

The Gender Dimensions of the Green New Deal

**study commissioned by
The Greens/EFA Group in the European Parliament
Study initiated by Elisabeth Schroedter**

**Dr. Mara Kuhl
Consultancy for Public Administration and Politics**

**in cooperation with
Prof. Dr. Friederike Maier
Harriet Taylor Mill-Institute
Berlin School of Economics and Law**

Content

A. General remarks for gender equality in the Vision of the Green New Deal 3

Three central aspects detected by the gender equality perspective 4

1. A gender equal concept of sustainability 5

2. A gender equal concept of economy 6

3. A gender equal concept of the state and public sector 6

Recommendations 7

B. Comments on the Employment Dimension of the Green New Deal..... 9

Men's and women's employment prospects 9

Green Jobs - Good Jobs? 11

Recommendations 12

Selected literature 13

C. Comments on the Mobility Dimension of the Green New Deal..... 14

Diverse gender aspects in mobility issues 14

The full picture of mobility 15

Recommendations 16

Selected Literature 18

D. Comments on the Economic Dimension of the Green New Deal 19

Missing links in Economy 19

Non-excluding interrelation indicators 20

Building on existing comprehensive economic indicators developed by alternative economists and gender equality agencies 21

Gender Budgeting for a clear picture on public budgets 21

Democratic and gender balanced normative frameworks 22

The state and public sector as potential provider of “good work” 24

Gender Mainstreaming as the instrument for gender equality in economy 24

Recommendations 24

Selected literature 26

E. Comments on the Industrial Dimension of the Green New Deal 27

Traditional concepts as reasons for a gender biased perspective 27

Polluters pays principle and traditional concepts on “industry” 27

Persisting structural conservatism as mechanism for resource distribution 29

Recommendations 30

Selected literature 32

A. General remarks for gender equality in the Vision of the Green New Deal

The Greens managed to mainstream ecological concerns and to show that working, living, producing and consuming environmentally friendly is necessary and beneficiary. Now that the Green movement and their parties came so far, they have to manage to mainstream also the other parts of their values, foremost gender equality as a topic relevant in all areas and for all other normative aims like North-South equity and a social market economy. For a gender equal Green New Deal the Greens could make use of the colour metaphor: with the Green New Deal all parties, institutions and lobby groups aspire to be green. Being Green in the environmental sense has become mainstream. Now the Greens have the chance to stress the amplitude of their Greenness to avoid to become a Green Eagle on Green ground. It is time that the Greens show the many shades of the traditional Greens' ideas - Gender equality being a central one.

Gendered social structures, direct and indirect discrimination and the prevalence of explicit and implicit androcentrism are disadvantaging women as persons and as social group. They also discriminate against female gender roles, norms and values and tasks associated with women, motherhood or femininity – regardless of the sex of the persons assuming such roles and tasks. This also affects economic sectors negatively, for example the position of female dominated sectors on the priority list of policy makers or the remuneration paid in female dominated sectors. Gendered social structures and androcentric norms also discriminate against men not complying with hegemonic standards of masculinity and traditional gender roles. The pressure on men and within male dominated sectors on persons regardless of their sex, to comply to certain personality features and behaviour to get access to resources, e.g. like decision making power, is strong. Gender equality as a fundamental value and goal is benefitting women and men in all positions within the social structure. Normative, discursive, material and legal changes targeting at improving women's position, at re-assessing the importance attributed to women's perspectives and interests and the enhancement of circumstances in female dominated social or economic sectors are beneficiary for all. Men seeking to live alternative life-style at home, in family, on the job and in their social relations as well as for groups of men within female dominated sectors and being affected by the trends of impoverished working conditions (the so-called trend of "feminisation of work") will all benefit from an truly gender equitable Green New Deal.

It is necessary to adopt an overall and inclusive perspective which recognizes the gendered social structures (including the gendered distribution of paid and unpaid, productive and reproductive work with the effects on economic positioning and chances to acquire economic power) and which detects the androcentrism in our normative and belief systems. Androcentrism has the effect that policy making is taking, as reference point, a supposedly average person, which implicitly and without saying is white, male, heterosexual, healthy, well educated and middle class and living in rather traditional gender roles. Thereby, specific life circumstances and situations are privileged in and by political decision making. This then becomes the background against which politics, policies and their impact normally are developed and assessed. The effect is an unintended exclusion, neglect or devaluation of women's interests and needs and of persons not having the social-economic features of the "default group". Also economic and social areas and living conditions which are not central to the default group are thereby systematically out of sight, e.g. women dominated work and labour market sectors, care work in the private household economy, child care etc. Androcentrism is one epistemological structure that has excluded the private household economy and the service and care economy from the mainstream concepts of economy despite its importance for economic growth and wealth production.

Experiences from gender equality policies show, that promising strategies have to include two levers: One, making **use of the dominant logic** and their structures and two, **transforming the dominant logic**. The success of the Greens to on one hand promote economic growth through ecological technologies and on the other hand make environmental friendliness a quality criteria for products show the necessity of such a simultaneous move. It is necessary of the achievement of social goals, especially of gender equality, that consequent, convincing causal and coercive interdependencies are constructed between social and profit maximizing aims. A gender aware policy development **using Gender Mainstreaming systematically** allows to build such structures and mechanisms that produce causal effects between social and ecological and economic aims. Simultaneously it is necessary to explicitly acclaim the normative dimension of the Green point of view by giving gender equality a right on its very own. Social sustainability will be neglected successfully also in the future if it does not become a quality and efficiency criteria *and* an argument on its own in the current value system. As long as the dominant discursive logic gives priority to financial and individualised profit over social profits the reclaiming of social values as a right on their own is indispensable.

Gender equality and its strategies and instruments like equal opportunity policies, Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Budgeting have always been tackling the dimensions of the Green New Deal congruent with the agenda of the Green movement: inequality, discrimination, social justice, distribution of power and wealth and sustainability. Gender equality is a goal and a road towards this agenda. Only if gender equality is systematically incorporated in the discourse, normative and analytical frameworks, the priority lists and questions, only then the Green New Deal can deploy its full potential in the Greens' sense of a paradigm shift.

Three central aspects detected by the gender equality perspective

Gender equality is mentioned in the statement parts of the Green papers at the beginning. In the specifications and policy propositions it is missing as a integrated aspect. So many parts of the papers are gender blind or gender biased as the relevance of gendered social structures and they discriminating or disadvantaging effect are overlooked or left untouched. Instead of gender blindness a truly gender neutrality acknowledging the gendered starting points and gendered inequalities would be necessary for a vision reaching the aims of the Greens. Moreover the epistemological power and effect of a systematic gender equality perspective would open the eyes for a broad array of viable, human-centred and effective options. It would ensure that the Greens' Green New Deal makes full use of the contributions possible and needed for the transformative endeavour of changing the relations to people, time, space and things fundamentally.

The gender analysis of the Green's basic papers on the Green New Deal showed three basic voids not congruent with the proclaimed ambition of their vision and with the Greens tradition.

1. The **concept of sustainability** is reduced to environmental sustainability in the specifications of policies thereby overlooking what is needed for including humans, especially women, and social conditions, especially fair gender relations, into sustainability.
2. The **concept of economy** sticks to the traditional frameworks of economy with separated and independent sectors leaving the cognitive structures producing distortions and leading to gender blindness untouched. Central aspects are here the neglect of the private household economy and of a comprehensive opportunity cost calculation based on an extended sustainability concept including the contributions and prices paid by the

private household economy, where women are the main workers and managers. Also a systematic attention to interrelations between the public, the private business and the private household economy is missing. Moreover the role of the private household economy and female and male citizens as agents of change, as polluters, economic players steering demand by consumer decisions and as democratic agents differently affected by sustainability issues is underexposed.

3. The **role of the state** including the public sector as agent in economy and society and as potential guarantor for social rights, sustainability rules and gender equality in all spheres, e.g. as distributor of resources and enforcing human rights, is underexposed.

1. A gender equal concept of sustainability

The main aspect referred to in the papers in the concrete sections is the natural environment. What sustainability should be and how it is achieved is made explicit to a much lesser extent regarding humans as work force, care workers in the private household economy or citizen with political and social agency.

To give only one example of the many areas where sustainability in its human, social and gender equality dimension should be explored: the aspect time albeit its high gender relevance is not explored in its gender equality dimension. Time in a Green New Deal aspiration has to include not only time to ensure the reproduction and sustainability of oneself but time to care for others. Time in the papers is mainly highlighted from the side of paid work life from a perspective of a person not included in the private household economy having a the mere wish for work-life-balance – not an imperative demand. By this, the structural ignorance towards already existing duties and unchangeable commitments is repeated and the situation of those who are responsible in the private care economy, like men and women in the gender role of primary carer (“mother”) is not mentioned. The uneven distribution of pressure to take time for family on one hand and of entitlements to such time on the other has different relevance for women and men during their life cycle and leads to gender differentiated consequences for material security on one hand and for chances to build up reliable social relations by the investment of time shared with relatives on the other. The perspective on time is androcentric in the sense that it takes a certain life span of a supposedly neutral (but male in the sense of being freed from unpaid care duties and without a wish for care responsibility) person as parting point. Thereby other gender roles, life spans and the reality of women in a certain life span are neglected.

The sustainability of the public sector is mentioned mainly with respect to the budgetary consolidation. The states function for ensuring sustainability especially for the social environment including the prevention of gender related segregation, discrimination and exploitation is underexposed. A definition of 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 actor for the sustainability paradigm shift is missing. The gender relevant weakening of the state is not only happening by eroding the sustainability of its budgetary basis. The state’s ability to assume its potential role, to function democratically, to enforce social and humans rights and values, to balance interests and for self-correcting and reforming processes has been questioned, omitted and eroded. This has produced a vacuum that has been filled by norms, values and agents that are not sharing the interest of a Green paradigm shift. The state as active agent in a transformational endeavour like a greening of society has to be addressed in a similar way than the private business economy. Its role, duties, responsibilities as well as rights and powers in all dimensions of sustainability have to be defined within a Green New Deal. This is indispensable if the Green New Deal should be at least neutral or at best positive for gender equality.

2. A gender equal concept of economy

The keystone of a gender neutral concept of economy is the inclusion of the private household economy and to understand its contributions in the production of goods and services, welfare and wellbeing and its importance for preventing opportunity costs. To exclude, neglect or undervalue this female dominated economy with the argument that it is not obeying the logics of the private market economy and because it is considered as female sphere has severe epistemological shortcomings, reducing the chances for effective policy making and resulting in discriminatory effects mainly affecting women.

Economy should be understood as circuit and less as cyclic, like economics tried to argue. The environmental sciences and the eco movement have taught the benefit of such a distinct cognitive modelling. This would allow to model economy as a whole, interdependent system of the three sectors of production of wealth: the private business economy, the public sector and the private household economy where all three sectors are relying on the others contribution and where there is no change in one without the repercussion in the others. Non-monetary assets and wealth, especially time as the main currency in the private household economy (and that moreover is a recordable data) have to be taken into account. The idea of wealth should be expanded to encompass material, timely, social (e.g. gender equality) and ecological wealth to open up the full cognitive options to shape the Green New Deal as a paradigm shift.

The employment dimension of the New Green Deal is very narrowly defined as the strategies are concentrating on certain sectors and industries. These sectors and industries are male dominated in their employment structures. The narrow range of industries taken into account leaves aside the green potential of other sectors, employment positions and industries, as well as the question of desegregation of employment as prerequisite for greening and the urgency to discuss the quality of green jobs (including their “genderedness” like hegemonic masculine norms of “work performance”).

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

A democratically controlled public sector is considered central as guarantor for a well-functioning of societies according to 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 to act for welfare and societal development. They scrutinize the distribution of public resources, changes in tax and benefit systems and shifts of tax bases from the angle of redistributions between the public sector, the private business economy and the private household economy. The state is the major actor regarding the ability for redistribution of income, for legal regulations against discrimination and control of the activity of private enterprises harming social cohesion. The state intervenes also into the allocation of time and money within the private household economy as well as between the private household and private business economy. It controls for the standards of working conditions etc. All these aspects are – due to the gendered structure of our societies with its impact on distribution of income, property, time and live chances – of vital importance for gender equality and makes the state a central agent for gender equality.

Another reasons why the public sector is regarded as main agent of welfare and gender equity is its logic of distribution and redistribution. The public sectors with its public good orientation distributes goods, services and life chances by a different logic than the profit maximization and is therefore able to allocate and distribute resources, goods and services more equal and oriented to certain social rules and targets. Concepts of productivity and profit are going beyond monetary aspects. The private business economy distributes goods and services, entitlements and life chances based

on competition mainly taking into account economic capability and ignoring the fact of social stratification. The provision and distribution of goods and services by a functioning public sector is crucial for a society wanting to diminish discrimination and social disadvantages like gender inequality. A fair, non-commercialised distribution of opportunities, chances and entitlements is essential for society. So the non-market economy logics of distributions of public and merit goods offered by the state and public sector are considered essential and indispensable for a nation's welfare development. And the democratic state's logic is more effective regarding fair redistribution especially in the gender dimension.

Moreover the public sector is the producer of necessary goods and services for its citizens considered merit goods, some of them being even public goods which are by no means producible and distributable through market mechanisms. Especially women as disproportionately affected by poverty, low incomes, material dependence from male family members and other effects of gender segregation. They and persons with female gender roles like being primarily responsible for children's and elderly's well-being have to rely on public services and products in social security, health, education and care provisions, public transport, access to healthy environment and natural resource etc. The definition of which goods are to be considered merit goods and which should be public goods is not only considered a question of economic definition but a highly political one. The commercialisation of goods, even those formally seen as public goods like clean water or clean air¹, is seen highly critical from the gender perspective as exclusion mechanisms are reinforced. Moreover goods and services formerly unambiguously considered public goods, especially in formerly socialist countries, like education or health care are privatized again. Under the actual pressure on public budgets, on the background of budget deficits and fiscal austerity policies, many countries within Europe will cut back their public services, their educational sectors, their health care sectors, they will privatise the delivery of goods central for a functioning of democracy like communication services, transportation, security and even basic needs like water supply etc.

The experience of privatization and commercialising during the last decades are by no means positive for the evolvement of gender equality, neither in their consequences for the quantity nor the quality of supply of goods and services nor the working conditions of women. The new wave of privatisation and commercialisation is a thread to Europe's future development in general but to Europe's gender equality development in particular. A green new deal needs a pro-active positive definition of the role of the public sector and the state to ensure that the state assumes its indispensable role and function for a green transformation.

Recommendations

For a more gender equal Greens' Green New Deal the following would be necessary

- Re-work the concept of Sustainability: Sustainability is directed towards the ecological system and includes and cares systematically also for
 - o humans as care givers (social reproduction)
 - o humans as work force
 - o citizens as political agents
 - o the state in its role as guarantor for social cohesion, social equity and the defender of social values

¹ As the air pollution in densely populated areas worsens the access to areas with clean air is becoming a question of residential area and the economic power to afford to live in these. By that the non-excludability of this public good has weakened.

- Gender competence and gender equality sensitive results as quality criteria and requirement for all studies commissioned by the Greens
- Regulations for sustainability are including the following aspects and specified for
 - o work force, especially in education and care sector
 - o social relations
 - o human capital
 - o public financing, in order to sustain and develop the social systems
 - o fighting against eroding “good work”
 - o enforcing and preventing further erosion of social standards for typical female work and in female dominated sectors including the illegal ones (care migration, prostitution)
 - o social cohesion
- The following entities and aspects are explicitly mentioned and included in all policy papers
 - o private household economy (with women as main workers and managers)
 - o care economy (with high percentage of female workers, legal, illegal and private)
 - o the contribution of the care economy to well-being, sustainability and greening, including its educational functions and branches
 - o citizens and their organisations as contributors and agents for a greening society especially including women and women’s organisations
 - o male and female citizens and their organisations (e.g. consumer rights organisations) as economic agents
 - o women’s professional organisations, lobby groups and knowledge producing networks
 - o results of women’s and gender research and studies, gender competent research and studies
 - o feminist knowledge and policy experience in mainstreaming alternative aspects and aims into hegemonic discourses, practices and institutions

In the following paragraphs we are going to analyse the different dimensions of the Green New Deal in detail.

B. Comments on the Employment Dimension of the Green New Deal

The following comments are dealing with the basic paper “The Employment Dimension of the Green New Deal” .

Men's and women's employment prospects

There are high expectations regarding the job growth through the greening of the economy. Two main trends are described in this context: the greening of jobs, meaning new skill requirements to fulfil ecological standards, and new jobs in industries engineering and producing green technologies. The evolution of existing occupations by greening and the new green jobs mean two main processes regarding the labour market: There will be losses of job and devaluation of skills, which will become outdated because of technological improvement and there will be job gains and a growing recognition of green skills. So “Skilling and training” and “Formation” are crucial aspects of the Green New Deal’s employment dimension.

The industries which are expected to have the highest job potential (Smith 2011) are the energy industries with its solar, wind power and bio fuel branches and the construction industries working on energy efficient buildings and machines. Also the transportation sector with ecological transportation systems and eco-mobiles and the organic food agriculture and forestry are supposed to benefit from a green shift. In the new EU member states, from 2004 to 2007 the job growth in the renewable energy sector is expected to be especially high.

All these industries are male-dominated, which means that the Green New Deal will directly affect mostly men and male labour. Estimations about the occupations with high growth in job potential show, that around 4/5 of these jobs are highly segregated, which means that more than 60% of the persons employed there are men.

The situation within these industries is characterised by

- high gender-segregation, with much more male occupation
- having the highest employment growth in male dominated technical occupations, less in female dominated or mixed service occupations like counselling or administration
- a strong tendency to aggravate gender segregation

This also due to

- a pronounced male dominated work culture, partly inspired by a “pioneer culture” and habits (e.g. in the solar industry)
- high flexibility and availability requirements in working hours and regional mobility and thus favouring specific life situations and working preconditions which are more often met by men

Moreover there are the general trends of labour market changes caused by deregulation which meet the strongly gender segregated employment structures of greening industries. The increasing polarisation between

- skilled and unskilled occupations
- high quality jobs and low quality jobs

will be pronounced in the green industries. At the upper end jobs will be created as research and development become central and at the lower end low skill and low paid jobs, for example in the recycling, will grow. Jobs in the middle level are expected to be

reduced also because of technical innovation. As labour markets are hierarchically segregated, a stronger polarization will have negative effects on the situation of women in the green industries (Smith 2011).

The pressure by global competition, as the example of the solar energy sector shows, is one of the reasons for strongly negative trends regarding working conditions, making these industries prone to develop far away from “green” employment expectations.

Chances for policies following the social aims of the Greens, especially gender equality policies, are especially low in the mentioned sectors because of:

- no or very low tradition of equality policies
- gender discriminatory practices in hiring, promotion and informal working cultures. (Empirical evidence is given inter alia by the higher percentages of unemployed female engineers and the very high percentage of female engineers leaving their profession).
- high gender homogeneity in decision making positions and low representation of women
- low level of unionisation

Moreover gender equality policies face a especially difficult situation on the discursive level, as mainly men are affected by the green structural changes and job losses. The legitimacy of gender equality policies may be called into question in such a situation. As the transformation impact is visible and concrete for the concerned men, their interests as gender group may be considered more relevant than basic but "abstract" demands of gender equality and equal opportunity for the female gender group. Such argumentation structures are revived in times of crisis or change as has been observable during the current crises and the chosen instruments to save mainly male dominated industries from the first wave of the crisis' impact.

In general it can be said that gender equality within these sectors with quantitative and qualitative male domination regarding immaterial aspects like norms, habits and cultures, is urgently needed while the implementation of changes will not be easy. This holds true for discriminatory mechanisms in the distribution of new jobs and career opportunities as well as options to participate in training and formation.

Another aspect of the discussion of the Green New Deal's employment dimension is a gender bias focusing on male dominated or male associated sectors, professions and societal spheres. It is only a specific set chosen from a wider range of occupations which are mentioned to contribute to the paradigm shifts envisioned by the Green New Deal. The importance of less male dominated sectors is structurally left out 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 like tourism, advertising industry, health sector, food production and processing, retail trade, etc.
- jobs fostering the greening of societies' life-styles and consumers' capacities and citizens knowledge which are all greening (and to a lesser extent new green) jobs providing for knowledge transfer and (consumer) education, green administration and management including capacities of green and socially equitable procurement and human resource management

as well as

- new green jobs for green consulting, advising and certifying for enterprises
- new green jobs for green consulting, advising and certifying private households

The gender biased focus on private manufacturing enterprises and corporations for consumer goods as the main employer also leaves out of focus the non market agents like private households and private and public organisations employing people, producing goods and services and as consumers.

Green Jobs - Good Jobs?

All this points to the fact that it would be a misunderstanding to think of green industries as born out of a green movement translating green values into working structures and employment conditions. The green industries are private market-oriented industries with profit maximising and cost reducing ambitions even though they serve ethically substantiated eco aims and visions. The current developments by deregulation of the labour market are putting pressure on the workforce here, too. There are hints that they are even aggravated here because of high pressure by global competition.

All together this makes a transformation of the sectors in the Greens' understanding of a holistic change of the economic system as consequence of a sustainable green project not evident at all. Environmental changes will not automatically promote decent work, less for women, if the cost savings, the green production allows for, are not reinvested in the work force. A crucial question has to come the other way around: Not only if and how ecological development will promote decent work, is to be answered. But: how can decent work and ecological development be connected by Green New Deal employment policy instruments - under the current condition that "greening" working conditions are still regarded as a cost factor instead of as an investment.

The small number of women in decision making centres and the higher echelons of corporations is the most visible indicator for androcentrism in working structures, norms and belief systems and working cultures excluding persons not fitting to the expected values and behaviours of the current production system. This excludes not only women or men with family responsibilities from the opportunities opened up by the sectors but also women and men in general with other life priorities than exclusively gainful work and employment. These sectors are not only discriminating against women but there is also the problem, that these sectors might not be attractive for women and men following less gender stereotypic role models. Gender equality can therefore be seen as one of the indicators for decent work fulfilling the quality criteria set in the vision of the Greens.

If the working conditions change in a way that they

1. sustainably keep the few women working within
2. are attractive for persons with decent work-life-balance demands, for women in general and **especially for men** with family-work responsibilities and aspirations
3. offer women also at the lower end of the different skills' hierarchies a decent living

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

Recommendations

Regarding the options, threats and chances these sectors open up to the male work force on one hand and the androcentric culture on the other, it is not an easy question to answer how these sectors should open and be opened up for women. The details on that have to be answered context specific as the gender ratios for example in engineering university degrees vary from country to country. Legacies in post-socialist countries might have positive potential to affect professional gender norms and gender notions of technology making it easier for girls and women to chose engineering studies, even though there was a re-orientation towards traditional, bipolar gender norms and regimes as one move to regain national, non-socialist identity.

Monitoring of the sectors should introduce and include

- sex disaggregated data for all statistical dimensions of employment, including information on self-employment, working times, wages and skill levels, hierarchies
- indicators for decent work considering interdependencies with private responsibilities (provisions for family responsibilities, penalties for maternity,...)
- an explicit gender equality monitoring as basis for gender equality informed policy making and gender mainstreaming practices, tracing also gender equality policies

Anti-discrimination, equal opportunity policies: introduce, reinforce and make it a prerequisite for public money and procurement

- including gender equality tutoring and coaching for all decision makers in green awareness programmes
- introducing and enforcing the well-known instruments to prevent discrimination
- ensuring equal opportunities in training, formation and on-the-job-training on green skills by coercive quotas
- ensuring career chances *and* decent working conditions regardless of employment status (e.g. part-time, managerial positions,...)
- integrate gender equality and anti-discrimination in all Green New Deal training and formation programmes

Gender Mainstreaming of framing and programmes to correct androcentric focus

- rethink the list of relevant sectors and professions for greening society and economy
- add the non manufacturing employers, especially social relevant ones to explore the full job dimension
- specify and define the policy option for the omitted professions, sectors and spheres
- develop a stringent argument on female participation as efficiency requirement
- develop a committed and visible position on gender equality
- make gender competence and sensitivity a research and monitoring quality criteria mainstreamed in all research and monitoring of the Green New Deal employment dimension

Modernise green labour policies

- ensure work-life balance for all, explicitly targeting at men (to establish and open up for alternative diverse working cultures especially at decision-making centres)
- ensure workers rights independently of unionisation level, e.g. by labour rights and standards, minimum-wages, etc.
- ensure anti-discrimination in all parts of the labour market, especially those with low unionisation
- promotion of “atypical” job models (part-time, temporary work,...) only if save and decent, ensuring decent conditions for “atypical” job models

Modernise education and formation to activate and retain female potential

- targeting girls as future engineers
- attract girls by develop study programmes complemented by green analytical and impact assessing skills on technology and engineering
- re-enforcing female engineering traditions and normalities (where still or again possible, e.g. post-socialist countries) accompanied by decent work regulations
- focus policy programmes on regions with high female participation potential (e.g. with less segregated labour markets in engineering industries)
- ensure gender equality in on-the-job-formation
- develop innovative labour market instruments to promote an encompassing greening of employment

Further ideas

- Relying on unions or unionisation can only be a minor part of the strategy as the unionisation is low in the relevant industries, therefore it is necessary to strengthen legal standards
- Financial controlling of industrial politics should include standards of good work and gender equality obligatory
- Promote think tanks and innovative working structures which combine technical skills with impact assessment skills, e.g. also as follow-up of female university programmes
- gender equality requirements and controlling in ESF should be further developed and strengthened in all technology related areas.
- Gender budgeting should be systematically included in the controlling of ESF funds especially in all technology related areas.

Selected literature

Green European Foundation GEF 2009: A Green New Deal for Europe - Towards green modernisation in the face of crisis. Green New Deal Series vol. 1. A report by the Wuppertal Institute for Climate, Environment and Energy.

Röhr, Ulrike and Deborah Ruggieri 2008: Erneuerbare Energien – ein Arbeitsmarkt für Frauen! Life e.V.

Smith, Mark 2011: Analysis Note Green jobs: a case for gender equality? EGGE – European Network of Experts on Employment and Gender Equality issues. Fondazione G. Brodolini. April 2011. Analysis note prepared for the European Commission, Directorate General for Employment, Social Affairs and Equal Opportunities.

C. Comments on the Mobility Dimension of the Green New Deal

The following comments are dealing with the part “Transforming Europe’s Industry: An Industrial-Sectors Snapshot, 3. The Transport Sector: towards smart mobility” of the basic paper “The Industrial Dimension of the Green New Deal”.²

Diverse gender aspects in mobility issues

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

Participation

- Employment in the transportation sector is extremely gender segregated with offering up to 90% of employment opportunities to male workers (WISE 2011)
- Mobility and urbanity planning and decision making is male dominated
- Gender competence in research, planning and decision making is highly marginalised or absent
- Instruments for gender competent planning and decision making (gender impact assessment, gender budgeting) are rarely implemented/used

Mobility modes and purposes

- There is a gendered distortion in the perception of the purposes for mobility: overcoming distance to get to work is seen as main purpose while empirically it is not as relevant as the more complex “day-to-day-mobility”. For example in Germany only 15% of the traffic volume is for work purposes. Care taking purposes like shopping and supply account for more than 34%: If „private“ purposes including accompanied trips, e.g. for leisure purposes like driving children to leisure activities are included, the share augments to 56%. So traffic of the unpaid private care economy is of empirically much higher relevance in real life than the supposedly default purpose of commuting and moving for paid work. This holds true even for future developments³.
- Moving purposes are gendered with men using cars to go to work and for leisure purposes, women using much more often public transport to go to work, using the car for accompanied trips to bring and pick up family members and to 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, in Europe more than 70% of all car owners are male.
- Gender differences in car use are low in young age groups.
- The use of collective transport is female dominated: 60% of public transport users in Europe are female.

² I thank Bente Knoll (KnollSzalai - Landscape Planning and Management Consulting, Vienna) for commenting on this chapter.

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

- In general women are the group with the highest potential to contribute to a higher share of car use in future: Seniors, but especially females catch up in car ownership (MiD 2008).
- Female car buyers traditionally preferring low consumption engines and environmentally friendly cars are nowadays orienting towards a male connoted taste of bigger and faster cars and “catching up” in obtaining drivers license and owning cars.
- Young males are a high risk group in deadly traffic accidents.
- Car driving behaviour associated with masculinity (speed, alcohol) is an important cause for (deadly) traffic accidents.

The full picture of mobility

A gender equitable perspective on mobility and transport should start from non-androcentric assumptions. Instead of focussing on the mobility requirements of a free market based economic model with a (male) commuter between work and home and the public transport conceived only as alternative and substitute for individual mobility other concepts of mobility should be dominant. Mobility should at least equivalently be seen as movement between several, non-linearly connected places, as movement for simultaneous and not only consecutive purposes and therefore as a necessity not restricted to working rush hours but expanding to other times, to the week-end and evening hours and also include life spans without paid employment orientation.

Within the GND the structural imbalances and discursive biases are perpetuated by focussing strongly on aviation, on medium and long distances and on road mode transport marginalising the majority of non-motorized population (see also GEF p. 22),. The electric car might be an important step ahead within the logic of individual transport but is by no means the solution for the bigger picture where a car is at the disposal of a gendered minority. Video conferencing is one of the few solution proposed for medium distances but relevant only for the special target group of business. Other purposes for travelling like social and family necessities or tourism are poorly addressed. Here again the Greens seem to take over the dominant discourses focussing on the business world of medium and big enterprises. Other parts of economy and society are poorly or not at all addressed. Innovative concepts and mobility management systems to - financially and environmentally - strengthen public transport, to ensure mobility in rural areas and to foster collective solutions of mobility are not mentioned despite their high relevance for the majority of the population, the trends of growing demand (especially in younger age groups) for public transport as well as the need to stop negative trends (see GEF p.21 et seq.) – all being highly gender relevant aspects.

Also negative aspects of mobility like „forced” or “required mobility“ should be a complementing aspect of a green mobility concept. Here we have for example the long distances and long duration travelling and absence from home in order to reach (sometimes even low paid) work. An extreme case is the female dominated migration of care economy workers from East to West. Here mobility is forced by social problems of women and at the same time producing severe social problems. But also the example of 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 symbol of pertaining to a certain elite group, should be called into question.

A notion of mobility management prioritizing

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

could be a guiding notion for a Green New Deal mobility concept.

Recommendations

The propositions made in the Green basic paper are coherent with green ambitions regarding the environmental challenges but not interrelated with the Greens' ambitions regarding gender and social equity. As gender is highly relevant in mobility issues but not reflected even within the environmentally oriented propositions, the GND might be doomed to fall short. The gender bias which is found in the selection of transport modes, target groups and topics and the setting of priorities has impacts on what are considered priorities, where and which resources like intellectual capacity and finances will be channelled to and what will be neglected. So it is crucial to get a comprehensive green and therefore gender balanced concept on mobility to answer the factual needs in a Green way. Following aspects should be evolved.

Discursive and regulatory frames and decision-making

- Conceive and discuss mobility as a day-to-day need, social right and public task, not as market commodity.
- Ensure proper conditions especially for transport modes which are known to be prone to market failure (railways, inland water transportation, see Pällmann 2009) and guarantee a coherent welfare oriented regulation.
- Place short distance transport as a main issue with high relevance regarding its actual relevance and its role in empowerment of groups mentioned as being of special concern for the Greens (rural population, care takers, children and elderly, local business)
- Distinguish explicitly between urban and rural mobility needs and develop differentiating concepts focussing on actual needs of different target groups. Include measurements reflecting a less androcentric and urban biased concept of mobility, e.g. assessing quality of railway infrastructure not only by length km but also by density of network (e.g. km/1000km², GEF p. 25)
- Enhance co-operation between rural, suburban and urban authorities, employers and state agencies (e.g. responsible for employment, health and care issues, education, etc.) to recognise needs and develop mobility schemes.
- Approach ICT as vehicle for a greener mobility in a unbiased manner not restricting it to video conferencing. Include virtual mobility in the concept of mobility, especially regarding the mobility of the rural population. There are tendencies of demographic changes leading in some areas to a structure with an older female and younger male rural population. At the same time service infrastructure in low populated areas gets problematic (e.g. medical services, shopping, cultural activities,...). So virtual mobility for rural target groups should be evolved as an issue with high gender and environmental relevance. While it became normal to talk about global mobility through ICT in the context of capital, the concept of mobility has to be expanded to ICT as it fulfils some functions of physical bodies' mobility with ecologically and socially positive

effects. The importance of building an infrastructure for ICT is comparable with the building of the infrastructure for telephones, electricity, sewage or railways in former times. The nation states and the European Unions have a vital responsibility for this kind of new mobility because pure market solution will leave areas disconnected and certain groups excluded from participation.

- Address the discursive and ideological battle field to make changes (see also GEF, p. 27, 9): analyse of the means of car lobbies forming „symbolics and behaviour in line with their interest“ (GEF p. 23) by presenting cars as promise to autonomy, freedom, liberty and power and constructing emotional bonding with machines (see as current example the socialisation of children by films about „living cars“), evolve „intense educational efforts conducted at common Community level and European level alike“ (ibid.) focussing on female target groups as women have the growing share in motorised mobilisation and mobility preferences of men and women are converging. Use the insights to promote a modern image of public transport.
- Recognise the question of urban and transport planning as The Greens' key question for democratic participation as it has been done so by citizens (see current examples in Germany) and guarantee female participation in participative planning processes.
- Ensure female participation and policy access of 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 criteria for policy consulting and planning.

Gender Budgeting

- Evolve a budgeting system to calculate the de facto costs for current traffic systems comprehensibly using gender budgeting. 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 is paying which prices (e.g. health problems in areas with dense motorised individual traffic).
- Prohibit an „in-group-resource-shifting“ by taking resources from polluters while benefiting them at the same time. This is highly gender equality relevant: e.g. reserving taxes on certain transport modes for maintaining car road infrastructure. State income of these sources should be tied to the evolution of alternative transport infrastructures, e.g. public transport, urban bicycle schemes, etc. that benefit men and women equally.
- Stop and prevent further shifting of resources from short distance transport into long and medium distance transport , especially regarding train connections
- React to the vital importance of alternative concepts for financing public transport in times of cut down of state subsidies.
- Expand ideas for modernising fleets explicitly on collective and public transport vehicles (e.g. the cash for clunkers initiatives was a missed chance to modernise also organisations and community fleets, e.g. buses of 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 social and security standards for employees and passengers in aviation)

Selected Literature

BMVBS, 2007: Prognose der deutschlandweiten Verkehrsverflechtungen 2025. Kurzfassung. FE-Nr. 96.0857/2005. INTRAPLAN Consult GmbH und Beratergruppe Verkehr + Umwelt GmbH im Auftrag des BMVBS.

EU road freight transport sector (2004): EU road freight transport sector: Work and employment conditions

Eurostat: http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/portal/page/portal/transport/data/main_tables

Green European Foundation GEF (2011): A Sustainable Future for Transport [NOW!]. Green New Deal Series, Vol. 5. Pierre Radanne et. al.

Knoll, Bente; Szalai, Elke (2008): Frauenwege - Männerwege. Entwicklung von Methoden zur gendersensiblen Mobilitätshebung. Forschungsarbeiten aus dem Verkehrswesen, Band 175 BMVIT, April 2008, Wien.

Knoll, Bente; Szalai, Elke (2009): VCÖ-Projekt: Gender Gap im Verkehrs- und Mobilitätsbereich, Hintergrundbericht. Ed.: VCÖ, Wien. http://www.mobilservice.ch/mobilservice/akten/mobilitaet/news-datenbank.html?&fa_download_generalfolder_file_2417

Kuhl, Mara: Wem werden Konjunkturpakete gerecht? Eine budgetorientierte Gender-Analyse der Konjunkturpakete I und II. Reihe "WiSo Diskurs – Expertisen und Dokumentationen zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik", Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Mai 2010. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/wiso/07230.pdf>

Mobilität in Deutschland - MiD 2008. http://www.mobilitaet-in-deutschland.de/02_MiD2008/index.htm

Pällmann, Wilhelm (2009): Verkehr finanziert Verkehr – 11 Thesen zur Nutzerfinanzierung der Verkehrsinfrastruktur. Ed.: Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung, Bonn.

WISE Project - Women Employment in Urban Public Transportation Sector (2011): <http://www.wise-project.net/pages/index1.html>

D. Comments on the Economic Dimension of the Green New Deal

The following comments are dealing with the basic paper “The macro-economic and financial framework of the Green New Deal” (europeangreens.eu, 13th EGP Council in Tallinn, 8-10 Oct. 2010, adopted policy paper).

Missing links in Economy

Regarding the economic and industrial dimensions of the Green’s papers, there are general aspects of economic instruments discussed. Some are of vital importance for gender equality and equity, but this importance is not made visible. Feminist economics highlighted these aspects by working with economic concepts including the **private household economy** and the **care-economy**. The care-economy produces the services and products which ensure the reproduction and development of society through caring, nurturing, educating, integrating and teaching. The care-economic activities are the prerequisite for any social activity and they take place in the private household economy as unpaid work and in the public sector and private market sector as – most of the time - low paid work. The care-economy with its human-centred services and products is female dominated. It does not obey the market economy logic of profit maximising as for example the relation time unit per work unit is only very limitedly to reduce (e.g. unit taught per hour by teacher, persons washed per hour by geriatric nurse). Care-work is often undervalued and underpaid. The relevance of the care-economy for the well-being of society, its saved opportunity costs (e.g. by preventing crime, social disintegration,...) and as prerequisite for economic development (e.g. education) is not taken into account.

The private household economy has to be added systematically to the concept of economy which until now only is considered to be made out of the private business sector and the public sector. Only then the full picture of economic, ecological and social wealth production becomes visible. Market (private business sector) and non-market spheres (public sector, private household sector) are interrelated and interdependent, so that any changes like cuts and spendings 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 time as currency. Giving some examples: shifting entrepreneurial risks to workers by reducing their income (material impoverishment) will result in the need to extend paid work hours. This is putting pressure on the family work time budget (time impoverishment). This may reduce private capabilities in care and education investments for the adults and depending relatives like children. Another example: the reduction of days staying in hospitals, as part of cost saving programmes of a public health care system, includes the fiction that there is someone "at home" who cares for the sick person. Deregulation and liberalisation in paid employment to free the market economy from restraints has been excessively paid for by the public budgets (e.g. wage subsidies and social aid to prevent poverty of the new working poor) and by the private households (e.g. health problems and the caring for it, reduced investment in human-centred production, compensating reduced social provisions of employers) in the last decades.

The adaption strategies in the different sectors are manifold but there is no move in one of the three that will not have an effect on the others. So a full picture has to include all three sectors and their interrelations and for any measure the question has to be asked, how changes in one area effect the other. This is essential to ensure, that the private household sector is considered and that costs and burdens for this sector,

where mainly women manage and work, are included systematically in the assessment of policies.

Time has proved to be a powerful analytical measuring unit to reveal the impacts and effects within the sectors as the main currency in the private households is time. Therefore: time wealth and time distribution between paid and unpaid labour and between men and women is a necessary indicator to trace the (re-)distribution of benefits, profits and gains within the sectors and to measure social well-being.

Non-excluding interrelation indicators

Concerning the indicator described in the basic paper on macro-economic and financial framework the splitting of the social world and the economic world is still untouched, even if the social component of “education expenditures” is added. The example to include the environmental costs, e.g. by depletion of natural resources and a monetary evaluation of global pollution shows that it is possible to construct better indicators. The social wealth has to be incorporated in the same way in which ecological wealth and their consumption is included. If social aspects are counted only in an additional indicator apart of the new indicator replacing the GDP these costs will remain externalised and the interdependencies in the real world will not be represented in the indicator.

Moreover the de-regulation paradigm shows, that good performance of the private business economy might have its counterpart in the freedom and safety of the private household sector and a declining state’s stability and ability to act on ground of a safe revenue base. Good indicators also reflect the balances between the sectors which is needed for well-being of humans and nature. Therefore the contributions of the non-market sectors to the nations wealth - especially the ones of the private household economy which are so far excluded from all forms of measuring performance - have to be systematically included in the indicator systems. To illustrate the point we give an example:

One option to measure the contribution to the national wealth would be to calculate the profits by using an opportunity costs approach, which also serves to measure the profit of social security and social investments. The amount of costs that would have to be spend if the private households can not feed, clean, wash, educate, transmit cultural skills and care could be calculated as costs: costs for health and epidemic control, for literacy, inner security, social programmes, etc. The social investment of the private household economy and their performance becomes visible if countries with poor conditions for the private or public production of well-being are looked at. Humans, very often women, pay the price for bad conditions due to low education and high level of female illiteracy, polluted environment and lack of clean water. If the state is weak or exclusively directed to satisfy the needs and interest of those being able to be active players in the market economy, namely the economically wealthy, then the price is moreover paid by poor households, among them female headed households.

These are architectural prerequisites to develop a gender sensitive system of macro-economic indicators. Apart from integrating the social aspect and of reflecting all economic dimensions, there are some relevant aspects regarding the content. One central aspect to get the full picture of wealth is to systematically take into account all sources of wealth production considering also the wealth consumption, like the environmental costs. The critique of the GDP correctly states, that the performance and wealth of a nation cannot be measured by material, monetary indicators only. A system of indicators of a Green New Deal has to include gender equality in particular and social well being in general as neuralgic spots for a new economic system. These aspects are resources contributing to economic growth as well as “prices” paid for economic growth. Not only environmental consumption but also human life chances

and opportunities have to be included as costs in the new calculations. Like consumption of natural resources has made it into new indicators, the contribution taken for granted or undervalued because produced complying with female gender roles, as well as the prices humans pay (by denied live chances) have to be a part in full sustainable oriented indicator system.

On the one hand, facts undermining for example gender inequality, social well-being and producing (social) costs paid for by individual humans, society and the natural environment, have to be integrated as costs in an alternative GDP. There has to be a technical mechanism to internalise these costs. It has to be prevented that these facts only are counted if they are monetized, e.g. because states, charity organisations or corporations take up social responsibility and use money to ease the effects. The indicators have to include the immaterial costs paid by humans (e.g. live chances, health, exposure to violence), acknowledging women as a social group. Regarding costs for women as social group would include to have particular attention for vulnerable groups where women are over-represented like groups threatened by certain forms of violence, groups in low paid and low social standards jobs, in the informal sector and groups depending strongly on the public sector services and products.

On the other hand the production contributing to well-being of humans, societies and nature have to be added and counted thoroughly. This means to include the non-market based contributions to wealth, especially to social wealth by the production of human-centred goods and services through unpaid family work (private care economy).

Building on existing comprehensive economic indicators developed by alternative economists and gender equality agencies

There are examples how to construct gross-national product calculations non-androcentrically and how to include gender relevant aspects. For example, in these measurements unpaid care work in private households and its gender composition is measured by time and included in the GDP calculations (see Schaffer/Stahmer 2006 for Germany). It is also possible to construct gender equality indicators for all three sectors, the private business economy, the public sector and private household economy and show the interrelation between gender equality and economic, social and ecological development like in the indicators developed by the UN, the OECD or within the EU for the follow up of the Beijing Platform of Action.

Some of them are a good example how even non-material notions like gender norms and discrimination can be comprehensively displayed by numbers (see for example the OECD Gender, Institutions and Development Data base, 2006 and their SIGI Index (Social Institutions and Gender Index)). From the scientific world, approaches like Diefenbacher/Zieschank (2010) show how to choose indicators, who to calculate also social prices, costs and benefits and include unpaid work and household production. However, even these indicators are often not differentiated by sex.

Only if well-being produced by the private business, the public and the private household sector is measured without a gender bias (androcentrism) and correctly including the massive contribution of (women in) the private household economy and only if additionally to the environmental prices also the social prices are integrated in a new indicator, there will be a reliable measurement for the advancement of society, including the economy, that fulfils the requirements of the Greens' Green New Deal.

Gender Budgeting for a clear picture on public budgets

As stated in the basic paper, the actual crisis in financial markets, in public spending and in private savings and investment shows clearly that there is need to re-regulate

macroeconomic targets and instruments. Gender sensitivity is needed to ensure that approaches to solve the problems will succeed in achieving the overall goals of the Green New Deal. An austerity policy cutting public expenditure without thinking about the impact of the cuttings on the future development of economy and society, without focusing explicitly on gendered outcomes and without letting special attention on female dominated vulnerable groups of citizens, will augment social and ecological risks without opening new opportunities. It will leave behind important economic actors whose potential to contribute to social welfare and social cohesion will be reduced. As already pointed out, 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. by all three sectors of economy (private businesses, public, private households) are equally essential for Europe's future. The tendency to shorten the revenue basis of the state for the sake of the private business free market and to supposedly unleash the capacities of strong economic actors of the private market sector as well as cuts of the public budgets in the crisis has had negative impacts already on the social equilibrium and on welfare. As these cuts relate to strong interest groups, most of them male dominated and representing male dominated groups, they do rarely reflect the interests of the majority of citizens and definitely not those of the majority of women.

Gender budget analysis, as one instrument of gender mainstreaming fiscal policy, would help to improve the situation. Gender budgeting helps to understand, which groups are related and affected by certain policies. This analytical tool could show in how far the certain groups in society (e.g. wealthy individuals and corporations) in fact contribute according to their economic power and their performance potential to the social well-being and development of society. It also can detect the effects of taxes on certain social groups. Gender Budgeting would show that the reduction of public transport might affect certain groups of women and children more than men, that the allocation of tax payers money to education has an positive impact on the advancement of gender equality, that the subsidies paid to fossil energy production combines a negative ecological impact with negative impact on gender and on green innovation – including the social dimension of green innovation. To change budget policies according to the Green New Deal Control it is necessary to control subsidies and tax reduction for their effects including the repercussions in all three sectors and on gender equality. Moreover the social value added by the promoted companies and economic branches has to be compared to possible alternative forms of “green” spending with an opportunity costs approach. The Green New Deal logic used with such data would to counteract the argument, that there is no alternative. The gender budget approach is a powerful instrument to open the debate on the implicit and explicit goals and effects of fiscal policies and about who indeed is favoured by policies and revenues and spending structures.

Gender Budgeting competence is existing worldwide and also in Europe as the existence of Gender Budgeting groups on local and national level shows. In the European Gender Budgeting Group (<http://www.infopolis.es/web/GenderBudgets/egbn.html>) the experts are networking and keeping each other up to date about methods, initiatives and results.

Democratic and gender balanced normative frameworks

The structure of the basic papers still goes along the traditional lines of conceptualising issues and of what is considered to be relevant and connected. The Greens' core issue of democracy is not directly connected with economy albeit the crisis has posed this fundamental question. 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 has to serve people's well-being and not vice versa, is often discussed and finds its limitation in the power to intervene into private business profit maximization strategies. Here the strengthening of democracy including the independence of its democratic and state representative bodies is crucial to ensure the political ability to intervene. Market driven forces and players leading to socially unacceptable outcomes and the unwillingness and inability of the free market to correct discriminatory practices have to be remedied by including these aspect as part of an economic strategy empowered by democratic values. It is the democratic forces' ability to control and to act due to own resources and knowledge that ensures checks and balances within the current new power play where economic power equals political power and influence. As women and their concerns are underrepresented in decision making centres of economy while heavily carrying the burden of unacceptable outcomes, the strengthening of democracy as a systematic part of re-structuring economy is a missing aspect in the Green New Deals economic dimension paper. The role of economy, state and society should be redefined to ensure the right place of economy within a Green New Deal economic framework.

Within a process of changing notions of the relation between economy, society and state, the role of state policy in achieving equality is to be discussed as none of the Green New Deal's goals of a sustainable and human centred economy will be in fact reached without gender equality. Women's voices are often not included in macroeconomic strategies and bodies, so a changed perception of what the role of these institutions and their goals are would imply quota rules for both, public bodies and corporations on member states level and on the EU level. A binding rule concerning gender mainstreaming of all policies, especially in the fields of macro-economics (monetary policy, fiscal policy, industry policy) would ensure that the necessary data, information and concepts are produced.

The coordinated approach for macroeconomic rebalancing is one of the fields which clearly could win, if the proposed gender sensitive scoreboard indicators which reflect social dimensions would include not just gender blind unit labour costs or employment rates. Once data is "disaggregated" by men and women one will discover new elements of economic developments: in countries with a well organised public sector and women employed in regular employment in this sector, the unit labour costs may be higher than in countries with no wage regulations, however, in the latter countries a lot of women may be in employment with wages below poverty standards. In countries which perform better even in the crisis like in Northern Europe, France and even the Netherlands and Germany you will recognize that in these countries more women are in the labour market than in countries which face severe economic problems like Greece, Spain, Ireland or Italy. When decomposing the economic performance by using gender specific data one may come to other recommendations than when using gender blind data.

Gender inequality in income and assets on one hand and in private debts on the other are a major element of the actual crisis. There are strong hints that the crises affects women and men not only differently by impact but also in time, with women hit strongly by the second wave of effects, not at least because of reduced public spending. But not only on material terms gender is relevant to understand the crisis. The hegemonic values of the economies causing the crisis were risk taking, short-term orientations, selfish profit maximising, utilising humans and their livelihood as production and profit factors. A development of a new concept of economic and social well-being needs to reclaim so-called "female" values like soundness, level-headedness and risk adversity, sustainability, social responsibility contrasting a hegemonic ideal of distorted masculinity apparently vital and celebrated in certain economic spheres. Until now this normative orientation pays off within the given structures of economy. The Green New

Deal economy needs to institutionalise social values and orientations associated with femaleness to change the production and distribution rules for profit and growth.

The state and public sector as potential provider of “good work”

Within the assessment of different instruments for economic policy another aspect is relevant: From the employment perspective the public sector in general and the public care economy with schools, health care and elderly care are important employers for women. Working conditions in these sectors allow, generally speaking, more options for care givers to reconcile private work time and employment. So the public sector is of genuine importance as employer besides its capacity to care for the welfare of its citizens.

The tendencies of eroding the state’s quality as employer is linked to the continuously eroding revenue base. The states’ capacities to act is endangered through eroding state income. It is foreseen that the effects of the crisis will hit especially women in the 2nd wave of effects. The necessity and rigid regulations for spending cuts will reduce the public sector with its important functions (see part A.). There is the concrete risk, that not only stimulus packages but also spending cuts 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 economic actor with its high relevance for a female work force has to be addressed explicitly.

Gender Mainstreaming as the instrument for gender equality in economy

The framework for EU economic and social policy needs a gender mainstreaming approach to detect and prevent further gender inequality in economy and ongoing inequitable distributions of risks, burden of crisis’ effects, profits and losses. Gender Mainstreaming is an approach to ensure systematically gender equality in structures and processes and which had been proclaimed more than 15 years ago in the Beijing Conference and had been adopted by the EU as a guiding principle without being translated into economic policy yet. Albeit some progress had been made during the early 2000s, even these attempts had been disappearing in recent documents like the Europe 2020 strategy. The same is true regarding the economic relationship with the developing world - all the experiences gained and reported by international agencies like the UN or even the IMF and the World Bank regarding the necessity to include a gender mainstreaming approach are more ignored than ever.

The concept of the Green New Deal has to implement Gender Mainstreaming as key principle to ensure a high quality of economic strategies.

Recommendations

- A new macro-economic framework must include the private household economy as conceptual part of economy, e.g. by assessing systematically its contributions, investments and saved opportunity costs to welfare and the impacts economic policies in other sectors have on it
- Gender Budgeting has to be a standard process in economic governance
- Introduce Gender responsive budgets and gender budgeting as regular monitoring of fiscal and economic policies:
 - o research on budget processes including revenues and expenditure

- ensure that by EU funds gender equality is increased actively
 - combine subsidies and tax reductions with minimum standards for work, income and gender de-segregation (horizontally, vertical)
- “Redefining objectives of economic policies”, “developing new tools and indicators to steer and evaluate policies” *should systematically include a gender equality perspective (Gender Mainstreaming) paying special attention 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 italic.)
- 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 measuring Europe's wealth.
- Re-define the role of the public sector, shift the emphasis from the neoliberal concept into a positive role of the public sector as a major contributor to wealth and income and central actor to ensure equal opportunities and access for citizens to education, communication, health, better food etc.
- Increasing the status of the care economy according to its contribution to social welfare (care-economy, public sector)
 - by making them visible when talking about economy and measuring performance
 - by sector specific labour market instruments (e.g. minimum wage), social policy (for unpaid care economy contribution), social standards (including the rights of migrant workers in the care economy)
- Re-assessing the worth of sectors poorly contributing to social welfare
 - impose a upper limit to salaries and bonus payments in sectors producing just virtual added value or welfare costs
 - impose a upper limit on salaries to all companies subsidised by tax benefits and financial aids
 - tax the bonus payments without exception
 - impose a minimum limit to salaries to prevent working poor's in Europe and to contribute to a balanced state budget.
- Restructure the stakeholder and shareholder power balance by calling to account shareholders regarding social costs and benefits (measured gender sensitively) and not only financial loss and gains. Ensure stakeholders interests by regulations including women's participation.
- Increase women's voices in all fields of macroeconomic policies by reliable quota regulations for national central banks and the ECB
- Insure the use of gender competent economic knowledge (feminist economic research) in macroeconomic bodies by appointment policies and quality standards
- Include gender competence and gender equality sensitivity of results as quality criteria for all economic studies commissioned by the Greens
- Ensure gender mainstreaming of ECOFIN recommendations

- Ensure gender mainstreaming of EU strategies like Europe 2020
- Strengthen the “economic literacy” of citizens and their organisations, ensuring women’s participation

Selected literature

Council of the European Union (2009). Indicators Adopted at EU Level for the follow up of the Beijing Platform for action. <http://ec.europa.eu/social/BlobServlet?docId=3682&langId=en>.

Diefenbacher, Hans, Zieschank, Roland (2010) Measuring Welfare in Germany, A suggestion for a new welfare index. <http://www.umweltdaten.de/publikationen/fpdf-l/3903.pdf>.

OECD (2006), Measuring Gender (In)Equality: Introducing the Gender, Institutions and Development Data Base (GID), OECD Development Centre, working paper no. 247, Authors J.P. Jütting, Chr. Morrisson, J. Dayton-Johnson, D. Drechsler. Paris 2006. <http://www.oecd.org/dataoecd/17/49/36228820.pdf>

Rittich, Kerry 2010: Families on the edge: Governing home and work in a globalized economy. 88 North Carolina Law Review 101, p. 1527-1558.

Ruggieri, Deborah 2010: The gender aspects of the financial and economic crisis. Green European Foundation (ed.).

Schaffer, Axel, Stahmer, Carsten (2006), Erweitertes Gender-BIP – Eine geschlechtsspezifische Analyse des traditionellen Bruttoinlandsproduktes und der Haushaltsproduktion in Deutschland, in: Jahrbücher für Nationalökonomie und Statistik, Band 226/3: 308 – 328.

Stotsky, Janet (2006) Gender and Its Relevance to Macroeconomic Policy, IMF working paper 6/233.

WIDE (Women in Development Europe, ed.) 2010: Kassasturz. Finanzkrise und Entwicklung aus feministischer Perspektive. WIDE-Positionspapier zur globalen sozialen, ökonomischen und ökologischen Krise. Wien.

E. Comments on the Industrial Dimension of the Green New Deal

The following comments are dealing with the basic paper “The Industrial Dimension of the Green New Deal”.

In the Paper „The Industrial Dimension of the Green New Deal“ the main industries mentioned are the Energy Sector, the Building Sector, the Transport Sector, the Manufacturing industry and the Chemical industry.

From the perspective of work force it becomes clear that here a subset of industries is mentioned that is gender biased, namely a androcentric selection of male dominated sectors. Especially the Energy, Building and Transport sector are highly gender segregated. But even from a more general perspective looking on the different sectors of industry it is striking, that only the manufacturing industries have been chosen to position the lever for a greening development. The potential of the other sectors in greening the economy is not exploited in the context of industrial politics in the paper: not for the agriculture, fishing and forestry sector and even less for the service sector. The relevance of knowledge production as prerequisite for the industries is only touched on when e.g. knowledge transfer, education and formation is mentioned.

Traditional concepts as reasons for a gender biased perspective

The rationality for the choice of this special subset of industries in the basic paper might be threefold:

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

As explained in the remarks on the economic and the employment dimension of the Green New Deal, the selection has a strong androcentric bias, overlooking other crucial agents and potentials for the Green New Deal. So the implicit rationality could be revised by questioning the suppositions and thereby leading to a more gender neutral perspective:

Polluters pays principle and traditional concepts on “industry”

The industries explicitly mentioned in the paper (energy sector, building sector, transport sector, manufacturing sector, chemical industries) are considered important polluters of the environment and therefore according to the “polluter pay principle” they are the obvious agents for a green change. Some industries, as clarified for the chemical industry, are the key to green production. If the focus is on quantity of pollution by single actors it becomes logic, that the manufacturing industry is addressed. Nevertheless other sectors might be important polluters although with smaller contributions like agriculture (animal production). So not the quantity of pollution by some big polluters, but the quantity of many smaller ones should also be considered. Service industries like the advertising industry with high energy consumption by public advertising products (but also other ecological aspects like light emissions) could be an example. A new perspective of the Green New Deal on industry should leave the traditional views on what is considered a relevant industry behind.

Private households are important contributors to pollution and so should be as well addressed systematically as part to the solution. A paper on industrial dimension

seems not to be the right place to do it at first sight. But a systematic vision on life-style, consuming and pollution might include the private household economy (citizens, consumers, party downstream users). The fundamental reason for overlooking this aspect might be, that the basic papers are structured along traditional topic lines congruent with the mainstream divisions of sectors, branches pre-figuring aspects and relevance.

Some target groups are touched upon in the basic paper that have a more balanced gender ratio or even a higher relevance of women. These targets groups are the consumers, the private households, the inhabitants and users of the residential sector (persons living and working in buildings) and the 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 is parting from the idea of sustainability and a circular processes of economy, than industrial policies should include consumption as the other side of the medal of industrial production. The question of who is using the products of the industries and how is a question at least as relevant as the question of which products is the industry producing and why. The classical green ideal of democratic participation, branding of the Green parties, leads to new and innovative options for the Green New Deal by focusing on the private household economy, civil organisations and citizens as educators of new generations. They have the role as knowledge transmitters about environmentally relevant cultural techniques: for example about waste management, energy saving, life-style consequences, avoidance of harmful materials, as green consumers and life-style role models respectively supplier of alternative life-styles.

Gender equality is a perspective – similar to the environmental perspective - that is specialised in questioning cognitive frontiers and bring together different parts according to a new logic necessary for new solutions. So apart from missing sectors, a limiting perspective dealing with the industrial dimension would be overcome by conceiving production, manufacturing and consumption as an interrelated topic. In the industrial dimension paper the downstream user and consumers side is missing, especially their role by steering supply by demand. So the other side of the medal of production is not mentioned systematically. The players and roles defined by the REACH Regulation of the European Unions are helpful as a start. But moreover the consumers as actors have to be added in the newly assembled picture: The chemical industry as substance and mixture producer is the key. But industries and manufacturers as well as professional workers using the semi-finished and finished chemical products in their work and products are to be considered systematically, too. They are the ones closest to the consumers bringing the chemicals in consumer good materials to the citizens. The toy industry here is a good example of the relevance of the missing link between chemical industry and consumer. To illustrate this relation: Innovation in the chemical industries has allowed to replace harmful substances in plastic. The toy industry is an important buyer and manufacturer of plastics. Customers buy their products and they, in this case their children, are the ones being in physical touch with the plastics. If the toy industry as downstream user does not replace harmful plastics by the new products but goes on with the old ingredients, the greening of the chemical industry might fall short, if the following stages in the production, consumption, recycling loop are not taken into account. Especially those industries depending on the chemical industry, as for example the toy industry with its literally high proximity to the consumers as children sleep with their toys and stick it to the mouth, could be addressed as important agents in greening the economy. The chemicals in the products and the products made out of these are of high relevance for the health of humans – which is cared for mainly by women (remediating allergies, intoxications,...).

The gender equality perspective reveals the missing link by the example of the discussion on toy safety initiated by women's groups. They highlight that important parts of consumer protection are overlooked because women's perspective, in this case mother's perspectives, are not taken into account. Toy users' and consumers' practical reality – the intensified physical contact of children with toys - is not taken into account in regulations in a satisfying manner. This example illustrates the necessity to include downstream users and consumers as aspect in industrial policies. It assembles a picture fulfilling the Greens' Green New Deal requirements for a encompassing picture including humans in the concept of sustainability and including human-centeredness in industrial policies.

The demand for green products as part of the industrial new green politics should take a holistic view and be inspired by circular models. This would allow to systematically supplement policy concepts with the side of downstream users and consumers and include the question of waste and recycling. Gender mainstreaming is a powerful tool to take the contribution of women and the private household economy as such into account and thereby support a high effectiveness of policies of the Greens' Green New Deal sense.

Persisting structural conservatism as mechanism for resource distribution

Economic policy, especially industry subsidy policy through tax benefits and financial aid, is traditionally focusing on the branches mentioned in the basic paper and structured along these lines. In Europe 64,1% of all subsidies go to the manufacturing industries⁴. Even financial support for horizontal goals like energy efficiency, regional development or employment are concentrated in this sector. From all 27 EU members states, 19 countries give the biggest share of subsidies to the secondary sector with 16 of them giving more than half to it. The primary sector, namely the agriculture gets priority in subsidy policies in seven member states. The tertiary sector is only prioritised by Portugal subsidising financial services.

This structure of state's money channels is not fundamentally disputed in the basic paper. In general research on the de facto effects on welfare growth and innovation and also on the side effects of this biased structure are missing. The subsidies' main goal in the basic paper seems to be intended for structural adaption to new green requirements and for market entry. Another legitimate and acknowledged reason for subsidies is employment growth. Here the third sector has the highest potential for growth in general, but – if the employment dimension is revised from a gender equality perspective – also in a green dimension. If the Green New Deal is a paradigm shift in life-styles, the support of transition to the knowledge society might be at least even important as the greening of an industrial society. The preservative effect of the current bias in subsidies towards manufacturing industries most probably is hampering the productivity potential in job and welfare growth of the service and knowledge society. Money is preserved for the secondary sector and cannot be spent for others, especially not for the tertiary sector. This is of vital gender equality relevance as the industrial sector is male dominated with relatively higher social standards - but in decline. The tertiary sector is female dominated with relatively low social standards but high potential for job growth and positive welfare effects. Moreover because of the demographical changes in the aging European society and the resulting pressing needs for a well functioning care economy this is a general policy failure due to

⁴ 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) using data from the European Commission.

incrusted economic policy structures. For the problem of unemployment and the welfare return, the third sector has a higher Green New Deal potential in the long-run.

The gender equality perspective leads to this fundamental problem of the structure of industrial policies and allows to detect alternatives. These alternatives are congruent with the spirit of the Green New Deal stressing the different shades of Green in the sense that sustainability is not merely reduced to nature and ecological systems. Interdependencies, alternative options and opportunity costs become visible by the gender equality perspective. This allows to re-frame economic policies according to the high ambitions of the Greens' Green New Deal. Propositions about investment in consumer awareness, mainstreaming green consumer knowledge into education, incentives and guarantees that green life-styles pays are issues to be could included.

Leaving the private energy consumers outside the green considerations might have the effect that unintended effects take place. Public policy focusing unbalanced on certain economy sectors leaving out the interdependence with consumers might shift money from one area to the other by "hidden subsidies" and passing over costs for investments: Reductions for large consumers of energy, e.g. to reward energy efficiency, is paid for indirectly by small consumers like private households by financing the discounts. It is important that also the private households' efforts to save energy pay off disproportionately to the non-consumed energy. Only then private investment in energy efficient devices become attractive. Other unintended shifts, which are gender relevant because of gender differences in home ownership is the distribution of costs for energy efficiency renovation of apartment houses. If the investment of making a house energy efficient is financed by tenants by increasing rents, process like gentrification might accelerate affecting low income households – again a group with a high percentage of women.

Recommendations

- Conceive "Industry" in a holistic manner including non-manufacturing industries, especially when planning subsidy distribution and state aids
- Consider the role of other players relevant for industrial policies and their affectedness like downstream users, consumers and persons responsible for dealing with negative effects of mislead industrial politics (e.g. women as carers in the private household economy) when defining the requirements for a green industry and criteria for a green industry policy
- Include consumers' interests, rights and empowerment (steering demand) in a gender aware manner in industrial policies

Direct comments on

Phasing out of state aid of unsustainable processes:

- a comprehensive definition of unsustainable: revising state aid according to new Green New Deal criteria taking into account processes unsustainable for
 - o social cohesion, especially regarding impoverishment
 - o gender equality, especially gender homogenous concentration of decision power
 - o state capacity, especially regarding the externalisation of costs on local state entities taking into account not only pollution of the environment but also social and health costs through low standard working conditions (also in non-European countries)

Internalisation of costs

- new comprehensive concept of external costs including
 - o public costs, e.g. for social security systems because of under-minimum wage remuneration, for social security because of the exclusion of young work force, etc.
 - o social costs, e.g. for public health and the private care economy because of discrimination, excessive work pressure, time impoverishment effects, etc.

Regulations for Sustainability

- Sustainability as sustainability of natural environment, of humans, of social cohesion, social security systems and states' capacities based on a circular world view interconnecting social and ecological aims: Including regulation for non-discrimination, decent work into ecological regulations to avoid that green investment is paid for by social groups and through eroding working conditions, using gender mainstreaming approaches.
- Mainstreaming standards for sustainability into education and formation by using gender mainstreaming experience

Taxes and benefits, tax cuts

- Fight the problem of further aggravating a low financial state capacity as it 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 frame of internalisation of costs: readjusting instruments by re-distributing responsibilities towards the industry and pricing externalised costs (readjusting prices according to comprehensive sustainability criteria)
- Include fair trade as requirement for taxes in benefits using gender mainstreaming

Procurement

- Define and strengthen state's role as role model "to re-orientate economic activities in ecological and social" terms (basic paper p. 3)
- Initiate to make EU directive 2004/18/EG Art. 26 obligatory, specifying social aspects regarding gender equality and gender aware poverty prevention
- Concretise enforcement and diffusion of instruments and standards for gender equality instruments, decent work and green procurement

Consumer empowerment

- Strengthen role of citizens as consumers in all policies, departing from women as organisers and managers of the private household economy and their activities in waste avoidance and separation, purchase decisions, energy use, transmission of green everyday knowledge to make use of the full potential of the Green New Deal
- Develop and strengthen industrial policies targeting to empower citizens as "green, mature consumers" parting from carers in private households directly affected by effects of harmful products and pollution (e.g. caring for health problems of relatives)
- Parting from the consumer for waste management, product recycling and energy saving approaches taking an explicit gender sensitive standpoint,

considering gendered distribution of (unpaid) work for sorting, collecting, depositing waste and use of household devices.

Selected literature

Bundesministerium der Finanzen. 23. Subventionsbericht der Bundesregierung – Bericht der Bundesregierung über die Entwicklung der Finanzhilfen des Bundes und der Steuervergünstigungen für die Jahre 2009-2012.

Kuhl, Mara: Wem werden Konjunkturpakete gerecht? Eine budgetorientierte Gender-Analyse der Konjunkturpakete I und II. Reihe "WiSo Diskurs – Expertisen und Dokumentationen zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialpolitik", Friedrich-Ebert-Stiftung. Mai 2010. <http://library.fes.de/pdf-files/wiso/07230.pdf>.