

**The Gender Dimensions of the Green New Deal -
an analysis of policy papers of the Greens/EFA
New Deal Working Group**

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Policy papers analysed in this study:

1. Why we need a Green New Deal - a discussion paper of the Greens/EFA Green New Deal Working Group, May 2010: <http://greennewdeal.eu/why-we-need-a-gnd.html>
2. The industrial dimension of the Green New Deal: <http://greennewdeal.eu/industry/publications/2011/en/the-industrial-dimension-of-the-green-new-deal.html>
3. The employment dimension of the Green New Deal: <http://greennewdeal.eu/jobs-and-society/publications/2011/en/the-employment-dimension-of-the-green-new-deal.html>
4. The macro-economic and financial framework of the Green New Deal (13th EGP Council, Tallinn, 8-10 Oct. 2010 – Adopted Policy Paper): <http://greennewdeal.eu/index.php?id=390&L=0>

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A. General remarks on gender equality in the Vision of the Green New Deal¹

In successfully mainstreaming ecological issues, the Greens have shown that working, living, producing and consuming in an environmentally friendly manner is both necessary and beneficial. Having come so far, the Green movement and their parties must now mainstream other aspects of their values, in particular gender equality, and show their relevance for other areas and normative aims, such as North-South equity and a social market economy. The Greens could draw on the colour metaphor to promote the gender-equal Green New Deal: with the Green New Deal all parties, institutions and lobby groups aspire to be green. Being 'green' in the environmental sense has now become so mainstream that the Greens are obliged to emphasise the amplitude of their 'greenness' if they are to maintain a distinct green profile and not fade into a general 'green' background. It is time for the Greens to demonstrate the multiple nuances of their traditional ideas, gender equality being central among them.

Gendered social structures, direct and indirect discrimination and the prevalence of explicit and implicit androcentrism disadvantage women both as persons and as a social group. They also discriminate against female gender roles, norms and values and tasks associated with women, motherhood or femininity – irrespective of the sex of the persons assuming such roles and tasks. This also has a negative economic impact, for example, the ranking of female-dominated sectors in policymakers' priority list, or low wage levels in female-dominated occupations. Gendered social structures and androcentric norms also discriminate against men who do not conform to the hegemonic standards of masculinity and traditional gender roles. Men, and persons of both sexes in male-dominated sectors, wishing to access resources such as decision-making power are subject to a great deal of pressure to conform to certain personality features and behaviours. Where gender equality is perceived as a fundamental value and goal, women and men in all positions in the social structure benefit. Normative, discursive, material and legal changes that aim to improve the position of women, reassess the importance attributed to women's perspectives and interests and improve conditions in female-dominated social or economic areas benefit all concerned. Not only men who seek to live alternative lifestyles at home, in the family, at work and in their social relations, but also male groups in female-dominated sectors and those

¹ Why we need a Green New Deal - a discussion paper of the Greens/EFA Green New Deal Working Group, May 2010: <http://greennewdeal.eu/why-we-need-a-gnd.html>.

affected by the trend towards poorer working conditions (feminisation of work) will benefit from a truly gender-equitable Green New Deal.

This requires a holistic and inclusive perspective that identifies gendered social structures—including the gendered distribution of paid and unpaid, productive and reproductive work with the consequences for economic positioning and the opportunity to acquire economic power—and reveals the androcentrism inherent in our normative and belief systems. Androcentrism means that the ‘average’ person taken as a reference point by policymakers is implicitly and tacitly a white, heterosexual, healthy, well-educated and middle class male in a traditional gender role. In other words, political decision-making is biased in favour of certain life circumstances and situations. This then becomes the benchmark against which the impact of politics and policies are developed and assessed. The result is an unintended exclusion, neglect or devaluation of the interests and needs of women and others who do not exhibit the socio-economic features of the ‘default group’. What’s more, economic and social areas and living conditions not central to the default group are systematically kept out of sight, e.g. women-dominated work and labour markets, care work in the private household economy, childcare, etc. Androcentrism is an epistemological structure, in which mainstream economic concepts exclude both the private household economy and the service and care economy, despite their importance for economic growth and wealth production.

Experience with gender equality policies has shown that if a strategy is to succeed, it requires two levers: one, utilisation of the dominant logic and its structures and two, transformation of the dominant logic. The Greens’ success in promoting economic growth through ecological technologies on the one hand, and making ‘environmental-friendly’ a quality criterion on the other, demonstrates the necessity of such a dual strategy. In aspiring to achieve social goals, especially with reference to gender equality, it is essential to construct consistent, convincing interdependencies between social and profit-maximising objectives. Gender-aware policy development that systematically applies gender mainstreaming allows the construction of structures and mechanisms that generate causal effects between social, ecological and economic aims. At the same time, gender equality must be confirmed as a right in itself as a clear expression of the normative dimension of the Green point of view. If social sustainability does not become a quality and efficiency criterion *and* a stand-alone argument within the present value system, it will continue to be neglected. As long as the dominant discursive logic prioritises financial and individualised profit over social profits, it is crucial to reclaim social values as a separate right.

Gender equality strategies and instruments, such as equal opportunity policies, gender mainstreaming and gender budgeting, have always dealt with those dimensions of the Green New Deal congruent with those of the Green movement's agenda: inequality, discrimination, social injustice, the distribution of power and wealth, and sustainability. Gender equality is an objective, as well as a road towards this agenda. Only if gender equality is systematically incorporated into the discourse, normative and analytical frameworks, priority lists and questions will the Green New Deal be able to deploy its full potential in the Greens' sense of a paradigm shift.

Three central aspects distinguished by the gender equality perspective

Gender equality is mentioned in the statements section at the beginning of the Greens' policy papers. It is not found as an integrated aspect of the specifications and policy proposals. As the relevance of gendered social structures and their discriminating or disadvantaging effect are overlooked or left untouched, several parts of the papers are gender-blind or gender-biased. A vision that satisfies Green objectives requires true gender sensitivity, which acknowledges gendered starting points and gendered inequalities. Moreover, the epistemological power and effect of a systematic gender equality perspective would open people's eyes to a broad array of viable, effective and human-centred options. It would ensure that the Greens' Green New Deal makes full use of the contributions that are possible and necessary for the transformative endeavour to fundamentally "alter relations between people, time, space and things".

Gender analysis of the Greens' policy papers on the Green New Deal revealed three basic lacunae that are congruent neither with the proclaimed ambition of their vision nor with the Greens' tradition.

1. The **concept of sustainability** is reduced to environmental sustainability in policy specifications thus failing to see what is required for the inclusion of people (especially women) and social conditions (in particular fair gender relations) in sustainability.
2. The **concept of economy** adheres to the separate and independent sectors of traditional economic frameworks, leaving the cognitive structures that produce distortions and lead to gender blindness untouched. A central aspects here is the neglect of the private household economy and a comprehensive opportunity cost calculation that is based on an extended sustainability concept and includes the contribution and price paid by the

private household economy, in which women are the main workers and managers. Also missing is a systematic focus on the interrelations between the public sector, private business and the private household economy. Underexposed is also the role of the private household economy and men and women as agents of change, as polluters, as economic players steering demand through consumer decisions, as well as in the roles of democratic agents variously affected by sustainability issues.

3. Also underexposed is the **role of the state**, including the public sector, as an economic and social factor, as well as potential guarantor of social rights, sustainability rules and gender equality in all spheres, e.g. as a distributor of resources and enforcer of human rights.

1. A gender-equal concept of sustainability

The papers' main focus is on the natural environment. The nature of sustainability and how to achieve it becomes less explicit when it comes to perceiving people as a workforce, as care workers in the private household economy or as citizens with political and social agency.

Just one example of the many areas where the human, social and gender equality dimensions of sustainability should be explored is the issue of time, which, despite its high gender relevance, is not explored in its gender equality dimension. In the desired Green New Deal, the time factor should not only include time for personal reproduction and sustainability, but also time to care for others. The Green policy papers generally highlight time in relation to paid work and from the perspective of a person not part of the private household economy, a person who merely wishes to achieve a work-life balance and has no imperative demand to reconcile work and private life duties. This results in the structural sidelining of pre-existing duties and the perpetuation of unchangeable commitments; there is no mention of the situations of those responsible in the private care economy, such as men and women in the gender role of primary carer ('mothers'). The imbalance between the pressure to take family time on the one hand and the entitlement to such time on the other has different relevance for women and men during their life cycle and leads not only to gender differentiated consequences for material security, but also provides an opportunity to build reliable social relations by investing time in relations. The time perspective is androcentric in the sense that it takes the specific life span of a supposedly neutral person (although male in the sense of being free of unpaid caring responsibilities and having no wish for them) as a starting point. Other gender roles, life spans and the reality of women in a certain life span are neglected in the process.

The sustainability of the public sector is mentioned mainly with respect to budgetary consolidation. The state's function of ensuring sustainability—especially for the social environment, including the prevention of gender-related segregation, discrimination and exploitation—is underexposed. A definition for the renewed role of the state within a Green New Deal and a formulation of requirements towards the state and the public sector as powerful actors for the sustainability paradigm shift is lacking. Gender-relevant weakening of the state is happening not only through erosion of the sustainability of its budgetary basis. The state's ability to assume its potential role, to function democratically, to enforce social and human rights and values, to balance interests and to undertake self-correction and reforming processes has been questioned, omitted and eroded in the last decades. The result is a vacuum that has been filled by norms, values and agents that do not satisfy the Green paradigm shift. The state as active agent in a transformational endeavour such as the greening of society, must be addressed in the same way as the private business economy. Its role, duties and responsibilities, as well as its rights and powers in all dimensions of sustainability must be defined within a Green New Deal. This is vital if the Green New Deal is to have a positive effect, or at least a neutral one, on gender equality.

2. A gender-equal concept of the economy

The keystone of a gender-equal concept of the economy is the inclusion of the private household economy and an understanding of its contribution to the production of goods and services, welfare and well-being, as well as its importance in preventing opportunity costs. The exclusion, neglect or failure to appreciate the female-dominated economy with the argument that it does not adhere to the logics of the private market economy and is considered an entirely female sphere, reduces the chances of effective policymaking and the resulting discriminatory effects mainly concern women.

The economy needs to be understood as a circuit rather than the cycle that mainstream economics has tried to argue. Environmental sciences and the eco movement have taught the benefit of such distinct cognitive modelling. Such a model would allow us to shape the economy as an entire, interdependent system that encompasses the three sectors of wealth production: the private business economy, the public sector and the private household economy, whereby each of the three sectors relies on the contributions of the other two and changes in one invariably have consequences for the others. Also to be taken into account are non-monetary assets and wealth, particularly time as the main private household economy currency (time also being a recordable item). In order to open up the full cognitive options for shaping

the Green New Deal as a paradigm shift, the concept of wealth should be expanded to encompass material, social (e.g. gender equality), ecological and time wealth.

As strategies focus mainly on specific sectors and industries, the employment dimension of the New Green Deal has been very narrowly defined. The employment structures of these sectors and industries are male-dominated. The inclusion of only a narrow range of industries neglects the green potential of other sectors, employment positions and industries; it also omits to address the issue of desegregation of employment, as a prerequisite for greening, and the urgent need to discuss the quality of green jobs (including 'genderedness', such as hegemonic masculine work-performance norms).

3. A gender-equal concept of the state and public sector

A democratically controlled public sector is seen as the key to guaranteeing the smooth functioning of societies in accordance with high standards of democracy and social justice, including the economy. Feminist approaches stress the importance of the public sector and the state's ability to work and act in the interests of welfare and societal development. They scrutinise the distribution of public resources, changes in tax and benefit systems and shifts in the tax base from the angle of redistributions between the public sector, the private business economy and the private household economy. The state is the major actor when it comes to the ability to redistribute income, institute legal regulations against discrimination and control any activities by private enterprise that are liable to disrupt social cohesion. The state is also involved in the allocation of time and money both within the private household economy, as well as between the private household and private business economy, and it controls the standards of working conditions, etc. Because of the gendered structure of our societies and the resultant impact on the distribution of income, property, time and life chances, these aspects are of vital importance for gender equality and the state becomes a central agent of gender equality.

Another reason the public sector is regarded as a primary agent of welfare and gender equity is its logic of distribution and redistribution. Owing to its welfare orientation, the public sector distributes goods, services and life chances according to a different logic from that of profit-maximisation and is therefore able to allocate and distribute resources, goods and services not only more equally but also in a way geared to certain social rules and targets. Concepts of productivity and profit go beyond the mere monetary aspect. The private business economy distributes goods and services, entitlements and life chances on the basis of competition; it is mainly interested in economic capability and ignores social stratification. The provision and distribution of

goods and services by a functioning public sector is crucial for a society wishing to reduce discrimination and social disadvantages, such as gender inequality. The fair and non-commercial distribution of opportunities, chances and entitlements is essential for a functioning society. Consequently, the logic of the non-market economy behind the distribution of public and merit goods provided by the state and public sector is considered essential and indispensable for the development of a nation's wellbeing. And the logic of the democratic state is more effective with regard to fair redistribution, particularly in the gender dimension.

The public sector also produces the goods and services required by its citizens. These are regarded as merit goods, some even being public goods that cannot be produced and distributed through market mechanisms. Poverty, low incomes, material dependence on male family members and other effects of gender segregation disproportionately affect women. They and persons with female gender roles, such as being principally responsible for the well-being of children and the elderly, are heavily reliant on the public services and products of the welfare system, health, education and care provisions, public transport, access to healthy environment and natural resources, etc. Determining which goods are to be considered merit goods and which should be public goods is not only a question of economic definition, but also a highly political issue. From the gender perspective, the commercialisation of goods—even those officially perceived to be public goods such as clean water or clean air²—is becoming highly critical as exclusion mechanisms toughen. Moreover, goods and services that were once unambiguously considered as public goods, especially in formerly socialist countries – goods such as education or health care – are now being re-privatised. Due to the current pressure on public budgets brought about by budget deficits and fiscal austerity policies, many countries within Europe are cutting back public services and the education and healthcare sectors, and privatising the provision of goods central to the functioning of democracy, such as education, communication services, transport, security and even basic needs such as the water supply.

The experience of privatisation and commercialisation in recent decades has by no means been positive for the development of gender equality either in terms of their impact on the quantity and quality of goods and services supplied or in terms of women's working conditions. This new wave of privatisation and commercialisation threatens Europe's future development in general and Europe's gender-equality development in particular. To ensure that the state assumes the role and function

² As air pollution in densely populated areas worsens, access to areas with clean air is becoming a question of residential area and the economic power to afford to live in such areas. As a result, the non-excludability of this public good has weakened.

crucial for green transformation, a Green New Deal must include a pro-active positive definition of the role of the public sector and the state.

Recommendations

A more gender-equal Greens' Green New Deal Vision must:

- Review the concept of sustainability: sustainability is directed towards the ecological system but it also systematically considers:
 - o people as care givers (social reproduction)
 - o people as a workforce
 - o citizens as political agents
 - o the state's role of guarantor for social cohesion and social equity and defender of social values.
- Include gender competence and gender equality-sensitive results in the quality criteria and requirements for all studies commissioned by the Greens.
- Regulations for sustainability should incorporate the following specific aspects:
 - o workforce, especially in the education and care sectors
 - o social relations
 - o human capital
 - o public financing, in order to sustain and develop social systems
 - o combat the erosion of 'good work'
 - o enforce social standards for typical female work and in female-dominated sectors, including illegal ones (migrants in the care economy, prostitution), and prevent their further erosion
 - o social cohesion.
- The following entities and aspects should be explicitly named and included in all policy papers:
 - o private household economy (where women are the main workers and managers)
 - o care economy (with a high percentage of female workers, whether legal, illegal or private)

- the contribution of the care economy to welfare, sustainability and greening, including its educational functions and aspects
- citizens and their organisations as contributors and agents for a greening society, especially including women and women's organisations
- citizens of both sexes and their organisations (e.g. consumer rights organisations) as economic agents
- women's professional organisations, lobby groups and knowledge-generating networks
- the results of women's, gender and gender-competent research and studies
- feminist knowledge and policy experience in mainstreaming alternative aspects and goals into hegemonic discourses, practices and institutions.

The following sections contains a detailed analysis of the different dimensions of the Green New Deal based on the policy papers *The industrial dimension of the Green New Deal*, *The employment dimension of the Green New Deal* and *The macro-economic and financial framework of the Green New Deal*.

B. The Employment Dimension of the Green New Deal

The following comments refer to the policy paper *The Employment Dimension of the Green New Deal*.

Men's and women's employment prospects

The greening of the economy has given rise to high job growth expectations. In this context, two main trends are described: greening jobs means new skill requirements to fulfil ecological standards, and new jobs in industries that engineer and produce green technologies. The evolution of existing occupations through greening and the creation of new green jobs mean that two main processes will be at work in the labour market: job losses and the devaluation of skills that become outdated due to technological improvements, and job gains and the growing recognition of green skills. Consequently, skill improvement, vocational training and apprenticeships are crucial aspects of the Green New Deal's employment dimension.

Industries expected to generate the highest job potential (Smith 2011) are the energy industries — with their solar, wind-power and biofuel sectors — and the construction industries for energy-efficient buildings and machines. The transport sector — with ecological transport systems and eco-mobiles — and the organic food, agriculture and forestry sector are also predicted to benefit from a green shift. Job growth in the renewable energy sector is expected to be especially high in the new EU member states (those which joined in 2004 and 2007).

All these industries are male-dominated, meaning that, for the most part, the Green New Deal will directly affect men and male labour. Estimates for occupations with high job potential growth show that around 4/5 of these jobs are highly segregated, meaning that more than 60% of the persons employed there are men.

The situation within these industries is characterised by:

- high gender segregation and much higher male employment
- high employment growth in male-dominated technical occupations, less in female-dominated or mixed service occupations such as counselling or administration
- a strong trend towards increasing gender segregation.

This is also due to:

- a pronounced male-dominated work culture, partly inspired by the pioneering culture (e.g. in the solar industry)
- high flexibility and availability requirements in terms of working hours and regional mobility, which favours the specific life situations and working preconditions usually found among men.

In addition, there is also the general trend in labour market changes caused by deregulation, which coincides with the strongly gender-segregated employment structures of greening industries. The increasing polarisation between

- skilled and unskilled occupations
- high and low quality jobs

will become more pronounced in the green industries. At the upper end, jobs will be created as research and development become central, while at the lower end low-skill and low-paid jobs will increase, for example in recycling. Fewer middle-level jobs are expected, partly due to technical innovation. As labour markets are hierarchically segregated, increased polarisation will have a negative effect on the situation of women in the green industries (Smith 2011).

One of the reasons for the strong negative trend in working conditions is the pressure from global competition, as the example of the solar energy sector shows. It is therefore extremely likely that these industries will develop in a way that is far removed from 'green' employment expectations.

The industries named above are particularly unlikely to fulfil the Greens social aims, especially gender equality policies, as they have:

- little or no tradition of equality policies,
- a gender-discriminatory hiring, promotion and informal working culture (empirical evidence shows a higher percentage of unemployed female engineers and a very high percentage of female engineers leaving the profession),
- high gender homogeneity in decision-making positions and low representation of women,
- low level of unionisation.

Moreover, as green structural changes and job losses mainly affect men, gender equality policies face an especially difficult situation at the discursive level. The legitimacy of gender equality policies is therefore open to discussion. As the transformation impact is more visible and tangible for the men concerned, their interests as a gender group may be considered more relevant than the basic but 'abstract' demands of gender equality and equal opportunity for the female gender group. This pattern of argument is often revived in times of crisis or change, as could be observed during the current crisis and is evident from the instruments chosen to cushion the first effects of the impact of primarily male-dominated industries.

Generally speaking, in sectors characterised by the quantitative and qualitative male domination of such immaterial aspects as norms, habits and cultures, there is an urgent need for gender equality; implementing these changes, will however, not be easy. This is also true for fair mechanisms when it comes to the distribution of new jobs and career opportunities, as well as for opportunities to participate in vocational training schemes.

A further aspect of the policy paper on the Green New Deal's employment dimension is a gender bias focused on male-dominated or male-associated sectors, professions and societal spheres. The Green New Deal paper names only one specific setting—chosen from a wider range of occupations—as contributing to the paradigm shifts envisioned. The importance of less male-dominated sectors is structurally omitted and neglected. A Greens' job dimension should systematically address all jobs contributing to the Green New Deal, in particular:

- greening and new green jobs in less technical sectors such as tourism, advertising, health, food production and processing, retail trade, etc.
- jobs that promote the greening of societies' lifestyles, consumer capacities and citizens' knowledge—all of which are greening (and to a lesser extent new green) jobs that provide for knowledge transfer and (consumer) education—and green administration and management, including the capacity for green and socially equitable procurement and human resource management,

as well as

- new green jobs in the green consulting, advising and business certification sector,
- new green jobs in the green consulting, advising and private household certification sector.

The gender-biased focus on major employers in private and corporate enterprises producing consumer goods fails to take note of non-market agents that produce and consume goods and services, such as private households and employers in private and public organisations.

Green jobs - good jobs?

All this indicates that it would be a mistake to think of green industries as emanating from a green movement and translating green values into working structures and employment conditions. Despite serving ethically substantiated eco aims and visions, green industries are private market-oriented industries that pursue profit-maximising and cost-reducing objectives. In this respect, the current development caused by the deregulation of the labour market is also putting pressure on the workforce. There is in fact some evidence to suggest that the problem in these industries is even worse due to the heavy pressure of global competition.

All in all, this means that the fundamental transformation of these sectors in line with the Greens' holistic understanding of the economic system will not be a simple matter. Environmental changes will not automatically promote decent work, especially not for women, if cost savings affected by green production are not reinvested in the workforce. The crucial question should be: how can decent work and ecological development be combined under Green New Deal policy rules, rather than asking how will ecological development promote decent work. In the present situation, 'greening' working conditions are still regarded as a cost factor instead of an investment,

The small number of women in decision-making positions and the higher corporate echelons is the most visible indicator of androcentrism in working structures and cultures, as well as norms and belief systems excluding, of course, those who do not conform to the expected values and behaviours of the current production system. This not only excludes women or men with family responsibilities from the opportunities these sectors present, but also women and men in general who have other life priorities than mere gainful work and employment. Not only do these sectors discriminate against women, they might also not even be attractive to less gender stereotypical women and men. Gender equality can therefore be seen as an indicator of decent work as set out in the quality criteria of the Greens' vision.

If working conditions change in such a way that they

1. lastingly retain the small number of women working in the sector,
2. are attractive for people with decent work-life-balance demands, for women in general and especially for men with family-work responsibilities and aspirations,
3. also provide a decent living for women at the lower end of the various skills' hierarchies,

then they have been shaped in such a way that not only the products but also the production processes, including labour rights, working conditions and staff diversity, are greening in the comprehensive sense.

Recommendations

With regard to the options, risks and opportunities presented by these sectors to the male workforce on the one hand and the androcentric culture on the other, the question how these sectors should be made accessible for women it is not an easy one to answer. As gender ratios, for example in engineering degrees, vary from country to country, the answer must be entirely context-specific. Legacies in post-socialist countries could have the positive potential to affect professional gender norms and gender notions of technology, thereby making it easier for girls and women to choose engineering studies; although a re-orientation towards traditional, bipolar gender norms and regimes as part of the move to regain a national rather than a socialist identity, can be observed.

Monitoring of the sectors should introduce and include:

- sex-disaggregated data for all statistical dimensions of employment, including information on self-employment, duration of working contracts, working times, wage and skill levels, hierarchies,
- indicators for decent work that takes interdependencies with private responsibilities (provisions for family responsibilities, penalties for maternity, etc.) into consideration,
- explicit gender equality monitoring as the basis for gender equality informed policymaking and gender mainstreaming practices, as well as tracking gender equality policies.

Introduce and strengthen anti-discrimination and equal-opportunity policies and make them a prerequisite for public funding and procurement:

- include gender equality tutoring and coaching for all decision-makers participating in green awareness programmes
- introduce and enforce tried-and-tested instruments to prevent discrimination
- apply coercive quotas to ensure equal opportunities in vocational training schemes for green skills,
- ensure career chances *and* decent working conditions irrespective of employment status (e.g. part-time, managerial positions, etc.)
- integrate gender equality and anti-discrimination into all Green New Deal training programmes and apprenticeships.

Use gender mainstreaming for developing policies to correct the androcentric focus:

- rethink the list of relevant sectors and professions for greening society and the economy
- add non-manufacturing employers, especially socially relevant ones, in order to explore all dimensions of employment
- specify and define policy options for omitted professions, sectors and spheres
- develop a stringent argument on female participation as an efficiency requirement
- develop a committed and visible position on gender equality
- introduce gender competence and sensitivity as quality criterion and key research and monitoring approaches to the Green New Deal employment dimension.

Modernise green labour policies:

- ensure a work-life balance for all, explicitly target men (to establish and open up alternative diverse working cultures, especially at decision-making centres)
- ensure workers' rights independently of unionisation level, e.g. by general labour rights and standards, minimum wages, etc.
- ensure anti-discrimination in all parts of the labour market, especially those with low unionisation

- only promote 'atypical' job models (part-time, temporary work, etc.) if safe and decent conditions for such job models are guaranteed.

Modernise education and formation to activate and retain female potential:

- target girls as future engineers,
- interest girls with study programmes complemented by green analytical and impact-assessing skills on technology and engineering,
- reinforce female engineering traditions and normalities (where in existence or revivable, e.g. in post-socialist countries), and combine them with appropriate work regulations,
- focus policy programmes on regions with high potential for female participation (e.g. with less segregated labour markets in engineering industries),
- ensure gender equality in on-the-job training,
- develop innovative labour market instruments to promote an all-encompassing greening of employment.

Further ideas:

- As the unionisation rate is low in the relevant industries, reliance on unions or unionisation can only be a minor part of the strategy. It is therefore necessary to strengthen the legal standards.
- Mandatory requirements for the financial control of industrial politics should include standards of good work and gender equality.
- Promote think tanks and innovative working structures that combine technical skills with impact-assessment skills, e.g. also as follow-ups to university programmes for women.
- The continued development and strengthening of gender equality requirements and controlling in European Social Fund (ESF) funding in all technology-related areas.
- Gender budgeting should be systematically included in ESF funding controlling, especially in technology-related areas.

Selected literature

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C. The Mobility Dimension of the Green New Deal

The following comments refer to the 'Transforming Europe's Industry: An Industrial-Sectors Snapshot, 3. The Transport Sector: towards smart mobility' section of the policy paper *The Industrial Dimension of the Green New Deal*.³

Diverse gender aspects in mobility issues

As participation, mobility modes and purposes are different for men and women and depend on assumed gender roles within different life spans, mobility is a gender-segregated issue:

Participation

- Employment in the transport sector is highly gender-segregated, with up to 90% of employment opportunities being offered to male workers (WISE 2011).
- The mobility and urban planning sectors are male-dominated, as is decision-making.
- Gender competence in research, planning and decision-making is strongly marginalized or absent.
- Instruments for gender-competent planning and decision-making (gender impact assessment, gender budgeting) are rarely applied.

Mobility modes and purposes

- There is a gendered distortion in the perception of the purposes of mobility: overcoming distance to reach work is seen as its main purpose, although this has less empirical relevance than complex everyday mobility. For example, only 15% of the traffic volume in Germany is work-related. Care purposes such as shopping and providing account for more than 34%. This increases to 56% if private reasons, such as accompanied trips for leisure purposes such as driving children to leisure activities, are included. In real life therefore, traffic associated with the unpaid private care economy has greater empirical relevance than the assumed default purpose of occupational commuting and travelling. This also applies to its predicted development⁴.

³ I would like to thank Bente Knoll (KnollSzalai - Landscape Planning and Management Consulting, Vienna) for commenting on this chapter.

⁴ See: BMVBS 2007: p. 7: Tabelle 0-3: Entwicklung des gesamten Personenverkehrs nach Fahrtzwecken.

- Travel is gendered; men use cars to go to work and for leisure, women more often use public transport to reach work and the car to accompany family members and fulfil care economy tasks.
- The majority of the European population does not have a car at its disposal and the group of car owners is male-dominated: even in the 'car nation' Germany, about 2/3 of all car owners are men, more than 70% of car owners in Europe are male.
- Gender differences in car use among younger age groups are low.
- The use of public transport is female-dominated: 60% of public transport users in Europe are female.
- In general, women constitute the group with the greatest potential to increase their future share of car use. The elderly, particularly women, are catching up with regard to car ownership (MiD 2008).
- Today, female car buyers, who traditionally preferred low consumption engines and environmentally friendly cars, are guided by a male-connoted taste for bigger and faster cars and are drawing level in terms of obtaining a driving licence and car ownership.
- Young males are a high-risk group in terms of fatal traffic accidents.
- Driving behaviour associated with masculinity (speed, alcohol) is a major cause of (fatal) traffic accidents.

The full picture of mobility

A gender-equitable perspective on mobility and transport should begin with non-androcentric assumptions. Instead of a concept in which the mobility requirements of a free market-based economic model with a (male) commuter are central and public transport is seen merely as an alternative and substitute for individual mobility, the focus must be on other forms of mobility. Mobility must be seen at least as the movement between several, non-linearly connected points; as being not only for consecutive but also simultaneous purposes; as an essential that is not restricted to the rush hour but also includes, e.g. weekends and the evening hours; as necessary for people not geared to paid employment.

The structural imbalances and discursive biases within the GND, are perpetuated by focussing strongly on aviation, medium and long distances and road transport, thereby marginalizing the non-motorised majority of the population (see also GEF p. 22). In the

logic of individual transport, the electric car may be an important step forward but it is by no means the solution for the overall picture in which the car is the privilege of a gendered minority. One of the few solutions proposed in the policy paper for medium distances is video conferencing, but this is only relevant for the group business target. Other travel purposes, such as social and family needs or tourism, are inadequately addressed. Here again, the Greens appear to have adopted the dominant discourse, which focuses on the world of medium and large businesses. Little or no attention is given to other parts of the economy and society. Despite their high relevance for the majority of the population, the growing demand for public transport (especially among younger age groups) and the obligation to end certain negative trends—all of which are highly relevant gender aspects—there is no mention of innovative concepts and mobility management systems designed to strengthen the financial and environmental aspects of public transport, ensure mobility in rural areas and promote collective mobility solutions (see GEF p.21 et seq.).

In addition, the consideration of such negative aspects of mobility as 'forced' or 'required' mobility should also be part of a green mobility concept, examples of which are long absences from home and long commuting times to (often low-paid) work. An extreme example is the female-dominated migration of care economy workers from East to West. In this case, mobility is forced by the social problems having to be dealt with by women, while at the same time it generates severe social problems in the home countries. But the example of the exaggerated mobility requirements of highly paid, often male-dominated sectors (e.g. consulting) perpetuating ideals of hyper mobility (as masculine-connoted freedom) and acclaiming unlimited mobility as a symbol of belonging to a certain elite group, should also be questioned from a Green perspective on mobility.

A perception of mobility management that prioritises

- **day-to-day mobility instead of one-purpose mobility,**
- **public transport and modal split instead of motorised individual transport,**
- **deceleration as a new paradigm in relation to time, instead of unquestioned acceleration and**
- **small-scale instead of long-haul mobility**

should be central to a Greens' Green New Deal mobility concept.

Recommendations

The proposals made in the Green policy paper are consistent with green ambitions regarding environmental challenges but are not consistent with the Greens' ambitions regarding gender and social equity. As gender is highly relevant in mobility issues, but not even reflected in their environmentally oriented proposals, the GND may be doomed to failure. The gender bias found in the choice of transport modes, target groups, topics and when defining priorities has an impact on what are considered to be the priorities for deciding where and which resources, such as intellectual capacity and finances, are to be channelled. In order to respond to real needs in a Green way, it is crucial to have a comprehensive, green and therefore gender-balanced, mobility concept. The following aspects should be developed:

Discursive and regulatory frames and decision-making:

- Conceive and discuss mobility as a basic daily need, social right and public task, not simply as a market commodity.
- Ensure proper conditions, especially for transport modes inclined to fail in the market (railways, inland water transportation, see Pällmann 2009), and guarantee their coherent and welfare-oriented regulation.
- Make short-distance transport a core issue in relation to its actual relevance and role in empowering those groups known to be of special concern to the Greens (rural population, carers, children and the elderly, local businesses).
- Explicitly distinguish urban and rural mobility needs and develop differentiated concepts that focus on the actual needs of different target groups. Include measurements that reflect a less androcentric and urban-biased concept of mobility, e.g. assess the quality of railway infrastructures not only by their length, but also by network density (e.g. km/1,000km², GEF p. 25).

- Enhance cooperation between rural, suburban and urban authorities, employers and state agencies (e.g. those responsible for employment, health and care issues, education, etc.) in order to recognise needs and develop mobility schemes.
- Approach ICT as a vehicle for a greener mobility in a unbiased manner; do not restrict it to video conferencing. Include virtual mobility in the concept of mobility, especially regarding the mobility of the rural population. In some areas the demographic trend is toward a rural population comprising older women and younger men. At the same time, the service infrastructure of sparsely populated areas is becoming problematic (e.g. medical services, shopping, cultural activities, etc.) Therefore, for rural target groups, virtual mobility should be developed as an issue with high gender and environmental relevance. While it has become normal to talk about global mobility through ICT in the context of capital, the concept of mobility must also be expanded to encompass ICT as it reduced the necessity for physical mobility leading to ecologically and socially positive effects. The importance of building an infrastructure for ICT is comparable to building a telephone, electricity, sewage or railways infrastructure in former times. The individual nation states and the European Union play a key role in this new mobility, as market solutions alone will leave some areas unconnected and exclude certain groups from participation.
- Affect change by addressing the discursive and ideological battle field (see also GEF, p. 27, 9): analyse the methods used by car lobbies to shape “symbolics and behaviour in line with their interests” (GEF p. 23) by presenting cars as the key to autonomy, freedom, liberty and power and by constructing emotional bonds with machines (for a current example, see the socialisation of children through films about ‘living cars’). Undertake an “intense educational effort conducted at common Community level and European level alike” (ibid.), while focussing on female target groups, as women have a growing share in motorised mobilisation and the mobility preferences of men and women are converging. Use the insights gained to promote a modern image of public transport.
- Recognise the issue of urban and transport planning as a Greens' key issue for democratic participation and guarantee female participation in participative planning processes.
- Ensure female participation and policy access for gender-competent knowledge in urban and transport research and planning.

- Systematically integrate gender-equality oriented mobility expertise in policy and implementation processes by making gender competence a procurement quality criterion for policy consulting and planning.

Gender budgeting:

- use gender budgeting to develop an intelligible budgeting system to calculate the de facto cost of current traffic systems. Include the opportunity costs approach by comparing costs including time and health costs (health problems, injuries, deaths) with those of alternative transport concepts. Also focus on who pays which prices (e.g. health problems in areas with dense motorised individual traffic).
- Prohibit 'in-group resource-shifting' caused by taking resources from polluters, while at the same time benefiting them. This is a highly gender equality relevant factor: e.g. reserving taxes on certain transport modes to maintain road infrastructure. State income from these sources should be tied to the development of alternative transport infrastructures, e.g. public transport, urban bicycle schemes, etc. that benefit men and women equally.
- Stop and prevent the further shifting of resources from short distance transport to long and medium distance transport, especially rail transport.
- Act in response to state subsidy cuts and emphasize the vital importance of alternative public transport financing concepts.
- Expand ideas for modernising vehicle fleets to specifically include collective and public transport (e.g. the German 'cash for clunkers' initiative was a missed opportunity to modernise the vehicle fleets of organisations and communities, e.g. buses used for social projects, urban buses, see Kuhl 2010).
- Ensure that costs for internalising environmental costs do not transform into externalised social costs (e.g. by lowering the social and security standards of air traffic employees and passengers).

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D. The Economic Dimension of the Green New Deal

The following comments refer to the policy paper *The macro-economic and financial framework of the Green New Deal* (13th EGP Council in Tallinn, 8-10 Oct. 2010, adopted policy paper).

Missing links in the economy

The general aspects of economic instruments are discussed in connection with the economic and industrial dimensions of the Greens' papers. Although some of them are of vital importance for gender equality and equity, this is not made visible in the policy paper. Feminist economics highlighted these aspects by working with economic concepts that include the private household economy and the care economy. The care economy produces those services and products that ensure the reproduction and development of society through caring, nurturing, educating, integrating and teaching. Care-economic activities are prerequisite for all social activity and are performed in the private household economy as unpaid work and in the public sector and private market sector as – mainly – low-paid work. The care economy with its human-centred services and products is female-dominated. As the ratio of work units to time units cannot be substantially reduced to maximise profits (e.g. amount of information taught per hour by teacher, number of persons washed per hour by geriatric nurse) it does not obey the market economy logic of profit-maximisation. Care work is frequently undervalued and underpaid. This does not reflect its relevance of the care economy for the well-being of society, the opportunity costs it saves (e.g. by preventing crime, social disintegration, etc.) or its status as a prerequisite for economic development (e.g. education).

The private household economy must be systematically added to the concept of the economy, which until now has only been thought to consist of the private business and public sectors. Only then will the full picture of economic, ecological and social wealth production become visible. Market (private business sector) and non-market spheres (public sector, private household sector) are interrelated and interdependent, so that changes in the one, such as cuts and additional expenditure, have repercussions on the other. Any deregulation in the market sector is paid for in the non-market sector, especially by the private household economy producing products and services on a non-monetary basis with a time-based currency. Some examples: shifting entrepreneurial risks to workers by reducing their income (material impoverishment) will result in the need to extend paid work hours. This puts pressure on the family work time budget (time impoverishment). This could reduce private capacities in terms of

carrying for dependent relatives or investing in the educational needs of adults and children. A further example: the shortening of hospital stay-times, as part of cost-saving programmes in a public health care system, is based on the fictional assumption that there will be someone 'at home' to care for the sick person.

In recent decades, the deregulation and liberalisation of paid employment aimed at freeing the market economy from restraints has been mainly at the expense of public budgets (e.g. wage subsidies and social aid to prevent poverty among the new working poor) and of private households (e.g. health problems and the associated care, reduced investment in human-centred production, compensating reduced social provisions of employers).

The adaptation strategies of different sectors are manifold, but movement in any of them will always affect the others. Therefore, an overall picture must include all three sectors and their interrelations. For all measures, the question must be asked: how will changes in one area affect the others? This is essential for ensuring the private household sector is taken into account and costs and burdens of this sector, where most of the managers and workers are women, are systematically included in policy assessments.

As time is the main currency in private households, it has proved to be a powerful analytical unit for revealing the impacts and effects within these sectors. Therefore, time wealth and time distribution between paid and unpaid labour and between men and women is a necessary indicator for tracking the (re-)distribution of benefits, profits and gains within the sectors and for measuring social well-being.

Non-excluding interrelation indicators

As to the indicator described in the policy paper on the macro-economic and financial framework, the split between the social world and the economic world remains untouched, even if the social component of 'education expenditures' has been added. This example, including, e.g. the environmental cost of depleting natural resources and a financial evaluation of global pollution, shows that better indicators can be constructed. Social wealth must be incorporated in the same way that ecological wealth and its consumption is included. If social aspects are only counted in an additional indicator, which is separate from the new indicator that has replaced GDP, these costs will remain externalised and the interdependencies in the real world will not be represented in the indicator.

Moreover, the deregulation experience illustrates how the price of strong performance in the private business economy could be the lack of freedom and safety in the private household sector, the stability of a declining state and its ability to act on a safe revenue base. Good indicators also reflect the balance between sectors essential to the well-being of both people and the natural environment. Therefore, the contributions of the non-market sectors to a nation's wealth – especially those of the private household economy, which have so far been excluded from all forms of performance measurement – must be systematically included in the indicator systems. The following example illustrates the point being made:

One way of measuring the contribution to national wealth would be to calculate the profits with an opportunity costs approach, which also serves to measure the profit of social security and social investments. The amount that would have to be spent if private households could not feed, clean, wash, educate and provide care for their members or pass on cultural skills can be calculated: the cost of health and controlling epidemics, for literacy, internal security, social programmes, etc. The level of social investment by the private household economy and its performance becomes evident when we look at countries with poor conditions in the private or public production of well-being. People, particularly women, pay the price of bad conditions caused by poor education and high levels of female illiteracy, a polluted environment and the lack of clean water. If the state is weak or geared solely towards satisfying the needs and interests of active players in the market economy, i.e. the financially wealthy, the price is paid by poor households, among which are households headed by women.

These are conceptual prerequisites for developing a gender-sensitive system of macro-economic indicators. Apart from the need to integrate social aspects and reflect all economic dimensions, some content-related aspects are also relevant. A central requirement for acquiring a full picture of wealth is the systematic consideration of all sources of wealth production, including wealth-consumption in the form of costs to the environment. The critique of GDP correctly states that material and monetary indicators alone cannot measure the performance and wealth of a nation. A system of indicators in a Green New Deal has to include gender equality in particular, and social well-being in general, as critical components in a new economic system. These aspects are resources that contribute to economic growth, as well as the 'prices' to be paid for economic growth. Not only environmental consumption but also human life chances and opportunities must also be included as costs in the new calculations. Just as the consumption of natural resources has made it into the new indicators, contributions taken for granted or undervalued because they are produced in line with female gender

roles, as well as the price paid in denied life chances, must also be included in an indicator system based on sustainability.

On the one hand, an alternative GDP must also integrate the cost of undermining e.g. gender inequality and social well-being, and generating (social) costs at the expense of individuals, society and the natural environment. A technical mechanism is required to internalise such costs. Steps must be taken to prevent these facts only being counted in financial terms, e.g. because states, charity organisations or corporations assume social responsibilities and ease adverse effects with money. The indicators must also include the immaterial costs paid, e.g. in terms of life chances, bad health, and exposure to violence, and acknowledge women as a social group. The consideration of costs paid by women as a social group includes paying particular attention to vulnerable groups in which women are over-represented, such as groups threatened by certain forms of violence, groups in low-paid jobs or jobs with low social standards in the informal sector, as well as groups heavily dependant on public-sector services and products.

On the other hand, exact stock must also be taken of production that contributes to the well-being of individuals, societies and the natural environment. This involves including non-market based contributions to wealth, especially to social wealth, by the production of human-centred goods and services generated in unpaid family work (private care economy).

Building on existing comprehensive economic indicators

There are examples for the non-androcentric construction of gross-national product calculations and the inclusion of gender-relevant aspects. For instance, unpaid care work and its gender composition in private households is measured in time and included in the GDP calculations (see Schaffer/Stahmer 2006 for Germany). As shown by indicators developed by the UN, the OECD or within the EU following the Beijing Platform of Action, it is also possible to construct gender equality indicators for all three sectors - the private business economy, the public sector and the private household economy – and demonstrate the interrelation between gender equality and economic, social and ecological development.

Some of them provide a good illustration of how even non-material concepts, such as gender norms and discrimination can be comprehensively displayed in numerical form (see for example the OECD Gender, Institutions and Development Database, 2006 and its SIGI Index (Social Institutions and Gender Index)). From the scientific world, approaches such as Diefenbacher/Zieschank (2010) show how to choose indicators and calculate social prices, costs and benefits, as well as how to include unpaid work

and household production. However, even these indicators frequently do not differentiate by sex.

Only when the degree of well-being produced by the private business, public and private household sectors is measured without gender bias (androcentrism) and truly includes the massive contribution of (women to) the private household economy, and only when social and environmental prices are also integrated into a new indicator, will it be possible to consistently measure societal and economic advancements, which satisfy the requirements of the Greens' Green New Deal.

Gender budgeting for a clear picture of public budgets

As shown by the policy paper, the current crisis in financial markets, public spending and private savings and investment shows there is a obvious need to re-regulate macroeconomic targets and instruments. Gender sensitivity is needed to ensure that the envisaged solutions will succeed in achieving the overall goals of the Green New Deal. A policy of austerity that cuts public expenditure without considering the impact of such cuts on the future development of economy and society, without focusing explicitly on gendered outcomes and without paying special attention to female-dominated vulnerable groups of citizens, will augment social and ecological risks without opening new opportunities. Important economic actors will be left behind and their potential to contribute to social welfare and social cohesion reduced. As pointed out above, equally as essential for Europe's is future the production of merit and social goods, of education, health and social benefits, of energy, water and transport, housing and communication, of good governance by democratic rules etc. in all three sectors of the economy (private businesses, public, private households). The tendency to reduce the state's revenue base for the sake of the free market economy and allegedly unleash the capacities of strong economic powers in the private market sector, coupled with cuts in public spending in times of crisis, have already had negative impacts on both the social equilibrium and the welfare state. As these cuts relate to strong interest groups, most of them male-dominated and representing male-dominated groups, they rarely reflect the interests of the majority of citizens and definitely not those of the majority of women.

Gender budget analysis, as an instrument for gender mainstreaming fiscal policy, would help to improve the situation. Gender budgeting helps foster a better understanding of inter-group relations and how they are affected by certain policies. This analytical tool could show just how much in relation to their economic power and performance potential specific social groups (e.g. wealthy individuals and corporations)

actually contribute, to social well-being and the development of society. It can also detect the effects of taxation on social groups. Gender budgeting would show that public transport cuts could affect specific groups of women and children more than men, that the allocation of taxpayers' money to education has a positive impact on the advancement of gender equality, that subsidies for fossil energy production combine a negative ecological impact with a negative impact on gender, as well as on green innovation – including the social dimension of green innovation. To change budget policies according to the Green New Deal, it is necessary to examine subsidies and tax reductions from the point of view of their impact, including their consequences for all three sectors and gender equality. Moreover, the social value added by the subsidised companies and economic sectors must be compared to possible alternative forms of 'green' spending using an opportunity costs approach. Supported by such data, the Green New Deal logic would counteract the argument that there is no alternative. The gender budget approach is a powerful instrument with which to open the debate on the implicit and explicit goals and effects of fiscal policies and examine who actually benefits from such policies and revenue and spending structures.

Gender budgeting competence exists worldwide, including in Europe, as the existence of gender budgeting groups at local and national levels shows. Within the European Gender Budgeting Network (<http://www.infopolis.es/web/GenderBudgets/egbn.html>), experts network and keep each other up-to-date on methods, initiatives and results.

Democratic and gender-balanced normative frameworks

The structure of the policy papers still follows the traditional lines of conceptualising issues and what is considered to be relevant and connected. The Greens' core issue of democracy is not directly connected to the economy, although the crisis has raised this fundamental issue. The gender perspective can show the relevance of correlating economic and Green (environmental and social) interests, and of connecting economic and democratic checks and balances by explicitly using the lever of gender equality. The idea that the economy should serve people's well-being and not vice versa is often discussed but finds its limits in the lack of power to intervene in the profit-maximisation strategies of private business. In this respect, consolidating democracy and the independence of democratic and state representative bodies, is crucial for ensuring the political system's capacity to intervene. Socially unacceptable outcomes caused by players and market-driven forces, as well as the free market's unwillingness and inability to correct discriminatory practices must be remedied by including such aspects in an economic strategy empowered by democratic values. The capacity of democratic

forces to control and act by reason of their own resources and knowledge ensures there is a system of checks and balances to counteract the current dynamics, in which economic power is synonymous with political power and influence. While women and their interests are underrepresented in economic decision-making centres (despite bearing most of the burden of unacceptable outcomes), the consolidation of democracy as a systematic aspect for economic restructuring is not found in the Green New Deal's economic dimension paper. To ensure that the economy is assigned its proper place in the economic framework of a Green New Deal, the roles of the economy, the state and society will have to be redefined.

Within a process of changing concepts of the relation between economy, society and state, and because none of the Green New Deal's goals for a sustainable and human-centred economy will actually be reached without gender equality, a discussion is required on the role of state policy in achieving equality. As women's voices are often excluded from macroeconomic strategies and bodies, changing the perception of the role of these institutions and their goals would imply quota rules for public bodies and corporations, both at Member State and EU levels. A binding rule for gender mainstreaming all policies, especially in the fields of macroeconomics (monetary policy, fiscal policy, industry policy), would ensure that the necessary data, information and concepts are generated.

The coordinated approach to macroeconomic rebalancing is a field that would clearly benefit from the inclusion of the proposed gender-sensitive scoreboard indicators to reflect social dimensions, and not only gender-blind unit labour costs or employment rates. Once data has been 'disaggregated' by gender, new elements of economic development will be revealed. In countries with no wage regulations, the unit labour costs may be lower than in countries with a well-organised public sector where women are in regular employment; in such countries, however, a great number of women may be in employment with wages below the poverty lines. In countries which perform better, even in the crisis, such as those in Northern Europe, France and even the Netherlands and Germany, more women can be found in the labour market than in countries facing severe economic problems, such as Greece, Spain, Ireland or Italy. Recommendations ensuing from the analysis of economic performance with gender-specific data may differ from those for which gender-blind data was used.

Gender inequality in income and assets on the one hand and private debts on the other is a major factor in the current crisis. There are strong suggestions that the crisis is affecting women and men differently, not only in terms of impact but also in terms of time, women being hit more strongly by the second wave of effects, not least because

of reduced public spending. However, not only in material terms is gender relevant for an understanding the crisis. The hegemonic values of the economies that brought the crisis on were risk-taking, short-term orientations, selfish profit-maximisation and the utilisation of people and their livelihoods as production and profit factors. The development of a new concept of economic and social well-being needs to reclaim 'female' values such as soundness, level-headedness and risk adversity, sustainability and social responsibility, in contrast to a hegemonic ideal of distorted masculinity, which is apparently vital and celebrated in certain economic spheres. Until now, within the given structures of the economy, this normative orientation has paid off. The Green New Deal economy needs to institutionalise the social values and orientations associated with 'femaleness' to change the production and distribution rules of profit and growth.

The state and public sector as potential provider of 'good' work

Within the assessment of different instruments for economic policy, a further aspect is also relevant: from the employment perspective, important employers of women are the public sector in general, and the public care economy including schools, health and elderly care. Generally speaking, working conditions in these sectors provide care givers with better opportunities to reconcile private work time and employment. The public sector is therefore of genuine importance as an employer, together with its capacity to ensure the welfare of its citizens.

The trend towards the erosion of the state as an employer is linked to the continuous erosion of its revenue base. Erosion of the state's income is endangering its capacity to act. It is predicted that women will be particularly hard hit by the second wave of effects of the crisis. The need for, and rigid implementation of, spending cuts will further decimate the public sector and its important functions (see part A). There is a real risk that not only stimulus packages but also spending cuts will discriminate against sectors employing women, reduce women's employment opportunities, reduce social protection in female-dominated occupations and put new burdens on unpaid family workers in the private household economy.

The role of the state as an economic actor with high relevance for the female workforce must be explicitly addressed.

Gender mainstreaming as the instrument for gender equality in the economy

To identify and prevent further gender inequalities in the economy and the ongoing inequitable distributions of risks and burdens caused by the effects of the crisis, profits and losses, the framework for EU economic and social policy requires a gender mainstreaming approach. The gender mainstreaming approach is designed to

systematically ensure gender equality within structures and processes. Proclaimed over 15 years ago at the Beijing Conference and adopted by the EU as a guiding principle, it has so far not been translated into economic policy. Although some progress was made during the early 2000s, even these attempts are slowly disappearing from recent documents, such as the Europe 2020 strategy. The same is true of the economic relations with the developing world; the experience gained and reported by international agencies such as the UN, or even the IMF and the World Bank, regarding the necessity of including a gender mainstreaming approach, is being heeded less than ever.

To ensure a high quality of economic strategies, the concept of the Green New Deal must implement gender mainstreaming as a key principle.

Recommendations

- A new macroeconomic framework must include the private household economy, as a conceptual part of the economy, e.g. by systematically assessing its contributions, investments, saved opportunity costs for welfare and the impacts on it by the economic policies of other sectors.
- Gender budgeting must be a standard procedure in economic governance.
- Introduce gender-responsive budgets and gender budgeting; regularly monitor fiscal and economic policies:
 - o conduct research on budget processes, including revenues and expenditure,
 - o ensure that EU funds actively increase gender equality,
 - o combine subsidies and tax reductions with minimum standards for work, income and gender desegregation (horizontal, vertical).
- “Redefining objectives of economic policy” by developing new tools and “indicators to steer and evaluate policies” should systematically include a gender equality perspective (gender mainstreaming), with special attention being given to the care economy and the private household economy.
- “Eurostat should expand the collection of data supporting the alternative *and gender-unbiased* indicators (*e.g. by including the private household economy*) both on a national and sub-national level and publish a dashboard” *integrating* “both classical indicators and alternatives ones.” (Quotes from The Green New Deal Working Group Activity Report 2010, additions in italics).

- Eurostat should support the development of alternative indicators including gender-sensitive data on unpaid work, time allocation, health and social welfare for a new indicator system to measure Europe's wealth.
- Redefine the role of the public sector; shift the emphasis from the neoliberalism concept to a positive function of the public sector as a major contributor to wealth and income and a central actor in ensuring equal opportunities and citizens' access to education, communication, health, better food, etc.
- Enhance the status of the care economy in accordance with its contribution to social welfare (care economy, public sector):
 - o by making it visible in statements on the economy and when measuring performance,
 - o by sector-specific labour market instruments (e.g. minimum wage), social policy (for unpaid care economy contribution) and social standards (including the rights of migrant workers in the care economy).
- Reassess the value of sectors that contribute little to social welfare:
 - o impose an upper limit on salaries and bonus payments in sectors only producing virtual added value or welfare costs,
 - o impose an upper limit on salaries in companies subsidised by means of tax benefits and financial aid,
 - o tax bonus payments without exception,
 - o impose a minimum limit on salaries to prevent working poverty in Europe and contribute to a balanced state budget.
- Restructure the stakeholder and shareholder power balance by calling shareholders to account in connection with social costs and benefits (measured gender-sensitively) and not only financial losses and gains. Safeguard stakeholders' interests with regulations that include women's participation.
- Apply reliable quota regulations aimed at making women's voices heard in all fields of macroeconomic policy in national central banks and the ECB.
- Apply appointment policies and quality standards to ensure that gender-competent economic knowledge (feminist economic research) is taken into consideration by macroeconomic bodies.

- Include gender competence and the gender-equality sensitivity of results in the quality criteria and requirements for all studies commissioned by the Greens.
- Ensure gender mainstreaming of ECOFIN recommendations.
- Ensure gender mainstreaming of EU strategies such as Europe 2020.
- Strengthen the economic literacy of citizens and their organisations; ensure women's participation.

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E. The Industrial Dimension of the Green New Deal

The following comments refer to the policy paper *The Industrial Dimension of the Green New Deal*.

The main industries mentioned in the paper are the energy, building and transport sectors, the manufacturing industry and the chemical industry.

When perceived from the workforce perspective, it becomes clear that this subset of industries is an androcentric selection of male-dominated sectors and gender-biased. In particular the energy, building and transport sectors are highly gender-segregated. But even looking at the different sectors of industry from a more general perspective, it is striking that only manufacturing industries have been chosen to position the lever for greening development. The paper does not explore the economy greening potential of other sectors in the context of industrial policy: this applies to the agriculture, fishing and forestry sectors and, above all, to the service sector. The only reference to the relevance of knowledge production as a prerequisite for industry is in connection with knowledge transfer, education and vocational training.

Traditional concepts as reasons for a gender-biased perspective

The rationale for choosing this specific subset of industries in the policy paper could be threefold:

1. The polluter pays principle.
2. Certain industries are conceived as being developers and producers of green products.
3. Tradition and persisting structural conservatism in economic policies, especially regarding industrial policies, are often related to public subsidies.

As explained in the comments on the economic and employment dimensions of the Green New Deal, the selection has a strong androcentric bias and overlooks other crucial agents and potential offered by the Green New Deal. Questioning the assumptions of the implicit rationale could therefore result in a more gender-neutral perspective.

Polluters pays principle and traditional concepts of 'industry'

The industries explicitly mentioned in the paper (energy, building, transport and manufacturing sectors, chemical industries) are deemed to be important polluters of the environment and in accordance with the 'polluter pays principle' are therefore the

obvious agents for green change. Some industries are the key to green production; a clear candidate here is the chemical industry. When the main focus is the amount of pollution generated by an individual contributor it is entirely logical to address the manufacturing industry. Yet other sectors may contribute smaller amounts, but still be major polluters, e.g. the animal production field of agriculture. Thus, not only should the pollution produced by major polluters be taken into account, but also that created by numerous smaller ones. An example could be service industries such as the advertising industry, which consumes high amounts of energy through advertising (in addition to other ecologically negative effects such as light emission). A new perspective of the Green New Deal on industry should dispense with traditional views of what constitutes a relevant industry.

Private households are important contributors to pollution and as part of the solution should therefore also be addressed systematically. At first sight, a paper on the industrial dimension might not seem the right place to do this. But a systematic vision on lifestyle, consumption and pollution might include the private household economy (citizens, consumers, third-party downstream users). The main reason for neglecting this aspect may well be that the policy papers are structured along the traditional lines of argument, which are consistent with the mainstream division into sectors and industries and preconceived notions of relevance.

Some target groups dealt with in the paper have a more balanced gender ratio or even, in some cases, a greater female than male relevance. These target groups are consumers, private households, inhabitants and users of the residential sector (persons living and working in buildings) and non-professionals and professionals with the potential to contribute to a growing green-conscious demand and awareness. If the logic of the Green New Deal takes the idea of sustainability and a circular economic process as a starting point, then industrial policies should include consumption as the other side of the industrial production coin. The question of who is using the products manufactured by the industries, and how, is at least as relevant as the question of which products the industries are producing and why. With its focus on the private household economy, civil organisations and citizens as educators of new generations, the classic green ideal of democratic participation – key to the Green parties' brand – opens up new and innovative options for the Green New Deal. These groups play a part in the transmission of knowledge about environmentally relevant cultural techniques (waste management, energy saving, lifestyle consequences, avoidance of harmful materials, to name just a few) and as green consumers and lifestyle role models or suppliers of alternative lifestyles.

The gender equality perspective – similar to the environmental perspective – is well suited to questioning cognitive frontiers and bringing together the different parts in line with the new logic necessary for new solutions. So, apart from addressing the matter of missing sectors, one way of overcoming a limiting view of the industrial dimension would be to conceive production, manufacturing and consumption as interrelated topics. The downstream-user and consumer aspect, especially their role in steering supply through demand, is missing from the industrial dimension paper. In other words, the other side of the production coin is not addressed systematically. The players and roles defined in the European Union's REACH Regulation are a useful starting point. However, consumers as actors must also be added to the newly assembled picture. Although, as a producer of substances and mixtures, the chemical industry may play a major role, the industries, manufacturers and professional workers that utilize the semi-finished and finished chemical products in their work and products must also be considered systematically. They are closest to the consumers because they pass on the chemicals to them as consumer goods. The toy industry is a good example of the relevance of the missing link between the chemical industry and the consumer. This relationship can be illustrated as follows. Innovation in the chemical industries has made it possible to replace the harmful substances found in plastic. The toy industry is an important buyer and manufacturer of plastics. Customers buy products and come into physical contact (or in this case, their children) with the plastics. If, as downstream user, the toy industry does not replace harmful plastics with new products and continues to use obsolete ingredients, the greening of the chemical industry could fail if the following stages of production, consumption and recycling are not taken into account. In greening the economy, it is especially important to address industries that depend on the chemical industry, such as the toy industry (which is about as close to consumers as it is possible to get considering that children sleep with their toys and stick them in their mouths). The chemicals contained in products and products made of chemicals have high relevance for human health – which is mainly assured by women (remediating allergies, intoxications, etc.).

The gender-equality perspective reveals the missing link, as has been shown by the toy safety discussion instigated by women's groups. These groups point out that important aspects of consumer protection are being overlooked because the women's perspective, in this case that of mothers', is not considered. There is inadequate consideration of the practical realities of toy consumers, i.e. a child's close physical contact with toys, in the respective regulations. This example illustrates the importance of factoring downstream users and consumers into industrial policies. The picture is

one of fulfilling the requirements of the Greens' Green New Deal for an all-encompassing vision, whereby humans are included in the concept of sustainability, and human-centeredness is included in industrial policies.

A holistic view should be taken of the demand for green products as part of industrial new green policies, and deeds inspired by circular models. This would make it possible to systematically supplement policy concepts with the perspective of downstream users and consumers, as well as include waste and recycling issues. Gender mainstreaming is a powerful tool with which to take the contribution of women and the private household economy as such into account, thereby promoting highly effective policies within the meaning of the Greens' Green New Deal.

Persisting structural conservatism as a mechanism for resource distribution

Economic policy, especially the tax benefits and financial aid of industry subsidy policy, has traditionally focused on and been structured along the lines of the sectors mentioned in the policy paper. In Europe, 64.1% of all subsidies go to the manufacturing industries⁵. Even the financial support for horizontal goals such as energy efficiency, regional development or employment is concentrated in this sector. Of the 27 EU Member States, 19 countries contribute the biggest share of subsidies to the secondary sector, with 16 of them contributing more than half. The primary sector, namely agriculture, has subsidy policy priority in seven Member States. The tertiary sector is only prioritised by Portugal, where financial services are subsidised.

The paper does not fundamentally dispute the structures of national monetary channels. In general, research into the de facto effects on welfare growth and innovation, as well as into the consequences of such biased structures are missing. The policy paper appears to see the main goal of subsidies as being a structural adaptation to meet new green and market entry requirements. A further legitimate and accepted basis for subsidies is employment growth. Here, the third sector not only has the highest growth potential in general, but – if the employment dimension were to be revised in line with a gender equality perspective – also in green terms. If the Green New Deal constitutes a paradigm shift in lifestyles, the support for transition to the knowledge society could be at least as important as the greening of an industrial society. It is highly likely that the preserving effect of the current bias in subsidies towards manufacturing industries is obstructing the productivity potential of job and welfare growth in the service and knowledge society. Money is preserved for the secondary sector and is not available for other sectors, especially the tertiary sector.

⁵ All data on subsidies: Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Entwicklung der Finanzhilfen des Bundes und Steuervergünstigungen für die Jahre 2009 bis 2012 (23. Subventionsbericht). Deutscher Bundestag. Drucksache 17/6795 (11.08.2011) based on data from the European Commission.

This is of vital gender equality relevance as the male-dominated industrial sector, with its relatively higher social standards, is in decline. The female-dominated tertiary sector, however, has relatively low social standards but high potential for job growth and positive welfare effects. Moreover, as demographic changes in the aging European society are giving rise to an urgent need for a well-functioning care economy, this constitutes a general policy failure caused by incusted economic policy structures. With regard to unemployment and welfare return, the third sector has greater long-term potential for the Green New Deal.

The gender equality perspective highlights this fundamental problem with the structure of industrial policies and facilitates the identification of alternatives. These alternatives are consistent with the spirit of the Green New Deal and highlight the numerous shades of Green by demonstrating that sustainability is not simply about nature and ecological systems. Interdependencies, alternative options and opportunity costs are made visible by the gender equality perspective. This makes it possible to reframe economic policies according to the high ambitions of the Greens' Green New Deal. Proposals for investing in consumer awareness, mainstreaming green consumer knowledge into education, incentives and guarantees that green lifestyles will pay are also issues that could be included.

The omission of private energy consumers from green considerations could result in unintended effects. The unbalanced public policy focus on certain economic sectors and the omission of the interdependence with consumers could lead to 'hidden subsidies', whereby money is transferred from one area to the other and the cost of investments passes from one group to another. Small consumers such as private households, for example, could be indirectly financing discounts for major energy consumers being rewarded for energy efficiency with price reductions. It is important that private households' efforts to save energy also pay off disproportional to the non-consumed energy. Only then will private investment in energy-efficient devices become attractive. Other unintended shifts, which are gender relevant because of gender differences in home ownership, include the distribution of costs for the energy-efficient renovations of homes. If tenants have to bear the cost of improving the energy efficiency of a house through rent increases, processes such as gentrification could accelerate, thereby affecting low-income households – again, a group with a high percentage of women.

Recommendations

- Consider 'industry' in a holistic manner and include non-manufacturing industries, especially when planning subsidy distribution and state aids.
- When defining the requirements and criteria for green industrial policies, consider the relevance of other players and how such policies affect them. Such players could be downstream users, consumers and persons responsible for dealing with the negative effects of misguided industrial policies (e.g. women as carers in the private household economy).
- Include consumers' interests, rights and empowerment (steering demand) in a gender-aware manner in industrial policies.

Comments on

"Phasing-out state aid for unsustainable processes":

- use a comprehensive definition of unsustainable by revising state aid according to new Green New Deal criteria and taking processes into account that do not sustain
 - o social cohesion, especially with regard to impoverishment,
 - o gender equality, especially the gender homogenous concentration of decision power,
 - o state capacity, especially as regards the externalisation of costs to local state entities; do not only consider environmental pollution but also the social and health costs incurred through low-standard working conditions (also in non-European countries).

Internalisation of costs

- use new comprehensive concept of external costs including
 - o public costs, e.g. the cost of social security systems to deal with below-minimum wages or the exclusion of young people from the workforce, etc.
 - o social costs, e.g. for public health and the private care economy due to discrimination, excessive work pressure, time impoverishment effects, etc.

Regulations for sustainability

- consider sustainability as including the natural environment, humans, social cohesion, social security systems and states' capacities on the basis of a circular world view interconnected with social and ecological aims: use gender mainstreaming approaches to incorporate regulations on non-discrimination and decent work into ecological regulations; in this way avoiding the risk that green investment are paid for by social groups and through the erosion of working conditions.
- use the experience of gender mainstreaming to mainstream sustainability standards into education and vocational training schemes.

Taxes and benefits, tax cuts

- Combat the problem of the state's gradually worsening financial capacity, as this especially affects women and gender equality. Seek instruments with budget-neutral or budget-positive effects, e.g. white certificates allowing for state income instead of expanding state expenditure.
- In the framework of internalisation of costs: readjust instruments by redistributing responsibilities towards industry and pricing externalised costs (readjusting prices according to comprehensive sustainability criteria).
- Include fair trade as a requirement for tax benefits using gender mainstreaming.

Procurement

- Define and strengthen the state's role as a role model "to re-orientate economic activities in ecological and social" terms (policy paper p. 3).
- Make Article 26 of EU Directive 2004/18/EC obligatory, specifying social aspects regarding gender equality and gender-aware poverty prevention.
- Concretise the enforcement and dissemination of instruments and standards for gender equality instruments, decent work and green procurement.

Consumer empowerment

- Strengthen the role of citizens as consumers in all policies, starting with women as organisers and managers of the private household economy and their activities in waste avoidance and separation, purchase decisions, energy use and their transmission of green everyday knowledge, in order to exploit the full potential of the Green New Deal.

- Develop and strengthen industrial policies aimed at empowering citizens as 'green, mature consumers', starting with carers in private households directly affected by the effects of harmful products and pollution (e.g. caring for relatives with health problems).
- Take the consumer as the starting point for waste management, product recycling and energy saving approaches. Take an explicit gender-sensitive standpoint and consider gendered distribution of (unpaid) work for sorting, collecting, depositing waste and use of household devices.

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