

GLOBAL ACTIVISM IN THE GOVERNANCE OF GENDER-RESPONSIVE POLICIES AT COP 28 IN 2023

Siti Ghefira Naila ^{a*)}, Nuraeni ^{a)}

^{a)} Universitas Padjadjaran, Sumedang, Indonesia

^{*)}Corresponding Author: siti22001@mail.unpad.ac.id

Article history: received 12 April 2026; revised 26 April 2026; accepted 25 May 2026

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.33751/jhss.v10i1..245>

Abstract. Climate change is not only an environmental issue but also closely linked to social inequality, including gender inequality. In the context of global climate governance, gender mainstreaming has become a crucial approach to ensuring that climate policies are responsive to the needs of groups disproportionately affected by the climate crisis. This research aims to analyze the role of global activism in promoting the integration of gender-responsive policies into international climate governance processes, particularly at the COP 28. COP 28, held in Dubai, marked an important momentum for strengthening gender-responsive policies in global climate negotiations. This was reflected in the introduction of the first-ever Gender Day and the launch of the Gender-Responsive Just Transitions and Climate Action Partnership, both of which emphasized the importance of equitable and inclusive energy transitions. Within the broader international policy framework, the integration of gender perspectives is further supported by instruments such as the Gender Action Plan (GAP) under the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change, as well as gender-sensitive funding mechanisms through the Green Climate Fund. Moreover, the integration of gender perspectives in global climate governance increasingly adopts an intersectional approach. This approach recognizes that vulnerability to climate change is shaped not only by gender but also by other factors such as social class, ethnicity, geographic location, and economic status. Through an analysis of policy dynamics and practices emerging from COP 28, this study seeks to examine how pressure and advocacy from global activist actors contribute to strengthening gender-responsive climate policies. In addition, it aims to explore the relationship between global activism and the development of more inclusive international climate policies within the framework of global climate governance.

Keywords: COP 28, Gender-Responsive Just Transitions and Climate Action Partnership, Gender Action Plan, Green Climate Fund, gender mainstreaming, gender responsive.

I. INTRODUCTION

In the contemporary world, sustainable development has become a key focus in efforts to create a more stable, inclusive, and equitable international governance system. Development is no longer understood solely as economic growth, but rather as a multidimensional process that involves balancing economic, social, and environmental aspects. Within this framework, the field of International Relations has also undergone significant development, particularly in examining non-traditional issues such as the environment and gender. Gender equality is now recognized as one of the fundamental principles for achieving sustainable development, as gender inequality has been shown to hinder the effectiveness of development policies and widen social disparities at the global level. Therefore, the integration of a gender perspective into global policies is an imperative that cannot be ignored.

Gender equality, as reflected in Sustainable Development Goal (SDG) 5, is not only a goal in its own right but also a key factor in supporting the achievement of the entire sustainable

development agenda. This underscores that the success of global development hinges on the extent to which women and men have equal access, participation, and control across various sectors of life. Persisting gender inequalities, such as limited access to education, economic opportunities, and decision-making, have the potential to hinder the achievement of development goals as a whole. Thus, gender equality is not only a matter of social justice but also a critical strategy for ensuring the sustainability of global development (UN Women, 2022).

Conceptually, sustainable development emphasizes the importance of integrating economic, social, and environmental dimensions. In the social dimension, gender is one of the most critical issues because it is directly related to the distribution of roles, access to resources, and position within the social structure. Persistent gender inequality can lower the overall quality of life for society and limit the potential for inclusive development. This is increasingly important given that women and children constitute a large portion of the world's population and are often in a vulnerable position regarding various global crises, including climate change (United Nations, 2015; United Nations, 2023).

Gender issues are also a key concern in the study of International Relations due to their far-reaching impact on global stability. Gender inequality not only affects specific individuals or groups but also contributes to rising poverty, social injustice, and armed conflict. These conditions can ultimately undermine political, economic, and social stability in various countries. From this perspective, gender is no longer viewed as a purely domestic issue, but rather as a global issue requiring a collective response from the international community. Therefore, a holistic approach is needed that involves states, international organizations, and non-state actors in addressing gender inequality in a sustainable manner (True, 2012).

In response to these global challenges, the international community has established various cooperation mechanisms, one of which is the Conference of the Parties (COP) under the auspices of the United Nations. The COP serves as the primary forum for decision-making on climate change, where member states gather to formulate global policies and strategies. In this forum, various strategic issues are discussed comprehensively, including efforts to mitigate and adapt to climate change. As global dynamics evolve, the COP has also begun to incorporate social issues, including gender, as part of efforts to create more inclusive climate policies (Sabina Akhtar et al., 2024; UNFCCC, 2024).

The establishment of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) in 1992 marked the beginning of global efforts to address climate change. This convention serves as the foundation for countries to collaborate in mitigating the impacts of climate change through various policies and international commitments. Subsequently, in 1995, the Conference of the Parties (COP) began to be held as the highest decision-making body within the UNFCCC, playing a role in evaluating progress and formulating strategic steps to address the climate crisis. Over time, this forum has not only focused on technical environmental aspects but has also begun to integrate social dimensions, including gender equality (UNFCCC, 2023).

A significant milestone in the integration of gender issues into global climate governance was marked at COP 28, held in Dubai, United Arab Emirates, in 2023. This conference served as a pivotal moment in strengthening gender-responsive policies within the global climate change framework. At COP 28, gender issues were no longer treated as an afterthought but became an integral part of policy discussions, particularly in the context of the differing impacts of climate change experienced by women and men. This reflects a paradigm shift in global climate governance that increasingly recognizes the importance of social justice (Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan, 2023).

One concrete manifestation of gender mainstreaming at COP 28 is the observance of Gender Equality Day, which brings together various stakeholders to discuss gender-responsive policies. This approach emphasizes the importance of considering the differences in roles, needs, and vulnerabilities between women and men in the face of climate change. This awareness did not emerge overnight; rather, it is the result of a long process of global activism carried out by various actors, such as women's organizations, civil society,

and transnational advocacy networks. Through various forms of advocacy, they have successfully driven changes in global policies to make them more inclusive and equitable.

As global activism has evolved, the gender-responsive approach has transformed into gender mainstreaming—a strategy that systematically integrates a gender perspective into all policy processes. This approach not only focuses on addressing existing inequalities but also seeks to prevent the emergence of new inequalities through more inclusive policy planning. In the context of COP 28, gender mainstreaming is implemented as an effort to ensure that climate policies are not only environmentally effective but also socially just.

The concept of gender mainstreaming itself has strong historical roots, particularly since the 1995 World Conference on Women in Beijing, which established gender mainstreaming as a global strategy for achieving gender equality. Since then, various international organizations have adopted this approach in a range of policies, including those related to environmental governance. In the context of climate change, women play a crucial role not only as a vulnerable group but also as agents of change capable of contributing to adaptation and mitigation processes (United Nations, 1995; Arora-Jonsson, 2011).

The various initiatives emerging from the COP forums also demonstrate ongoing efforts to integrate a gender perspective. From the initial recognition of gender issues at COP 7, to the establishment of the Lima Work Programme on Gender at COP 20, and the development of the Gender Action Plan (GAP) at COP 23, all of these mark a gradual progression toward more inclusive policies. At COP 28, these efforts were further strengthened through various new initiatives and policy updates that align with global dynamics (UNFCCC, 2002; UNFCCC, 2015; UNFCCC, 2018; UNFCCC, 2023).

Nevertheless, previous studies indicate that research on gender mainstreaming in global climate governance still has limitations, particularly in the context of policy implementation at specific forums such as COP 28. Several studies, such as Hafner-Burton dan Pollack (2009), Seema dan Sijapati (2017), and Singh et al. (2010), has discussed the importance of gender integration in global policy, but has not specifically examined its implementation at COP 28. This indicates a research gap that warrants further investigation.

Based on the above discussion, this study aims to analyze how global activism plays a role in promoting the integration of gender-responsive policies into global climate governance, particularly at COP 28 in 2023. Additionally, this study seeks to understand how these policies are implemented and to what extent they can promote women's participation in global climate action.

II. RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach using a descriptive-analytical research design to gain an in-depth understanding of how gender perspectives are integrated into global climate governance, particularly in the implementation of the 2023 Conference of the Parties (COP) 28. A qualitative approach was chosen because this study focuses on the analysis of meaning, processes, and policy dynamics that cannot be measured quantitatively. Through this approach, the researcher seeks to comprehensively describe how global activism plays a

role in driving the emergence of gender-responsive policies in international forums, as well as how these policies are implemented in the practice of global climate governance.

The research method employed was library research, relying on various secondary data sources relevant to the research topic. Data were obtained from official documents, reports from international organizations, scientific journal articles, books, and publications related to gender mainstreaming, global activism, and climate change policy. The primary sources in this study include policy documents from the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC), the COP 28 report, the Gender Action Plan (GAP), as well as publications from UN Women and other relevant international organizations. Additionally, the researcher utilized prior studies as comparative material and to strengthen the analysis.

The data collection method used in this study was a documentary analysis, which involved reviewing and examining various documents related to the research topic. These documents were then analyzed to identify patterns, concepts, and the dynamics of policies emerging within the COP 28 forum. The researcher also grouped the data by theme—such as global activism, gender-responsive policy, and gender mainstreaming—to facilitate the analysis process. Through this approach, the researcher was able to construct a systematic understanding of the relationship between global actors and the resulting policies.

The data analysis technique used is qualitative descriptive analysis, which is conducted in several stages: data reduction, data presentation, and drawing conclusions. During the data reduction stage, the researcher filters information relevant to the research focus. Next, the data is presented in a systematic narrative format to ensure ease of understanding. The final stage is drawing conclusions, which involves interpreting the data to address the research questions. Through this process, the study aims to provide a clear picture of the role of global activism in promoting the integration of gender-responsive policies into global climate governance at COP 28 in 2023.

III. RESULT AND DISCUSSION

Forms of Feminist Political Ecology Intersectionality at COP 28

As a sub-discipline of Feminist Political Ecology, ecofeminism offers a crucial analytical framework for understanding the interconnection between women's subordination and environmental degradation. This perspective stems from the assumption that the hierarchical and dualistic patriarchal system not only places women in a subordinate position but also views nature as an object of exploitation that can be controlled and exploited without limit. Thus, the unequal power relations between men and women run parallel to the exploitative relations between humans and nature. In the context of global climate governance, this approach helps to illustrate that the environmental crisis is not merely a technical or ecological issue, but also a manifestation of unequal social structures. Therefore, analyses of global climate policies, including those at COP 28, must take gender dimensions into

account as an integral part of efforts to achieve ecological justice (Warren, 2000).

In further developments, the intersectional approach has become a key element in strengthening the framework of feminist political ecology, particularly in the context of a just transition toward a low-carbon economy. Intersectionality does not view gender as the sole determinant of vulnerability but acknowledges that individual experiences are shaped by various intersecting social identities, such as social class, ethnicity, age, disability, geographic location, and economic status. Thus, vulnerability to climate change cannot be understood in isolation but must be viewed as the result of the interaction of complex structures of inequality. In the context of COP 28, this approach is reflected in efforts to promote policies that are not only gender-inclusive but also responsive to the diverse experiences of vulnerable groups. This indicates a paradigm shift from a universal approach toward a more contextual and social justice-based approach (International Labour Organization, 2024).

An intersectional approach within the framework of a just transition is crucial to ensuring that the transition to a low-carbon economy does not actually exacerbate pre-existing inequalities. Historically, climate policies have often been designed using a technocratic approach that tends to overlook social dimensions, potentially resulting in exclusionary policies. In this context, intersectionality serves as an analytical tool to identify the most vulnerable groups and ensure their needs are addressed in the policy-making process. At COP 28, this is reflected in the push to expand the participation of women, indigenous peoples, and other marginalized groups in the negotiation and implementation of climate policies. Thus, intersectionality functions not only as a theoretical concept but also as a normative foundation for building more just and inclusive policies.

Nevertheless, the classical ecofeminist approach has limitations because it tends to view women in an essentialist manner as “guardians of nature.” This approach often overlooks the diversity of women's experiences as well as the differences in their positions within social structures. Various empirical studies show that the impacts of climate change on women and men are heavily influenced by structural factors, such as access to resources, economic status, and culturally assigned social roles. A report by the Global Gender and Climate Alliance indicates that pre-existing gender inequalities exacerbate women's vulnerability to climate change risks, particularly regarding access to productive resources and economic mobility. Consequently, a more dynamic and contextual approach is needed to understand the relationship between gender and the environment.

These structural inequalities are clearly evident in the agricultural sector, where women have far more limited access to land ownership. Data shows that only a small fraction of land is managed by women in various regions of the world, including Sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. This situation directly impacts women's ability to adapt to climate change, particularly in the agricultural sector, which is highly dependent on environmental stability. Limited access to land, technology, and other resources makes women more vulnerable to the impacts of climate change. In this context, COP 28 serves

as a crucial platform to advocate for policies that not only acknowledge this vulnerability but also provide concrete solutions through increased access and participation of women in strategic sectors (UNFCCC, 2018).

To address the limitations of the classical ecofeminist approach, this study adopts the Feminist Political Ecology (FPE) framework, which emphasizes that the relationship between gender and the environment is a socio-political construction influenced by policies, economic structures, and power relations across various scales. FPE does not view women as a homogeneous group but emphasizes the importance of intersectionality in understanding diverse experiences. In the context of COP 28, this approach enables a more comprehensive analysis of how global climate policies are shaped by power dynamics and how these policies impact different groups (Elmhirst, 2011).

As part of global civil society, ecofeminist activism plays a crucial role in promoting the integration of gender perspectives into global climate governance. Transnational networks comprising women's organizations, civil society groups, and environmental activists create spaces for the exchange of ideas and cross-border advocacy strategies. In this context, global civil society functions as a deliberative arena that enables the emergence of normative pressure on global institutions. At COP 28, the presence of these actors was evident in various discussion forums and policy initiatives that emphasized the importance of gender justice in climate action. This demonstrates that global policy change is driven not only by states but also by non-state actors who have the capacity to influence the global agenda (Habermas, 1984; Walby, 2009).

Ecofeminism in a global context can be understood as part of the global wave of feminism that is developing through transnational networks. Ideas regarding gender-based ecological justice spread through processes of cross-border exchange of experiences, deliberation, and advocacy. In this context, COP 28 serves as a key forum where various global actors meet and negotiate to advance the integration of gender perspectives into climate policy. This demonstrates that global policy is not formed in a top-down manner, but rather through a complex process of interaction among diverse actors with varied interests (Walby, 2009; Moghadam, 2005).

The institutionalization of a gender perspective in global governance cannot be separated from the development of international norms, one of which is the 1995 Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action. This document emphasizes the importance of women's participation in decision-making and the integration of a gender perspective into public policy. In the environmental context, this platform also emphasizes that women play a vital role in the management of natural resources, although they still face various structural barriers. These principles subsequently became the foundation for the development of gender policies within various international frameworks, including climate change policies (United Nations, 1995; Hafner-Burton & Pollack, 2009).

In recent developments, the principles of intersectionality and gender mainstreaming have also been reinforced through the adoption of the Global Biodiversity Framework (GBF) in 2022. Although situated within the

biodiversity regime, the GBF has strong relevance to global climate governance because it emphasizes cross-sectoral integration as well as the importance of inclusive and gender-responsive approaches. The targets in the GBF explicitly emphasize equitable representation in decision-making and recognition of the roles of indigenous peoples and local communities. This demonstrates that the gender justice agenda in environmental policy does not stand alone but is part of a broader global normative architecture (Favino, 2023).

In the context of COP 28, the implications of this approach are significant. Integrating gender and intersectionality perspectives requires a shift in how climate policies are designed and implemented. Policies can no longer be purely technocratic but must be able to accommodate diverse experiences and ensure substantive participation by vulnerable groups. Thus, COP 28 is not only a forum for climate policy negotiations but also a space for transformation toward a more inclusive, equitable, and sustainable global governance.

Global Activism in Gender-Responsive Governance

Within the dynamics of global climate change governance, gender issues did not initially occupy a central position on the agenda of international negotiations such as the Conference of the Parties (COP). In the early stages of the global climate regime's development, particularly in the early 2000s, discussions on gender were still treated as a supplementary aspect of social justice issues. This was reflected at COP 7 in Morocco, where gender issues emerged only in the form of normative calls for gender balance in delegations, without any concrete policy mechanisms. A similar pattern was observed at COP 18 in Qatar, which continued to emphasize the importance of balanced representation verbally without following through with systematic implementation measures.

However, as global awareness of gender inequality and its impact on vulnerability to climate change has grown, the gender issue has begun to evolve from a mere discourse on representation into a more substantive policy agenda. A key milestone in this development was the launch of the Lima Work Programme on Gender at the COP in Peru, which marked the first step toward institutionalizing the gender issue within the global climate policy framework. This program was subsequently reinforced in the 2015 Paris Agreement, which began to formally incorporate a gender perspective into several provisions of international climate policy. This reinforcement continued at COP 25 in Madrid, which added a monitoring and evaluation dimension, signaling a shift from a normative approach toward a more operational one.

This development cannot be separated from the role of global activism, which has consistently advocated for the integration of gender perspectives into climate governance. This activism emerged as a response to the limitations of multilateral negotiation structures, which are often seen as incapable of producing fair and inclusive climate policies. Interestingly, distrust in the effectiveness of formal diplomacy has given rise to a phenomenon known as the "paradox of mobilization," in which forums such as the COP remain strategic spaces for large-scale civil society mobilization (Aykut et al., 2017; Moor, 2017). Thus, the COP serves not

only as a venue for negotiations among nations but also as a space for discursive contestation and advocacy by non-state actors, including transnational feminist movements.

In this context, international organizations such as the International Labour Organization (ILO) emphasize that women's representation is a crucial first step in fulfilling the commitments of the global climate change framework. However, empirical data show that gender inequality remains significant, particularly in sectors directly impacted by climate change such as agriculture. Women make a major contribution to the agricultural workforce but have very limited access to land ownership and other productive resources (USAID, 2016; Mbungu, 2024). These structural inequalities not only exacerbate women's vulnerability to climate change but also impact global food security as a whole.

Furthermore, climate change is also exacerbating pre-existing social inequalities, including gender-based poverty. It is estimated that climate change will push approximately 240 million women and girls into food insecurity, compared to 131 million men (Mbungu, 2024). In addition, women also face a double burden due to energy poverty, where limited access to clean energy increases health risks while reinforcing domestic roles that restrict their participation in economic and social activities. In this context, climate change is not only an environmental crisis but also a social crisis that structurally reinforces gender inequality.

Nevertheless, efforts to integrate gender into global climate policy have shown significant progress. A UNFCCC report indicates that approximately 79% of countries have incorporated gender considerations into their Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs), although only about 33% have actually implemented them in concrete terms (International Labour Organization, 2024). This highlights a gap between normative commitments and policy implementation at the national level. This situation is further exacerbated by the fact that women's representation in COP delegations remains relatively low, with only about 34% of delegates and 19% of delegation heads being women (Women's Environment and Development Organization, 2024).

These limitations indicate that women's participation in global climate governance remains largely symbolic and has not yet become fully substantive. Global activism then plays a crucial role in highlighting this gap and driving structural changes within the international negotiation system. Organizations such as the Women's Environment and Development Organization (WEDO) actively monitor gender participation in the COP, while alliances like the Gender and Environment Data Alliance (GEDA) work to strengthen the gender-environment data foundation as a basis for formulating more inclusive policies (Gender and Environment Data Alliance, 2023).

In addition to data-driven advocacy, global activists also leverage side events at the COP as a means to influence policy. For example, through the CGIAR GENDER Impact Platform initiative, various international actors are promoting innovation in gender-responsive food systems while developing indicators to measure the impact of climate policies on women (Thomas et al., 2023). This initiative demonstrates that global activism

serves not only as a tool for political pressure but also as a mechanism for knowledge production and capacity building in global climate governance.

Furthermore, global activism also plays a role in driving the transformation of climate finance approaches toward more inclusive models. The concept of gender-responsive climate finance is becoming increasingly important, given that women account for nearly half of the global agricultural workforce yet still face significant financing gaps (Thomas et al., 2023). Initiatives like 2X Global demonstrate how a gender-based investment approach can be an effective strategy for increasing women's participation while strengthening economic and environmental sustainability.

On the other hand, global activism also highlights that an increase in the number of women participating does not always translate into an improvement in the quality of their participation. Analysis shows that women tend to have less speaking time in negotiation forums and are more frequently involved in issues considered "soft" such as education and empowerment, while men dominate strategic issues such as funding and technology (Women's Environment and Development Organization, 2024). This indicates that power structures in global climate governance are still influenced by traditional gender norms.

In addition, challenges in global climate governance are also linked to limited access for other marginalized groups, such as indigenous peoples, local communities, and youth from developing countries. Global activism then plays a role in expanding the space for participation for these groups, while simultaneously challenging the dominance of the state as the primary actor in the decision-making process. Thus, global activism focuses not only on gender issues but also on broader social justice within the context of climate change.

Ultimately, these findings indicate that global activism plays a highly significant role in promoting more gender-responsive climate governance. Activism serves not only as an advocacy tool but also as a mechanism for normative transformation, knowledge production, and the strengthening of transnational networks. Nevertheless, the success of gender integration in global climate policy remains heavily dependent on countries' commitment to implementing policies in practice.

Thus, it can be concluded that global activism contributes to driving a paradigm shift from a symbolic approach toward a more substantive one in the integration of gender into global climate governance. This serves as a crucial foundation for understanding how global activism shapes gender-responsive policies at COP 28 in 2023, while also underscoring that the sustainability of climate policies cannot be separated from efforts to achieve structural gender justice.

The Contribution of Gender-Responsive Policies at COP 28 to Global Climate Governance

The convening of the 28th Conference of the Parties (COP 28) reflects the complex dynamics of global climate governance, caught between efforts toward inclusivity and the reality of power imbalances. With the presence of more than 100,000 delegates and over 2,000 representatives from the fossil fuel industry, this forum demonstrates that the international climate negotiation process remains heavily influenced by global economic and political interests. This

situation casts doubt on the commitment to a just energy transition, as the dominance of industry actors risks undermining the ambition to phase out fossil fuels.

In this context, gender issues have not yet taken center stage. The COP 28 discourse is more focused on the energy transition, climate finance, and the operationalization of the loss and damage fund mechanism. Nevertheless, gender issues remain present through thematic forums such as Gender Day, which serve as spaces for advocacy and the exchange of ideas, although their contribution to formal policy decisions remains limited.

Structurally, women's participation in national delegations has shown an increase, though it is not yet significant. On average, women's representation remains in the 30–38% range, with a much lower proportion in leadership roles. This underscores that numerical representation does not automatically translate into substantive representation in decision-making processes. In practice, national delegations remain the primary actors in negotiations, while civil society organizations and women's groups play a greater role in informal discussions and policy advocacy.

On the other hand, COP 28 demonstrated progress in the integration of gender-responsive policies, particularly through climate finance institutions such as the Global Environment Facility, the United Nations Development Programme, and the Green Climate Fund. These institutions have begun adopting policy frameworks that require gender analysis, gender-sensitive indicators, and disaggregated data collection throughout the entire project cycle. This approach marks a shift from the “do no harm” principle toward a more transformative approach—one that actively reduces gender inequalities in the implementation of climate policies.

Furthermore, the adoption of declarations such as the Emirates Declaration on Sustainable Agriculture, Resilient Food Systems, and Climate Action demonstrates that food security and agriculture are increasingly integrated into the global climate agenda. However, integrating a gender perspective into this sector still faces challenges, particularly regarding women's access to financing, technology, and productive resources.

From a climate justice perspective, the establishment of a loss and damage fund is a crucial step in acknowledging developed countries' historical responsibility for the impacts of climate change. However, the fact that the funding falls far short of actual needs highlights a gap between normative commitments and concrete implementation. This shortfall has serious implications for vulnerable groups, particularly women, who are often on the front lines of the climate crisis but have limited access to recovery resources.

Furthermore, an analysis of Nationally Determined Contributions (NDCs) documents indicates that gender integration in national climate policies remains limited. Only a small number of countries mainstream gender across sectors, while the majority still treat it as a secondary issue. This suggests that gender mainstreaming in global climate governance remains at a normative stage and has not yet been fully institutionalized.

In the context of global activism, organizations such as UN Women and the Women and Gender Constituency network

play a crucial role in advancing the gender justice agenda in climate negotiations. Through advocacy, knowledge production, and normative pressure, these non-state actors contribute to strengthening the integration of gender perspectives into international climate governance.

Nevertheless, structural challenges remain significant. The low representation of women in leadership positions, limited access to climate finance, and the dominance of global economic actors indicate that climate governance is still not fully inclusive. Furthermore, a loan-based approach to financing also has the potential to exacerbate inequality, particularly for developing countries with limited fiscal capacity.

Thus, the contribution of gender-responsive policies at COP 28 can be seen as a first step toward more inclusive climate governance, though it has not yet achieved the structural transformation that was hoped for. COP 28 succeeded in strengthening normative recognition of the importance of gender equality, but concrete implementation still faces various obstacles, both at the global and national levels.

IV. CONCLUSION

Overall, this study shows that the integration of a gender perspective into global climate change governance has seen significant progress, particularly through international forums such as the 28th Conference of the Parties and the impetus provided by global activism from international organizations, civil society networks, and women's groups. However, this progress remains largely at the normative level and has not yet been fully translated into concrete, measurable, and sustainable policy implementation. Women's participation in global climate forums has indeed increased, but it does not yet reflect equal representation, particularly in strategic decision-making positions. The negotiation structure, which remains dominated by states as the primary actors, along with the strong influence of global economic and political interests, further limits the effectiveness of gender integration in climate policy. Furthermore, gender mainstreaming is still often treated as a cross-cutting issue, and thus has not yet become the primary framework in the formulation of climate change policies at the global or national levels. At the implementation level, various instruments such as the Gender Action Plan (GAP) have provided a foundation for gender mainstreaming in climate policy. However, implementation continues to face challenges in the form of limited institutional capacity, low political commitment, and a lack of gender-responsive funding. As a result, the needs of women—particularly those in vulnerable situations, such as rural women and indigenous communities—have not yet been fully addressed. Thus, it can be concluded that although there is growing global awareness of the importance of gender equality in climate action, global climate governance still faces significant structural challenges. Therefore, more systematic and transformative efforts are needed to ensure that gender mainstreaming does not remain merely a matter of discourse, but is truly implemented in policies and practices capable of achieving climate justice in an inclusive and sustainable manner.

REFERENCES

- [1] CGIAR. (2023). *CGIAR Gender at COP28*.
<https://gender.cgiar.org/events/cgiar-gender-cop28>
- [2] COP. (2023). *COP28 Launches Partnership to Support Women's Economic Empowerment*.
<https://www.cop28.com/en/news/2023/12/COP28-launches-partnership-to-support-women-economic-empowerment>
- [3] Data2X. (2023). *Gender Data for Climate Action: COP28 and Beyond*.
https://data2x.org/wp-content/uploads/2023/11/Designed-Gender-Data-COP28-Brief_11.21.23.pdf
- [4] Donoghoe, M., Perry, A. M., Gross, S., Ijjasz-Vasquez, E., Keller, J. B., McArthur, J. W., Patnaik, S., Rabe, B. G., Roehse, S., Kirişci, K., Signé, L., & Victor, D. G. (2023). *The successes and failures of COP28*.
<https://www.brookings.edu/articles/the-successes-and-failures-of-cop28/>
- [5] Favino, C. (2023). *What Can We Expect from COP28, and What Must Happen?*
<https://earth.org/what-can-we-expect-from-cop28-and-what-must-happen/>
- [6] Gender and Environment Data Alliance. (2023). *Events at COP28*.
<https://genderenvironmentdata.org/cop28-side-events/>
- [7] Global Environment Facility. (2024). *Progress Report on Advancing Gender Equality*.
https://www.thegef.org/sites/default/files/documents/2024-01/EN_GEF.C.66.Inf_07_Progress%20Report%20On%20Advancing%20Gender%20Equality.pdf
- [8] Haan, N. D. (2023). *COP28's Opportunity to Empower Women-Led Climate Action*.
<https://gender.cgiar.org/news/cop28s-opportunity-empower-women-led-climate-action>
- [9] Haupt, H. T. C., Laug, L., & Eckersley, P. (2025). *Structure, Agency and Local Climate Governance*. *Regional Studies*, 59(1).
<https://doi.org/10.1080/00343404.2024.2354384>
- [10] Igini, M. (2023). *COP28 Week 1: Recap*.
<https://earth.org/cop28-week-1-recap/>
- [11] International Finance Corporation. (2024). *Gender-Responsive Climate Governance and the Role of Women Leaders*.
<https://www.ifc.org/content/dam/ifc/doc/2024/gender-responsive-climate-governance-report.pdf>
- [12] International Labour Organization. (2024). *Gender, Equality and Inclusion for a Just Transition in Climate Action: A Policy Guide*.
<https://www.ilo.org/sites/default/files/2024-11/EN%20GUIDE%20%2007%2024.pdf>
- [13] International Labour Organization. (2024). *Gender Equality and Just Transition Policies*.
<https://www.ilo.org/>
- [14] Islam, M. M., & Jahan, N. (2025). *The Role of Non-State Actors in Climate Governance*. *Journal of Information Systems and Informatics*, 7(2).
<https://doi.org/10.51519/journalisi.v7i2.1054>
- [15] Julienvillalard. (2023). *COP28: Assessment of Commitments to Climate and Development Financing*.
<https://focus2030.org/en/cop28-assessment-of-commitments-to-climate-and-development-financing-global-health-and-gender-equality/>
- [16] Kementerian Lingkungan Hidup dan Kehutanan. (2023). *Menuju COP-28 Dubai*.
<https://ppid.menlhk.go.id/berita/siaran-pers/7505/menuju-conference-of-the-parties-28-cop-28-dubai-uni-emirat-arab>
- [17] Marzetti, G. (2023). *COP28: What Advances for Gender Equality?*
<https://illuminem.com/illuminemvoices/cop28-what-advances-for-gender-equality>
- [18] Mbungu, G. (2024). *Creating a Just Social Order: The Role of Gender Equity in Climate Action*.
<https://afripoli.org/creating-a-just-social-order-the-role-of-gender-equity-in-climate-action>
- [19] Parikh, P., Maslin, M., & Chin-Yee, S. (2023). *COP 28: All you need to know*.
<https://idronline.org/article/climate-emergency/cop-28-all-you-need-to-know/>
- [20] The GEF. (2023). *Global Environment Facility Overview*.
https://www.thegef.org/sites/default/files/documents/2023-02/Interactive_GEF_Overview.pdf