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'PUTTING PEOPLE FIRST'

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*An analysis of the European Green Deals relationship to a just transition from an
intersectional feminist standpoint*



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About the cover

Inspired by Sho Shibuya whose paintings have graced the New York Times cover capturing the world's moods countless times I chose to illustrate this sunrise as it symbolises a new beginning in climate governance and a rise in intersectional feminist approaches to tackle this crisis. I found new hope during this research as I learned that intersectional feminist conscious initiatives are on the rise more than ever, slowly but undeniably taking down old systems of oppression.

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Abstract

While climate change affects us all, it has a notably unpropitious impact on certain places and people. Climate change is tied with gender inequalities that are embedded in society. Making policies that ignore the gender issue carves those inequalities even further. As the neoliberalist approach to climate policy has been discussed to be ineffective in terms of promoting environmental justice due to its reproduction of power imbalance and its focus on capital accumulation, the research at hand will analyze the European Green Deal according to its aim for environmental justice that includes gender. Furthermore, the concept of intersectionality will be used to generate critical and constructive insights that add to the framing and understanding of climate change governance in the EU Green Deal. The findings show that the European Green Deal follows a neo liberal logic of climate governance as it focuses on 'green' economic growth, economic competition, and individual responsibility. Additionally, the European Green Deal is not only gender blind but also gender harming by not acknowledging gender nor any other intersecting social dimensions making it unlikely to achieve a just transition. Support mechanisms set in the European Green Deal are only aiding certain jobs and groups of people leaving most others behind. Expert interviews have shown that European climate governance must be more feminist, focusing on anti-oppression and stronger inclusion of marginalized groups and individuals while avoiding tokenism. Policy should also focus on degrowth, care and well-being and collective action.

Keywords: Neoliberalism, intersectional feminism, environmental justice, European Green Deal

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List of abbreviations

FT	Feminist Theory
EU	European Union
EUGD	European Green Deal
MS	EU Member States
EIB	European Investment Bank

Glossary

Cis or cisgender

A cisgender person (informally abbreviated cis) is a person whose gender identity matches their sex assigned at birth

1. Introduction

1.1 Research Problem Statement

The European Commission advertises the **European Green Deal 2019 (EUGD)** as a strategy for a sustainable future that promises an inhabitable planet for the next generations (Simon, 2019).

However, while it seems that the European Green Deal signifies a paradigm shift in the EU's priorities regarding environmental justice, critics argue that it is just another measure in the process of the EU's environmental and climate policy development (Beattie, 2019) (Achterberg & Mang, 2019). It is widely acknowledged that climate change has a notably unpropitious impact on certain places and people. People suffering from poverty and other social dimensions that are associated with social vulnerabilities are hit the hardest by the effects of climate change (Morrow, 2017). Similarly, those people are less able to take part in the transition mechanisms that are supposed to fight against climate change. **Gender in combination with other intersecting social dimensions are some of those vulnerabilities** (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014).

In the western world gender is traditionally considered as binary and follows biological sex which is referred to as the gender/sex binary. In the context of this thesis gender is described as 'relationships between women and men, and between and among different groups of women and men. Additionally, different conceptualisations of masculinity and femininity, which can each be practiced by either, or both, women and men,' according to Buckingham and Le Masson (2017, pp. 2–3; Buckingham & Masson, 2017). Individual and cultural changes such as the implementation of gender-inclusive language, official government policies acknowledging a third sex (e.g., in Germany; (Eddy & Bennett, 2017), and visibility of individuals with gender/sexual expressions that fall outside the binary have recently challenged these views (Morgenroth, et al., 2021). I additionally recognize that gender is a social construct and that there are **more genders than the binary of men and women.**¹ This does include **gender non-conforming people**, who face many of the same issues that women do, as well as their own unique challenges and discrimination that are mostly not being addressed in these policies, as we are living in an extremely binary gendered western-world (Dorey, 2016) (Vinyeta, Whyte, & Lynn, 2015). **Wherever possible, the researcher has attempted to articulate a non-binary approach in order to move away from essentialist discourse.**

While wanting to move away from essentialist classifications and toward a **non-binary, inclusive approach** this is hard to implement due to the lack of research and data available in these matters. There is **a strong argument in the literature suggesting that women and other genders, aside the cis man², should not be seen as helpless victims of climate change.**

¹ A more detailed epistemological positioning of the researcher can be found in chapter 3

² Cis or cisgender - A cisgender person (informally abbreviated cis) is a person whose gender identity matches their sex assigned at birth

Climate change adaptation studies regularly point out distinct vulnerabilities of women, especially those who live in poverty. Hereby, informal and unreliable employment, residing on land that is vulnerable to natural disaster (flooding, subsidence etc.), exposure to water- or vector-borne diseases play into a **web of vulnerabilities** that need to be considered when mapping out pathways to address climate change. Those vulnerabilities are aggravated by the disproportionate caring responsibilities for their families and communities (Allison, 2017). Women's agency, as well as unique skills and experience, were highlighted in a second strand of early gender and climate change literature, which was argued to make them potentially useful actors in climate change adaptation (Allwood, 2020). **Climate change's gendered effects and women's position as climate actors are not limited to the global south; researchers have also found these connections in wealthy developed countries, including EU member states (Tschakert & Machado, 2012).** The causes of climate change, such as transportation and energy use, are gendered. **Gendered differences** in susceptibility to the impact of climate disasters including heat waves and floods, as well as gendered differences in attitudes toward climate change and the need to implement mitigation and adaptational steps (Revelo, Camey, & Rebolledo, 2009; Allwood, 2020).

Therefore, it can be **said that climate change is extremely tied with gender inequalities that are embedded in society.** Making policies that ignore the gender issue cause the drivers to carve those inequalities even further. Furthermore, measures that are introduced to mitigate climate change or adapt to it also impact people differently. **Gender plays a big part here and so do class, ethnicity, physical abilities, wealth, and other structural marginalizing inequalities.** In other words, there are differences in the creation of climate change, the approaches towards its handling, the access in decision making of climate change issues and the ability to respond to it. Without suggesting that this **vulnerability is innate or universal,** gender disparity in climate change make certain genders more vulnerable to its consequences (Allwood, 2020). The next paragraph provides a contextualization of climate change and the **European Green Deal as a tool of governance.**

1.2 Context

Climate Change

The issue of climate change has entered the mainstream thinking. The urgent threat of climate change and global warming for human and non-human life is tangible and demands global and integrated (i.e., mitigations and adaptation) response. **Climate change is often described as a wicked problem** for its complex and entangled nature that can only be solved by promoting social and environmental development. During the last decades, climate change policy aimed to mitigate climate change, like the Paris Agreement or the 17 Sustainable Development Goals. The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change has been integrated into the political agenda and climate governance (Allwood, 2020; Dauvergne, 2016). Central to this affair is the fact that climate change is a people-made issue often mentioned in reference to the **Anthropocene,** a conceptual current geological epoch

that refers to and tracks humans' impact on Earth's geological history (Steffen, Grinevald, Crutzen, & McNeill, 2011).

The European Green Deal as a tool of climate governance

In their efforts to stop climate change from progressing, to adapt to the issues climate change brings and therefore achieve environmental justice, the European commission strategy 2019-24 emphasizes on the urgency of building a 'climate-neutral, green, fair and social Europe' (Commission, 2019). In this regard, in 2019 EU Commission president Ursula von der Leyen declared her ambition to achieve climate neutrality of the EU by 2050. One of the governing measures set up to achieve this goal is the European Green Deal. Adopted by the EU Commission in 2019, Von der Leyen (2019) describes it as: "[...] Europe's man on the moon moment" (Simon, 2019, p.1). With its three pillars being: (1) no net emissions of greenhouse gases by 2050; (2) economic growth is decoupled from resource use; (3) no person and no place is left behind, the EU commission pledges "to make the EU's economy sustainable" by "turning climate and environmental challenges into opportunities, and making the transition just and inclusive for all." (EUCommission, 2019, p.1). These promises are often phrased as: need for a 'just transition' to a climate-neutral economy that 'puts people first' and ensures that 'no one is left behind.'. (EUCommission, 2019; Allwood, 2020) The European Green Deal is supposed to serve as an 'action-plan', a 'roadmap' or narrative for all existing and new EU regulations, policies and directives (Portevin, 2019).

Having said that, the current landscape of climate change governance is dominated by the logic of neoliberalism which is deemed as ineffective in the fight of climate change due to its capitalist nature that favors the accumulation of capital over people and the protection of the environment (Bee, Rice, & Trauger, 2015).

1.3 Research Aim and Research Questions

The aim of this research is to explore to what extend the European Green Deal is aiming for environmental justice that acknowledges and aims to repair social inequality with an emphasis on gender inequality with its various intersecting social dimensions. To define environmental justice the capability approach is used, where the capability of individuals and communities to function is of central importance (Walker, 2009).

Therefore, the following three research aims have been developed:

- To explore whether the European Green Deal is focused on climate related injustice by exploring how neoliberalism is applied in the European Green Deal 2019 policy document in order to evaluate if the Green Deal 'puts people first' as promised. This will be achieved by studying the European Green Deal communication document 2019 in a document study.
- To evaluate how far intersectional marginalization is acknowledged and included in the European Green Deal in order to evaluate whether it truly 'leaves no one behind'.

This will be achieved by studying the policy European Green Deal communication document in a document study. Intersectional analysis can support the understanding of power structures, their effects, the construction of individual and group subjectivities and their inclusion in political projects.

- To give basic policy recommendations on how the European Green Deal can become more just in its approach to an environmental justice by including policy that acknowledges and supports aiming to reach intersectional gender equality in relation to climate change.

In order to achieve those aims the following research questions and sub-questions have been developed:

How does the 2019 European Green Deal climate policy consider intersectional feminism in its aim to environmental justice?

1. How does the current state of the 2019 European Green Deal fit into the neoliberalist approach while 'Putting people first'?
2. To what extent is intersectionality considered in the 2019 European Green Deal, aiming for a just sustainable transition that 'leaves no one behind'?
3. What are considerations for a more just transition for of climate governance within the policy arrangements of the European Green Deal in terms of gender and its intersecting social dimensions?

1.4 Scientific Relevance

So far there is little evidence of a systematic approach of gender mainstreaming of EU climate policy to be found in EU policy (Allwood, 2020). Mainstreaming refers to the process of transformation, aiming for a more integral, cross-sectional approach to specific policy issues (van Breugel & Scholten, 2017). Moreover, climate change is still referred to as a problem that can be solved with technology and the market (Bee, Rice, & Trauger, 2015; Allwood, 2020). People-centered solutions, which could include a gendered approach, are therefore not prioritized. While social and political analysis of climate policies are up and coming, issues of inequity and intersectionality are largely absent from climate policy analysis (Giddens, 2009; Newell & Paterson, 2010; Urry, 2011; Held, Fabe-Harvey, & Theros, 2011; Lykke, 2009). In a world where the climate is destabilized ensuring people of all genders opportunities to express their full capacities has become more difficult. Due to the aforementioned disproportionate vulnerabilities, climate change is truly a feminist issue, and the tools of feminist analysis can provide valuable leverage in developing just and equitable responses to this existential challenge (Allison, 2017). Up until the launch of the 'Why the

European Green Deal needs feminism' report by the EEB and the WECF on the 16th of July 2021 the EUGD has not been analysed for with an intersectional feminist approach (Heidegger, Lharaig, Wiese, Stock, & Heffernan, 2021).

1.5 Societal Relevance

As the effects of climate change and henceforth the effects of climate change governance show their impact in all economic, cultural and social aspects of human life, a social analysis of one of those governing strategies is relevant (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014). It is important to conduct research through an intersectional perspective that detects and acknowledges those inequalities and vulnerabilities in order to move further and change them. Since the European Green Deal has and will to a great deal affect the lives of the people within the European Union, and by proxy also in the world, it is of social relevance to study the impact of this while acknowledging the differences people are facing. This is especially important as intersectional gender issues are usually treated as not important enough to be considered in crisis (Muehlenhoff, A, & Welfens, 2020; Allwood, 2019). It is however essential to include gender (and other social dimensions) in the equation if attempting to create a just sustainable future (Cavaghan & O'Dwyer, 2018). A **successful integration of intersectionality and the climate change agenda would be a substantial contribution to a just future for all**. The increasing number of comments about the need for a 'just transition' to a climate-neutral economy that 'puts people first' and ensures that 'no one is left behind' suggest that incorporating a gender perspective into the areas of EU climate policy contributes significantly towards achieving a more secure and just future (Allwood, 2020).

1.6 Reading Guide

This **proposal** begins with a review of literature on current thinking of neoliberal climate governance, the role of feminism in climate change and the part intersectionality play in our view of climate governance. The thesis concludes with a section explaining the methodology of this research project, the results, a discussion, and the conclusion of this research.

2 Literature review / Theoretical framework

In the following paragraph existing literature on neoliberalism, feminist theory and intersectionality of climate governance and research are being discussed.

Neoliberalism

The neoliberal world order relies on a global system of capitalism that causes unequal relations of (among others) gender, race, sexuality, age, disability, and citizenship benefiting a certain elite that is determined to keep the status quo in order to stay within their line of privilege (Collins & Bilge, 2016). Being around for approximately the last 30 years, neoliberalism is the dominating political philosophy that, according to Glassmann (2009), “argues for the desirability of a society organized around self-regulating markets, and free, to the extent possible, from social and political interventions” (Glassman, 2009 via Ianwood, 2015, p. 3). Castree (2010, 1743) adds: “The biophysical world becomes increasingly commodified – creating profits and jobs...The successful interpolation of people as ‘individuals’ allows them to exercise producer and consumer choice over how they relate, through the market, to the biophysical world.” (Castree, 2010, p.1743). In their literature many critical scholars argue that the primary goal of neoliberal environmental governance is to preserve the status quo benefitting economic elites rather than actually fighting climate change, preserving nature or paying attention to climate justice (Bee, Rice, & Trauger, 2015). This is relevant for this study as the European Green Deal was developed and exists in this world order.

Research conducted focusing on the neoliberalist approach in climate governance shows that state climate governance is often outsourced to non-state actors like companies and corporations to be seen in market-based regulations like the carbon emission scheme. Hereby, the priority lies on cost-effectiveness and efficiency with little attention to ecological integrity (Rabe, 2007; McCarthy & Prudham, 2004; Bailey, 2007). Rice (2014) argues that this approach of reducing emission with the goal of climate change mitigation by using the most economical effective methods possible asks for technocratic ways of climate science and individual behavioral change and action as a solution. With regards to technocratic knowledge on climate change Hulme (2008, p.6) debates that: “Climate is defined in purely physical terms, constructed from meteorological observations, predicted inside the software of Earth system science models...wholly disembodied from its multiple and contradictory cultural meanings.”.

Economic growth and economic competition as an approach to climate governance became increasingly dominant in the early 1990s. Hereby environmental problems are framed in liberal terms across environmental regimes (Ciplea & Roberts, 2017). Bernstein (2001, p.4) argued that the principles of liberal environmentalism were institutionalized as part of the Rio Earth Summit to reflect “the view that liberalization in trade and finance is consistent with, and even necessary for, international environmental protection, and that both are compatible with

the overarching goal of sustainable growth”. Competition hereby is often used as a base for policy promoting an entire moral and philosophical worldview based on the assumption that inequalities are both a fair and exciting result of a capitalist process supervised by political authorities ultimately generating inequality (Davies, 2017).

Capitalism, in which neoliberalism is embedded, is dependent on state interference such as taxing, tariffs, subsidies, certification and patents and in some cases military action. Those interferences guarantee the accumulation of capital which mainly benefits a small but powerful minority (Barkan, 2013; Dauvergne, 2016). Therefore, regulatory frameworks that are set in place to change individual behavior can be seen as a vessel to accumulate capital. This critique on the technocrat neoliberal approach, that puts all pressure to act and change on the individual, relies on individual consumption choices which have become deeply ingrained in environmentally friendly thinking. In other words, the notion of buying environmentally friendly products such as bamboo toothbrushes or electronically powered cars is widely believed to be the solution for climate change related problems (Bee, Rice, & Trauger, 2015; Dauvergne, 2016).

This phenomenon becomes visible in the popularity of Elizabeth’s Shoves (2010) “ABC” approach to climate governance where the change in “attitude, behavior and choice” lies at the hand of the individual. Shove herself criticizes the popularity of her own framework as she argues that the widely believed thought of the power of the individual’s choice to make a difference enables governments to protect the status quo of unsustainable economic institutions and lifestyles (Shove, 2010). Rice (2014) builds on this critique arguing that most neoliberal climate governance is grounded in this model of individual choice and changes which limits larger structural changes in policy that are necessary to tackle the problem of pollution caused by the economy (Rice, 2014).

An overemphasis on individual agencies also runs the risk of putting too much of the load and responsibility for change on the shoulders of the ‘citizen-consumer,’ while ignoring the role of governments and huge businesses (Hobson, 2002). Instead, it must be recognized that individuals are part of intricate webs of relationships with other persons and things, and that we must move beyond the individual as the primary agent of action. Rather than an individual’s independent action, change is dependent on the interaction of all of those parts. As a result, an intersectional analysis can assist us in comprehending these complicated webs of power connections. (Singleton, Rask, & G. L. Magnusdottir, 2021)

In conclusion Bee, Rice and Trauger (2015) argue that neoliberal climate governance reproduces unequal power relations and therefore is unsuitable to mitigate climate change and ensure environmental justice.

Feminist views on climate governance

Having reviewed the shortcomings of neoliberal climate governance, it becomes clear that feminist scholars see the neoliberal approach to climate governance as concerning. This is

due to the fact that this approach is aimed at supporting the extension of capitalist free-market economies while supporting the logic of forcing environmental responsibility onto the individual and refraining from collective action (Bee, Rice, & Trauger, 2015; Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014).

Building on this critique, many feminist scholars criticize that the neoliberal approach to knowledge gain on climate change and possible solutions from its adaption and mitigation is insufficient. Their critique is that non-scientific knowledge and insight into everyday spaces in which governance is negotiated, and the subsequent power imbalances as a result of this, isn't included (Rice, 2014; Bee, Rice, & Trauger, 2015; Hulme, 2008).

Feminist scholars reject the notion of climate change science that is the classic masculine logic of positivist value-free and objective knowledge. It is criticized that this disembodied and masculinist approach that informs climate change policymaking is failing to understand and acknowledge how power imbalances and injustices are not only an effect of such governance but also how they reproduce such climate change framing.

The notion of stopping climate change and therefore having the ability of controlling and dominating nature is based on masculinist ideas of domination (Seager, 2009). It is suggested that while taking materiality and partiality of climate science into account, notions of domination and control should have no place in feminist research and political governance (Isreal & Sachs, 2013).

Similarly and also criticizing that notion of humans controlling and dominating nature, scholars argue that the framing of climate change to be a global phenomenon in Western scientific language has created a general understanding of the issue as distant as well as temporary and separates culture from nature. This separation creates a false sense of climate change being experienced separately from the everyday embodied experience (Seager, 2009; Jasanoff, 2010). Instead, it is suggested that climate change is not seen as problem that needs to be scientifically mastered as climate change is spatially and temporarily disembodied. It is rather seen as a problem and solution that exists within and on our bodies and therefore is being recognized as "an extension of our bodies and a reimagination of climate change as something visceral, material, embodied, and part of the everyday" (Bee, Rice, & Trauger, 2015, p.4; Neimanis & Walker, 2014).

Contrary to the feminism discussed earlier, neoliberal feminists welcome the neoliberalist world order. While being aware of the inequality between women and men, neoliberal feminism disavows inequality being caused by the social, cultural, and economic forces and advocates that the individual is fully responsible for her well-being, often by figuring out a more favorable work-life balance that is based on a cost-beneficial calculus. In other words, the neoliberal feminist believes that gender inequality is not a structural problem but an individual affair (Dabrowski, 2020).

While this form of feminism should be mentioned for the purpose of highlighting different perspectives, it can be understood as yet another sphere that neoliberalism has colonized by bringing forth its own variant that further strengthens neoliberal rationality and the imperialist logic of (mainly) western and **capitalist supremacy**. Instead of collective forms of action towards the well-being of the feminist subjects, the emphasis moves on to the individual's moral integrity on self-reliance and efficiency and requires the capability to exercise autonomous choices. Creative individual solutions are presented as feminist and progressive (Rottenberg, 2018).

Since neoliberal feminism is focused on the feminists' subjects embodiment within self-responsibility, moving away from demanding change from governments and men and setting aside the confrontation of the tensions of neoliberal individuals, equality and underlying social pressures, even to the point of undoing social justice notions. Additionally, this form of feminism denounces the fact that race as a factor of inequality is still to be considered. The argument here is that racial inequality has already been successfully eliminated in the past and needs no further consideration. (Rottenberg, 2018; Eng, 2010)

Neoliberal feminism is thus described and framed as middle-class, and it is used to distinguish between middle-class feminists and those who are in 'need' of feminism. This creates a division between those who are regarded as morally deserving and those who are discarded as self-governance failures. (Dabrowski, 2020)

Intersectionality

Although social dimensions are more and more recognized in climate change research, they are often one-dimensional. **Literature fails to go beyond the men vs. woman binary, portraying women as victims, as vulnerable beings or depicting women as caretakers and protectors of nature** (Hawley, 2018). While there is a growing body on gender and its relations with the impact on climate change in the literature, intersectional dimensions are overlooked (Allwood, 2020, Lykke, 2009).

Legal Professor Kimberlé **Crenshaw** coined the term **intersectionality in 1998 and** defines the concept as „the interaction between gender, race and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power“ (Crenshaw, 1991 via Davis, 2008, p.:68). **Intersections of power can be identified in every position in every practice whether this is within institutions, relationships or on individual levels** (Lykke, 2009). Those intersections of power are mostly reflected in underlying and implicit patterns dictated by (intersecting) social categorizations that serve as grounds of exclusion and marginalization (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014).

Intersectionality can be applied as an analytical framework, used to examine the complex layers of climate change and the governance that is supposed to prevent or mitigate its impact. As an analytical tool intersectionality is an evolvement within substantiated feminist theory and is necessary in order to understand power structures and their reproductions (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014). It is not the aim of intersectionality to analyze every social category

in existence or to include as many dimensions or factors that expose vulnerability in climate change and the impact of climate change governance. Its aim is merely to determine which categories are relevant in which circumstance. When choosing an intersectional feminist approach for analysis, it is vital to go further than just determining power relations and patterns disadvantaging/marginating groups and individuals but to **identify how these social categorizations are fortified in the climate change problem**. (Magnusdottir & Kronsell, 2013; Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014)

Kaijser and Kronsell (2014) suggest that intersectional analysis should analyze in what way social categories are represented and missing in a particular case. They argue however that those social dimensions should be seen as a fixed list of factors but viewed, in true critical theory/feminist theory, in historical and spatial context, embedded in certain power patterns. Central to intersectional understanding is the fluid nature of endless reproduction as well as change and it should be understood as such. Therefore, they argue that it is essential to include the **understanding of the construction of social factors** and how they could be seen in a different manner. Intersectional analysis can therefore support the understanding of power structures, their effects, the construction of individual and group subjectivities and their inclusion in political projects. Within the climate change debate intersectional analysis therefore ensures a glimpse into observable explicit or implicit assumptions about social categories and the connection between social categories. Since social categorizations are dynamic and fluid, **a research framework must go beyond this categorization and towards a more cross-disciplinary approach**. Feminist theory for example, has the aim of liberation and freedom from oppression. However, it is widely associated with the concept of gender equality being achieved by the gain of higher economic status where men's wages are seen as the norm, taking economic growth and consumptions as desirable. Similarly, many liberal theories focusing on freedom and participation revolve around materialistic notions that suggest achieving equality by suggesting equal material resources as the solution, ignoring the ecological effects of unsustainable resource use (Magnusdottir & Kronsell, 2013).

When thinking about climate related governance it has to be taken into account that political and societal institutions regulate every aspect of public and individual life and therefore have the power to construct and reinforce environmental injustice and intersectional marginalization. (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014).

Coming back to the neoliberal logic, climate governance often interferes with everyday life by promoting individual change like the consumption of eco-friendly products and services with the goal of capital accumulation which in turn makes the well-meaning individual or community reproduce the market-based capitalist logic that is what has caused the climate change problematic in the first place (Bee, Rice, & Trauger, 2015). Here it becomes clear that this approach to climate governance and policy, meaning capitalism as a solution to climate change which promotes capital accumulation and market expansion, has an unequal impact on different individuals and groups. The impacts of those can be felt for example in

people's mobility and in their home life. The fight to detain further pollution becomes the responsibility of the individual, instead of the state or international bodies. The neoliberal concept of putting the responsibility on individual choice and action ignores the socio-economic situations that firstly already are likely to pollute less and second do not have the means to go along with this responsibility (Rice, 2014; Dauvergne, 2016). Noteworthy is also that neoliberal climate governance is focusing on individual behavioral change and distracts from the wider political economic context which is responsible for the pollution.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

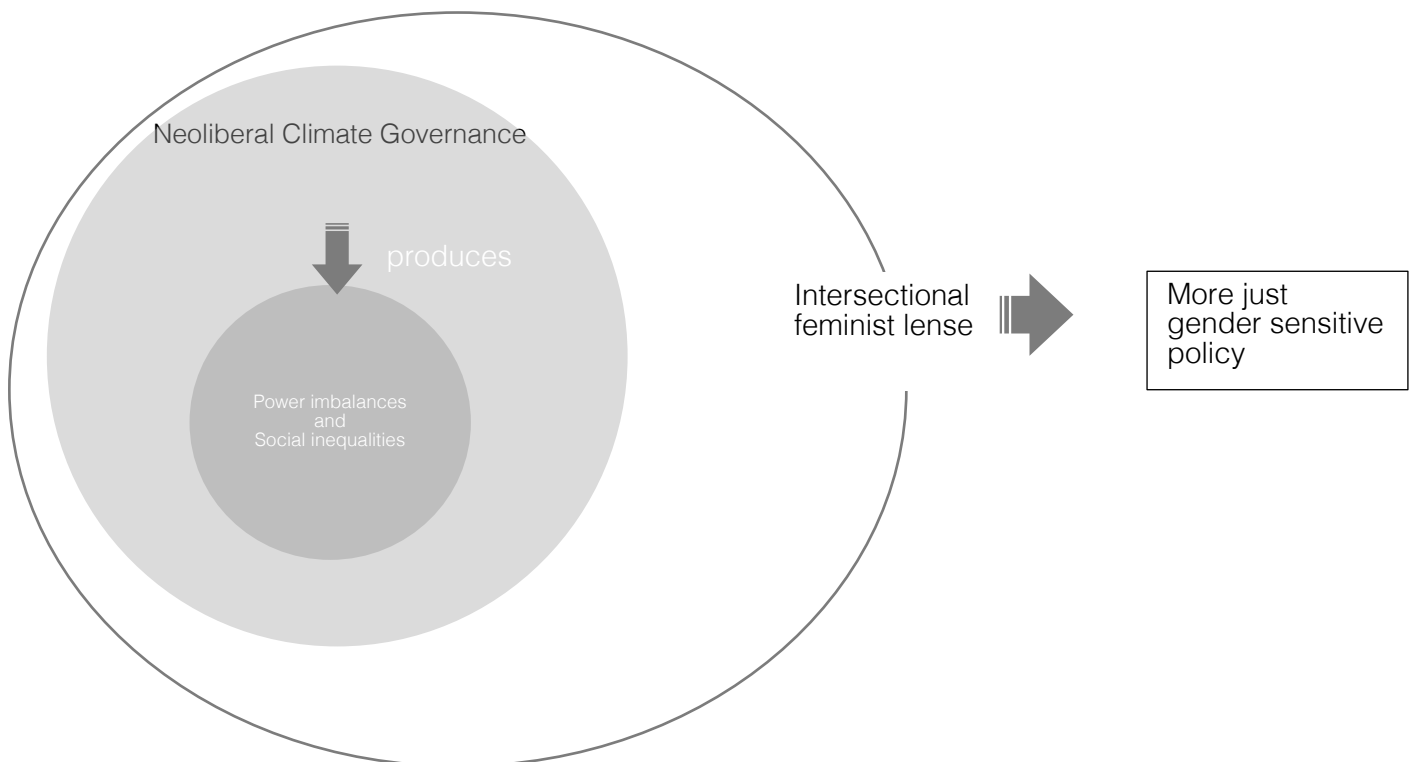


Figure 1. Theoretical framework by the author

Exploring neoliberal logic of the Green Deal governance tool helps to understand the structure of the Green Deal. Neoliberalism produces and reproduces social and environmental inequality through the support and extension of capitalism and the accumulation of capital play in climate change governance. Analyzing how neoliberalism is applied in the European Green Deal 2019 policy document helps evaluate if the Green Deal 'puts people first' as promised.

Employing a feminist lens helps to examine the climate governance of the European Green Deal as it emphasizes on the effects that climate governance has on peoples' lives producing a power imbalance (Kajiser & Kronsell, 2014; Fletcher, 2016).

In hopes of shifting away from the neoliberal logic, the concept of intersectionality will be used to generate critical and constructive insights that add to the framing and understanding of climate change governance in the EU Green Deal. Intersectionality can add alternative knowledge in the formulation of more effective and legitimate climate policy strategies. As intersectional analysis has a normative agenda it also highlights new linkages and positions that can facilitate alliances between voices that are usually marginalised in the dominant (neoliberal) political climate agenda (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014). Intersectionality's main insight is that major axes of social divisions in a given society at a certain time e.g. race, class, sexuality, gender, dis/ability, and age operate not as isolated and mutually exclusive entities, but build on each other and work together. This insight helps to gain a better understanding of what is necessary to move towards a more just transition (Collins & Bilge, 2020; Mills, Harrison, Franklin, & Birks, 2017).

2.2 Operationalization

Concepts	Aspects	Indicator
Neoliberalism	Responsibility	lies at EU level lies externally lies with companies lies with private investors lies with Member States lies with the individual
	Solution approach	Accumulation of capital Competitiveness Economic Growth Social equality Technological innovation
Intersectional feminism	Acknowledgement	inclusivity Intersectionality Justice

		Social inequality Anti-oppression Gender mainstreaming Degrowth/growth
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Table 1. Operationalization guideline table.

In table 1 the two concepts found in the literature are roughly operationalized. Since this study was following a **grounded theory approach** those concepts were merely a guideline. They were **further operationalized during and parallel to the policy document study analysis process**. The interview questions were then informed by the outcome of the aforementioned.

To perform the analysis, both **neoliberal and intersectional feminist climate governance have to be operationalized for their application within the political context of the European Green Deal**. Drawing back on the previous description of the content of the two, the following will lay out a short overview of indicators that were used to analyze to what extent and how the European Green Deal fits into a neoliberal approach to climate governance and how it fits into an intersectional feminist approach and how they do the exact opposite. Although the **hegemonic idea of neoliberal climate governance and an intersectional approach generally oppose each other, they are not each other's exact opposites, given the existence of multiple alternative feminist ideas as argued before**.

For neoliberal climate governance, two main indicators and in total ten sub indicators can be distinguished. In the following these indicators are named and a short explanation is given of what they might look like in the policy document that was analyzed.

Responsibility

A neoliberal approach to climate governance mainly puts pressure to act and change on the individual (Rice, 2014). Therefore to analyze how different placements of responsibility have been worked out and are explained in the following:

Responsibility placed on the individual

Hereby responsibility for the transition is placed on the individual. In **Neoliberal** thinking the individual is expected to make choices, especially when it comes to consumption, that are supposed to be fighting climate change (Singleton, Rask, & G. L. Magnusdottir, 2021).

Responsibility placed at companies and corporations

Research conducted focusing on the neoliberalist approach in climate governance shows that state climate governance is often outsourced to non-state actors like companies and

corporations to be seen in market-based regulations like the carbon emission scheme (Rabe, 2007; McCarthy & Prudham, 2004; Bailey, 2007).

Responsibility on the national governments of the Member States

Capitalism, in which neoliberalism is embedded, is dependent on state interference such as taxing, tariffs, subsidies, certification and patents and in some cases military action. Those interferences guarantee the accumulation of capital which mainly benefits a small but powerful minority (Barkan, 2013).

Responsibility on the European Union

The EU takes responsibility of action, this can be in different forms such as monetary support, the drafting of frameworks, policy, laws etc. or facilitation of information. When mentioning the EU, the core bodies of the EU are meant such as the EU Commission, the Parliament and the EU Council and their funding mechanisms (EUCommission, 2019).

Solution approaches

Hereby the solution approaches to get to a carbon neutral Europe in 2050 were analyzed. More specifically the tools that guide the transition.

Technology and innovation

In the neoliberal hegemonic discourse the innovation and use of technology in different sectors of production and industry is at the forefront of solving the climate crisis. New technologies therefore should be introduced and ensure a carbon free future without compromising economic growth (Hulme, 2008).

Competition

Competition is used as a tool to facilitate or drive further the transition towards a carbon-free Europe. This can be competition within the EU for example in an industry sector or on the global stage (Ciplea & Roberts, 2017; Davies, 2017).

Economic growth and accumulation of capital

Regulatory frameworks that are set in place to change individual behavior can be seen as a vessel to accumulate capital. Economic growth is supposed to go hand in hand with environmental protection and is also a tool to fight social inequality (Barkan, 2013; Dauvergne, 2016).

Social equality

Hereby climate change is fought by a concept that promotes social equality in order to aid the transition. This concept is not inherently neoliberal but was used as an indicator to show the solution approaches that might contrast the neoliberal approach in the European Green Deal.

Acknowledgement

Similarly, four indicators were created, informed by the literature and developed with a grounded theory approach, that concern the acknowledgment of different aspects that according to intersectional feminist idea should be acknowledged and paid attention to in climate governance.

Intersections of social dimensions

According to the originator of the term Crenshaw, intersectionality can be described as „the interaction between gender, race and other categories of difference in individual lives, social practices, institutional arrangements, and cultural ideologies and the outcomes of these interactions in terms of power (Crenshaw, 1991 via Davis, 2008, p.:68).

Environmental Justice

Hereby it is analyzed how and where justice is mentioned in the document in terms of the tools used for the transition.

Social Inequality

Social inequality occurs due to the fact that climate change affects people differently depending on their vulnerabilities. The transition towards the illumination of the effects of climate change also impacts people differently in terms of the ability to participate and adapt to the changes (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014; Magnusdottir & Kronsell, 2013).

Inclusivity

The inclusion of different people into different stages of the transitioning and implementation process.

As for the interviews since they served as filling the gaps that were noticed in the document studies much of the indicators overlaid with the ones previously explained. However, three more indicators crystalized in the interviews while analyzed as the majority of the interviewees mentioned those themes. They will be shortly explained in the following.

Anti-oppression

Anti-oppression work and policy is an attempt to detect and deconstructing concepts of oppression like systemic racism, sexism, heterosexism, classism, ableism, ageism, and anti-Semitism (Young, 2021).

Degrowth/growth

While economic growth was already discussed the interviewees also mentioned the notion of degrowth. A counter attempt to growth that aims to transform society to guarantee environmental justice and a well-being within planetary boundaries (Petschow, et al., 2020) .

Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming refers to the process of transformation, aiming for a more integral cross-sectional approach to gender to specific policy issues (van Breugel & Scholten, 2017).

3. Methodology

3.1 Research Philosophy and Strategy

The research paradigm for this thesis is the **qualitative paradigm of critical theory/realism**, in specific feminist theory. The choices for ontology, epistemology and methods therefore guide this research paradigm (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). This paradigm was chosen firstly because qualitative research provides an understanding of human insight into complex human behaviors and experience and provides the researcher with contextual information which is necessary when addressing the effect of climate policy on certain individuals and groups and when to learn suggesting practical policy recommendations. Secondly, **feminist theory (FT) uses components of post-positivism and constructivism to provide a detailed account of ontology and epistemology**, making feminist theory a comprehensive philosophy of science (Brown, Fleetwood, & Roberts, 2002). The feminist theory search for causation helps researchers to explain social events and provides practical policy recommendations to address social problems (Fletcher, 2016).

Ontology Regarding the ontology of feminist theory, reality is assumed to be **understood as once static, shaped over time by social factors**. Those realities become structures that are then accepted as real (Fletcher, 2016). Modern feminist efforts to discover realities acknowledge that reality can only express one mode of thought. This means that feminist knowledge cannot guarantee general validity as it is relativistic. Therefore, it cannot be determined whether some knowledge is truer than other knowledge (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2004).

Epistemology The epistemology of critical realism is transactional and subjectivistic. Hereby, the researcher and the researched are assumed to be interactively linked. The values and norms of the researchers influenced the inquiry. The researcher needs to be aware of this and reflect at every step of the way. In line with feminist and critical theories, intersectional analysis has an epistemology that has a normative agenda, which is related to the feminist epistemology position in regard to knowledge being socially constructed and derived from social practice (Ramazanoğlu & Holland, 2004). The following aims to shed light on my social positioning as well as norms and values.

The researcher believes that emphasising the interconnectedness of different struggles as well as unifying the academic and political undertakings entangled in them should be a central aim for social scientific research (Kajser & Kronsell, 2014). At the same time, she is aware that by choosing to highlight the work and experiences of people that are in many ways in a privileged position, and fit, with one exception, relatively comfortably within the climate and environmental movement and European society certain bias cannot be avoided. **Hereby the risk of silencing the voices that are not represented or that are marginalised in the movement occurs**. By means of this, she consciously chooses to be careful not to pretend that as a young educated, middle-class cis able-bodied and hetero passing white

woman/researcher, the perspectives of marginalised people in climate related matters can be represented better than by themselves (Hooks, 2015). It is important to attend to these power relations; like all knowledge, this research is inevitably partial and socially situated, conditioned by a gaze from within the dominant culture in academia and environmentalism, and at the same time it is a refusal to be interpellated by the hegemonic hailings of belonging to white, masculine, middle-class environmentalism (Harding & Norberg, 2005) (Rowe, 2005). Additionally, it has to be added that her educational background - especially her master's was heavily shaped by western, Eurocentric and masculine sciences, culture and theory. In her opinion it is important to "Get comfortable with being uncomfortable" (Jones, 2016), fighting for social justice is everyone's obligation, and that building meaningful connections across class, race, gender and other boundaries is of crucial importance.

At the time of this research she did an internship at the organization OtherWise Wageningen which aims to "stimulate critical engagement by questioning the status quo and exploring alternative pathways towards a more environmentally and socially just world" (Litjens, 2021,p.1). While this internship mainly supplied her with a network that enabled some of the interviews due to the wide range of connections - OtherWise has with other organisations, it also gave me a better understanding of critical thinking.

Methodology For this research a feminist methodology questions the status quo by challenging what is commonly known, accepted and assumed by using curiosity for what is unarticulated and taken for granted (Kronsell, 2005; Ferguson, 1993; Enloe, 2004). "Commonly known" in this case refers to the dominant mindset of neoliberalism and patriarchal thinking.

Research strategy Case studies help in the understanding of gaining in-depth insights into a specific context. Additionally case studies can be used when wanting to focus on the analysis of a complex situation (Guba & Lincoln, 1994; Mills, Harrison, Franklin, & Birks, 2017). Since this research is revolving around the complex consideration of gender and the intersection of social dimensions in the European Green Deal policy the research strategy chosen for this thesis is the case study approach. Advantages of case study strategy and its contribution to the knowledge of individual, group, organizational, social, political, and related phenomena; the ability to describe the complexities of the case and to use different ways of data analysing, as of the variations in approaches and it can close in on real-life situations (Yin, 2009; Zainal, 2007; Bryman, 2016).

Case study benefit most from qualitative methods, as qualitative data enables an in depth understanding of the case. Based on a feminist theory perspective, open-ended questions to learn about the experiences, history and views of respondents, and how these are influenced by social and material conditions were used (Bryman, 2016; Creswell, 2009).

Case selection The EUGD as a case was chosen as for its importance in European climate governance, as it is supposed to serve as an 'action-plan', a guideline or narrative for all existing and new EU regulations, policies and directives (Portevin, 2019).

3.2 Research Methods and Data Collection

In this subsection the research methods are explained by going into detail about the methods of data collection and data analysis during this research. The research methodology uses triangulation of data by using multiple sources to answer the research questions, namely *document study, interviews with experts*. Triangulation will be done in order to try address the validity of the collected data and to enable a more comprehensive understanding of the research topic (Yin, 2009; Noble & Smith, 2015).

Document study

Document studies are applied in this research by examining literature studies and policy documents. *Literature studies are mainly used for the theoretical framework and to discuss the results with the literature*. The Policy document used in this study will be the Communication from the European Commission to the European Parliament, the European Council and social committee and the committee of the regions – the Green Deal 2019 (EUCommission, 2019).

Expert interviews

Semi-structured interviews were conducted to get a more in-depth understanding how the European Green Deal can be made more inclusive and what needs to be included to make it more just in terms of gender and intersecting social dimensions (Lindlof & Taylor, 2002). The questions allowed the respondents to elaborate on the topics addressed, and follow-up questions were asked for clarification and to follow interesting threads ensuring the flexibility to explore and update the existing literature while still allowing new ideas to emerge (Guest, Namey, & Mitchell, 2017). The interviews were guided by a list of topics and issues that needed to be discussed with the respondents (see appendix I, p. 62.). Overall the interview structure was loose and allowed for the build-up of connection and exploration. The respondents were selected by *means of snowball sampling*; respondents suggest future respondents from among their network starting with expert interviews with members of different climate activist groups, policy advisors and experts on climate and gender policy until saturation was reached. The interviews were conducted online via Zoom or another medium that was familiar and accessible for the participant. With permission the interviews were recorded either by the service or by the help of another recording device. Interviewees were *selected by the following criteria: they must be active in organizations, corporations or government bodies that are concerned with climate change policy, gender policy or activism that aims to conduct change to the aforementioned*. This thesis could have benefited from a wider range of interviews. This would have not only benefitted the validity and reliability of the research but could have brought a more founded and detailed exploration of policy recommendations. However, *after sending countless emails only three respondents were willing to reply*. Especially at EU level there was reluctance to have a conversation.

Three interviewees were selected for interviews. In the following they are section contains a brief introduction to the interviewees selected for this research.

Nadège Lharaig : Senior Policy Officer Sustainable Development & Gender Expert at the European Bureau.

Lharaig was chosen as she works on issues relating to sustainable development and the SDGs implementation by and in the EU as well as trying to bridge the gap between gender and environmental policies in the EU (European Environmental Bureau, 2018)

Max de Blank : Junior researcher and policy advisor on gender sensitive policy at ATRIA the Institute on Gender Equality and Women's History. Max was chosen to be interviewed for their expertise on of sexual and racial/ethnic diversity, intersectionality, masculinity, and reproduction, and (gender) diversity (Atria, 2021).

Fleur Zantvoort: Zantvoort works for as National Coordinator and founder of the Inclusion & Power circle at Extinction Rebellion (XR) of the Netherlands. She is working on power relations and anti-oppression within XR. Fleur was chosen as an interviewee for her expertise on inclusion and power relations in the climate movement and for her involvement in setting up climate related demands for policy change for the Dutch government. She has also published articles on degrowth and intersectional marginalization in climate activism.

3.3 Data analysis

For the analysis of the data collected, an **inductive approach** was used. Flexible inductive research makes use of existing theories but allows room for a grounded theory approach. As Grounded Theory is a method for uncovering the basic social and structural processes of a situation at both the **symbolic and interactionist levels**, therefore this method can be conducted from a feminist perspective (Wuest, 1995). In this research, the concepts found in literature studies are incorporated in the theoretical framework. In the theoretical framework, the researcher indicates what kind of answers the existing theory provides to the main research question and sub-questions. Then the **findings are compared with concepts of the theoretical framework to inform a discussion, and possibly extend the theory.**

The interviews were recorded and transcribed. In order to code the transcripts for data analysis, the software program ATLAS.ti was used. While the theoretical framework was used as a guideline, a codebook was created during the process of analysis using the grounded theory approach (Thiel, 2007). The interview **transcript** can be found in the research data collection folder on Brightspace.

For the grounded theory analysis of the European Green Deal, the first step was to code the document going in with a general idea but an open mind. This first round of coding identified **general themes, reducing data into manageable and meaningful text parts**. In the second round of coding the main themes were identified, and the operationalization was revised and

adapted to the main themes that emerged during the first round of coding. Using those as a guideline the codes were split into sub-codes (see appendix II, p 64). In this second round of coding the unnecessary codes were deleted or merged and only codes adhering to the main themes were split into sub-codes by going through quotes assigned to their codes. The codes were not analyzed regarding their frequency but their content and in context with the rest of the EUGD. Meanwhile notes were taken for the result section to keep the momentum.

With the results from the document study a semi structured interview guide was established (See appendix I). This was especially focused on the gaps that the document exhibits in the aim of answering the third sub-question and to give policy advice on making the EUGD more inclusive and just. The interviews were analyzed with a grounded theory approach the same way as the policy document described in the previous paragraph with the difference that here three interviews were being cross analyzed with each other.

3.4 Validity and Reliability of the Research

This methodology closes off with the discussion on the validity and reliability of the research. Most qualitative data analysis is subjective, and the feminist ontological approach of this research cannot guarantee general validity as for its relativistic nature however, certain efforts can be taken to ensure appropriate validity and reliability.

Validity

Triangulation will be used to increase the internal validity. Hereby, data from various sources was used in the desk research and the intention to interview respondents connected to the project in different ways during the field research was to ensure that a sufficiently large amount of data was gathered to draw conclusions on the topic (Yin, 2009). In order to avoid misinterpretation, interview transcripts and analysis results were shared with the interviewees where possible. As this is a single case research the external validity of the project will be rather small, generalization is however not the aim of this study but rather an in-depth understanding of the case. In order to acknowledge personal biases which may have influenced findings a positioning of the researcher can be found in the epistemology section (Noble & Smith, 2015). Ideally to increase authenticity the pool of interviewees should have been more diverse and bigger in size to make sure that different voices could be heard.

Reliability

Qualitative research is difficult to measure. In order to improve the replicability of this research a detailed account of the research steps and data sources in the form of a research diary will be used (Bryman, 2016; Miles & Huberman, 1994). This will be done with the memo function in the program ATLAS.ti. Additional coding lists, interview transcripts and participant lists will be provided (Thiel, 2007).

Since this study employs a case study it is useful to conduct it in a systematic manner by using a case study protocol or records (Thiel, 2007). Examples of these protocols and

records will be given in terms of lists of selected research participants, interview transcripts and observation notes (to be found on Brightspace in the data collection folder).

4. Results

4.1. Results Sub-Question 1

In order to find out how the **current state of the European Green Deal fits into the neoliberalist approach on adapting and mitigating to climate** change it was investigated where the Green Deal places the responsibility for action and what solution approaches are proposed. The criteria used to **identify neoliberalism in the EUGD included competitiveness, economic growth and the accumulation of capital, technology and innovation, social equality and secondly, the placement of responsibility for action.** The following results were collected to answer sub-question 1 in the discussion.

Solution approaches

Competitiveness The economy is the most discussed subject of the European Green Deal communication paper 2019. Economic growth, the accumulation of capital and the EU as a competitor on the world stage as a means to mitigate and adapt to climate change are thoroughly discussed.

An emphasis on the EU's aim to increase economic competitiveness is portrayed in the opening paragraph where the main aims are laid out:

“The European Green Deal is a response to these [climate change] challenges. It is a new growth strategy that aims to transform the EU into a fair and prosperous society, with a modern, resource-efficient and competitive economy where there are no net emissions of greenhouse gases in 2050 and where economic growth is decoupled from resource use.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.2)

While it is mentioned that competitiveness should be resource efficient “where economic growth is decoupled from resource use.” in its aim “[...] to protect, conserve and enhance the EU's natural capital.” policy resulting from the Green Deal is supposed to: “maximise benefits for health, quality of life, resilience and competitiveness” (EUCommission, p.2, 3). While stating that all economic policy should represent the sustainable development goals and put the well-being of citizens at the centre of those policies.

Investment is supposed to be directed towards sustainable and inclusive (economic) growth. When it comes to dealing with actors outside of the EU that are unwilling to agree to EU standards and efforts the EUGD mentions however their priority of supply security and competitiveness over their environmental ambition:

“The EU can use its influence, expertise and financial resources to mobilise its neighbours and partners to join it on a sustainable path. The EU will continue to lead international efforts and wants to build alliances with the like-minded. It also recognises the need to maintain its security of supply and competitiveness even when others are unwilling to act.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.2)

Global competitiveness is also mentioned when the reduction of toxic chemicals is discussed. The Commission proposes a chemicals strategy for long-term sustainability that is supposed to secure a **toxic-free environment** whereby all stakeholders, including the private sector, should collaborate to improve public health and environmental protection while also increasing global competitiveness.

When it comes to supplying clean, affordable, and secure energy, competitiveness is part of the solution approach that is supposed to create a clean energy transition with a decarbonised gas market by the development of decarbonised gases and the “smart integration of renewables” (EUCommission, 2019, p.6.). Similarly concerning mobilizing research and fostering innovation, the EU commission emphasizes on the “needs to increase significantly the large-scale deployment and demonstration of new technologies across sectors and across the single market, building new innovative value chains” in order to “keep its competitive advantage in clean technologies” with the ultimate goal to find “new solutions for climate [change], which are relevant for implementing the Green Deal” (EUCommission, 2019, p.18).

Economic Growth and the accumulation of economic capital In order to meet the transition's long-term financing needs, the Commission will continue to explore new sources of funding and creative ways to mobilize them with appropriate partners as part of the Sustainable Europe Investment Plan.

Another solution approach to cut down emission is the review of the Emissions Trading System and a possible extension of European emissions trading to new sectors: “These policy reforms will help to ensure effective carbon pricing throughout the economy. This will encourage changes in consumer and business behaviour, and facilitate an increase in sustainable public and private investment.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.5).

Should global gaps in climate ambition continue as the EU raises its environmental standards, the Commission would propose a carbon border adjustment mechanism for specific sectors to reduce the risk of carbon leakage. It will be an alternative to the EU's Emissions Trading System's efforts to address the possibility of carbon leakage ensuring the accuracy of the reflection of the carbon content in imported goods. This measure will be intended to comply with WTO rules as well as the EU's other international obligations. The commission also proposes to extend European emissions trading to the maritime sector, and

“to reduce the EU Emissions Trading System allowances allocated for free to airlines.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.11)

Similarly, the industrial strategy and a new circular economy action plan are supposed to help modernise the EU's economy and make sure the economy is competitive within the EU and on the global stage with its key aim to stimulate the development of lead markets for climate neutral and circular products. It is added however that the industrial strategy is supposed to prioritise reducing and reusing materials before recycling them.

Emphasis is also given to the indispensability of the steel, chemicals, and cement industries: “Energy-intensive industries, such as steel, chemicals and cement, are indispensable to Europe's economy, as they supply several key value chains.” (EUCommission, 2019, p. 7)

The circular economy action plan would also provide incentives for companies to sell reusable, reliable, and repairable goods, as well as customer choice. For electronics and other there will be a ‘right to repair’ in order to reduce system built-in obsolescence.

Economic growth is also suggested by promoting a “Stable and integrated single market for secondary raw materials and by-products could support EU businesses” [...] “The Commission will consider legal requirements to boost the market of secondary raw materials with mandatory recycled content (for instance for packaging, vehicles, construction materials and batteries).” (EUCommission, 2019, p.8.).

Another solution approach based on economic growth and the accumulation of capital can be found in the development of a new EU forest strategy based on the 2030 biodiversity strategy, which will span the entire forest cycle and promote the many benefits that forests provide: “Sustainable re- and afforestation and the restoration of degraded forests can increase absorption of CO₂ while improving the resilience of forests and promoting the circular bio-economy.” (EUCommission, 2019, p. 13). Therefore the Commission will implement legislative and non-regulatory measures to promote imported products and value chains that do not involve deforestation or forest degradation, building on the Communication on strengthening EU action to protect and restore the world's forests.

It is clear from these examples that economic growth and the accumulation of capital plays an important part in the climate governance proposed in the EUGD.

Technology and innovation as a tool to fight climate To meet the European Green Deal's goals, new technology, sustainable solutions, and disruptive innovation are presented as essential in the EUGD. To maintain its competitive advantage in clean technologies, the Commission therefore calls to dramatically enhance large-scale deployment and demonstration of new technologies across sectors and the single market, resulting in the creation of new innovative value chains:

“Strengthening the efforts on climate-proofing, resilience building, prevention and preparedness is crucial. Work on climate adaptation should continue to influence public and private investments, including on nature-based solutions.”(EUCommission, 2019, p. 5).

When it comes to **energy production it is highly counted on digitalization and new technology** (such as smart grids, hydrogen networks or carbon capture, storage and utilisation, energy storage) to keep the energy secure and affordable for consumers and businesses: “Digital innovations are seen as such, e.g. artificial intelligence, 5G, cloud and edge computing and the internet of things can accelerate and maximise the impact of policies to deal with climate change and protect the environment. Digitalisation also presents new opportunities for distance monitoring of air and water pollution, or for monitoring and optimising how energy and natural resources are used.” (EUCommission,2019, p. 6)

In terms of “Further decarbonising the energy system” to reach the overall goal of the climate objectives in 2030 and 2050 the focus lies on technocratic solutions. To make (sustainable) energy affordable to consumers and businesses “interconnectedness and digitalisation” is offered as a solution approach (EUCommission, 2019, p 6).

As the transformation is described to present an opportunity to increase long-term, job-creating economic activity that can be achieved through investing in “Low-emission technology, sustainable goods, and services” which additionally are considered promising in global markets. Similarly, it is stated that, the circular economy has a lot of space for new activities and employment. This is also being called **inclusive growth**. “Digital technologies are a critical enabler for attaining the sustainability goals of the Green Deal in many different sectors.” (EUCommission, 2019, p. 9)

Transportation is also supposed to be made more climate friendly and sufficient. This is to be achieved through the development of smart (digital) systems for traffic management with funding mechanisms like ‘Connected Europe Facility’.

In the matters of sustainable food the commission is backing a ‘Farm to Fork strategy’ that is supposed to benefit all stakeholders by investing in new technologies and scientific discoveries and building increasing public awareness. “The EU needs to develop innovative ways to protect harvests from pests and diseases and to consider the potential role of new innovative techniques to improve the sustainability of the food system, while ensuring that they are safe.”(EUCommission, 2019, p.12). It is also mentioned that the position of farmers will be improved by the ‘Farm to Fork strategy’.

Solution approach through social equality In contrast to the results previously presented, solution approaches that use social equality mechanism to realize the transition. To ensure that “no one is left behind” (EUCommission, 2019, p.16), the Commission proposes a Just

Transition Mechanism in the EUGD, which would include a Just Transition Fund, as part of the Sustainable Europe Investment Plan as: “Not all Member States, regions and cities start the transition from the same point or have the same capacity to respond. These challenges require a strong policy response at all levels.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.16). Support of a low-carbon and climate-resilient transition: “The need for a socially just transition must also be reflected in policies at EU and national level. This includes investment to provide affordable solutions to those affected by carbon pricing policies, for example through public transport, as well as measures to address energy poverty and promote re-skilling. Coherence of climate and environment policies and a holistic approach are often a precondition for ensuring they are perceived as fair, as illustrated by the debate on taxation of various modes of transport.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.16)

A second approach is clear retail investment product labelling and the development of an EU green bond standard that makes sustainable investment as simple as possible. This aims to accomplish that investors and businesses will have more options since it would be easier for them to find sustainable investments and ensure that they are trustworthy.

Additionally, consideration is given to the renovation of low income housing. Renovations of schools and hospitals should also be prioritized with the reasoning that the money saved by building efficiency will be used to improve education and public health:

“Particular attention will be paid to the renovation of social housing, to help households who struggle to pay their energy bills. Focus should also be put on renovating schools and hospitals, as the money saved through building efficiency will be money available to support education and public health.”(EUCommission, 2019, p.10).

Responsibility

Responsibility lies at EU level/The EU commission sees itself in the responsibility to work with the member states to implement EU policy effectively: “New measures on their own will not be enough to achieve the European Green Deal’s objectives. In addition to launching new initiatives, the Commission will work with the Member States to step up the EU’s efforts to ensure that current legislation and policies relevant to the Green Deal are enforced and effectively implemented.” (EUCommission, 2019, p. 4). There is no indication of what this might look like.

In the meantime, the Commission proposes to collaborate with shareholders on a new renovation initiative from 2020. This includes an interactive forum that brings together the building and construction industry, architects and engineers, as well as local governments, to overcome renovation barriers. Under ‘InvestEU’, this project also provides funding schemes. In the EUGD the EU promises to enforce strict energy and climate plans on the Member States and to revise their plans if necessary. Hereby “the decarbonisation of the gas sector will be facilitated, including via enhancing support for the development of

decarbonised gases, via a forward-looking design for a competitive decarbonised gas market, and by addressing the issue of energy-related methane emissions.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.6).

Regarding the circular economy action plan the EU takes over responsibility to include “measures to encourage businesses to offer, and to allow consumers to choose, reusable, durable and repairable products.”(EUCommission, 2019, p. 8). **In terms of tackling possible greenwashing resulting from those stricter policies the EU Commission** “will step up its regulatory and non-regulatory efforts to tackle false green claims. [while] Digitalisation can also help improve the availability of information on the characteristics of products sold in the EU.” .”(EUCommission, 2019, p. 8).

In terms of waste management, the EU wants to stop exporting waste outside of the EU and instead the Commission takes responsibility by considering legal requirements to boost the market of secondary raw materials with mandatory recycled content.

In parallel, the EUGD states: “The EU should in parallel ramp-up the production and deployment of sustainable alternative transport fuels. By 2025, about 1 million public recharging and refueling stations will be needed for the 13 million zero- and low-emission vehicles expected on European roads.” (EUCommission, 2019, p. 11). In order to accomplish this: “The **Commission will support the deployment of public recharging and refueling points where persistent gaps exist**, notably for long-distance travel and in less densely populated areas, and will launch as quickly as possible a new funding call to support this.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.11).

According to the Commission's proposals for the **common agricultural policy** from 2021 to 2027, climate change will receive at least 40% of the total budget of the common agricultural policy and at least 30% of the Maritime Fisheries Fund. Therefore the Commission takes some responsibility so that “The common agricultural and common fisheries policies will remain key tools to support these efforts while ensuring a decent living for farmers, fishermen and their families.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.12).

The Commission will consider drafting a nature restoration plan and will look at how to provide funding to help Member States to reach increasing the coverage of protected biodiversity-rich land and sea areas building on the Natura 2000 network:

“The Commission will take measures, both regulatory and otherwise, to promote imported products and value chains that do not involve deforestation and forest degradation.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.14). All policies and legislation relating to a toxic-free atmosphere will need to be examined more thoroughly by the EU and its Member States: “To address these interlinked challenges, the Commission will adopt in 2021 a zero pollution action plan for air, water and soil.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.14).

The European Commission will also collaborate with the EIB (European Investment Bank) Group, national promotional banks and organizations, and other foreign financial institutions. The EIB set a goal of doubling its climate target from 25% to 50% by 2025, establishing itself as Europe's climate bank (EUCommission, 2019).

The strategy also promises to prepare a European competence framework to help develop and assess knowledge, skills and attitudes on climate change and sustainable development. It will also provide support materials and facilitate the exchange of good practices in EU networks of teacher-training programmes (EUCommission, 2019).

Finally, the Commission declares in the EUGD to develop requirements to ensure that all packaging in the EU market is sustainable: "The Commission will develop requirements to ensure that all packaging in the EU market is reusable or recyclable in an economically viable manner by 2030, will develop a regulatory framework for biodegradable and bio-based plastics, and will implement measures on single use plastics." (EUCommission, 2019, p.8).

Responsibility lies externally It is mentioned that the global climate change objectives of the Paris Agreement cannot be met when other international partners do not share the same ambitions as the EU and EU products are being outsourced to be produced in countries that have more carbon intense production. In this case the EU suggests importing tax that reflects the carbon content of the imported content:

"The environmental ambition of the Green Deal will not be achieved by Europe acting alone. The drivers of climate change and biodiversity loss are global and are not limited by national borders. The EU can use its influence, expertise and financial resources to mobilise its neighbours and partners to join it on a sustainable path. The EU will continue to lead international efforts and wants to build alliances with the like-minded. It also recognises the need to maintain its security of supply and competitiveness even when others are unwilling to act." (EU Commission, 2019, p. 2)

Responsibility lies with companies In order to meet the transition's long-term financing needs, the Commission proposes to continue to explore new sources of funding and creative ways to mobilize them with appropriate partners as part of the Sustainable Europe Investment Plan. This involves investments in sustainable options for those impacted by carbon pricing policies, such as public transportation, as well as efforts to combat energy insecurity and encourage re-skilling. Companies and workers are advised to "keep an open dialogue" (EUCommission, 2019, p. 16) about their perceived fairness of those sustainable options handing responsibility for those changes over to the companies.

Responsibility lies with private investors The private sector is expected to be a key actor in financing the green transition. Long-term signals are needed to direct financial and capital flows to green investment and to avoid stranded assets (EUCommission, 2019, p.16/17)

Responsibility lies with the individual Consumer policy is supposed to empower consumers to make informed choices and play an active role in the ecological transition. Additionally it is looked to “Schools, training institutions and universities [as they] are well placed to engage with pupils, parents, and the wider community on the changes needed for a successful transition.”(EUCommission, 2019, p.19). The EU proposes a “competence framework to help develop and assess knowledge, skills and attitudes on climate change and sustainable development.” And “will also provide support materials and facilitate the exchange of good practices in EU networks of teacher-training programmes.”(EUCommission, 2019, p.19)

Responsibility lies with the Member States

Responsibility is also placed on the member states, however often mentioned with tasks that are supported by the EU like for example when creating a toxic-free environment by looking systematically at all policies and regulations while the Commission promises to “adopt in 2021 a zero pollution action plan for air, water and soil”. (EUCommission, 2019, p.14). Another example is the overhaul of the national budget systems whereby the EU asks the member states to “redirect public investment, consumption and taxation to green priorities” (EUCommission, 2019, p.17) while offering to co-screen and benchmark green budgeting practices.

4.2 Results Sub-Question 2

Acknowledgement

To evaluate how far intersectional marginalization is acknowledged and included in the European Green Deal different aspects that according to intersectional feminist idea should be acknowledged and paid attention to in climate governance were analyzed and the results informing the discussion answering sub-question 2 are presented in the following.

Firstly, it has to be mentioned that the word gender or any equivalent are not mentioned in the European Green Deal. The same applies for any of the other aforementioned social categories that are used to describe and acknowledge the different challenges marginalized groups and individuals face.

Social inequality Social inequality is acknowledged when introducing the ‘Just Transitions Fund’. As seen in the following quotation it is acknowledged that not all Member States, regions and citizens start the transition at the same point and that there are vulnerable citizens that due to their social and geographic circumstances are more vulnerable to the effects of climate change:

“As part of the ‘Sustainable Europe Investment Plan’, the Commission will propose a Just Transition Mechanism, including a ‘Just Transition Fund’, to leave no one behind. The transition can only succeed if it is conducted in a fair and inclusive way. The most vulnerable are the most exposed to the harmful effects of climate change and environmental degradation. At the same time, managing the transition will lead to significant structural changes in business models, skill requirements and relative prices. Citizens, depending on their social and geographic circumstances, will be affected in different ways. Not all Member States, regions and cities start the transition from the same point or have the same capacity to respond. These challenges require a strong policy response at all levels.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.16)

Social inequality is hinted at when the supply of clean energy is discussed. Hereby the document reads: the EU's energy supply needs to be secure and affordable for consumers and businesses.” This is to be achieved by ensuring “that the European energy market is fully integrated, interconnected and digitalised, while respecting technological neutrality” (EUCommission, 2019, p.6). and “a ‘renovation wave’ of public and private buildings.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.9). Additionally, this this can be detected by the acknowledgement of energy poverty as in the following quote: “The risk of energy poverty must be addressed for households that cannot afford key energy services to ensure a basic standard of living.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.6).

Furthermore, there is mention of vulnerable people in the regards of the transition: “It will also strive to protect the citizens and workers most vulnerable to the transition, providing access to re-skilling programmes, jobs in new economic sectors, or energy-efficient housing” and “those affected by carbon pricing policies, for example through public transport, as well as measures to address energy poverty and promote re-skilling.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.16).

Intersectionality In terms of its “aims to protect, conserve and enhance the EU's natural capital, and protect the health and well-being of citizens from environment-related risks and impacts” the EUGD mentions that a pack is needed to “together citizens in all their diversity, with national, regional, local authorities, civil society and industry working closely with the EU's institutions and consultative bodies.”(EUCommission, 2019, p.2). Diversity however is not elaborated on nor is intersectionality.

Justice A just transition is mentioned often in the EUGD. While justice is not always directly mentioned it is detectable in the first paragraph in its aim “to transform the EU into a fair and prosperous society” and “protect the health and well-being of citizens from environment-related risks and impacts.”(EUCommission, 2019, p.1). At the centre of this is the ‘Just Transition Mechanism’, including a ‘Just Transition Fund’, to leave no one behind. The transition can only succeed if it is conducted in a fair and inclusive way. The most vulnerable are the most exposed to the harmful effects of climate change and environmental degradation.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.16).

It is also discussed in the consumer's right to choose reusable, durable and repairable products and have a 'right to repair' in the circular economy plan. This is frequently mentioned in regard to the transformation to sustainable and affordable energy.

As seen in the following quote, key services for households to ensure a basic standard of living is discussed: "The risk of energy poverty must be addressed for households that cannot afford key energy services to ensure a basic standard of living." (EUCommission, 2019, p.11).

Notable emphasize is given to the importance of the agricultural sector in the transition. In order to guarantee a just transitioning process to the farmers and fisheries "The common agricultural and common fisheries policies will remain key tools to support these efforts while ensuring a decent living for farmers, fishermen and their families." With the farm to fork strategy. The same stage also promises "to stimulate sustainable food consumption and promote affordable healthy food for all." (EUCommission, 2019, p.12).

Inclusivity Inclusivity is often mentioned together with sustainable economic growth when the financial investment of the EU (and private investors) is discussed:

"At the same time, this transition must be just and inclusive. It must put people first, and pay attention to the regions, industries and workers who will face the greatest challenges. Since it will bring substantial change, active public participation and confidence in the transition is paramount if policies are to work and be accepted. A new pact is needed to bring together citizens in all their diversity, with national, regional, local authorities, civil society and industry working closely with the EU's institutions and consultative bodies."(EUCommission, 2019, p.2)

Inclusion can also be detected in the Commission call for stakeholders to use the available platforms to simplify legislation and highlight problematic issues to help detect and correct anomalies in current legislation. When drafting evaluations, impact assessments, and legislative proposals for the European Green Deal, the Commission will take these comments into account (EUCommission, 2019).

Schools, training institutions, and universities are well positioned to engage students, parents, and the general public in the necessary reforms for a smooth transition. The Commission will build a European competence framework to aid in the development and assessment of climate change and sustainable development knowledge, skills, and attitudes. It will also provide support resources and enable the sharing of best practices within EU teacher-training networks (EUCommission, 2019).

Point 4 of the Green Deal focuses on the involvement of the public. In the following quote the example of the importance of public inclusion is highlighted:

"The involvement and commitment of the public and of all stakeholders is crucial to the success of the European Green Deal. Recent political events show that game-changing

policies only work if citizens are fully involved in designing them. People are concerned about jobs, heating their homes and making ends meet, and EU institutions should engage with them if the Green Deal is to succeed and deliver lasting change. Citizens are and should remain a driving force of the transition.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.22).

By March 2020, the Commission will unveil a European Climate Pact that will focus on three strategies to engage the public in climate action (EUCommission, 2019). First, it will promote information sharing, inspiration, and public awareness of the threat and problem of climate change and environmental degradation, as well as strategies for combating them. It will do so through a variety of channels and methods, including events in Member States modelled after the Commission's ongoing public forums. Second, both physical and virtual locations should be available for people to express their creativity and collaborate on big projects, both individually and collectively. Participants would be urged to make explicit commitments to climate action. Third, the Commission will endeavour to increase capacity in order to promote grassroots climate change and environmental protection efforts (EUCommission, 2019). Information, guidance, and educational modules may be useful in facilitating the exchange of best practices. The Commission will make sure that the green transition is a big part of the conversation about Europe's future (EUCommission, 2019).

“The Climate Pact will build on the Commission’s on-going series of citizens’ dialogues and citizens’ assemblies across the EU, and the role of social dialogue committees. It will continue to work to empower regional and local communities, including energy communities. The urban dimension of cohesion policy will be strengthened, and the proposed European Urban Initiative will provide assistance to cities to help them make best use of opportunities to develop sustainable urban development strategies.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.24).

4.3 Results Sub-Question 3

Three experts were asked about what needs to be included in the European Green Deal to make it more just, intersectional and gender sensitive. The transcripts that are the course of the following quotes can be found in the data folder on Brightspace.

Lharaig from the European bureau says about the EUGD in terms of justice and its approach to gender: “We see that they are at best gender-blind and at worst gender damaging. For example, if we look at the CAP, the Common Agricultural Policy, which is not for, say, a European Green Deal, but it's a third of the EU budget, so it's huge in terms of money. I think the findings we find is that there's only 16 percent of the funds that goes to women farmers and the rest is only going to men and they use a very like paternalist vision of farming“. She adds: “[...] they have a really narrow vision of who's going to lose in that transition, mainly stating that white eastern European men who work in the coal mines will lose in the transition and will therefore be supported with funds and reskilling. The work force in energy is male dominated.”. She continues: „And it's also a very embedded in very masculine vision of like

techno scientific solutions that will save us. 'So let's innovate'. And so what we [the European bureau] want to promote more [...] Eco feminist approaches, more natural based solutions, centring care, well-being." followed by: „The big systems of oppression, that's capitalism, patriarchy and racism should all be combated as once. For example, **the Green Deal is a growth strategy. It's a green growth strategy.** We think that green growth doesn't exist and we will not achieve a green transition with green growth.“ Gender sensitive policy advisor Max de Blank has a similar point in regards to the intersectional approach of support of just transition: “[...] They rent it, then you can't use the solar on your roof, but you have to own the house. Those are all middle-class people, people who rent a house or an apartment, they technically can apply for those subsidies, but they can't really use it because they can't modify their home But at the same time [...] the energy taxes are also being increased. The people who invest in renewable energy in their homes, they profit from it. And the people, the poorer people who can't invest in their personal solar panels have to pay the price.” Fleur Zantvoort who works for Extinction Rebellion in the Netherlands as National Coordinator and founder of the Inclusion & Power Circle working on power relations and anti-oppression within XR adds to the aforementioned in a similar fashion: “[...] at the basis it's also for me more important, the sort of part of the degrowth, it emphasizes care and solidarity and community and is aware of oppression. [...]. With the patriarchy or racism or ableism whatever. [...]. And that we aspire to a society that's not just like us less, [...], in the economy, but also is less oppressive and much else.”

Lharaig advises to include a broader definition of which people and jobs should be supported in the transition: „If you don't want to reproduce the same inequalities there should be in this just transition mechanism, **there should be criteria to enhance gender equality in the workforce, to access the funds**, for example, you should make sure that your definition of the green job is not only green energy, renewable energy, they also need to be a bit broader [...] It needs to include, for example, the care sector, which is way less environmentally damaging than energy and is very essential to our society. It's [...] heavily labour intensive rather than energy intensive and raw materials intensive. And it's female dominated and it's very precarious.“ [...] ”When it comes to for example the transportation policies in the EUGD that is supposed to make public transport more sustainable: “[...] they acknowledge the need for transport to be inclusive for people with disabilities, but that's pretty much it. They don't recognise that women and men of different transport platforms, different needs, that if we want to make sure that we have sustainable mode of transport, which includes more public transport, it needs to be safe for women.“

Furthermore she advises that **gender mainstreaming should be applied more**: “[...] the EU published last year in **March a gender equality strategy** for the five next years. They recognize that environment is one of the policy sectors where gender mainstreaming needs to be applied more.“ And “They need to have a more systematic approach to gender mainstreaming in the way they frame policies.“. Policy advisor Max de Blank when asked how they go about promoting gender sensitive policy agrees: “[...] We're listing all these

instruments like gender segregated data, gender statistics, gender sensitive monitoring and evaluation, all those instruments. [...] you can basically apply to any policy area, because that's the idea behind gender mainstreaming, to always look as who benefits from a policy who pays the price of it."

In terms of justice Lharaig says: "That means that men and women and other non-gender conforming people should have the same rights and not only rights, because rights is one thing, but then also opportunities. [...] They have the same opportunities when it comes to environmental rights and protection and services and opportunities in terms of jobs also.". Fleur adds to this notion of justice: "It's not a state, but it's [...] a process like this point at which justice is achieved. But it's a way of relating and a way of interacting and something to be working on all the time. [...] It is about like restoring calm, restoring relations. [...]. And creating new life, creating new possibilities. You're preventing further harm [...] Now, also related to this idea of justice, like preventing harm, but also not in a punitive way, but in a restorative way, so not when someone is being oppressive, for instance, or has some aggressive behaviour, not necessarily punishing a person for it, but trying to explain and trying to understanding."

When it comes to the inclusion of marginalized groups Lharaig adds: „it [inclusion] also means that these people [of marginalized groups] should also have a seat at the table. I think representation and also consultation is important. It's not the only solution. I want to make that very clear because we also tend to say, 'OK, let's put there and I want to change everything'." and „[...] I think in both aspects, we need to avoid tokenism. There is a tendency to put women or even marginalized groups, racialized people, etc, in representation position without really acknowledging the power dynamics and how it operates." [...] lthe EU has to reflect on how they are doing consultation and not do as they do, meaning having people come to them, but rather go to people that are mostly excluded, which they are not good at doing, and also us also as a civil society organization, we have to ask ourselves [that].“ She adds to this "I guess we also need to revise how we do politics, because right now it's very much embedded in toxic masculinity norms and our hierarchy and working in a collective, etc.. it's more redefining how we do politics and also making sure that all the violent and discriminatory culture in politics doesn't exist anymore.“ Fleur shares that XR is demanding a citizen assembly mechanism that is representative of the people living in the Netherlands that is supposed to be an inclusive approach to (Dutch) climate governance: [...] one of the demands of XR is to have a citizens assembly. – [where] idea is that it's representative [of in her case the people of the Netherlands].“

When discussing the placement of responsibility for climate action Lharaig lays it on the policymakers and companies : „We talk to policymaker and also the way we understand the need for an environmental transition is that it needs to come from politics and it should the burden should shouldn't be placed on citizen. The burden should be placed on policymakers and companies, the ones that have contributed the most to that problem at least. And there

should be kind of balance in the way of who contributed to that crisis and who should be responsible to repair it." She explains this need for a shift in responsibility: "So energy poverty is really most of the people affected by energy poverty. It's people who cannot pay, for example, their energy bills. It's mainly women who are single mothers. [...] And now the EU has a big plan to renovate many buildings and to improve energy efficiency, etc. but and they say it will fight against energy poverty, but they never acknowledged that it's a gender problem. The solution that we put in place will probably not address that. It will not be designed to fit this woman's needs while they are the biggest victims of this. And, for example, there's no provision to make sure that after your building is renovated that the rents don't increase. Because if that's the case these women will not be able to pay for their rent after that. They will go to other places where there's no energy efficiency, etc.."

Fleurs argues slightly differently for this shift in responsibility due to her experience in the climate movement on holding governments accountable for their responsibility: "I still think there's an understanding that the government is important because they have a lot of power. Now, we do appeal to the **government as being responsible. But also understanding that the government is not going to solve anything.**"

Max argued for responsibility taken by the EU and the governments of the MS: "[...] it's a societal issue. It's a collective issue. Therefore the government should take the first step and whether it be the national government or, preferably actually the European governments because that might be the most effective way, [...]."

5 Discussion

5.1 Sub-Question 1

This section of the discussion aims to answer the first sub-question taking into account the results gained from the document study of the European Green Deal communication document 2019 and the reviewed literature: *How does the current state of the European Green Deal fit into the neoliberalist while Putting people first?* The results are being interpreted, and implications are shown as well as the limitations and suggestions for action and further research are suggested in the following paragraph.

Neoliberalist climate governance is often criticized by (among others) feminist scholars to primarily focus on preserving the status quo benefitting economic elites rather than actually fighting climate change, preserving nature or paying attention to climate justice. In the following it is discussed how the EUGD fits into the neoliberalist approach to climate governance in terms of where the responsibility to change is placed and what kind of solution approaches are suggested.

State climate governance is often outsourced to non-state actors like companies and corporations to be seen in market-based regulations like the carbon emission scheme. Those looking for the cheapest solutions drive the accumulation of capital even further with less regard to a fair and sustainable transition (Rabe, 2007; McCarthy & Prudham, 2004; Bailey, 2007). The EUGD is planning a revision and extension of the carbon emission scheme to new sectors with the aim to regulate carbon pricing, consumer, and business behaviour, as well as increased public and private investment that is sustainable. The ambition of economic growth and the accumulation of capital as a solution approach for the mitigation of climate change can also be detected in the push for single markets. Here secondary raw materials and by-products could support EU businesses and consideration of legal provisions to raise the demand for secondary raw materials that must include a certain percentage of recycled material.

Much consideration in the EUGD is given to the EU as a competitor within itself and on the global stage. As discussed in the literature, making use of competition as a base for policy promoting an entire moral and philosophical worldview that, based on the assumption that inequalities are both a fair and exciting result of a capitalist process supervised by political authorities is not regarded as a productive towards social equality let alone environmental justice in the transition (Davies, 2017; Ciplea & Roberts, 2017). However, in part the EU wanting to become a competitor in the reduction of toxic chemicals used in production can be seen as a step towards environmental justice. Here it would be interesting to do further research to see if this form of competitiveness might cause some inequality in other places. The ambition for competitiveness in other places of the document revolves around having

the most competitive innovations and technologies on the global stage and supporting competitiveness among clean energy suppliers.

New technology, sustainable solutions, and disruptive innovation are presented as essential in the EUGD. To maintain its competitive advantage in clean technologies, the EU therefore aims to dramatically enhance large-scale deployment and demonstration of new technologies across sectors and the single market, resulting in the creation of new innovative value chains. “Digital technologies are a critical enabler for attaining the sustainability goals of the Green Deal in many different sectors. [...] From transportation, food and farming to monitoring and job security, technology is at the forefront of the transition to create a climate friendly future.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.9). With regards to technocratic solution approaches on climate change Hulme (2008: 6) debates that: “Climate is defined in purely physical terms, constructed from meteorological observations, predicted inside the software of Earth system science models...wholly disembodied from its multiple and contradictory cultural meanings.” (Hulme, 2008). Rice (2014) argues that this approach of reducing emission with technocratic ways of climate science and individual behavioral change and action as a solution is focusing the most economical effective methods possible with little regard of putting people first.

Neoliberal capitalism, is dependent on state interference such as taxing, tariffs, subsidies, certification and patents and in some cases military action. Those interferences guarantee the accumulation of capital which mainly benefits a small but powerful minority (Barkan, 2013) (Dauvergne, 2016). Therefore, regulatory frameworks that are set in place to change individual behavior can be seen as a vessel to accumulate capital. This critique on the neoliberal approach that puts all pressure to act and change on the individual relies on individual consumption choices which have become deeply ingrained in environmentally friendly thinking. This sentiment can be detected in the EUGDs focus on solving the climate crisis by the individual consumer to take part through their consumer behavior. While the EU will take over the part of setting up consumer policy that is supposed to empower the consumer to make an informed choice it still suggests that the individual consumer takes on responsibility making them play an active role in the ecological transition by the right choice of consumption. An example is the **Circular Economy Action Plan** that is aimed to provide incentives for companies to sell sustainable and used goods. The EUGD also suggests that “Schools, training institutions and universities [as they] are well placed to engage with pupils, parents, and the wider community on the changes needed for a successful transition.”(EUCommission, 2019, p.19.). In this case the EU however takes on the responsibility to propose a “competence framework to help develop and assess knowledge, skills and attitudes on climate change and sustainable development.” and “will also provide support materials and facilitate the exchange of good practices in EU networks of teacher-training programmes.

While those examples show that some responsibility is assigned towards the individual in terms of being agents of change, much responsibility in terms of the financing of the transition

is laid on private investment and involves investments in sustainable options for those impacted by carbon pricing policies, such as public transportation, as well as efforts to combat energy insecurity and encourage re-skilling. Companies and workers are advised to “keep an open dialogue” (EU Commission, 2019, p.16) about the perceived fairness of those sustainable options. An overemphasis on individual agencies runs the risk of putting too much of the load and responsibility for change on the shoulders of the 'citizen,' while ignoring the role of governments and huge businesses (Hobson, 2002). Instead, it must be recognized that individuals are part of intricate webs of relationships with other persons and things, and that we must move beyond the individual as the primary agent of action (Singleton, Rask, & G. L. Magnúsdóttir, 2021).

Most responsibility however to achieve a just transition is laid on the different bodies of the EU, often in cooperation with the member states themselves. In this way, the EU will help finance renovations of houses that need to transition to a more efficient use of energy with InvestEU; the supply of around 1 million public recharging and refuelling stations for zero and low emission vehicles; Farmers, fishermen and their families will be supported in their transition to be more sustainable with at least 40% of the total budget of the common agricultural policy and at least 30% of the Maritime Fisheries Fund and provide funding to help Member States to reach increasing the coverage of protected biodiversity-rich land and sea areas building on the Natura 2000 network. In addition there are many regulations that will be provided by different bodies of the EU that aim to aid the transition of different industries and circumstances towards their more sustainable future. These include regulatory work to stop the export of waste outside of the EU; the consideration of legal requirements to boost the market of secondary raw materials with mandatory recycled content; provision of funding to help Member States to reach increasing coverage of protected biodiversity-rich land and sea areas. Building on the Natura 2000 network; a competence framework to help develop and assess knowledge, skills and attitudes on climate change and sustainable development has been put into place. Additionally, “requirements to ensure that all packaging in the EU market is reusable or recyclable in an economically viable manner by 2030 and a regulatory framework for biodegradable and bio-based plastics” as well as the circular economy action plan will be put into place. This will include measures to encourage businesses to offer, and to allow consumers to choose reusable, durable and repairable products (EU Commission, 2019, p.8) . How far, however, the responsibility actually plays out when it comes to application can only be determined at the stage of implementation in the future which makes for interesting further research.

In line with the neoliberal approach the EUGD states that “the environmental ambition” will not be achieved without “[...] massive public investment. Precisely by the direction of private capital towards climate and environmental action.” While acknowledging the EU's responsibility, specifically its ability to influence with expertise and financial resources, the EUGD also acknowledges the responsibility of external parties outside of Europe. It is made clear however that competitiveness and the need for supply stands above efforts to bring

unwilling parties to act: “The environmental ambition of the Green Deal will not be achieved by Europe acting alone. The drivers of climate change and biodiversity loss are global and are not limited by national borders. The EU can use its influence, expertise and financial resources to mobilise its neighbours and partners to join its sustainable path. The EU will continue to lead international efforts and wants to build alliances with the like-minded. It also recognises the need to maintain its security of supply and competitiveness even when others are unwilling to act.” (EU Commission, 2019; p. 2). Similarly, many liberal theories focusing on freedom and participation revolve around materialistic notions that suggest achieving equality by distributing equal material resources as the solution ignoring the ecological effects of unsustainable resource use. This notion is widely represented in the EUGD as it is very much focused on the resource use and a fair distribution of resources and consumer empowerment. However it also emphasized that a lot of resources should be sustainable without further elaboration what that means.

Concludingly, it can be said that in terms of responsibility while there is some responsibility placed on individuals, companies and the Member States, the EU is taking over much of the responsibility to aid the transition with financial schemes and their expertise. In terms of solution approaches the European Green Deal presents approaches that are very much in the neoliberal spirit as most solutions are based on technology, innovation, the accumulation of capital, economic growth and pushing economic competition in and beyond the EU. However, there are also solutions to be noted that suggest a more sustainable approach that supports social equality in terms of monetary support and access to information.

5.2 Sub-Question 2

This section of the discussion aims to answer the second sub-question taking into account the results gained from the document study of the European Green Deal communication document 2019 and the reviewed literature : *To what extent is intersectionality considered in the 2019 European Green Deal's aim for a just sustainable transition that 'leaves no one behind'?*

Social inequality is acknowledged when introducing the Just Transitions Fund. It is acknowledged that “not all Member States, regions and citizens start the transition with the same capacity to respond and that there are vulnerable citizens that due to their social and geographic circumstances are more vulnerable” to the effects of climate change. However, when looking at this with an **intersectional feminist lens, this is not enough to achieve climate justice for all and 'leave no one behind'**(EUCommission, 2019, p. 16).

Firstly, the institutional understandings of social differences in the EUDG are simplistic, with gender and most different social dimensions and their intersections going unrecognised. While it says “The Green Deal is an integral part of this Commission’s strategy to implement the United Nation’s 2030 Agenda and the sustainable development goals and the other priorities announced in President von der Leyen’s political guidelines” gender or even gender

equality as one of the SDGs is not mentioned once (EUCommission, 2019, p.3). Additionally, social categorizations that serve as grounds of exclusion and marginalization intersecting with gender like race, sexuality, disability, age, citizen status, religion or ethnicity are not given any space in the EUGD and are not discussed either.

This lack of acknowledgement and understanding of intersecting social inequalities and therefore the failure of acknowledgement that different people have differing opportunities for action stands in contrast with the aim of offering a just transition for everyone and the promise of fair participation in the transition. In contrary that lack of acknowledgement and further policy framework can lead to what Bee, Rice and Trauger (2015) describe as (the reproduction of) further unequal power relations and therefore is unsuitable to mitigate climate change and ensure environmental justice. This simplicity has ramifications for any climate change action's environmental justice. Environmental justice as a notion arose from a recognition that environmental problems and solutions do not affect all members of society equally.

It is mentioned several times that there is a need for justice and within the transition “At the same time, this transition must be just and inclusive.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.1). Justice and inclusivity are however not further defined in the document. Inclusivity as part of an intersectional framework in terms of the inclusion in the decision-making process, policy-making process of adaptation and mitigation plans, application and assessment is only mentioned in regard to innovation. In the section on energy transition to ensure that ‘no one is left behind’ the EUGD refers to the European Pillar or Social rights as guidance. This is however not further elaborated on. A plan for inclusivity is hinted at in “A new pact is needed to bring together citizens in all their diversity, with national, regional, local authorities, civil society and industry working closely with the EU’s institutions and consultative bodies.” As [the transition] will bring substantial change, active public participation and confidence in the transition is paramount if policies are to work and be accepted as it must put people first, and pay attention to the regions, industries and workers who will face the greatest challenges (EUCommission, 2019).” Hereby, for example, the access to data is mentioned: “Work on climate adaptation should continue to influence public and private investments, including on nature-based solutions. It will be important to ensure that across the EU, investors, insurers, businesses, cities and citizens are able to access data and to develop instruments to integrate climate change into their risk management practices.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.5.). Inclusion into participation can also be detected in the Commission call for stakeholders to use the available platforms to simplify legislation and highlight problematic issues to help it detect and correct anomalies in current legislation. When drafting evaluations, impact assessments, and legislative proposals for the European Green Deal, the Commission proclaims to take these comments into account. Point 4 of the Green Deal focuses on the involvement of the public. In the following quote the example of the importance of public involvement is highlighted:

“The involvement and commitment of the public and of all stakeholders is crucial to the success of the European Green Deal. Recent political events show that game- changing

policies only work if citizens are fully involved in designing them. People are concerned about jobs, heating their homes and making ends meet, and EU institutions should engage with them if the Green Deal is to succeed and deliver lasting change. Citizens are and should remain a driving force of the transition.” (EUCommission, 2019, p.22) By March 2020, the Commission unveiled a European Climate Pact that will focus on three strategies to engage the public in climate action. First, it will promote information sharing, inspiration, and public awareness of the threat and problem of climate change and environmental degradation, as well as strategies for combating them. It will do so through a variety of channels and methods, including events in Member States modelled after the Commission's ongoing public forums. Second, both physical and virtual locations should be available for people to express their creativity and collaborate on big projects, both individually and collectively. Participants would be urged to make explicit commitments to climate action. Third, the Commission will endeavour to increase capacity in order to promote grassroots climate change and environmental protection efforts. Information, guidance, and educational modules may be useful in facilitating the exchange of best practices. It is however not elaborated on further who exactly will face the greatest challenges and why and how exactly those people are being put first and can be supported. If European governance wants to take environmental justice seriously in their climate change efforts, they will need tools not only to protect vulnerable people from exclusion in the transition but also support and offer the possibility of participation in the transition process at every level of governance and implementation. It would be interesting to further research whether the Climate Pact does more to make sure that The EU is able to comprehend the complicated ways in which agency action partially generates and perpetuates social difference with these tools. Likewise, they must recognize that climate action will have complex consequences, which will substantially affect different people in different ways and, as a result, will affect the likelihood of any climate action succeeding.

Additional research could add to this by examining the many power interactions and processes that result in certain representations of social difference. This leaves potential for more intersectional thinking to be integrated into European climate policies, as well as greater collaboration between intersectional researchers and policymakers in the identification of tools that allow for more equitable environmental (and other) policymaking.

While different social categories and their intersection are going unnoticed, it has to be highlighted that the socio-economic status as a vulnerability and disadvantage in the effects of climate and the transitioning process is discussed in the Green Deal with an attempt to aid socio-economically weaker people. This is to be achieved by supporting them in the transition process with the help of, for example, the ‘Just Transition Fund’. Here, the achievement of a higher economic status or at the very least new jobs and the fulfilment of basic needs is put on the forefront. What those basic needs are or how they can be met other than with job relocation and funding mechanism as well as new technological and scientific innovation is not elaborated on. Many liberal theories focusing on freedom and participation revolve

around materialistic notions that suggest achieving equality by implying equal material resources as the solution to ignoring the ecological effects of unsustainable resource use. This notion is widely represented in the EUGD.

Investigating non-western science methods and their inclusion in the European Green Deal and the actions taken from it build an interesting basis for future research. Especially scientific methods that deviate from the notion of climate change science that is the classic masculine logic of positivist value-free and objective knowledge. Hereby the disembodied and masculinist approaches that inform climate change policymaking is failing to understand and acknowledge how power imbalances and injustices are not only an effect of such governance, but also how they reproduce such climate change framing which can be interesting to investigate while the EUGD is translated into action.

Concludingly, the lack of acknowledgement of power relations and patterns of disadvantaging of marginalized groups and individuals in addition to the lack of proper mechanisms to include those in the decision-making process fortifies the climate change problem and can lead to the recreation of patriarchal power imbalances. Furthermore, there is no mentioning on who exactly is affected. Inclusivity is often mentioned regarding (sustainable) economic growth through investment. The absence of those acknowledgements and discussions suggests that people will be left behind.

5.3 Sub-Question 3

This section of the discussion aims to answer the second sub-question taking into account the results gained from the document study of the European Green Deal communication document 2019 and the reviewed literature: What are considerations for a more just transition for of climate governance within the policy arrangements of the European Green Deal in terms of gender and its intersecting social dimensions?

Having reviewed the shortcoming of the European Green Deal's climate governance due to its neoliberalist nature and lack of acknowledgement and inclusion of an intersectional approach in participation and decision-making processes the following section of this discussion will discuss possible considerations of policy that should be included in the policies and actions resulting from the EUGD in the future.

All interviewees emphasized environmental governance that focuses on policymaking that is anti-oppression based. This means the dismantling of racism, capitalism and sexism in society were named as well as colonialism. From the literature reviewed a dismantling of those oppressions would be beneficial in climate governance as it decreases social inequality, and this makes change more possible for everyone and transitions more just (Magnusdottir & Kronsell, 2013).

As previously discussed, a definition of justice could be beneficial to the EUGD as it would give guidance on how justice can be served while transitioning to a carbon neutral European future. According to Nadège Lharaig that means: “That men and women and other gender non-conforming people should have the same rights and not only rights, because rights is one thing, but then also opportunities. [...] They have the same opportunities when it comes to environmental rights and protection and services and opportunities in terms of jobs also.”. Fleur Zantfoort adds to this her idea of justice: “I think it's not a state, but it's [...] a process like this point at which justice is achieved. But it's a way of relating and a way of interacting and something to be working on all the time. [...] And I think it's about like restoring calm, restoring relations.”. Those ideas of justice are very similar in their core to the capability approach used in this thesis by Walker (2009) whereby the capability of individuals and communities to function is of central importance but go further in their approach to not only assure the ability to function but also the right to opportunity and recognition of marginalization.

For further research it would be interesting to find out how the European Union defines environmental justice and social justice in other policy documents, why they are not applied in the EUGD and how they could be integrated in the EUGD and the actions following.

The respondents agreed that attention needs to be paid not only to certain groups that are vulnerable to the changes the EUGD brings but to a broader range of individuals and communities and jobs.

As an example Nadège mentioned the EUGD's support in form of reskilling and funds for coal miners who are according to her mainly eastern European men and the support mechanisms for the energy sectors which also predominantly employ men according to her while other work fields are not even discussed. She adds that she sees the same problem in the agricultural sector where 40% of the EU Budget will be dedicated to the transition, according to the research of the European Bureau Lharaig told that only 16% will go to female farmers reproducing a paternalist vision for farming. From the literature this reproduction of unequal power relations is unsuitable to mitigate climate change and ensure environmental justice as described by Bee, Rice and Trauger (2015).

While Max de Blank emphasizes that although much attention of the policies go to renovation support and energy transition support is often not compatible with people who are not able to buy property and have to rent. Those people then do not have sufficient access to the support proposed in the EUGD while at the same time energy taxes will be raised. Nadège specifies that for example single mothers will be the ones that in the end cannot pay for the increased energy bill, making this a gendered problem that has to be attended to: “And now the EU has a big plan [...] to renovate many buildings and to improve energy efficiency, etc. but and they say it will fight against energy poverty, but they never acknowledged that it's a gender problem. So the solution that we put in place will probably not address that. So it will not be designed to fit this woman's needs while they are the biggest victims of this. And, for example, there's no provision to make sure that after your building is renovated that the rents

don't increase. Because if that's the case [...] these women will not be able to pay for their rent after that. So they will go to other places where there's no energy efficiency, etc.“.

As a result, two of the interviewees advised eco feminist approaches that are focused on more natural based solutions, centring care and well-being. All of the interviewees suggested that there needs to be a systematic approach to gender mainstreaming in all environmental policy. Hereby every aspect of a policy is made more gender sensitive, striving for gender equality. Max de Blank suggests here that policy should be examined and adapted by analyzing who benefits from a certain policy and who does not. This not only benefits gender equality but also supports a more intersectional approach that according to Kaijser and Kronsell (2014) adds alternative knowledge in the formulation of more effective and legitimate climate policy strategies. As intersectional analysis has a normative agenda it also highlights new linkages and positions that can facilitate alliances between voices that are usually marginalised in the dominant (neoliberal) political climate agenda (Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014).

The European Green Deal as a green growth strategy was dismissed by all of the interviewees and declared as insufficient to adapt to and mitigate climate change in a fair manner. According to Lharaig and her team at the European Bureau: “Green growth doesn't exist, and we will not achieve a green transition with green growth!”. Zantfoort added that an approach of degrowth would be more sufficient whereby not only attention is paid to a reduced economy and society “using less” but also a reduction in oppressive systems.

When it comes to the inclusion of marginalized groups Lharaig adds that inclusion can be nurtured by actively seeking council from appropriate groups. Hereby it is important that tokenism is avoided: “there is a tendency to put women or even marginalized groups, racialized people, etc, in representation positions without really acknowledging the power dynamics and how it operates.“.].“ She adds to this “We also need to revise how we do politics, because right now it's very much embedded in toxic masculinity norms and like our hierarchy and that really, you know, working in a collective, etc.. it's more redefining how we do politics and also making sure that [...] all the violent and discriminatory culture in politics doesn't exist anymore. “ While the EUGD suggests several mechanisms that are supposed to include the public there is not much elaboration on this. Zantfoort shares that Extinction Rebellion NL is demanding a citizen assembly mechanism that is representative of the people living in the Netherlands that is supposed to be an inclusive approach to (Dutch) climate governance: “[...] one of the demands of XR is to have a citizens assembly. – [where] idea is that it's representative [of in her case the people of the Netherlands].”

Responsibility should move away from the individual as the individual is often not in a position to act, e.g. people who rent cannot perform renovations or place solar panels on their roofs. Responsibility should be placed on Member State governments, the EU, and companies. However there was also some concerns Zantfoort voiced as in her experience in the climate movement on holding governments accountable for their responsibility: “I still think there's an

understanding that the government is important because they have a lot of power. Now, we do appeal to the government as being responsible. But also understanding that the government is not going to solve anything.” Lharaig argued however responsibility lies at the policy makers in making policy that addresses power relations and acknowledgement of different gender and intersecting problems. Max also argued that climate change is a societal issue and should therefore be solved collectively

6. Conclusion

This thesis has explored to what extent intersectional feminism is taken into account within the European Green Deal policy document from the Commission of the European Union in its aim to seek environmental justice. This is interesting, because the EUGD claims to put people first, to leave no one behind in the transition and in general has big goals such as becoming completely carbon free by 2050.

The EUGD revealed a largely neoliberal approach to climate change governance, which can be detected in its approaches that largely manifest in technocratic solution and an overhaul of the economic system that is supposed to turn the current economic system into an economy promising green growth and the accumulation of capital. Furthermore, the neoliberalist notion of being or becoming a competitor wildly present in the EUGD, standing in the way of productive action for social equality let alone environmental justice in the transition as it is based on the assumption that inequalities are both a fair and favored result of a capitalist process supervised by political authorities. Additionally, it can be said that in terms of responsibility while there is a lot of responsibility placed on individuals, companies and the Member States, **the EU is taking over much of the responsibility to aid the transition with financial schemes and their expertise.** Even though lifestyles do need to change, such a notion demonstrates a simplistic understanding of sustainable behaviour, ignores how social relations and context are critical to the performance of new social practices, and frequently views humans as existing in a social and political circumstance, failing to recognize that people have different opportunities for action. An overemphasis on individual agencies also runs the risk of putting too much of the load and responsibility for change on the shoulders of the 'citizen-consumer', while ignoring the role of governments and huge businesses. Responsibility must be shared and seen as collective action. Instead, it must be recognized by the EU Commission and related bodies, that individuals are part of intricate webs of relationships with other persons and things, and that there must be action past the individual as the primary agent of action. **Furthermore, gendered problems such as energy poverty ask for gendered solutions.** The interplay of all of those elements, rather than the individual activity of any one of them and support schemes that only support one certain group of people, is what makes necessary change possible. An intersectional analysis therefore helps grasping these complex webs of power relations.

Overall, the use of an intersectional lens has shown the following things. To begin with, **the European Green Deal is gender-blind, if not, to put it in the words of Nadèges Lharaig from the EEB: gender harming. Depictions of social differences are very basic, with practically all social dimensions and their intersection going unnoticed.** This simplicity has ramifications for any climate change action's environmental justice. Environmental justice is the recognition that environmental problems and solutions do not affect all members of society equally. Furthermore, environmental justice should not stop at fulfilling basic rights but also

opportunity and the right to be involved in the transition. Likewise, it must be recognized that climate action will have complex consequences, which will substantially affect different people in different ways and, as a result, will likely affect the likelihood of any climate action succeeding. An approach to anti-oppression needs to be included in all policy aspects aiming to dismantle systems of oppressions such as racism, sexism, ableism as well as decolonization. Inclusion can be achieved by actively seeking council from appropriate groups while avoiding tokenism.

This thesis argues that inclusive climate policymaking needs a feminist intersectional approach to acknowledge and combat social difference and justice. A problematizing approach to the categories each agency uses as a starting point is likely to reveal both social features that have been missed as well as potential new forms of climate action. This thesis is a demand for stronger feminist incorporation of intersectional thinking into European climate policies, as well as increased collaboration between intersectional businesses and policymakers in the development of instruments that allow for more equitable environmental (and other) policymaking. Instead of focusing on the neoliberalist approach of economic growth, even when green, focusing on being a global competitor and solving climate related and equality related issues with technocratic solutions only. Instead of eco-feminist approaches that are focused on more natural based solutions, centring care and well-being should be put in the forefront.

The EUGD does show some sensitivity to justice in their policy. However, such concerns were rather superficial and unsystematically addressed; they are affected by the basic agendas of the agencies, which determine what kind of social issues concerns certain jobs and a one one dimensional view on poverty. Nevertheless there is a start, and maybe even willingness, to attend to such issues. As there is also a promise to get into contact with communities and citizens, there is opportunity to engage with policymakers in dialogue on how intersectional aspects can become more central to climate policymaking in the future, possibly with a consequent approach of gender mainstreaming.

6.2 Limitations

While some of the limitations of this thesis were already explored in the discussion a few limitations need to be explored in further detail and are therefore discussed in the following:

Firstly, in the initial research proposal great emphasis was put on 'the everyday' as a concept and theoretical framework in in order to determine the issues and shortcoming of the European Green Deal in regard to this tool of governance impact on gender inequality, embodiment and difference within their lived experience of the governance approach of the Green Deal.

A feminist approach to climate governance investigates how political power is exercised not only through the public organs that receive mainstream attention but also in 'the everyday' decisions in the communities and local governance workers. Much of the decisions in the local environmental governing process have a direct impact on local communities that affect everyday practices of local communities as well as indirect global influence (Bee B. , 2014). For climate governance this means that if one aims to understand the logic behind neoliberal climate governance and its effect on people (and the environment), power imbalances should be explored with the means of the "everyday". For example, gendered power differences are responsible for the construction of people's ability to adapt (and the possibility to mitigate) to climate change. The importance here lies in the notion that the decision to fight and adapt to climate change is dependent on social, economic, and geographical circumstance and situation and not just universally available (Bee B. , 2014).

This however is currently not possible to use this concept for this research. Firstly because the European Green Deal serves at such a macro level and the concept of 'the everyday' is very much on the contrary. Secondly, to research the effects of the EU Green Deal, time has to pass and policies actually have to adapt to match the Green Deal's guidance to measure its effect. Thirdly, the scope of this research did not allow to research such an elaborate operation. The notion of the everyday as an analytical tool helps to locate those spatially and socially and to reveal unequal power relations. It uncovers the effect climate change policy has on the mundane and experience of the everyday. This visibility allows to reimagine how climate change policy is conceived, embodied, enacted and resided often made insignificant by neoliberal approaches. It helps to show climate politics effects on women and reveals limitations and potentialities of particular approaches of the EU Green Deal. Also, it exposes how the shifting of responsibility for climate governance from the state to differently situated people which makes it interesting for research in the future (Bee, Rice, & Trauger, 2015; Magnusdottir & Kronsell, 2013; Kaijser & Kronsell, 2014).

Secondly, from the Interview with Lharaig from the European Bureau it was found out that the EEB in collaboration with 22 other organization published a report which analyses the EUGDs short comings in terms of genders and their intersections with other social dimensions on July the 16th 2021. This report also continue suggestions to make the EUGD and its plan to for the transition fairer and more possible for marginalized people and communities. For further research it would be interesting to analyze this report, compare the results and see how they complement each other. Generally, this report would have benefitted this thesis by a broader range of recommendations, which is why a study of the report would fill those gaps and limitations in terms of information, but also validity and reliability.

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8 Appendices

Appendix I Interview Guide

22.06.2021 10:30h via Teams

In order to be able to answer the main question, in addition to desk research and policy analysis, interviews are conducted. Through four semi-structured interviews with policy makers, activism coordinators and urban ecologists, I want to find out how policy is developed and implemented and what is asked from government in terms of policy change and adaptation. The results will help to give a basic understanding on what needs to be included in policy to make the European Green Deal more inclusive in terms of gender and its intersections to aim for a more just transition.

Ethics: Participation in this interview is voluntary and if there are certain questions that the interviewee does not want to answer during this interview, he/she/they can indicate this. Beforehand, the interviewee is asked whether he/she /they agrees to recording the audio portion of this interview to be able to transcribe and analyze the interview.

The privacy of the interviewee is very important, and some information or data may be confidential or sensitive, so to ensure their privacy their name will not be mentioned in the transcript or elsewhere in the report if that is desired. The recordings are securely stored until the thesis is completed, after which they will be permanently deleted. The recordings are therefore not stored or shared with the university or any other organization.

- Recording Agreement check
- Explanation interview -> purpose of research -> use of the data
- Duration of the interview
- Participation is voluntary, interviewee can stop at any time or not answer certain questions
- Explain possible anonymity and assurance of secure data handling
- Ask whether the interviewee is interested in the results of the research
- Answer any questions from the interviewee before the interview starts

Questions:

1. Can you tell me a little about yourself and your work?

A need for justice or “a just transition” is mentioned a lot in the EU Green Deal. The meaning of justice in this context is however never defined.

2. From **your** point of view what does environmental justice mean for you?

While promising a “just transition” that “leaves no one behind” the European Green Deal does not mention gender, gender equality nor the intersections of any social dimension once.

3. What needs to be included to make policy more gender sensitive to support a just transition?

While there is an approach to include stakeholders by calling them to use the available platforms to simplify legislation and highlight problematic issues to help it detect and correct anomalies in current legislation, the plan for this is very superficial and does not mention power dynamics.

4. What are some conditions to promote fair collaboration/participation in climate governance that is gender and intersectionality friendly?

In neo-liberalist policy responsibility for action and change is often placed on the individual, many feminist scholars criticize this approach as it ignores social inequality and marginalization.

5. Where should responsibility for action be placed and how it can be distributed with gender equality in mind?

Appendix II List of codes as in Atlas.ti

ATLAS.ti Report

Mila Thesis 2021 Master European Greenddeal

Codes

Report created by Mila Eberhard on 23 Jul 2021

- acknowledgement
- acknowledgement: inclusivity
- acknowledgement: intersectionality
- acknowledgement: justice
- acknowledgement: social inequality
- Interview: anti oppression
- Interview: EEB report
- Interview: Gender mainstreaming
- Interview: Growth/Degrowth
- Interview: Inclusion
- Interview: intersectionality
- Interview: Justice
- Interview: Responsibility
- Responsibility
- Responsibility: lies at EU level
- Responsibility: lies externally
- Responsibility: lies with companies
- Responsibility: lies with private investors
- Responsibility: lies with the individual
- Responsibility: Member States
- Solution approach
- Solution approach: Accumulation of capital
- Solution approach: Competitiveness
- Solution approach: Economic Growth
- Solution approach: social equality(as described in the SDGs)
- Solution approach: Technological innovation

