



CLIMATE CHANGE IN WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY NATIONAL ACTION PLANS

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I. Introduction

Climate change can increase the risks of violent conflict, create risks to human security, and challenge conflict recovery and peacebuilding in different contexts.¹ In many parts of the world women and girls are significantly affected by the respective and compounding effects of climate change and conflict, due to the existing inequalities they experience related to gender roles within their societies.² Women and girls can also be agents of change in addressing climate change, and peace and security issues. Their equal and meaningful participation is important.³ Gender inclusion and equality correlates with sustainable peace and more resilient societies on all scales—effective conflict prevention requires taking into account women’s experiences and their participation in social, economic and political spheres.⁴ Women and girls should be able to define and address climate-related security risks as they experience them.⁵ Thus, as the impacts of climate change continue to increase and change the landscape of peace and security, it is relevant to analyse how programming and policy focusing on gender and security have developed to address climate change. Specifically, it is important to consider how participation of women and girls is promoted in these efforts.

¹ Barnett, J. and Adger, N. W., ‘Climate change, human security and violent conflict’, *Political Geography*, vol. 26, no. 6 (Aug. 2007), pp. 639–55; Mobjörk, M. and van Baalen, S., ‘Climate change and violent conflict in East Africa: Implications for policy’, SIPRI Policy Brief, Apr. 2016; and Krampe, F., ‘Climate change, peacebuilding and sustaining peace’, SIPRI Policy Brief, June 2019.

² Coomaraswamy, R., *Preventing Conflict, Transforming Justice, Securing the Peace: A Global Study on the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325* (UN Women: New York, 2015); Tanyag, M. and True, J., ‘Gender responsive alternatives on climate change from a feminist standpoint’, eds C. Kinnvall and H. Rydström, *Climate Hazards, Disasters, and Gender Ramifications* (Routledge: London, 2019); and United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women, Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women, General recommendation no. 37 (2018) on gender-related dimensions of disaster risk reduction in the context of climate change, CEDAW/C/GC/37, 13 Mar. 2018.

³ Coomaraswamy (note 2); and Tanyag and True (note 2).

⁴ UN and World Bank, *Pathways for Peace: Inclusive Approaches to Preventing Violent Conflict* (International Bank for Reconstruction and Development/The World Bank: Washington, DC, 2018).

⁵ Kronsell, A., ‘WPS and climate change’, eds S. E. Davies and J. True, *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2019).

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SUMMARY

● Climate change can increase the risks of violent conflict, create risks to human security, and challenge conflict recovery and peacebuilding in different contexts. In many parts of the world, women and girls are significantly affected by the respective and compounding effects of climate change and conflict. They can also be agents of change in addressing climate change, and peace and security issues.

This SIPRI Insights paper explores how the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) national action plans (NAPs) of 80 states frame and respond to climate change and security. It finds that they do so in different ways. Seventeen states include direct mention of climate change in at least one of their plans. Of these, three states include comparatively higher numbers of specific goals and activities referencing climate change in different plans.

The paper highlights a need for increased action in the area of climate change in WPS NAPs. It argues for a greater focus on supporting women and girls’ participation in action addressing climate-related security risks, as well as a need to evaluate how climate change is framed as a security risk in the plans.



Recent research has argued for the WPS Agenda to recognize climate change as a security issue

The United Nations Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda is a ‘global policy architecture’, facilitated by the UN Security Council and aimed at promoting gender equality, peace and security.⁶ Recent research has argued for the WPS Agenda to recognize climate change ‘as a security issue in terms of both immediate and slow effects on women’s lives’.⁷ The WPS Agenda is also slowly beginning to recognize climate change as a challenge.⁸ However, progress in recognizing and responding to climate change as a security issue has thus far been minimal. In October 2019 the annual report of the UN Secretary-General on the WPS Agenda—which is not part of the WPS Agenda, but works to update the UN Security Council on progress, issues and gaps in the agenda—stated that ‘the global threat of climate change and environmental degradation is poised to exacerbate the already increasing number of complex emergencies, which disproportionately affect women and girls’. It additionally stated the need for improved and immediate action to address the links between gender, climate change and conflict.⁹

This SIPRI Insights paper explores how WPS national action plans (NAPs) of member states that are party to the WPS Agenda understand and respond to climate change and security. WPS NAPs are documents describing initiatives planned by states to achieve objectives relating to the WPS resolutions within a certain time frame (see box 1 for an overview of WPS NAPs).¹⁰ They were analysed for this study because they are the main mechanism used by member states to implement their commitments to achieving the WPS Agenda’s aims.¹¹ To investigate how WPS NAPs may work to address the relationship of gender, climate change and security, this paper examines the following three research questions: (a) which WPS NAPs include language specifically referring to climate change, and of those that do, how do they explain why they include it; (b) of the WPS NAPs that incorporate references to climate change, do they include directly related actions and commitments; and (c) within these actions, who (e.g. member states, women and girls, and men and boys) is discursively involved in the proposed actions, and how?

The study questions how the framing of climate change (e.g. as an external threat, context-specific challenge or human security risk) in WPS NAPs may affect how states organize their responses in the plans. It specifically queries

⁶ Kirby, P. and Shepherd, L., ‘Reintroducing women, peace and security’, *International Affairs*, vol. 92, no. 2 (2016), p. 249; and de Jonge Oudraat, C., ‘The WPS agenda and strategy for the twenty-first century’, eds S. E. Davies and J. True, *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2019).

⁷ Kronsell (note 5), p. 733.

⁸ UN Security Council Resolution 2242, S/RES/2242, 13 Oct. 2015; and Yoshida, K., ‘The nature of women, peace and security: Where is the environment in WPS and where is WPS in environmental peacebuilding?’, London School of Economics and Political Science Women, Peace and Security Working Paper Series, 22/2019.

⁹ UN Security Council, ‘Women and peace and security’, Report of the Secretary-General, S/2019/800, 9 Oct. 2019, para. 118.

¹⁰ Popovic, N. et al., *Planning for Action on Women and Peace and Security: National-level Implementation of Resolution 1325 (2000)* (United Nations: New York, 2010).

¹¹ True, J., ‘Women, peace and security in Asia Pacific: Emerging issues in national action plans for women, peace and security’, Discussion paper for Asia-Pacific Regional Symposium on National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security, 11–13 July 2016.



whether the WPS NAPs promote participation of women and girls in actions focusing on climate change.

Section II discusses key concepts surrounding the WPS Agenda and climate security language. Section III provides the methodology of the study. Section IV presents the initial analysis—understanding how WPS NAPs across the globe integrate references and actions related to climate change. Section V provides a more in-depth analysis of the WPS NAPs of three states, which follows the research questions and discusses trends and differences observed in relation to the integration of climate-related security risks. Finally, section VI concludes with a discussion and suggested ways forward in the future.

II. Climate security language and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

The WPS Agenda was established in 2000, with the unanimous adoption of Resolution 1325 by the UN Security Council.¹² The passage of Resolution 1325 was a seminal moment in international cooperation on peace and security. It was adopted after years of advocacy from women’s civil society groups, which resulted in this resolution marking the first time the international community recognized the impacts of conflict on women and girls, as well as the need to promote women’s participation and contributions in peace and security processes.¹³ The WPS Agenda has since grown to include 10 UN Security Council resolutions as of 2020, with aims that are oriented around four interlinking ‘pillars’: ensuring women’s participation in governance and peace and security fields, preventing conflict and violence, protecting women’s and girls’ rights in conflict, and assuring appropriate and just relief and recovery for survivors of conflict.¹⁴ The agenda works to support the mandate of the UN Security Council—to maintain international peace and security. As such, it has been argued that the resolutions do not work solely to promote gender equality and women’s human rights in conflict; they support the promotion and protection of women’s rights and security as necessary for maintaining peace.¹⁵ While the pillars are intended to overlap, the agenda has historically focused significantly on work aimed at the protection of women from sexual and gender-based violence in conflict.¹⁶ Language in the agenda and related documents has been correspondingly skewed towards framing women as

The WPS Agenda has grown to include ten UN Security Council resolutions, oriented around four interlinking ‘pillars’

¹² Cohn, C. et al., ‘Women, peace and security resolution 1325’, *International Journal of Feminist Politics*, vol. 6, no. 4 (2004), pp. 130–40; and UN Security Council Resolution 1325, S/RES/1325, 31 Oct. 2000.

¹³ Willett, S., ‘Introduction: Security Council Resolution 1325: Assessing the impact on women, peace and security’, *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 17, no. 2 (Apr. 2010), pp. 142–58; and George, N. and Shepherd, L., ‘Women, peace and security: Exploring the implementation and integration of UNSCR 1325’, *International Political Science Review*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2016), pp. 297–306.

¹⁴ George and Shepherd (note 13). The 10 UN Security Council resolutions of the WPS Agenda are: Resolution 1325 (2000), Resolution 1820 (2008), Resolution 1888 (2009), Resolution 1889 (2009), Resolution 1960 (2010), Resolution 2106 (2013), Resolution 2122 (2013), Resolution 2242 (2015), Resolution 2467 (2019) and Resolution 2493 (2019).

¹⁵ Hudson, N. F., ‘UNSCR 1325: The challenges of framing women’s rights as a security matter’, NOREF Policy Brief, Mar. 2013.

¹⁶ de Jonge Oudraat (note 6).

Box 1. Women, Peace and Security national action plans

In 2004 the United Nations Secretary-General called on member states to prepare national action plans (NAPs) to improve action and commitments related to the Women, Peace and Security (WPS) Agenda.^a Denmark became the first state to adopt a WPS NAP in 2005, and uptake among member states has slowly grown since then.^b However, the success of a WPS NAP is determined by its content and implementation, not the act of adopting it. The presence of clear goals and concrete ways to measure their achievement are examples of elements crucial for an effective plan.^c Ideally, WPS NAPs include compelling narratives, helping to frame the basis for and impact of actions in the plan. Action matrices or frameworks are separate from the narratives; they display and link the goals, actions and methods of implementation. However, there should be an obvious link between the narratives and the contents of the action matrices.^d If constructed appropriately, WPS NAPs have been suggested as a critical tool for supporting women's participation in efforts to address climate change and building resilience to its effects.^e

The content of a WPS NAP, including its goals and indicators, will vary by state interest and needs.^f WPS NAPs are not direct translations of WPS resolutions, rather, they 'function as blueprints for how states prioritise, including which actors and areas they deem important'.^g For example, WPS NAPs in donor states—predominantly but not exclusively located in the Global North—often focus a substantial amount of their work externally.^h This means that the goals and actions in their WPS NAPs are focused on receiving states that may be fragile, developing or affected by conflict. Donor state WPS NAPs may directly mention what countries they intend to support and how within the document. A specific challenge observed with externally focused WPS NAPs is the potential for their actions to align with the priorities and interests of the donor state, rather than those of different groups of women in the receiving or partner state. Further, these WPS NAPs may focus substantially more on international work, rather than domestic issues relevant to the WPS Agenda.ⁱ However, certain donor states, such as Ireland and Finland, have worked with partner states to develop their WPS NAPs through a process termed 'twinning' or 'cross-learning'.^j This process enables donor states to work together with more fragile and developing states on their WPS NAPs, allowing the donor state to financially and technically assist with WPS NAP development in the partner state, and for each to learn from the experience and knowledge of women in the fragile state to influence the WPS NAP development.^k

^a Gumru, F. and Fritz, J., 'Women, peace and security: An analysis of the national action plans developed in response to UN Security Council Resolution 1325', *Societies Without Borders*, vol. 4, no. 2 (2009), pp. 209–25.

^b Björkdahl, A. and Selimovic, J., 'Translating UNSCR 1325 from the global to the national: Protection, representation and participation in the national action plans of Bosnia-Herzegovina and Rwanda', *Conflict, Security & Development*, vol. 15, no. 4 (2015), pp. 311–35.

^c Swaine, A., 'National implementation of the UN Security Council's women, peace and security resolutions', NOREF Policy Brief, Mar. 2014; and Jacevic, M. M., 'WPS, states, and the national action plans', eds S. E. Davies and J. True, *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2019).

^d Swaine, A., 'Making women's and girl's needs, well-being and rights central to national action plans in the Asia-Pacific region', Discussion paper for Asia-Pacific Regional Symposium on National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security, 11–13 July 2016; and Jacevic (note c).

^e True, J., 'Women, peace and security in Asia Pacific: Emerging issues in national action plans for women, peace and security', Discussion paper for Asia-Pacific Regional Symposium on National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security, 11–13 July 2016, p 15.

^f Fritz, J., 'Women, peace, security, and the national action plans', *Journal of Applied Social Science*, vol. 5, no. 1 (2011), pp. 1–23.

^g Björkdahl and Selimovic (note b), p. 319.

^h Aroussi, S., 'Introduction: Rethinking national action plans on women, peace and security', ed. S. Aroussi, *Rethinking National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security* (NATO IOS Press: Netherlands, 2017); Jung, Y. and Tsujisaka, A., 'Emerging actors in the Women, Peace and Security Agenda: South Korea and Japan', SIPRI Background Paper, Dec. 2019; and Swaine, A., 'Assessing the potential of national action plans to advance implementations of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325', *Yearbook of International Humanitarian Law*, vol. 12 (2009), pp. 403–33.

ⁱ Aroussi (note h).

^j Civil Society Advisory Group to the UN on Women, Peace and Security, 'Working paper on advancing national action plans, regional action plans, and twinning on women, peace and security', [n.d.].

^k Swaine, A., *Stepping up Ireland's Response to Women, Peace and Security: United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325* (Irish Joint Consortium on Gender Based Violence: 2008).



victims—as vulnerable.¹⁷ This language, and the focus on protection, has been criticized for diminishing the agency of women, as well as failing to address the root causes of the reasons they experience vulnerability in the first place.¹⁸ However, the participation pillar—which should promote equal, meaningful participation of diverse groups of women in the political sphere and decision making relating to peace and security—has been argued to be the key pillar of the agenda. Success in this area would influence success in every other pillar.¹⁹

Climate change and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda

As the WPS Agenda has expanded, the international community has slowly begun to acknowledge climate change as being relevant. In 2015 the UN Security Council first linked climate change to the WPS Agenda through a cursory mention within UN Security Council Resolution 2242, the eighth resolution in the WPS Agenda. It related climate change to global health pandemics, increasing numbers of refugees and internally displaced people, and the rise of violent extremism as factors that were changing the global landscape of peace and security. As such, it stated the need for WPS to be considered a ‘cross-cutting subject in all relevant thematic areas of work on its agenda’.²⁰ While an overall increase in recognition of the impacts of climate change on WPS is a generally positive development, the language used to discuss it is important to consider.

In policy and policy-oriented literature, climate change is often labelled as an external security threat—an exogenous factor that affects security. As a security threat it may even be associated with the threat of terrorism.²¹ The language used in UN Resolution 2242 and the 2019 report of the UN Secretary-General discussed in the introduction above demonstrates this. However, understanding and responding to the impacts of climate change as an external threat fail to address how climate change can affect insecurity in multiple security dimensions—including regional, state, community and human dimensions—in interlinking ways. Responses to threats often require ‘defined winners and losers’—but climate change affects insecurity in complex and sometimes attenuated ways.²² Crucially, climate change undermines human security. This is shaped by external social, political and economic factors that determine how people can adapt to its effects. Poverty, discrimination and constrained access to economic opportunities can influence the capacity needed for groups to adapt to climate impacts. Violent conflict can further exacerbate human insecurity caused by climate change.²³ Climate impacts may influence the likelihood of conflict or shape

¹⁷ de Jonge Oudraat (note 6); and Puechguirbal, N., ‘Discourses on gender, patriarchy and resolution 1325: A textual analysis of UN documents’, *International Peacekeeping*, vol. 17, no. 2 (2010), pp. 172–87.

¹⁸ de Jonge Oudraat (note 6).

¹⁹ O’Reilly, M., ‘Where the WPS pillars intersect’, eds S. E. Davies and J. True, *The Oxford Handbook of Women, Peace, and Security* (Oxford University Press: Oxford, 2019).

²¹ Mobjörk, M. et al., *Climate-related Security Risks: Towards an Integrated Approach* (SIPRI, Stockholm University and the Swedish Institute of International Affairs: Stockholm, Oct. 2016).

²² Mobjörk et al. (note 21), p. 4.

²³ Barnett and Adger (note 1).



its dynamics, depending on the socio-economic and political context.²⁴ Furthermore, climate change impacts may undermine work to sustainably recover and rebuild from conflict.²⁵ Thus, rather than considering climate change to be an exogenous threat, a comprehensive approach towards addressing security risks posed by climate change is needed.²⁶ Climate change exposes and exacerbates risks and vulnerabilities in societies, which then may contribute to situations of insecurity. These risks may occur in different dimensions of security, but risks and related responses on international, state and community scales would have resulting effects on human security. Therefore, a comprehensive approach towards climate-related risks has been argued as necessary—one that positions concerns for human security at the forefront of approaches taken on different dimensions.²⁷

Climate-related security risks and gender

It is important to take a comprehensive, human security-based approach when addressing climate-related security risks in the WPS Agenda.²⁸ Climate change may lead to magnified gender inequalities and negatively affect women's security. How climate change affects human security—alone, or in conjunction with the effects of conflict—has direct implications for women.²⁹ Women are and will continue to be especially affected by

climate change in different contexts, as gender roles and inequalities can influence the resource access and mobility required to adapt to its effects.³⁰ For example in different settings, gender biases can affect women's ownership of land or ability to inherit land, or their ability to participate in natural resource management.

Sociocultural expectations may also influence women's mobility and ability to access assistance in the wake of natural disasters.³¹ Women who face additional forms of discrimination in their societies—based on class, age, ethnicity or disability, for example—will likely experience the most negative human security consequences.³² Similarly, gender roles and inequalities also create unique vulnerabilities for women in conflict-affected settings, and women in conflict settings may be affected by climate change

A comprehensive, human security-based approach is necessary when addressing climate-related security risks in the WPS Agenda

²⁴ Mobjörk and van Baalen (note 1); Fjelde, H. and von Uexkull, N., 'Climate triggers: Rainfall anomalies, vulnerability and communal conflict in sub-Saharan Africa', *Political Geography*, vol. 31, no. 7 (2012), pp. 444–53; and de Coning, C. and Krampe, F., *Multilateral Cooperation in the Area of Climate-related Security and Development Risks in Africa*, NUPI Report 4/2020 (Norwegian Institute of International Affairs: Oslo, 2020).

²⁵ Eklöv, K. and Krampe, F., 'Climate-related security risks and peacebuilding in Somalia', SIPRI Policy Paper no. 53, Oct. 2019.

²⁶ Mobjörk et al. (note 21).

²⁷ Mobjörk et al. (note 21); and Brodén Gyberg, V. and Mobjörk, M., 'Framing and responding to climate-related security risks in Swedish development cooperation', SIPRI Insights on Peace and Security no. 2020/1, Jan. 2020.

²⁸ See e.g. Kronsell (note 5).

²⁹ Coomaraswamy (note 2).

³⁰ Kronsell (note 5).

³¹ Sultana, F., 'Gendering climate change: Geographical insights', *Professional Geographer*, vol. 66, no. 3 (2014), pp. 372–81.

³² Tanyag and True (note 2); and UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (note 2).



in especially acute ways.³³ For example, in certain agrarian contexts the compounding effects of conflict and climate variability can affect livelihood opportunities and choices for women. Factors like traditionally limited access to natural resources or agricultural credit and losses of male family members in conflict can lead to female-headed households or single women facing increasing food insecurity and other challenges in adapting to climate events.³⁴ Additionally, women who have to travel further distances to gather natural resources due to climate change in conflict settings may be at a far higher risk of gender-based violence.³⁵

However, while gender roles may influence how women are negatively affected by climate change impacts in different settings, they also lead to unique knowledge about natural resources and the environment, and related community needs.³⁶ Ensuring equal and meaningful participation of diverse groups of women in governance and decision making surrounding climate change on all scales has been argued to improve resiliency and ability to adapt, for women and their communities.³⁷ Women's unique environmental knowledge is also invaluable for peacebuilding efforts.³⁸ It is important to recognize that increasing the numbers of women in decision making around climate does not necessarily lead to substantive attention to gender issues. Who participates also matters—if women from elite groups are represented only in policymaking, they may not address the concerns or integrate the knowledge of more disenfranchised demographics.³⁹ However, overall, women's participation in formal decision making surrounding climate has been low, and the integration of their localized environmental knowledge in peacebuilding efforts has also been minimal.⁴⁰ Policy and related literature responding to gender and climate change has been criticized for a tendency to frame women—especially women in the Global South—as vulnerable to the effects of climate change, mostly due to a discourse around their higher mortality rates in natural disasters, or an understanding that they make up most of the world's poor.⁴¹ Echoing critiques of the WPS Agenda, this

Women's participation in formal decision making surrounding climate has been low and integration of their unique knowledge in peacebuilding has been minimal

³³ Coomaraswamy (note 2); Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development, 'Climate change and natural disasters affecting women, peace and security', 13 Mar. 2015; and see e.g. Swaine, A., 'Making women's and girl's needs, well-being and rights central to national action plans in the Asia-Pacific region', Discussion paper for Asia-Pacific Regional Symposium on National Action Plans on Women, Peace and Security, 11–13 July 2016.

³⁴ Chandra, A., 'Gendered vulnerabilities of smallholder farmers to climate change in conflict-prone areas: A case study from Mindanao, Philippines', *Journal of Rural Studies*, vol. 50 (2017), pp. 45–59.

³⁵ Permanent Mission of the United Arab Emirates to the United Nations New York and Georgetown Institute for Women, Peace and Security, 'The United Arab Emirates panel series on women, peace and security', 2015.

³⁶ Tanyag and True (note 2); Dunn, H. and Matthew, R., 'Natural resources and gender in conflict settings', *Peace Review*, vol. 27, no. 2 (2015), pp. 156–64; and Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (note 33).

³⁷ Tanyag and True (note 2); and Asia Pacific Forum on Women, Law and Development (note 33).

³⁸ Dunn and Matthew (note 36).

³⁹ Kaijser, A. and Kronsell, A., 'Climate change through the lens of intersectionality', *Environmental Politics*, vol. 23, no. 3 (2014), pp. 417–33.

⁴⁰ Tanyag and True (note 2); Dunn and Matthew (note 36); and see e.g. International Institute for Sustainable Development, 'Connecting the dots: Natural resources, women and peace', 2018.

⁴¹ Arora-Jonsson, S., 'Virtue and vulnerability: Discourses on women, gender and climate change', *Global Environmental Change*, vol. 21, no. 2 (May 2011), pp. 744–51.



discourse also serves to diminish the agency of women, and obscure the structural reasons they experience vulnerabilities in the first place.⁴²

As the WPS Agenda moves forward in integrating acknowledgement of and responses to climate change in its work, it is thus relevant to consider how climate-related security risks are framed and associated with the WPS pillar framework in WPS NAPs. As Krampe and Mobjörk discuss, the ‘multifaceted and multidimensional character of climate-related security risks calls for the scrutinization of the framing of security, i.e., analyses of how organizations are responding to climate-related security risks should also investigate how these risks are understood in the organization because this is likely to explain different policy outcomes.’⁴³ For example, in WPS NAPs, is climate change framed as an external threat that may exacerbate conflicts and emergencies, which then affect women and girls? Or is climate change primarily associated with the threat of natural disasters for women? And if so, are related actions in WPS NAPs linked to the protection pillar? Or alternatively, if climate change impacts are framed as an immediate or long-term human security risk, alone or in conflict settings, is women’s participation promoted in relation to the prevention pillar?

III. Methodology

This study is based on a qualitative content analysis of the WPS NAPs of 80 states, with all of their plans publicly available in English (see table 1). The WPS NAPs were taken from databases available at www.peacewomen.org and www.wpsnaps.org.

The WPS NAPs were individually reviewed for direct and unique reference to climate change. WPS NAPs were first examined for inclusion of the key terms ‘climate change’, ‘climate’ or ‘climatic’ in their narrative sections and/or action matrices (see box 1). WPS NAPs that used the key terms in a contextually irrelevant manner (e.g. ‘climate of insecurity’) were excluded. WPS NAPs that referenced for example the environment or natural resources, or focused broadly on natural disasters, without uniquely mentioning climate change are beyond the scope of this study. While these WPS NAPs may implicitly work to address risks related to climate change, they were excluded from the analysis as this study specifically works to understand how climate change is framed in WPS NAPs, and how related challenges are addressed, if at all, in the action matrices. WPS NAPs have been argued to be a potential tool for integrating the mutual goals of development, sustainability, gender equality, and peace and security agendas. While the 17 UN Sustainable Development Goals work to provide a framework for a more peaceful and sustainable world, they do not directly supply a mechanism to do so.⁴⁴ Should WPS NAPs promote an integrated approach towards addressing the intersection of climate change, related security risks and gender equality, they may arguably help to ‘break

WPS NAPs are a potential tool for integrating the goals of development, sustainability, gender equality, and peace and security agendas

⁴² Cuomo, C., ‘Climate change, vulnerability and responsibility’, *Hypatia*, vol. 26, no. 4 (2011), pp. 690–714.

⁴³ Krampe, F. and Mobjörk, M., ‘Responding to climate-related security risks: Reviewing regional organizations in Asia and Africa’, *Current Climate Change Reports*, vol. 4, no. 4 (2018), p. 330.

⁴⁴ True (note 11).



down the silos' in institutions that limit effectively achieving sustainable development, peace and security.⁴⁵ This paper thus specifically examines how WPS NAPs understand and act on climate change as an immediate or long-term risk in relation to gender, peace and security.

The analysis identified 17 of the 80 states as having WPS NAPs that include direct and unique mentions of climate change. These references occur in the narratives and/or the action matrices of the WPS NAPs. The WPS NAPs of these 17 states were then individually reviewed in further detail to explore the first two research questions: (a) which WPS NAPs include language specifically referring to climate change, and of those that do, how do they explain why they include it; and (b) of the WPS NAPs that incorporate references to climate change, do they include directly related actions and commitments?⁴⁶ The WPS NAPs that include the highest number of goals and actions in their action matrices paying attention to climate change were those of Finland (2008, 2012, 2018), Ireland (2019) and the United States (2016). These five WPS NAPs were reviewed to provide further depth to the second and third research questions: (b) of the WPS NAPs that incorporate references to climate change, do they include directly related actions and commitments; and (c) within these actions, who (e.g. member states, women and girls, and men and boys) is discursively involved in the proposed actions, and how?

This paper uses the term 'action matrix' in its analysis, but it is important to note that WPS NAP action matrices may be labelled and positioned in different ways within the plans. For example, Ireland's WPS NAP (2019) lists all its actions supporting goals related to the different pillars within a matrix labelled 'Monitoring framework', and positions it in an annex near the end of the WPS NAP.⁴⁷ In contrast, Finland's WPS NAP (2018) positions its goals and supporting activities after narratives in different sections with focuses related to the pillar framework.⁴⁸

The USA's WPS NAP (2016) positions its action matrix in a separate section called 'National objectives and action framework', and groups goals and actions under focuses associated with the pillars.⁴⁹

This analysis also reviewed the language and proposed actions surrounding climate change in successive WPS NAPs for different states, where relevant. Thus, 19 WPS NAPs of 17 states are discussed in the ensuing analysis. States review the progress achieved by their WPS NAPs at the end of the implementation period and correspondingly revise their new WPS

States review the progress achieved by their WPS NAPs at the end of the implementation period and revise them

⁴⁵ United Nations, Secretary-General, 'Deputy Secretary-General's remarks to International Conference on Sustainable Development—"Breaking Down Silos: Fostering Collaborative Action on the SDGs" [as prepared for delivery]', 27 Sep. 2018.

⁴⁶ Schreier, M., 'Qualitative content analysis', ed. U. Flick, *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Data Analysis* (SAGE: London, 2014).

⁴⁷ Irish Government, *Women, Peace and Security: Ireland's Third National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and Related Resolutions 2019–2024* (Irish Government: Dublin, 2019).

⁴⁸ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *Women, Peace and Security: Finland's National Action Plan 2018–2021* (Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs: Helsinki, 2018).

⁴⁹ White House, *The United States National Action Plan on Women, Peace, and Security* (White House: Washington, DC, June 2016).



NAPs.⁵⁰ Thus, exploring changes between iterations of WPS NAPs provides a more comprehensive answer to the research questions.

This paper assesses the language used in the WPS NAPs; an analysis of the implementation of related action is beyond its scope, but would be useful for follow-up research. Furthermore, while gender is not synonymous with women, this study focuses on women and girls, reflecting its analytical focus on women's participation in relation to addressing climate-related security risks. Finally, a potential limitation of this study is that it reviews the WPS NAPs of states with plans available in English only.

IV. Initial analysis of Women, Peace and Security national action plans and climate change

In order to answer the first research question—which WPS NAPs include language specifically referring to climate change, and of those that do, how do they explain why they include it?—the analysis reviewed successive WPS NAPs of 80 states (see table 1). Of these, 17 states had WPS NAPs that directly include mention of climate change. These mentions occur in the narrative sections and/or the action matrices of the WPS NAPs. To provide a preliminary answer to the second question—of the WPS NAPs that incorporate references to climate change, do they include directly related actions and commitments?—WPS NAPs with planned goals and activities directly mentioning climate change in their action matrices were also highlighted. This section thus provides a discussion of the WPS NAPs of these 17 states identified.

The WPS NAPs of eight states relate climate change to UN Resolution 2242 or emerging challenges to peace and security. These states are largely donor states, and references to climate change feature overwhelmingly in the narrative sections of the WPS NAPs. The WPS NAPs of six other states acknowledge climate change in relation to their country's peace and security context. While the mentions of climate change in these WPS NAPs also feature predominantly in the narrative sections, certain states incorporate activities in their action matrices aimed at addressing land and livelihoods, the environment or natural disasters.

Five WPS NAPs of three states—Finland, Ireland and the USA—have the most specific goals and activities directly mentioning climate change (see section V for an in-depth discussion). Finland's and Ireland's WPS NAPs associate their narrative references and actions focused on climate change with the prevention pillar.⁵¹ The USA's WPS NAP focuses on building women's resilience to climate change effects in a narrative section, and

⁵⁰ Miller, B. et al., 'Women in peace and security through United Nations Security Resolution 1325: Literature review, content analysis of national action plans, and implementation', George Washington University, Institute for Global and International Studies, IGIS WP 13/GGP WP 09, May 2014.

⁵¹ Irish Government (note 47); Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2008–2011* (Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs: Helsinki, 2008); Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2012–2016* (Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs: Helsinki, 2012); and Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (note 48).



includes an action within activities focused on relief and recovery, as well as prevention.⁵²

United Nations Resolution 2242 and emerging challenges

Out of the 19 WPS NAPs, 3 include climate change through direct reference to UN Resolution 2242: Bosnia and Herzegovina (2017), Italy (2016) and Montenegro (2017). Montenegro's WPS NAP (2017) includes definitions of all the resolutions in the agenda adopted by its publication, including UN Resolution 2242, in the introduction of its plan.⁵³ Italy's third WPS NAP (2016) discusses climate change through UN Resolution 2242 in relation to 'broadening the scope for action' of its WPS initiatives in a narrative introductory section.⁵⁴ While its plan includes an action aimed at bolstering civil society's engagement and capacity in relation to environmental protection (among others areas), there are no specifically outlined actions referring to climate change.⁵⁵ Bosnia and Herzegovina's WPS NAP (2017) also includes a definition of UN Resolution 2242 in an overview of the international legal framework behind the WPS Agenda. It has one action point in its matrix that makes implicit reference to UN Resolution 2242. To promote the outcome of creating 'preventive measures and established conditions for a gender-responsible approach towards ongoing security threats and challenges, and in crisis and emergency situations', the gender aspect of ongoing threats including 'violent extremism and terrorism, increased number of migrants, internally displaced persons, climate change consequences' would be analysed. It also includes a separate narration on natural disasters and two other activities that highlight natural disasters as an ongoing security threat.⁵⁶

Two other WPS NAPs do not directly mention UN Resolution 2242, but include an acknowledgement of climate change through an arguably implicit referral to the resolution, or 'emerging' challenges. These are the WPS NAPs of Canada (2017) and Slovenia (2018). Canada's WPS NAP (2017) briefly touches on climate change in a narrative section titled 'barriers to achieving peace'. It states how climate change, along with violent extremism and drawn-out humanitarian and migration crises, threatens the security and livelihoods of women and girls. It does not include any specific goals or actions related to climate change in the plan, but does articulate in a narrative section that in order to encourage a comprehensive approach to achieving gender equality and promoting the rights of women and girls, and by extension, peace, it would work 'to include gender-based initiatives

⁵² White House (note 49).

⁵³ Montenegrin Ministry of Defence, *Action Plan for Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 Women, Peace and Security in Montenegro (2017–2018)* (Montenegrin Ministry of Defence: Podgorica, Feb. 2017), p. 3.

⁵⁴ Italian Inter-ministerial Committee for Human Rights (CIDU), *Italy's Third National Action Plan, in accordance with UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000): 2016–2019* (CIDU: Rome, Dec. 2017), p. 9.

⁵⁵ CIDU (note 54), p. 22.

⁵⁶ Bosnian Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees and Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina, *Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 'Women, Peace and Security' in Bosnia and Herzegovina for the period 2018–2022*, Unofficial translation funded by ARCDP160100212 (Bosnian Ministry of Human Rights and Refugees and Gender Equality Agency of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Sarajevo, 2017), p. 39.

in its trade and climate change negotiations'.⁵⁷ Canada's WPS NAP (2017) is paired with implementation plans that detail how different government departments intend to implement WPS goals. While these implementation plans also do not have actions directly referring to climate change, one section states: 'In implementing its commitments under the Action Plan, Global Affairs Canada remains open to other opportunities to strengthen inclusive peace and stabilization efforts, such as supporting the participation of youth in conflict resolution mechanisms, and mitigating the particular risks to women and girls posed by climate change.'⁵⁸ Slovenia's WPS NAP (2018) also articulates that its action plan 'encompasses activities aimed at addressing emerging challenges', which include terrorism, violent extremism, migration and climate change in a narrative section about the purpose and implementation of the plan. A related activity is Slovenia's participation in discussions on the international scale focused on these challenges, among other areas.⁵⁹

Somewhat similarly, the WPS NAPs of three other states mention climate change through narrative references to more general factors that are shaping peace and security: the Netherlands (2016), Norway (2019) and Spain (2017). The third WPS NAP of the Netherlands (2016) positions its reference to climate change within a narrative section entitled 'Women, peace and security—the current context'. The reference states that 'understanding the influence of other factors—like environmental challenges, Ebola and other epidemics, and climate change' is important.⁶⁰ Norway's fourth WPS NAP (2019) mentions how 'climate change and health pandemics are increasing the vulnerability of many societies' in the narrative background of the plan. It further mentions how it works to integrate WPS principles in relevant policy areas, including climate and security.⁶¹ Spain's second WPS NAP (2017) simply references climate change as a factor that is affecting 'the international scene' in the narrative of the introduction.⁶²

Peace and security contexts

The WPS NAPs of six states acknowledge climate change in discussions about their country's peace and security contexts and needs: Bangladesh (2019), Kenya (2016), Liberia (2009), Namibia (2019), Nigeria (2017) and Senegal (2011).

In a narrative background section on the African context of peace and security, Senegal's WPS NAP (2011) includes mention of climate change in a definition of human insecurity and how it increases vulnerability for women

⁵⁷ Canadian Government, *Gender Equality: A Foundation for Peace* (Canadian Government: Ottawa, 2017), p. 9.

⁵⁸ Canadian Government, *Canada's National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2017-2022: The Implementation Plans* (Canadian Government: Ottawa, 2017), p. 5.

⁵⁹ Slovene Government, *Action Plan of the Republic of Slovenia for the Implementation of the UN Security Council Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security for the 2018-2020*, Unofficial translation funded by ARC DP160100212 (Slovene Government: Ljubljana, 2017), p. 8.

⁶⁰ 1325 Dutch NAP Partnership, *The Netherlands National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security 2016-2019* (1325 Dutch NAP Partnership: the Hague, 2016), p. 10.

⁶¹ Norwegian Government, *Women, Peace and Security (2019-2022)* (Norwegian Ministries: Oslo, 2017), pp. 7, 11.

⁶² Spanish Government, *2017-2023: Second National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Spanish Government: Madrid, 2017), p. 7.



and children, particularly girls. Specifically, it states that ‘the proliferation of conflict and crises associated with natural disasters prompted by climate change’ has exacerbated human insecurity for the world, and Africa in particular.⁶³ In its introduction, Namibia’s WPS NAP (2019) acknowledges climate change as an ‘emerging issue’, along with radicalization and human trafficking, that needs to be addressed, and describes climate change as a factor undermining women’s human security and thus ‘national social cohesion’.⁶⁴ Within a narrative focusing on peace and security in a later section entitled ‘Situation analysis’, Namibia’s WPS NAP references how a 2009 World Bank report described climate change as a significant threat to Namibia due to the country’s reliance on natural resources and agriculture.⁶⁵ The WPS NAP does not include any goals or actions directly discussing climate change, but does include a goal and related actions in its matrix promoting relief and recovery in the wake of human-made and natural disasters.⁶⁶ It includes another goal in its action matrix linked to the protection pillar; the goal promotes sustainable livelihoods for women, while related actions include the ‘provision of equal land rights’.⁶⁷ Similarly, Kenya’s WPS NAP (2016) includes climate change in a narrative discussion of the background of the plan. It states that the WPS NAP must work to protect ‘women’s rights in humanitarian contexts wrought by climate change’ and conflict to address the root causes of conflict in the country. Like Namibia’s WPS NAP (2019), it also does not include goals or actions directly referring to climate change, but does include an action relating to natural disasters.⁶⁸ Nigeria’s WPS NAP (2017) recognizes the negative impacts of climate change in a narrative discussion on root causes of instability in the region, and ‘emphasises the need for adequate risk assessments and risk management strategies by governments and the United Nations’. It additionally states that it ‘welcomes the development’ and encourages the coordination and international support of plans by states in the region aimed at addressing core sources of crisis in the region, including the Lake Chad Development and Climate Resilience Action Plan of the Lake Chad Basin Commission.⁶⁹ Bangladesh’s WPS NAP (2019) focuses on climate change as a cause of displacement and migration in a narrative background discussion of WPS issues in the country. It goes on to relate climate change to natural disaster impacts, and highlights how different climate-related

Namibia’s WPS NAP (2019) describes climate change as a factor undermining women’s human security and thus ‘national social cohesion’

⁶³ Senegalese Ministry of Gender and Relations with African and Foreign Women’s Associations, *National Action Plan for the Implementation of Resolution 1325 (2000) of the Security Council of the United Nations*, Unofficial translation funded by ARC DP160100212 (Senegalese Ministry of Gender and Relations with African and Foreign Women’s Associations: Dakar, 2011), p. 10.

⁶⁴ Namibian Government, *Namibia National Action Plan on Women Peace and Security: Moving United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 Forward 2019–2024* (Namibian Government: Windhoek, 2019) p. 2.

⁶⁵ Namibian Government (note 64), p. 8.

⁶⁶ Namibian Government (note 64), p. 31.

⁶⁷ Namibian Government (note 64), p. 29.

⁶⁸ Kenyan Government, *2016–2018: National Action Plan for the Implementation of United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 and Related Resolutions* (Kenyan Government: Nairobi, 2016), pp. 14, 16.

⁶⁹ Nigerian Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development, *National Action Plan for the Implementation of UNSCR 1325 and Related Resolutions on Women, Peace and Security in Nigeria 2017–2020* (Federal Ministry of Women Affairs and Social Development: Abuja, 2017), p. 48.



policies recognize the need to focus on gender and promote women's involvement in this area. Notably, it stresses that this recognition needs to be backed up by action and financial commitments. The WPS NAP does not have any actions discussing climate, but does include activities focusing on women's protection in relation to disasters.⁷⁰ Liberia's WPS NAP (2009) mentions climate change in a footnote clarifying an action point focusing on developing and improving policies on housing, natural resources and the environment. It mentions how, while access to housing and natural resources is not discussed in UN Resolution 1325, consultations with stakeholders in Liberia—especially rural women—revealed it as a priority area. It further states that climate change, environment issues and their effect on women is highly relevant for the WPS NAP.⁷¹

V. In-depth analysis: Finland, Ireland and the United States

This section analyses and discusses the WPS NAPs of Finland (2008, 2012 and 2018), Ireland (2019) and the USA (2016), as these include the highest number of specific goals and actions incorporating climate change. The states arguably act in the capacity of donor states executing their WPS activities around climate change—all of them reference foreign affairs or aid departments as actors that would implement the actions.⁷² Thus, they do not focus on in-country contexts. However, they also do not exclusively integrate climate change in relation to emerging challenges, or issues referenced in UN Resolution 2242. Instead, they work with it as a stand-alone issue—one

that may influence women's human security and conflict prevention. To more thoroughly explore the three research questions of this study, the ensuing analysis is oriented around three overlapping focus areas: (a) rationale, (b) association with WPS pillars and (c) who participates and how? 'Rationale' asks if and how these WPS NAPs explain why they include climate change in their plan—is

it framed more as an external threat, human security risk or other reason entirely? 'Association with WPS pillars' questions if and how the content focusing on climate change and related security risks within WPS NAPs relates to the four pillars of the WPS Agenda (prevention, participation, protection, and relief and recovery) and how participation may feature within actions linked to different pillars. 'Who participates and how?' asks if the WPS NAPs clarify support for participation of diverse groups of women in their actions, and if they use discourse relating to women's vulnerability to climate change in the plan?

Finland, Ireland and the USA work with climate change as a stand-alone issue—one that may influence women's human security and conflict prevention

⁷⁰ Bangladeshi Government, *National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security* (Bangladeshi Government: 2019).

⁷¹ Liberian Ministry of Gender and Development, *The Liberia National Action Plan for the Implementation of United Nations Resolution 1325* (Liberian Ministry of Gender and Development: Monrovia, 2009), p. 34.

⁷² See e.g. Shepherd, L., 'Making war safe for women? National action plans and the militarisation of the Women, Peace and Security Agenda', *International Political Science Review*, vol. 37, no. 3 (2016), pp. 324–35.



Rationale

The WPS NAPs of Finland, Ireland and the USA vary in how explicit their reasons are for including climate change in narrative sections in their plans. Those of Finland and Ireland associate climate change with the conflict-prevention pillar, with the language in Finland's three plans progressively aligning slightly more with the understanding of climate risks—that climate change exposes and compounds existing social vulnerabilities to create situations of insecurity.⁷³

For example, Finland's first WPS NAP (2008) takes a general approach to connecting climate change impacts and security issues within a narrative discussion on including UN Resolution 1325 within Finland's development policy, and states a need to subsequently take related gender-sensitive approaches.⁷⁴ Its goal and related actions specifically referring to climate change are positioned within a section focusing on the prevention pillar, entitled 'Conflict prevention, peace negotiations and peacebuilding'.

In contrast, Finland's second WPS NAP (2012) does not provide a link between climate change, security and WPS in a narrative section. However, like the first WPS NAP, it does include its goal and actions relating to climate change within a section entitled 'Conflict prevention, peace negotiations and peacebuilding'. The narrative introduction to this section does not mention climate change, but discusses the effects of environmental destruction, land-ownership issues and disputes surrounding natural resources may have on violent conflicts. Based on this relationship, it states that there is need for 'transparent and equitable management of natural resources' as this would improve political stability and help the prevention and resolution of conflict.⁷⁵ Neither of Finland's first two WPS NAPs overtly frame climate change as a threat. While the second WPS NAP does not address climate change in the narrative on conflict prevention, it does seem to recognize that environmental change interacts with socio-economic and political factors in ways that can either exacerbate or mitigate the risk of insecurity.

Finland's third WPS NAP (2018) also appears to recognize interlinkages among socio-economic and political variables, climate change and conflict in a narrative. It provides a narrative reference to climate change, also within its introduction to a section entitled 'Conflict prevention and peacebuilding'. Finland states that it 'works to establish the connection between gender, climate change, natural resources and peacebuilding'. This statement is included within a discussion of the importance of promoting the political participation of women in post-conflict and fragile settings, and the need for economic empowerment to ensure equality and women's active participation. The discussion begins by stating that activities in this stream—which implicitly include the focus on climate change—would 'help women to play a more prominent role in the building and establishment of a peaceful

The WPS NAPs of Finland, Ireland and the USA vary in how explicit their reasons are for including climate change in narrative sections in their plans

⁷³ Mobjörk et al. (note 21).

⁷⁴ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2008–2011* (note 51), p. 13.

⁷⁵ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2012–2016* (note 51).

society and democratic system'.⁷⁶ In the context of this narrative discussion, the WPS NAP appears to link climate change, gender and peacebuilding with women's economic empowerment and political participation, and thus conflict prevention. Like the first two, the third WPS NAP positions its goal and action associated with climate change within a 'Conflict prevention and peacebuilding' section. Additionally, in the third WPS NAP, a secondary and separate link with climate change falls under the theme of 'Protecting women and girls and safeguarding their rights in crises'. Within a narrative section titled 'Migration and 1325', climate change is discussed as a factor that, uniquely or in concert with other variables including violent conflict, can cause people to become refugees and compel migration. While this WPS NAP (2018) did mention climate change as a factor influencing conflict and migration, all three plans focused related goals and actions under the prevention pillar.⁷⁷

WPS NAPs for Ireland were published in 2011, 2015 and 2019, and featured climate change within the third iteration in 2019. This third WPS NAP features general inclusions of climate change in the narration in its executive summary, and a narrative section focused on conflict prevention. The plan's executive summary declares that Ireland's commitment to gender equality includes 'ensuring that we have an overarching focus on gender equality in all of our partnerships and interventions, and in deepening our understanding of the gendered-impacts of poverty, inequality, climate change and conflict'.⁷⁸

While Finland and Ireland link climate change with conflict prevention to varying degrees, the USA relates it to relief and recovery in its second WPS NAP

In a narrative background discussion of conflict prevention, the third WPS NAP recognizes 'gender equality, climate action, strengthening governance and reducing humanitarian need' as four elements that are crucial for conflict prevention and sustainable peace. As such, it states that the country takes a comprehensive approach towards peace and security by recognizing these factors in its foreign policy. While the discussion seems to recognize the interlinking of these issues in relation to sustainable peace, it also acknowledges climate change as a security challenge in the same narrative section, using language that seems to echo UN Resolution 2242. It recognizes climate change, in addition to other variables like violent extremism, mass displacement and migration, and cyber-related threats, as issues contributing to the 'changing nature of conflict and global dynamics'. Subsequently, it articulates the need to take a gender approach to these new issues.⁷⁹

While Finland and Ireland link climate change with conflict prevention in narrative sections to varying degrees, the USA relates it to relief and recovery in narration in its second WPS NAP. The USA, which has published two WPS NAPs (2011 and 2016) and one strategy (2019), directly mentions climate change in its second WPS NAP. The strategy is not a WPS NAP, but

⁷⁶ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (note 48), p. 32.

⁷⁷ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (note 48); Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2008–2011* (note 51); and Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2012–2016* (note 51).

⁷⁸ Irish Government (note 47), p. 8.

⁷⁹ Irish Government (note 47), p. 15.



clarifies that it ‘supersedes the 2016 U.S. National Action Plan’.⁸⁰ It was put in place after the US Government signed the Women, Peace and Security Act of 2017, which called for the creation of a government strategy, which would ‘be aligned with other nations’ plans to improve the participation of women in peace and security processes, conflict prevention, peace building, and decision-making institutions’.⁸¹

Within the USA’s second WPS NAP (2016), climate change is discussed as a concern predominantly within a narrative section entitled ‘Women’s equal access to the means of recovery’. This section seems to view climate change less as an external security threat, or risk affecting gender inequality and influencing insecurity. Rather, it highlights the impacts of climate change on women’s vulnerability. Within a narrative informational box entitled ‘Integrating climate change into the Women, Peace, and Security Agenda’, the WPS NAP states that while it recognizes that climate change affects everyone, ‘women and girls in the developing world are disproportionately vulnerable’ to climate change effects due to roles in their communities and restrictive social expectations. The narrative text explains that consequently women and girls in these settings face a higher mortality rate during natural disasters and emergencies, as well as a correspondingly increased risk of domestic and sexual abuse within these situations. It continues by acknowledging how women have skills and knowledge related to their natural environments that can mitigate the effects of climate change and related disasters within their communities. The section concludes by stating that the US Agency for International Development (USAID) would establish a partnership between WPS and climate change agendas with the aim to ‘promote women’s participation and leadership in efforts to address climate-related shocks and challenges linked to recurrent crisis, conflict, or insecurity’.⁸² However, how USAID would do so is not clarified. While Finland’s and Ireland’s WPS NAPs place goals and actions within activities related to conflict prevention, the USA’s WPS NAP (2016) includes related actions within outlined relief and recovery and conflict-prevention activities.

All of the WPS NAPs of Finland, Ireland and the USA follow the structure of the four WPS pillars to different degrees

Association with the Women, Peace and Security pillars

All of the mentioned WPS NAPs of the three states (Finland 2008, 2012, 2018; Ireland 2019; and USA 2016) follow the structure of the four WPS pillars to different degrees. While they all include sections on prevention and protection, there are variations among their structures. For example, Finland’s plans include sections on crisis management. Ireland’s (2019) and the USA’s (2016) WPS NAPs organize their plans by pillar. However, while the USA’s WPS NAP keeps to the structure of the main four pillars, Ireland’s WPS NAP incorporates relief and recovery into protection, and adds promotion as a fourth pillar. Despite the variations across the plans,

⁸⁰ US Government, *United States Strategy on Women, Peace, and Security* (US Government: Washington, DC, 2019), p. 2.

⁸¹ Women, Peace and Security Act of 2017, US Public Law no. 115-68, signed into law on 6 Oct. 2017, sec. 5; and White House (note 49).

⁸² White House (note 49), p. 16.



all of Finland's WPS NAPs (2008, 2012, 2018) and Ireland's WPS NAP (2019) position their goals and actions related to climate change within sections focusing on conflict prevention. While Finland's WPS NAP (2018) references climate change in narrative information about migration in a section focused on protection, there are no specific goals or activities related to the protection pillar. The USA's second WPS NAP (2016) associates its goals and actions focused on climate change to the relief and recovery pillar, as well as the conflict prevention pillar. All the goals and activities are separate from narrative background information. This section now discusses the content of these goals and activities, and highlights if and how participation featured.

Participation within prevention

The WPS NAPs of Finland (2008, 2012, 2018), Ireland (2019) and the USA (2016) all include goals and actions under the prevention pillar. However, how participation is featured within these actions varies across WPS NAPs. Within Finland's WPS NAPs, the state is featured as the actor in the first plan, women's participation is highlighted in the second and women's participation is implicitly focused on in the third. To clarify, Finland's first WPS NAP (2008) has one goal—labelled as an 'objective' in the plan—and three related action points focused on climate change. The objective and activities are explicitly focused on national-scale implementation, and highlight Finland's role in drawing attention to the issue of gender and climate change. The objective states that 'Finland will call attention to the gender-based impacts of climate change'. The language in the related action points is broad, with the first point stating that 'Finland acts in

favour of addressing the position of women' in climate change discussions. The second action more definitively states that Finland 'requires' development work aimed at climate change to consider gender, and that it 'supports' initiatives to identify climate change impacts for different genders, and subsequent adaptation measures. The point specifically highlights that attention will be paid

to the relationships among women, natural resource management, land ownership and use, and livelihood creation. The third point describes how Finland would 'draw attention to gender and climate change' at a high-level international conference.⁸³ The more general focus on the state's involvement in highlighting the issue of climate change in the first WPS NAP resembles more singular mentions of climate change in other WPS NAPs, such as those of Bosnia and Herzegovina (2017) and Slovenia (2018), each published around a decade after Finland's first WPS NAP (2008). Likewise, Canada's implementation plans for its WPS NAP (2017) stated that Global Affairs Canada was 'open' to strengthening its peace and security efforts, such as by mitigating climate effects on women and girls (see section III).⁸⁴ Regardless of the publication date, the way that some WPS NAPs appear to approach climate change when initially referencing it in their activities is broad, with a focus on the state as the key actor.

The WPS NAPs of Finland, Ireland and the USA all include goals and actions under the prevention pillar, but how participation is featured within these actions varies

⁸³ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2008–2011* (note 51), p. 19.

⁸⁴ Canadian Government (note 58).



In contrast, Finland's second WPS NAP (2012) targets specific activities and promotes women's participation, rather than highlights state involvement.⁸⁵ The plan has one objective that concretely links women's participation to climate action and environmental security, stating that 'Finland will promote women's active participation in issues related to the environment and security as well as support women's participation in the mitigation of climate change and adaptation to its consequences'.⁸⁶ Five action points are associated with this objective. The plan clarifies that implementation is focused on international and local scales, unlike the national focus of the first WPS NAP. Two of the five action points focus specifically on climate change. While women's participation is featured heavily in these points, the state's role as an actor is still apparent.

For example, the first point discusses how Finland supports developing states in adaptation and efforts to lower emissions, and echoes the first plan's activity calling for development action on climate change to recognize gender as a cross-cutting issue. However, the point also expresses that Finland 'supports women's possibilities to participate' in adaptation and mitigation efforts, that it 'promotes women's participation in international climate cooperation' and that it specifically supports participation in climate negotiations for women from least developed countries. The second point focused on climate change returns to the state's actions, expressing Finland's support for general activities relating to women and climate in developing states, including through mainstreaming gender in national and regional action plans. The other three action points focus on the environment, with one specifically on environment and insecurity. Similar to the first WPS NAP, it states that Finland 'pays attention' to women's role in natural resource management, land ownership and use, and livelihood creation. However, instead of relating this to climate change, it includes 'issues related to the environment and security' in the list. It goes on to detail support for 'gender and conflict sensitive energy, agriculture, water and forest policies in international development cooperation'. It specifically discusses how, as competition over water access is a growing cause of conflict, women and children are especially 'vulnerable to security risks' due to their roles as caretakers of household water in developing countries.⁸⁷

Finland's third WPS NAP is the first to introduce an activity regarding climate change, gender and peacebuilding

Finland's third WPS NAP (2018) seems to implicitly recognize the linkages among socio-economic and political factors, gender inequality, climate change and insecurity. The plan does not have a specific objective mentioning climate change. However, it does include an action point focusing on climate change, but associates it with the desired 'outcome' of strengthening women's economic and political empowerment. This outcome would then support the broader objective of women playing 'a more meaningful role in conflict prevention and peacebuilding'. The action point states that 'Finland explores specific challenges and/or opportunities presented to women by climate

⁸⁵ See e.g. Barrow, A., 'Operationalizing Security Council Resolution 1325: The role of national action plans', *Journal of Conflict & Security Law*, vol. 21, no. 2 (2016), pp. 247–75.

⁸⁶ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2012–2016* (note 51), p. 22.

⁸⁷ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2012–2016* (note 51), p. 22.



change, and access to, use and control of land and other natural resources'.⁸⁸ However, it is unclear as to how it would do so, and a corresponding scale of implementation is not specified, unlike the previous two plans. The action marks the first time Finland's (and indeed any) WPS NAP introduced an activity regarding climate change, gender and peacebuilding.

Like all of Finland's WPS NAPs, Ireland's third WPS NAP (2019) also associates its goals—labelled as 'outputs' in the action matrix—and actions relating to climate change work focused on the prevention pillar. However, unlike Finland's second and third WPS NAPs, Ireland's WPS NAP has a comparatively limited focus on women's participation. It has two focused 'outputs' (1.1.3 and 1.2.3) and five related action points in the action matrix that refer to climate change. Women's participation features only in one of the two actions related to output 1.2.3, focused on increasing investment 'in research and programming on gender and security impacts of climate change'. This output is linked to the broader objective in the matrix of integrating gender analysis into work relating to conflict-affected contexts, and peace and security issues. The action related to this output promotes the strengthening of support for women's participation and gender equality in climate action, recalling Finland's second WPS NAP (2012). Here, however, the language does not directly promote women's participation in climate action—the activity is to 'strengthen support' for women's 'involvement', thus resembling the more tentative language in Finland's first WPS NAP. Ireland's WPS NAP does include an indicator to measure the success of this action, and progress would be assessed through the realization of key indicators of the Gender Action Plan of the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change.⁸⁹

The other action related to output 1.2.3 notably focuses more on climate security. This action explains that Ireland would commission research on 'gender and security impacts of climate change in Pacific Small Island Developing States (SIDS)'.⁹⁰ The findings are meant to be used by Pacific SIDS in engagement with the UN Security Council and advocacy to the UN special rapporteur on climate and security. Success would be gauged by the level of uptake and policy influence of the commissioned research, as well as funding increases. While this may be the most direct action outlined on climate and security issues within a WPS NAP, aspects of it resemble an activity in Finland's second WPS NAP (2012), in which it worked to support activities related to women and climate change, and developing states. The two states, Ireland and Finland, are donor states partnering with other states to work on gender and climate (or in the case of Ireland, climate and security).

The other output and associated activities in Ireland's WPS NAP (2019) action matrix focus on state involvement, like Finland's first WPS NAP (2008). Output 1.1.3 supports the desired overall outcome of prioritizing gender equality and women's empowerment across Ireland's development and humanitarian work. Output 1.1.3 states that Ireland will further its understanding of the gendered impacts of climate change and conflict,

Ireland and Finland are donor states partnering with other states to work on gender and climate

⁸⁸ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (note 48), p. 34.

⁸⁹ Irish Government (note 47), p. 29.

⁹⁰ Irish Government (note 47), p. 29.



among other factors, with a focus on ‘reaching the furthest behind first, including women and girls’.⁹¹ This language echoes that in Finland’s first WPS NAP (2008)—a state working to explore a new issue in relation to WPS efforts. Three action points are associated with this general output. One action point states it would integrate its gender equality strategy across other development and humanitarian work, which includes climate action. This resembles actions in Finland’s first and second WPS NAPs, which also promote addressing gender across development work, including climate change.

A second action point focused on this output in Ireland’s WPS NAP (2019) states that support for work on gender equality and climate action would be increased, again using moderately tentative and broad language. The ‘work’ and how it is supported are undefined. A third action point expresses that poverty and vulnerability analyses would be strengthened. Notably, while the language used in the action points is more general, Ireland also relates performance indicators to these actions, including ‘evidence of activities addressing the different WPS-related impacts of climate change and environmental degradation’.⁹² While it is beneficial that this indicator exists, the plan does not define what the impacts are.

The USA’s second WPS NAP (2016) includes an action focusing on climate change in its action matrix targeting conflict prevention. It relates the action to a goal, which is labelled as an ‘outcome’ in the plan. This outcome (outcome 4.1) focuses on conflict early warning and response systems—specifically, that women participate in initiatives focused on early warning and response, and that these systems should use gender-specific data, and be responsive to gender-based violence. One of the actions associated with outcome 4.1 states that the USA will ‘increase gender integration across efforts to build resilience to crisis, conflict, and insecurity in various contexts including climate change’.⁹³

This mention is more similar to the initial efforts of other WPS NAPs to include climate change, which is recognized as one of the emerging variables that needs to be addressed. However, how these efforts will focus on climate change is not discussed any further than this.

Participation within relief and recovery

In contrast to Finland’s and Ireland’s WPS NAPs, the USA’s WPS NAP (2016) includes one goal (labelled outcome 5.4) and associated action point on the relief and recovery pillar. Outcome 5.4 states that ‘gender issues are systematically integrated and evaluated as part of responses to climate change’. To achieve this the action point describes that the active participation of women in climate negotiations would be promoted, as well as gendered initiatives addressing climate change adaptation and mitigation on local, regional and national scales, which would include support for equal land tenure rights. The same action point also includes support for the promotion of women’s empowerment and capacity to work in the energy

In contrast to Finland’s and Ireland’s WPS NAPs, the USA’s WPS NAP (2016) includes one goal and associated action point on the relief and recovery pillar

⁹¹ Irish Government (note 47), p. 28.

⁹² Irish Government (note 47), p. 28.

⁹³ White House (note 49), p. 27.

sector.⁹⁴ The association of women's participation in climate governance as a response to climate change in the context of the relief and recovery pillar is of interest. While Ireland's and Finland's WPS NAPs associate this action with conflict prevention, the language in the USA's WPS NAP seems to suggest the need to promote women's participation in responding to the impacts of climate change after they already occur.

Of note is that climate change is not discussed as an issue in the USA's WPS strategy (2019). Even though the strategy includes initiatives related to the prevention and relief and recovery pillars—labelled as 'lines of effort'—they do not reference climate change, either in general goals or related activities. For example, the first line of effort states a goal of increasing women's participation in processes to 'prevent and resolve conflicts, prepare for disasters, and set conditions for stability during post conflict and post-crisis efforts'.⁹⁵ Related points in the strategy's approach to this theme focus on women's participation in security sector reform, conflict prevention, resolution and peacebuilding activities.

Who participates and how?

While the WPS NAPs of Finland, Ireland and the USA all mention their support and promotion of women's participation, especially in relation to climate change governance, the actions are generally unspecific with regard to clarifying support for inclusivity. The WPS NAPs mention the need to consider different identities in various narrative sections of the plans. These mentions do not occur directly in the action matrices.

For example, in an introductory narrative section entitled 'Statement of national policy', the USA's WPS NAP (2016) states that the execution of the WPS NAP is 'guided by the principle of inclusion', and is consequently 'seeking out the views and meaningful participation of a wide variety of stakeholders'.⁹⁶ These stakeholders include women, men, girls, boys and individuals from different marginalized and socio-economic groups. Ireland's WPS NAP (2019) specifically states that 'women are not a homogenous group and face many and varied forms of discrimination' within a discussion of the participation pillar.⁹⁷ Finland's WPS NAP (2012) discusses how its development policy is based on a human rights approach, and as such promotes the status of women, children, different minorities, indigenous peoples, individuals with disabilities, those living with HIV/AIDS, and individuals of sexual and gender minority groups.⁹⁸ Similarly, Finland's WPS NAP (2018) explains that the country's work on the WPS Agenda is based on national policies on gender equality and human rights. It follows by stating that 'women, men, girls and boys are not homogenous groups', and their needs and identities are 'shaped by circumstances and impact the way in which they experience persecution and discrimination'.⁹⁹

⁹⁴ White House (note 49), p. 30.

⁹⁵ US Government (note 80), p. 6.

⁹⁶ White House (note 49), p. 2.

⁹⁷ Irish Government (note 47), p. 16.

⁹⁸ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2012–2016* (note 51), p. 12.

⁹⁹ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (note 48), p. 19.



While it follows that these principles apply throughout the discussed WPS NAPs of Finland, Ireland and the USA, the goals and action points relating to climate change do not explicitly clarify support for the participation of diverse groups of women, domestically or abroad. Each of these plans is from a donor state, which externally orients its goals and actions focused on climate. Each plan further lists governmental ministries or departments focusing on foreign affairs or international development as responsible actors.¹⁰⁰ Finland's and Ireland's WPS NAPs offer the most specific delimitations of groups they support within their actions, with the geographical descriptors of 'least developed countries' (Finland 2012) and the Pacific SIDS (Ireland 2019).

However, while the WPS NAPs of Finland and Ireland do not granularly define who they are supporting and how, they generally focus on women's participation in relevant action points, rather than their vulnerability. Finland's WPS NAP (2012) briefly mentions how women's social roles as caretakers of household water supplies make them more vulnerable in contexts affected by environment and insecurity, as an apparent rationale for promoting conflict- and environment-sensitive policies. On the other hand, the USA's WPS NAP (2016) arguably has a comparatively stronger focus on women's vulnerability in relation to climate change effects. This is apparent from the explicit statement that 'women and girls in the developing world are disproportionately vulnerable' to climate change effects.¹⁰¹ As mentioned, the labelling of women as vulnerable and being associated with children may discursively undermine their agency, and negate focus on broader issues that caused these risks.¹⁰² Further, while the US WPS NAP includes a clause recognizing that 'climate change affects everyone', it targets its discussion and actions internationally, even though climate change has domestic human security consequences for women of different demographics in the USA.¹⁰³

VI. Discussion and ways forward

This paper has explored the uptake and action surrounding climate change and climate-related security risks in the WPS NAPs analysed. It has examined how climate change is framed, and then how it is discussed and acted on in relation to the four WPS Agenda pillars. While it is positive that a number of WPS NAPs include climate change, the paper argues for the need to further integrate climate change into WPS work and WPS NAP goals and action. It further argues for the necessity to move away from language discussing climate change and its impacts as threats in relation to the WPS Agenda.

The action points observed throughout the analysed WPS NAPs support the argument that they are a mechanism to back women's participation in

¹⁰⁰ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2008–2011* (note 51); Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs, *UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) 'Women, Peace and Security': Finland's National Action Plan 2012–2016* (note 51); Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (note 48); Irish Government (note 47); and White House (note 49). See e.g. Shepherd et al. (note 72).

¹⁰¹ White House (note 49), p. 16.

¹⁰² De Jonge Oudraat (note 6); and Kronsell (note 5).

¹⁰³ White House (note 49), p. 16.



addressing climate-related security risks.¹⁰⁴ However, there is significant room to bolster support for women's participation, and to clarify more inclusive support for diverse groups of women in the action points. This is especially apparent in the in-depth analysis where the implementing countries are donor states, and would be executing their actions in other countries. It is necessary to understand how human security risks experienced by women are understood within their own contexts.¹⁰⁵ A case in point is the footnote in Liberia's WPS NAP (2009), published prior to UN Resolution 2242 (2015), which clarified that while housing and natural resources are not discussed in UN Resolution 1325, the plan focuses on them due to consultations with stakeholders, including rural women, who identified it as a concern. Climate change and environmental issues are subsequently, if briefly, mentioned as additionally relevant.¹⁰⁶ How climate change affects the human security of women will change based on context and demographics.¹⁰⁷

Some plans do not integrate climate change into action points, but highlight the effects of environmental challenges on women, notably natural disasters (see Bangladesh's WPS NAP, 2019). Namibia's WPS NAP (2019), which also focuses on relief and recovery after natural disasters for women and girls in its action matrix, seems to implicitly work to address barriers that would affect women's ability to adapt to climate change (through actions related to the protection pillar that promote ensuring equal access and rights to resources to promote sustainable livelihoods for women).¹⁰⁸ As states continue to integrate climate-related security risks into their WPS NAPs, it is important to understand what structural challenges are experienced by different groups of women and girls in their own contexts that inhibit them from adapting to their changing environment.

With regard to links between climate change, gender and security, it is positive that certain WPS NAPs have begun to address this. However, the overall lack of attention to this area in all of the studied WPS NAPs, and tentative language in Finland's and Ireland's WPS NAPs surrounding climate change and security, indicate a need for increased focus, research and investment in this area across WPS NAPs. States should move beyond the simple narrative recognition of UN Resolution 2242 or climate change as an emerging challenge, and incorporate unique and concrete goals and actions comprehensively addressing climate-related security risks. To do so it is important to understand how different groups of women directly affected by climate and conflict experience human security impacts, and address these accordingly.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, it is important to ensure the meaningful participation of all affected groups in policies and governance aimed at preventing immediate and long-term security risks.

There is significant room to bolster support for women's participation, and to clarify more inclusive support for diverse groups of women in action points

¹⁰⁴ True (note 11).

¹⁰⁵ Kronsell (note 5).

¹⁰⁶ Liberian Ministry of Gender and Development (note 71).

¹⁰⁷ Kaijser and Kronsell (note 39).

¹⁰⁸ Namibian Government (note 64), pp. 29–31.

¹⁰⁹ Kronsell (note 5); and Tanyag and True (note 2).



As states continue to integrate work focusing on climate change, gender and security into their WPS NAPs, it is important to consider how climate change is framed as a security issue. Framing climate change as an external threat misrepresents its immediate and long-term impacts on women's human security, as well as insecurity and crises more generally. The risks of climate change to security—human or otherwise—correspond to the abilities of individuals and populations to adapt to and cope with the effects.¹¹⁰ This threat framing could also arguably limit opportunities for comprehensively responding to climate-related security risks in the WPS Agenda and WPS NAPs. For example, it is positive that Finland's WPS NAP (2018) 'explores specific challenges and/or opportunities presented to women by climate change, and access to, use and control of land and other natural resources'.¹¹¹ This is an action that would support women as actors in conflict prevention and peacebuilding.

Discussing climate change as a threat in policy—as seen in UN Resolution 2242 and the UN Secretary-General's 2019 report on WPS—can result in immediate responses resulting in 'defined winners and losers'.¹¹² This should be considered in the context of the WPS Agenda and associated plans and policies. As progress on the WPS Agenda and WPS NAPs continues, attention should be paid to ensuring that women are not overwhelmingly framed as vulnerable to threats associated with climate change and insecurity in the agenda's associated policies, plans and programmes. The WPS Agenda and the associated WPS NAPs have the potential to promote active participation of diverse groups of women in decision making surrounding climate-related security risks on all scales, and across all pillars (prevention, participation, protection, and relief and recovery). Active participation would allow for improved prevention of and response to climate-related security risks experienced by women and their broader communities. Moving forward, issues of active participation should be emphasized, as well as the need to address structural barriers that may inhibit women's full participation.

The 2019 report of the UN Secretary-General on WPS called for increased and immediate action on gender, insecurity and climate change.¹¹³ The impacts of climate change and insecurity for gender equality and the human security of women and girls make climate security important for the WPS Agenda. However, this study found that few WPS NAPs published in English directly acknowledge or include action on climate change, or climate-related security risks. This paper demonstrates that there is significant space to improve action in this area within the WPS Agenda and WPS NAPs. For work on climate change, gender and conflict, 'strategic connections in policy are needed to link up programmes and resourcing that emphasise women's capacity for leadership in peacebuilding and climate change'.¹¹⁴ WPS NAPs arguably represent one potential tool to make these links, in addition to links among sustainable development, peace and security goals.¹¹⁵

¹¹⁰ UN and World Bank (note 4); and Sultana (note 31).

¹¹¹ Finnish Ministry for Foreign Affairs (note 48), p. 34.

¹¹² Mobjörk et al. (note 21), p. 4; UN Security Council Resolution 2242 (note 8); and UN Security Council (note 9).

¹¹³ UN Security Council (note 9).

¹¹⁴ Tanyag and True (note 2), p. 38.

¹¹⁵ True (note 11).

Table 1. Women, Peace and Security national action plans and the inclusion of climate change

Women, Peace and Security national action plan	Direct reference to climate change	No. of goals referencing climate change	No. of actions referencing climate change
Afghanistan			
2015	No	-	-
Albania			
2018	No	-	-
Angola			
2017	No	-	-
Argentina			
2015	No	-	-
Armenia			
2019	No	-	-
Australia			
2012	No	-	-
Austria			
2007	No	-	-
2012	No	-	-
Bangladesh			
2019	Yes	-	-
Belgium			
2009	No	-	-
2013	No	-	-
2017	No	-	-
Bosnia and Herzegovina			
2010	No	-	-
2013	No	-	-
2017	Yes	1	1
Brazil			
2017	No	-	-
Burkina Faso			
2012	No	-	-
Cameroon			
2018	No	-	-
Canada			
2011	No	-	-
2017	Yes	-	-
Central African Republic			
2015	No	-	-
Chile			
2009	No	-	-
2015	No	-	-



Women, Peace and Security national action plan	Direct reference to climate change	No. of goals referencing climate change	No. of actions referencing climate change
Congo, Democratic Republic of the			
2010	No	-	-
2019	No	-	-
Côte d'Ivoire			
2008	No	-	-
Croatia			
2011	No	-	-
Czechia			
2017	No	-	-
Denmark			
2005	No	-	-
2008	No	-	-
2014	No	-	-
El Salvador			
2017	No	-	-
Estonia			
2010	No	-	-
2015	No	-	-
Finland			
2008	Yes	1	3
2012	Yes	1	5
2018	Yes	1 ^a	1
France			
2010	No	-	-
2015	No	-	-
Gambia			
2012	No	-	-
Georgia			
2011	No	-	-
2016	No	-	-
2018	No	-	-
Germany			
2013	No	-	-
2017	No	-	-
Ghana			
2012	No	-	-
Guatemala			
2017	No	-	-
Guinea			
2009	No	-	-



Women, Peace and Security national action plan	Direct reference to climate change	No. of goals referencing climate change	No. of actions referencing climate change
Guinea-Bissau			
2010	No	-	-
Iceland			
2008	No	-	-
2013	No	-	-
2018	No	-	-
Indonesia			
2015	No	-	-
Iraq			
2014	No	-	-
Ireland			
2011	No	-	-
2015	No	-	-
2019	Yes	2	5
Italy			
2010	No	-	-
2014	No	-	-
2016	Yes	-	-
Japan			
2015	No	-	-
Jordan			
2018	No	-	-
Kenya			
2016	Yes	-	-
Korea, Republic of (South Korea)			
2015	No	-	-
2018	No	-	-
Kosovo			
2015	No	-	-
Kyrgyzstan			
2013	No	-	-
2018	No	-	-
Lebanon			
2019	No	-	-
Liberia			
2009	Yes	-	-
Lithuania			
2011	No	-	-
Luxembourg			
2018	No	-	-



Women, Peace and Security national action plan	Direct reference to climate change	No. of goals referencing climate change	No. of actions referencing climate change
Macedonia, Former Yugoslav Republic of			
2013	No	-	-
Moldova			
2018	No	-	-
Montenegro			
2017	Yes	-	-
Mozambique			
2018	No	-	-
Namibia			
2019	Yes	-	-
Nepal			
2011	No	-	-
Netherlands, the			
2007	No	-	-
2014	No	-	-
2016	Yes	-	-
New Zealand			
2015	No	-	-
Niger			
2016	No	-	-
Nigeria			
2013	No	-	-
2017	Yes	-	-
Norway			
2006	No	-	-
2011	No	-	-
2015	No	-	-
2019	Yes	-	-
Palestine			
2017	No	-	-
Paraguay			
2015	No	-	-
Philippines, the			
2010	No	-	-
2017	No	-	-
Poland			
2018	No	-	-
Portugal			
2009	No	-	-
2014	No	-	-



Women, Peace and Security national action plan	Direct reference to climate change	No. of goals referencing climate change	No. of actions referencing climate change
Romania			
2014	No	-	-
Rwanda			
2009	No	-	-
2018	No	-	-
Senegal			
2011	Yes	-	-
Serbia			
2010	No	-	-
2017	No	-	-
Sierra Leone			
2010	No	-	-
Slovenia			
2010	No	-	-
2018	Yes	1 ^a	1
Solomon Islands			
2017	No	-	-
South Sudan			
2015	No	-	-
Spain			
2007	No	-	-
2017	Yes	-	-
Sweden			
2006	No	-	-
2009	No	-	-
2016	No	-	-
Switzerland			
2007	No	-	-
2010	No	-	-
2013	No	-	-
2018	No	-	-
Timor-Leste			
2016	No	-	-
Togo			
2011	No	-	-
Uganda			
2008	No	-	-
Ukraine			
2016	No	-	-



Women, Peace and Security national action plan	Direct reference to climate change	No. of goals referencing climate change	No. of actions referencing climate change
United Kingdom			
2006	No	-	-
2012	No	-	-
2014	No	-	-
2018	No	-	-
United States			
2011	No	-	-
2016	Yes	2 ^a	2
2019 (strategy)	No	-	-

- = a direct mention of climate change is not present in the narrative/action matrix of the national action plan.

^a At least one of the goals is not directly discursively associated with climate change.

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CLIMATE CHANGE IN WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY NATIONAL ACTION PLANS

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