

A GENDER PERSPECTIVE IN RESPONDING TO THE SECURITY RISKS ASSOCIATED WITH CLIMATE CHANGE

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Abstract: Although the issue of gender and climate change on the one hand and the problems of the consequences of climate change and security on the other are well-researched topics, the link between gender, climate change and security has remained an unexplored topic. The link between gender, climate change and security is a very important issue that sheds new light on addressing the problems of climate change, gender relations and security risks. This means that security studies in the context of climate change and the risks they pose must include a gender perspective in the analysis as an integral part of it. But studies that study gender relations and climate change must also include a security perspective in their conceptual and methodological apparatus. In what follows, I will try to give an overview and an argument of the conceptual relevance of gender issues, climate change and security, and the importance of their relevance to the research and policy responses.

Keywords: security, climate change, gender, gender equality, methodology

Introduction

Although the issue of gender and climate change on the one hand and the problems of the consequences of climate change and security on the other hand are well-researched topics, the link between gender, climate change and security has remained an unexamined and unexplored topic. The reasons for this are multiple: the focus of international climate change response was more on linking gender issues to climate change and finding an institutional framework for formulating and implementing gender and climate policies in national contexts, while the issue of security and gender was set on the UN agenda - "Women, Peace and Security" (WPS).

First research analyzes on the relationship between gender, climate and security appeared only recently. In 2018, Kronsell (2019) published her influential article on the "Women, Peace and Security" Agenda and Climate Change in the Oxford Handbook of "Women, Peace and Security". Several analytical papers followed: the USAID Analysis of Gender, National Security, and Climate Vulnerability (A.E. Boyer, Dr. Seline S. Meijer, and Molly Gilligan, 2020) and the publication "Gender, Climate, and Security", published by four United Nations agencies (Cohn and Duncanson, 2020). Contribution to the topic has been increased with the involvement of several feminist theorists and several international research institutes, among which the Stockholm Peace Research Institute (Smith, 2022) stands out.

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The link between gender, climate change and security is a very important issue that sheds new light on addressing the problems of climate change, gender and security risks that arise. In what follows, I will try to give an overview of the conceptual relevance of gender issues, climate change and security, and the importance of their relevance to the research and policy responses that should follow.

Gender and climate change

Although climate change affects all of us, due to different social roles of women and men, the experience with consequences of the impact of climate change is often different and women are often disproportionately negatively affected by these changes. Women, compared to men, often have limited access to resources, limited access to justice, limited mobility and limited voice in decision-making and influence in policy and decision-making processes (UNDP, 2019).

Women are still a de facto marginalized group, due to a higher poverty rate among them, less access to funds such as money, credit and property rights, and less involvement in decision-making processes. Women are also in most cases (as opposed to men) victims of double or multiple discrimination (gender correlated with ethnicity, religion, educational background, place of residence, (un) employment, age, etc.), which puts them in an even more difficult position when it comes to tackling or combating climate change, more precisely in accessing services, adaptation and mitigation information for and from climate change. Thus, climate change directly affects deepening of poverty gap, ie, greater social division, putting people at risk of and in poverty in an existential challenge, where women are the most affected party due to still present feminization of poverty (Dankelman, 2010).

Women, as already noted above, make up the majority of world's poor population, and they are therefore most affected by climate change, due to their socially imposed vulnerability, due to less access to finances, land ownership, more frequent dropouts from educational system, as well as greater participation in unpaid labor within the family and long-term care for family members. On the other hand, many studies show that there is a gender-divided perception of climate change, ie that women show a greater degree of concern for negative effects of climate change than men and show a greater motivation to react. This can be related to a woman's reproductive role, as well as to her dominant role in caring for family members. However, that gender division of perceptions of climate change should be considered as human capital and potential in state efforts to mitigate / adapt to climate change (Arora-Jonsson, 2011).

Climate change is not gender neutral, ie it affects men and women differently. Negative impacts of climate change are more pronounced in the female population based on all the factors for vulnerability to climate change. The relationship between climate change and gender is complex and dynamic, and at the same time dependent on contextual social order and economic development of a country. This relationship refers not only to vulnerability to negative impacts of climate change, but also to adaptability to those impacts, as well as mitigation, ie., finding ways to reduce greenhouse gas emissions caused by climate change (Mearns and Norton, 2010).

There is a close link between gender and climate change: climate change increases vulnerability and inequality based on gender, and gender inequality contributes to unequal

opportunities to deal with negative effects of climate change. Achieving gender equality in responding to climate change will mean more effective climate change policies. Climate change affects women and men differently.

Security and climate change

Since the 1990s, scientists have focused extensively on the links between environmental pressures, resource scarcity and climate change, on the one hand, and international security, internal security, armed conflict issues, and human security, on the other hand (Davies et al., 2019). A wide range of research and scientific literature on numerous links between environmental and safety issues have led to emergence of a new, important field of environmental safety studies.

Security studies and security policymakers have become deeply concerned about current and impending effects of climate change on peace, stability and security issues. Areas of concern include many areas and fields, such as rising sea levels that threaten the existence of small island nations along with coastal cities; the impact of extreme weather conditions and rising temperatures on sustainability of human habitats; the impact of population movements caused by climate change and the impact of migration on national security and regional stability. Security policy experts and policymakers see climate change as a powerful multiplier of threats that will exacerbate drivers of social instability, national instability, and violent conflict (Selby and Hoffmann, 2014).

It must be pointed out that the concept of security in research and policy responses is based on the concept of national security. Therefore, as a general example of the impact of climate change on security, examples and analyzes such as physical security of military bases due to extreme weather events, which will seriously jeopardize the resources of national defense, were cited. Some of the topics of analysis are the consequences of climate change in developed countries in order to “intercept crises” by endangering national interests in underdeveloped countries and third world countries, from which they provide energy; or the threat to strategic resources for emerging economies in terms of inability to exploit due to conflicts and crises caused by direct or indirect consequences of climate change. Ultimately, the effects of climate change that threaten and undermine national security have been analyzed and researched (Nagarajan, Chitra, Virginie Le Masson, Colette Benoudji, Sandra Sotelo Reyes, Marisa O. Ensor, Molly Kellogg, Maria Tanyag et al., 2020).

Although this concept of security is framed in the context of the UN Charter, international peace and security defined as the absence of war and armed conflict and the peaceful settlement of disputes, such conceptualization is closely linked to the state or national security and the use of economic, military and political power and the application of diplomacy.

In contrast to “classical” understanding of security related to the concept of “national security”, research on gender, climate change and security relevance increases the importance of security and underpins a broader understanding of security, emphasizing that insecurity and destabilization can occur at multiple levels of a state and society and across multiple dimensions, within the frames of the household inclusively, and in the economic sphere, food, health, diverse communities, environmental, political and personal spheres and domains. These forms of (un) security constitute seven dimensions of human security concept focused

on people, strengthening the links between development opportunities, human rights and peace and security (Selby and Hoffmann, 2014).

However, this conceptual reversal and expansion of a concept of security of social structures and institutions has created space for analysis that will provide insight into social dimension of security issues related to climate change. Moreover, not only has the conceptual space of analysis been expanded, but also the conceptual discourse has been expanded, including the concept of “security risks related to climate change” instead of the standard concept of “threats to national security” caused by climate change.

Gender security discourse on climate change: gender, security and climate change

The answer to a question “What is the connection between gender, security and climate change?” contains an argument that has negative implications in patriarchal social conditions. Namely, this may be the reason for the “invisibility” of gender issues in security and climate analysis. Such an argument is also increasingly implied in new climate and gender research and safety studies (Smith, 2022).

The argument that we will sketch starts from a fact that the lives of women and men, but also of the rest of the gender spectrum are directly affected by climate change, which results in a change of their roles and gender relations. The vulnerability of individuals stems not only from the fact that they as human beings are affected by climate change, but also from the gender roles that create their experience related to the consequences of climate change. It is a two-way relationship. Climate change destabilizes gender system in a social environment and thus destabilizes and reduces human capacity to tackle the challenges of climate change. However, gender analysis of relationship between gender and climate change remains only at the level of changes in gender roles and power relations in gender relations (gender in/equality) and the challenges arising from such changes (Chantal de Jonge Oudraat & Michael E. Brown, 2022).

On the other hand, climate change and the security risks it poses, whether national or, more broadly, social-humanitarian security, are contexts that are already gender-dimensioned. For example, armed conflicts should not be analyzed only from the perspective of what consequences they have on gender relations, but also the armed conflict in itself has a gender dimension in its structure (gender division of participants in the conflict, difference in victims of conflict, wars strategies for gender degradation of prisoners of war, etc.). The same applies to other manifestations, ie security risks related to climatic factors: availability and access to drinking water and irrigation, migration, health, etc. However, in the context of climate change and security, the impact is not limited only to gender roles and power relations, as in the analysis of gender and climate change, it should be also presented in terms of security and safety within the scope of personal, social and cultural, and state security.

The implications of such positioned gender, security and climate change dependence are multiple. At the level of analysis and research methodology, gender and gender relations should be recognized as a variable, a factor in the analysis of security analysis and research. Conversely, security in the context of climate impacts should be recognized as a factor in the dynamics of gender roles and power relations. This means that security studies in the context of climate change and the risks they pose must include a gender perspective in the analysis,

as their integral part. But, studies that study gender relations and climate change must also include a security perspective in their conceptual and methodological apparatus.

This theoretical methodological dimension of the argument on relationship between gender, security and climate change, in a political context means only one thing: gender issues and gender equality emerge as a security issue, and in national context, gender equality has a status of a state issue security. As such, it should stand high on the state political priorities. Gender equality is no longer just a matter of social policies for inclusion of women and policies in the field of protection against discrimination, but must also become part of national interest with high priority.

However, gender and gender dimension are absent from climate and safety policies and research, although gender dimension is a factor that can contribute to mitigating climate-related security risks. The concepts of gender, security, and climate that we have discussed above, applied to analysis and research, have similar directions and points: although women play a key role in resolving peace and security and climate change issues, they are also often marginalized in the sense of equal representation in formal decision-making related to such matters.

As highlighted in the UN document “Gender, Climate and Security” (Nagarajan et al., 2020), at the open Debate on the subject “Addressing the Impacts of Climate - Related Disasters on International Peace and Security” held at the UN Security Council in January 2019, only five of the 75 member states recognized gender issues as important in response and security related to climate risks (Dppa. Un. Org, 2022). Similarly, climate-related security risks have yet to be analyzed or integrated in the context of UN Security Council Resolution 1325 and in the context of the “Women, Peace and Security” Agenda.

Even relatively simple and visible commitments to gender balance in policy-making bodies and national delegations are poorly implemented. At the UN COP26 conference in Glasgow in late 2021, the presence of women in the sixteen constituent bodies was only 33 percent. Although this is an improvement (compared to 24 percent in 2013), the number of women in Glasgow is still far from parity. Only four of the sixteen official bodies achieved gender parity, while women made up less than a third of the participants in seven bodies (Chantal de Jonge Oudraat & Michael E. Brown, 2022).

Resolution 1325, international documents and equal opportunities

UN Resolution 1325 is one of the most important resolutions that connects the areas of peace and security policy with women and gender equality. It is one of the key achievements of women’s movement and the connection of peace and security with women’s leadership and equal opportunities. The resolution refers to commitments arising from the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action in the thematic section on women and armed conflicts. In this part are foreseen strategic goals aimed at the obligations that the governments of the states should undertake in the direction of developing gender-sensitive programs and adopting measures in accordance with international standards and conventions in the field of prevention of armed conflicts, protection of women and the role of women in prevention of peace and security(Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, Beijing +5 Political Declaration and Outcome). The resolution is also related to recommendation no. 30 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women

(CEDAW), which refers to involvement of women in prevention of conflicts and post-conflict situations. The Committee for Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women in 2010, in accordance with Article 21 of the Convention, adopted a general recommendation No. 30 for women in preventing conflicts and post-conflict situations. The primary objective of Recommendation No. 30 is to ensure protection of women's human rights at all times, to promote substantive gender equality before, during and after conflict, and to ensure that women's diverse experiences are fully integrated into all peace-building processes.

The Recommendation specifically guides member states in implementing their obligation on how they can advance women's rights in conflict-affected areas. It indicates that women are not a homogeneous group and their experiences in conflicts and specific needs in post-conflict contexts are diverse. Women are not passive observers, nor are they just victims or targets. They historically had and have a role as part of an organized civil society, as defenders of human rights, as members of resistance movements and as active factors in both formal and informal processes for peace building and post-conflict reconstruction (CEDAW, General recommendation No. 30 on women in conflict prevention, conflict and post-conflict situations). The Goal no. 16 - "Peace, Justice and Strong Institutions" of the Sustainable Development Goals also links to Resolution 1325 by promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, ensuring access to justice for all people and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels. The focal points of goal 16 include reducing violence, promoting the rule of law by strengthening institutions, and increasing access to justice for all individuals. In general, it aims to eliminate them.

Certain studies made to examine the progress made since the adoption of Resolution 1325 in 2000 point to various challenges that still exist for its effective implementation. It is considered that one of the main challenges at the global level is the lack of will, opportunities and resources on the part of national institutions and local governments for implementation at the national and local level. A particularly big challenge is the allocation of resources for implementation, including human, technical and financial resources. By May 2020, at least 84 countries (or 43% of the UN member states) had developed National Action Plans for the implementation of Resolution 1325. An action plan with a time frame from 2019 to 2024 was adopted at the European Union level in 2019. Some regional organizations, such as the Economic Community of West African States and the African Union, have adopted regional action plans. Only 34% of the countries that have adopted the NAP have a special budget allocated to its implementation. On the other hand, the continued weak implementation of UN Resolution 1325 in certain countries has consequences on multiple levels; above all, in the success of peace building processes. A number of studies show that the potential losses of not including women are huge. When civil society participants are involved in peace agreements, the risk of agreement failure is reduced by 64 percent. Another older study indicates that by 2011, peace agreements involving women who were also signatories to the agreements were associated with securing a lasting peace and a higher rate of implementation of the peace agreement. However, only 75% of National Action Plans for the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 recognize the specific role of civil society and non-governmental organizations. Women remain underrepresented and unrecognized at all levels of national and international political processes. As an illustration, 3 out of 11 peace agreements signed in 2017 contained gender-sensitive provisions, while only 2% of mediators, 5% of witnesses and signatories, and 8% of negotiators were women in peace processes between 1990 and

2017. When women are involved in peace processes, there is a 35% increase in the likelihood that the agreement will last for at least 15 years (UN Security Council Resolution 1325: Peacebuilding in Africa 20 years after its adoption). Almost all of the countries still face many challenges in terms of implementing national action plans.

UN Security Council Resolution 2242 of 2015 pointed out that the challenges that have arisen as a result of transnational terrorism and violent extremism are undoubtedly linked to the Women, Peace and Security Agenda in a number of ways. The resolution calls on the member states of the UN for greater integration of the agenda, i.e. prevention of radicalization and violent extremism in the Women, Peace and Security Agenda. Key counter-terrorism bodies should integrate gender as a related issue and ensure participation and leadership of women and women's organizations in development of strategies to combat violent extremism and terrorism. Member States increasingly recognize the role of women not only in ensuring lasting peace and security but also the role of women in preventing and combating radicalization and violent extremism in their national policies and in international normative documents. Globally, as well as in Europe, women have an ever-increasing role in conflict prevention, but also an ever-increasing role in the fight against radicalization, although they can often be misperceived simply as "followers" of their husbands in violent extremism rather than as preventers, recognizers and active participants in the processes against radicalization and violent extremism.

The importance of engaging women and integrating the gender dimension in peace and security programs and in preventing radicalization and countering violent extremism is increasingly recognized. The feminization of poverty, women's unemployment, migration due to unemployment, human trafficking, family and gender-based violence, patriarchal value systems, women's unequal access to education, health and information and other phenomena hinder gender equality, affect women and influence on the overall feeling of safety, security and peace, and on the other hand they intensify radicalization and lead to violent extremism and terrorism. Women are a key link in raising awareness, dialogue, maintaining good multi-ethnic relations, promoting peaceful resolving of conflicts, providing psycho-social assistance and support. The Women, Peace and Security agenda is increasingly being used as a tool for the counter-radicalization and countering violent extremism agenda (Women and violent extremism in Europe and Central Asia, Executive summary and recommendations). On the other hand, women are a key link in raising awareness, dialogue, maintaining good multi-ethnic relations, promoting peaceful resolving of conflicts, providing psycho-social help and support. Women are more capable of recognizing changes in behavior, lifestyle, socializing among other people within a family, no matter what kind of family relationship they are in, i.e. whether they are their children, grandchildren, husbands or other members of the immediate or extended family. As mothers, wives, grandmothers within a family they can provide psychological and emotional support to other family members. Also, women have a much greater ability for empathy as well as for motivating and encouraging positive attitudes towards life in other people from their environment. A woman is not only a good connoisseur and recognizer of certain behaviors in her family, but also in the community in which she lives, that is, in the immediate external environment. Through their involvement in the local community, women encourage others to get involved in collective social activity and thus promote positive values. Women are also more capable of accepting cultural differences, differences in religions, putting themselves in the role of bridging all differences and they

are creators of balanced relationships and peaceful resolving of quarrels, conflicts, etc. So far, there has been very limited thinking on how to incorporate the two agendas, especially how to connect national security participants, gender machinery and peace activists. Very little progress has been made towards recognizing the Prevention of Radicalization and Countering Violent Extremism (P/CVE) agenda as an integral component of the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) agenda. A gender perspective and gender analysis are important in all sectors because they highlight what is important to different groups and allow us to gain a deeper understanding of various needs and priorities.

Gender mainstreaming in gender, security and climate change policies

In addition, I will provide guidance on the political implementation and administrative environment necessary for the effective and efficient implementation of gender equality policies in the context of security and dealing with climate change. Climate change policies are a multi-sectoral policy, and include different approaches and responses to climate change adaptation or risk mitigation. Gender and gender dimension through the agenda - women, peace security, and action plans, are already included in the state security policies. However, gender equality policies, despite having the tools to integrate a gender perspective, still often remain within a single ministry. In the case of our country, it is the Ministry of Labor and Social Policy.

The thesis that I propose is that if climate change policies are horizontal and multi-sectoral, then gender equality policies must be multi-sectoral and horizontal. In this way, the issue of security and safety, and peace and stability will be implemented through these mediation policies. The concept of "horizontal policy" includes two aspects: diversity and variety of the problem to be approached, and the policy-making approach in response to such a problem, an approach that will not be reduced to a single political domain, that is, the problem to be reduced to a single sectoral political response.

In the context of gender equality as a "horizontal issue", "horizontal gender policies" are policies that will not be reduced to a single sectoral policy, for example, gender equality policy understood as "social policy" as part of the domain of a the authorized Ministry on "social issues". "Horizontal gender policy" is much more than a sectoral policy under the authority of a ministry, even if it is the Ministry of Gender Equality. This is why "gender issues" and "gender equality policy" are not a separate and individual political domain. "Horizontal gender policy" needs to be understood more as a political response, an approach that is horizontally integrated in different sectoral policies through various institutional bodies and institutions at all levels of government and in all sectors of society - civil society, economy, academia (Hondeghe et al., 2002).

"Horizontal gender policy" can also not be reduced to gender mainstreaming or only to positive actions. These two instruments are an integral part of creation and implementation of a "Horizontal Gender Policy". Gender mainstreaming is the formal side and precondition of any aspect of sectoral policy design and implementation, and as a formal requirement, gender perspective and gender sensitivity are expected to be integrated into sectoral policies.

In order for the gender machinery to work effectively and efficiently at all levels and divisions of power, and in different sectors of society, and because the existence of various institutional mechanisms is not sufficient to produce realistic and sustainable results,

it is necessary to establish a “management system” that will set up and operate the gender machinery.

Gender Management System (GMS) is a network of structures, mechanisms and processes that are set up within the existing organizational framework, in order to direct, plan, monitor and evaluate the process of gender mainstreaming in all areas of work of organizational structures, in order to achieve gender equality (The Gender Management System, 2001). The very meaning of the “structure of the gender machinery” at all levels and in all sectors is to function as a whole with clear and unambiguous mechanisms of divided political, administrative, executive and implementing power. It does not mean ad hoc arbitrary actions, but an informed coordinated and harmonized process, between and within institutions, including non-institutional participants, with defined responsibility in the chain of decision-making, monitoring, responsibility, procedures for creating policies and measures and their implementation.

The need for such a system of management stems from the fact that no matter how much the “central institutional mechanism for gender equality” is placed high in government, e.g. has a high organizational status within a ministry and the responsibility for the work lies with the Minister, such an institutional mechanism has no real power (authority) to order other ministries and other state administration bodies to take certain actions to achieve a goal.

Also, even in the presence of a joint strategy and action plan, there are no clear and precise mechanisms and procedures that will mobilize and coordinate competent authorities and participants for joint action provided by the plan. In such conditions, the only catalyst for initiating any action are international obligations and initiatives. A key problem in the system of communication and coordination within the machinery and between the machinery with “other” participants, is that “other participants” who are not part of the machinery - ministries, government agencies, responsible persons, do not regard issues and problems of gender equality as part of the scope of their responsibility, work and competence (expertise).

If we pose the issue of “gender equality” as a “horizontal issue” and “gender equality policy” as a “horizontal policy”, it becomes clear that gender equality policies are supra-sectoral and cross-sectoral, but at the level of implementation they have sectoral character and are under the direct competence and mandate of a separate state body or social sector. I believe that a gender policy conceptualized in this way will be able to integrate gender, security and environmental issues, ie will be able to successfully and competently address gender, security climate change relevance.

Conclusion

We live in a time when climate and climate change, and the environment and environmental factors are the main environmental factors that shape our lives, not only on a personal level, but also on a civilization level. Exposed to security risks associated with climate change, in addition to seeking new and innovative responses to the challenges, they also require us to reconsider our social environment, our social structures and institutions as factors that contribute to causing, but also to combating climate change. Gender and gender equality are an important factor in shaping people’s experience concerning climate change,

but also a factor in the dimension of the risks they carry. However, gender equality must also become a key factor in responding to and tackling climate change and security.

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