

Disproportionate Gendered Impacts of Climate Change: Analysis of the Existing Policy Frameworks Through the Lens of Iris Marion Young's Five Faces of Oppression

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BSc Global Responsibility and Leadership

BA Capstone Thesis

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05.06.2024

Abstract

This thesis explores the integration of gender-sensitive measures in climate change adaptation policies, focusing on Ecuador's and Costa Rica's National Adaptation Plans (NAPs) through the lens of Iris Marion Young's (1990) framework of the five faces of oppression. Gender-sensitive adaptation is essential for effective climate resilience, calling for heightened attention to women's vulnerabilities and contributions to climate policies. Therefore, the analysis highlights how Ecuador and Costa Rica address or fail to address the disproportionate climate-related gender impacts. Costa Rica's NAP, incorporating a Gender Action Plan, demonstrates a more comprehensive approach to gender-sensitive policies compared to Ecuador. However, despite Costa Rica's broader scope, both countries exhibit gaps: Ecuador neglects the oppression of powerlessness, while Costa Rica overlooks violence, both responding to four out of five faces of oppression Further, both nations predominantly focus on educational campaigns and training rather than pursuing structural changes. Despite these challenges, the Ecuadorian and Costa Rican NAPs present commendable efforts in gender-sensitive climate change adaptation, by addressing four out of five faces of oppression each, to varying degrees. Those plans propose various initiatives such as training programs, educational seminars, and gender-sensitive support measures and strive for equitable representation in climate-related decision-making. By learning from the experiences of Ecuador and Costa Rica, future policies can better promote equitable and sustainable climate adaptation, ensuring inclusive responses to the escalating climate crisis.

keywords: climate change – adaptation – NAP – ecuador – costa rica – five faces of oppression – cultural imperialism – powerlessness – marginalisation – exploitation – violence

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Introduction

Many influential voices in the climate change discourse say climate change is the biggest threat modern humans have ever faced (United Nations, 2021). The newest report (AR6) of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) confirms that despite the great impact of climate change on all communities, its effects are worse for vulnerable groups (IPCC, 2023a).

The vulnerability levels highly depend on the life conditions of individuals, being higher in locations of poverty, challenges in governance (i.e. unstable political regimes or lack of representation), limited access to basic services and resources, and violent conflict (IPCC, 2023b). Furthermore, those are aggravated by gender, ethnicity, low income, informal settlements, and structural inequality (IPPC, 2023b). Moreover, climate change acts as an aggravator, as the initial inequality causes the disadvantaged group to experience disproportionate impacts of climate change, making their livelihoods more difficult, and, therefore, increasing the subsequent inequalities (Islam & Winkel, 2017).

As gender is one of the conditions for inequality, women also experience disproportionate climate change effects. From resource scarcity to extreme weather events, women find themselves at the epicentre of these challenges. They are tasked with navigating through an intricate intersection of social, economic, and environmental consequences. Within societies, women typically experience higher levels of poverty than men, have restricted access to basic services and resources, and more commonly engage in directly climate-dependent livelihoods such as fisheries and forestry – sectors highly dependent on natural resources (United Nations, 2009). This difference is primarily due to the already existing inequalities faced by women. Furthermore, incorporating factors such as gender or race could highlight how being a woman, a person of colour, or a woman of colour in these situations can intensify the existing vulnerability to social injustice.

Recognising and understanding the complex interplay between climate change and gender is essential for the creation of inclusive and effective strategies for climate change mitigation and adaptation worldwide. I argue that the alleviation of disproportionate impacts of climate change on women can be done by international and national policies targeting the vulnerability of women, corresponding to the five faces of oppression of Iris Marion Young (1990). The framework effectively elucidates why women experience disproportionate impacts of climate change by highlighting how vulnerable groups experience exploitation, marginalisation, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence in the face of environmental challenges. Policies in itself are not sufficient for eliminating gendered oppression, through their limited scope and ability to impact societal bias. However, they are a first and crucial step towards achieving gender equality and alleviating gendered impacts of climate change.

Therefore, I aim to answer the following question: *In what ways do existing policy frameworks address or fail to address the gendered impacts of climate change on women through the lens of Iris Marion Young's five faces of oppression?* I do so by examining and evaluating the National Adaptation Plans (NAPs) of Ecuador and Costa Rica. The United Nations (UN) Climate Change National Adaptation Plans are crucial for addressing (gender–differentiated) impacts of climate change by providing structured national frameworks for integrating gender-responsive strategies into national climate policies and actions, developed as a way of ameliorating the climate vulnerability of the most vulnerable states. Ecuador has strong cultural and contextual ties to climate action and nature protection, emphasising the cultural integrity of *Pacha Mama* (eng. Mother Earth) in decision-making. On the other hand, Costa Rica was selected for its high gender equality and commitment to sustainability, reflecting its position on the Gender Gap Index.

I believe that recognising the patterns and areas covered by the current climate policies and ways in which they address or fail to address the gendered impacts of climate change on women, leaves us with an understanding of what inequalities and vulnerabilities to climate women are facing. Once these are identified, they should be addressed and ameliorated in order to create a just and equitable environment. I argue that by analysing the current climate policies we can recognise the areas for improvement for future practices.

In the section *Young's Five Faces of Oppression*, I introduce the concepts of justice and oppression as defined by Iris Marion Young (1990), as well as the five faces of oppression: (1) cultural imperialism, (2) powerlessness, (3) marginalisation, (4) exploitation, and (5) violence. I argue the importance of Young's theory on tackling the disproportionate effects of climate change on women in order to alleviate the existing gender-related climate change impacts.

In the following section, *Ecuador and Costa Rica: National Adaptation Plans*, I analyse the NAPs of Ecuador and Costa Rica in detail through the lens of the five faces of oppression. The individual policies are categorised into one of the faces of oppression, and each of them will be evaluated and justified. It will also identify the areas in which the policies address or fail to address the gendered impacts of climate change on women.

By examining how existing policy frameworks address or fail to address the gendered impacts of climate change through the lens of Iris Marion Young's five faces of oppression, this thesis seeks to illuminate the gender disparities and propose actionable steps towards a more just and equitable climate future for all. Additionally, it aims to present the ways in which the two NAPs address differentiated

impacts of climate change on women and how those practices can be implemented and further improved in other parts of the world.

Due to the limited scope of this dissertation, the focus is put on gender and not a specific intersectionality, without diminishing the special vulnerabilities and needs of other marginalised demographics.

Young's Five Faces of Oppression

Importance

I argue the five faces of oppression framework by Young (1990) is significant in discussions on the gendered impacts of climate change, as it offers a comprehensive understanding of the reasoning behind the enhanced vulnerability of certain groups. The analysis of the five faces – cultural imperialism, powerlessness, marginalisation, exploitation, and violence¹ – provides new insights regarding the nature of injustices in view of climate change and its amelioration in climate adaptation measures.

The climate justice and climate change literature emphasises that society comprises a diverse array of groups with varying interests and values that should be respected (Nussbaum, 2001, 886-887). Therefore, to combat climate change, it is crucial to consider inclusive frameworks that aim to address injustices and oppression of specific groups, as all lifestyles will be affected.

Using a holistic concept of oppression offered by Young (1990) is crucial for tackling gender inequalities that otherwise would have been overlooked, as it approaches oppression through a non-traditional perspective. For example, without a clear understanding of oppression or injustice, within the traditional view of human rights, many violations distinctive to women were not considered genuine human rights violations, for example, gender-based violence (Parekh, 2011). Therefore, I argue that using

¹ Since the publication of Young's five faces of oppression, it has been met with criticism and development of the limited scope of the theory. Through its *solemn focus* on the five faces of oppression, others have claimed further faces of oppression. Allen (2008, p. 166) criticises the lack of consideration on empowerment, as it is impossible to theorise oppression and domination in isolation from empowerment. Further, McKeown (2024) discusses insecurity as another face of oppression, as without security, those oppressed live under constant stress. Moreover, McKeown (2024) points out the lack of internal aspects of oppression coming from within the social group rather than external actors. Similarly, Allen (2008, p. 163) and Zutlevics (2002, p. 82) discuss the psychological and psychic oppression, as Young's definition does not fully articulate oppression's cultural dimensions. Another criticism is the lack of inclusion of the concept of power relations, and how oppression works as a power tool for others. However, due to a limited scope of the dissertation, I focus explicitly on the five faces of oppression as introduced by Young (1990).

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a holistic approach to justice and oppression of Young makes it possible to appropriately address issues of the disproportionate effect of climate change on women through its more inclusive perspective.

Young's framework and the concept of political responsibility take a forward- instead of backwards-looking approach to the responsibility to act on injustice and oppression. A forward-looking responsibility means an obligation to ameliorate or prevent a certain state of affairs while backward-looking responsibility means holding one accountable for a specific action or state of affairs that occurred (van de Poel, 2011). Typically, addressing climate justice and equality issues necessitates both approaches. However, a forward-looking approach is most suitable for climate adaptation. This allows the states to adjust, solve and address the inequalities and vulnerabilities resulting from their current actions instead of simply holding the states accountable without prospects of future improvements. Therefore, using a forward-looking framework for the analysis of a future-oriented issue is crucial.

In this section, I start by first identifying the terms of justice and oppression, used by Young on the basis of gender. In my analysis, I use the term gender instead of sex, as it encompasses the overall social, economic and biological construction of gender, rather than purely focusing on sex, which is predominantly focused on biological aspects.

Justice and Oppression

Young (1990) conceptualises justice as the 'institutional conditions necessary for the development and exercise of individual capacities and collective communication and cooperation' (p. 39). Therefore, an environment in which individuals can develop and utilise their capacities individually or collectively. For Young, injustice refers primarily to two forms of constraint – oppression and domination. For the purpose of this dissertation, I will explicitly focus on oppression as a form of injustice, which I introduce further in the section.

To talk about injustices, it is crucial first to define justice. For some, the concept of justice is defined in relation to distributive justice. Distributive justice refers to the equitable allocation of resources, burdens and benefits among all members of society with competing needs and claims (Lamont & Favor, 2017; Kaufman, 2012). The scope of distributive justice falls under criticism of its nature of reallocation of material resources and subjective-response to inequalities (Lamont & Favor, 2017). Young's concept of justice is not purely defined in relation to distributive justice, although it does contain distributive elements, allowing her framework to involve matters that cannot easily be assimilated to the concept of distribution, such as including decision-making procedures, division of labour, cultural

integrity, and more. The distributive justice approach allows for a deeper understanding of the disproportionate effects of climate change, as the vulnerability and inequality of societies amplify these differences. This perspective is interdisciplinary and often addresses non-material concerns.

The concept of oppression in itself can differ in meaning between different groups – traditionally, oppression means the exercise of tyranny by a ruling group, usually carrying a connotation of conquest and colonial domination (Young, 1990, p. 40). However, Young approaches the concept from a different perspective. Young's definition concerns the restriction of the capacity to self-develop, nurture and exercise one's capabilities, as well as articulate their needs, thoughts, and feelings (p. 40). Oppression in itself is a structural concept – it is not a result of a few people's choices or policies but rather takes a systematic character, comprising of institutional constraints and daily actions of individuals maintaining and reproducing the oppression without it being its aim (Young, 1990, p. 42). She recognises that for every oppressed group, there is a subgroup *privileged* in relation to the overarching group (p. 42), recognising the impact of intersectionality of identities. Analysing oppression using intersections of identities lies outside of the scope of my dissertation; however, it is crucial to acknowledge its overarching complexities.

In this abstract sense, oppression refers to systematic inhibition of self-development, which is a common condition faced by all oppressed. Young identifies five faces of oppression: cultural imperialism, powerlessness, marginalisation, exploitation, and violence, which I introduce in the following sections.

The First Face: Cultural imperialism

Cultural imperialism embodies the process of universalisation of a dominant group's experience and culture and establishing it as the societal standard. It presents how the dominant groups dictate societal interpretations and communications, therefore shaping the society's predominant beliefs, values, and achievements (Young, 1990, p. 58-59).

Cultural imperialism entails the dominance of particular meanings within society, which renders the perspectives of marginalised groups invisible and considers them as the 'other' (Young, 1990, p. 58-59). Examples of such can be the consideration of English as the official language of the United Nations, despite them not having an official language, simply because the majority of the people there speak it; or setting heterosexuality as the societal norm and every other sexuality as the 'other'.

In matters of gender, it is the man seen as the norm and universal. The concept of the world being built for men shows how 'he' is treated as the norm rather than of equal importance to 'her.'² For example, medicine has been dosed and tested primarily on men, therefore, the doses on the packaging are representative only of the male needs (Lerner, 2020). Moreover, seatbelts are created using male dummies, which means that what we consider universal practices are based on the male build (Criado Perez, 2019). Consequently, cultural imperialism engenders a double consciousness among marginalised groups, who navigate the tension between their own cultural experiences – gender roles and identity – and the dominant norms imposed upon them (Young, 1990, p. 60).

Women often find their perspectives dismissed or ignored in a male-dominated society, as stereotypes confine them to roles associated with their bodies, perpetuating notions of deviance and inferiority (Young, 1990, p. 59). Therefore, the biological difference between women and men becomes largely reconstructed as deviance and inferiority (Young, 1990). Because of this, women's opinions and insights into climate policies or climate management might be ignored.

In the context of climate change, there are many examples of cultural imperialism of men imposing on women. As the society we live in is inherently patriarchal, it is men who are heard most, it is their voices that matter. The climate crisis is not gender-neutral and requires explicit recognition of women and their distinct struggles. Gender-sensitive language and approaches carry a lot of value, and, therefore, they are crucial in implementing any practices and policies so as to not imply the superiority of one group above the other (GenderCC, 2009).

Climate change responses that are not sensitive to local contexts and cultural norms, therefore imposing overarching climate policies, can perpetuate gender inequalities. Women may be disproportionately affected by top-down interventions that fail to consider and address their unique needs, knowledge, and roles within their communities.

The Second Face: Powerlessness

According to Young (1990), powerlessness represents the condition or sensation of lacking power within a specific group in society (p. 56). Drawing from Marx, Young's powerlessness delineates a dichotomy where some individuals 'have' power while others are 'have-nots.' Within this

² Sandra Bem (1981) created a gender schema theory, describing the ways we categorise characteristics and behaviours into masculine and feminine, and create associations between them. However, those might become hurtful, as they quickly fall on the stereotypes and images of the subordinate group by the dominant group. The theory consists of two characteristics clearly presenting male dominance within society – *Androcentrism* (the belief that masculinity and what men do in our culture is superior to femininity and what women do) and *gender polarisation* (attitudes that are viewed as appropriate for men and inappropriate for women and vice versa). Thus, the consequences of cultural imperialism are far-reaching, as those affected find themselves marked by stereotypes and rendered invisible within society.

conceptualisation, the powerless find themselves dominated by the ruling group, positioned to receive orders rather than issue them (Young, 1990, p. 56).

The powerless are characterised by their inability to exercise authority or influence, often devoid of autonomy in their work, constrained in flexibility, present themselves awkwardly, etc. (Young, 1990, p. 56). It varies in levels – the imbalance is perpetuated by the lack of truly democratic workplaces and meaningful participation in decision-making, from which women are oftentimes excluded (Young, 1990, p. 56).

A few years before Young, Paulo Freire (1985) developed the concept of powerlessness as a form of oppression, analysing it through a different field than Young. This Brazilian educational philosopher claims that powerlessness represents the most potent form of oppression, as it fosters self-oppression and prevents those powerless from questioning their unjust treatment. Moreover, powerlessness engenders a culture of silence, wherein oppressed individuals are inhibited from voicing their suffering or concerns. Operating on multiple levels, from surface-level restrictions on communication to the indoctrination of internalised beliefs of inferiority propagated by the oppressor (Freire, 1985). Therefore, his belief, despite responding to educational dilemmas instead of taking a more expansive approach to oppression and justice, lies in accordance with Young.

The powerlessness of women in the sphere of climate change can also be explained by the indoctrination of internalised beliefs of inferiority or specific social roles by the oppressor (Freire, 1985). In that case, as women are expected to stay at home and be responsible for collecting fuel, managing the finances, and providing food for their families, they can experience more severe health impacts due to indoor air pollution due to using severely pollutant fuel and spending more of their time indoors exposing them to more risks (United Nations, 2009).

For example, similarly to many societies globally, Ecuadorian society, which is the focus of my dissertation, is marked by a pervasive culture of male dominance, which has diminished women's voices and influence in resource decision-making (Duffy et al., 2012), making them powerless in the course of action on climate change.

The Third Face: Marginalisation

Young (1990) describes marginalisation as a process embodying the act of relegating or confining groups to lower social standing or to the edge of society (p. 53). Because of their exclusion from useful participation in social life, they face the risk of severe material deprivation or potential extermination.

Unlike exploitation, where individuals are utilised for labour, marginalisation signifies a collective societal exclusion of certain groups entirely (Young, 1990, p. 53).

In advanced capitalist societies, as Young claims, there are two categories of injustice associated with marginalisation. First – welfare programs can inadvertently create new injustices by constraining the rights and freedoms of those who rely on them, e.g. making those depend on unjust bureaucratic institutions for support or services or aggravating injustices by restricting access to resources or opportunities that the welfare programs swear to protect and develop (Young, 1990, p. 54). Second – even if welfare programs reduce poverty, they can still be unjust if they marginalise people by preventing them from using their abilities in ways that are valued and recognised by society (Young, 1990, p. 54).

Furthermore, Young claims that even if the marginalised were provided a comfortable life but felt "uselessness, boredom, and lack of self-respect," the marginalisation would still prevail (Young, 1990, p. 55).

Young's concept of marginalisation is put within the context of the welfare state (United States); however, it does not mean that the welfare state in itself causes marginalisation. Rather, marginalisation can occur as a consequence of its programs.

I argue that in order to develop welfare programs to alleviate climate change, the state may create new inequalities for women by unintentionally restricting access to resources they swear to protect. For example, in Ecuador, the state-supported reforestation programs near river banks resulted in the drying up of freshwater sources, which later became women's job to restore and, in replacement, collect water from other sources (Rosero, 2023). Furthermore, in Latin America, women perform up to 80% of the agricultural work but own only 8-30% of the land (FAO, 2023; Godde et al., 2021), limiting women's access to resources and depriving them of the right to own land which could be a source of stable income. Given the current social systems in Latin America, it is a structural marginalisation where women are restricted from access to the same resources as men.

The Fourth Face: Exploitation

To discuss exploitation, Young builds up on Marx's definition first. Marx defines exploitation as an act of transferring the results of the labour of one social group for the benefit of another (Young, 1990, p. 49), as a result of capitalism and continuous strive for wealth accumulation (Shmelzer et al., 2022).

Young recognises the economic approach; however, she expands on the definition by moving away from exploitation as a transfer of the *results* of labour and productive labour. Young (1990) says:

"The injustice of exploitation consists in social processes that bring about a transfer of energies³ from one group to another to produce unequal distributions, and in the way in which social institutions enable a few to accumulate while they constrain many more." (p.53).

The transfer of energies from the socially disadvantaged groups constrains their opportunities to self-develop and allows the exploiter group to use this as an opportunity to self-develop and enhance their power, status, and wealth (McKeown, 2016). Furthermore, Young (1990) highlights how exploitation cannot be simply solved by redistribution of goods, as the process will replicate, persisting within the unequal power distribution.

Thus, through Young's definition of exploitation, women experience a systematic and unreciprocated shift of development power to men. Throughout the years, the shift occurred in different spheres, acting as support for men rather than themselves. For example, Delphy (1984) recognises the institution of marriage to be more profitable for men than women, who usually have to put more energy into it – care burden, housekeeping, sex work, etc. Similarly, Ferguson (1984) proves that emotional care towards partners and children usually falls on women, making them put in a disproportionate amount of energy. Young (1990) showcases that gender-based labour requires sexual labour, nurturing, caring for others, or smoothing over interactive tensions (p. 50). Therefore, the oppression of women in the form of exploitation can take the form of any free labour done by them on a systematic basis.

It implies that women's oppression extends beyond inequality in status, power, and wealth. It highlights the connection between men's freedom, power, status, and self-realisation, which are enabled precisely because women have worked on their behalf (Young, 1990, p. 50). Since the release of Young's work, the situation and position of women in society have improved; however, no country has reached gender equality yet (Chancel et al., 2022) and gender disadvantages prevail.⁴

Women's workload increases as climate change does too. Further, I bring forth an example related to freshwater access, for which women are more vulnerable, and which is highly affected by climate change. Climate change had great impacts on water quality and quantity, leading to freshwater scarcities, where water collection becomes more time consuming, reducing the opportunities for self-development for women (Firth and Fisher, 2012). Especially in areas without easy access to clean and running water,

³ Within the scope of her existing work, Young has not defined the concept of energies. However, there have been tries to define it and expand on the definition (e.g. see McKeown, 2016).

⁴ See Focus2030 (2024). Overview of data resources on gender equality across the world.

usually in lower-income households and rural areas, women and girls are typically responsible for collecting and fetching freshwater for their households (World Health Organisation, 2023) as well as providing food and household energy resources (McCarthy, 2020). Since it is viewed as a female responsibility, women are expected to perform it, thereby adding this duty to the realm of invisible work. Moreover, those tasks are time-consuming, limiting the possibilities and capabilities of women to earn further education or achieve meaningful participation in social life (Truelove, 2011), which limits their self-development by limiting their participation in decision–making and meaningful climate change action.

The Fifth Face: Violence

The final face of oppression is violence. As the term may seem self-explanatory within the bodily sense, Young (1990) expands on it and identifies it as a constant fear of random, unprovoked attacks on their persons or property, and less severe incidents of harassment, intimidation, or ridicule, simply for the purpose of degrading, humiliating, or stigmatising the members of the group other than your own (p. 61).

What makes violence 'worthy' of the label of oppression as opposed to other individual morally wrong behaviours, according to Young (1990), is its systematic dimension. This means that such violence is strictly directed at members of groups just for the reason of those individuals being members of such groups. Furthermore, group violence, in a sense, gains legitimacy because it often goes unpunished due to the structural system it is embedded in, and therefore is not deemed irrational (Young, 1990) – examples include domestic violence and sexual harassment against women.

Young's conception of a systematic approach to violence is supported by findings even before her conceptualisation. For example, Galtung (1969) introduced the concept of structural violence. He writes, "When one husband beats his wife there is a clear case of personal violence, but when one million husbands keep one million wives in ignorance there is structural violence" (Galtung, 1969, p. 171). The shared experiences of many women support the claim of gender-based violence taking the form of systematic violence, for example, femicides, sexual harassment, domestic–violence, and beatings. Furthermore, Young (1990, p. 62) states that it is not only *physical* violence women have to fear, but this also constitutes mere *ideas* of rape, as it signified that women continuously live in constant stress and fear of violence.

Because of climate change, women tend to put themselves into more dangerous situations by going further away from their safe spaces in endeavours due to a lack of resources, most commonly water scarcity, to satisfy their basic needs (Truelove, 2011). By doing so, women move away from the safety of

their homes and are exposed to situations inflicting both class- and gender-based physical and emotional violence (Truelove, 2011). Women are oftentimes harassed by men living in dangerous areas, making use of their unaccompanied expenditures, oftentimes resulting in abuse or rape, which is a clear example of systematic violence. Moreover, access to clean water is frequently regulated by an external actor, possibly appointed by government officials that already left their stands in the past. These actors may employ unjust and exploitative practices, selling water to women in an unfair manner – oftentimes, women are compelled to resort to using their bodies as a bargaining tool, leading to experiences of exploitation and sexual assault (Truelove, 2011).

Moreover, water scarcity and the general effects of climate change can impact both livestock and crops, potentially escalating tensions within households (Godde et al., 2021). Traditionally, men handle livestock responsibilities while women manage household chores. Climate change effects on livestock can contribute to stress and tensions at home, potentially leading to heightened domestic violence, primarily affecting women, as suggested by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) (FAO, 2023).

In the preceding discussion, I have explored Iris Marion Young's (1990) conceptualisation of justice as the institutional conditions necessary for the development and exercise of individual capacities and highlighted the importance of addressing oppression as a primary form of injustice. I examined how traditional definitions of oppression, often rooted in the tyranny of a ruling group, fail to capture the complex and systemic nature of oppression. It is therefore viewed as a structural or institutionalised inhibition of self-development which includes cultural imperialism, powerlessness, marginalisation, exploitation, and violence, which I have also showcased.

Now, I apply Young's five faces of oppression to analyse the national climate change adaptation plans of Ecuador and Costa Rica. I begin by providing an overview of the background and context of these plans, setting the stage for a detailed examination of how each form of oppression manifests within their strategies and impacts different groups within these societies.

Ecuador and Costa Rica: National Adaptation Plans

Justification

In the previous section, I introduced the five faces of oppression conceptualised by Young (1990) and explored how these forms of oppression manifest in various contexts. I discussed how Young's framework can extend beyond distributive justice to encompass broader issues such as decision-making

processes, cultural integrity, and structural constraints. In the following section, I justify the use of Ecuador and Costa Rica as example countries, as well as the use of National Adaptation Plans.

In the era of the ever-evolving dimensions of global environmental negotiations, the commitment to gender equality and gender-responsive solutions are crucial. Tackling inequalities by striving for the achievement of gender equality requires consecutive actions among different fields, setting an objective for its inclusion in all future plans yet to come, including within the climate change policies.

For the purpose of this research, I aim to compare the two national policies of Ecuador and Costa Rica, countries with similar climate vulnerability. Both countries come from the South and Central American regions, and their vulnerability has increased considerably in the past years (IPCC, 2023a). Therefore, their populations require efficient and strong policies to mitigate and adapt to climate change and limit its impacts.

Ecuador has been chosen due to its contextual and cultural connection to climate change action and nature protection, as well as its integration of Mother Earth (*Pacha Mama*) in decision-making and its constitution, as further explored in the following section. Costa Rica has been chosen because of its high position on the gender gap index signifying high gender equality, and its commitment to sustainability to achieve a rise in human development (World Economic Forum, 2023). Moreover, both states aim to decrease social inequalities (including gender disparities) within their National Adaptation Plans (MAATE, 2023; Government of Costa Rica, 2022). Therefore, the countries have been chosen on the basis of region, climate vulnerability, possession of NAPs, their cultural backgrounds, and human development indexes on gender parity, according to the World Economic Forum (2023).

Furthermore, the two countries are part of the United Nations Development Program for Least Developed States (LDCs) (UNFCCC, 2023) and, therefore, have specific commitments for addressing climate change. One of those commitments is the development of National Adaptation Plans. As LDCs are usually the most vulnerable states, the UN requires them to have detailed adaptation plans to ameliorate their climate vulnerability (UNFCCC, 2023; UNHCR, 2022). The UN Climate Change National Adaptation Plans are vital for addressing gender-differentiated impacts of climate change by offering structured national frameworks that incorporate gender-responsive strategies into climate policies and actions. Consequently, these plans are used as policy elements in my dissertation.

Before providing background information on Ecuador and Costa Rica, I elucidated my reasoning behind selecting these countries and their national adaptation plans for this analysis. Now, I apply this theoretical framework to analyse the national climate change adaptation plans of Ecuador and Costa Rica.

I start by providing background information on these countries and their respective contexts. This approach will help present how each of the five faces of oppression is reflected in and addressed by their adaptation strategies.

Background

Ecuador

Ecuador's location in the South American region, puts the country as one of the top states in the world in terms of biodiversity, being home to many endemic species. Biodiversity is possible due to its wide range of ecosystems, ranging from the coastal and continental regions through the Andean Mountain range and, finally, the Amazonian rainforests. As of 2020, Ecuador's population reached 18 million people. Because of its vulnerable climate location and social inequalities, it is predicted that by 2025, the country could potentially lose US \$5.6 billion due to extreme weather events intensified by climate change (UN Environment Programme, 2020).

Moreover, Ecuador is a country with respect for nature and natural resources. The Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador (2008) stands out globally for recognising the rights of nature and advocating for the implementation of comprehensive measures to address climate change and safeguard vulnerable populations (UNDP, 2018). Since the national referendum in 2008, Chapter 7 of the Ecuadorian constitution consists of the rights of Mother Earth (*Pacha Mama*) by extending rights to beings beyond humans (Berros, 2015), as they recognise their inherent interconnection and dependency on it (Constitution of the Republic of Ecuador, 2008).

The latest IPCC report, AR6, stated that people with considerable development limitations are highly vulnerable to climate hazards (IPCC, 2023a). In this sense, the prevailing social, economic, and environmental circumstances in Ecuador constitute a serious challenge to the country's progress, which is deepened when considering the current and expected impacts of climate change (MAE, 2013).

The impact of poverty reverberates within Ecuadorian society. In June 2022, 44.5% of households experienced food shortages because of a lack of disposable income (Bacarrenza, 2023). Food insecurity primarily affects households with children, as they usually have fewer resources (Bacarrenza, 2023).

Currently, 46.6% of Ecuadorians in rural areas live in poverty, compared to 18% in urban areas (Fleck, 2024; National Institute of Statistics and Censuses, 2023). On average within rural and urban areas, 27% of the country live in poverty, monthly earning \$89.29 per capita (National Institute of

Statistics and Censuses, 2023). Statistically, women in Ecuador are more likely than men to be asset-poor (Anglade et al., 2022) – 35.5% of rural women live in poverty, compared to 15.5% on the national average (UN Women-PROAmazonia, 2019).

In recent years, Ecuador has made substantial strides towards gender equality; however, many inequalities prevail, such as high maternal mortality, child marriages, teenage pregnancy, educational disparities, patriarchal norms, and more (World Bank Group, 2018). Moreover, 6 out of 10 women have experienced some kind of violence, surpassing 50% in each of Ecuadorian provinces (National Institute of Statistics and Censuses, 2011). Furthermore, femicides are the highest in Ecuador among all Latin and Central American countries, standing at 0.9 deaths per 100,000 (World Bank Group, 2018, p.22). In 2023, Ecuador scored 0.74 in the gender gap index (1 equals full parity), indicating an approximately 26% gap between genders (Statista Research Department, 2023).

However, even those strides were not enough. Ecuador continues to target gender inequality while at the same time responding to climate change. UN Women Representative in Ecuador, Bibiana Aido, says "[...] without women, it's not possible to talk about solutions to climate change and sustainable development" (UN Women, 2021a).

Costa Rica

Costa Rica's location in the Latin American regions, bordering both the Pacific Ocean and the Caribbean Sea, makes it exposed to climate risks. It is known for keeping its political stability, neutrality and abolishment of its military in 1949, following the new constitution and Article 12 (Constitution of Costa Rica, 1949), investing instead in education, healthcare, and conservation. With its constitution also comes the right to a healthy and ecologically balanced environment, which legally has to be upheld by the state (Art. 50). Currently, climate change is one of the greatest threats to the country's well-being (Government of Costa Rica, 2022, p. 14). The deepening of existing inequalities due to the recent pandemic makes it more possible for inequalities to further multiply in view of climate change.

As of 2023, Costa Rica occupies 14th place in the ranking on the global gender gap report by the World Economic Forum (2023)—the highest amongst countries owning NAPs—with a score of 0.793 on the gender gap index. However, women in Costa Rica still face gender inequalities, which are a key priority in promoting inclusive and resilient societies.

Currently, the country has the lowest poverty rate in Central America, hovering around 20% of the population, with a 7-8% unemployment rate. In Costa Rica, women earn an average of 20% less than men (UNDP, 2024a). Furthermore, since the age of 10, women and girls spend 23.5% of their time on unpaid care and domestic work, significantly more than men and boys (UN Women, 2021b). Therefore, there is still progress to be achieved in order for women in Costa Rica to stop facing gender inequalities, which is a key priority in promoting inclusive and resilient societies.

In Latin America, women perform up to 80% of the agricultural work but only own 8-30% of the land (Government of Costa Rica, 2022, p. 33). The lack of land ownership contributes to uncertainty and insecurity in case of future climate disasters and their effects, especially as the agriculture and biodiversity sectors directly depend on natural resources and are, therefore, climate-sensitive (Government of Costa Rica, 2022, p. 32).

Furthermore, women within many other sectors are currently facing climate change repercussions. Women face increases in domestic violence, more severe impacts of heat islands and overall high temperatures, and higher poverty rates in families with female-headed households – progressively taking up a greater share of the population classified as poor (Chant, 2009), – as well as facing greater repercussions connected to water contamination (Government of Costa Rica, 2022, p. 34). Moreover, gender-related climate change consequences can be seen in a decrease in accessibility to infrastructure such as affordable housing, drinking water, healthcare, and opportunities, as well as a lack of financial resources to acquire new technologies for adaptation (Government of Costa Rica, 2022, pp. 36-38).

Application of the Five Faces of Oppression

In the previous section, I discussed the selection of Ecuador and Costa Rica for the analysis, justifying their inclusion based on their climate vulnerability, cultural contexts, and commitments to gender equality. I provided background information on each country, highlighting their unique challenges and approaches to climate change adaptation, as well as their efforts to address gender disparities. This groundwork sets the stage for a deeper analysis of how their national adaptation plans reflect and address the five faces of oppression, which are examined in the following section. National adaptation plans define a strategic framework designed by least developed countries to identify and address their medium-and long-term adaptation needs to mitigate and adapt to the impacts of climate change (UNFCCC, 2023; UNHCR, 2022).

A UN National Climate Change Adaptation Plan is a strategic framework developed by countries, with support from the United Nations, to assess and address the impacts of climate change by enhancing resilience and reducing vulnerability. To analyse both NAPs, explaining a few terms of both is necessary.

Throughout the Ecuadorian NAP, the Ecuadorian Ministry of Environment, Water and Ecological Transition (MAATE) distinguishes between two priority categories – priority attention groups and priority sectors (MAATE, 2023). Priority attention groups refer to groups of individuals more vulnerable to climate change effects, such as women, elderly, disabled, LGBT+, and low-income (MAATE, 2023, p. 183). Priority sectors refer to areas considered highly vulnerable to the effects of climate change and whose effects could generate large economic and social losses, and damages to the country (MAATE, 2023, p. 70). For the purposes of my dissertation, I focus on the priority attention groups, as those explicitly contain adaptation policies directed at women.

Similarly, the Costa Rican government (2022) recognises the vulnerabilities of groups and sectors. However, they do not have recommendations for specific groups, and their policies take a more general approach. Despite that, Costa Rican NAP aims to address the gendered impacts of climate change by fulfilling its goals specified in its Gender Action Plan (GAP), as it takes the form of one of the policies and objectives specified in NAP (p. 132). Therefore, the policy analysis covers Costa Rican GAP for a fair analysis.

Having explained the vulnerability groups, in the next subsections, I categorise the policies of both NAPs into Young's (1990) framework of five faces of oppression by analysing Ecuador's and then Costa Rica's policies. As I am applying a framework to an already existing policy that was not following the framework itself, it is crucial to keep in mind that the policies can be applicable to more than one face of oppression at once.

Cultural Imperialism in NAPs

Young's cultural imperialism establishes the dominant group's culture as the societal norm, marginalising other perspectives and labelling them as 'other' (Young, 1990). However, it does not need to be the culture but the dominant group's ideas. This dominance affects various areas, such as language and gender norms, with men often being considered the standard (Lerner, 2020; Criado Perez, 2019), leading to women's experiences being overlooked. As climate change is not gender-neutral, it requires explicit recognition of women and their distinct struggles. In climate change policies, a lack of gender sensitivity can perpetuate inequalities, disproportionately affecting women and ignoring their unique needs and roles (GenderCC, 2009).

Below (*Table 1*.), I elucidate the policies responding to cultural imperialism in the NAPs of Ecuador and Costa Rica.

Nr.	Ecuador	Costa Rica
1	Carry out edu-communication campaigns on adaptation and climate risk and their differentiated impacts according to gender, focused on priority attention groups (p. 183)	GAP: Differentiated technical assistance for men and women provided by MAG, SINAC, and other technical and extension service departments (p. 71)
2	Research on the differentiated impacts by gender and on populations in situations of greater vulnerability against dengue (p. 183)	GAP: The resource guards program involves both men and women and recognises and strengthens their capacities equally (p. 81)
3	Train elderly people, people in extreme poverty and people with disabilities on climate change and its effects and implementation of prevention and contingency, considering differentiated needs and capacities according to gender (p. 183)	NAP: Tourism businesses and enterprises, including enterprises of women and Indigenous families that can implement ecosystem-based adaptation measures associated with their activity, on the risks of the most vulnerable populations (inc. women) in the most vulnerable conditions, with special attention to impacts differentiated by gender and age (p.94, 108)
4		NAP: Articulated strategy that defines the priorities, needs and research opportunities in the short, medium and long term associated with adaptation to climate change, which considers the studies and research identified in this plan, taking into account all sectors and key systems, and populations in vulnerable conditions including children, adolescents, young people, the elderly, Indigenous population, Afro-descendant population, migrant population, and population with disabilities (p. 91)
5		NAP: Make the role of women visible in studies on native genetic varieties, ancestral knowledge and good traditional agricultural practices (p.109; p.162)

 Table 1. Policies of the National Action Plans of Ecuador (MAATE, 2023) and Costa Rica (Government of Costa Rica, 2022;

 World Bank Group, 2019), responding to cultural imperialism as introduced by Iris Marion Young (1990).

Ecuador has three policies addressing the lens of cultural imperialism. *Policy 1* aims to change the narrative of the dominant group through the organisation of educational campaigns focused on priority attention groups. This highlights the unique experiences and recognises the distinct struggles of women, stepping away from the 'man as the norm.' *Policy 2* strives to expand the knowledge on the distinct impacts of dengue, a disease becoming more prevalent due to climate change, on women and other priority groups. Dengue has severe impacts connected to women's health (miscarriages, neonatal deaths, anaemia, premature births, etc.), and therefore, needs to be thoroughly researched to understand women's vulnerability fully. This acknowledges that the experiences differ between genders and different groups. Lastly, *Policy 3* recognises women's vulnerability and unique experiences by having training led using a gender approach. The training aims to change the narrative, highlighting the unique experiences of women. Generally, the policies recognise women's unique experiences and distinct challenges and share this knowledge through training, education campaigns, and research.

What is missing from Ecuador's policies is more action-based approaches, such as setting an example as the government, rather than focusing on training, campaigns, and research with the general public. Ecuador's addressal of cultural imperialism misses meaningful participation in democratic decision-making processes and creating spaces for women to achieve meaningful and inclusive representation. Furthermore, it does not address giving women agency to present their unique experiences and distinct struggles. There is an overall lack of structural changing policies.

Costa Rica has five policies covering cultural imperialism. *Policy 1* and *Policy 2* recognise the unique experiences, strengths and differentiated needs of women and men and the lack of one-size-fits-all approaches. Therefore, both policies introduce gender-sensitive support measures. *Policy 3* educates the tourism industry on the disproportionate impact of climate change on vulnerable populations and the risks they may face (diff. by gender and age). It educates the participants on the unique experiences of women and recognises there is no one-size-fits-all approach. *Policy 4* again recognises the unique impacts of climate change on women. It sets new priorities and areas of research in order to satisfy the needs and develop further knowledge of women's distinct struggles and adaptation challenges. Lastly, *Policy 5* highlights women's distinct experiences, influences, and knowledge infrastructures, making space for the usually unheard voices. Those policies tend to recognise women's unique knowledge and experiences, addressing the distinct needs and challenges and training the Costa Rican population on women's heightened vulnerability to climate change.

Costa Rican policies do not mention accessibility, especially in training programs. Suppose they do not ensure the accessibility and integration of training in local and rural communities – in that case, it

might lead to the exclusion of certain groups needing it the most. Furthermore, the practices can take tokenistic approaches, be superficial and lacking depth. Similarly to Ecuador, there is a lack of structural changes.

Powerlessness in NAPs

Iris Marion Young (1990) conceptualises powerlessness as a state in which individuals or groups lack the capacity to influence the decisions and structures that shape their lives. Therefore, participation in meaningful democratic processes. The feelings of powerlessness arise from systemic inequalities and manifest through limited access to resources, exclusion from the decision-making process, and overall vulnerability to exploitation and oppression.

Powerlessness is important due to its pressure on representation and meaningful decision-making processes, without which it would be impossible to achieve gender equality. Young (2002) argues that women's similar positions in the shared and social perspective can only be fully understood by others of similar standing and shared experience. Therefore, I argue that it is crucial in order to address gender equality as if we cannot aim for fair and just representation of over 50% of the population, we are not able to move forward with gender-sensitive climate action.

Furthermore, in *Table 2*. I categorise Ecuador's and Costa Rica's policies based on their responses to powerlessness.

Nr.	Ecuador	Costa Rica
1	_	GAP: Establishing knowledge-sharing workshops and spaces for women leaders to share their experiences and knowledge with other women and men of various ages (p.71)
2		GAP: Establishing representative and meaningful participation of women in the conservation and use of biodiversity and natural resources in PWA buffer zones and biological corridors (p.74)
3		GAP: Establishing representative and meaningful participation of women in forest landscape and ecosystem restoration (p.78)
4		NAP: Strengthening 40 multisectoral and interinstitutional commissions for the integration of adaptation in territorial planning and management, guaranteeing the inclusion of

	vulnerable groups in decision-making associated with climate change (p.127)
5	NAP: Creating six projects of women's associations for adaptation to climate change, managed and negotiated and managed by women (p.190)
6	NAP: Training of decision makers (central governments, ministries or local governments) trained on climate-related hazards and risks, with a gender-based approach of 50% of the participants being female (p.123)
7	NAP: Training [programs, modules, workshops, technical assistance] on climate change adaptation for the most vulnerable groups [women, elderly, young, Indigenous, companies in the vulnerable regions] (at least 40% women)

Table 2. Policies of the National Action Plans of Ecuador (MAATE, 2023) and Costa Rica (Government of Costa Rica, 2022; World Bank Group, 2019), responding to powerlessness as introduced by Iris Marion Young (1990).

Following Young's definition, Ecuador has no policies addressing powerlessness as a state of oppression regarding decision-making and participation. By not including the area of powerlessness, the Government of Ecuador fails to recognise the importance of agency and fair representation of women in the fight against oppression and vulnerability, which is crucial to tackling in order to mitigate the disproportionate gendered effects of climate change. This means they must address topics such as agency, authority, recognition of (self-)oppression, programs on self-confidence, and impactful participation in decision-making.

On the other hand, Costa Rica has seven policies that address powerlessness. Policies 1-3 are a part of Costa Rica's Gender Action Plan, while Policies 4-7 are a part of the National Adaptation Plan. *Policy 1* addresses powerlessness by creating spaces for women leaders to share their experiences and knowledge with others, giving them the authority to present their experiences as primary stakeholders and create an inclusive narrative. *Policy 2* and *Policy 3* create spaces for inclusive democratic decision-making and representation by creating spaces for women to fully participate in the conservation and use of biodiversity and natural resources, as well as in forest landscape and ecosystem restoration. These policies provide them with much-needed agency to meaningfully participate in decision-making. *Policy 4* aims to strengthen its multi-sectoral and interinstitutional commissions and strengthen the inclusion of vulnerable groups in decision-making. Here, the NAP strives to achieve meaningful decision-making by creating spaces where it is possible. *Policy 5* creates regional projects of women's associations, aiming to be fully independent, managed, and led by women. Therefore, these projects can

be shaped to the associations' desires to keep track of the unique needs and necessary initiatives for executive agencies to take further action. Additionally, *Policy 6* and *Policy 7* introduce gender quotas in training on climate change, allowing women to share their experiences and have a just representation in decision-making, ensuring the same opportunities for men and women. Lastly, *Policy 7* gives women agency and training in adaptation measures to make sure women are appropriately prepared for climate change impacts. Generally, those policies aim at achieving women's meaningful representation and participation in democratic decision-making and giving women opportunities and autonomy to influence their lives.

Overall, Costa Rica's policies lack structural changes, for example. Despite the increase in the number of projects run by women, this does not limit the possibility of experiencing challenges and discrimination against them. Furthermore, the policies are quite limited in scope—e.g., producing only six projects for the country (1 in each region). Additionally, the policies fail to mention accessibility to support mechanisms that ensure autonomy and agency in financial programs, as women participating in the financial programs can be exploited by their relatives, etc.

Marginalisation in NAPs

Young conceptualises marginalisation as the systemic relegation of certain groups to the fringes of society, leading to severe material deprivation and social exclusion (Young, 1990, p. 53). Unlike exploitation, which involves utilising individuals for their labour, marginalisation entails complete societal exclusion, resulting in these groups being deprived of meaningful participation in social life. Young highlights two injustices linked to marginalisation in advanced capitalist societies: (1) welfare programs can create new injustices by restricting the rights and freedoms of those who depend on them, and (2) these programs can marginalise individuals further by preventing them from using their abilities in socially valued ways (p. 54). Those can take the form of programs aiming to alleviate the vulnerabilities of climate change; however, they can inevitably create further injustices in other contexts.

Below (*Table 3.*), I categorise Ecuador's and Costa Rica's policies and identify how they respond to women's marginalisation.

Nr.	Ecuador	Costa Rica
1		GAP: Dissemination of information about funding sources and how women can access them (p. 83)

2	Community and gender-sensitive early warning systems (p. 178, 183)	GAP: Simplified financing modality that facilitates the entry of women who are carrying out forest conservation and management activities (p. 76)
3	Establish contingency plans that ensure the supply of supplies for menstrual health and medications for patients with chronic diseases during periods of cessation of activities of health services (p. 183)	GAP: Projects that create sustainable economic opportunities for women and men and strengthen the conservation and sustainable management of forests within environmental institutions (p. 84)
4	Promote and facilitate access for people dedicated to agricultural activities and belong to priority attention groups to savings accounts and credits related to technologies and supplies to face times of drought (p. 183)	NAP: Program in the Brunca region for training and with mechanisms and financial resources available with a gender and inclusive approach for climate-resilient agricultural and agribusiness entrepreneurship (p. 176)
5	Provide women farmers and heads of households with seeds resistant to adverse climatic conditions to improve their capacity to respond to the impacts of climate change on crops and/or their yields (p. 183)	NAP: Train vulnerable populations (business women, entrepreneurs, women, youth, elderly, Indigenous people) in climate change adaptation programs (p. 150)

 Table 3. Policies of the National Action Plans of Ecuador (MAATE, 2023) and Costa Rica (Government of Costa Rica, 2022;

 World Bank Group, 2019), responding to marginalisation as introduced by Iris Marion Young (1990).

Ecuador has five policies addressing marginalisation. *Policy 1* promotes welfare programs that extricate the inaccessibility of shelters – by making them more accessible – to women and those with physical disabilities. This gender-sensitive program alleviates the constraints of ability by proposing changes in urban infrastructure to make the urban system more accessible for groups who might not otherwise be able to seek shelter. *Policy 2* ensures marginalised women are warned about impending climate risks. By ensuring the accessibility of warning systems, the MAATE recognises the difficulties and extra challenges of profiting women from the same welfare programs as men. *Policy 3* aims to ensure accessibility to resources for menstruating people, the case for most women, during times when health services are inaccessible. This recognises the unique needs of women and creates welfare programs that answer them directly. *Policy 4* supports those agricultural activities and links women to financial resources, showing that MAATE recognises the struggle of resource accessibility and allocation women face. Finally, *Policy 5* ensures accessibility to resources by providing women with seeds resistant to adverse climatic conditions, which usually might be inaccessible to them. Women are already

disadvantaged when it comes to land ownership, and this policy supports the accessibility to resources and increases adaptation measures, ensuring women are not disadvantaged because of their gender and the discrimination they face in the agricultural sector. Overall, Ecuador's policies address the changes in infrastructure and warning systems for more inclusive adaptations, recognise unique health needs, and ensure accessibility of resources.

However, Ecuador has failed to fully recognise the negative consequences of welfare policies on women. This means that despite their understanding of unique needs and challenges, they do not address the possible collateral damage of the programs. Furthermore, MAATE misses training or educational campaigns that teach women profiting from those introduced policies to use resources efficiently and sustainably. Furthermore, the policies take a more redistributive character, despite the elimination of marginalisation, which will be impossible by aiming at distributive justice of resource redistribution rather than addressing structural injustices.

Likewise, Costa Rica has five policies addressing marginalisation. *Policy 1* aims to disseminate information on funding sources and how women can access them, improving access to financial aid and ensuring accessibility of resources and opportunities. Similarly, *Policy 2* addresses the structural accessibility to financial opportunities for women in forest conservation and management activities. This structurally addresses the topics of the official economic entrance of women in the forestry sector, receiving just compensation and recognition, and increasing accessibility to financial resources. *Policy 3* increases job accessibility and accessibility to resources and opportunities. This provides opportunities for self-development and meaningful participation in societal life by improving the accessibility of projects and programs. *Policy 4* improves job accessibility and offers opportunities for self-development. The offered training provides participants with measures and climate-resilient knowledge through a gender-sensitive and inclusive approach, improving women's agency to influence their lives. The training, financial resources, and inclusive support to marginalised groups enhance their resilience and participation in the agricultural business. Finally, *Policy 5* trains and gives agency to women in climate change adaptation programs, enhancing their abilities and empowering the communities.

Similarly to Ecuador, Costa Rica misses out on the systematic changes in the agricultural sector, taking a tokenistic approach. Policies that depend on training, project creation, and knowledge sharing will not be able to address structural, systematic, and institutional marginalisation. Costa Rica also fails to recognise the possibly negative impact of welfare policies on women, therefore recognising the unwanted

consequences of restricting rights, freedoms, and abilities and unintentionally putting more work and expectations on them.

Exploitation in NAPs

Young expands upon Marx's narrow and economic definition of exploitation by encompassing the transfer of energies and opportunities for self-development from disadvantaged groups to advantaged ones, perpetuating unequal distributions of power, status, and wealth (p. 53). For Young, exploitation involves social processes and institutions that enable a few to benefit from the transfer of energies while constraining the ability to self-develop for others. This systematic exploitation is particularly evident in gender relations, where women's labour in marriage, caregiving and household tasks disproportionately benefits men, enhancing their power and status while limiting women's opportunities for self-realisation and development. Climate change exacerbates women's exploitation by increasing their workload, particularly in household tasks, such as resource collection, reducing their opportunities for education and meaningful participation in social life.

Furthermore, in *Table 4*. I identify how Ecuador and Costa Rica address the exploitation of women as a result of climate change.

Nr.	Ecuador	Costa Rica
1	Generate mechanisms to redistribute care work to avoid overloading women's activities when the impacts caused by climate disasters (p. 183)	GAP: Costa Rica has a gender equality seal for integrated farms and production units (p. 72)
2	Train women heads of households, elderly people, and other priority groups on the efficient and responsible use of water and the options of using alternative sources in times of water scarcity for human consumption due to adverse weather conditions (p. 183)	GAP: Increased number of farms and production units run by women (p. 70)

 Table 4. Policies of the National Action Plans of Ecuador (MAATE, 2023) and Costa Rica (Government of Costa Rica, 2022;

 World Bank Group, 2019), responding to exploitation as introduced by Iris Marion Young (1990).

Ecuador has two policies addressing exploitation. *Policy 1* strives to achieve an equal transfer of energies and effort and equal work division after climate disasters. This policy aims to alleviate women's disproportionate effort into the caretaking and healthcare system and ensure equal work distribution. *Policy 2* aims to address exploitation more adequately to alleviate resource scarcity. By training on

efficient and responsible use of water and alternative sources of clean water, it strives to address the free and invisible labour typically performed by women. Teaching women about other water sources may alleviate the burden of time-consuming and dangerous tasks related to resource collection. Overall, the policies recognise self-oppression and the unequal transfer of energies in care work and mitigate aspects of time-consuming water collection, giving women time for self-development.

These policies, however, fail to address the power imbalances and expectations that women's role is to collect resources. For example, *Policy 2* trains women on alternative sources but does not educate men that it might also be their responsibility to take on more household tasks. Furthermore, the policies are of limited scope, as they address only specific contexts – e.g. healthcare, care work, and water management). There is a lack of an overall systematic change – teaching the alternatives might not be enough to alleviate exploitation without the local and national governments implementing constant running water sources and support for other areas where this is impossible.

Similarly, Costa Rica has two policies addressing exploitation. *Policy 1* requires the usage of a gender equality seal, inducing the promotion of gender mainstreaming in public institutions to enhance gender equality and women's empowerment through the results and impacts of public policies and programs (UNDP, 2024b). This limits the possibilities of exploitation, as the farms gain more benefits from recognising women in the work markets rather than depending on their disproportionate transfer of energies. It gives women opportunities for self-development as workers or owners of farms and production units and offers meaningful work. *Policy 2* addresses exploitation, as it creates a level of security for women regarding resources necessary for survival. The policy grants women recognition and opportunities for land ownership, potentially leading to self-development and enhanced power, status, and wealth. Thus, it fosters self-development by ensuring security and autonomy in the work sphere.

The lack of structural change is the biggest limitation of Costa Rica's policies addressing exploitation. By increasing the number of women-owned farms but not changing the laws (therefore, unjust structures), this decision will not change the roots of the already existing difficulties in land accessibility, and therefore, tackling exploitation will be impossible. Contrary to Ecuador, it also does not directly recognise self-oppression and the unequal transfers of energies in other sectors, such as care work and housework, and fails to mitigate other already-existing tasks performed by women and equaling out the energies put into them.

Violence in NAPs

Iris Marion Young's (1990) violence as a face of oppression encompasses more than just physical harm; it involves the pervasive fear of random, unprovoked attacks, harassment, and humiliation targeted

at individuals purely because they belong to certain groups. This systematic violence is legitimised by its frequent lack of punishment and integration within structural systems, such as domestic violence and sexual harassment, which specifically affect women. Young's perspective aligns with Johan Galtung's (1969) conception of structural violence, highlighting that widespread, group-directed aggression is rooted in social and structural contexts. This systematic oppression extends to the impacts of climate change, where resource scarcity forces women into dangerous situations and exposes them to systematic violence. Furthermore, climate change exacerbates these vulnerabilities by straining household resources and escalating domestic tensions, further entrenching the possibility of a systemic nature of violence against women.

Climate change causes a major increase in vulnerability to sexual and gender-based violence, such as sexual violence, human trafficking, and child marriage. UN Women say that women and children tend to be 'less likely to survive and more likely to be injured' during natural disasters due to long-standing gender inequalities (Duggan, 2023).

In *Table 5*, I present how Ecuador and Costa Rica address climate-change-caused gendered violence.

Nr.	Ecuador	Costa Rica
1	Rise awareness among the population and responsible institutions about the impacts that climate threats cause on resources and livelihoods, the respective economic, social and environmental implications, their links with gender violence against women, and the need to implement attention channels in these cases (p. 183)	

 Table 5. Policies of the National Action Plans of Ecuador (MAATE, 2023) and Costa Rica (Government of Costa Rica, 2022;

 World Bank Group, 2019), responding to violence as introduced by Iris Marion Young (1990).

Ecuador has one policy addressing violence as a face of oppression. *Policy 1* raises awareness of how violent acts are exacerbated during and after periods of crisis and conflict. It highlights women's unique challenges and aims to implement recognition channels in these cases. This improves the recognition of violence with the attention channels.

However, Ecuador is missing the structural changes (such as an adjustment of laws and implementation of policies) to be more critical of violence. Without the structural change, women might still be at risk for reporting the violence, and the perpetrator might not face any consequences.

Furthermore, for any violence-prevention-methods to be gender-responsive, social safety mechanisms and victim-centred approaches need to be developed and implemented. Moreover, the training does not uplift the voices of those who experienced gendered violence, failing to create spaces for sharing the experiences and reporting crimes. The training can also take the form of superficial awareness without addressing everyday violence instead of crisis-related violence. This also fails to address the cause of gender-based violence and has an outside perspective instead of addressing the perpetrators themselves.

On the other hand, Costa Rica does not have any violence-related policies, failing to address violence as a face of oppression. This failure ignores a crucial consequence of climate change on women, again assuming an absence of violence-related distinct experiences of women. In order to be able to tackle the gendered disproportionate effects of climate change fully, those distinct experiences cannot be ignored as they are an integral part of women's lives and struggles.

Financialisation and Feasibility

Despite the addressal or failure of addressal of both NAPs to Young's five faces of oppression, it is important to keep in mind the feasibility of the existing policies. The feasibility is strongly concerned with the availability of resources to fulfil the policies. Therefore, in the following section, I address the financialisation measures of Ecuador's and Costa Rica's NAPs.

The financialisation of the Ecuadorian NAP mainly depends on two sources of income: national and international. Nationally, MAATE aims to generate links with strategic public, private and academic actors (sectoral and local institutions, corporations, academia) that promote new sources of financing, guaranteeing a constant flow of resources (MAATE, 2023). The national actors include the Fund of Investment Sustainable Environment, the Development Bank of Ecuador; and the Council National Competition (MAATE, 2023, p. 40). Internationally, the development and applicability of the NAP projects are mostly funded by the UNFCCC's Green Climate Fund, receiving \$3,000,000 (Green Climate Fund, 2018). Besides the UNFCCC financial mechanisms, extra income can be attained through international cooperation (MAATE, 2023, p. 199). However, as MAATE (2023, p. 195) itself recognises, financing the NDC will be one of the greatest challenges, as there is difficulty in attaining consistent financing for the projects. This means that the NAPs' success and feasibility depend on unstable income.

Unlike Ecuador, Costa Rica has prepared a more comprehensive financial plan, including Resource Mobilisation and Financing Strategy for Adaptation (Government of Costa Rica, 2022, p.82). As a part of UNFCCC NAP, Costa Rica was financially supported by the UNFCCC's Green Climate Fund – overall receiving \$3,789,248 for its capacity building, strategic frameworks, national adaptation

planning, pipeline development, and knowledge sharing (World Bank Group, 2019). However, the financing was provided only during the development stage. Additionally, the financing strategy includes reviewing funding sources and options for directing financial support based on the actors responsible for specific policies and actions. Each policy specifies the source of financing and the responsible institutions and associated actors – for some, those actors are expected to finance the operation, and others have specified other sources of financing (Government of Costa Rica, 2022). Therefore, the Costa Rican NAP clearly specifies the expected financialisation. Moreover, Costa Rica's GAP is supported by the REDD+ Finance Fund and local financial institutions (World Bank Group, 2019).

Conclusions

In this dissertation, I answered the following question: In what ways do existing policy frameworks address or fail to address the gendered impacts of climate change on women through the lens of Iris Marion Young's five faces of oppression? I have highlighted the interconnection between gender and climate change adaptation, examining Ecuador's and Costa Rica's National Adaptation Plans through the lens of Iris Marion Young's (1990) framework on the five faces of oppression.

Both countries demonstrate a commitment to address climate change through their ambitious National Adaptation Plans, yet their strategies reveal differences in integrating gender-sensitive measures. By including the Gender Action Plan within the scope of NAP through one of its objectives, Costa Rica managed to cover a greater scope of gender-sensitive policies than Ecuador. Despite that, Ecuador's commitments under NAP are still commendable.

Utilising Young's (1990) analytical lens of the five faces of oppression, this dissertation reveals that while both countries address multiple dimensions of gendered oppression – addressing four out of five policies – they do so with different priorities. Ecuador fails to address the face of oppression of powerlessness, and Costa Rica does not address violence. In these aspects, both countries fail to recognise women's crucial and distinct experiences in the fight against climate change. To tackle this disproportionality, the countries need to develop specific policies with those in mind. Furthermore, both countries tend to miss important aspects, such as structural changes, and focus solemnly on educational campaigns and training within the already-existing unjust system. Therefore, they require further development in order to address the areas of cultural imperialism, powerlessness, marginalisation, exploitation, and violence. Addressing those would not only enhance the climate adaptation strategies of those states but also become the blueprint for other countries to follow.

The feasibility of Ecuador's and Costa Rica's National Adaptation Plans hinges on their financial strategies. For the fulfilment of such a great national plan, stable and appropriate funding is crucial. Ecuador relies on variable national and international sources, notably the UNFCCC's Green Climate Fund, but faces challenges in securing stable funding. Costa Rica has a more detailed financial plan, including specific funding sources and responsible actors, supported by the UNFCCC and local financial institutions.

Despite their limitations, Ecuadorian and Costa Rican NAPs can serve as good examples of gender-sensitive climate change adaptation plans and strategies at this moment. By addressing four out of five faces of oppression, Ecuador and Costa Rica show diligence and commitment to achieving gender equality. Both countries propose training programs, educational seminars and campaigns, gender-sensitive support measures, and striving for just and meaningful representation in climate-change-related institutions and decision-making powers.

My dissertation emphasises that gender-sensitive adaptation is not merely an add-on but a fundamental component of effective climate resilience and adaptation. It calls for increased attention to women's unique vulnerabilities and contributions to national and global climate policies, providing them with facilities and opportunities for education and meaningful representation, and suggests to do so through a hollistic and inclusive framework of five faces of oppression of Iris Young (1990). By learning from the two NAPs, future policies can better promote equitable and sustainable climate adaptation, ensuring that no one is left behind in the face of escalating climate challenges.

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