


WOMEN'S REPRESENTATION IN CLIMATE CHANGE EFFORTS IN INDONESIA

Wulan Fitriana 

Alumni of Master of Business and State Law, Faculty of Law, Gadjah Mada University, Indonesia

Corresponding address: wulanfitriana@mail.ugm.ac.id

ORCID: [0000-0001-5536-3720](https://orcid.org/0000-0001-5536-3720)

Umar Mubdi

Doctorate Student, Faculty of Law, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Indonesia

Doctorate Student, Doctoral School of Law and Political Sciences, University of Szeged, Hungary

Corresponding address: umubdi25@ugm.ac.id

ORCID: [0009-0004-1470-9747](https://orcid.org/0009-0004-1470-9747)

DOI: [10.47272/KIKPhD.2026.1.1](https://doi.org/10.47272/KIKPhD.2026.1.1)

ABSTRACT

Climate change is an intertwined issue with implications on the enjoyment of human rights and social justice. Female members in Indonesia are more vulnerable due to their linkage with certain industries and sectors which are exposed to climate change. This article explores the issues of legal politics associated with representation of women in climate change policies in Indonesia, as well as provides suggestions regarding the policy framework to secure representation of women in a transformative way. This research is conducted on a doctrinal approach to the problem based on legislation and conceptual frameworks, as well as best practices of other developing countries. According to the results of the analysis of literature sources, there are no doubts about the strong commitment of Indonesia to its constitution and other international instruments. However, at the same time, there is evidence that the process of formulating climate change policy in Indonesia is gender-neutral and sectoral. Thus, a gender transformative adaptation policy paradigm becomes crucial for the success of climate change and sustainability policy.

KEYWORDS

Climate change; women's representation; legal politics; climate justice; sustainable development.

ARTICLE HISTORY

SUBMITTED 15 Febr 2026 | REVISED 1 March 2026 | ACCEPTED 5 March 2026

I. Introduction

The climate change today has been regarded as the multi-faceted problem which goes beyond ecological impacts but influences other spheres including economic, political, social, and even the sphere of human rights.¹ Climate change does not impact all people equally but rather operates through already existing social differences. Women's communities in such developing countries as Indonesia are especially vulnerable in terms of climate change consequences.² It can be happened since women's socioeconomic and cultural activities rely on those sectors of economy most affected by the climate crisis, including farming, fishing, foresting, healthcare and natural resources management.³

To solve the climate crisis, the world community has introduced the sustainable development goals (SDGs) in 2015 when climate change mitigation was recognized as a strategy inseparable from gender equality. In the context of SDGs, climate change is viewed not only as an environmental issue, but as a question of climate justice which implies integrative solutions from the point of human rights.⁴ Women, who have been considered as victims of climate change, can act as powerful agents for climate adaptation and mitigation since they possess significant experience and knowledge. Recent changes include major transformations regarding the engagement of women in tackling climate change issues in Indonesia at the normative level. In this respect, for example, the Indonesian government has addressed the matter of women's participation in dealing with climate change through several policies and strategies. In particular, one can consider the plan and strategy called "National Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change (RAN-GPI)" 2024-2030, as it is based on international commitments such as the Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) and SDGs.⁵ In particular, the policy states that the involvement of women in climate change initiatives should be increased through equal access to the benefits of such interventions in certain key areas, amongst other approaches.

-
- ¹ Colin Hickey, 'Climate Justice and Informal Representation' (2022) 36(2) Ethics & International Affairs 179.
 - ² Risky Oktavian and Tasya Avriela, 'Ekofeminisme dan Kontribusi Perempuan dalam Transformasi Iklim pada Forum G20 di Indonesia' (2024) 10(2) Jurnal Sosial dan Politik 186.
 - ³ Hikmatul Akbar and others, *Jejak Perempuan dalam Upaya Mitigasi Lingkungan Global* (LPPM UPN 'Veteran' Yogyakarta Press 2022).
 - ⁴ Wassim Benayed and others, 'Does the Energy Transition Pay Off? The Impact of Renewable Energy Adoption and SDG Integration in MENA Firms' (2026) Management & Sustainability: An Arab Review (advance online publication) <https://doi.org/10.1108/MSAR-10-2025-0422>
 - ⁵ Akbar and others (n 3).

However, the normative reinforcement has yet to turn into substantive representation in practice. In terms of its national and global aspects, women begin to participate in the forums where climate decision-making processes occur, even in international diplomacy involving the G20, W20, and C20.⁶ Nonetheless, in regard to the regional and village levels where there is an effect of climate change, the representation of women is still quite low. The number of women leaders at the village level is around 5.5% and the process of climate change planning and decision-making processes is still done by men.⁷ This situation shows the gap between the policy at the center and the implementation at the grassroots level. On the other hand, many sectoral policies do start to give certain numbers for the representation of women, such as at least 30% participation in female facilitators in social forestry,⁸ and at least 30% women's involvement in Destana.⁹ Without proper institutional mechanism, however, the above-mentioned method is prone to produce representation which is symbolic, administrative, and unequal towards women as the subject of decision making.

There are several factors which are structural and policy-based that inhibit the involvement of women in the process of taking actions for the climate. These factors include deep-rooted patriarchal norms regarding gender roles, gender stereotypes, lack of sex-disaggregated data, as well as the adoption of technocratic and paternalistic policies in climate policy-making.¹⁰ Hence, women become viewed as passive receivers of empowerment interventions and as the representatives of marginalised communities rather than independent actors with the capacity of initiating and driving change.¹¹ Women's participation in natural resource governance and climate policy making processes is therefore still very limited.¹² The empirical evidence shows however that women are important players in environmental protection and combating climate change issues. The example from Indonesia shows how ecofeminism works and how women fight to protect their

⁶ Andi Misbahul Pratiwi and others, 'Memahami Kerentanan, Mendorong Kepemimpinan, dan Mengupayakan Keadilan: Analisis Kebijakan Feminis terhadap Rencana Aksi Adaptasi Iklim Jawa Tengah dan Kabupaten Demak' (2025) 29(3) *Jurnal Perempuan* 221.

⁷ Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (KP3A), *Rencana Aksi Nasional Gender dan Perubahan Iklim (RAN-GPI) 2024–2030* (KemenPPPA 2024).

⁸ Akbar and others (n 3).

⁹ KP3A (n 7).

¹⁰ Andi Misbahul Pratiwi, Katie McQuaid and Robert M Vanderbeck, 'Gender, Vulnerability, and Power in Indonesia's Climate Policies' (2026) *Climate Policy* (advance online publication) <https://doi.org/10.1080/14693062.2026.2645652>

¹¹ KP3A (n 7); Akbar and others (n 3).

¹² *ibid.*

rights. Women in Kendeng are involved in protecting themselves from the extraction of water by opposing the extractive practice and fighting for food security through the use of indigenous systems of knowledge.¹³

From this perspective, women's empowerment in climate change policies in Indonesia goes beyond mere numerical representation. There should be a paradigm shift in the legal political sphere from the gender-neutral model to the affirmative model in order to achieve substantive women's participation in the entire process of formulating, deciding, implementing, and evaluating climate change policies.¹⁴ Within this context, this paper analyzes the political orientation of women's representation in climate change policies in Indonesia, as well as its necessary policy designs to guarantee substantive women's representation as the basis of climate justice and sustainable development.

II. Methodology

In this study, the doctrinal legal research methodology will be employed. It involves the study of law as a written norm, to examine the legal provisions, principles, and doctrines that regulate the participation of women in the climate change policy formulation process in Indonesia. This evaluation will be done using both the statute and conceptual approaches, where international and national laws and regulations related to the topic, such as the Constitution of 1945, climate change, and human rights international treaties, national laws, and regulations, among others, will be reviewed. The legal sources that will be utilized include both primary and secondary legal sources. Primary legal sources comprise international agreements, legislation, and policies on climate change and gender mainstreaming. Secondary legal sources consist of scientific literature, opinions of experts, and legal doctrines on gender justice, climate justice, and legal politics. The entire set of legal sources will undergo qualitative analysis through descriptive-analytical analysis methodology in order to determine the direction of legal politics, reveal normative gaps and weaknesses, and provide necessary legal policy designs to achieve substantive women's representation in climate change mitigation and adaptation in Indonesia.

¹³ Pratiwi and others (n 6).

¹⁴ Georgina Waylen, 'Enhancing the Substantive Representation of Women: Lessons from Transitions to Democracy' (2008) 61(3) *Parliamentary Affairs* 518.

III. The Legal Politics of Women's Representation in Climate Change Policy in Indonesia

The politics of law concerning the inclusion of women in climate change policies in Indonesia is at an important transitional period, which means the move from a gender-neutral policy to a gender-responsive policy, even up to initiating the nature-gender paradigm shift.¹⁵ It is evident that there is an understanding that gender-blind climate policies will never address the existing inequality that women face due to access to resources, the power to make decisions, and the effects of climate change on them.¹⁶ In the latter paradigm, climate justice involves not only successful results but also processes of achieving sustainability through human rights, gender equality, and empowerment of women.¹⁷

In terms of philosophy and ideology, increasing the presence of women in climate change policies is founded on the value of Pancasila, specifically on the Fifth Principle of Pancasila which obligates all Indonesian people to have social justice. The idea of social justice requires that any public policy, whether it pertains to environmental or climate change policies, considers the inequalities faced by certain people in reality and ensures equitable allocation of development opportunities.¹⁸ The philosophic foundation gained legal recognition from Articles 28H paragraph (1) and 28I paragraph (2) of the Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia which states that each person is entitled to an adequate and healthy environment and prohibits discrimination in any form. These articles not only encompass the neutrality of the state, but they also allow for affirmative action in order to protect and actively involve vulnerable groups such as women in climate policies.¹⁹

The constitutional requirement was then reduced in Law No. 32 of 2009 on Environmental Protection and Management, amended by Law No. 6 of 2023. It states that public participation is one of the principles of environmental management as stated in Article 70 where there will be equal rights and opportunities for the public to participate actively. Nevertheless, the provision regarding public participation remains procedural and is gender-neutral without any norms ensuring female participation in the policy process of climate change

¹⁵ KP3A (n 7).

¹⁶ Daniel Stockemer, 'Women's Descriptive Representation in Developed and Developing Countries' (2015) 36(4) *International Political Science Review* 393.

¹⁷ Pragya Nagpal and Shashank Tomar, 'Impact of Women Participation in Climate Change/Environmental Protection' (2022) 5(4) *International Journal of Law Management & Humanities* 138.

¹⁸ Pratiwi and others (n 6).

¹⁹ Akbar and others (n 3).

formulation, decision-making, and implementation. The existence of this condition means that environmental law politics in Indonesia are only about procedural participation, not substantive participation.

In international politics, the politics of law related to women participation in issues of climate change received more legitimacy with the help of The United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) regime and cross-regime approach such as The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, and Paris Agreement signed in 2015.²⁰ In particular, Paris Agreement notes that it is crucial to improve capacity and increase adaptation to climate change effects. With regard to the norms, it implies that needs of the most vulnerable groups must be taken into account, namely women. In particular, it is worth noting that Paris Agreement has no legal consequences, yet the commitments under NDCs possess much political and moral significance.

As Indonesia is a signatory to the UNFCCC, Paris Agreement, and CEDAW that Indonesia ratifies through Law Number 7 Year 1984, Indonesia has a legal responsibility to ensure that its policies relating to climate change adhere to the principle of eliminating discrimination against women. This commitment is then translated in Indonesia into various policy instruments such as Presidential Instruction Number 9 Year 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming as the starting point for mainstreaming gender perspectives in development sectors; ratification of the Paris Agreement in Law Number 16 Year 2016; and Presidential Regulation Number 98 Year 2021 which regulates the mechanism of implementing carbon economic value by endorsing the principle of gender equality in the formulation of national climate resilience targets. The latest efforts can be seen in the National Action Plan on Gender and Climate Change (RAN-GPI) 2024-2030 which serves as a strategic instrument to facilitate full participation and benefit for women in climate change actions at the national and regional levels.

On the other hand, in practice, there are still major barriers to women’s participation in climate change policy decision-making processes. First of all, the process of formulating policies on all levels remains dominated by males.²¹ In consultation sessions, technical organizations, and the hierarchical organization of power, there is still an overwhelming number of men.²² The first and foremost

²⁰ KP3A (n 7).

²¹ Akbar and others (n 3).

²² *ibid.*



barrier to implementation is related to the local government level as the primary sphere where actions to mitigate and adapt to climate change occur. At this level, the decision-making process is not yet completed within an organizational framework which is not fully capable, meaning that women are marginalized despite bearing considerable social and ecological responsibilities.²³

The state has actually set a number of positive goals in some sectors to ensure greater inclusion of women. But the use of sector-based administrative goals without the backing of an effective institutional mechanism may simply ensure that women remain on paper and that there is no transformation in the power dynamics in decision-making about climate policy.²⁴ Without any effective institutional mechanisms, proper monitoring, and adequate resources, the goal may remain confined to the administrative process. Moreover, the framing of the policy in the regional context still tends to look at women as vulnerable sections in times of disasters requiring empowerment rather than agents of change who can take initiative using their adaptation knowledge and leadership skills.²⁵

Efforts have been made to close this gap by incorporating some strategies into the legal climate change policy in Indonesia. One of these strategies is the use of the Gender-Responsive Planning and Budgeting approach, even using a double budget tagging strategy at the ministries or organizations involved to ensure the existence of particular funding related to the participation of women.²⁶ Moreover, there is the implementation of the quota strategy in education, training, and strategic placement in relation to green technology and climate change innovation, as well as the improvement of gender-disaggregated data as a basis for policymaking.²⁷

Indonesian politics regarding women's inclusion within climate policies have finally embraced a more gender-responsive strategy, yet it is currently undergoing a process of transition. In the future, the problem that will face Indonesian law does not lie within the lack of normative commitment, but rather in ensuring that women's participation becomes substantial and transformative rather than merely symbolic. It is essential that such changes occur since otherwise, it would render any

²³ Sally White and others, 'Voting against Women: Political Patriarchy, Islam, and Representation in Indonesia' (2024) 20(2) *Politics & Gender* 391.

²⁴ Rowena Maguire and Bridget Lewis, 'Women, Human Rights and the Global Climate Regime' (2018) 9(1) *Journal of Human Rights and the Environment* 51.

²⁵ Lucy McAllister, Amanda Magee and Benjamin Hale, 'Women, E-Waste, and Technological Solutions to Climate Change' (2014) 16(1) *Health and Human Rights* 166.

²⁶ KP3A (n 7).

²⁷ Maguire and Lewis (n 24).

attempts at strengthening the regulation ineffective in attaining climate justice and sustainability.

IV. Implementation, Challenges, and the Impact of Non-Inclusive Climate Change Policies on Women

The implementation of policies relating to climate change in Indonesia remains problematic due to structural and cultural issues. Normatively speaking, Indonesia has been able to develop a relatively progressive policy approach by ratifying several international laws and integrating them in the Nationally Determined Contributions. However, in reality, there is a gap between the goals of such policies and their implementation. The lack of inclusion of these policies has an effect on making women more vulnerable in different facets of life.

Based on the empirical evidence, national GHG emissions continue to be increasing significantly. In 2019, national GHG emissions in Indonesia were found to increase at an annual average rate of 4.32%.²⁸ Forest sector contributed the highest share with 50%, followed by the energy sector 34%, wastes sector 7%, agricultural and plantation 6%, and industrial process and product use (IPPU) sectors which include household 3%.²⁹ The aggregate rise in GHG emissions has proved that Indonesia is indeed dealing with the climate emergency which arises due to the sustainability of its development model based on the exploitation of its natural resources and fossil fuels.

This is well illustrated by the size of the country's contribution to emissions on a global scale. For instance, Indonesia was responsible for producing approximately 1.24 Gt of CO₂e in 2022, representing an estimated 2.3% share in total emissions across the globe, thus making it one of the ten countries that emit the most greenhouse gases in the world.³⁰ The two-sided nature in which the country finds itself is due to the relevance of Indonesia in global climate governance while at the same time being subjected to greater attention from the world.

²⁸ Lulu Kurniarahma, Lorentino Togar Laut and Panji Kusuma Prasetyanto, 'Analisis Faktor-Faktor Yang Mempengaruhi Emisi CO₂ di Indonesia' (2020) 2(2) *Journal of Economic* 369.

²⁹ Pusat Data dan Teknologi Informasi Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral, Kementerian Energi dan Sumber Daya Mineral, *Inventarisasi Emisi GRK Bidang Energi* (Kementerian ESDM 2020) 29 <<https://www.esdm.go.id/assets/media/content/content-inventarisasi-emisi-gas-rumah-kaca-sektor-energi-tahun-2020.pdf>> accessed 27 October 2025.

³⁰ Indonesia Environment Energy Center, 'Indonesia Sumbang 2,3% Global Emisi Global' (2024) <<https://environment-indonesia.com/indonesia-sumbang-23-emisi-global-lebih-tinggi-dari-jepang-hingga-industri-penyumbang-emisi-tertinggi/>> accessed 27 October 2025.

Regarding the process of implementation, the major hindrances in this aspect emerge in connection with certain specific factors. In the first place, regional strategies for climate change mitigation and adaptation remain based on a technocratic approach, which fails to recognize the significance of women's knowledge and experience gained in addressing such an issue.³¹ The representatives of this gender group continue to be considered passive subjects of the program implementation and training process, whereas in fact they constitute active subjects of knowledge and climate management experience.

The second challenge lies in the implementation of these policies, which is limited due to the lack of disaggregated data based on gender, age, and disability.³² The lack of such data prevents the development of evidence-based policies that are able to address women's needs. Consequently, women's needs in the impacted industries like agriculture, fishing, and healthcare sectors are neglected when planning, budgeting, and assessing the impact of climate change policies. The third barrier pertains to the existing patriarchal culture that hampers women's involvement in critical decision-making processes concerning the use of natural resources.³³ For instance, the social forestry practice entails administrative procedures whereby permits must be made in the name of male household members.

Fourthly, insufficient coordination among ministries and institutions, as well as central and regional governments, contributes to the fragmented nature of climate policies.³⁴ This is further compounded by the low capacity of development planning structures in incorporating gender considerations in an effective manner in climate change policies. Gender mainstreaming ends up being confined to policy documents rather than being integrated into decision-making processes and policy implementation at the grassroots level.

The lack of inclusivity in climate change policies has implications for women at different levels.³⁵ Legally, the marginalization of women in representation is likely to place Indonesia in a situation where it fails to meet its international responsibilities under the Paris Agreement and CEDAW, which Indonesia has already ratified under Law Number 7 of 1984. Furthermore, the absence of gender

³¹ Akbar and others (n 3).

³² *ibid.*

³³ *ibid.*

³⁴ *ibid.*

³⁵ Johannes Kruse, 'Women's Representation in the UN Climate Change Negotiations: A Quantitative Analysis of State Delegations, 1995–2011' (2014) 14(4) *International Environmental Agreements: Politics, Law and Economics* 349.

considerations in policies that have a gendered dimension may amount to discrimination and exclusion from meaningful participation in public affairs under Article 28I of the Constitution and Article 65 paragraph (2) of the Environmental Protection and Management Law, thereby undermining the legitimacy of the state.

In any case, from the socio-economic angle, the consequences of such changes are more pronounced when analyzed within industries. In the case of agriculture, the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) states that women make up the bulk of those employed in this sector in Indonesia, occupying between 40-50% of this group.³⁶ Moreover, this sector is one of the most susceptible to climate change owing to changes in temperature and precipitation patterns. According to the World Bank, climate change will cause a 9% decrease in the agricultural output by 2030.³⁷ The effect on health of mothers and their offspring, who are particularly dependent on women, is that the latter will face increased vulnerability to diseases as a result of poor nutrition and food insecurity.

Vulnerabilities that are similar in nature have been identified in the fisheries sector. According to BRIN, there is an expected decrease in fishery production by up to 30% in several coastal regions caused by global warming and ecological degradation.³⁸ On average, about 42% of workers in the fisheries sector are women.³⁹ Apart from the threat posed to household earnings, the reduction in production levels leads to women in coastal regions seeking alternative means of earning a living, especially when faced with scarce financial resources and lack of skills.

Within the health industry, climate change presents itself with a multidimensional effect which has a greater impact on women. Several studies indicate the rise in prevalence of vector borne diseases like dengue fever and malaria,

³⁶ Mella Syaftiani, 'FAO Luncurkan Kampanye Untuk Akhiri Bias Gender dalam Pertanian di Afrika' (Kajian Organisasi Internasional, 9 April 2020) <<https://koinupn.wixsite.com/home/post/faoluncurkan-kampanye-untuk-akhiri-bias-gender-dalam-pertanian-di-afrika>> accessed 8 November 2025.

³⁷ World Bank Group, *Country Climate and Development Report* (World Bank 2023) <<https://openknowledge.worldbank.org/entities/publication/c6b1d872-f487-4579-be3a-3cb6ba55dffa>> accessed 8 November 2025.

³⁸ Ibnu Budiman, Dita Wisudyawati and Affifah Azzahra, 'Penyebab dan Dampak Ekologis Dari Susut Hasil Produksi Ikan di Indonesia' in Khairul Amri, Husain Latuconsina and Riesti Triyanti (eds), *Pengelolaan Sumber Daya Perikanan Laut Berkelanjutan* (Penerbit BRIN 2023) 95.

³⁹ WRI Indonesia, '3 Alasan Kenapa Perempuan Nelayan Memainkan Peran Penting untuk Pemulihan Ekonomi yang Inklusif' (WRI Indonesia, 20 November 2020) <<https://wri-indonesia.org/id/wawasan/3-alasan-kenapa-perempuan-nelayan-memainkan-peran-penting-untuk-pemulihan-ekonomi-yang>> accessed 9 November 2025.

air borne diseases like ISPA and pneumonia as well as water borne diseases and nutritional deficiency disorders. This was further worsened by the realization that women are at a greater health risk compared to men ranging between 15-20%.⁴⁰ These include health risks related to pregnancy, childbirth as well as newborns. Aside from the physical effects, the climate crisis also brings about stress and psychological disorders due to financial instability within the household.

Moreover, climate policies with inclusivity also lead to an increase in violence against women, a vicious circle of household debts, reduction in the availability of education for girls, and inequity in the tenure rights system.⁴¹ This indicates that climate change policies that lack proper consideration for women's representation can exacerbate the current existing disparities. Therefore, it can be stated that if there is no transformation of symbolic women's representation into substantive women's representation within the policies on climate change in Indonesia, such climate policies not only stand the chance of failing to deliver on their intended purposes, but they will also contribute to further exclusion of marginalized communities. It can be argued from an ecofeminist and sustainable development perspective that ecological sustainability cannot be achieved without social justice.

V. Comparative Learning from Developing Countries

The comparative experience of several developing nations, particularly those in the Global South, indicates that gender considerations are not only about gender equality but are important elements in making climate change policies and interventions successful. Through their experience, it is clear that when women are made central actors rather than merely passive recipients, climate policies can become more sustainable and effective. Therefore, through this analysis, it is evident that there is a concrete foundation that gender-sensitive climate change laws can correlate directly to improved environmental policy outcomes.⁴²

⁴⁰ UNICEF, *Data dan Informasi Dampak Perubahan Iklim Sektor Kesehatan Berbasis Bukti di Indonesia* (UNICEF 2023)

<<https://www.unicef.org/indonesia/media/17191/file/Data%20dan%20Informasi%20Dampak%20Perubahan%20Iklim%20Sektor%20Kesehatan%20Berbasis%20Bukti%20di%20Indonesia.pdf>> accessed 24 October 2025.

⁴¹ Bushra Mushtaq, 'Analysing the Productive Mechanism of Human Capital in Pakistan: New Insights from Women's Empowerment' (2026) *Asia Pacific Journal of Innovation and Entrepreneurship* (advance online publication) <https://doi.org/10.1108/APJIE-02-2024-0018>

⁴² Hongseok Lee, 'Does Increasing Racial Minority Representation Contribute to Overall Organizational Performance? The Role of Organizational Mission and Diversity Climate' (2019) 49(4) *The American Review of Public Administration* 454.

In the same vein, some developing nations have resorted to structural methods through affirmative action to enhance the participation of women, particularly as a consequence of post-conflict reconstruction and the democratic process. For instance, a 30% mandatory gender quota was established by the 2003 Constitution of Rwanda, which then became the nation boasting of one of the highest levels of female political representation.⁴³ With the substantial number of women in parliament, it was possible to formulate strategic policy changes such as granting of equal land ownership rights and promoting the utilization of renewable energy sources in rural areas.⁴⁴ Similarly, in Afghanistan and Iraq, constitutional mechanisms were enacted requiring at least 25% female parliamentary representation within the democratization processes of those nations.⁴⁵ On the other hand, while no strict constitutional requirement exists for gender parity in political representation in the Philippines and Uzbekistan, their substantial delegation of women representatives to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP) talks clearly indicated an understanding of the fact that climate change diplomacy needs to consider gender perspectives for credibility.⁴⁶

Empowerment through land and natural resource rights is another key lesson that will help climate resilience. Despite the fact that women in Nigeria carry out about 70-80 percent of agricultural labor in rural areas, their official land ownership is less than 20 percent.⁴⁷ Empowering women by allocating land has been found to promote sustainable agricultural systems, improve welfare, and adapt to climate change in many ways. Evidence from both Cameroon and Nepal indicates that giving women rights to officially control community lands as members of community forest groups leads to more forest cover and economic stability within communities.⁴⁸ Indeed, women-run forest businesses have become the main contributors to community economy as well as conservation in Nepal. Women in India have shown their ability to rehabilitate land and bring prosperity in a practical

⁴³ Melanie M Hughes, 'Armed Conflict, International Linkages, and Women's Parliamentary Representation in Developing Nations' (2009) 56(1) *Social Problems* 174.

⁴⁴ John Högström, 'Women's Representation in National Politics in the World's Democratic Countries: A Research Note' (2012) 33(3) *Journal of Women, Politics & Policy* 263.

⁴⁵ Yvonne Galligan, 'Bringing Women In: Global Strategies for Gender Parity in Political Representation' in Julie Ballington and Azza Karam (eds), *Gender Quotas in Politics* (Routledge/International IDEA 2005).

⁴⁶ Kruse (n 35).

⁴⁷ Cate Baskin, *Empowering Women's Land Rights as a Pathway to Climate Justice* (Policy Brief, Oxfam International 2018).

⁴⁸ Nagpal and Tomar (n 17).

manner by leasing some critical lands and rehabilitating about 700 ha of degraded land using sustainable farming in just three years.⁴⁹

Apart from these formal policies, the substantial role played by women has also been highlighted in the form of grassroots movements and innovations. The Green Belt Movement in Kenya spearheaded by Wangari Maathai not only managed to plant millions of trees in order to combat deforestation and soil erosion but also provided economic empowerment to women at the household level.⁵⁰ Energia's campaigns in several African nations have indicated that when women participate in designing and implementing renewable energy sources, the output is consistent with the needs of society, such as efficiency and saving domestic effort.⁵¹ Women-run cooperatives in Malawi using solar-powered greenhouses are capable of producing high-value agricultural produce all year round.⁵²

The second lesson that can be drawn involves attempts at integrating gender in national climate policy formulation. As a highly climate-vulnerable nation, Bangladesh produced a Gender and Climate Change Action Plan that takes into account the increased labor burden of women because of male migration and provides for gender-based evacuation measures during disasters.⁵³ Mauritania has been involving women in decision making concerning food security and sustainability under pressure from climate issues.⁵⁴ Uganda and Tanzania are currently in the process of formulating their CRV strategies by incorporating gender-disaggregated data at all levels of governance, thereby identifying vulnerabilities among women regarding food security and household economics.

However, experience gained in other developing countries such as Latin American countries, including Panama, Colombia, and Brazil, shows that problems of gender inequality have been mostly left unresolved.⁵⁵ Women in Latin America still have to bear the responsibility of invisible work in climate cooperation, where they perform social mediation, conflict resolution among community members, and networking, which are very important for the successful implementation of any

⁴⁹ *ibid.*

⁵⁰ *ibid.*

⁵¹ Akbar and others (n 3).

⁵² Shinu Vig, 'Climate Change and Mental Health of Women in Developing Countries' (2025) 178(6) *Climatic Change* 118.

⁵³ KP3A (n 7).

⁵⁴ Ryan Jeremiah D Quan, 'Securing Women's Rights amid the Changing Climate' (2015) 60 *Ateneo Law Journal* 98.

⁵⁵ Gabriela Alonso Yáñez and Lily House-Peters, 'Identifying the (Gendered) Elephants in the Room: Women's Invisible Work within Transdisciplinary Climate Change and Sustainability Efforts' (2017) 87 *Geoforum* 1.

sustainable development programs. Invisible work is never officially recognized or remunerated even though it plays an extremely crucial role in climate policy.⁵⁶

On the whole, cross-cultural studies from developing nations illustrate the extent to which the effectiveness of climate change laws is contingent on changing the status of women from passive sufferers to active agents of change. The evidence from the international sphere suggests that providing women equal access to land ownership, technology, resources, and decision-making roles ensures adaptability, sustainability, and equity in climate policies. This empirical evidence provides an adequate comparative foundation for Indonesia to move beyond the normative and administrative aspects of climate change law and focus on women as strategic actors.

VI. Policy Design Needed to Accommodate Women's Representation in Climate Change Efforts

Designing climate change policies in the way that recognizes women's representation within Indonesia is not enough when it is still done under the premise of a gender-neutral perspective. This gender-neutral perspective is highly vulnerable since the presence of structural inequality will result in the replication of substantive injustice.⁵⁷ The way out of this dilemma would be to direct climate policies towards the *gender transformative adaptation* perspective.⁵⁸ The idea behind it lies not only in increasing women's participation in numbers but also in addressing changes in structures that prevent women from being active agents in climate decisions.

First, policy design should focus on increasing the ability of women in leadership.⁵⁹ This requires changing women's status from being just an object or a victim to becoming a subject and agent of change which is only possible with the introduction of affirmative policies that support women's leadership. Introduction of the quota system for women in order to participate in decision-making at the international, national, and local levels is one way to address structural underrepresentation. It should not be treated as the end of the story but merely as a means to achieve women's agency. Thus, climate policies should be complemented with capacity building measures such as women leadership training and negotiation skill training as well as expertise on green technologies, agronomy, and climate risks. Moreover, women led CSOs must be acknowledged as policy makers who have

⁵⁶ *ibid.*

⁵⁷ Akbar and others (n 3).

⁵⁸ Pratiwi and others (n 6).

⁵⁹ *ibid.*



legitimate grounds for their inclusion in planning, implementing, and evaluating climate actions at national and regional levels.⁶⁰

Second, gender representation has to be institutionally incorporated through integration into the development planning and budgeting process.⁶¹ Gender mainstreaming into climate change policy cannot just exist as a standalone sectoral document but must be aligned with major planning documents. The integration should be reinforced by performance indicators that assess women's involvement and contribution to the policies in relation to climate change policies. In terms of budgeting, Gender Responsive Planning and Budgeting (PPRG) must be implemented using the double budget tagging scheme to ensure that the budget for climate change actions indeed benefits women.⁶²

Third, gender transformation policies can only be effective where there is a good database disaggregated by gender, age, and disability.⁶³ In the absence of a database that can break down these details, climate policy stands a chance of not being able to identify the specific vulnerabilities and needs of women. Thus, it is imperative for policy formulation to include the requirement that disaggregated data be provided for all strategic sectors concerning climate change. These sectors include agriculture, energy, forestry, marine, and health among others. In addition to this, it goes without saying that intersectionality should not be taken lightly in understanding the link between gender and other factors such as poverty, place, and class. This is because without it, gender-sensitive policies would still be subject to generalization.

Fourth, climate policy designs should be highly involved in addressing the problems that arise from the changes in the tenurial rights and the use of natural resources.⁶⁴ Studies have revealed that the lack of representation of women with regards to tenure rights to land, forests, and water bodies is one of the major barriers to adaptation to climate change in developing countries. It is therefore clear that reforming tenure rights plays a pivotal role in ensuring that there is development of gender-sensitive climate change policy. Climate policy designs must ensure that the rights of women to fishery lands and areas are recognized in order for them to own resources and get support during adaptation to climate change, climate insurance,

⁶⁰ *ibid.*

⁶¹ Akbar and others (n 3); KP3A (n 7).

⁶² *ibid.*

⁶³ *ibid.*

⁶⁴ KP3A (n 7).

and funding. Lastly, innovations for low carbon technologies should be encouraged among other vulnerable people like women.

The fifth point that needs to be considered when designing a climate change policy is the necessity for an effective mechanism of institutions and monitoring systems to guarantee its consistency and accountability of implementation.⁶⁵ It is necessary to create a national secretariat or working group that will be responsible for the implementation of the RAN-GPI, as well as addressing the problem of fragmentation of power among ministries and levels of government. In addition, the results of the monitoring of gender mainstreaming in climate policy must be included in the National Registration System for Climate Change Control (SRN). This will make it possible to monitor the process of women's participation in a consistent manner. Moreover, for a climate change policy to have a strong binding effect, it should be supported by legislative instruments, namely at the level of the presidential regulation.

In effect, designs of climate change policies that take into account women's representation require a paradigmatic shift from administration to transformation. Not only do gender-inclusive climate policies align with the requirements of social justice and human rights; they are also empirically required for the successful implementation of climate change policies. Without changes in policy design that target the issue of structure, the inclusion of women's representation may remain only symbolic, with no contribution to achieving national climate change goals.

VII. Conclusion

Climate change is a structure which must necessarily be considered in the context of human rights and social justice. Talking about the consequences of climate change in Indonesia, one can see that climate change is not neutral on the grounds of society and gender aspects and poses a threat to women. Hence, it needs to be noted that the involvement of women in the climate change problem must be approached from the point of view of the duties established by the Constitution of Indonesia in Article 28.

Based on the findings presented in this study, despite having developed a relatively progressive legal framework through the political climate change law and gender mainstreaming, Indonesia's implementation of such remains largely declarative, sectoral, and gender-neutral. This disparity between the recognition of

⁶⁵ *ibid.*

norms and implementation of policies leads to women being represented symbolically without any guarantee of their effective involvement in decision-making, control of resources, and sharing of climate action benefits. Not only will this situation generate gender inequality, but it will also hinder the efficacy of climate change policies since Indonesia continues to experience higher levels of emissions and socio-economic vulnerability among women in critical sectors.

From these observations, this paper makes an appeal for a political turn in the policy and law of climate change in order to ensure transformational gender policy designs. The representation of women will have to be maintained in the following ways: affirmative policies; institutionalization in planning and budgeting processes; generation of data based on intersectionality; reforms in tenurial rights and resource access; and the empowerment of institutions with accountability mechanisms. With such an effort, the country will not only comply with its constitutional and international obligations but also develop more efficient climate change policies.

STATEMENTS

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Funding

The authors received no financial support for the research, authorship, or publication of this article.

Data deposition and availability

There is no data set associated with the study. No data deposition was required for this study.

Use of Artificial Intelligence

The authors did not use any artificial intelligence–based system in the preparation of this article.

Author contributions (CRediT)

Wulan Fritriana: Conceptualization; Methodology; Investigation; Formal analysis; Resources; Data curation; Writing – Original Draft; Writing – Review & Editing.

Umar Mubdi: Conceptualization; Methodology; Investigation; Formal analysis; Resources; Data curation; Writing – Original Draft; Writing – Review & Editing.

