sits in a policy space that lacks connection with climate policy. It was the first strategy of its kind in Ireland and the result of years of campaigning. It focused on unpaid carers, centring on recognising, supporting and empowering carers. While it represented a milestone in terms of recognition, the Strategy represents a very limited analysis of care in the wider context of care services, of gender and intersectional inequalities, and of the impact of climate change on care. It set out a broad roadmap for recognising, supporting and empowering carers but lacked ambition and resources and was only partially implemented (Dukelow and Considine, 2017). Research by Pierce et al. (2021), looking at the Strategy almost ten years on and what carers would prioritise in a new strategy, points to two key priorities that connect with ideas from

What would climate justice mean for you and your life?

Childcare - affordable and reliable

Care work - green work (paid and unpaid)

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a care economy perspective. These are the fundamental importance of community-based supports and income supports, with ideas for the latter ranging from the removal of the means test for Carers Allowance to the introduction of a universal basic income. The former idea chimes with the role of universal basic services and the latter with forms of income support that sustain care in a care economy framework.

A care economy

Intersectional feminist climate justice analyses of care call for the development of various versions of **a care economy** as climate policy. These range from work by the Feminist Green New Deal Coalition (Novello, 2021); the WBG and Women's Environmental Network Feminist Green New Deal project (Diski, 2022); and the caring societies project carried out by the Hot or Cool Institute (Lorek, et al., 2023; Wang et al., 2023). Sometimes this is also referred to as a **care-full economy.** What it entails is a recognition that care is the foundation upon which societies and economies are built. Care is understood in holistic terms as care for humans and care for all aspects of the natural

world and the provision of necessary care needed for the 'health, welfare, maintenance and protection of humans and the more-than-human world' (Harcourt and Bauhardt, 2019: 3). In policy terms it entails an acknowledgement that care work is green work and requires a major investment in our social infrastructure, in providing decent jobs in care in all its forms and adequately valuing unpaid care. Besides investment in care jobs (which simultaneously contributes to the policy ideal of universal basic services as a form of eco-social policy allowing universal access to adequate care) a range of other policies are invoked. These include time policies with objectives such as reducing working time, and reducing and redistributing the care work that women do. They also include diverse income support policies ranging from universal basic income to various forms of participation or care incomes.

Looking at some of these strands of work and policy proposals in more detail, at EU level both the aforementioned FES report (Heffernan et al., 2021) and the European Environmental Bureau and Women Engage for a Common Future report (Heidegger et al., 2021) have progressed ideas and analysis around a feminist green new deal that incorporates care. In both cases the work has emerged in response to the EU's GND in 2019 and that the EU's plan is significantly gender blind. The FES report centres on the idea of a **feminist wellbeing economy** informed by a feminist and intersectional approach to just transition. Though primarily focused on energy, transport, agriculture, food and nature, the

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Box 4.1: Eight steps to creating a caring economy

1. **'Re-envision what we mean by 'the economy',** so that the centrality of care to the economy is recognised.

2. **Invest in social and physical infrastructure,** so that public services address diverse needs on an equal basis and allow people to flourish in a way which protects and values the planet.

3. **Transform the worlds of paid and unpaid work,** to provide not just more jobs, but better jobs.

4. **Invest in a caring social security system** which is based on **dignity and autonomy,** and which helps to ensure people fulfil their capabilities and live a meaningful life, in and out of employment and regardless of migration status, throughout their lives.

5. **Transform the tax systems…** to make them more progressive and fairer, and to generate more revenue to invest in social security and social and physical infrastructure.

6. **Refocus the overall fiscal and monetary policy framework on building a caring economy.**

7. Work to develop a **trade system** that is **socially and environmentally sustainable.**

8. Work to transform the **international economic system,** so that it is supportive of the creation of caring economies across the world.

Source: Commission on a Gender Equal Economy/Women's Budget Group (2020) Creating a Caring Economy A Call to Action (pages 8-11).

report's analysis weaves the importance of care throughout and draws upon the importance of the maintenance economy to do so. In this regard it outlines why care jobs are green jobs and are necessary for a just transition:

Care and education are two particularly female-dominated sectors that need to be included as jobs at the core of the transition, equally redistributed between genders and conferred with the same economic and social advantages that traditional 'green' jobs hold (Heffernan et al., 2021: 10).

Heidegger et al.'s report is based on a similar feminist analysis and proposals for what it frames as a feminist economy of wellbeing and care. Amongst other things it recommends that 'a right to care should be recognised as a fundamental right of the EU', which should be linked with 'inclusive and quality caring public services' (Heidegger et al., 2021: 8). Alongside this the report makes a series of short term and longer-term recommendations at EU level related to realising a feminist economy of wellbeing and care. These range from specific recommendations related to adequate minimum pay and decent working conditions in low-paid and gender segregated sectors such as care, to proposals around working time reductions, job guarantee schemes for 'socially and environmentally sustainable

Opportunities and challenges in achieving climate justice.

Who gets to be in these spaces? Carers don't have time, capacity, or knowledge.

Voices of FCCJ

jobs' (Heidegger et al., 2021: 57), to a new economic model for the EU which 'abandons GDP growth' (ibid.) and adopts wellbeing economy principles.
Work by the WGB's Commission on a Gender- Equal Economy (2019-2020) is premised on a caring economy model. This was reinforced by a collaboration between the WGB and the Women's Environmental Network on a Feminist Green New Deal (2021-2022). Together these are further examples of a feminist intersectional climate justice approach to climate policy as it concerns care, which as both projects articulate, are indivisible.

In more concrete terms the Commission and the subsequent Feminist Green New Deal project outline numerous policy proposals (see Box 4.1). These include the idea of a universal care service alongside free, universal childcare provision. In terms of time policies, it recommends strengthening and equalising entitlements to paid caring leave, not only for caring for children but also for older people, disabled people and older children. It also addresses working time reductions and the need for flexibility around models such as a shorter working day and shorter working weeks as suited to individual needs. With regard to income, it stops short of advocating a universal basic income except for retired people with the

Opportunities and challenges in achieving climate justice.

Find a narrative that works.

Voices of FCCJ

replacement of means-tested with non-means tested benefits for others.

Services, time policies and income policies are also discussed extensively by the Hot or Cool project on a caring economy. Here discussion points to the broad range of perspectives on how care should be supported with different views evident for example, on whether unpaid care should be recognised monetarily (Lorek, et al., 2023). There are also questions of whether income support for care should be tied explicitly to care work through, for example, a care or participation income or whether unconditional, universal basic incomes are more appropriate. There are also questions about the degree to which shorter working weeks and income supports in whatever form, actually lead to the desired outcome of fairer distributions of care or whether they risk reinforcing gendered care and ecological burdens. There are no 'silver bullets' with respect to any proposal.

Attention has also been given to the fact that the connections between care and climate are not part of mainstream political and public imagination and what strategies ought to be adopted to develop these connections and ultimately promote a care economy. This is taken up by work from the Feminist Green New Deal Coalition (Novello, 2021) and also by a second Hot or Cool project report on Care-full Climate Communication (Wang et al., 2023). Both draw attention to how important it is to create a narrative shift around care and climate and that this narrative reflects equity, intersectionality, and inclusivity. Key points emerge around the idea that 'care work is climate work' (Novello, 2021: 8) and that positive framing is more effective than negative framing, which entails an emphasis on 'empathy, solidarity and compassion for a care-filled future' (Wang et al., 2023).

Finally, we can also point to some examples in the present where care work as climate work has made progress. A key example is the city of Barcelona which identifies itself as a 'caring city'. Amorim-Maia et al. (2023) contextualise the Barcelonian example as one where purposeful intersectional climate justice practice has been pursued since the mid-2010s. It was instigated by the election of Ada Colau from the left-wing Barcelona en Comú party as city mayor in 2015. A series of feminist intersectional climate justice plans, declarations and commitments have followed. Though challenges remain around the feminisation and precaritisation of care, several initiatives aim to address this. These include, amongst other things, the establishment of local care centres around the city that serve as hubs to support carers and that offer meeting spaces, opportunities for shared parenting, and municipal childcare. This is in tandem with enhancing Barcelona's cycling and walking networks in ways that are informed by the everyday journeys undertaken for caring

activities. In this regard, activities such as walking are understood as taking care of the environment and taking care of oneself. In 2022 the idea of a caring city was progressed further with the introduction of a 'carers card' as a form of taking care of carers. The card is associated with supports and services ranging from training to artistic and entertainment activities for emotional wellbeing, to legal advice and services to migrant care workers, especially those in vulnerable and invisible domestic care settings. We return to Barcelona in the later section on energy poverty and housing where it also serves as an example of how an intersectional feminist climate justice has been approached in these sectors and interconnected with the city's focus on care.

In sum this section began with a discussion of care and how it is understood for the purposes of outlining its centrality to climate policy and its equally central importance to intersectional feminist climate justice. It reviewed how care can be understood in ways that are inclusive of both people and planet, and that care work is climate work. This can be juxtaposed with the reality that care is highly feminised and precaritised, reflecting an interlocking of the climate and care crises. Analysis of Irish climate policy reveals the invisibility of care. While Ireland's adoption of a wellbeing framework is promising, much more needs to be done to ensure the framework is informed by intersectional feminist climate justice. The invisibility of care is again not exclusive to Irish climate and environmental policy; this is something it shares with numerous GNDs and a lack of attention to care internationally. In response to this there are a number of informative feminist policy analyses of GND proposals that centre care and the idea of a care economy. Equally there are numerous policy ideas that integrate care and climate policy.

05.

Energy Poverty and Housing
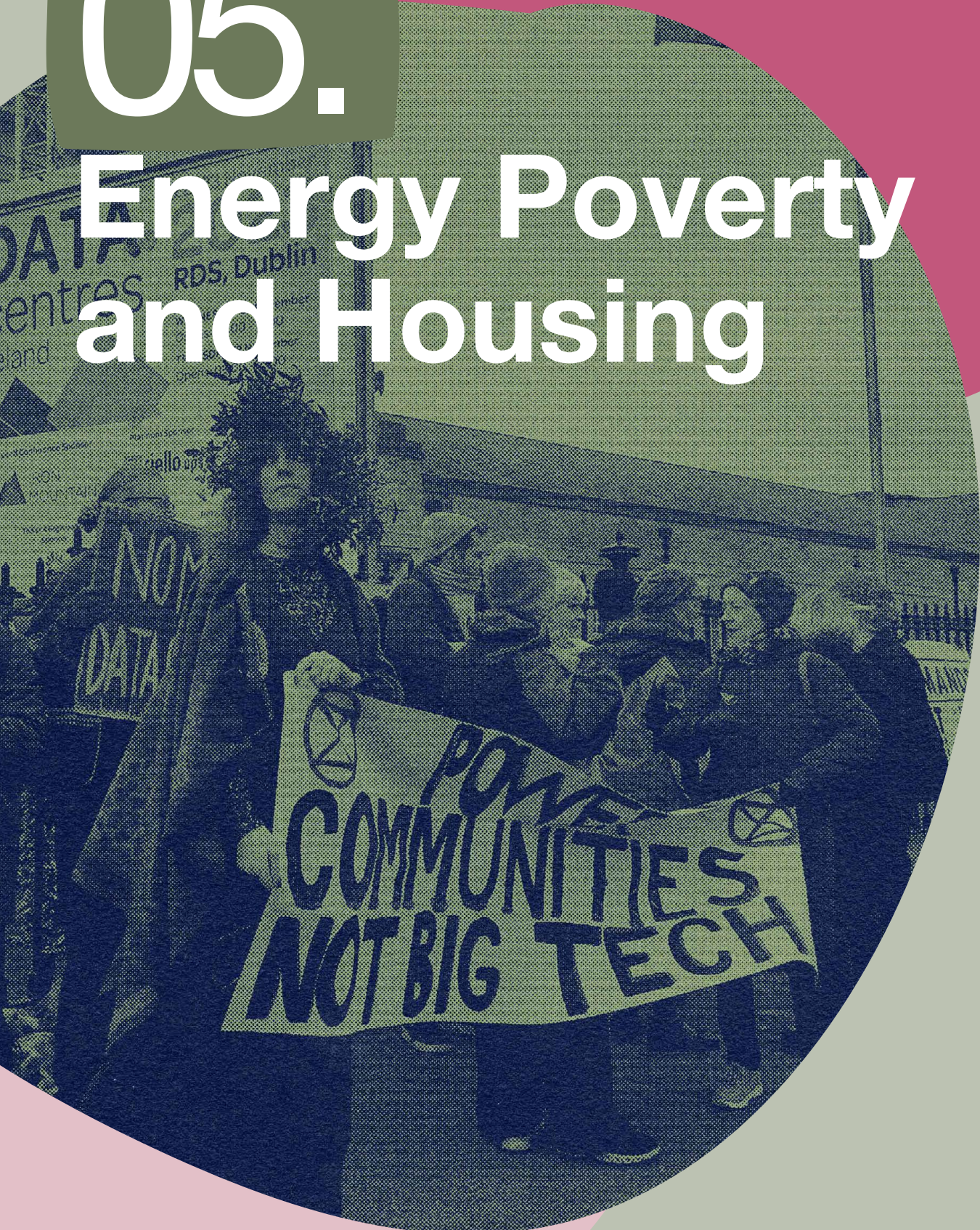
This section addresses energy poverty and the related issue of housing as it relates to climate and environmental policy. It first addresses the nature of energy poverty and issues with adequately capturing who is vulnerable to energy policy, especially from an intersectional feminist perspective. It then examines energy justice as a way of understanding energy and energy policy in the context of climate justice, highlighting distributional, procedural and recognitional aspects of energy, energy usage and energy policy. The final section analyses Irish energy and housing policy measures against this backdrop. It draws attention to social groups who are particularly vulnerable to energy poverty including lone parent families, the Travelling community and people living in direct provision.

Energy poverty

The issue of energy poverty is closely linked to the development and implementation of just transition policy. As the energy sector transitions to cleaner energy alternatives to that of traditional dependence on solid fuels, it is important to ensure that this transition takes place in a just, fair, and equitable manner. *The Energy Poverty Action Plan 2022* (EPAP) (Department of the Environment, Climate and Communications, 2022) outlines the close relationship between a just transition and its role in tackling energy poverty in Ireland. The Plan contains two main categories for tackling energy poverty, including 'near term' and 'medium term' strategies that aim to 'ensure an inclusive and just transition in a carbon neutral society' (Department of the Environment, Climate and Communications, 2022: 3). The current EPAP follows a series of previous policy plans that have been solely dedicated to tackling energy poverty in Ireland, for example *Warmer Homes: A Strategy for Affordable Energy in Ireland* (Department of Communications, Energy and Natural Resources, 2011) and

A Strategy to Combat Energy Poverty (Department of Communications, Energy and Natural Resources, 2016). *A Strategy to Combat Energy Poverty* and the EPAP both state that tackling energy poverty is linked to achieving climate goals, such as the SDGs introduced in 2015. The goal of eliminating energy poverty is closely associated with the SDG 1 'No Poverty' and SDG 7 'Affordable and Clean Energy'. However, it is important to note that the SDG's take a holistic approach and therefore the achievement

What would climate justice mean for you and your life?

A warm home.

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of each goal is reliant on and interlinked with one another (Pradhan et al., 2017). Tackling energy poverty is incorporated in Irish climate policy agendas and strategies, as can be seen in the CAP 2023. It claims that the delivery of a just transition involves the implementation of 'Renewable Energy Infrastructure' and increased 'Energy Efficiency' through the reduction of demand on fossil fuels as an energy source.

Ireland's reliance on fossil fuels such as coal and oil have left the energy market open to vulnerability in supply and affordability, as seen in the fluctuations of energy prices, particularly since the Russian invasion of Ukraine at the start of 2022. According to a report by the Economic and Social Research Institute (ESRI), in comparison to data collected in 2015/2016, households at risk of energy poverty has risen from 13.2% to 29.4% in 2022 (Barrett et al., 2022). In response to the recent rapid increase in energy prices, the EPAP was introduced, incorporating actions to tackle energy poverty using a 'whole of Government approach.' The EPAP states that 'energy poverty is defined as an inability to heat or power a home adequately' (Department of the Environment, Climate and Communications, 2022: 9). Currently, energy poverty is predominantly measured in Ireland using an **'expenditure-based method'** meaning that if a household is spending more than 10% of its income on energy then that household is deemed to be experiencing energy poverty. This method of measuring energy poverty has been criticised, which the EPAP has itself acknowledged, claiming 'a more comprehensive methodology for measuring energy poverty in Ireland needs to be developed' (ibid.: 9). An expenditure-based model is derived from methods of measuring fuel poverty, however, understandings of energy poverty have developed to encompass a more expansive consideration of energy access, such as access to 'electricity, heating and

transportation' (Sidortsov and McCauley, 2023: 177). The EPAP states that there are three main methods of measuring energy poverty: an expenditure-based method; self-report indicators; and a multidimensional approach. Using an expenditure-based model and/or self-reported indicators does not adequately record the severity of energy poverty experienced, the energy efficiency of households, nor does it identify the households that are most impacted by rising energy prices (Department of Energy, Climate and Communications, 2022). Additionally, there are barriers to incorporating other energy measurement methods, like a multidimensional approach, due to factors such as lack of available data in Ireland.

The EPAP 2022 claims those most vulnerable and negatively impacted by the rise in energy prices are residents in lower-income households. Although energy poverty has direct correlations with income level (Middlemiss et al., 2022), there is a **lack of disaggregated data** to represent in detail the disproportionate impact of energy poverty experienced by some communities, particularly marginalised communities, in Ireland. This includes 'the lack of gender/sex disaggregated data, and the lack of significant gender analysis of energy poverty' (NWC, 2023a: 38). A lack of disaggregated data and adequate measuring tools means that the severity and impact of energy poverty is not accurately captured and therefore actions to tackle energy poverty may not target communities in most need of assistance and support. Traditional methods of measuring poverty, such as measurements of fuel or energy poverty, rely heavily on income as a tool of measurement and often do not capture gendered experiences. A focus on household income and paid employment can neglect the aspect of unpaid work that is predominantly carried out by women and from a 'feminist perspective, this obscures the reality of

women's work' and 'devalues unpaid labour' (James, 2018). James (2018) calls for a feminist intersectional approach to measuring poverty, as it has the potential to capture the differing and unique experiences a person may face based on social positioning. The relationship between income and energy poverty are of course close, however, certain groups are 'more likely to experience energy poverty' such as women, 'disabled people, migrants, and single parents' (Middlemiss et al., 2022: 4). **Expenditure-based methods do not capture the intersecting inequalities and barriers to accessing energy that marginalised communities are more exposed to.** Additionally, the gendered aspects of energy usage and vulnerability go beyond reasonings of economic activity and are shaped by gender dynamics that are context specific (Robinson, 2019). A limited focus on household-level energy usage and income lacks adequate consideration of the gender specific usage of energy in the home, such as the energy usage required for caring responsibilities, an issue also discussed in the section on care, as well as dismissing energy usage outside the home, such as access to transportation methods. There are also connections to the section on transport regarding access to sustainable modes of transportation.

Energy justice

Barriers to energy access and the associated impacts of energy poverty are key concerns to the energy justice agenda. Sidortsov and McCauley (2023: 183) state that:

Energy justice is a foundational concept for social scientists to investigate the ethics, morality and values behind energy decision-making, the negative and positive outcomes thereof, and the causal links and gaps between the decisions and impacts.

Box 5.1: ENCLUDE Academy for Energy Citizen Leadership

This is an online leadership and development program for citizens wanting to reduce carbon emissions in their community. This program was developed by the ENCLUDE project (Energy Citizens for Inclusive Decarbonisation). 'Participants hone their leadership and collective organization skills and connect to one another and to energy experts'.

Source: Energy Citizens for Inclusive Decarbonisation (ENCLUDE), 2023

McCauley et al. (2013) outline an approach to analysing energy justice based on three tenets: distributional, procedural, and recognitional justice. This approach to energy justice attempts to account for how communities are affected by energy systems and how communities' experiences and perspectives are represented and recognised throughout energy decision-making processes. Energy decision-making and energy access can have substantial impacts on everyday life and social practices. The dependency of contemporary living on the supply of energy has created more than a technical relationship but has formed a social relationship between humans and energy. For this reason, Dunphy et al. (2023) considers the energy system as a 'social system'. Both the ENTRUST Project that mapped Europe's energy systems and the ENCLUDE project, focused on the topic of energy citizenship, highlighting the social nature of energy usage and how it can enable or restrict 'fulfilment of needs such as food and shelter whose quality depends on access

to energy' (Dunphy et al., 2017: 63). A report published by Dunphy et al. (2023) 'on intersectional analysis of emerging examples of energy citizenship' as part of the ENCLUDE (Energy Citizens for Inclusive Decarbonisation) project found that sense of community and place were a strong motivating factor in citizens' attitudes and engagement towards transitioning to a low carbon society. Research with members of local communities and environmental organisations in Ireland emphasised the importance of citizen-led and community-led engagement when making decisions around transitions to renewable energy sources, as well as expressing concerns around access to new energy alternatives, reiterating how transitions to a low-carbon energy system do not inherently result in

energy justice. Broto et al. (2022) describe how a community-led intersectional approach to tackling energy poverty can aid in achieving the dimensions of energy justice, such as the distributional, procedural, and recognition dimensions, and should aim to address 'inequalities in power and injustices across entire socio-energy systems' (ibid.: 2022: 7). This also chimes with what Waitt (2017) proposes as a feminist retrofit framework for understanding energy. This emphasises the limitations of technical knowledge production about energy and how energy consumption is produced, recognising that the social aspects of energy are also gendered and relate to gendered practices within households, particularly around making houses as homes or homemaking.

Box 5.2: Case Study: Tackling Energy Poverty through Local Actions

'Empowering Women to Take Action Against Energy Poverty'

A report published by the Energy Poverty Advisory Hub (2021) which is an EU initiative to eradicate energy poverty, included case studies of energy poverty solutions at local level in Europe. This report includes a case study about EmpowerMed which is a project aimed at alleviating the impacts of energy poverty on women and vulnerable groups in coastal regions of Mediterranean countries, with a particular focus on health improvement. EmpowerMed develop activities such as setting up collective advisory assemblies, household visits by advisors that can provide tailored advice on how to reduce energy costs and increase energy efficiency, supports and information on how to access grants and energy schemes, and health workshops.

EmpowerMed aims to formulate solutions to energy poverty at local and national level as well as providing policy recommendations at EU level. Those who benefited from the project include women, children, older people and disabled people. Sustainable energy solutions were central to the implementation of this project. Relevant SDGs included: 3. Good Health and Well-Being, 5. Gender Equality, and 7. Affordable and Clean Energy.

Source: Energy Poverty Advisory Hub (2021) Tackling energy poverty through local actions- Inspiring cases from Europe.

Energy poverty and housing policy measures

The EPAP does contain measures to alleviate the burden of energy costs on financially vulnerable households through both short-term and long-term measures. Short-term measures include social protection payments such as the Electricity Cost Emergency Benefit Scheme and long-term initiatives that aim to improve the energy efficiency of a home through the National Retrofit Plan (Department of the Environment, Climate and Communications, 2021). This plan includes The Warmer Homes Scheme that provides free home energy upgrades to qualifying households that are in receipt of social welfare payments. Reducing energy poverty through retrofitting houses and introducing sustainable energy solutions are inherent to housing policy development. 'Levels of insulation and state of repair of housing have a direct effect on levels of energy poverty, as well as the associated impacts' (Middlemiss et al., 2022: 3). Previous research in England has found that improving energy efficiency of households can both reduce household income spend on energy as well as reduce GHG emissions, leading to both environment and energy justice benefits (Sovacool, 2015). Irelands current national housing policy plan, Housing for All, has committed to retrofitting 36,500 local authority properties by 2030 along-side committing to ensuring that all housing built under this policy plan are built to Nearly Zero Energy Building (nZEB) standards. The focus of both the EPAP and Housing for All to provide grants and assistance to retrofit homes is essential to reducing household energy prices and transitioning to a more sustainable energy system. However, there can be obstacles to retrofitting households, such as the eligibility of a property to undergo retrofitting, the feasibility of retrofitting, as well as encouraging landlords to avail of grants.

Box 5.3: EnergyMeasures

'Tailored Measures Supporting Energy Vulnerable Households'

This program aims to address energy poverty in eight European countries, including Ireland. Energy poor households are identified and then provided with 'low-cost energy measures' as well as guidance on how to adjust 'energy-related behaviours and practices.' The approach of the program 'takes account of the physical nature of housing units' and 'the lived experience of the household member'.

Source: Energy Citizens for Inclusive Decarbonisation (ENCLUDE), 2023

A barrier to retrofitting housing is affordability, as even with government grants, the initial cost to retrofit a property can be too high for many households in Ireland. The unaffordable nature of retrofitting is reflected in the low number of households availing of retrofit grants provided by the Sustainable Energy Authority of Ireland (SEAI). To achieve the goals of Housing for All, 75,000 homes a year must be retrofitted to reach 2030 targets. However, according to the SEAI (2023), 15,246 properties in 2021 and 27,199 properties in 2022 were retrofitted in Ireland. Research carried out by Savills (2023), a real estate company in Ireland, found that from a sample of 1000 adults, one in three could not afford to retrofit their property. A higher percentage of women (37%) compared to men (31%) claimed that they could not afford to improve the Building Energy Rating of their property. Moreover, research carried out on energy citizenship in Ireland found through conducting interviews with the Irish public and environmental organisations that the grants provided by the SEAI benefitted higher earning income households (Dunphy

et al., 2023). Interviewees described their inability to access retrofit grants as it was necessary to provide upfront payments. The cost to retrofit properties act as a barrier for low-income households, which are the same households that are more likely to have lower energy ratings and use solid fuels such as coal and peat to heat their homes (Social Justice Ireland, 2021).

The National Retrofit Plan contains the Warmer Homes Scheme, which provides eligible households who are in receipt of welfare payments with fully funded energy upgrades. Additionally, under the Local Authority Retrofit Programme, each year a specific number of social housing properties undergo deep energy retrofits with the aim to upgrade social housing stock to a B2 standard (South Dublin County Council, 2023). However, social housing residents have limited autonomy over the selection of housing stock to be retrofitted each year by local authorities. The limited autonomy of residents to decide if and when the accommodation they reside in will undergo retrofitting also applies to those who rent private accommodation. It is worth noting that since the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, there has been a decline in social housing builds and an increase in private sector solutions for social housing tenants via housing assistance payments (HAP). The housing policy plan, Rebuilding Ireland (2016), further led to reduction in social housing builds and the subsequent expansion of the private rental market which has compounded the rising rates of homelessness in Ireland (Burns et al., 2016; Hearne and Murphy, 2017; Hearne, 2020) as well as Housing For All explicitly stating that the Government shall be 'working with and enabling the private sector to deliver on Housing' (Department of Housing, Local Government, and Heritage, 2021: 17). The Survey of Income and Living Conditions (SILC) 2022 report found that those who rent were more likely to not be able to heat their home compared to those who owned their own property in Ireland (CSO, 2022). Additionally, it was found that 'one in five persons in single-adult households with children cannot afford to keep their home adequately warm' (ibid.: n.p.) and are more likely go without heating. What the SILC report did not acknowledge is

Box 5.4: Co-Housing Groups in Ireland

Cloughjordan Co-Housing

Cloughjordan Co-Housing was developed by a small group of people who aim to address the need for affordable housing in Cloughjordan Ecovillage. Cloughjordan Ecovillage is developed on the principles of affordability, sustainability, collective engagement, and community well-being.

Aisteach Co-operative Housing Society

This Industrial and Provident Society provides housing support to the LGBTQ+ community. Aisteach aims 'to create a sustainable, non-profit, intergenerational housing cooperative for the queer community in Dublin City.

Source: Self Organised Architecture: Co-Housing Groups in Ireland

the gendered aspects and experiences of both housing precarity and energy poverty. The Data Insights Series recently launched by The Housing Agency in Ireland does acknowledge the gendered aspects of housing and takes a more intersectional approach to analysing housing inequality through focusing on groups such as women, Migrants, and older persons. The Series' analysis of housing indicates that most single parents in Ireland are women, and they are also more likely to rent private accommodation (O'Brien, 2023). When linking the findings of the SILC report and The Housing Agency, it becomes clear that **those most impacted by energy poverty are single mothers renting private accommodation in Ireland.** They are also disproportionately affected by substandard housing quality, including problems with dampness, leaks, and rot (Murphy, 2023). When tackling energy poverty there is a need for an integrated response between governmental agencies and departments that takes account of both the gendered and intersectional aspects of energy poverty.

A further criticism of the SILC methodology is that the surveys and reports only account for the income and living conditions of people in households and do not account for the percentage of the population **who do not live in households,** such as those who are homeless, living in emergency accommodation, and living in institutions such as direct provision

A report published by The National Traveller Money Advice and Budgeting Service (MABS) in 2019 found that from a survey conducted among Travellers living in mobile homes or trailers, **72.3%** went without heating and **60%** could not keep the household warm.

(Social Justice Ireland, 2022). Individuals who do not reside in a household have limited, if any choice, over energy suppliers and their experiences of energy access and usage remains relatively invisible within energy justice discourse in Ireland. Reports have found that living conditions in emergency accommodation and direct provision centres are of poor quality and particularly unsuitable for families, women, and individuals with additional needs. Direct provision centres have been found to limit heating and access to cooking facilities, while residents have reported overcrowding and dampness in their rooms (AkiDwA, 2010; Dunbar et al., 2020; HSE, 2022). Single-parent families in emergency accommodation are overrepresented by lone mothers (O'Sullivan et al., 2021) reflecting how single parent families are more likely to be vulnerable to the risk of homelessness and energy poverty in Ireland (St Vincent de Paul and Threshold, 2021). The lack of recognition in policy and research of those experiencing energy poverty in direct provision and emergency accommodation and the lack of access and control of energy usage by residents who reside in such forms of accommodation, represents the lack of energy justice afforded to already vulnerable groups such as women, children, migrants and persons with a disability or additional needs. As previously stated, energy systems are not just technical in nature but are social, as the distribution of energy is intrinsically linked to the daily functioning of society, and therefore reducing autonomy to decide when, if and what type of energy source one uses, 'can heighten existing patterns of marginalisation, disempowerment, and displacement' (Dunphy et al., 2017: 60).

A community in Ireland that faces systemic inequality and has been disproportionately impacted by energy poverty is the **Traveller Community**. A report published by The National Traveller Money Advice and Budgeting Service (MABS) in 2019 found that from a survey conducted among

Box 5.5: Case Study: Intersectional Climate Justice-Tactics and Lessons from Barcelona

Barcelona has been adopting an intersectional climate justice response to practices related to tackling structural inequalities on the topics of energy access, healthcare services, housing, and transportation. Climate justice is central to the objectives of Barcelona's response which is hoped to be achieved using four main tactics. These include: (1) experimenting with disruptive planning strategies; (2) working transversally across agencies and actors to institutionalise climate justice; (3) putting care at the centre of urban planning; and (4) mobilising place-based approaches to tackle intersecting vulnerabilities of frontline residents (Amorim-Maia et al., 2023).

The initiatives and policies introduced in Barcelona to tackle climate and energy injustice are underpinned by a feminist intersectional approach that takes account of women's and marginalised communities lived experience. Barcelona aims to create climate policy that recognises the gender dimension of climate justice and incorporates a gender perspective that highlights the role of caregiving and safe and accessible spaces for socialising.

Reducing energy poverty in Barcelona is viewed as a transformative process that not only aims to improve energy efficiency and sustainability but aims to improve the wellbeing and social cohesion of citizens and communities, particularly vulnerable communities. Barcelona's Climate Emergency Plan 2021 focuses on reducing the impacts of climate change on already vulnerable groups through tactics and initiatives that improve energy efficiency and ensure that decision-making processes are inclusive. An example of an initiative launched to reduce energy injustice is Climate Shelters. This initiative improves the thermal comfort of both indoor and outdoor public spaces and facilities. Additionally, the Energy Advice Points initiative offers information and advice on how to avoid supply cuts and ensure that residents have access to energy services. A higher percentage of women have accessed this service, displaying the gendered nature of energy poverty and the need for resources that support women and marginalised communities.

Source: Amorim-Maia et al., 2023

Travellers living in mobile homes or trailers, 72.3% went without heating and 60% could not keep the household warm. The average spend on energy was found to be 'around five to six times higher' than that of the general population as there is 'a dependence on less efficient forms of energy production, and an absence of the ability to use other more environmentally friendly alternatives' (McArdle, 2021: 305). Moreover, despite lobbying by Pavee Point, government schemes for retrofitting remain inaccessible to Travellers who live in trailers. Ensuring that marginalised communities have access to energy efficient alternatives can aid in reducing energy poverty, can improve energy justice, and contribute positively to a just transition to net-zero emissions by 2050. McArdle (2021) claims there has been a lack of attention paid to the Traveller Community in discourse centred around a just transition and specifically energy transitions in Ireland. An example of lack of engagement with and recognition of the Traveller Community in climate discussions

and general policy concerns can be seen in the inclusion criteria for the Citizens' Assembly. Citizens' Assemblies aim to 'bring citizens together to discuss and consider important legal and policy issues' (Citizens Information, 2023: n.p.), including climate and energy related issues, which are then used to make recommendations to the Irish Parliament. The inclusion criteria for the Citizens' Assembly does not include ethnicity, and therefore there is no obligation for the selection of citizens to include Travellers. The inclusion of ethnicity as a criterion is core to ensuring that marginalised voices and experiences are recognised and represented when making energy decisions. Recognition justice is a core principle of energy justice, and so measures to ensure inclusion aid in understanding how to reduce energy poverty while transitioning to renewable energy sources using a just and fair process.

Opportunities and challenges in achieving climate justice.

Traveller inequalities are compounded by pollution – highly industrialised areas are halting sites

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In sum, tackling energy poverty requires an integrated response that takes account of the gender and intersectional dimensions of climate injustice. Gender-sensitive policy can highlight the intersecting inequalities experienced by women and marginalised communities, such as a lack of access to retrofit schemes and grants, high energy costs due to poor energy efficiency, lack of autonomy over energy usage and systems, and exclusion from decision-making structures. A feminist intersectional approach to policy and practice as well as meaningful community and citizen engagement are core to building the pathways towards climate and energy justice.

Opportunities and challenges in achieving climate justice.

Traveller Community – left behind – didn't benefit from the energy grant.

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06.

Food, Land Use, Agriculture and Biodiversity
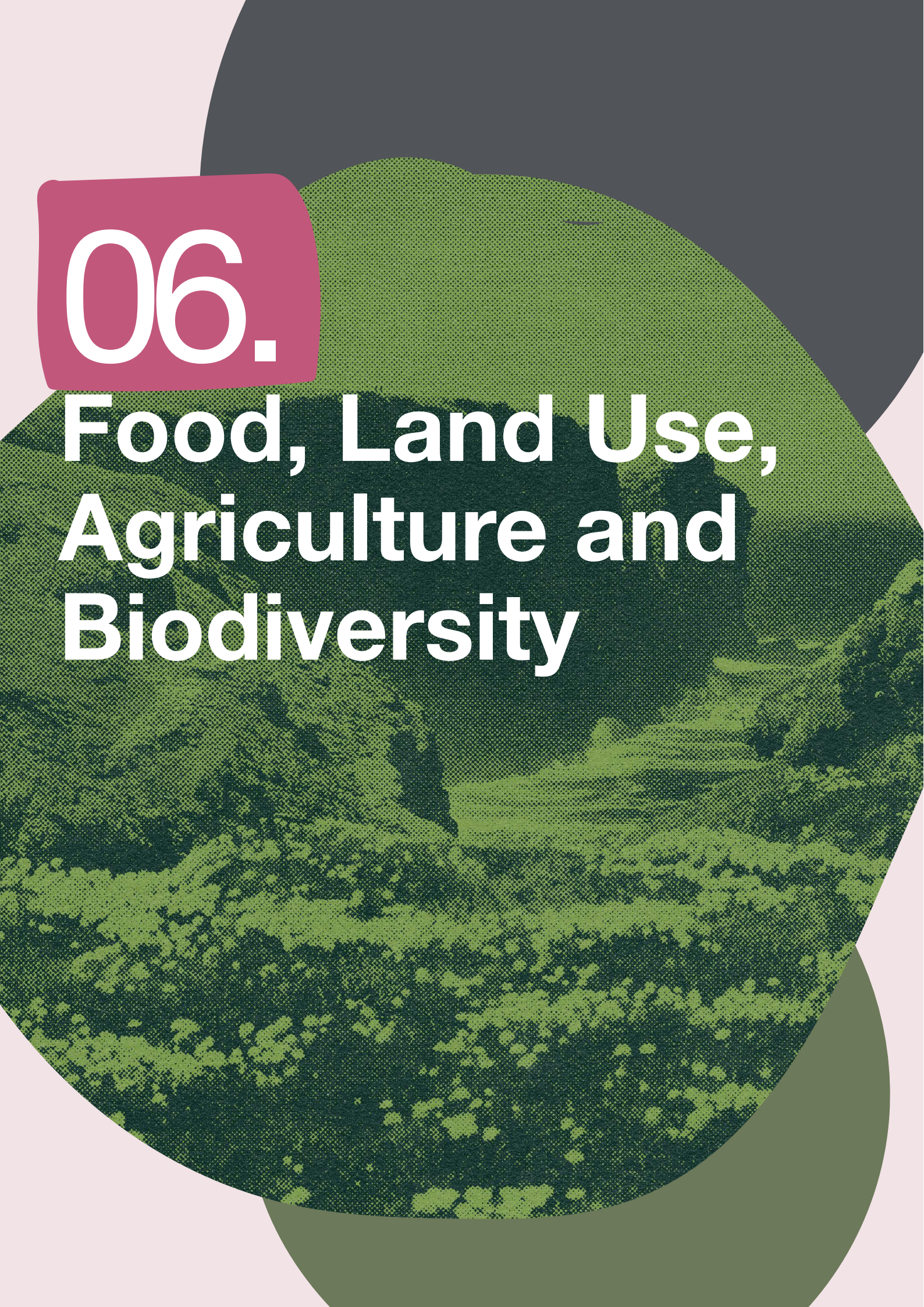
This section explores the related areas of food, land use, agriculture, and biodiversity. Each of these areas is addressed in the CAP 2023 and in discrete policy papers. Each area was specifically investigated for policy and literature on gender and intersectional inequalities and marginalised communities. It focuses on the social dimensions of all four areas which are often marginal in their treatment in climate and environmental policies. It looks at the problematic areas of existing policy, and opportunities for more equitable policy from an intersectional feminist climate justice perspective.

Food: food production, food poverty and food justice

Gender and socio-economic factors combine in the consideration of food (Herman et al., 2018; Grimaccia and Naccarato, 2022). In its production and consumption, food is not gender or class-neutral and instead harbours several persistent inequalities which have become more entrenched due to 'climate and weather shocks, the COVID-19 pandemic, political dysfunction, and civil unrest and displacement' (De Haan and Gilligan, 2022, n.p.). Global dysfunction caused by events including the Covid pandemic, massive population displacement due to climate change, conflict and political unrest has extended food inequality and insecurity across the world, with implications for women and marginalised groups and communities in the Global North as well as the Global South. For instance, food supply shortages due to the war in Ukraine have already had a significant impact on food availability and pricing in the EU, with knock-on effects for EU producers and consumers (European Institute of Innovation and Technology, 2022).

Three key themes have been identified and are addressed in this section. These are **food production, food poverty and food justice.** The main Irish policy documents which address these areas are the CAP 2023, *Food Vision 2030 and the Roadmap for Social Inclusion 2020-2025.*

In its working paper on rural women's lives, the NWC (2021) point out that **women struggle to achieve recognition as farmers and food producers**, despite making up 16% of the Irish agriculture, fisheries and forestry workforce. Women are less visible than men in the agriculture and agrifood sectors, poorly represented on agricultural and agrifood boards (ibid.) and subject to barriers including a gendered discourse that favours men (Ní Fhlatharta and Farrell, 2017).

There are intersectional dimensions to women's disadvantage as **migrant women** who work in agriculture and food production have suffered exploitation at the hands of employers. The specific experiences of migrant women in rural communities can be compounded by racism and discrimination, language barriers, legal status, and precarious forms of employment (NWC, 2021). Furthermore, there is significant evidence that migrants and migrant communities working in

food production have been subjected to discrimination and exploitation. Recent studies of migrant workers' experiences in the Irish meat and fishing industries reveal poor working conditions and inadequate pay and protections for these workers (Migrant Rights Centre Ireland, 2017, 2020b; O'Sullivan and Murphy, 2022; Murphy et al., 2023).

Despite the barriers experienced by women who work in food production, there is evidence that women are making a significant and growing contribution to rural economic diversification and innovation through the establishment of Joint Farming Ventures and rural enterprises, some of which involve food production (Ní Fhlatharta and Farrell, 2017; Cush et al., 2018). A recent baseline study conducted for the Department of Rural and Community Development reports that women make up 69% of the employees in social enterprises in Ireland and are involved in 61% of food and catering social enterprises (Department of Rural and Community Development, 2023).

Food Vision 2030, Ireland's ten-year strategy for the agri-food sector, acknowledges that women make an important contribution to the sustainability of the agri-food sector, and includes actions to promote and improve gender balance at all levels, including at senior management and board level. Recommendations of the strategy include the encouragement and promotion of women's participation at the highest levels in agri-food organisations; promotion of women in leadership roles in the agri-food sector; support for women's networks; mentoring programmes for rural female entrepreneurs; and support for women's return to work programmes (Department of Agriculture, Food and the Marine, 2023).

Carney and Maître (2012: 5) refer to **food poverty** as the 'inability to have an adequate and nutritious diet due to issues of affordability or accessibility'. There is no official indicator of food poverty in Ireland but the ESRI definition (Carney and Maître, 2012) has been used to enable its measurement, and the results indicate that the incidence of food poverty in Ireland has fluctuated over the last 16 years. From 7% in 2007, the Roadmap for Social Inclusion 2020-2025 reported that food poverty reached a high of 13.2% after the financial crisis and reduced to 7% in 2018 (Government of Ireland, 2020a). By 2021 it has increased again to 8.9% (Department of Social Protection, 2022). In 2022, Barnardos reported that food poverty is increasing in Ireland and nearly one third of people have experienced food poverty, with many parents cutting down on portion sizes or going without meals in order to feed their children (Corrigan, 2022). A study by the Childhood Development Initiative Ireland (Quinn et al., 2021) found high levels of food poverty amongst children in the Tallaght area of Dublin. The study emphasises that the Covid 19 pandemic highlighted the prevalence of food poverty, due to the closure of schools and unavailability of school meals on which many children rely.

Healy (2019) points out that the **groups most at risk of food poverty** in Ireland include women, the unemployed, people who are ill or disabled, all households with children and people at risk of poverty.

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Healy (2019) argues that Ireland needs a measure of food poverty that takes into account social exclusion vis-à-vis food, such as the ability to host social events including food and drink. Households which are unable to host family or friends with food and/or drink at least once a month should be considered food poor as well as socially excluded but are excluded from the official measure of food poverty. When social exclusion is taken into account, it is highly likely that food poverty is higher than the figure published by the State (ibid.).

> **Households which are unable to host family or friends with food and/or drink at least once a month should be considered food poor as well as socially excluded but are excluded from the official measure of food poverty.**

Despite the production of an ESRI report on food poverty (Carney and Maître, 2012), there has been no joined-up approach to measuring or tackling food poverty. Dowler and O'Connor (2012: 48) refer to the Irish State's 'fractured responsibility for "food poverty and insecurity", encouraging local level responsibilities or non-State actors to deal with local problems on a piecemeal basis', thereby eschewing more social justice or rights-based approaches. The Department of Social Protection's document on Food Poverty (Department of Social Protection, 2022) which is based on the work of a Food Poverty Working Group established in 2021 uses the ESRI definition of food poverty and **does not recognise or understand food poverty in terms of social exclusion**. The Minister's Foreword is illustrative of this narrower perspective:

First and foremost, we know that people need sufficient income to buy food. But we also know that they need accessible local shops and supermarkets that supply a variety of affordable and nutritious food. They need the facilities to cook meals and the knowledge and skills to make those meals nutritious and healthy (Department of Social Protection, 2022: 4).

This understanding of food poverty also elides the cultural dimensions of food poverty including access to, preparing, and sharing culturally appropriate foods in the context of the direct provision system in Ireland (Barry, 2014; Dunbar et al., 2020). This has significant implications for the large numbers of people who are living or have lived in the direct provision system, which in early 2023 was housing an unprecedented number of 20,000 people (Fletcher, 2023) in addition to thousands of Ukrainian refugees who are currently in Ireland. The reality of these economic, social, and cultural dimensions of food poverty demonstrates 'the roles that race, class, gender, and other forms of inequality play in both conventional and alternative food systems' (Alkon, 2014: 28).

Food in/justice seeks to 'understand how inequalities of race, class and gender are reproduced and contested within food systems' (Glennie and Alkon, 2018: 1). These long-standing inequalities are bound up with every aspect of food production and consumption and include diet and health, access to land and food growing opportunities, employment in food production, food processing and serving and salaries in these jobs (ibid.).

In Ireland there has not been a concerted focus on food in/justice. This may be due in part to Ireland's record of an absolute level of food security, scoring only second to Finland globally (The Economist Group, 2022). As we have seen, the reality is much more nuanced. Social Justice Ireland (2023) points out several aspects of food policy that have received little attention

from government. These include women's role in agriculture, the under-representation of marginalised groups in food policy making, and the impact on these groups of increased food prices due to inflation and food scarcity.

Alkon (2014: 18) identifies **food movements** as a way of organising to combat the 'inherently undemocratic' nature of contemporary food markets. Examples of these movements include worker cooperatives and activism to address worker inequalities in food systems. In this way, food becomes a tool toward broader social justice organising' (Alkon, 2014: 28). Corcoran et al. (2017: 308) note that in Ireland 'there has been a flourishing of civil society advocacy groups mobilising around alternative production systems, organic farming, food waste, health and wellbeing…' (see also Marwood and McCarthy, 2023). These groups are part of wider contemporary food movements that 'challenge power, creating alternative institutional arrangements and building food systems that embody sustainable material relationships between human communities and the natural world that supplies our needs' (Sage et al., 2021: 7). These actions may be regarded as a form of 'self-provisioning' (ibid.) and include community-supported gardening and urban gardening, which are explored later in this section.

Opportunities and challenges in achieving climate justice.

Food access, choices.

Care and food systems.

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Land use and spatial justice

The history of land ownership and use in Ireland is a **highly gendered** one, with patriarchal patterns of land ownership and usage persisting into the 21st Century (Ní Fhlatharta and Farrell, 2017; Curtin, 2021). Curtin (2021, n.p.) refers to 'gendered power divisions within farm families, that reflect the history and social norms of land ownership in Ireland'. The marginalisation of women reflects wider processes of spatial inequality and injustice that most severely affect marginalised groups and communities in Ireland (Kearns, 2014), across urban, rural, and semi-urban contexts. These inequalities were exacerbated following the financial crisis of 2008. Hearne et al. (2014: 60) refer to how from the turn of the century 'all aspects of planning and development in Ireland became market- and developer-led, underpinned by a neoliberal ethos and entrepreneurial practice'. This, together with a history of inadequate regional and spatial development, has had adverse social, environmental, and economic consequences for localities and communities (O'Driscoll et al., 2023). Moreover, in comparative terms, Ireland fares poorly for its land use compared to the majority of EU countries. In the past decade it is one of only three countries where its LULUCF sector (land use, land use change and forestry) has been a net emitter, rather than a net remover, of CO_2 emissions (European Environment Agency, 2023).

Two key themes have been identified and are addressed in this section. These are **land use and spatial justice**. The main policy documents which address these areas are the CAP 2023, the Roadmap for Social Inclusion 2020-2025 and Ireland 2040.

In the context of climate change and crisis, increasing attention is being paid to uneven regional and spatial development and land use in Ireland, as well as growing interest and literature on these areas and significant recent policy activity.

There are several aspects to uneven regional and spatial development and the concomitant use of land. These include the concentration of 50% the population in the Eastern and Midland regions and of much of Ireland's economic activity in the Dublin region and the relative underdevelopment of other regions (NESC, 2021). This evidence of uneven development has implications for land use, including aspects such as the price of land, its availability, and the purposes for which it is used. A NESC report (2018) on land use indicates that there is an **ineffective system of land use management in Ireland,** disproportionate favouring of landowners, hoarding of land and the underdevelopment of housing and infrastructure. Outcomes of such an ineffective system include a 'risky, unstable and unaffordable' (NESC, 2018: iii) housing supply. The system of land use management in Ireland is contrasted with the effective land use and management systems of three other countries, Austria, Germany, and The Netherlands. Amongst its recommendations, NESC advocates a developmental mandate based on 'public authorities working with a range of private and non-for-profit development and housing organisations groups… and community groups' (ibid.: vi).

Ineffective land use management and spatial development have significant implications including the generation of considerable inequalities both between and within urban, rural, and semi-rural areas. Sweeney (2018) refers to the need to curb the unbalanced nature of regional development whereby the greater Dublin region holds 40% of the population and a substantial proportion of economic activity and output. In their turn, regional imbalances lead to a range of inequalities

associated with a range of negative social outcomes from poor physical and mental health, violence, and also community breakdown. Highly unequal urban centres are hotbeds for crime and isolated rural communities are often deprived, unable to, for instance, access important social and public services (ibid.: 2).

The National Planning Framework (NPF) (Government of Ireland, 2018) recognises the threats of unbalanced regional growth and suggests that growth focused mainly on the Dublin region endangers the quality of life for all parts of Ireland. The NPF identifies the goals of proportionate regional development, land use and housing development, thereby seeking to ensure 'overall national growth, promoting regional parity, building accessible centres of scale and securing compact and sustainable growth' (ibid.: 29). A recent expert review of the NPF calls for greater equity proofing in spatial planning, so as to avoid spatial unevenness and imbalances 'not just in housing but also in relation to the availability of services, access to all levels of education, recreational amenities, jobs, and opportunities for personal development' (Expert Group for the First Revision of the National Planning Framework 2023: 11). The review recommends that the revised NPF should consider ways in which spatial equity can be used in strategic planning in Ireland. This connects with the next theme of spatial in/justice.

Spatial justice is a complex concept that encompasses considerations of space, temporality, and inclusion. Madanipour et al. (2022: 813) propose a comprehensive and intersectional definition of spatial justice as 'the democratic process of equitably distributing social and environmental benefits and burdens within and between groups, territories, and generations'. The inverse of spatial justice is spatial injustice or the 'spatial or geographical aspects of… injustice' (Soja, 2009: 2).

In their study of spatial justice in Ireland, Kearns et al. (2014) identify three main dimensions of spatial in/justice: planning; inequality of opportunity; and inequality of identity. Included under this rubric are issues including land planning, housing, the environment, health, immigration, and education. In the key area of housing, spatial injustice is reflected in the inadequacy and 'patchiness' of social housing, mortgage arrears and negative equity, and the existence of unfinished or 'ghost' estates (Hearne et al., 2014), 75 of which remain in 2023, according to Department of Housing Figures (Irish Times, 2023). Hearne and McSweeney (2023) consider other aspects of spatial injustice, including the different forms of homelessness that continue to affect large numbers of people. They underline aspects of spatial injustice in the reporting of rough sleepers, wherein some regions fail to report numbers of rough sleepers, thereby under-representing the numbers of people experiencing homelessness. They also point out that domestic abuse is the main cause of homelessness in Ireland and that most of those who experience domestic violence are women and children. The scarcity of social housing makes rehousing survivors of domestic abuse more challenging (ibid.), while domestic abuse refuges are usually located in cities, making it difficult for many women and families leaving domestic abuse to access them.

Agriculture

In Ireland, agriculture has traditionally connoted rurality and 'patrilineal socio-cultural values' (Balaine, 2019: 36), while the majority of Irish land use (68%) is dedicated to agriculture (EPA, 2023a). In 2020, women accounted for 12% of farmers and farm workers, while from 2010 to 2020 there was just a 1% increase in the percentage share of female farm holders, from 17,345 (or 12.4%) in 2010 to just over 18,000 female farm holders (or 13.4%) in 2020 (CSO, 2020).

The **gendered nature of agriculture** in Ireland is largely mirrored across the EU which has identified several dimensions of gender inequality in agriculture and rural development. These include the unequal participation of men and women in agriculture and rural development, an ageing rural population and the concomitant masculinisation of rural areas, the invisibility of women's roles in rural areas and in agriculture and women's under-representation in farm ownership and agricultural decision-making (EIGE, 2016a). Women in European agriculture represent:

…an invisible force as their presence and role are not accurately reflected in statistics. Many of those who are involved in agricultural work do not receive a separate income from their husband or other male members of the household. By assisting their farmer husbands and other self-employed men, they are not entitled to social security in their own right and often do not hold property rights to land or farms (ibid.: 6).

While these characteristics have continued to dominate into the 21st Century, there is evidence of **some changing dynamics in Irish agriculture.** Women's growing contribution to food production and farm enterprise was acknowledged in the discussion of food. Furthermore, women's experiences in rural areas are receiving greater attention from policy makers and rural and agricultural organisations. The Irish Farmers' Association (IFA) (2019) has produced the results of a survey of farmers' and farm workers' attitudes towards diversity in agriculture. Key research findings include an overwhelming agreement that women play an important role in Irish farms and should play a greater role in farming organisations. The findings also reflect an awareness that women experience barriers to greater involvement in farming organisations, including lack of opportunities, time and confidence in their

skills, and insufficient enthusiasm amongst existing farming leaders to facilitate women's involvement (IFA, 2019).

The IFA report on diversity in farming provides evidence of an interest in involving more women in leadership roles of farming organisations, however the report does not refer to the intersectionality of women's experiences in rural areas. In its working paper on rural women the NWC (2021) points out the diversity and intersectionality of women's lives and experiences in rural areas. The working paper notes that most policy on rural areas focuses on economic development and has 'failed to recognise, resource or support the diversity that, while now growing, has always been a part of rural society' (NWC, 2021: 4). Pointing out that over a third (36.6%) of women live in rural areas in Ireland, the working paper emphasises the complexity and intersectionality of women's rural lives and experiences and the need for policies that recognise this diversity and provide women with opportunities to contribute fully to the places and spaces in which they live and work. More differentiated policies would begin to reflect the growing significance, diversity, and 'cosmopolitanism' (Woods, 2018) of rural areas, in Ireland and throughout the Global North. Stead et al. (2023: 1) point to how:

Geographies of capital accumulation and distribution, the global restructuring of food production, and state-based resettlement policies for people from migrant and humanitarian refugee backgrounds have reconfigured the social and economic landscapes of the rural Global North.

In this dynamic context 'the consequentiality of rural lives, ecologies and imaginaries remains forceful and persistent' (ibid.). The consequentiality of these lives and experiences is thrown into relief during this time of crisis when climate change, pandemics, conflict, and

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Exploring a different way of farming.

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technological change are causing global turmoil. Scoones et al. (2023: 11) refer to a raft of innovations and initiatives that are helping to address these issues and revitalise rural places through 'alternative ways of delivering energy, food, water and other services'. They also point out the need for strategies and approaches that are intersectional and 'emancipatory' in nature by addressing 'basic questions of class, race, gender and identity' (ibid.: 11). We have already seen how rural innovations such as Joint Farm Ventures can facilitate women's participation in rural enterprise while enabling economic diversification and retention of rural population. The discussion of social and urban farming below will extend this exploration of the potential of emancipatory approaches.

Gender equality is a core principle of the EU and a cross-cutting objective of the new EU Common Agriculture Policy 2023-2027. Ireland's new *Common Agriculture Policy Strategic Plan 2023-2027* (Department of Agriculture, Food and the Marine, 2022) includes supports to promote gender equality and greater participation by women in farming, including an increased grant aid under agricultural modernisation schemes; women-only Knowledge Transfer Groups and more women advisors; and a call for proposals to examine women's participation in agriculture under the

European Innovation Partnerships (EIP) initiative. In addition, in 2022 the Minister for Agriculture, Food and the Marine announced the first National Dialogue on women's role in agriculture. This conference was held in February 2023.

Other current initiatives include the HER-SELF project and the ACORNS programme which offers supports for women who have started enterprises in rural areas in Ireland. Under the auspices of the Department of Agriculture, Food and the Marine, ACORNS is based on a dialogic model whereby new entrepreneurs engage in interactive round table sessions that are facilitated by women entrepreneurs, known as 'Lead Entrepreneurs', who have started and grown their own successful businesses in rural Ireland.

Multifunctional forms of agriculture and farming developed throughout the 20th Century and have received growing recognition in recent years, in Europe and Ireland. Social and urban farming and urban gardening are three of these forms, but other overlapping forms include care farming, farming for health and green care. All of these kinds of farming offer social, health and wellbeing benefits, as well as social inclusion and 'an ethic of care' European Network for Rural Development (ENRD) (2010: 3). While multifunctional farming has a long-standing and significant footprint in other countries with large agricultural sectors like The Netherlands, these forms have existed in Ireland since the 1980s and have just recently begun to grow and expand (Social Farming Ireland, 2020). **Urban Gardening** is distinct from urban farming which describes for-profit food production (Simon-Rojo et al., 2015; Lang, 2020). Urban gardening instead 'encompasses agricultural activities with generally low economic dependence on material outputs, while using the production of food for achieving other, mostly social, goals' (ibid.: 24). Different kinds of urban gardening include allotments, therapeutic gardens such as mindfulness gardens in hospitals, educational gardens such as in schools, community gardens and social farming.

Box 6.1: HER-SELF

The HER-SELF (Highlighting Pathways to Empower Rural Women to have Sustainable and Equitable Livelihoods in Farming) 2023-2024 project is funded by the Department of Agriculture, Food and the Marine and being carried out by Maynooth University, Munster Technological University and Teagasc. Responding to a paucity of information on women's rural and farming lives, HER-SELF will use primary and secondary data to evidence future policies on enhancing the role of women in farming. Using a gendered focus, the project aims to identify barriers and enabling factors in women's career paths in the agricultural sector and the reasons for their choices. It will also adopt a spatial equity focus by taking geographical differences into account in women's participation, incomes, and experiences.

Source: HER-SELF

All of these forms of urban gardening are present in Ireland and community gardens have a particularly strong and growing presence (CGI (Community Gardens Ireland), 2021). Doyle (2022) identifies both personal and societal motivations for the establishment of community gardens while Corcoran et al. (2017: 313) note that community gardens 'have become a means for residents to relocalise food production so as to proactively address issues of poverty and social fragmentation' (see also Koay and Dillon, 2020). In the context of Covid-19, Owens (2020: n.p.) refers to the 'food education sustainability' potential of community gardens for young people and other sections of the community. Community gardens serve a range of socially inclusive and intersectional purposes and

have provided new spaces for working class and low-income groups, including… asylum seekers, refugees and individuals and groups with disabilities and mental illnesses, to engage with food and the outdoor urban environment in ways that enhance individual dignity and self-esteem. In this way, and in the context of sharp social divisions, they have the potential to forge broader agendas that bring together

and empower low-income communities in the face of untrammelled market forces and rapacious processes of economic restructuring (Cumbers et al. 2018: 147).

In 2020, the Social Farming Ireland NGO produced a report on social farming in Ireland. The report offers the following definition of **social farming:**

Social Farming provides a planned, outcome focused placement for people on a farm using the natural assets of the people, the place, the activities, and the community to support a person to achieve some of their own chosen goals. It is fundamentally based on spending time with farmers and their families in the natural environment of the farm, and encompasses two other key elements; valuable, meaningful activities and social and community connection which combine to deepen its impact further… (Social Farming Ireland, 2020: 3).

Social farming is a strongly intersectional activity that involves people of all genders and specifically those who may experience marginalisation, such as people with physical disabilities or mental ill health; people who are long term unemployed

and young people who have never been employed; other young people; older people; people experiencing homelessness services, people in recovery; and refugees.

The benefits of social farming are personal (mental and physical health and wellbeing) and social, including social inclusion through the 'development of social relationships and connections with the farmer, the farm family and with the wider community' (ibid.). Some of the challenges for social farming in Ireland noted by the report include the need to grow the activity and to access a firm funding base to enable further growth.

Biodiversity

Human activities are having a detrimental effect on biodiversity and ecosystems (Nielsen et al., 2021), however there is increasing recognition that biodiversity is vital to the health of our planet and that humans are part of biodiversity rather than separate from it (Kabora, 2021). There is also a growing awareness of the importance of biodiversity for human health and wellbeing (Citizens' Assembly on Loss of Biodiversity, 2023) and for social justice. Roe (2023) points out that the most disadvantaged people are most likely to be adversely affected by biodiversity loss.

The new Global Biodiversity Framework (UN, 2022) identifies a number of targets for the protection and development of biodiversity until 2030. Two of the targets refer to the need to firstly, ensure 'the full, equitable, inclusive, effective and gender-responsive representation' (UN, 2022: 13) of local communities, girls and women and disabled people. And secondly to ensure gender equality in the implementation of the Framework through a gender-responsive approach, which will include 'recognising their equal rights and access to land and natural resources and their full, equitable, meaningful and informed participation and leadership at all levels of action, engagement, policy and decision-

making related to biodiversity' (ibid.). Ireland supports gender activities under the UNFCCC 1994, including the implementation of its Gender Action Plan. Following COP25's adoption of the enhanced Lima Work Programme on Gender and a Gender Action Plan, Ireland was one of the countries that appointed a National Gender and Climate Change Focal Point to participate in negotiations, advocate for gender balance and responsiveness within delegations, and act as a liaison between the UNFCCC and relevant policymakers. These actions do not extend to the national climate policy, however. While the CAP 2023 does devote attention to climate change biodiversity loss in Ireland and internationally, as noted across several sections of this review, its focus on gender does not extend to gender inequalities in Ireland. Consequently, its discussion of biodiversity loss and the goal of transitioning to 'a climate resilient, biodiversity-rich, environmentally sustainable, and climate-neutral economy' (Government of Ireland, 2022: 33) does not consider the role of addressing intersectional inequalities, including gender in achieving and maintaining a bio-diversity rich environment.

It has already been noted that agriculture and farming can make a significant contribution to health and wellbeing. The current Programme for Government Our Shared Future (Government of Ireland, 2020b) recognises the importance of biodiversity for communities and society. Ireland's first wellbeing framework, Understanding Life in Ireland: The Wellbeing Framework (Government of Ireland, 2023), refers specifically to the importance of biodiversity in wellbeing. The framework identifies a high degree of wellbeing across 10 of its 11 indicators. The environment, climate and biodiversity indicator is the only one to perform negatively, due to several problems including inequalities in different groups' experiences of pollution, grime and other environmental problems, with groups living in poverty experiencing

greater problems. The key point is that marginalised communities suffer most from the consequences of climate change and this has been inadequately recognised or addressed by policy makers (Harding, 2023).

In sum, this section has presented an analysis of the related areas of food, land use, agriculture, and biodiversity. It has highlighted inequalities and injustices in ways that related systems and policies are currently functioning and which have an impact on women, people living in poverty and people living in marginalised communities amongst others. Systems of food injustice and spatial injustice remain blind spots in policy making and are compounding in that climate and environmental policies do not take full account of them. There are pockets of innovative developments, but these remain on the margins of policy attention. The CAP 2023 states that 'the transition to net zero is as much an economic and societal challenge as a scientific or technical one' (Government of Ireland, 2022: 40). In the areas reviewed here, arguably scientific, and technical approaches remain dominant and the societal challenges and how they point to intersectional feminist climate injustices, remain to be fully understood as injustices and addressed as such.

07.
Transport

This section explores how transport and climate policy addresses the transport needs and experiences of women and marginalised communities. The core policy documents referred to in this section are the CAP 2023 and the *National Sustainable Mobility Policy* (Department of Transport, 2022). In deploying an intersectional feminist approach to the investigation of transport policy, particular emphasis is placed on just transitions to sustainable modes of transportation in Ireland.

Transport, car-dependency, travel poverty and mobility of care

The transport sector plays a significant role in the transition to a carbon neutral economy. According to the EPA (2023b), transportation accounted for 19.1% of Ireland's total GHG emissions in 2022. Recent Irish transport and climate policy has prioritised the reduction of GHG emissions, with the aim of incentivising and implementing sustainable modes of transportation nationally. The CAP 2023 places substantial emphasis on the need to transition away from fossil-fuel intensive modes of transport to achieve the 2030 target of reducing GHG emissions by 51%. This is in turn informed by the OECD's (2022) '*Redesigning Irish Transport Review'*, which criticised how the design of the Irish transport system results in **car-dependency**, particularly for those living in rural areas, and therefore contributes to increased GHG emissions. The CAP 2023 outlines five key principles which aim to tackle the issue of car-dependency and promote sustainable methods of transportation. The principles are as follows: 1. systems innovation; 2. just transition; 3. accelerated implementation; 4. communication and citizen engagement; and 5. enhanced governance, particularly at local authority level. Additionally, a

wellbeing lens is applied to the design of net-zero transport strategies, which can be seen in the approach taken by the OECD (2022) review on *Redesigning Irish Transport,* the CAP 2023, and the *National Sustainable Mobility Policy* (SMP) 2022. A transportation system that is accessible to all, affordable, sustainable, and fit for purpose 'will enhance societal wellbeing as well as reducing GHG emissions' (Government of Ireland, 2022: 188).

Both the CAP 2023 and SMP state that transformative change is required to achieve near term climate targets such as a 51% reduction of emissions by 2030 and long-term climate goals such as a net-zero economy, including the transportation sector, by 2050. One such change is a shift away from car-dependency that requires both systemic and behavioural transformation. CAP 2023 acknowledges the need to ensure a just transition away from car dependency, specifically for communities residing in certain areas that due to lack of public transportation infrastructure, are 'locked-in' to car ownership. The likelihood of experiencing **transport poverty** is heightened for communities living in rural areas of Ireland and therefore the CAP 2023 and SMP have prioritised the development of public transportation infrastructure in rural areas with the aim of both reducing transport poverty and reliance on private

car ownership. This approach to public transportation in rural areas is reflective of the Connecting Ireland initiative developed by the National Transport Authority (NTA) **(Box 7.1).**

Additional measures to reduce car dependency and increase the use of public transport or alternative sustainable methods of transportation include increasing the price of car parking and reducing the number of car parking spaces near and in city centres. The increased cost of car parking would not apply to disabled parking spaces. While an exception is applied to disabled parking spaces, these measures lack consideration of the **gender aspects of car dependency.** Although the CAP 2023 and SMP highlight that behavioural change is required to transition from dependency on private car ownership, there is lack of detail as to how behaviours are informed by gendered roles, responsibilities, and norms. Polk (2009) describes how 'cars are not only an instrumental and rational transport mode' and that the 'wider social context of gender norms, practices and ideologies result in a variety of constructions of gendered mobility patterns' (Polk, 2009: 75). The SMP does include a case study on the report *'Travelling in a Woman's Shoes'* published by Transport Infrastructure Ireland in 2020 (Cahill et al., 2020). The report found that women rely heavily on car transport due to disproportionate caring responsibilities, increased safety concerns including fear of harassment, and lack of access to alternative modes of transportation. This report states that creating policy that addresses the gender dimensions of transportation, can benefit not only women, but other groups in society such as older people, children, disabled people and more. Applying a feminist approach to transportation policy complements and benefits an intersectional approach to policy.

Box 7.1: Connecting Ireland: Rural Mobility Plan

This initiative developed by the NTA aims to enhance connectively between villages, towns, and cities in Ireland by improving existing services, such as rural bus services, and creating new services that will benefit community engagement and reduce the isolation of citizens residing in rural areas of Ireland.

Source: NTA (2021) Connecting Ireland: Rural Mobility Plan

Apart from the inclusion of the *'Travelling in a Woman's Shoes'* report, the focus on gender and marginalised communities within transport and climate policy is limited in Ireland. How the increase in car parking prices and reduced car parking spaces will impact women is not addressed. The National Travel Survey (CSO, 2019b) found that over one in five respondents stated that the choice to travel by car was based on the need to carry out family/child related activities, and other modes of transport were not adequate, suitable, or reliable enough to carry out such activities. Females were more likely to use the car for family/child related activities compared to males. A concept coined by Sánchez de Madariaga, known as the **mobility of care,** 'acknowledges the need to quantify, assess and make visible the daily travel associated with care work' (Sánchez de Madariaga, 2013: 33). Due to social and cultural gender norms, roles and expectations, women are burdened with a disproportionate responsibility to carry out unpaid labour in the form of care work. The disproportionate responsibility of care work placed on women can hinder their ability to avail of sustainable modes of transport such as cycling and walking, and therefore result in increased car dependency. Two factors that are associated with care work and result in reliance on car transport are time

poverty and trip chaining (NWC, 2020). **Trip chaining** is a pattern of mobility associated with the unpaid labour of care that involves 'making numerous small trips as part of a larger journey such as running errands and buying groceries on the way to work' (Cahill et al., 2020: 10). The pattern of trip chaining, most associated with women's transport patterns, is often not suited to modes of active travel such as walking and cycling as well as public transportation due to limited time availability and lack of infrastructure. Additionally, patterns of mobility vary based on gender specific travel needs that are often associated with caregiver accessibility and personal safety. This can result in a form of gender-based price discrimination in transport referred to as 'the pink tax of mobility' (Shermansong et al., 2022) which details why women often pay more than men to travel. A study in Canada 'Riding Alone and Together' by Sersli et al. (2020) found that female participants in the study wanted to use more active transportation such as cycling but felt 'locked into using cars' as a primary mode of transportation due to caring responsibilities, safety concerns, and lack of time availability. The results of this research study mirror similar findings in Ireland, where time poverty limit women's ability to avail of sustainable transport modes. (Cahill et al., 2020; NWC, 2020). The 'double day' phenomenon in which women engage in both paid employment and carry the primary responsibility of unpaid employment such as caring duties and household tasks, has been noted to have negative impacts on wellbeing (EIGE, 2016b; NWC, 2020).

Moreover, the lack of mobility options associated with the mobility of care can impact women's 'health and wellbeing, by limiting their use of walking and cycling, by inducing stress or trauma, with long journeys leaving them time poor, or by contributing to isolation' (Cahill et al., 2020: 18). As previously stated, the CAP

2023 and SMP take a wellbeing approach to the design of transportation strategies in Ireland however, the impacts of time poverty experienced by women and how this will impact access to and choices of modes of transportation are not addressed. Ravensbergen et al. (2020) highlight how intersectional identities shape ones caring responsibilities, patterns of transport and overall wellbeing. It is therefore important for transport policy to acknowledge how women's and other intersectional identities influence transport patterns. The three key principles informing the SMP are 1. safe and green mobility; 2. people focused mobility; and 3. better integrated mobility. If these three principles are to be fully realised, an intersectional feminist approach is necessary to understand how policy can be created to ensure that all members of society can access safe and green mobility regardless of identity, characteristics, or ability.

Returning to Hot or Cool project report on *Care-full Climate Communication* also drawn upon in the earlier section on the care economy, Wang et al. (2023) outlines the relationship between care work, environmental sustainability, and wellbeing, emphasising how the importance of wellbeing and its relation to care work can often be undervalued and overlooked in policy development. The report draws on semi-structures interviews with 'researchers, artists, activists, practitioners, Indigenous experts and policy specialists'. The findings state that without prioritising care needs and acknowledging the lived experience of communities most impacted by climate change, environmental measures and policy can cause **additional harm to marginalised communities and as such perpetuate distributional climate injustice.** Respondents explained how cars are often required to carry out **caring duties** or needed for **disabled people,** specifically bigger cars as they can fit wheelchairs. If policy is to encourage the use of public transport rather than

car transport, there not only needs to be increased public transport infrastructure, but the planning and implementation of such infrastructure needs to take account of accessibility and safety to ensure that disabled people and those carrying out caring duties can avail of public transportation and do not feel 'locked into' or shamed for using a car as a mode of transportation.

The CAP 2023 and SMP claim that a transition to a cleaner and greener transportation system involves an increase in electric car usage. Policy aims to create and enable a shift away from the current car-centric model of transport; however, it acknowledges that car transport will still be a desired method of transportation and therefore technology can play an important role in the electrification of vehicles. A target of 30% of the private car fleet to be electric is set to be achieved by 2030 which will be led by Zero Emission Vehicles Ireland which provides consumer advice for switching to electric vehicles. Although a switch to electric vehicles can contribute positively to the reduction of GHG emissions from the transportation sector, this switch has the potential to disadvantage certain communities in Ireland. A barrier to purchasing electric cars is affordability and this directly impacts the purchasing power of low-income earners. Galgóczi (2023) claims that unaffordable electric vehicles could result in a 'two-class mobility system' in which those who can afford to switch to an electric car will benefit from the long-term savings of not relying on gas-powered cars, and those who cannot afford the switch will become increasingly reliant on the public transport sector that particularly in rural areas lacks adequate infrastructure to meet people's transportation needs.

Sustainable lifestyles and methods of sustainable transport such as electric cars are often associated with 'the sustainable modern man' and centre affluent masculinity as 'the norm for the transport sector, in terms of travel needs, priorities, and preferences for travel solutions' (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014: 428). The process of transport policy planning and implementation require an intersectional lens to understand how certain groups may be excluded from sustainable forms of transport rather than a narrow lens that only accounts for 'the "default" cisgender, heterosexual, able-bodied, middle-class, white male user' (Lam, 2022: 6). Transforming the transportation sector in adherence with just transition principles, requires an integrated response that highlights and tackles structural inequalities as well as promotes sustainable alternatives to transportation that are fair, equitable and inclusive.

The *'Travelling in a Woman's Shoes'* report claims that 'traditionally male-dominated leadership and management has contributed to an unintended male bias in the design of transport systems, resulting in adverse outcomes for women' (Cahill et al., 2020: 11). The current **male-centric transport system** does not account for the lived experiences that influence the transport patterns and needs of women and marginalised communities, who already experience forms of systemic discrimination and exclusion from policy

What would climate justice mean for you and your life?

Reliable accessible transport.

Transport: accessible, cheaper, and more.

Voices of FCCJ

Box 7.2: Case Study: Gender Mainstreaming the Transport Sector in Vienna

The City of Vienna has been committed to gender mainstreaming of policy since 1998, and this includes the gender mainstreaming of the transportation sector. In 1998 Vienna introduced a specialist planning unit known as 'The Co-ordination Office for Planning and Construction Geared to the Requirements of Daily Life and the Specialist Needs of Women'. This planning unit was heavily focused on the safety and accessibility of public streets. Some of the measures introduced include full illumination of park footpaths, school routes, subway routes, and public bicycle stands. Moreover, Vienna has focused on the gender mainstreaming of 'fair-traffic planning', that prioritises the interests of pedestrians, particularly women, children, and older people. Vienna's Executive Group for Organisation and Security have published manuals that support and advise employees, experts, and managers on the implementation of gender mainstreaming. The most recent manual, 'Gender Mainstreaming Made Easy' (2019), set out guidelines for employer events, such as ensuring that venues are accessible by public transport, bike or by foot; making sure pathways to a venue are well lit; and deciding on a time that takes caring responsibilities into account. Additionally, gender mainstreaming is implemented in Vienna's Urban Development Plan which was published in 2014 and includes policy goals extending to 2025. The central goal of this plan is to create an ecologically sustainable and socially balanced city. Vienna has set a target of 80% of all journeys to be by carried out by public transport, bike, or foot by 2025. According to this plan, Vienna promotes 'eco-friendly means of transport' that is 'socially fair because it aims to make mobility accessible to everyone'. The examples above demonstrate an approach to transport and mobility planning that takes account of the caring responsibilities and safety needs of women, while also ensuring that transport is eco-friendly and socially fair for all regardless of income or identity.

Sources: City of Vienna (2014) Urban Development Plan Vienna STEP 2025.

Executive Group for Organisation and Security (2021) Gender Mainstreaming- Made Easy: A Manual.

City of Vienna: Gender-sensitive traffic planning

priorities, planning, and development. The European Institute for Gender Equality (EIGE) contains a Gender Mainstreaming Programme that is used to encourage more diversity within policy decision making. EIGE (2016b) highlights the need for more representation of women and marginalised communities in transport policy and planning. The steps towards gender mainstreaming in transport will help ensure that sustainable transport systems are developed with the central objectives of safety, accessibility, and affordability for all.

Sustainable mobility

According to the SMP, **sustainable mobility** is

'Connecting people and places in a sustainable way by supporting: Safe, accessible, comfortable and affordable journeys to and from home, work, education, shops and leisure.' (Department of Transport, 2022: 8).

Principle one of the SMP is 'safe and green mobility' which focuses on how the design of walking, cycling, and public transportation infrastructure can be improved with the principle of safety at the core. This policy emphasises the importance of on road safety performance and pays particular attention to the safety of people who use methods of active transport to commute such as walking and cycling. Increased active travel plays an important role in improving wellbeing as well as reducing GHG emissions as it is a sustainable mode of transportation. The Safe Routes to School Programme was launched in 2021 by the Department of Transport, supported by the Department of Education, and was developed to improve infrastructure with the aim to enhance the safety of cycling and walking which will have both positive impacts on wellbeing

Box 7.3: Safe Routes to School Programme (SRTP)

The SRTP launched in 2021 by the Department of Transport, supported by the Department of Education and it is operated by the Green-Schools Programme. This programme is designed to encourage primary and secondary level students to walk or cycle to school. The aim of the programme is to create safer routes to schools that will encourage active modes of transport, both benefitting children's wellbeing and reducing dependency on unsustainable modes of transport.

Source: [NTA: Safe Routes to School (SRTS) Programme.](#)

and achieving climate targets (Box 7.3).

Additionally, the SMP acknowledges that **safety concerns** within the transportation sector include addressing instances of anti-social behaviour. 'Incidents of anti-social behaviour at stations and stops, and on-board public transport can be a deterrent to travelling by public transport' (Department of Transport, 2022: 32). Safety measures for public transportation include security staff, CCTV, text alert systems, and enhanced local and national protocols. The policy plan states that anti-racism and LGBTQ+ campaigns will be run 'to remind people of politeness and etiquette for others' (Department of Transport, 2022: 32). Research has found that instances of harassment on public transport are heightened toward women who are from marginalised groups, including disabled women (Lam, 2022). The safety measures taken by the Department of Transport to reduce anti-social behaviour on public transport is of upmost importance. However, the principle of safety as outlined by the SMP does not account for harassment based on gender discrimination and fails to acknowledge or

address the incidents of harassment during active transportation, such as cycling and walking. For instance, a report published by the Environmental Education Unit, An Taisce (2019) found that one of the main barriers for **girls cycling to school** is the fear and experience of harassment from men and boys. This report found that fewer than one in 250 girls cycle to school each day and girls highlighted how school attire, such as school skirts, are impractical to cycle in and further add to the feeling of vulnerability and fear of harassment that girls experience when cycling.

The harassment experienced by cyclists is not limited to gender-based harassment but can and often does intersect with harassment towards marginalised communities. Safety concerns involving harassment during transportation are interlinked with intersectional identities and result in exposure of marginalised groups to instances of racism, sexism, homophobia, ableism and more (Sersli, et al. 2020). A group that are becoming

increasingly vulnerable to harassment and whose safety is regularly compromised are **delivery cyclists.** This low-carbon sustainable method of employment is often invisible in transport policy and research, as can be seen in the CAP 2023 and SMP that do not give any mention to delivery cyclists. The number of delivery cyclists are increasing in Ireland, particularly in urban areas, with an estimated 3,000 delivery drivers situated in Dublin, Cork, and other cities in Ireland. Delivery cyclists face heightened instances of harassment and are often 'at the intersection of precarious streets, precarious labour and sometimes precarious migration status' (Lam, 2022: 5). There is a stark gap in research focusing on the experiences of delivery cyclists in Ireland and therefore this review will have to draw on publications from online news platforms such as *The Guardian.*

An article published in the Guardian (Carroll, 2023) highlights the level and type of harassment experienced daily by delivery cyclists in Ireland. Irelands **migrant community** is overrepresented in the employment of delivery cyclists and therefore harassment towards such cyclists has been noted to be regularly based on racial discrimination. Some examples of harassment include the throwing of rocks and bottles at riders, ambushes of riders by groups of predominantly young men, robbery of bikes or personal possessions, verbal abuse that is often racist in nature, and more (Carroll, 2023; Clifford, 2023). Delivery cyclists have held protests to highlight the harassment and poor working conditions experienced by riders; however, there has been limited, if any, policy provision introduced to ensure the safety of delivery cyclists. Although, there is no available academic research on instances of harassment toward delivery cyclists who are women in Ireland, we can draw from research conducted in the United States and United Kingdom that found that

Box 7.4: The #andshecycles Campaign

This campaign, led by Green-Schools Travel, was launched in 2023 to explore, understand, and highlight the barriers to cycling for girls. The campaign has developed an #andshecycles Ambassador Programme that will support and empower students to cycle to school.

This campaign is 'inclusive of trans and intersex women and girls, as well as non-binary and gender fluid people who are comfortable in a space that centres the experience of young women'.

Source: An Taisce: Green-Schools (2023) #andshecycles Campaign.

'Female and non-binary delivery cyclists report routine street harassment, including by fellow couriers' (Popan and Anaya-Boig, 2021; Lam, 2022). There needs to be further research, engagement, and policy provision for and with delivery cyclists in Ireland to ensure that the rights and safety of delivery cyclists are prioritised and that this form of sustainable low-carbon employment is visible and valued.

Safety and affordability are important aspects to consider when addressing equal access to sustainable methods of transportation. For instance, some parents who may want to cycle claim that cycling equipment such as cargo bikes, are unaffordable and this limits the option to cycle for low-income earners and parents (Sersli et al., 2020). Cycling schemes such as the Cycle to Work Scheme which is a tax incentive scheme has been heavily criticised for disproportionately benefiting high-income earners and excluding the needs of parents and carers due to restrictions of qualifying equipment that may be required for travelling with children or carrying out care responsibilities (Ní Éigeartaigh et al., 2021). 'If cycling is to be a key part of a green and just recovery for cities, an intersectional perspective is needed to ensure that cycling can be an equitable and inclusive mode of transport' (Lam, 2022: 1).

The mobility of care plays a role in relation to access to cycling as a method of sustainable and active transportation. Ravensbergen et al. (2020) note the barriers to cycling for carers, particularly mothers, are often due to fear of their children's safety as well as factors such as trip chaining and time poverty. Car-free and traffic free areas as well as adequate cycling infrastructure such as bike lanes, are considered safer by parents and could help incentivise parents to allow their children to cycle to school (Sersli et al. 2020). The SMP aims to increase car-free urban areas and promote modes

of active transportation. These policy measures increase the safety of cyclists and therefore could result in an increase of children cycling to school. This could potentially have a positive impact on the wellbeing of children, on the reduction of GHG emissions from transportation, and in some cases could reduce the time spent on unpaid care work. However, the transition to car-free zones could potentially disproportionately impact already marginalised communities who may need to rely on cars as a primary mode of transportation. Before implementing car-free zones, public transport and active transport infrastructure need to meet the safety and physical needs of all transport users, particularly the needs of persons with disabilities (McCabe, 2022) as well as engage with community members to inform delivery of catered responses that meet the transport needs of communities.

The report *'Towards an Anti-Poverty Strategy for Clare'* (McCabe, 2022) highlights how the transport options in Clare fail to meet community needs. The report found that bus infrastructure and planning lacked consideration of the needs of older people resulting in a 'member of

What would climate justice mean for you and your life?

Access to sustainable transport, footpaths and cycle lanes - need to reclaim road space, to greenspace and nature.

Voices of FCCJ

Box 7.5: Case Study: The SMART-SUT Project in India (2017-2022)

The Integrated Sustainable Urban Transport Systems for Smart Cities (SMART-SUT) was a project commissioned by the German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ). The project worked with three cities in India to support sustainable forms of transport. Some of the key initiatives of this project that had a gender focus include:

- **Gender Inclusion in Transport Systems** - Exclusive hiring of women and transgender drivers for Electric Rickshaws.
- **Training and Capacity Building -** Women centric street planning training and gender sensitive training to bus operators.
- **The Improvement of Gender Disaggregated Data Collection**
- **Awareness Campaign -** To encourage the employment of more women in the transport sector.

Some measures to increase the safety and accessibility to public transport for women and marginalised communities include: Onboard surveillance, onboard announcements, panic buttons, live tracking tools, adequate lighting at bus stops, and slightly elevated paths for easy boarding and improved accessibility.

Source: German Federal Ministry of Economic Cooperation and Development. (2022) Gender Mainstreaming in Transport: Compilation of SMART-SUT's Work in Gender and Mobility.

Clare Older People's Council having to start an online campaign in order to have the bus timetable adjusted' (McCabe, 2022: 30). Furthermore, the report found that access to public transport, particularly access to Bus Éireann buses, is an ongoing issue for persons with disabilities in County Clare. A lack of accessibility and requirements to book in advance to access public transportation if you use a wheelchair, can result in social exclusion and isolation for disabled people. This report calls for affordable and accessible 'community-focused rural public transport infrastructure' as well as 'a fully functioning, county-wide, public transport system' in Clare (McCabe, 2022: 44).

In sum, this section demonstrates that there are substantial intersectional inequalities that need to be addressed in transport policy as it pertains to climate change in the Irish context. The mobility patterns and mobility experiences of women and marginalised communities need deeper consideration in efforts to make transport sustainable in Ireland, including the degree to which they reflect the diversity of their mobility needs. There are many complexities here which reflect the fact that being attuned to intersectionality means pursuing equitable solutions 'without cookie-cutter approaches or "one size fits all"' (Sultana, 2022: 13) as discussed in the initial section of the review.

08.
Health

This section details the interconnection between the impacts of climate change on health as they pertain to women and marginalised communities. The impacts of climate-related events on sexual and reproductive health are the core focus of this section. The strong connection between climate justice and reproductive justice is explained in relation to health inequalities experienced by women and marginalised communities. Additionally, the health implications of climate change are discussed in relation to mental and physical wellbeing as well as GBV.

Irish climate and health policy

The impacts of climate change create **multiple risks to human health and wellbeing**. The *Health Climate Change Sectoral Adaptation Plan 2019-2024* claims that 'climate change is a globally pervasive phenomenon that represents a significant threat to human health' (Department of Health, 2019: 7). Poor health outcomes, including physical and mental health, have been linked to changes in climate, such as more frequent and intense storms, flooding, severe droughts, and poor air quality (Ragavan et al., 2020). Health of humans and ecosystems are included in the four key climate change risks for Europe as identified by the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) 2022. The climate-related changes specific to Ireland include an increase in frequency and severity of storms, an increase in flooding, pressure on water supply and adverse impacts on water quality, an increase in the frequency of heatwaves and an increase in poor air quality (EPA, 2023c). The CAP 2023 claims that a reduction in carbon emissions will benefit both human and planetary health, with a focus on investment in sustainable transport and energy, which can improve physical and mental wellbeing and air quality. Reference to health is dispersed throughout the CAP 2023, with a limited section dedicated to the 'role of the health sector', mainly referring to the Health Service Executive (HSE) *Climate Action Strategy 2023-2050.*

Although Irish policy mentions the relationship between health and climate-related impacts, there remain **substantial gaps in policy** that fall short of addressing the public health concerns of climate change. For example, the mental health policy *Sharing the Vision the Mental Health Policy for Everyone* (Department of Health, 2020), does not mention climate change and its associated health related impacts and outcomes. Moreover, when policy does address the interrelation between climate change and health, the health concerns of women and marginalised communities are scarcely mentioned, if mentioned at all. The transition to a carbon neutral society is framed in Irish policy as beneficial to both human and planetary health, which is an important element to climate discourse, however, there is a lack of recognition of how climate change is and will exacerbate existing inequalities, including health-related inequalities. Climate change can be understood as a 'threat multiplier' (Lawrance et al., 2023; UN, 2023) and therefore the impacts of climate-related events can create and exacerbate health risks. Potential health risks are expansive

and wide ranging. According to the Women's Health Taskforce (Department of Health, 2022a), which was established by the Department of Health in 2019 to improve women's experiences of health care and health outcomes, and a report published by the NWC (2023b), a key concern for women in Ireland is access to sexual reproductive health services and access to mental health supports. Although there is a strong connectedness between climate justice and reproductive justice (Albertyn, 2023), this connection is not made within Irish climate policy and wider public discourse. This review will therefore focus on the impacts of climate-related events on sexual reproductive health in Ireland and its relation to mental and physical wellbeing, as well as the health impacts of GBV in the Global South.

The relationship between climate justice and reproductive justice

The origin of reproductive justice was developed in the 1990's by women of colour in the United States who sought to expose the 'history of reproductive oppression stemming from population control narratives and interventions' (Sasser, 2023: 2). Activists advocated to link the concerns of reproductive health with climate justice and racial justice on the premise that **the impacts of climate change negatively impact reproductive health outcomes, particularly the health outcomes of marginalised communities.** Sasser (2023) claims there are three core pillars of reproductive justice framing:

1. the right to not have unwanted children
2. the right to have wanted children and
3. the right to raise those children in safe and sustainable environments.

These core pillars are disrupted by existing inequalities that are then further exacerbated by the health impacts of climate change. These impacts include exposure to air, soil, and water pollution which increase the health risks of pregnant people and babies as well as playing a factor in the safety of raising children and subsequently the decision to have children.

Sasser (2023) uses the example of racial health disparities in the United States to outline how women of colour have been disproportionately impacted by climate and reproductive injustice. In the context of Ireland, an ethnic minority group who have faced systemic inequality, including health inequalities, is the Traveller Community. A scoping review in Ireland on the *'Experiences and outcomes of Gypsy, Roma and Traveller Women in Pregnancy'* (O'Brien et al., 2022) states that resulting from systemic inequalities, **Gypsy, Roma and Traveller Women** are more likely to be at risk of poverty which subsequently negatively impacts sexual and reproductive health. The increased health risks of pregnant people living in poverty include preterm delivery, pre-eclampsia, and stillbirth. Additionally, climate-related events have been associated with adverse pregnancy outcomes from factors such as increasing temperatures (Yüzen et al., 2023), air pollution (OECD, 2021), and flooding (Department of Health, 2019). The adverse impacts of climate change on pregnancy outcomes can exacerbate already existing reproductive inequalities that exist for marginalised

There is a need for further emphasis on identifying and tackling barriers to reproductive healthcare for nomadic women and people in Ireland

(O'Brien et al., 2022).

communities. There is a need for further emphasis on identifying and tackling barriers to reproductive healthcare for nomadic women and people in Ireland. (O'Brien et al., 2022). Further research on the reproductive health experiences of nomadic people in Ireland will aid in the understanding of how climate-related impacts are and will increase the risks of adverse pregnancy outcomes experienced by marginalised communities as well as identify strategies to reduce health risks.

Health risks are heightened by fossil fuel dependency and energy poverty of marginalised communities in Ireland. Fuel poverty is commonly experienced among Travellers in Ireland who are largely dependent on traditional sources of fuel to heat their homes if they live in trailers (Stamp and Kearns, 2019). Dependence on fossil fuel as a source of energy contribute to poor air quality which can lead to negative health outcomes and wider adverse impacts on planetary health. An Irish study published in 2017 found that in disadvantaged areas of Dublin city, hospital admissions for respiratory and cardiovascular conditions increased due to exposure to air pollution (Cournane et al., 2017). Additionally, exposure to air pollutants and subsequent poor health outcomes are heightened for Traveller children, contributing to higher rates of Traveller children with asthma compared to non-Traveller children in Ireland (Department of Health, 2010). The ability to raise children in a safe and sustainable environment is the third pillar of reproductive justice (Sasser, 2023) and as detailed above, this pillar is compromised by health injustices that result from structural inequalities. This demonstrates the connection between climate, energy, and health justice, as they pertain to reproductive justice. The energy injustices experienced by marginalised communities are discussed in further detail in the Energy Poverty and Housing section.

Eco-anxiety and reproductive health

Women and marginalised communities face existing social inequalities that place them at greater risk of the effects of extreme weather events and this in turn can heighten 'climate-related distress' (Rousseau, 2023). **Climate-related distress, or eco-anxiety**, 'generates an array of feelings, such as anger and fear, powerlessness and helplessness, trauma after extreme climate events' (Rousseau, 2023: 1). Albrecht (2006) coined the term Solastalgia to describe feelings of homelessness, lack of hope, and lack of solace that are associated with environmental destruction. Irish policy does acknowledge the negative mental health impacts of adverse climate conditions. The HSE Climate Action Strategy 2023-2050 claims that 'poor water quality, noise pollution, radiation, chemical pollution, and air pollution cause adverse impacts on human physical and mental health' (HSE, 2023: 10) Additionally, the *Health Climate Change Sectoral Adaptation Plan 2019* (Department of Health, 2019) highlights the negative physical and mental health impacts of flooding, stating that those most vulnerable to flooding include older people, pregnant people, children, disabled people, farmers, and tourists. The CAP 2023 frames mental health narrowly around the idea of positive mental wellbeing elicited from sustainable

The HSE Climate Action Strategy 2023-2050 claims that 'poor water quality, noise pollution, radiation, chemical pollution, and air pollution cause adverse impacts on human physical and mental health' *(HSE, 2023: 10)*

methods of transport, such as active travel. Overall, there is a stark lack of reproductive health mentioned in Irish policy related to the negative mental and physical health impacts that can result from climate change.

The impacts of climate change can cause 'climate-related distress' and this concern extends to the impact of climate change on **sexual and reproductive health choices and experiences**. Rousseau (2023) explains how climate concerns can extend to concern for reproductive and sexual health and outlines four dimensions in which this concern can be understood and articulated. The four dimensions include:

1. Climate concerns related to waste generated as bioproducts of contraceptives and menstrual products.

2. Partner choice and sexual practices through the lens of climate change [5].

3. Variable desire for parenthood based on climate-related concerns.

4. Climate change as another factor contributing to violence against women.

The waste generated from contraceptives and menstrual products can result in choices that have negative health impacts, such as choosing behavioural protection methods to prevent pregnancy that can increase risk of pregnancy and STI contraction. Additionally, ecofriendly menstrual products can be financially inaccessible, particularly for people experiencing **period poverty**. 'Period poverty refers to 'the lack of access to sanitary products, toilets, menstrual hygiene education, hand washing facilities, and, or waste management' (American Medical Women's Association, 2019, n.p.). The Healthy Ireland Survey (Healthy Ireland, 2022) found that 24% of women in Ireland have experienced at least one indicator of period poverty. A discussion paper on Period Poverty in Ireland published by the Department of Children, Equality, Disability Integration and Youth (2021), which uses the afore-mentioned definition of period poverty, claims that risk factors for period poverty include; homelessness, addiction, GBV, belonging to a minority group, or being a member of a one parent-family. In response to discussion paper, a new procurement framework has been agreed as part of a commitment to address period poverty **(Box 8.1)**.

Box 8.1: Irish Governments' Commitment to Address Period Poverty

The launch of a new procurement framework allows 'Government Departments, State Agencies, Local Authorities and other publicly funded bodies to purchase period equality products easily and in compliance with procurement guidelines' (Department of Public Health Expenditure, NDP Delivery and Reform, 2023).

There are a range of period products available to order, including ecofriendly and sustainable period products such as menstrual underwear and menstrual cups. Increasing the accessibility of ecofriendly menstrual products has environmental, social and health benefits (Rousseau, 2023).

Source: Department of Public Expenditure, NDP Delivery and Reform (2023).

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5   In the discussion that follows this dimension is not explored in greater detail due to limited research to date.

The third dimension of sexual and reproductive health outlined by Rousseau (2023: 1) is **'variable desire for parenthood based on climate-related concern'.** Reproductive anxieties can arise from concern of negative health outcomes resulting from the impact of climate change during and after pregnancy, including the health of children. Eco-anxiety plays a role in shaping reproductive futures as 'concerns with the future lends itself to reproductive anxieties'…'particularly about whether having children in a climate-altered future is a viable option for emotional, moral, and ethical reasons' (Sasser, 2023: 8). This can result in people experiencing a 'pre-loss' of parenthood which is associated with grief, distress, isolation and guilt, all of which are also noted to be symptoms of experiencing solastalgia and eco-anxiety. The variable desire of parenthood based on climate-related concern is relevant to the core pillars of reproductive justice, particularly the second pillar 'the right to have wanted children' and the third pillar 'the right to raise those children in safe and sustainable environment' (Sasser, 2023: 4). Yet reproductive anxieties and concerns in relation to climate impacts remain under-researched and mostly invisible within climate and health policy, both in Ireland and internationally.

The fourth dimension of sexual and reproductive health outlined by Rousseau (2023: 1) is 'climate change as another factor contributing to violence against women'. According to EIGE (2023, n.p.) 'Gender-based violence is violence directed against a person because of their gender. Both women and men experience gender-based violence but the majority of victims are women and girls.' Climate related weather events have been found to increase risk of GBV including violence against women and in turn have substantive negative impacts on physical and mental wellbeing (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent

Societies, 2015; Thurston et al., 2021; OECD, 2021; Maguire, 2023; Rousseau, 2023). The phenomenon of GBV is a global issue and is legitimised through gender inequality and patriarchal structures. Similarly, the impacts of climate change are felt globally, however the distribution of climate-related impacts such as natural disasters are unevenly felt in the Global South (UN, 2019). The impact of climate change in the Global South has been found to exacerbate existing inequalities including gender inequality and in turn increase rates of GBV (International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, 2015; Thurston et al., 2021; Albertyn, 2023). Although the correlation between climate-related impacts and GBV is more pronounced in the Global South, the disproportionate gendered impact of global warming occurs on a global scale (Thurston et al., 2021).

The impact of climate change on rates of GBV

A report on *'Gender-Based Violence and its intersection with Climate Change'* published by the Irish Consortium on Gender-Based Violence (2022) highlights how climate change increases incidents of violence and disrupts protective systems against such violence in the Global South. Climate-related impacts result in additional strain on services and systems such as healthcare, education, agriculture, all of which exacerbate existing gender inequalities. As a result, risks of violence and harassment increase for girls, women, and the LGBTQ+ community during and after extreme weather events (IPCC, 2022). The Irish Consortium on Gender-Based Violence report focuses specifically on the Global South, however, it briefly mentions studies in the United States, Australia, Canada, and New Zealand that 'suggest a significant increase in intimate partner violence related to natural disasters' (Irish Consortium on Gender-Based Violence, 2022: 8). Thurston et al. (2021) conducted a systematic review

of global literature on the association of natural disasters to rates of violence against women and girls, and this review included qualitative findings from Europe, the USA, and Australia. From 37 nquantitative studies, eight studies were found to have a positive association between disaster exposure and increased violence against women and girls, and an additional four were found to have positive associations with some violence types. The review included a study carried out in Spain by Sanz-Barbero (2018) which found that during the three days after extreme heatwaves there was a noted increase in risk of intimate partner violence and intimate partner femicide. Additionally, Thurston et al. (2021) identify gender specific flood-induced vulnerabilities that can result in sexual violence against women and girls during and after flooding as well as cases of harassment at shelters for those who have been displaced by flooding.

As previously stated, according to the EPA (2023c), climate-related changes specific to Ireland include an increase in frequency and severity of storms, an increase in flooding, and an increase in the frequency of heatwaves. Rates of domestic, sexual, and gender-based violence have been increasing in Ireland since 2013 (An Garda Síochána, 2022) and there is a noted lack of refuge accommodation and support services for victims of domestic, sexual, and gender-based violence in Ireland (Irish Human Rights and Equality Commission, 2023). The impacts of climate change have the potential to further exacerbate rates of GBV in Ireland which could place additional strain on underfunded and under resourced support services, resulting in increased negative physical and mental health impacts for victims of GBV. Maguire (2023) provides a 'feminist critique on GBV in a changing climate', claiming that international law does not provide adequate recognition of the impacts of climate-related disasters on rates on GBV and this results in a trickle-down effect to policy developments

'A politics of listening creates a space for gaining recognition of lived experiences and provides a space for deep listening' *(Maguire, 2023: 75).*

that fail to also recognise the connection between climate change and GBV. Maguire (2023) advocates for the use of Dianne Otto's feminist method of a 'politics of listening' to provide recognition for the survivors of domestic, sexual, and GBV. 'A politics of listening creates a space for gaining recognition of lived experiences and provides a space for deep listening' (Maguire, 2023: 75).

The unseen and unmet needs of women and marginalised communities presents itself in a lack of adequate and accessible sexual and reproductive health services. A report by the Women's Health Taskforce 2022, found that 'the highest proportion of issues raised by women were related to gynaecological and reproductive health' (Department of Health, 2022a: 6). Additionally, women stated that in some cases they felt unheard and rushed during healthcare experiences. The Women's Health Action Plan 2022 claims that negative experiences of healthcare and barriers to accessing healthcare are exacerbated for marginalised women, including women with disabilities, women at risk of poverty, and Traveller and Roma women. The Women's Health Taskforce has made a substantial contribution to the development of the *Women's Health Action Plan* (Department of Health, 2022b). The approach of the Action Plan and the Taskforce centres on **'radical listening,'** ensuring that women's

voices are heard and that their health concerns are recognised. The necessity of programmes and initiatives developed to reduce health inequalities, such as the National HSE Social Inclusion Office and the Women's Health Taskforce, cannot be understated; however, there remains a lack of recognition of climate-related impacts on women's and marginalised communities' health in Irish policy, particularly in relation to sexual and reproductive health.

The report 'Her Rural Future' published by the NWC (2023c) states that women in rural Ireland face increased barriers to access sexual and reproductive health services as well as domestic abuse and mental health supports. The barriers to accessing health services can be attributed to a lack of healthcare services in rural areas, poor public transport infrastructure to access healthcare facilities, and stigma associated with sexual and reproductive healthcare. Moreover, the rates of domestic abuse in rural areas are reported to have worsened, with women living in rural areas facing increased barriers to access domestic abuse supports. The NWC (2023c) report establishes ten demands to tackle inequalities for women in rural Ireland. Most relevant to this review include: increased choice and access to local reproductive healthcare services; ending violence against women; ensuring climate action policies work for women; and the active participation of women in decision making that affect their lives. The inclusion of women's and marginalised communities' voices are essential to the development of climate and health policy that recognises and prioritises women's lived experiences and health concerns.

In sum, this section has detailed the climate-related health impacts specific to women and marginalised communities in Ireland. Although Irish policy mentions the relationship between health and climate-related impacts, there remain substantial gaps in policy that fall short of addressing the public health concerns of climate change, particularly the health concerns of women and marginalised communities. This section establishes that there is a stark lack of reproductive and sexual health mentioned in Irish policy related to the negative mental and physical health outcomes that can result from the impacts of climate change. Although there is a strong connectedness between climate justice and reproductive justice, this connection is siloed within Irish health and climate policy. Furthermore, the correlation between rates of GBV and climate disasters in Ireland is not addressed in Irish policy and in wider public discourse. In this regard the 'radical listening' implemented by the Women's Health Taskforce, to ensure that women's voices are heard and that their health concerns are recognised, could go further.

Intersectional Feminist Climate Justice and Policy Proofing

This section builds upon the conceptual discussion of intersectional feminist climate justice in section one and the analysis that followed across six key areas of Irish climate and environmental policy from an intersectional feminist climate justice perspective in sections three to eight.

It asks what can be done to proof policy in order to progress intersectional feminist climate justice for women and marginalised communities. In doing to it returns to the third question set outlined in our methodology namely:

How can we identify key areas and strategies for improving the proofing of policy from the perspective of women and marginalised communities? What case studies, policies, approaches and examples of good practice, international and/or national, can help us to identify effective and impactful ways of policy proofing for these groups?

The latter question has been addressed within specific policy areas already addressed in the report where we have identified critiques and examples of policies and policy proposals that aim to progress intersectional feminist climate justice across the various areas, from just transition to health care. Within these specific policy areas, we have also identified cases studies of projects and good practice on multiple scales from local and grass roots levels to international that prefigure or already embody intersectional feminist climate justice work. To complement these policy specific examples and practices, and to add an over-arching layer, this final section takes a step back to look at proofing policy in broader terms. It focuses on gender proofing and intersectionality in international and supranational climate change and climate-related policy. It does this to draw some lessons from international and supranational levels to look at how proofing of environmental and climate policy in Ireland could be improved and what actions need to be taken in this regard.

Proofing climate policy: gender and intersectionality

There is a growing awareness of the need to recognise and seek gender equality in climate policy and practice. Gender equality in climate change is concerned with the recognition that different genders may experience climate change and the challenges and effects of climate change differently. As previously outlined in section one, feminist climate justice analyses highlight the fact that these differing experiences of climate change are at least partly due to the fact that women are more likely to be living in poverty and are disproportionately associated with many other indicators of socio-economic disadvantage. Moreover, as also developed in section one, intersectional feminist climate justice offers a more nuanced gender analysis, because intersectionality helps to overcome 'narrow man-women binaries' (Kaijser and Kronsell, 2014: 421), thereby illustrating 'how different individuals and groups relate differently to climate change, due to their situatedness in power structures based on context-specific and dynamic social categorisations' (ibid.: 417).

This implies that the focus should be on the context in which women live and make their livelihoods, and the power structures and dynamics which influence their experiences (Lau et al., 2021). This in turn involves recognising that women are not a homogeneous group and can have very different experiences that intersect with numerous other inequalities including social class, sexuality, and disability to name a few. Without an intersectional

understanding of these contexts, climate actions may be at best ineffective and at worst achieve the opposite effect to that intended and intensify rather than mitigate the effects of climate change on women. Such a focus also encompasses the understanding of women as members of communities, including marginalised communities. While there is undoubtedly a growth in awareness of the need to recognise and seek gender equality in climate policy and practice, the extent to which this adopts an intersectional approach is still limited at best. It is still, as mentioned in section one, an 'elusive' issue in policy development and practice. That said, in the next section we select key examples of developments in proofing and intersectionality in international and supranational climate change and climate-related policy.

Gender and intersectionality in international climate policy

Lau et al. (2021) refer to the gradual movement from a 'gender-aware' to a gender equality perspective in the international climate change instruments of international bodies such as the UN and its bodies UN Women and IPCC.

At COP20 in 2014, the Lima Work Programme on Gender (LWPG) (UNFCCC Secretariat, 2014) was developed. The LWPG sought to encourage states parties to work towards gender balance, gender sensitivity and the achievement of gender-responsive climate policy in all relevant activities under the Convention. The LWPG was built on in subsequent COP meetings and developed into a gender action plan at COP23.

The UN Paris Agreement (UN, 2015) represented a landmark in international climate change policy because it was signed by over 200 of the world's nations who agreed to a common strategy to reduce the GHG emissions which lead to global warming. The Agreement was also notable for its emphasis on gender equality and community. The Agreement, which was established under the auspices of the UNFCCC, states in Article 7 that parties should commit to:

a country-driven, gender responsive, participatory and fully transparent approach, taking into consideration vulnerable groups, communities and ecosystems, and should be based on and guided by the best available science and, as appropriate, traditional knowledge, knowledge of indigenous peoples and local knowledge systems, with a view to integrating adaptation into relevant socioeconomic and environmental policies and actions, where appropriate (UN, 2015: n.p.).

While this statement is highly significant from a climate justice perspective and obligates countries to take action that speaks to several dimensions of climate justice from a gendered perspective, the Paris Agreement still contained many blind spots. Wilson et al. (2022), for example, criticise the Paris Agreement for a failure to include gender across all of its articles and for characterising women in terms of 'equal and shared vulnerability' (n.p.) rather than adopting a more intersectional perspective that acknowledges the temporal and spatial differences in women's lives and experiences and their agency.

More recently we can turn to work by UN Women, the women's arm of the UN, which published the report *Feminist Climate Justice: A Framework for Action in 2023* (Turquet et al., 2023). The presents a substantive resource for recognising the need to progress gender equality through a feminist climate justice lens which is also intersectional in its principles. It outlines an approach and a set of actions to achieving climate justice based on the four 'Rs' of redistribution, recognition, representation, and reparation. The first three of these 'Rs' mirror the five dimensions of climate justice discussed in section one of this report.

Redistribution addresses the numerous distributional issues associated with the gendered distribution of climate harms, and of the burdens and benefits of climate policy. Recognition and representation together focus on the recognitional and procedural dimensions of climate justice as also discussed in section one. The fourth 'R,' reparation, is as Turquet et al. (2023) note, a matter for international action and, notwithstanding its importance, is less relevant in terms of proofing policy and progressing international feminist climate justice in national contexts.

In **Table 9.1** below the core actions highlighted by the UN Women report in actioning redistribution, recognition and representation are outlined. While all actions are important, the points the report makes in relation to recognitional and procedural justice or, in their terms, recognition and representation, are particularly notable from the perspective of women and marginalised communities. In this regard, the report highlights the importance of recognising multiple forms of knowledge, including lived experience and situational knowledge. Echoing the points made in feminist scholarship about the politics of knowledge, as outlined previously in section one, it notes that quantitative data is privileged over qualitative data, as is the '"measurable" over "lived-world" knowledge that is often held by women and Indigenous people. A wider array of knowledge remains excluded from dominant climate change narratives and policymaking' (Turquet et al., 2023: 13). In tandem with this and reflecting the need for deeper representation or, deeper procedural justice, the report also

Table 9.1: Redistributional, recognitional and representative actions required for proofing policy for feminist climate justice

Redistribution of….	• Resources away from extractive, environmentally damaging economic activities towards those prioritise care for people and planet. • Land, employment opportunities and technology to redress gender inequalities and ensure women benefit from green transitions. • Public finance to support gender-responsive social protection systems to support women's resilience.
Recognition of…	• Multiple and intersecting forms of discrimination that undermine the resilience of historically marginalised groups to climate impacts. • Women's unpaid labour to support social and ecological reproduction. • Situated indigenous and experiential forms of knowledge to support effective climate action.
Representation of…	• Women and other marginalised groups in environmental decision-making at all levels. • Communities affected by climate change and biodiversity loss in climate policy making. • Women's interests in robust accountability mechanisms to seek redress for environmental injustice.

Source: Turquet et al., 2023: various pages.

emphasises the need for scaled-up climate action that can be achieved by:

Progressive movements for change, especially coalitions that bring together actors from across diverse social movements, need civic space and guarantees of safety to do their vital work. Against the global trend towards autocracy, democratic politics needs to be deepened, including by strengthening women's substantive representation at all levels – in forestry councils, in local governance, in environment ministries and in UNFCCC delegations (Turquet et al., 2023: 48).

Gender and intersectionality in supranational climate policy

Moves to address the role of gender in climate change have also come from a number of supranational bodies, including the NCM and the EU. These can also serve as exemplars of what actions need to be taken in the Irish context to progress policy proofing that works towards intersectional feminist climate justice. Our focus here complements the highlighting of specific country and other smaller scale examples of intersectional feminist climate justice action evident within European (and other) countries and which has been discussed in the previous specific policy sections. Notable examples include feminist climate justice actions addressing energy poverty and housing in Barcelona; transport in Austria; care in Barcelona; just transition in Scotland; and land in both Austria and Germany.

For our first supranational example, we return to the example of the NCM which was also briefly alluded to in section one. While attention has not always been constant, it offers a substantial body of documentation on gender and climate change from a feminist climate

action perspective over the past 15 years. Most recently, in 2022, the NCM published *A Green and Gender-Equal Nordic Region*, which is a commitment to gender equality in climate action. The commitment recognises that 'climate policies have been lacking sufficient and actionable gender equality insights' (NCM, 2022: 2). It goes on to commit to a range of actions aimed at strengthening climate action through advancing gender equality in the labour market and in particular sectors including food production, transport, energy, and construction. And very importantly it goes on to state that these actions include actions that speak to recognitional and procedural climate justice, recognising that women are diverse and have diverse roles and experiences: 'this includes promoting equal access in decision-making processes on climate action to gain the important contributions of underrepresented people and women in their wide diversity, as experts, decision-makers, consumers, carers, educators and stakeholders' (NCM, 2022: 2). These actions build upon a prior commitment, made in a 2020 document, to a gender equality perspective in the work of the NCM in accordance with the Council's own policy for mainstreaming sustainable development, gender equality and a child and youth rights perspective (NCM, 2020). A practical example of how these actions are being realised includes the development of a knowledge bank/ hub which was launched in 2023: *A Green and Gender-Equal Nordic Region – How it works in practice* (NCM, 2023). This provides data on gender inequalities looking at how climate policy impacts on gender equality and vice versa. It is still a work in progress, and it is recognised that far more systematic data collection and analysis is necessary. Yet it represents a concrete action that promotes the production and dissemination of knowledge on gender equality and climate

policy and what can be done to make climate policies more effective in this regard. In its first iteration areas covered include sustainable consumption, the transition to fossil free energy, female leadership in the blue-green economy, and green jobs.

Moving to a final example, we look at the European Commission's Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Women and Men (ACEOWM) and its opinion on the gender equality dimensions of climate change (ACEOWM, 2022). It states that while the EU has committed to a range of agreements that underpin the role of gender in climate change action, 'EU climate policies remain largely gender-blind and still operate in a "silo mode"' (ACEOWM, 2022: 4). The EU Green Deal in particular comes in for criticism, where it is noted that policies 'remain largely dominated by an androcentric perspective, stimulating investments and employment in male-dominated sectors, and lacking an intersectional perspective' (ibid.). It recognises the need to make climate action 'gender transformative' (ibid.: 30) and so aligns with the need for transformative action that was also identified as a key concern in feminist climate justice scholarship in section one. From this starting point it details significant recommendations on gender mainstreaming economies and society. It should be noted that these recommendations speak more specifically to women than to marginalised communities but could arguably be extended to include a marginalised communities focus, especially through specifying an intersectional focus to the recommended actions. Table 9.2 summarises key areas identified in the report and the related recommended actions.

Table 9.2: Advisory Committee on Equal Opportunities for Men and Women's set of recommended actions on gender equality and climate change.

The nexus between gender equality and climate change	The EU and Member States should 'enhance gender mainstreaming by systematically including a gender equality perspective in all climate policies and strategies, as well as climate-related policies… at all stages from definition to implementation, monitoring, and evaluation. They should be systematically subject to a gender analysis and gender impact assessment and should include gender equality goals and indicators. …They should be based on consultations with gender equality experts and relevant stakeholders including women's rights organisations and those representing Indigenous groups of women' (p.5).
Developing gender analysis, data and research	The EU and Members States should develop systematic data collection (e.g. through Eurostat), analysis and dissemination of sex- and age-disaggregated data and gender analysis. The analysis… should focus on the gender dimensions of climate change and the opportunities for gender-transformative climate policies. This exercise should cover a broad range of socio-economic characteristics and allow an intersectional analysis. It should lead to the development of robust policy indicators' (p. 6).

Fostering policy coherence and inclusiveness	Member states should strengthen co-ordination between their gender equality ministry and/or institutions and their ministries in charge of climate change and related sectoral policies. … Similar collaboration should also include sub-national level' (p. 7-8)
Developing gender budgeting	Noting the lack of action on gender budgeting at both EU and Member State levels, the Advisory Committee recommends 'that the EU and its Member States share experience and support capacity development on gender budgeting, including on the integration of gender-responsive budgeting into national and sectoral budgets to enhance gender-responsive climate policies, plans, strategies and action' (p. 9).
Increase women's participation and leadership	'Member States [should] promote greater representation of women in climate decision-making, negotiations, and leadership, aiming for gender parity including through the implementation of temporary special measures such as quotas. …Member States [should] support, fund and protect women's grassroots, feminist, and indigenous organisations to lead, advocate for and safely engage in climate action' (p. 11)
Strengthening gender-transformative climate finance, women's access to technologies and 'green jobs'.	'Member states [should] strengthen gender transformative climate funding and expand access to climate finance for women and women's climate resilient enterprises including by: » Promoting gender balance and gender expertise among fund decision making bodies and staff to ensure that gender equality principles are fully integrated in the development of funding, accreditation, and programming guidelines. » Fostering approaches to increase the access of local women's groups to fund resources, such as through small grant approaches' (p. 12). It should also be noted that while these recommendations don't recognise care work or care work as 'green work', in its initial discussion of the nexus between gender equality and climate change the Advisory Committee does note that 'the care economy must be embedded into the European Green Deal and seen as a sustainable economic model which not only responds to caring needs throughout the life-cycle but offers opportunities for men to consider care as a viable care option and move towards an equal-earner-equal-carer model' (p. 4).

Source: ACEOWM, 2022: various pages.

Ireland, gender, and intersectionality in climate policy

Bringing all of this back to the Irish context, we can note that Irish climate policy has largely been gender blind to date, and that this in turn, interlocks with the fact that climate justice understandings and issues are largely absent to climate policy. Through the analyses of four climate policy areas namely, Just transition; Energy Poverty and Housing; Transport; and Food, Land Use, Agriculture and Biodiversity; this baseline report demonstrates the largely androcentric perspectives and policy actions in each area. In cases where data and perspectives that respond to the position of women and marginalised communities are included, these are typically incorporated in very limited and siloed terms. Looking at the domains of health and care policy, these can also be said to be developed in siloed terms. Limited connections are made to the impact of climate change in the former whilst no connection is made in the latter. In the absence of these connections, it follows that connections to the gender equality and climate change nexus are not made either. At the most over-arching level, as pointed out continuously throughout this report, the CAP 2023 is thoroughly gender blind when it comes to national policy. Where gender is acknowledged, it is exclusively connected with international climate policy and Ireland's responsibilities in this regard. Moreover, the CAP's 2023 analysis refers to gender sensitivity rather than gender equality which is less powerful as a term and an approach to addressing gender and climate change. The analysis produced in this baseline report is corroborated by other analyses and monitoring bodies including for example EIGE's oversight of Ireland's efforts at gender mainstreaming which notes limited evidence on the extent to which this takes place, along with very limited gender disaggregation of data (EIGE, 2022).

In this regard there is much that can be drawn from the examples of intersectional feminist climate justice principles and actions that have been reviewed in this section. At the level of climate justice principles and related climate justice actions, the UN Women's 2023 report offers core principles, redistribution, recognition and representation that speak to the distributional, recognitional and procedural dimensions of feminist climate justice and the policy domains and types of actions that can be addressed to work towards realising feminist climate justice. Particularly notable in this document is the importance attached to recognising diverse forms of knowledge to fully recognise and fairly include women and marginalised groups in responding to climate justice and in climate policy decision making. At European level, the work of the NCMs offers an example of an explicit commitment to feminist climate justice action. Again, the importance of participation based on diversity and inclusion, and the production of knowledge to inform and progress gender proofing and gender mainstreaming are crucial policy actions. Finally, the European Commission's Advisory Committee on Equality Opportunities for Women and Men offers a more detailed set of recommendations and actions on the gender equality dimensions of climate change. Member States are not obliged to follow these actions, yet they offer a holistic suite of actions which, with some adaptations and additions, could significantly progress intersectional feminist climate justice in Ireland from its current almost absent baseline, as identified in this report.

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