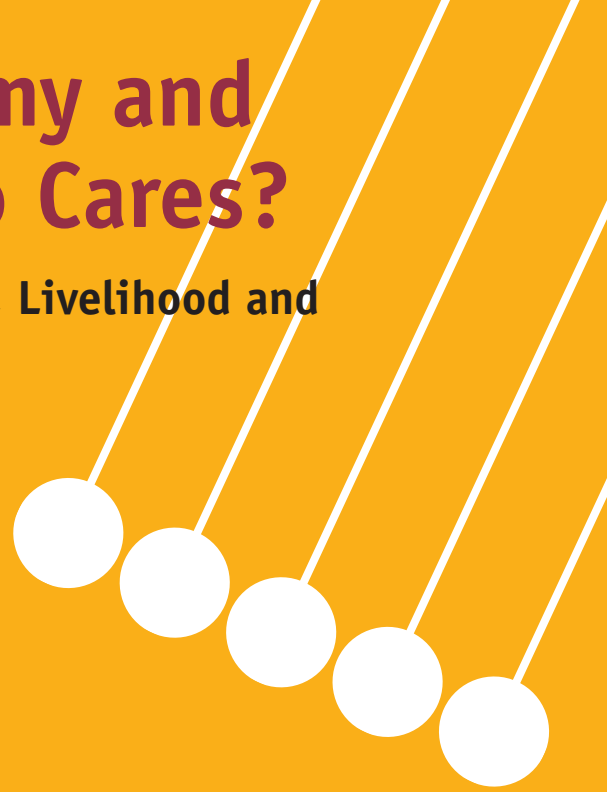




Sustainable Economy and Green Growth: Who Cares?

International Workshop linking Care, Livelihood and Sustainable Economy



IMPRINT

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GLOSSARY

Gender: Gender is a social construct, which assigns roles and responsibilities to men and women. Generally gender relations are constructed in a hierarchy. Globally women experience social, economic, political and cultural marginalisation and exclusion due to the gendered division of labour and socio-cultural norms. This can vary according to class, race, ethnic or religious affiliation. Gender and gender relations are socially constructed as well as materially (re)produced.

Sustainable Development: The term development is a slippery slope with a long and difficult history and which has come under fire for its underlying eurocentric, patriarchal and racist ideology. According to the UN, Sustainable Development meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs.

Green Economy: There is no agreed upon definition of Green Economy. According to UNEP, a Green Economy is one that improves human well-being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities. For the OECD, Green Growth is a framework for countries to achieve economic growth and development while preventing costly environmental degradation, climate change and inefficient use of natural resources. Many civil society organisations reject the term and refer for example to “Sustainable and Equitable Economic Activity” that has a stronger emphasis on justice, equity and responsibility.

Global North/South: These are not geographic terms, but are rather used to describe the global political and socio-economic power structures between and within countries that are marked by the unequal distribution of power. In this paper the terms Global North and Global South are used to highlight the role of power, rather than the contested concept of development inherent in the terms developing/developed countries.

Developed/developing: The categories developing/developed, usually used in international negotiations or institutions, takes the level of industrialisation, technological infrastructures, standard of living, Human Development Index, levels of income and/or GDP levels into account. Often the terms low/high income or industrialised country are used synonymously. Either way, the terms lack clear definition, are politically charged and fail to account for the recent emerging economies like Brazil, India or China.

Care Economy: In a broad sense, care work refers to the often unpaid work done caring for people, nature, animals and future generations. Care work is performed either unpaid within the household or remunerated in the market economy, or it is provided by the state or non-profit organisations. Additionally, it can also be understood to include care for the environment and future generations.

Reproductive Economy: Recently there has been a shift from the term reproductive work to care work. The former term has its roots in Marxist analysis of the gendered division of labour focusing on the material and economic aspects of the non-market economy. Care work, on the other hand, emphasises the emotional dimension of such tasks and the importance of inter-personal relationships.

Livelihood: A person’s livelihood refers to their “means of securing the necessities of life”. Livelihood is defined as a set of (economic) activities, involving subsistence work, self-employment, and/or wage employment to generate adequate resources for meeting the requirements of the self and household on a sustainable basis with dignity. A livelihood is sustainable when it can cope with and recover from stresses and shocks and maintain or enhance its capabilities and assets both now and in the future, without undermining the natural resource base.

INTRODUCTION

Ulrike Röhr

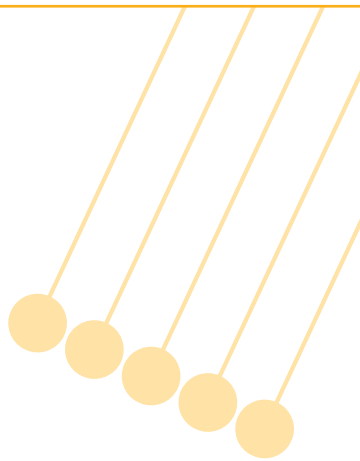
Towards a Green and Caring Society

For more than 20 years feminist economists and women's organisations have called for a fundamental shift in our economic model, as it systematically excludes and undervalues unpaid care work – still largely done by women. They have called for a shift away from a profit and growth orientated economy towards more sustainable and gender-just economies that meet the needs of all human beings with respect to ecological boundaries. Despite attempts to measure, value and include Care Work and environmental aspects into the economic equation – as done by the Stiglitz Commission, the Economics of Ecosystem and Biodiversity (TEBB) or OECD study “How's life – Measuring well-being” – care remains at the fringes and there are hardly any practical models of what such alternative models could look like.

Against the background of the multiple crises, financial instability and economic recession, prevailing poverty and inequality levels, as well as resource scarcity and climate change, concerted efforts to redirect the economy into more sustainable paths have culminated in the Green Economy concept. Born out of the Green New Deal and the 20th anniversary of the Rio conference on Sustainable Development, the Green Economy is now supposed to shape “our common future” into a sustainable one. Yet civil society organisations and women's networks have criticised the Green Economy for its lack of an adequate gender perspective and as a watered down version of Sustainable Development, in which the social pillar and women as agents have been relegated as side issues. Although the Rio+20 outcome document “The Future We Want” recognises the value of unpaid Care Work and its contribution to the economy and human well-being, it ‘does not addresses a redistribution of Care Work between men and women as part of countries’ commitments, nor does it promote the development of a care centred economy or call for an adequate remuneration of care services. It is within this context that the idea for critical engagement with the Green Economy concept arose, with the aim of involving women in the male dominated discussion and giving voice to a gender justice perspective. Thus, the project “Green Economy Gender_Just” was born and carried out by **genanet**/LIFE e.V.

LIFE – Education, Environment, Equality is an organization based in Berlin. Founded 25 years ago, it pushes for equal opportunities for women and men in skilled trades, science and technology, in particular in the field of the environment related labour market.

***genanet** is LIFE's focal point gender, environment, sustainability, which focuses on mainstreaming gender into environmental policy and critically engaging with and monitoring political processes on national, European and international levels. **genanet**'s main focus is on gender in energy and climate change policy, nevertheless addressing other environmental fields too. Among others, **genanet** is conducting research, providing reports and studies, preparing position statements, facilitating networks to discuss strategies to implement gender mainstreaming or to further debates on various environmental issues from a gender perspective.*



genanet began working on the Green Economy two years ago when it became apparent that the design and debate of Green Economy concepts in Germany and Europe was completely male dominated, with little consideration or inclusion of social issues in general, or Care Work in particular. In cooperation with German women's organisations, mainly the National Council of German Women's Organizations (Deutscher Frauenrat), the project "Green Economy Gender_Just" was implemented, aiming at involving women's organisations in the debate and strengthening their perspectives. Within the framework of the project various discussion and background papers were published, calling for the need for a feminist perspective on the social and ecological transformation of the economy, exemplifying the relationship between care and green economy, discussing consumption and the green economy from a gender perspective and the link between financial markets, green economy and gender. Most of the papers are available in English on our website www.genanet.de/diskussion.html?&L=1.

In the run up to the Rio+20 conference in June 2012, voices critical of the Green Economy concept and the call for alternative economic models gained force, yet the question of what a gender-just economy would look like remained unanswered. This was the context in which genanet sought to fill a gap. The idea for the two day workshop "Sustainable Economy and Green Growth – who cares?" arose out of the apparent need to bring together the dispersed and inchoate discussion in and amongst women's networks working on the intersection of green or sustainable economies and paid and unpaid Care Work from different world regions. The core premise was to be that new economic models will only be truly sustainable if care is placed at the centre.

With the financial support of the Ministry for Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety we hosted an international workshop aimed at discussing how care and the Green Economy can be brought together. The guiding question for the workshop was whether there are already any working examples or projects in place in which the economic activities have not only become greener or more sustainable, but where care was placed at the centre. Furthermore, we were interested in what kind of organisational and financial models exist and how these could apply in different contexts.

During the preparation for the workshop and the writing of the background paper, we consistently encountered the problem of terminology. We had to decide of whether to stick to the highly elusive and contested term "Green Economy", sometimes wondering whether Sustainable Economies is more appropriate or whether an entirely new term is needed. The decision to use the term Green Economy arose out the pragmatic consideration of linking our debate to the Rio+20 process and the global policy talks. Similarly, we discovered that the concept of "Care" has different meanings in different countries; in some context it even proves to be inadequate in capturing the realities of women and their concerns. And yet again, we opted for the term care, understood as work that includes care for others, future generations, animals and the environment, so as to move beyond the domestic labour debates and questions of monetary compensation.

Terminology aside, we invited representatives of women's organisations from different regions of the world to the workshop, who were in some form or another working on the intersection of Green Economy and care, wishing to share data, experiences and provide a space to network, and possibly initiate future cooperation. The diversity of perspectives, conceptualisations and approaches was enriching and shows the potential for developing context-sensitive models, while being able to refer to some common understanding of what is at stake. This publication will hopefully provide the reader with a sense of the complex and thought provoking discussion we had during these two days.

The background paper we compiled in preparation for the workshop will provide the reader with an idea of what the Green Economy and Care Economy are, the current debate

and contestation around the two concepts, how they may relate to each other and which questions arise when the two are implemented in an integrative manner. A few of the highlights of the ensuing discussion during the two day workshop will provide a better understanding of some of the points raised in the background paper. Obviously we do not claim to completely cover all of the complex and diverse discussions we had. However, to give a sense of the overall atmosphere and thematic developments during the workshop, Annemarie Sancar's reflections are provided as a supplement. In her dual role as participant and observer at the workshop, Sancar was able to summarise and reflect on her perceptions of the process, thus providing an astute impression of what it was all about.

The contributions of the participants featured here offer insight into the diversity of the discussions and approaches. Nidhi Tandon shows how the Care Economy and Green Economy are linked in our globalised economy and how decreasing the ecological footprint in one part of the world in line with a low carbon economy can increase the care footprint or care burden in another part – in other words, how care for nature and care for people are inherently linked. Providing an overview of recent years, Mascha Madörin examines the economic statistical data from Switzerland with the aim of providing data on the contributions of the care economy, and thus giving evidence to the necessity of shifting economic paradigms. In her essay, she proposes starting points for a meso and macro analysis of Care Work. Ipek Ilkcaracan introduces an alternative future vision for addressing the multiple systemic challenges with a new economic order, complementing the Green Economy: a "Purple Economy". She details the kinds of policy reforms it aspires to and discusses the challenges of implementation.

Nicole Bidegain and Anita Nayar criticise the Green Economy concept and explore how issues of care are linked to environmental sustainability and alternatives to the current inequitable economic model. They ask what alternatives sustainability of livelihoods and the planet promote, rather than private accumulation, growth and efficiency. Priti Darooka debunks the care concept as driven by the Global North, suggesting that it is not compatible with the situation of poor women in the Global South as it unintentionally neglects realities of women from developing countries working in sustainable forms of livelihoods. She challenges feminists to make the concept of care economy inclusive. For many years, feminist development practitioners have tried to persuade colleagues to pay attention to Care Work as a fundamental issue in gender equality, as well as human and economic development. Due to the nature of this complex and controversial issue, and the time-constraints of practitioners, results have been modest to date. Given this, Thalia Kidder explains how Oxfam reacted to such constraints by designing and implementing a 'rapid care analysis' tool for use in development programmes.

The workshop raised many issues, established some form of common ground, provided some answers, but it also raised more questions. The last part of the documentation will offer suggestions as to what we believe are the necessary next steps to deepening our understanding and discussion on how Care and Sustainable or Green Economies will have to be conceptualised and implemented on an equal footing and in a coherent manner. In addition, Eleanor Blomstrom and Marcela Tovar from WEDO – one of the leading women's organisations on international level – explain in an interview how they will address the link between green and care in the international arena.

On a side note, we have also provided details of certain core texts on Care Economy and Green Economy on our website for further reading, which cannot be included here due to limited space (www.genanet.de/care-eco.html?&L=1).

It may have been the end of our two day workshop, but it is certainly not the end of the debate. Quite the contrary, the discussion needs to be intensified and broadened. It will need to spread and be heard beyond board rooms or activist networks. We invite you to be part of the debate and spread the word!

Conny van Heemstra

Sustainable Economy and Care Economy

Concepts, linkages and questions

For more than 20 years, women's organisations and feminist economists have called for a paradigm shift in mainstream economics, which in its current form systematically excludes the reproductive services of women and nature from accounting sheets, while still using unpaid Care Work and nature as free and unlimited resources. Women's networks therefore demand an economy that does not aim for monetary profit and further economic growth, but rather at meeting human needs and ensuring the sustainable use of natural resources. This requires measurements and indicators of societal progress and development as alternatives to the conventional Gross Domestic Product (GDP). The Stiglitz Commission and the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development's (OECD) study "How's life – Measuring well-being" represent initial attempts, but arguably, a more innovative economic concept is needed. Could the Green Economy prove to be such a new approach?

According to many experts and civil society representatives across the world, the basic requirement for a sustainable economy is to closely connect the Care Economy to the Green Economy. However, so far attempts to incorporate these kinds of analyses, arguments and demands relating to care into the corresponding political and economic debates and concepts have been unsuccessful. The Care Economy remains on the fringes of the Green Economy.

Against the background of the multiple crises facing the global community – climate change, financial instability, poverty, hunger, environmental degradation and natural resource scarcity – the concept of Green Economy and the Green New Deal have become central to the debate on Sustainable Development. Accordingly, recent discussions around the United Nations Conference on Sustainable Development (Rio+20) and respective run up meetings focused on this notion. The conference's final document recognises the Green Economy as an important instrument to achieve Sustainable Development. Civil society and women's organisations, however, have criticised the concept for ignoring key aspects of Sustainable Development and the importance of women as agents of change. Such

discussions highlight the need to overcome the division between the care and market economies, as well as between production and reproduction, within ecological boundaries – a need which is not met by the existing Green Economy concept.

The outcome document of the Rio+20 conference, "The Future We Want", recognises the contribution of informal and unpaid work to human well-being and Sustainable Development. However, agreed-upon commitments merely require states to work towards secure and humane working conditions and access to social security and education. There is no mention of including care in economic concepts, or the equal distribution of unpaid work between women and men, or the adequate remuneration of personal care services. Also absent are the principles of a caring economy that are inherent to truly sustainable economies.

The Green Economy

Historically speaking, the prelude to the Green Economy concept was the UN conference on the Human Environment in 1972, when the UN placed the concern for environmental degradation and poverty issues on the world agenda. The publication of the Brundtland Report "Our Common Future" in 1987 was testimony to the link between poverty and environmental degradation and the failure to raise the standard of living in the Global South. The report also led to the 1992 Rio Earth Summit, which recognised that the global ecological crisis had to be solved in an equitable way. In Rio the concept of Sustainable Development was conceived as a "yes we can" approach to harmonise the economy, society and the environment. Twenty years later at the Rio+20 Conference the new buzzword is the Green Economy, designed as a follow up of the UNEP's call for a Global Green New Deal in 2008. Even though the Green Economy is supposedly not intended as a replacement of Sustainable Development, the context of the financial and economic crisis shaped the concept, focusing on economic growth instead on wellbeing.



Environmentally sound and socially inclusive – having your cake and eating it too?

Generally speaking, social components do feature in the principles of the Green Economy as means for sustainable development, with the aim of reducing poverty, being equitable, fair and just between and within countries or creating jobs. Yet while these principles are no doubt well-intentioned, it is questionable whether the social pillar will be given enough attention to achieve lasting change. Some of the strategies and mechanisms may aim at addressing social exclusion or poverty, but if the broader structural causes are not taken into consideration, the social goals of Green Economy will not be met. As a general rule, Green Economy concepts address poverty and inequality, but without considering how these factors might interact with women's economic activities or gender justice. Indeed, there are various papers and studies from a feminist perspective pointing to the low representation of women in the newly emerging green sectors. SustainLabour identified the exclusion of women from the Green Economy due to gender-segregated employment, discrimination, and traditional attitudes: "Most green jobs are expected to be in the secondary sectors of construction, manufacturing and energy production, where women are significantly underrepresented. (...) Men dominate the better paid jobs in engineering, financial and business services, where the bulk of green service positions are likely to be created" (Sustainlabour 2009: 3). A study by Tandon (2012) addresses the situation of poor women in particular, looking at what kind of action should be taken so that women can also benefit from a Green Economy. This would require women's participation in decision making processes, as well as for the current economic system to be reworked, incorporating context sensitive and locally sound approaches. Additionally, a gender-just Green Economy would ensure access to essential services such as health or housing and the provision of social transfer for those in need – demands that are echoed by the call to recognise women as workers, even if their work is unpaid. Yet the European Parliament, when addressing the role of women in the Green Economy in a public hearing, only focused on women's participation in the labour market.

The Care Economy

Care Work – which involves caring for people, nature or future generations – can be paid or unpaid, and occur in the household or the market, and be provided by the state or non-profit organisations. Care Work is inherently a social and relational process and is characterised by asymmetric relationships between the caregiver and receiver. Whether Care Work is paid or unpaid, it is generally unrecognised, undervalued, and thus, poorly paid. In the United States,

What is in the name? Green Economy concepts

The Green Economy has been promoted or tentatively endorsed by various international institutions, business alliances, NGOs and the private sector. It is meant to act as a catalyst to emerge from the economic crisis, reducing resource use, promoting growth, creating jobs while steering away from environmentally harmful activities, thereby serving as a unifying narrative with new opportunities for the severely shaken neoliberal paradigm. The main focus is on industrial production that is more efficient in terms of its energy and resource use, as well as environmentally responsible consumption. According to different proponents of the Green Economy the emphasis lies on new technologies and efficient resource use, green investment, the role of private sector, state regulations or incentives, with considerable importance assigned to developmental needs and ecological constraints. Definitions of a Green Economy differ: according to UNEP, Green Economy is "improved human well being and social equity, while significantly reducing environmental risks and ecological scarcities" (UNEP 2011: 16); the OECD defines Green Growth as a framework "for how countries can achieve economic growth and development while preventing costly environmental degradation, climate change and inefficient use of natural resources" (OECD 2012: 3).

However it is defined, the question is: is the Green Economy capable of tackling the current crises and providing new impetus for the necessary transition towards a socially and economically responsible economic model? Many civil society organisations and feminists have rejected the term – and the associated concepts – as mere green washing and instead call for just and sustainable development as well as a sustainable, equitable economy, stressing distributional and developmental aspects, while remaining vague on definitions or concrete implementation strategies.

the human service sector is characterised by the lowest wages (this is also the case in Germany and most of the European countries), reinforcing stereotypical gender and ethnic roles: 97 per cent of childcare workers and 94 per cent of the domestic workers are women, and 37 per cent of them are African American and 15 per cent are Hispanic (O'Hara 2012).

Unpaid Care Work is difficult to measure as it does not involve money and often produces intangible results. Time-use surveys are mostly employed to account for Care Work, although it is often the case that various care tasks occur simultaneously within the household, or they take place in the market and are no longer recognised for what they are. But even if Care Work is paid, the transfer of money tends to be a poor reflection of its value to society and the economy. Additionally, the market price, or what an individual pays for Care Work, may differ from society's underlying valuation of the work, especially when the benefits are shared by all. Thus the wages paid for Care Work are a poor measurement of its real value.

And who cares?

Surveys reveal that women spend more time on Care Work, which limits their participation in activities outside the household, including paid work. Women are more likely to spend time on unpaid work than men, even if both are formally employed in the market economy. In India women spend 34 per cent of their time on unpaid Care Work, compared to 17 per cent by men (Budlender & UNRISD 2008: 14). In Costa Rica men spend 1.43 hours per day in doing unpaid work where as women use 6.15 hours of their time (Esquivel 2011: 15). According to the latest World Bank Report on Gender Equality, women spend between one to three hours more on housework, two to ten times the time on care (of children, elderly, and the sick), and one to four hours less for market activities.

Care Work is vital to the sustenance and functioning of society and the economy. However, the "value added by unremunerated labour is assumed to be an implicit factor, and is assumed to be a given. Otherwise after all the economy would not work" (Bieri et al. 2011: 17). In Switzerland, the total work volume amounts to 14,920 hours per annum, of which both men and women work 6,888 hours annually in the market economy and 8,032 hours annually in the unpaid Care Economy (Madörin 2007: 4) – of which the bulk was done by women. When measured in monetary terms, the value of unpaid Care Work amounted to 372.7 billion Swizz francs in 2007. While systems used to calculate the value of unpaid labour might differ, similar results have been found in many countries: the value of the unpaid work is equal to (and sometimes even greater than)

the 'conventional' Gross Domestic Product (GDP). Measuring and comparing the value of paid Care Work is also challenging, as the hourly rate might not be indicative of its value to the economy and society, particularly given that wages in this feminised sector remain low.

Critique of the Green Economy by civil society organisations

Civil society organisations have criticised the diverse Green Economy concepts, calling attention to different shortcomings or dangers inherent in the concept. Some NGOs and networks have criticised the Green Economy for its lack of theoretical consistency (infinite growth in a finite world), empirical blindness (decoupling growth from increasing resource use, rebound effect), ideological persistence (market instruments, growth paradigm, efficiency mantra) and questionable implementation (global power relations, corporate interests or fiscal constraints by governments). Various actors have directed their criticism at different aspects of the Green Economy proposals, including those who fear trade protectionism by the Global North or that the Green Economy is merely a veiled attempt to offer new markets to financial capital. Fear has also been voiced over the loss of the spirit of Rio, which has meant that the driving force has remained economic growth rather than the redistribution of wealth, and also that natural resources are commodified and increasingly incorporated into the market. The social dimension of the Green Economy, relating to how the goal of sustainable development and poverty eradication can be met, also remains unclear. For many, the market-liberal approach is highly problematic as it can exacerbate social inequalities, placing women in an even more disadvantageous position. Women's organisations in particular have pointed to the lack of an adequate gender perspective. In the past, the concept of Sustainable Development has come under fire for its lack of an adequate gender perspective, leading to the formulation of the "Women's Action Agenda 21" calling for a fundamental reassessment of current economic models and activities. 20 years after the initial debate, women's organisations have once again been disappointed by the Green Economy and the Rio+20 final document – not only are women's rights and gender justice relegated to the periphery, the proposed policies could even exacerbate the plight of women, as no fundamental changes have occurred in the way the crisis and its causes are to be analysed and approached.



The link between Green Economy, Care Economy and Growth: more or less the same?

Currently, our economic system does not account for the role and value of ecosystems and the Care Economy in sustaining the productive market economy. Thus a new economic model will have to account for both: it will have to become greener and more sustainable, but it also has to take into account the value and contribution of Care Work. The question of the role of growth is fundamental, as growth is imperative to the current economic and development paradigm. However, growth does not necessarily ensure human well-being. More specifically there has been little trickle-down effect for women and in some developing economies increased gender inequalities have been positively linked to economic growth.

Growth? Where and for whom?

Growth is limited by the boundaries of the planet, the limitation of natural resources and the carrying capacities of our ecological systems. Green Economy concepts argue that more efficient production would allow for continued growth. In addition to considering rebound and preboud effects limiting (predicted) efficiency gains, the main questions are whether we need growth, as well as for whom, and also whether this is compatible with the reduction of production and consumption?

In the Global South growth might be needed in terms of economic development and per capita incomes. In most countries of the Global North growth is required in terms of care services in aging societies. Perhaps where growth can be seen as particularly necessary is when it comes to awareness of the need for a fundamental transition towards a low carbon and caring society!

The sector of individual-related services – in particular for the elderly – is one of the fastest growing sectors in the

economies of the Global North. Unsurprisingly, it is a heavily gendered one, in terms of wages, the times spent for unpaid caring, and the impacts of international care chains, as mentioned previously. Looking critically at growth allows us to ask questions about distribution and sufficiency. Against this background, there is a strong need to discuss not only the rationale behind integrating care into the Green Economy, but also what it means in practical terms.

Green Economy: Please handle with care.

If we combine the Care Economy with the Green Economy we will have to develop and apply different kinds of principles and overarching aims. Currently Green Economy concepts are geared towards growth, efficiency gains, job creation, innovation, investment opportunities, and the development of new markets and products. However, applying these principles to the Care Economy proves difficult as care defies the logic of productivity and efficiency gains or cost reduction. Care Work is about the quality and maintenance of nature and human relations. It is difficult to potty train children more efficiently, or to economise the provision of affection for elders. The development of new technologies or products, and the creation of new markets can only play a marginal role.

Linking care to the Green Economy is about the social organisation of labour – the way in which paid and unpaid work is accounted for, distributed and shared between men and women. Even if greener jobs in the market are created, the question of who is responsible for the reproduction of labour and social relations remains. In order to include the care perspective, we will have to ask how gender relations are affected, as well as whether women are benefiting from employment opportunities AND if the care burden is reduced. This would mean reconceptualising the idea of work, recognising the intertwining of remunerated, unremunerated, subsistence and informal work and reorganising working hours that are supportive of care activities.

A mere focus on job creation and how to get women into the labour market does not entail the structural change needed for social and environmental sustainability. Care Work must not be dealt with as a hindrance to the participation in the formal economy, but rather, the economy needs to be organised so that care duties are distributed more equally and care needs are met. This entails reorganising working hours in the formal economy to allow the redistribution of Care Work between men and women. Until now, women have entered the labour market without experiencing a significant reduction in their care duties. Thus, women are more likely to opt for part time work, which

often reinforces gender inequality in terms of wage gaps and occupational and vertical segregation. Fewer working hours for everyone could in fact have environmental benefits by reducing consumption and thus environmental pressure. This would also allow for more engagement in voluntary or community work, enhancing overall well-being. More importantly for the discussion here, a reconfiguration of working hours in the formal economy would ensure sufficient time for Care Work. There are already concrete suggestions of what such arrangements could look like. This depends on the particular context, but essentially care should lie at the heart of policy formulations. A reorganisation of labour should not lead to entrenchment of informal, insecure, poorly paid part time work and the associated unequal distribution of Care Work.

Necessary frameworks

Political economic change

Examining the intersection of the economy, society and the environment highlights that all economic activities are fundamentally connected within this nexus. Recognising the importance of Care Work – including the reproductive, care-taking, and supportive dimension of services – and acknowledging its central role in making any kind of economic productive activities possible, is the first step to correct economic valuation.

Care Work can be provided by a variety of actors or institutional arrangements, but the question is what kind of framework is needed so that in all contexts, Care Work can be equally distributed between men and women? There is a need to develop public services that are affordable, otherwise any profit made within the labour market or through micro-financing will not be spent on care services. It is also necessary to develop policies that ensure the public and collective provision of some care services, otherwise care responsibilities will continually be relegated to the individual and household level. Additionally, mechanisms must be developed (whether in the form of tax reduction for companies or individuals that provide care services) without entrenching gender stereotypes and gender inequalities. This includes sufficiently high wages in the personal service sector – for both men and women. In taking such actions, it must be ensured that the principles of “care” form the heart of all policies, instead of merely integrating unpaid care givers into a market economy, where they may only earn a meagre income. This would merely result in further spending on expensive care services, leaving individuals worse off, particularly if their entry into the labour market is not accompanied by a relief of Care Work within the household and between men and women.

The market can play a role in providing care services, but such services must be accessible, affordable and have gender transformative aims. It is possible to conceive of economic policies that allow the production of gender-just outcomes and equally distributed profits. In addition to corporate responsibility models that include Care Work, governmental legislation could ensure that gender-just production is mandatory across sectors and products. In developmental contexts, projects have to be designed so as to take care of women’s most valuable resource – time – and ensure that Care Work is redistributed with human well-being at the forefront, rather than economic growth or profit.

In 2010, the ISO 26000 ‘Guidance on Social Responsibility’ was agreed upon as the international standard for Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR). It provides guidelines to strengthen awareness for social responsibility and to develop a coherent set of terminology. The guidelines combine already existing social and environmental responsibility and include references to gender equality and social responsibility.

ISO 26000 recommends organisations “to review their decisions and activities to eliminate gender bias and promote gender equality. Areas include:

- the mix of men and women in the organization’s governing structure and management, with the aim of progressively achieving parity and eliminating gender barriers;
- equal treatment of men and women workers in recruitment, job assignment, training, opportunities for advancement, compensation and termination of employment;
- equal remuneration for men and women workers for work of equal value;
- possible differential impacts on men and women concerning workplace and community safety and health;
- decisions and activities of the organization that give equal consideration to the needs of men and women (for example, checking for any differential impact on men and women arising from the development of specific products or services, or reviewing the images of women and men presented in any communications or advertising by the organization); and
- benefits for both women and men from the organization’s advocacy of and contributions to community development, with possible special attention to redressing areas where either gender is disadvantaged.”

The role of the state

What role can or will the state play? Generally speaking, the state provides the opportunity for redistribution of material goods and wealth according to criterion other than the logic of the market or profit. When the market and companies offer care services, the state will need to provide an effective and thorough regulatory framework so that questions of productivity or efficiency gains will not be the sole factors in shaping how care is executed. Care Work is different to other sectors, due to its exploitative history, as well as its scale, emotionality and importance to everyone. Moreover, the state has to provide protection and support, as care receivers are often marginalized or voiceless people – in particular children, elderly or the sick usually feature as dispensable cost factors in economic considerations. Vice versa, care givers are often women or migrants who may be prone to precarious work arrangement and poor remuneration.

Non-profit or cooperative structures may be suitable institutions for providing care within the market economy. Importantly, we must leave the ideological trenches of Keynesian or Neoclassical approaches behind us and ask what kind of arrangement is needed if care and the care principles form the centre of social organisation.

Commons

Approaching care from a commons perspective can help overcoming the state market divide in terms of how care should be provided, organised and funded. Both markets and the state have advantages and disadvantages when they offer care services, but such discussions often overlook essential features of care: care is about processes, about social relations between the receiver and giver and it also has an emotional component. In short, care is not so much an entity to be sold, bought, traded or speculated with, but rather like “commoning”, it is an activity. Secondly, care is similar to a common in that it is not owned, but everyone requires it – at least at some stage in their lives – and the benefits of Care Work extend beyond the individual at the receiving end.

Social transformation

Besides such political and macro-economic policy changes, what is also needed is a socio-cultural shift so that Care Work is valued and gender roles and stereotypes are deconstructed. We need to recast traditional roles such as the male breadwinner, which persist despite over 50 years of the feminisation of the labour force. We also need to discuss how we can enhance the value of Care Work, and

how to ensure that participation within the market economy is decoupled from access to material resources and social and political power. This means we have to link economic policies with the overarching aim of placing care at the centre of developmental efforts: “Development is not sustainable if care and social reproduction are not recognized as intrinsically linked with the productive economy and reflected in macroeconomic policymaking” (DAWN 2012).

Questions for further discussion

Having touched on the multiple facets of the Green Economy and care debate, many questions are raised and it becomes clear that further discussion is needed. As Care Work is performed under a variety of institutional arrangements with their associated challenges, **the question becomes: what regulatory frameworks are needed to place care at the centre?** What kind of positive role can markets and companies play in offering care arrangements that place productivity and meeting care requirements on equal footing? Is the advancement of CSR principles useful and sufficient or should additional policies be put in place? What role can the state play in developing gender-just principles that support care activities and the shape the growing market so that societal needs are met?

One of the key challenges lies in financing and funding Care Work, solving the trade-offs between financial sustainability of state budgets and affordability of care services. **Who will pay for the provision of care services?** This also entails the question of how care services provided by the market – unquestionably necessary – can be designed so that socio-economic exclusion is minimised. Whether state subsidies, cash transfer, cross-subsidisation by users, or if entirely different approaches are needed may depend on the particular context. In order to meet the growing need for care it is not a question of either/or (state or market), but rather of how both can contribute to the provision of care, and consequently, under what conditions Care Work is performed.

We also deem it necessary to ask the crucial, possibly uncomfortable question **of whether the concept of care is an applicable approach to both the Global North and Global South.** Considering the different developmental needs, fiscal constraints of states, and socio-economic arrangements of the formal and informal economy, does care (as used in Western feminist discourse) apply to the needs and demands of the South? If not, what kind of other concepts or categories could lead to the overarching aim of a gender-just, truly sustainable economy? Touching on the need to contextualise care arrangements, **we should also discuss whether it is possible and**

useful to develop overarching guiding principles – similar to international labour standards – **so that care forms an integral part of other social policies.** Considering the different care regimes, historical developments, and societal and demographic needs, any such kind of guideline will have to be broad enough to cover as much ground as possible. Simultaneously, guidelines for a gender-just care regime need to be sufficiently stringent so that care is not co-opted and watered down when used by donors, business or governments.

Solid new political or economic arrangements are a necessary precondition for establishing a caring and truly sustainable economy. Beyond this, we need to learn to conceive of how to achieve a socio-cultural shift that values any kind of caring activity. This requires closing the wage gap between men and women, increasing wages in the personal service sector, and thereby revaluing paid Care Work. Above all, it necessitates social arrangements and values in which care is not taken for granted or duly noticed, but truly valued (socially, politically and economically) and equally distributed between men and women.

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This report was informed by a wide range of publications by NGOs, UN organisations, researchers and others. For a list of the fully referenced version please look at <http://www.genanet.de/care-eco.html?&L=1>

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REFLECTIONS ON THE WORKSHOP

Reflections by Ulrike Röhr

“Providing a space to discuss and listen”

A workshop on the link between two issues and the corresponding concepts, which so far have been dealt with separately, and with 20 women from different world regions and cultures – is this perhaps too ambitious?

It was not only the so far missing link between care and the Green Economy that made the planning difficult. The different concepts and approaches linked to these issues, as well as the different political and economic systems and experiences within these systems posed a challenge to the preparation of the workshop. Green Economy versus Sustainable Development, Care Economy versus Livelihoods. Best practices we hoped to share and discuss do not yet exist. Closely related to this was the question of the process: inputs on the different concepts, yes or no? If yes, who should provide an input and how we can make sure that the ensuing discussion will not only circle around these very inputs?



After long discussions with the moderator Jutta Weimar and carefully weighing all arguments we took the risk and went for a dialogue-orientated design for the workshop, giving any inputs a miss. This might have created some mild confusion for some, but in our view this was the only chance to arrive at a fundamental understanding for each other's

positions – different as they may be – and develop common ground/recommendations. The underlying concept identified by Otto Scharmer from the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) defines four consecutive phases of listening that need to be crossed so as to arrive at common, future orientated concepts.

Phase 1 Downloading:

reconfirming old opinions and judgement

Phase 2 Precise listening: disconfirming (new) data

Phase 3 Empathic listening:

emotional connection, deep understanding

Phase 4 Generative listening: connecting to the presence of emerging future possibilities

Listening to each other, understanding and engaging with each other, perceiving the bigger picture are processes that take time. “It needs as much time as it takes”, the moderator repeatedly said. Possibly more time than we had, we feared. And it is a process that does not aim for quick results. Admittedly we would have liked some. Part of the result should not only have been the interest and desire for future exchange, but ideally also agreements on a ‘how’: concrete suggestions for continued discussions as well as the start of a common declaration.

Participants assured us that we had put an extremely important and innovative – though elusive and contested – issue on the agenda. Whether this will spread and disseminate beyond the workshop, time will tell. Indicative of this will be continued discussions and first steps taken to place green, sustainable and caring economies at centre stage, where they belong. Whether this is within the business community, the NGO sector, the political sphere and the broader public, or whether research will provide the necessary data, projects are implemented and best practices are shared is not an either/or question, but it depends on the steps we take.

The subsequent panel discussion hosted by the Friedrich Ebert Foundation during which the workshop results were presented to a wider audience, admittedly followed a conventional and much safer route compared to the workshop. It was a perfect conclusion to the two days. The positive atmosphere was prevalent during the subsequent reception and many suggestions for future cooperation were buzzing around the hall. Even if daily routine sets in quickly when participants returned home, the exchange and discussions will resonate and hopefully continue.

Reflection by Annemarie Sancar

“Care knowledge is power, but so far it has not entered centres of power”



Where do we start? How can we link the Care Economy to the Green Economy? The initial discussions attempted to frame a common understanding from different angles, but all of them finally underlined the essential meaning of work. From a feminist perspective it is important to look at the distribution of unpaid/paid labour and call for a revalorisation of Care Work. Still, the picture in the global South is different: the global economy is hierarchically organised; the countries of the South are subjected to exploitations (natural resources, foreign debts and alike). In these contexts states play a different role (post-colonial critique) and citizenship has a different connotation and history. This has implications for Care Work: care regimes are much less alimanted with infrastructure or transfer schemes and the informal labour markets play a more essential role, etc. So the concept of care is North driven, since in the Global South it is much less externalised among small farmers, people live in precarious urban areas, and informal workers.

Anyhow, both in the South and in the North a Green Care Economy consists of three C's: the first C refers to the care for community, the daily care, dignity and human rights; the second one to care for future generations and managing natural resources; and last but not least it is about care for nature (biodiversity, regeneration of ecosystems).

To elaborate more on the links of care and Green Economy, more common thinking and framing in was needed, since all participants represent different contexts and professional backgrounds, the narratives they are involved in differ, as well as the history of gender and care concepts alimenting their commitment.

Dimensions of initial discussions

- **Political perspective:** Green Economy is a label for policy makers, financial flows, strategic decisions (national and global), but the gender perspective is linear and very much limited to technical and numeric aspects, it does not intersect with processes of resource management in a broader sense or with regulatory decisions taken to define and set norms about the patterns of energy consumption, to decide on finance flows for Green Economy or public services and infrastructure. What is the paradigm of growth a state refers to when taking macroeconomic decisions or defining a state quota? How can this standard of growth be changed by means of public policies?
- **Care model – linking ecology, food nature and people:** It is about shifting away from the iceberg model to a transformative economy. Finance economy is the small visible peak of the iceberg, profit oriented production is also visible, a little bit broader than the first one. But the huge amount of Care Work is below sea level, invisible, externalised, not recognised. To go the alternative path of sustainable and gender-just development, the iceberg is turned around and the visible part is the sustainable economy. Below sea level, we now find the sectors of infrastructure etc. The aim to invest in infrastructure and technology is not the accumulation for profit, but the transformation of the economy towards diversity at individual, household and biosphere level.
- **Economic approach:** a feminist perspective on the Green Economy begins with the analysis of how different labour is done under certain conditions and with certain investment. The problem is that the question of who does which work is not addressed properly leading to the externalisation of Care Work as an economic factor from conventional macroeconomic calculations. The main issue of how to bring gender equality into the Green Economy looks at how Care Work is done, starting from the critical question of how care is financed, by whom and who pays what for it and how it is related to the investments in commodity sectors.

“Care knowledge is power, but so far it has not entered centres of power”



A carefree and careful atmosphere

Who cares for you? This introductory question set the scene for the discussion on care, to which the answers or considerations were diverse, as was the social background of the participants and their professional contexts. Without any classical presentations, which would have shaped all subsequent positions according to the different interests and possibilities, the space was open for debates, the struggle to find a common denominator and the grappling with the difficulty of defining what is at stake. Early on a kind of feminist community took shape, inclusive for all and so the need to agree upon clear goals was not yet necessary. It was quite obvious that the objectives would differ, and variations would be greatest when concrete political strategies will come into play.

The plenary sessions were marked by case studies on the one hand and abstract reflections on the other. The term Care Economy as a feminist concept appeared to be questioned, declared as a colonial project, thus serving as the distinguishing mark for women from the Global South. This kind of dynamic reminds one of the discussion of the 1980s and 1990s when certain feminists analysed the situation of migrants in Europe from a critical postcolonial perspective. At that time of course, reactions were immediate, and they came from migrant feminists themselves. Is this happening again? After all, the discussion around care work opens up the space in which gender relations are defined and therefore the probability of ideological struggles for positions defined along gender lines unavoidable.

Possibly a side event, and in fact at the final plenary no one called into question the centrality of unpaid care work. So the forms of subsequent action proposed remained rather unspecific and abstract (abolish capitalism, block World Trade Organisation (WTO) and International Monetary Fund (IMF)).

Particularly interesting was the dynamic which developed out of the presented case studies. On the one hand, illuminating stories of the effects of political decisions regarding climate change on the Care Economy in rural areas of the Global South, and the effects on poor women, were presented in an anecdotal manner. On the other hand, feminist economists analysed the costs of care, the productivity of particular forms of work and the macro-economic processes of the financial crisis. (As a side note, the examples from the North were not really considered as cases, as if it would be a privilege of the South to confirm positions with such evidences). It begs the question: is it possible to find a common ground and where is the intersection? Yes, there is one and the link is important as it helps to accentuate the critique of the hegemonic development debate. It is important, as it furthers the tradition of feminist thought. And it is important as it provides a framework in which concrete projects and strategies can be developed in a context sensitive way, thereby serving as a reflection or mirror against which the one's own action can be judged and tested. This kind of workshop is necessary as collective pondering is an important source for innovative ideas. This also poses a limit as all participants are asked to place all that has been heard and said and all the contradictions in their respective contexts and to clearly analyse the conditions for the Care Economy and the relevance for gender relations. All of them are protagonists in their contexts, because even if boundaries were drawn during the plenary with their distinctions and differences, the plenary also helped to take a step back from one's own context and so to be free of rigid constructions. So the workshop was an important stepping stone in the context based strategies for a new economy that places the necessity of Care Work at the centre.

The workshop was ingenious, the diversity was productively used, lines were crossed, space for differences was continuously opened without losing sight of the common ground.

"It is a groundbreaking workshop linking two main structural issues. Totally useful for our times. We managed to get the big picture."

"I take home the reflection of difficulties in transdisciplinary work - different realities need differentiated approaches and strategies."

"Respectfully we exchanged different views."

"Millions of thoughts and worries regarding the problem I take home, thus a lot to discuss, but also an increased commitment."

"I missed the perspective on care and green economy from gender-reflective Eastern Europe experts."

"I will work on case studies on climate change adaptation and natural resources to highlight need for analysing, addressing and promoting care in the process."

"I want to work further on an analytical concept based on the question, if the Green Economy and Care Economy are linkable?"

"The workshop was urgently needed, well done!"

"The selection of participants was very inspiring! Very good concept and moderation and atmosphere."

Recommendations

In the workshop four clusters for future action, recommendations, needs and common ground for a possible next meeting were identified. The distinction and boundaries drawn are not an accurate representation of clearly defined fields for action, but rather they show overlaps and can work in synergy. The recommendations are based on the following two statements:

- Environmental pressure exacerbates the care burden, creating a care deficit. This is particularly evident in the Global South because of poor women's dependency on natural resources in rural areas to provide livelihoods.
- The "crisis of care" increases the ecological footprint, creating further environmental degradation. This is particularly evident in the Global North. The crisis of care is the result of the unequal distribution of unpaid care work between women and men, and the subsequent valuation and exploitation.

1. Research:

An enabling environment is required for case studies, to develop analytical know-how, promote interdisciplinary research and develop transdisciplinary projects to guide policies and create public platforms.

- Case studies are needed that show
 - a) the link between the environment and the care economy and
 - b) new forms of economic activities.
- A budget line must be provided: funding for research on the political and social economy of care.
- Research regarding the political and social economy of Care is needed.
- The patriarchal structure of the economy needs to be analysed.
- We should identify things we can do in high income countries that contribute to providing improved care without negative impacts on low income countries.

2. Policy:

Politics has to take the lead in acknowledging, integrating and revaluating Care Work and make sure, that it is part of economic equation.

- Environmental decision making has to be assessed according to the effects it will have on Care Work.
- It has to be mandatory to indicate the effects by all political actions and measures on Care Work in all reports and indicator frameworks.
- Methodologies and instruments must be developed in order to undertake the above mentioned assessments and reporting.
- It is essential to provide care economy related statistics and reporting at all levels in different contexts (must be part of research too).

Awareness raising

- It is essential to acknowledge, recognise and integrate unpaid Care Work into all national, international platforms and institutions, the EU parliament, SDG, Rio+20 etc.

- It is essential to raise awareness amongst the environmental movement and politicians of the importance of Care Work and of the effect of the Green Economy model on Care Work.

- We need to link environmental NGOs and the environmental movement with feminists and build alliances.

3. Infrastructure for networking:

Spaces for critical thinking and alternative knowledge must be provided.

- We need to create and further the debate on the importance of Care Work.
- We require space, time and funding for critical analysis and discussion on Care Work.

4. Resistance:

We need to build a strong resistance against "smart care economics" and human capital strategies by challenging their power of monopolising the meaning of Care Work.

- We need case studies to challenge the green economy concept and its detrimental effects on Care Work.

Green is just a colour

Grappling with the Green Economy, fewer questions emerged. Instead participants were generally univocal in that the Green Economy appears to be the emperor’s new clothes, as the Green Economy is an economy based on growth of profit, accumulation, productivity and efficiency. Currently the capitalist type of growth underlies and legitimises all narratives, political actions, decisions on investment and alike. The problem lies in the economic thinking and its differing conventional concept of growth.

According to the Care Economy perspective, the Green Economy most probably will not be a “careful” one; it won’t respect the boundaries of either human work force and time or nature. Therefore, participants agreed that it is theoretically not wise to link green with care as such. **Instead it is necessary to reframe “green” from a “care” perspective.** Care Work has to become visible – not only where it can be perceived as a market – but where the goal of its provision is the wellbeing of persons. Essentially this is the core of care. As long as economic activities are understood as a competitive practice based on a cost-benefit-logic, care won’t be made visible, but naturalised – using the image of women as the last resort.

Realpolitik

Still, amongst all the abstract discussions on care and the Green Economy, participants agreed on the difficulty of hampering capitalist markets, except by defining niches where other forms of economic policy become successful and well received. Clearly, Care Work is not the same as human capital. Existing niches become visible when describing all different forms of work that human beings are doing at different moments of their lives and with different means and resources. Simultaneously this also reveals different forms of exclusion and the instances in which they have to provide or receive care under very bad conditions. The results are that people are deprived of their basic rights. Each state, as a member of the world community, has responsibilities to ensure that Care Work is not merely capitalised, but it must be organised decently at both the giving and receiving end. Additionally, states should be able to analyse and identify their capacities or deficits and at the same time formulate strategies to improve their performance. Guiding questions are how Care Work is marginalised and why, how people can respond to this, and whether this applies differently to men and women? These are the starting questions which need to be answered in relation to the social and political economy of care. What happens to people without power of definition



when basic infrastructure is centralised, when public space and goods are privatised, when energy prices are rising? What happens to women when the access to care for elderly people is cut due to lacking budgets or social protection schemes? This requires thorough and systematic case studies. It also requires spaces to discuss results and participation processes beyond mere consultation etc. This might even uncover the small corners of resistance, which can be found everywhere, even within the UN system. For example, is there a possibility to push for the social protection floor and what would that mean if it were linked to Green Economy?

In a nutshell

The Care Economy poses a different framework; it asks for different data and information and it asks for different intersections of realities. The Care Economy needs to be fed with other experiences, models and formulas, but additionally it needs a more prominent position at universities, as these are places where the hierarchy of knowledge is negotiated. When the Green Economy is simply linked without further thought to the Care Economy, we encounter difficulties, because they are two different conceptual approaches to social organisation. It is the Care Economy which should be used as a model, a method, a theory and a way of critical thinking, thereby helping to deconstruct the Green Economy with all its implications for a careful/caring society.

“Care knowledge is power, but so far it has not entered centres of power”

DIVERSE PERSPECTIVES

Nidhi Tandon

Harmonising our Footprints: Reducing the Ecological while Accumulating the Care

'Unlike geopolitics, which views nature exclusively as strategic resources, biosphere politics views the environment as the irreducible context that sustains all of life and sets the conditions and limits for all other human thought and activity. In the biospheric era, the exploitation of nature gives way to a sense of reverence for the natural world and a sustainable relationship with the environment' (Rifkin 1991:4)

Exploring the prospects for a holistic Care Economy

This brief paper makes three main points:

- That the conventional Care Economy needs to widen its scope to include the existentialist aspects of care and its interdependence with a healthy biosphere;
- That the market economy as it currently exists, levies a disproportionately heavier care cost on both people and planet as capitalist modes of production and distribution become more entrenched. In particular, the emphasis on 'renewable or clean energy' as part of the Green Economy agenda creates a 'care deficit' for certain constituencies of women;
- That sustainable economies need to embed the social dimensions of development including 'care' factors and costs on a systemic level.

Redefining the Care Economy

In this period of market instability where the fundamentals of conventional economics are under serious scrutiny, there is scope for prioritizing new ethics¹, values and principles around the concepts of care and the welfare of future generations. A holistic Care Economy should include three dimensions:

- Care for community and society today – through securing human dignity and quality of life;
- Care for future generations in a finite world – through equitable management of natural resources and consumption;
- Care for nature – through nurturing biogenetic vitality, biodiversity, regeneration and stewardship.

The Care Economy as it is currently defined is primarily about the first dimension: human-to-human care. A vi-

talized Care Economy should arguably extend beyond human-to-human care to human-to-earth care and earth-to-human care. After all, when it boils down to it, isn't it the case that the well-being of all species depends on the essential ecological systems that provide fresh water, clean air, waste treatments and healthy landscapes? Care defined in this manner is a biosphere issue.

To date the discussion by economists on the 'care'² or 'reproductive' economy has been limited to labour economics, labour markets and labour rights – seeking equitable regulation of markets by government and by interest groups; marked and measured by costs to the economy and its dependence on the unpaid services of caregivers. The sector is marked by characterizing 'care' as a 'cost burden', a service (as opposed to an emotion) – not especially owned by anyone, but certainly needed by everyone. No one owns it, we all claim a right to it, and we all have the (infinite?) capacity to give freely of it. In some ways, "care" is part of the public commons³. The commons have positive externalities for everyone: when quality Care Work is provided, everyone benefits. The growing support for the commons as an alternate vision of responsibility and 'ownership' applies to the Care Economy.

Care is an existentialist issue

Is there a link to be made between reducing our human ecological footprint on the one hand (and so conserving ecological health) while also increasing our human care footprint? Could the 'valuing' of care also extend to the deeply emotional satisfaction of land stewardship? Are there particular 'care' aspects of living with nature (as opposed to against nature) that we need to be recognising? Could the stewardship of collective resources and biodiversity be appropriately extended to organising around values that affirm life? Can a more holistic concept of care incorporate health care, ethics, economics and environmental



Care deficit – deep sea diving in Antigua

People are taking more responsibility for their own health and well-being, and where they have choices, quality of life and human dignity trump all. On the Caribbean island of Antigua, women rarely attended training workshops organised by the Ministry of Fisheries since fishing is perceived to be a male dominated activity. On one occasion, however⁴, women – mothers, wives, sisters, girlfriends – were invited to attend a training session on conch shell diving. The shell has been over-fished from shallow waters (mainly for the tourist industry) and divers now have to dive deeper, making conch fishing an increasingly dangerous activity. Decompression Sickness or ‘the bends’ as it is referred to, can affect divers when they resurface – they can suffer from partial paralysis or even fatal consequences if not treated in a timely manner. The women realised that they were being taught to recognise the symptoms, treat injuries and care for lasting impacts. At the end of the training, a good number of women turned to their menfolk and scolded them, warning them that they would receive no such care if they were crazy enough to compromise their health for the sake of income from a shell. In other words, to these women, the opportunity cost of sound health is zero. Or put another way, these women cared so much for the health of their men, they refused to be put in a situation of having to ‘care’ for the painful and debilitating aspects of dive injuries.

This story suggests that when women’s values are brought into the equation, a compelling argument is made for the longer term vision about health, well-being and other factors that weigh in more importantly than income. They reject the ‘winning formula’ of earning income at any cost.⁵ Put another way, women’s **productive, regenerative, stewardship and conservation** roles as caregivers are inherently interlinked and interdependent.

Care deficit – a low carbon future and real health costs

How does a holistic Care Economy fit within a ‘low-carbon future’ where the business and politics of ‘clean’ energy combined with efficient production is evolving at speed and in directions of immense scale. With global investments reaching a record of US\$260 billion in 2011, accounting for around 44 per cent of new generation capacity worldwide – are there implications for the Care Economy?

According to the Africa Environment Outlook – the economic value of the Zambezi River Basin (spanning Malawi, Mozambique and Zambia) alone in terms of crops and agriculture is priced at close to *USD50 million* per year. And yet this region has a very high level of malnutrition of children – between 28 and 45 per cent of all children are stunted due to poor nutrition. In Zambia, half the children under five are malnourished and over a quarter are underweight. Between 1991 and 2002/03 the proportion of stunted children increased from 40 to 49 per cent. Low birth weight is also an indicator of poor maternal nutrition before and during pregnancy – over 10 per cent of children born in Zambia have a low birth weight while around the same percentage of Zambian mothers of children under three years are malnourished. “Stunting does not come easily. It happens over time and means that a child has endured painful and debilitating cycles of illness, depressed appetite, insufficient food and inadequate care” (Del Ninno et.al. p.73). Similarly in Mozambique, more families switch from maize to eating cheaper and less nutritious cassava, which accounts for higher numbers of children with Kwashiorkor.

In Malawi, mothers of young children line up for food supplements for their infants. Five tons of micronutrient soya or peanut product is produced every 24 hours for malnourished children in the southern region alone. In 2009, the PPB (Project Peanut Butter) factory in Malawi produced about 650 metric tons of Plumpy’nut, enough to treat between 40,000 and 45,000 severely malnourished children. In the most fertile delta area of southern Malawi, rural women are now no longer able to produce from land – because the best lands have been taken up by an ever-expanding sugar plantation (majority ownership is British) where the market value lies in ethanol production. Aside from their vulnerability in the face of corporate expansion, what is clear is that their care responsibilities are unlikely to be systematically addressed until their land production and local market systems are recovered.

The intrusion of *Jatropha* and tree plantations into pastoral and forest lands and the diversion of grazing and

building the long-term wealth of their natural systems. Since modification of agricultural production choices can provide positive environmental externalities, Payment for Ecosystem Services (PES) has become a topic of interest and experimentation within conventional economic frameworks. The close links between environmental sustainability and poverty reduction are resulting in intensified efforts to develop PES programmes that aim to achieve both objectives. Land stewards could in theory earn fees for their services – if in fact they are positioned to negotiate a seat at the table and equal terms of payment (Tandon 2012). Arguably if the ‘care’ and ‘stewardship’ components of farming are embedded into the costing formula, everyone stands to gain and this would not just be diminished into a payment system that women risk losing access to once again!

An on-going discussion

We need to move away from an ‘exchange price’ to express societal value – and consider how a Care Economy might be valued, understanding that:

- a) **Some aspects of society are simply priceless:** if we make the mistake of commercialising care, we risk diminishing the value of care. Put another way, ‘dollars and acres’ are inadequate measures for human and environmental health. People, other living things and nature have an inherent value that is irreducible to economic value (see Crompton 2010). Living life in a caring manner might fall in this category.
- b) **Care as a continuum:** if we don’t fund one part of the care continuum other parts will suffer. That potentially means that all aspects of production and consumption should have a care component built into them – in that way care can be compounded into future generations.
- c) **Care as commons:** if care is a public commons should it be collectively funded? Is it just about valuing and accounting for ‘care’ work in ‘dollars and hours’ or is it something much more systemic than that – and what would that look like? Does this call for a stronger state? Are government sponsored job schemes for the provision of public goods and building social capital part of this visualization?

The conversation needs to begin with a national reassessment of how globalization is affecting society and what it will take to thrive and protect what is important in a rapidly changing biosphere.

Notes

- 1 Aldo Leopold defined an ethic as a set of rules invented to meet circumstances so far in the future, that the average person cannot foresee the final outcomes. That is why any ethic worthy of the name has to encompass the distant future.
- 2 Nancy Folbre (2006) defines care in terms of children, elderly, sick, adults and self – and suggests that the four most important categories of relationship to the market are: unpaid services, unpaid work that helps meet subsistence needs, informal market work and paid employment.
- 3 Rifkin 1991 observed that, “As nation after nation has moved to enclose the land commons, traditional pastureland and subsistence agricultural practices have given way to the raising of commercial livestock and cash crops for export markets. The commodification of lands and resources and the rush for profits has destabilized traditional rural communities and overtaxed the carrying capacity of the soil”. While the World Bank and the United Nations use the “language of the commons” for the process Rifkin described, for an alternative understanding of the commons see Ostrom’s idea of managing the commons beyond the state or markets via Common Pool Regimes (CPR).
- 4 Author’s interview with Ministry of Fisheries, Antigua January 2012
- 5 Diane Elson (2005): the fact that much “unpaid Care Work is done for love, does not mean that we always love doing it”.
- 6 Where “working the land” was considered primarily the livelihood of those who had ‘failed to do better’ – there is now a generation of young professionals, women and youth who are looking to farming and fisheries as the new income security.
- 7 IFOAM’s definition of Organic Agriculture: Organic Agriculture is a production system that sustains the health of soils, ecosystems and people. It relies on ecological processes, biodiversity and cycles adapted to local conditions, rather than the use of inputs with adverse effects. Organic Agriculture combines tradition, innovation and science to benefit the shared environment and promote fair relationships and a good quality of life for all involved. See: http://www.ifoam.org/growing_organic/definitions/dao/index.html.

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Mascha Modörin

Care Economy in Switzerland

Exploring the economic relationship between Care Economy and Sustainable Economy

Starting points

There is a consensus within feminist economics on the two most important aspects regarding the Care Economy: economics of the household sector and the (time) economic logic of Care Work as such. In this essay I want to propose starting points for a meso and macro analysis regarding Care Work. These considerations are inchoate. The results from a study on the political and social economy of Switzerland provide the starting points.¹

Exploring the magnitudes of the Care Economy²

Table 1 shows the volume of the paid and unpaid Care Economy when looking at the hours spent on Care Work and those spent in the “rest of the economy”. In Switzerland, more work is done in the unpaid sector than in the paid one. Importantly, these surveys assume only the minimum hours spent on Care Work, as multitasking and passive Care Work are not included. Additionally, the data suggest that the information given by women is too low, while estimates provided by men tend to be too high (Madörin 2010b).

Table 1 a-b: Volume of unpaid and paid work in Switzerland

1a. Volume of unpaid work in Switzerland 2010 (of residents aged 15 and over)¹⁾
2010, in million hours

	Total	Women	Men	W in % of Total
1) Housework	6'286	4'046	2'240	64.4
Preparing meals	1'733	1'220	513	70.4
Washing dishes	721	455	265	63.2
Shopping	734	439	295	59.8
Cleaning, tidying up	1'060	791	269	74.6
Laundry/ironing	491	408	83	83.1
Handicrafts	452	154	299	34.0
Pets, gardening etc.	683	392	291	57.4
Administration	412	188	224	45.6
2) Direct care for children/nursing adults	1'308	808	501	61.7
Feeding, washing babies	297	200	97	67.4
Assisting homework, playing with children	867	518	349	59.7
Accompanying children	116	71	45	61.3
Nursing adults	28	19	10	66.0
3) Voluntary work	640	349	291	54.5
Institutionalised (sports, politics, churches etc.)	320	116	204	36.2
“Informal”, in other households	320	233	87	72.8
Total	8'235	5'203	3'032	63.2

SFSO (Swiss Federal Statistical Office): SLFS Swiss Labour Force Statistics, Module “Unpaid Work” T20.4.3.1, Volume of Work Statistics T 03.02.03.01. calc. MM

1) People resident in Switzerland, but not including asylum seekers, migrant workers (temporal)



The table on paid work includes specifically the service sectors that can partially be seen as care sectors (education, health care and social provisioning), but also those branches of economic activities which are household-related or other “servicing” jobs.³ Again, these sectors are dominated by women.

In Switzerland women’s share in paid work – in terms of the time spent in paid work as well as the number of women employed – is relatively high compared to other West European countries. In the last 20 years employment in education, health care and social provisioning rose. The paid and unpaid personal service and domestically related care services constitute par excellence the economic sector for women. It is impossible to analyse the socio-economic situation of women and the question of equality without specifically looking at the paid and unpaid

personal service sector as an important sector of the economy. It would also be absurd to ignore this enormous sector in economic analysis on environmental sustainability.

A rough estimate shows that about 70–75 per cent of the hours spent on unpaid work (according to Swiss Labour Force Statistics) can be attributed to the housework which “able-bodied” adults (aged 15+) do for others or for themselves. About 20–25 per cent of unpaid work can be attributed to child care, elderly care and care for the sick, including housework for them. The work the interviewees did for persons living in other households is also included in this category (in Swiss Labour Force Statistics: “informal voluntary work”). 5 per cent of the entire volume of unpaid work is so-called “institutionalised voluntary work”.

1b. Volume of paid work²⁾ in Switzerland³⁾

2010 in million hours

Economic activities ⁴⁾	Total	Women	Men	W in % of Total
Interactive or household-related services				
◦ Retail trade ⁵⁾	546	328	218	60.1
◦ Hotels and restaurants	419	209	210	49.9
◦ Art, entertainment, domestic work, other services	311	180	131	57.9
◦ Education ⁶⁾	409	216	193	52.8
◦ Health/veterinary and social work	786	555	232	70.6
Personal services/care work	2471	1488	983	60.2
Other				
Agriculture/forestry	348	85	263	24.4
Manufacturing, construction/ energy/ water	1833	328	1505	17.9
Services (non-personal)	2856	887	1970	31.0
of which:				
◦ Trade, repairs (without retail trade) ⁵⁾	568	144	424	25.4
◦ Transport/storage	388	85	303	22.0
◦ Information, communication	241	56	185	23.3
◦ Finance, insurance industry	443	162	280	36.6
◦ Real estate, renting, other businesses	339	126	213	37.2
◦ Professional, scientific, technical services	578	200	377	34.7
◦ Public administration	300	113	188	37.5
All paid work	7508	2787	4721	

2) Persons aged 15 and over doing at least 1 hour paid work per week.

3) Paid work done on Swiss territory (domestic principle, including work of commuters living in other countries, but excluding extra-territorial organisations and bodies like the UN, ILO etc.)

4) NOGA-classification (Eurostat: NACE: General Classification of Economic Activities)

5) Estimation based on SFSO Jobstat

6) Data problematic, residual calculated MM

Households as starting points

Table 2a-b provides a sense of the importance of domestic production in the Swiss economy. If unpaid work were to be included, from the perspective of a gross value-added, as part of GDP, economically it is the most important institutional sector of the Swiss economy.⁴

The value of unpaid work, including its gross value-added, depends on the price level attributed to such work. The Swiss Federal Statistical Office assumes the substitution of unpaid work by paid work (see footnote 3). This can help to better understand the time and monetary economy of women and households with different income levels, but also the shift of Care Work between institutional sectors.

Table 2b shows:

- The unpaid benefits within households have a greater value compared to the value of overall consumption level of households. In other words: the unpaid services are a substantial aspect of the living standard. Obviously, the proportions differ according to social class and type of households.
- The value of direct Care Work for children and sick people alone, provided by women, amounts to 50 per cent of the total benefits of Social Security Schemes. The value of direct care provided by women also amounts to four times the amount of all direct taxes corporations paid to the state (federal, canton and municipal!).

This shows the importance of a careful analysis of the magnitude of the Care Economy, as well as the importance of a gender analysis of public finances that includes the unpaid work in economic accounts.

Table 2b.

SFSO – Statistisches Lexikon der Schweiz. Tab. T20.4.3.2, Social Security Benefits T 13.2.3.11

SFSO: Income of federal government, cantons and municipalities F70.7.4, eco-accounts T.2.4.5, National Accounts

- 1) not including unpaid work in institutions, but including „informal voluntary work“ for other households (s. Table 3a)
- 2) Direct care work: s. Table 3a: child care, nursing adults including volume of time for housework done for children and ill adults. The estimation of the latter is difficult, in average it amounts to about the additional housework done for children aged above 6 years. If children live in households, the time used for additional housework amounts to about 35–40 per cent of the volume of hours worked for direct care (as indicated in Table 1a). If children or ill adults live in the household, women do a significant larger share in doing housework than without children or adults needing nursing.
The division of labour between men and women is more unequal, if this large share of doing additional housework is added to the time volume of direct care work.

Table 2a-b: The household sector and the monetarised value of unpaid work

2a. Extended GDP and gross value added by institutional sectors in Switzerland

2010 in million CHF (data provisory)

	million CHF	% of Total
Non-financial corporations	393'280	42.4
Financial corporations (banks, insurance pension funds)	59'846	6.4
General government	55'662	6.0
Non-profit institutions	10'637	1.1
Households, including unpaid work	408'691	44.0
° included in SNA 23'585		
° gross value added of unpaid work 385'106		
Total before adjustments	928'116	100.0
Adjustments (taxes, subsidies of products)	31'304	
Extended GDP (incl. Satellite account)	959'420	
GDP as calculated in SNA	574'314	

SFSO: Swiss National Accounts (2010 provisional), the household production satellite account

In June 2012 the calculations of GDP have been revised. The extended GDP has been adjusted to this new calculations (by MM).

2b. Comparisons of economic magnitudes: Value unpaid work in households, final consumption, social security, tax income of state

2010 in million CHF

	million CHF	million CHF
Monetarised value of unpaid work in households¹⁾	345'964	
° estimated (roughly) value of direct care work (children, sick) ²⁾		100'000
° estimated (roughly) value of direct care work of women		70'000
Final consumption of households	320'614	
Social security benefits 2010 (provisional)	138'950	
° of which old age		61'526
° health care		37'883
Total tax income (federal gov./ cantons, communities)	121'945	
° of which: persons: income, wealth, other direct taxes		56'792
° of which: corporate direct taxes		17'929
° of which: environment related taxes	10'864	

Economics of households and sustainability – a few considerations

One of the general questions regarding home economics is the question of energy. In Switzerland 2011 households used 27 per cent energy, while other economic sectors used 37 per cent (industry, services and agriculture) and 36 per cent was used by the transport sector (Swiss Federal Office of Energy). The energy use of households is unsustainable, but in relation to the gross value-added by this sector (see Table 2a) it is relatively small compared to other sectors. For work within the household only 10 per cent of all the energy is used. The rest is required for heating, ventilation, technical equipment of the building (73.3 per cent) and for providing warm water (11.8 per cent) (Prognos 2010: 21).

The production within the household is huge and encompasses many different activities. The activities listed in Table 3a can be seen as branches of economic activities. Each sector has its own economic history, history of gender relations, a history of globalisation and begs its own questions regarding sustainable economic activities. One important example is the preparation of meals: the value of this unpaid work amounted to CHF 63 bn. For the preparation of meals, food and non-alcoholic beverages valued at CHF 30bn were purchased. The value chain of food preparation is not only a value chain of value added, but a chain of work, of the exploitation of women and men and a chain of environmental destruction. Currently there is a trend towards more convenience food and more eating at restaurants. The work within both branches is among the worst paid in Switzerland, largely done by migrants.

In order to be able to combine paid and unpaid work, women have different strategies to reduce the amount of unpaid work: domestic chores are relegated to the market (and thus paid for) but full time domestic workers are rare. Hence, a breakdown of households into different branches of economic activities would allow for a more detailed analysis of the impact of environmentally sustainable production on the production within households, as well as the gender dynamic within households. Table 1a indicates the division of labour, Table 3b shows the financial effects of socially and environmentally sustainable production on households.

Table 3 a-b: Households: branches of economic activities

3a. Monetary value of unpaid work¹⁾ 2010, million CHF

	Total CHF million	Women CHF million	Men CHF million
1) Housework	249'017	156'825	92'192
Preparing meals	62'732	44'150	18'581
Washing dishes	25'877	16'346	9'531
Shopping	29'306	17'525	11'781
Cleaning, tidying up	42'190	31'480	10'710
Laundry/ironing	16'835	13'983	2'852
Handicrafts	21'945	7'454	14'491
Pets, gardening etc.	25'753	14'776	10'978
Administration	24'379	11'111	13'268
2) Direct care for children/ nursing adults	79'933	49'197	30'736
Feeding, washing babies	16'355	11'025	5'329
Assisting homework, playing with, accompanying children ²⁾	62'018	37'141	24'876
Nursing adults	1'560	1'030	530
3) Voluntary work	38'687	19'623	19'064
Institutionalised (sports, politics, churches etc.	21'672	7'240	14'432
"Informal", in other households	17'015	12'383	4'632
All unpaid work	367'636	225'644	141'992

SFOS: Swiss Labour Force Statistic, Modul unpaid work

- 1) Average labour costs per hour in CHF according to equivalent groups of labour (market costs T20.4.3.3), s. footnote 2 and 4 in the text.
- 2) Two activities with children combined

3b. Final consumption of households 2010, million CHF

Consumption by purpose	million CHF change	1991=100n
Food and non-alcoholic beverages	29'709	146.0
Alcoholic beverages, tobacco and narcotics	11'849	124.2
Clothing and footwear	11'276	108.2
Housing, water, electricity, gas and other fuels	77'745	195.2
Furnishings, household equipment and routine household maintenance	14'037	126.7
Health	47'576	247.6
Transport	28'953	164.6
Communication	7'844	230.8
Recreation and culture	26'874	137.1
Education	1'795	231.5
Restaurants and hotels	22'522	161.1
Miscellaneous goods and services	40'434	173.3
Total	320'614	169.5

SFOS National Accounts (2010 provisional)

Care Work – labour intensive work

The economic logic of Care Work is different to the production of commodities in two aspects. Firstly, it is relational: the work is directly related to the quality of the relationship between the care giver and care receiver. The interactive aspect Care Work implies that the work is process-oriented and it is much more difficult to standardise such work than in case of the production of goods (Madörin 2010b). This kind of work requires different societal organisation, usually based on complex social arrangements. Secondly, Care Work is usually labour intensive. Whilst it is possible to produce cars faster, it is not possible to raise children or care for elderly faster. The more advanced a country is and the more the economy grows based on productivity gains, the more the productivity levels between different sectors will drift apart. Thus new social and economic problems emerge that are hardly discussed, not even in the context of socially and environmentally sustainable economic activities.

In a paper titled "The Other Economy: A Suggestion for a Distinctively Feminist Economics", the Australian economist Susan Donath builds on a thesis by the US economist William Baumol regarding the widening productivity gap in "mature economies" (Donath 2000). The starting point of this thesis is that the growth of labour productivity of certain economic activities – especially in the service sector – is subject to limits. The enormous progress in the technology and labour productivity of certain economic sectors (called "progressive sectors" by Baumol) and the limits to the growth of labour productivity in "non-progressive" sectors leads to new proportion within the employment structure, the state sector and the cost structure of the "mature" capitalist economy. The share of jobs with lower productivity in the national economy will increase, economic growth will slow down, and the state will necessarily have to intervene as to ensure that health care and education is accessible to all. Otherwise, salaries levels can not to be maintained (Madörin 2010a and b).

Susan Donath took up Baumol's analyses and suggested taking his thesis as the starting point for the development of a "distinctly feminist economics" (Donath 2000). The justification she provides is that in both the paid and unpaid Care Economy – that is to say, in the direct care for and provisioning of human beings – it is mainly women who are the primary economic agents. Donath calls this the production and maintenance of human beings. The paid and unpaid Care Economy is characterised by Baumol's "cost disease".

It is important to understand that with massively increasing labour productivity in some sectors, the price and wage relations between progressive and non-progressive

sectors are changing enormously. The level of inequality regarding the purchasing power of various buyer groups is also increasing. This is true for the various groups of paid workers in various sectors, as well as for enterprises in different sectors. As soon as the Care Economy comes into the picture, economic analysis must include the purchasing power of the state. This depends mainly on the income from taxes and in which areas the state invests. Health care and education services are only affordable to people earning average incomes if the state subsidises them. Thus, jobs in these sectors are mainly dependent on public transfer payments. This is a question of the standard of living, which relates very differently to the problem of purchasing power than to the consumption of goods (Madörin 2010a).⁵

To my knowledge there are only very few studies that deal systematically with the new economic questions raised by the rapidly widening labour productivity gap and globalisation. And few of these studies deal with the largest segment of the non-progressive economy, that is to say the Care Economy, and the power, control and exploitation systems and institutions that are inherent to it.

Green Economy projects usually deal with questions of investment in new technologies. However, it remains unclear how sustainable economic activities assume that more labour intensive work is carried out (for example in agriculture, in Switzerland these are conflicting issues in agricultural politics). There is also a conspicuous silence on how to ensure that such work is decently remunerated. To state the obvious: the share of labour intensive work in national economies will increase and the gap between different productivity levels will widen. What is our collective response to this and how can we conceptualise the relationship between a socially and environmentally sustainable economy?

Notes

- 1 In the context of the UNRISD research project “Political and Social Economy of Care” in 8 countries (India, South Korea, Japan, Argentina, Nicaragua, Tanzania, South Africa, Switzerland). Some of the findings are available in Razavi/Staab (ed.) 2012. See also Madörin (2011, 2010 a and b)
- 2 The UNRISD research project on the political and social economy of care distinguished between three types of Care Work: namely paid care and education work (children up to 15 years of age, schools included), paid nursing and Care Work, and all unpaid work which directly serves to provide people with care and support (housework, caring for and looking after children and the sick, community support, etc.). (Razavi 2007: 6, box 1) In Table 1 more paid Care Work is included – for statistical reasons, more detailed volumes of work are difficult to obtain. Not all unpaid work is Care Work, only about 95 per cent of unpaid work statistically surveyed can be attributed to Care Work. Only a small part of “voluntary work in institutions” can be considered as Care Work (for instance in churches, assistance networks for elderly care etc.), most of it is linked to sports, politics (parties, trade unions, lobby groups, voluntary work in municipalities) and other civil society organisations. In the statistics Switzerland, all unpaid work is seen as an activity of households. (s. also Table 2).
- 3 McDowell (2009: 5) refers to “interactive services”. This highlights that person related services, as for instance Care Work, requires the presence of people. The work process is therefore very different to the production of goods. McDowell (2009: 38/39) differentiates much more than that shown in Table 1. It includes entire economic sectors that serve directly the social provisioning.
- 4 Value of unpaid work in households/for other households: The value of unpaid work (total CHF 367'636m is calculated on the basis of the labour costs of comparable jobs (including holidays, contributions to social security etc.). The gross value added (total CHF 385'106m) of this work is modified by statistical adjustments. SFSO comment: “Labour costs correspond to the hours actually worked (holiday, public holidays, illness, accident or absence for other reasons are also included) ...” (more explanations: SFSO www.bfs.admin.ch/bfs/portal/en/index/themen/20/04/blank/key/sat_kont/01.html)
- 5 The following text is a modified excerpt from an article of Madörin (2011)

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Ipek Ilkkaracan¹

The Purple Economy: A Call for a New Economic Order beyond the Green

Introduction

As the capitalist mode of production matures into the 21st century, its potential as a sustainable economic system of production and reproduction is being increasingly challenged by a multitude of global crises: namely, the deepening economic crisis and rising global unemployment, the long-standing environmental crisis coupled up with an alarming food crisis, and what some feminist scholars have called the emerging *crisis of care*.

The *crisis of care* refers to a transformation whereby society is becoming one that is less able and less willing to provide caring labour, an indispensable component of human well-being. The decreasing ability and willingness of society to care for children, the elderly, the disabled, the sick, as well as healthy adults including oneself, is instigated through a number of mechanisms which are an organic outgrowth of the current economic system. In the context of globalised market competition, under the threat of increasing global unemployment and faced with decreasing real wages for the less-skilled, the labour market demands on paid labor hours and commitment to the job combine to impose strict limits on availability of caring time and energy. Moreover, environmental degradation creates increasingly tough material conditions for livelihoods in rural subsistence communities where Care Work entails a substantial amount of unpaid productive work dependent on natural resources such as land and water as inputs. To the extent that caring labour continues to be provided, this takes place under conditions of deepening gender inequalities intertwined with deepening inequalities amongst women, children and families by class, racial, ethnic and national origin. International migration of caring labour is one of the perverse outcomes of the care crisis that reproduces these inequalities on multiple, intertwined levels. An economic system that is able to reproduce itself at the expense of deepening multiple inequalities is one that is not sustainable. Hence the crisis of care poses a systemic challenge to capitalism as an unsustainable economic system. Himmelweit (2007) questions if the current state of affairs is shifting towards a society less able and willing to fulfill caring norms:

“This is an urgent question of political will and power.

Without intervention, people may be less willing and able to fulfill caring norms, which may thereby be eroded. Those who assume caring responsibilities despite such pressures, will pay a higher price for doing so and may have less influence on policy than those conforming more to less caring dominant norms. Not to adopt a generous strategy for caring now will shift power away from those who continue to care, erode caring norms, and make it more difficult to adopt a more caring strategy in the future. Without such a strategy, standards and availability of care will fall, and with a high cost to society as a whole, and in particular to those who continue to care.”

The Green Economy was suggested as a future vision of a new economic order in response to the environmental crisis. Recently, in the context of the global economic crisis, the vision has been extended also to entail solutions to the economic crisis and the problem of rising unemployment through green jobs. This short paper aims to introduce an alternative future vision for a new economic order complementing the Green Economy and addressing the multiple systemic challenges: “**A purple economy**”, where the colour **purple** comes from its symbolic meaning as the colour adopted by the feminist movement in many countries around the world.

The Purple Economy refers to an economic order which is organised around sustainability of caring labour through a redistributive internalisation of the costs of care into the workings of the system just as the Green Economy is organised around sustainability of provisioning by nature through internalisation of environmental costs into production and consumption patterns. The Green Economy acknowledges that we depend on earth’s natural resources, and therefore we must create an economic system that respects the integrity of ecosystems. **The Purple Economy** acknowledges that we depend on caring labour as an indispensable component of human well-being, and hence we must create an economic system that accounts for the value of Care Work and enables its provisioning in a sustainable manner, without reverting to mechanisms that reproduce inequalities by gender, class, and origin.

This paper is a first attempt to provide a general outline of a **Purple Economy** vision that builds upon the last few decades of invaluable feminist work on unpaid work, the

Care Economy and gender inequalities.² The **Purple Economy** pulls together the insights gained from and the claims made by this feminist work on the Care Economy into a call for a future vision. The expression also hopes to provide a catchy phrase to communicate the feminist vision of an egalitarian economic order by resonating the popular vision of the **Green Economy**.³ The next section presents a discussion of the crisis of care and the associated set of problems that the call for a purple economic order attempts to address. The third section develops the vision of the **Purple Economy** and details the kinds of policy reforms that it aspires. The fourth section concludes with a discussion of the challenges to implementation.

The Crisis of Care and the Need for a New Economic Order

As the call for a **purple economic order** is a response to the so-called crisis of care, it is necessary to first address the nature of this crisis and the problems that it poses before moving onto a discussion of what this new vision entails. The origins of the crisis of care can be traced to the unequal allocation of unpaid caring labour⁴ across the private and public spheres, amongst men and women; as well as amongst women by class and origin, and the consequences thereof for their participation in paid work and access to income. This has been the major theme in research and activism under second wave of feminism in the past half century.

The imposition of domestic work and child care as the primary roles for women is the material basis of gender inequalities not only because it is unpaid work. Also given time is a limited resource, it determines the extent to and the ways in which women can participate in paid work and earn income, enjoy time for leisure and self-development, participate in public pursuits such as politics and activism, and claim equal standing with men. Numerous studies from different countries show how the gendered division of labour between paid and unpaid labour generates gender employment gaps, occupational and industrial (horizontal) or vertical gender segregation in the labour market; gender inequalities in political representation and decision-making gender inequalities in time-use.

Needless to say, all these hierarchies play themselves out beyond gender, as multiple inequalities also by class and origin. International care migration constitutes an epitome of these multiple inequalities. For women of higher socio-economic status in the North (and also in the South), their engagement in the labour market has been made possible to a large extent by access to low cost caring labour of migrant women of lower socioeconomic status from rural areas or from the South. Beneria (2008)

points out how international care migration provides a low cost solution to the crisis of care in the North at the cost of generating another crisis of care in the South for families left behind.

Historically, a move towards relatively more egalitarian care regimes under capitalism have taken place on condition of robust and stable macroeconomic growth with a capacity for high employment growth. Europe in the post-WWII period, the so-called golden age of capitalism; or East Asian tigers in the post-1980 export-led growth period are examples. These conjecturally specific growth experiences enabled a specific combination of ample labour conditions (strong employment demand growth with decent jobs triggering a market pull effect on women) plus a generous social welfare state providing care services. In these best case examples, women's unpaid work is reduced for most part due to public provisioning of care services (i.e. caring labour is redistributed from unpaid female labour in the private sphere to (under)paid – predominantly female – labour in the public sphere), rather than more equal sharing between men and women in the private sphere. In Europe, the social welfare state also provides generous paid care leave options that enable women to stay attached to the labour market without being necessarily penalised for childbearing (i.e. caring labour is redistributed from unpaid to paid female labour in the private sphere). Time-use studies exhibit great stability in the hours that men allocate to unpaid work. The exceptional cases are Scandinavian countries, where through policy measures such as fully paid, flexible parental leave, men also increased their unpaid caring labour hours (i.e. caring labour is redistributed from paid and unpaid female to paid male labour in the private sphere).

These best case examples not only represent a relative minority of the world population, but also inequalities continue to persist in different forms. As women increasingly engage in the labour market to become income earners, they continue to be primarily responsible for unpaid caring labour. Hence access to income earning comes at the cost of longer working hours – paid and unpaid combined – and growing tensions as women attempt to reconcile their new roles as paid workers with their traditional roles as carers. While gender employment gaps narrow to a large extent, vertical and horizontal gender segregation and wage gaps continue to persist, reflecting women's unequal share of the care burden. Moreover, as the recent global economic crisis has shown, a negative and unstable macroeconomic environment is quick to pose threats to public subsidised care services by the social welfare state in a context of fiscal austerity policies as per conventional macroeconomic thinking.

On the other end of the spectrum, in the least developed economies of the South, markets have exploited natural resources and low cost labour, but capitalist growth deformed rather than transforming subsistence economies. Millions of women remain as unpaid rural agricultural workers as in much of Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia, whose unpaid caring labour entails longer hours and harder conditions, made worse by the environmental crisis (see N. Tandon in this volume).

In many other developing economies of the South, where capitalist growth was unable to generate robust demand to absorb women into paid employment, the single male breadwinner, full-time female homemaker norm has become institutionalised providing a fertile ground for social conservatism alongside GDP growth.⁵ To the extent that women with low skill labour (the majority of the female population) have been absorbed into paid employment, this has been more through a push effect as instigated by material conditions of falling real male wages and rising unemployment under periodic economic crises, such that the single male breadwinners were unable to sustain families. In this context of low wages, long working hours, high rates of informal employment, lack of public provisioning of care services, transforming from single male breadwinner to dual earner families is inevitably a hardly empowering process. Rather it is an attempt by most low skill households to keep themselves above the poverty line at the expense of deteriorating conditions for provisioning of caring labour in the household.

Indeed a number of recent applied studies point out that time-poverty and care deficits constitute an inevitable outcome of paid employment for low-skilled women, yet this is rarely taken into consideration when evaluating the welfare impact of employment policies. A policy simulation study on three Latin American countries by Zacharias, Antonopoulos and Masterson (2012) integrates unpaid work into the measurement of poverty. The study starts from the premise that unpaid household production activities are important for meeting needs of individuals and households, and hence that lack of time for necessary household production reduces wellbeing. Conventional poverty thresholds and wellbeing indicators presume that all types of households have access to sufficient time to provide unpaid caring labour. Focusing only on income poverty and not taking into account availability of time for household production obscures inequalities of welfare between and within households. The policy simulation shows that assignment of full-time jobs to non-employed adult men and women in income poor households under the prevailing labour market conditions of wages and working hours, threatens most households with time poverty and care deficits while seemingly lifting them out of income poverty.⁶

Based against such a background of complex interactions between caring labour, gender inequalities, time and income poverty and the environment, Floro (2012) defines the care crisis as “the growing imbalances within and across societies with respect to access to care and subsistence necessities” and defines three levels in which it materialises:

- feeble support to meet adequately the needs of the sick, young, elderly or disabled,
- chronic stress and long work hours of primary caregivers,
- stunted lives and everyday struggles to fight hunger, disease, etc.

What is needed is a new economic order which eliminates the growing imbalances of the ability to care within and across societies, through an egalitarian redistribution of the care burden between the private and the public spheres, as well as between women and men.

The Purple Economy as a New Vision

The **Purple Economy** aims to extend the vision for a new sustainable economy beyond that of the Green Economy. Just as the Green Economy calls for a reordering of priorities placing nurturing of nature at the center, the **Purple Economy** calls for a reordering of priorities placing nurturing of human beings at the center. Green Economy needs a re-organisation and regulation of production and consumption in harmony with the pace of renewal of natural resources; the **Purple Economy** needs a re-organisation and regulation of production and consumption in harmony also with an equitable and sustainable system of reproduction of human beings.

Hence the starting point would be one where economic and social policies recognise, account for and redistribute the care burden through systemic internalisation of its costs via a public social care infrastructure. This would be based on an economic philosophy guiding planning, that first of all acknowledges access to care as a basic human right, and hence a State obligation (just as, for instance, access to schooling and access to basic health services). Moreover, it would involve the recognition that an effective public social care infrastructure is an indispensable precondition for enabling equal access to decent work for women and men.

As such a **Purple Economy** would stand on four pillars:

1. Universal public provisioning of a care services for children, the elderly, the disabled and the sick;
2. Regulation of the labour market to enable balancing of paid employment with caring labour in the private

- sphere based on equal conditions and incentives for men and women;
3. Public policies to address the special needs of rural communities where unpaid Care Work (predominantly of women) entails a larger array of productive activities dependent on natural resources;
 4. Regulation of the macroeconomic environment for nature and nurture as the core objectives of macroeconomic policy.

The first three pillars constitute the elements of an encompassing public social care infrastructure; while the fourth one refers to a macroeconomic context that enables its effective functioning.

Universal public provisioning of care services for children, the elderly, the disabled and the sick would necessitate an investment strategy in social care sectors. This could be done primarily through reallocation and, where necessary, expansion of government spending, as well as through providing incentives for private investment in the Care Economy. Obviously financing would be a serious challenge particularly for low-income economics. Global pacts for reallocation of military spending to a purple care fund, as well as purple taxation and purple care finance schemes would need to be mobilised.

Such an investment strategy has the potential to serve multiple goals: it would enable the sustainability of reproduction in an egalitarian manner. Investments in labour-intensive social care sectors also have the potential of alleviating the effects of the economic crisis through generation of 'purple' jobs. A study evaluating the macro and micro impact of public investments in the social care sectors in South Africa (child care and sick care for HIV/AIDS patients) and the United States (child care and elderly day care) demonstrates that such investments not only have double the employment generation capacity of investments in physical infrastructure (including green infrastructure), but also that a much larger share of the jobs created go to lower skilled and female workers with positive outcomes for poverty alleviation and gender equality (Antonopoulos and Kim, 2011).

The case of South Korea following the 1997 Asian crisis is perhaps the most informative. The South Korean Government, as a policy response to the economic crisis, promotes subsidies to investment in the social care sector as 'the new growth engine' of the economy. The Government's social investment strategy is designed to address a multitude of social and economic problems: a strategy against the demographic crisis (an extension of the crisis of care), a means of employment creation against the economic crisis and also creating equal opportunities for women's integration into the labour market (Peng, 2010).

Regulation of the labour market to enable balancing of paid employment with caring labour in the private sphere based on equal conditions and incentives for men and women, constitutes another important component of the care infrastructure. We should also note, however, that this pertains primarily to relatively more developed market economies where the majority of the population is in paid employment. Labour market regulation would be based on four sub-components:

- legal rights to paid and unpaid care leave for child care as well as other dependent care for both men and women;
- regulation of labour market working hours within decent job standards;
- right to flexible work arrangements to enable addressing of the household care needs facing employed adults that change over the life cycle; and
- regulation of labour market to eliminate discriminatory practices, most importantly equal pay for work of equal value.

The combined aim of these labour market regulatory policies would be a transformation from household structure from single male breadwinner, full-time female homemaker model or a one-and-a-half worker model, towards dual-earner, dual-carer household model.

In terms of care leave, while maternity leave is an established standard in most countries, paternity leave is much more limited and in many cases non-existent. Experience with parental leave shows that, given the gender pay gaps in the labour market, the incentives for men to take up this right are very weak; and encouraging care leave for men remains a challenge. The Swedish experience shows that making parental leave non-transferable and fully paid can be an effective strategy and achieve substantial progress towards more equal gender distribution of unpaid work (Nyberg, 2010). Regulatory measures towards elimination of discrimination such as equal pay for work of equal value would help to rebalance the incentives facing men and women in the use of care leave. Beyond incentive-based measures, however, it is also possible to implement mandatory child care leave for fathers, which could potentially replace mandatory military service that still exists in many countries. Effective implementation of care leave would necessitate establishment of mandatory care leave insurance schemes for financing, just as the unemployment insurance that is in effect in many labour markets.

Beyond care leave and services, weekly work time is an important dimension of improving the work-family reconciliation environment. Cross-country comparative studies point out to the significant differences between the legal

labour market working hours between the North and the South as an important source of divergence in work-family reconciliation environments with significant impact on cross-country differences in gender inequalities (Ilkkaracan 2012).⁷

As far as flexible work arrangements are concerned, the Dutch case points to the dangers of promoting part-time work only for women as a means of reconciling paid work and care responsibilities. Faced with the series of inequalities that this strategy generated in the Netherlands, the Dutch policy vision started to evolve from a discriminatory one which ascribes women to part-time employment on a permanent basis, to one which enables both men and women to combine part-time flexible work with part-time flexible care leave over the life cycle. Plantenga (2010) calls this a $\frac{3}{4} \times 2$ earner model. Hence a guiding policy vision for labour market regulation could be one which aims at a dual earner-dual carer model, with the acknowledgement that over the life-cycle as the need arises, families may have to switch back-and-forth to a $\frac{3}{4} \times 2$ earner model.

Public policies to address the special needs of rural communities where unpaid Care Work (predominantly of women) entails a larger array of productive activities dependent on availability of natural resources.

A majority of the world population primarily in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia live in rural subsistence economies based predominantly on small-scale farming, where women for most part are in the status of unpaid family workers. The conditions that they face in terms of performing caring labour are vastly different from urban populations in middle- or high-income economies. Hence the building of an efficient care infrastructure in these communities needs more than public provisioning of care services (and labour market regulation for most part is tangentially relevant). The care infrastructure in these communities would need to be supported in a context of public and private green investments in agriculture and rural infrastructure, green technology transfer programs that build on women's local knowledge of ecosystems, targeted agricultural subsidies for women, employment programs targeting landless women in green sectors such as organic farming, as well as where necessary employment guarantee programs targeting women in public works.⁸

Regulation of the macroeconomic environment for nature and nurture as the core objectives of macroeconomic policy is the necessary pillar of a purple economy for the measures above to achieve their intended objectives. This means that conventional macroeconomic policy thinking would need to undergo a huge transformation to first of all let go of its obsession with GDP growth and efficiency as the exclusive goals. Rather growth and

efficiency would be acknowledged as possible tools amongst others of macroeconomic policy in reaching its ultimate objectives of nature and nurture, but by no means are they indispensable tools. Employment generation based on decent jobs would need to become a core objective, not only for addressing global unemployment but also in acknowledgement of the fact that decent jobs are needed also for millions of women around the world who are excluded from the labour market.

The common wisdom in macroeconomic policy making would need to be evaluated and revised so as to account for its impact on distribution and redistribution of the unpaid care burden. Fiscal austerity, for instance, which has been a strong component of conventional macroeconomic thinking, calls for reductions in social expenditures. In many contexts, this facilitates shifting of the care burden from paid work to women's unpaid reproductive and Care Work. Such policy design is based on a false assumption that women's caring labour is infinite. Hence taxation and spending allocations would need to be placed in an analytical framework (such as gender budgeting) that allows the evaluation of their impact on access to care and gender equalities by class and origin without presuming an infinite source of female unpaid caring labour.

In Çağatay's (2012) words the purple economic order would be achievable through "democratization of macroeconomic policy":

"But these [referring to gender aware green policies] will not work very effectively if the overall macroeconomic framework stays the same, i.e. if commodification continues, land grab proceeds, the rule of finance over all else, inflation targeting and mercantilism of China continues. The overall macroeconomic framework has to change ... to get economies on a wage-led growth regime in which women's wages will be the crucial as opposed to the male breadwinner regime of profit-led accumulation that existed in the golden age of capitalism. This requires redistribution of assets and income to women."

Conclusion

Lourdes (2008) notes that the effort in the past two decades to analyse and to account for unpaid work and its consequences for women's participation in paid work has not been sufficiently translated into practical action and policies. It is possible to assert a similar claim for Green Economy measures. Obviously the conventional economic paradigm that dominates common wisdom is a huge obstacle. What is needed is a paradigmatic shift prioritising nature, people and sustainability over growth and efficiency; acknowledging that markets are not self-regulatory and promoting a regulatory social state with 'embedded

autonomy'. The **Purple Economy** – complementing the Green Economy – spells out the components of a feminist vision for a new economic order hope to facilitate such a paradigmatic shift.

Beyond the conventional paradigm, however, is the deeply embedded systemic resistance to redistribution of income, assets and power. The question for the South, given restricted public resources, and also for the North, given the global economic crisis, is how to move the agenda forward. An improved framework for policy advocacy can come from a variety of sources as the above discussion has hinted. A purple and green economic order can be a source of decent employment generation and also a means of poverty alleviation, and provide a sustainable economic framework that aims to redress inequalities amongst human beings by gender, class and origin, as well as the cross-generational inequalities by readjusting the power imbalances between nature and humans. The feminist and environmental/green/ecological movements at the local, national and international levels will be pivotal in pushing the agenda forward.

Notes

- 1 I am grateful to the Genanet team at Life E.V. for providing me with the impetus to put down the Purple Economy vision on paper; as well as my beloved friend Gonca Gürsoy who from the very first moment I mentioned it to her, embraced the vision and encouraged me to write about it.
- 2 This invaluable work on unpaid labour and the Care Economy by feminist economists entail (but definitely is not limited to) work by Diane Elson, Gita Sen, Günseli Berik, Lourdes Beneria, Maria Floro, Nancy Folbre, Nilüfer Çağatay, Radheka Balakrishnan, Rania Antonopolulos, Susan Himmelweit amongst others.
- 3 The terminology “Green Economy” is used in this paper in a general sense synonymously with sustainable economy or ecological economy; rather than its particular, limiting definition that depends on conventional market concepts such as the use of price mechanisms as the only policy tool and green growth as a presumed goal.
- 4 Unpaid reproductive labour or unpaid domestic labour is used synonymously in the feminist literature.
- 5 See for instance Ilkkaracan 2012 on Turkey who explains the rise of political Islam and the increasing social conservatism through the inability of meagre employment demand to absorb women into the labour market over the course of economic modernisation.
- 6 See also Albelda (2011) who shows that responsibility for Care Work is an important source of time poverty experienced by single mothers in the United States.
- 7 In a cross-country study of seven OECD countries, Ilkkaracan (2012) contrasts the French norm of 35-hour work week and the South norm of 48 hours (Mexico, South Korea, Turkey) as a huge difference with substantial impact on gender inequalities in employment. As the norm for weekly working hours increases, the single male breadwinner, full-time female homemaker model imposes itself as the only possibility.
- 8 See Indira Hirway (2008) Impact of Employment Guarantee Programmes on Gender Equality and Pro-Poor Economic Development, Levy Economics Institute of Bard College, for implementation of employment guarantee programs for rural women in India.

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Nicole Bidegain and Anita Nayar

Structural Transformations for Gender, Economic and Ecological Justice

From Sustainable Development to Green Economy

A paradigm shift occurred in the late 1980s when the concept of 'sustainable development' entered into global policy discourse. It posited a framework for development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. This new paradigm put people at the centre of development concerns, placed environmental protection as an integral part of any development process, required both the goals of eradicating poverty (in the South) and eliminating unsustainable production and consumption patterns (in the North), as well as making economic growth and environmental protection mutually supportive. The world's governments agreed to a blueprint to realise this new framework at the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro. Embedded in this definition was an anthropocentric approach of pursuing 'sustained' economic growth based on natural resource extraction to service human needs. It was further criticised for not taking into account the asymmetries in the share of power and resources within and between countries.

Twenty years later as the promise of sustainable development grew dim a catchier term caught people's attention – the Green Economy – promoted by UNEP, the World Bank and some industrialised countries. It is based on the idea of 'decoupling' economic growth from increasing carbon emissions and rethinking traditional measures of wealth, prosperity and well-being. It sounded forward looking but lacked a clear definition and appeared to warp the sustainable development paradigm by prioritising economic growth over the ecology and equity and ignoring key Rio (1992) principles including Common But Differentiated Responsibilities.

Moreover, proponents of this new concept advocate for market and technology based mechanisms such as carbon markets and the Reducing Emissions from Deforestation and Forest Degradation (REDD+) initiative as solutions to environmental crises. The corporate sector is courted to be the main implementer of these policies without any efforts toward transforming production and consumption patterns.

A number of South governments challenged the concept, expressing concern that the Green Economy would lead to increased privatisation and commercialisation of natural resources like forests, land and water. Industrialised countries on the other hand embraced the term with its focus on subsidising jobs in the renewable energy sector and building so-called green infrastructure, but without any intention to transfer the technology and resources to the South to pursue this.

While it remained a contested term for many, the term Green Economy was eventually adopted at Rio+20. However, it was somewhat challenged in the outcome document by an affirmation of diverse visions, models and approaches to development as well as the policy space to integrate all three dimensions of sustainable development. While the recognition of policy space and sovereignty over natural resources is important, there is a need to deeply question a development model that is based on extractivism and that fails to take into account social and ecological costs.

Within this Green Economy section of the outcome document, women are regarded as either welfare recipients or as a supplier of labour for the Green Economy, but not acknowledged as rights holders, especially of economic, social and cultural rights. Here women were simply added and stirred into a flawed concept. This was similar to including a gender clause in free trade agreements instead of addressing imbalanced trade relations and their gendered implications.

Furthermore, there is a reference to women's "unpaid work" but without recognizing the unequal and unfair burden that women carry in sustaining care and well-being. This is further exacerbated in times of economic and ecological crisis when women's unpaid labour acts as a stabilizer and their burden increases. For example, reference to the root causes of excessive food price volatility, including its structural causes, is not linked to the risks and burdens that are disproportionately borne by women. Development is not sustainable if care and social reproduction are not recognised as intrinsically linked with the productive economy and reflected in macroeconomic policy-making.

From Green Economy to Sustainability of Livelihoods and the Planet

Given this context, it is problematic to hook long standing feminist analysis about the Care Economy onto the Green Economy bandwagon. Instead it may be more productive to explore how issues of care are linked to environmental sustainability and alternatives to the current inequitable economic model. What alternatives promote sustainability of livelihoods and the planet instead of private accumulation, growth and efficiency?

Does measuring and valuing Care Work within national account systems limit the agenda by integrating a 'new economic sector into the monetarised economy' without questioning the unfairness of the economic system? This approach offers one step towards the recognition of the unpaid Care Work in macroeconomic policy and its contribution to the national economy but it does not necessarily tackle the need for social redistribution of domestic and Care Work within societies. Feminist debates around the limitations of measuring Care Work point to challenges to measure and "monetarise" relational and emotional aspects of Care Work or to compare time allocated for market and non-market activities (including overlapping care activities) or that this strategy reinforces a monetised market economy.

Furthermore, the 'productive' and 'reproductive' spheres are not equivalent yet they need to be rebalanced. 'Reproductive' labour sustains our well-being and the so-called productive sphere should serve the sustainability of livelihoods and the planet. Refocusing priorities away from the public and commercial and towards human life and the care of people offers a framework to understand reproduction and sustainability of life (Carrasco 2001). This could extend to acknowledge the interdependency between peoples as well as eco-dependency between peoples and ecosystems (Orozco 2012). Such an approach would challenge the myth of self-sufficiency and dismantle the "ideal worker" paradigm for the formal sector, entailing a full-time employee that works after hours and devotes a very small amount of time to the household chores or to care activities.

Placing care at the centre should not lead to essentialising women's roles as caregivers but a means to question current power relations based on gender, age, race, sexual orientation, migration status. For instance, promoting a fairer redistribution of Care Work among diverse families, the state and the market in the context of a "care drain" from developing to developed countries with complex relations of exploitation and human rights violations as part of a global integrated market.

Placing sustainable livelihoods at the centre of development entails transforming the productive structures and

the current model of production and consumption. Here we need to ask which economic sectors should be promoted in order to provide sufficient quality and quantity employment for men and women but at the same time without over-depleting the environment? We know what does not work – for example the expansion of monoculture and extractive industries. We also know about initiatives that work such as agroecology and traditional sustainable agricultural practices where rural women have a critical role in food security, including traditional seed supply systems. However, these are under severe threat unless governments stop prioritising export-oriented agribusiness under the umbrella of the green and financialised global economy.

Beyond the sectors that we should be investing in, we need to reform trade, finance and debt rules in order to subvert global imbalances between North and South and between countries and Multinational Corporations. International treaties and agreements must be framed or re-worked to be in compliance with human rights obligations and environmental standards, including those relating to trading rules, investment agreements, intellectual property regimes, and financial flows.

Without tackling these systemic issues it will be hard to promote a productive transformation, combat the flexibility and informality of labour markets, expand public expenditure for social protection systems that includes care services and social infrastructure and promote progressive and fair tax regimes.

To sum up, the multiple crises we face today demands structural change. We need to overcome the anthropocentric and unequal development model and shift from the logic of private accumulation to the logic of care and sustainability. This implies thinking about new forms of production, consumption, redistribution. It also means putting people and environment at the centre of development instead of profit.

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Priti Darooka

Do You Care for Women's Right to Livelihoods?

Women globally are raising the need to recognise women's unpaid work in economies. Women do a lot of work that is not paid including Care Work, putting an unfair burden on women's time and labour and preventing them from participating in other activities such as paid work in labour markets. Recognition of women's unpaid work in productive and reproductive or Care Economy is a very useful view and a much needed paradigm shift in economic thinking and development activities.

This paper was developed from the two day workshop Sustainable Economy and Green Growth – Who Cares? organised by **genanet**, in partnership with the Ministry of Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety, in Berlin. I am sharing some of my learning and observations working on women's economic, social and cultural rights in the global South and also as a participant in the Berlin Workshop. The workshop made me think about how the concept of a Care Economy, being part of sustainable economy, will be able to address the critical issues connected with women's work in the global South. Most people in developed countries work within the market economy – trading their services and goods. However, most people in developing countries, and especially most women, work outside of the market in sustainable forms of livelihoods. In conceptualising Care Economy it is thus important that issues connected to women's unpaid work in non-market economies in developing countries are also addressed.

While the workshop recognised women's unpaid work, it was quite Eurocentric as it was primarily premised on the needs of women in labour markets or wanting to be in labour markets. Care Work in this context was seen as an unfair burden that women carried. Most women work but are often not in the labour market, as all women cannot be in the labour market, given that markets cannot provide employment to all. Women in developing countries also face the burden of Care Work. This work is not limited to reproductive roles, child care or care of a family member, but is a lot more complicated and intertwined with lives and livelihoods and food security of family and communities. Women are the guardians of natural resources, and use these resources to provide for basic needs for their families. Women are engaged in a whole range of activities from morning to night. These activities, like the Care



Work, are not seen as work. How can these activities be brought into the concept of care? Without an analysis of women's poverty and an understanding of women's unpaid work in subsistence livelihoods including food production, the demand for Care Economy, leaves most women in the global South out of its framework.

Women are drawing attention to the fact that the economic and development paradigm doesn't just systematically excludes reproductive services and Care Work of women, it also excludes most of the work women do even in the productive economy, as that work is outside markets. Women do a lot of unpaid work within household and in family farms and enterprises. Women are engaged in all levels of the economy. Women play a significant role in all livelihoods efforts which are crucial to them as well as their families. They are farmers, land managers, and guardians of the forests. Through activities of livelihoods women play a vital role in agriculture, especially subsistence agriculture, seed production and post-harvest management, animal husbandry, fishery, natural resource management, and energy management. These are activities that provide subsistence to families and communities. Although agricultural operations have become increasingly feminised, women are not seen as farmers as they are not land owners and hence denied state support for their invisible, largely unpaid, yet crucial agricultural pursuits. Women take care of basic necessities such as food, water, fuel, homes, healthcare and social security. Yet women are not seen as



workers, growers, producers or economic and development agents. Despite its obvious economic and social worth, much of the work that women do remains invisible, undervalued and underappreciated.

This denies women rights to productive resources that are key considerations to all livelihood activities. Resources include economic (land and credit), political (participation in governance and decision making) and social (education, skill building, training). Right to productive resources consist of access and the opportunity to use, manage, and control. Productive resources are critical to women, especially those from marginalised communities. However, it is getting increasingly difficult to access these resources due to biased customary laws and patriarchal norms, perpetuated by gender blind policies that have exacerbated these obstacles.

From a legal framework, women are victims of discrimination and violence and need to be protected and taken care of. But women are also economic actors and agents of development, providing the means of life to everyone. Introducing and engendering this consciousness of women's actual role in all societies locates the issue of productive resources including land, as a means to life with dignity. State development agendas, which uproot and destroy traditional forms of livelihoods, with little or no compensation and do not even recognise women's livelihoods, let alone protect and support these, need rethinking.

The right to livelihood is a vibrant concept at the grass-roots levels. Realising the right to livelihoods is important for women's ability to realise other human rights. The right to livelihood is intrinsically linked to other human rights, such as the right to food, the right to health, the right to social security, the right to work and the right to education. The inter-linkages are more profound in the case of women. Loss of livelihoods adversely affects women's position in the power hierarchy and their bargaining capacity within the household and their community. There is loss of income arising, for example, in agricultural societies in South Asia, where women historically have played a crucial role in seed conservation and have been guardians of biodiversity. This knowledge of seed rotation, and seed exchange between different villages is passed from generation to generation by mothers to their daughters. This

critical expertise has successfully been protecting and producing the best gene pool and saving biodiversity. The tradition of seed exchange allows for the best gene pool to be conserved, and is an immensely important component for farming communities. Women having expertise for this gives them a status and respect in families.

The current economic paradigm favours markets and believes that markets can address all social and economic issues including inequality and discrimination. Governments want everyone to be in the markets. One should buy, sell and work in markets. Food production, consumption and distribution for mere subsistence is considered 'backwards' or 'primitive'. In order to push people out of traditional forms of livelihoods, there are whole range of state policies and development agendas that systematically do so. For example, in India the government is investing less and less in agricultural sector which has been in steady decline. India is hoping that people will move from these traditional forms of livelihoods to participation in markets. The assumption here is that women in subsistence livelihoods have options to move into markets and want to leave this work. These women are mostly illiterate and unskilled. But at the same time, they have tremendous skills and knowledge for livelihoods that ensure food security for all. It is not realistic for the labour market to engage all these women and to ensure food security for them and their family. Illiterate and unskilled women find it difficult to enter paid jobs in labour markets which are competitive. In the process they unfortunately end up in social assistance programmes. Many countries have now adopted cash transfer programmes which once again attempt to bring these people back in the market by giving them cash to buy their rights.

Secondly, markets cannot provide employment to all women burdened by unpaid work. For example, in India close to 65 per cent of the population is dependent on agriculture. This is close to 700 million people in actual numbers. 87 per cent of working rural women are in agriculture. These activities have been providing food security for these communities. There aren't sufficient employment opportunities for such a large number of people and hence these communities have to live on subsistence forms of livelihoods.

Everyone agrees that the need to address women's unpaid work is critical. The question is how. Therefore, the work women do need to be recognised as work and there needs to be an investment of better infrastructure, energy options and technology to assist women working in it, but not necessarily move women out of it.

Can all the unpaid work women do be framed as Care Work?

All unpaid work women do is not Care Work. However, patriarchal societies do tend to look at these activities as Care Work. For example, during harvest season, women work alongside their husbands to harvest crops. Women's labour in this economic activity is not recognised. They are not seen as workers or farmers by society or policy makers. When women work alongside their husbands, their efforts are often characterised as wifely duties and not as contributions to their family food security and livelihoods. Women themselves see this only as fulfilling their duties and being 'good wives' and supporting their husbands. Thus, recognising the right to livelihoods, which broadens the ambit of rights, is important in acknowledging women's contributions. But recognising this work as Care Work unfortunately pushes women back into the role of 'good wife'. In market economies, traditional forms of livelihoods are being threatened, causing food crises globally. Recognition of women in food production is seen as an important step to address the right to food for all. These are some promising new developments. It is important to ensure that the concept of Care Economy is not in contradiction to some of these new signs of progress.

It is important to recognise women's unpaid work, to address it and to distribute it. However, it is also important to recognise that in this process, women don't get further alienated from productive resources, from their livelihoods.

The challenge for feminists is how to make the concept of Care Economy inclusive. The dominant discourse around care economy focuses on middle class women working in the labour market. It unintentionally leaves the realities of many women, especially from developing countries working in sustainable forms of livelihoods, out on the margins.



While conceptualising our demand for Care Economy within sustainable development and economic agendas, it is important to ensure that these demands are inclusive of women's lives and realities in the global South and do not undermine any of the other movement's demands such as women's rights to productive resources and livelihoods and recognition of women as workers.

Without recognising women as key economic agents, and ensuring their rights to livelihoods, the concept of Care Economy as it is generally understood might not be very empowering for these women and might further marginalise them. Recognising women as workers, growers and producers is an important and much needed paradigm shift. Changing women's roles in decision making in production and sharing social responsibilities is an important start and therefore it is important to ensure while doing so, that we are inclusive of all the various realities that women around the world live in.

Thalia Kidder

Rapid Care Analysis in Local Development Programmes?

Promoting change with time-poor practitioners

In villages, towns and urban neighbourhoods in poor countries, development organisations promote many activities, often also aiming to advance gender equality. Women in poverty are challenged in many ways, including their livelihoods, natural resources, ill health, violence, lack of education or political representation. In addition women fulfil the socially-defined responsibility to cook, clean, wash, nurture and care for families.

For many years, feminist development practitioners have tried to persuade colleagues to pay attention to Care Work as a fundamental issue in gender equality, and human and economic development. Yet often these development colleagues are too overwhelmed to address something 'new' that seems complex and controversial. Their head offices are mandating new procedures, governments regulating and associations promoting strategies – they already need to plan better, document, evaluate, be cost-efficient, assess risks, learn digital communications, pay attention to climate change, and protect children – the list goes on. Front-line development practitioners appear as time-poor as the women we aim to empower. And Care Work is usually invisible and little understood. Care is a good dimension of life, not life threatening. How then to persuade development practitioners, no less the communities they support, to pay attention to care? How to analyse and make visible what the problems are, or to make change happen? Our proposals must be easy to adopt, straight-forward, as well as compelling or transformative. This article tells an evolving story of Oxfam's work to design a 'rapid care analysis' tool for use in development programmes.

The first section describes recent events motivating this initiative, and the second clarifies the institutional parameters. The third and fourth sections outline, respectively, the agreements reached by the group advising the methodology design, and the high-level debates and risks identified in the discussions. The final section describes the proposed methodology, desired qualities, and tensions remaining in the design. As the exercises of the methodology are being tested at the time of this writing, the results are not compiled, and the outcomes have yet to become evidence for advocacy with development organisations and governments. However, the dilemmas of design in a development and humanitarian context highlight the difficulties – and also the opportunities – of integrating care into development agendas.

Background: Women farmers negotiating Care Work to lead enterprises

Starting in 2009, Oxfam's Women's Economic Leadership (WEL) training programmes helped 20 rural communities in developing countries design new enterprises with leadership for women smallholder farmers.¹ Significant numbers of women smallholders joined. Yet in early 2012 a survey of WEL programme managers found that women in these enterprises were still having 'problems at home' negotiating with their families for the time and resources necessary to maintain their leadership. Oxfam staff requested assistance on how to support women's agency in negotiations around household work and assets.

In Baku, Azerbaijan, 23 development practitioners from seven countries met in July 2012, having done a learning exercise in communities about women's workload and how women strengthen their 'agency' in households and markets.² Visual representations made the issues clear and compelling; focus groups had made diagrams of 'women's average weekly workload'. For example, the one from Colombia showed the discrepancy between the 8.3 hours per week women dedicated to the business – which was the focus of Oxfam's intervention – and their normal average of 34.2 hours per week for unpaid Care Work, plus 9.4 hours of community work and 27.7 hours in agriculture (see annex 1). Women's groups from other countries reported averages of 30 to 40 hours of unpaid care and community work, 10 to 24 hours a week for the business, and work in natural resources and agriculture. Successful enterprises with women's leadership depended on changing these patterns. So women were also encouraged to name 'changes that would be meaningful to them' and to identify 'those changes most and least likely to be achieved' (Annex 2, Azeri women farmers). The learning process aimed to strengthen women farmers' agency in renegotiating workload, beliefs and assets. Care Work was part of these women's wider efforts for change.

Care and household work became a more pressing issue for the Women's Economic Leadership staff. Oxfam has a history of significant but scattered efforts to make visible and address Care Work, across women's political participa-

tion, microfinance, ethical trade, women's labour rights as well as agricultural development. A group of Oxfam staff began working to make 'innovations in care' more explicit. Alongside others working in advocacy and research, and a conceptual Background Paper³, Oxfam programme advisers aimed to develop practical tools for assessing care provision for use within communities where Oxfam supports long-term development interventions or rehabilitation post-emergency: a Rapid Care Analysis Tool.

Institutional parameters – programme teams analyse and address care provision

The vision of the initiative has been to have local development and rehabilitation programmes analyse and address the provision of care in their contexts to increase potential to achieve women's empowerment, reduce inequality and promote well-being. We aim to reduce the likelihood of women's participation and leadership being limited by inefficient and arduous activities to provide care – such as manual water and fuel collection – and/or heavily unequal responsibilities for caring for elderly, children or ill family members.

The audience for this methodology is primarily development practitioners and 'programme teams'. A 'programme team' is comprised of Oxfam staff who support and fund local groups, NGOs and businesses such as traders' or producers' associations to implement activities. Short-term consultants, municipal officials, local media, academic researchers and cultural or religious organisations may also be in programme teams. Thus the proposals resulting from the exercises should be feasible for these types of actors, rather than macro-level policy or economic changes.

What are the definitions of care? Care has been defined as 'meeting the material and/or developmental, emotional and spiritual needs of other persons with whom one has a personal relationship' (from Standing 2001, in Eyben and Fontana 2011). Housework is required to provide care to people, and infrastructure and services support carers providing care. Care Work includes daily household work of water, fuel collection, cooking, cleaning, repairing, washing, and the long-term education and support, health care and attention to other healthy adults, children, disabled, elderly or ill people. The Care Economy more widely includes both unpaid and paid Care Work, paid for and/or provided by individuals, voluntary organisations, employers and the state.

Agreements on approach

As Oxfam staff began discussing the care analysis, certain concepts and approaches were agreed, and others contested. Staff agreed that care is a societal issue, to include care provision beyond unpaid care, to make analysis flexible and context-specific, and to propose a practical approach.

The group affirmed that care is a societal issue, an issue for women and men to consider and address, not 'a women's issue'. Oxfam's materials avoid referring to the 'burden of women's household work'. This too-common phrase reinforces the belief that women are responsible for care, and creates an image of women as victims rather than providers of a valuable service. While addressing care will increase the potential for women's empowerment, care remains a societal issue. For practical reasons as well, defining care as a 'public good' will facilitate broader ownership over the process of care analysis.

The analysis was not to be confined to unpaid care, although unpaid care is the majority of Care Work in rural and even urban communities in developing countries. Nurses and domestic workers will be visible on community maps of care. The 'Care Diamond' (Razavi 2007) was a compelling and inspiring idea for participants in the learning process – that care is provided in each society by families, the State, the market and the voluntary organisations (four points of a diamond).⁴ Significantly, participants said the 'care diamond' raised their awareness of the important roles of employers, governments, legislation and voluntary groups in providing care, and allayed fears that Oxfam simply intended to 'get men to do the dishes', as one staff member joked.

The group agreed that the aim is not to remunerate unpaid work or nor count Care Work in monetary terms, as monetisation of unpaid work is fraught with issues of 'market value'. In some contexts it may be helpful to monetise the real costs that arise from deficits of care in a community, such as costs of illness or injury to elderly people due to lack of support or supervision. The group did propose counting time, the exercise of estimating average weekly hours of work, for several reasons. Quantitative results help communicate the significance of Care Work, allowing comparison of Care Work to other work and between categories of women or men.

The data collected will not necessarily be comparable between countries, however, as this is not a consistent, rigorous methodology. Definitions of care activities and of population groups will vary based on cultural perceptions, as will the process of arriving at average weekly hours. The

aim is to gather evidence that is validated by community members and leaders as legitimate and relevant, in order to agree what is problematic about care provision and how change can happen.

In spite of many strongly held convictions about the need for profound change in restructuring society and economies to prioritise care provision, the group agreed on a more limited purpose for the care analysis tool: to have programs identify important issues on the provision of care in a particular context, and changes that are achievable. The group affirmed that recognising care, especially unpaid Care Work, in society and the economy is itself an important step at this stage. Care is invisible in most development policy and practice (Eyben 2013). An analysis of care, even rapid, will raise awareness of the extent and value of Care Work.

Debates about scope and risks of Rapid Care Analysis

The group debated several issues related to risks of promoting a rapid process and the scope and depth of analysis. First, advocates of women's empowerment who work on care affirm an explicit agenda for justice and redistribution, which requires a longer time frame and resources for a significant process of change relevant for the context. Recently, Action Aid supported ten community-based processes *Making Care Visible* over 18 months.⁵ In contrast, humanitarian food security and rehabilitation workers proposed a care analysis process that is simple, directive, easy to implement and takes less than a day, so the exercises can be slotted into existing assessment methodologies. Many colleagues agreed that practitioners' time is so stretched that the priority must be straight-forward exercises that partners and staff are likely to adopt.

Second, although a rapid care analysis exercise may be more likely to be adopted than a longer process, the risk is that the findings and results of a quick discussion will be superficial or too technical. It is unlikely that a rapid exercise will identify issues of beliefs, nor identify or address power relations underlying the existing patterns of the provision of care. However the team may erroneously consider that they have dealt with care, 'ticked the box', and no more is required. Moreover, if the programme has insufficient resources, expectations may be raised about making change in care provision. These changes may neither be taken up by leaders or are beyond the capacity of the programme to address. The group agreed that these risks must be explicitly presented to programme managers and leaders, and care analysis promoted where there is commitment to follow up on proposals.

Third, for many people, care is not well understood and

culturally-specific. When explained, care may be 'everything I do' or considered 'not work'. Perceptions of what 'care' is differ across countries, regions, cultures and change over time. For example, in some discussions in Europe, the concern focuses on care for dependants, such as children, elderly and disabled people. In developing countries there's much more focus on the time-intensive drudgery of the housework required to care for people, such as carrying water, grain grinding, collecting fuel and cooking and washing. The group debated the problems of imposing definitions on countries, compared with the risks of having definitions of care that varied too widely.

For example, some proposed that Care Work be broadened beyond human-to-human 'care' to include work to maintain and care for natural environment, as nature also provides resources that facilitate care for humans, and if ecosystems are compromised this often aggravates difficulties in achieving healthy, well-nourished families. Another suggestion was to include subsistence agriculture or patio food production as an extension of 'food preparation'. Although unpaid work with crops, animal husbandry and natural resources is critical and undervalued, others argued that this work has been increasingly recognised in food security initiatives, while caring for people remains mostly invisible. Another argument put forward is that work that generates products, or maintains tangible assets, is more likely to be recognised and documented than is work in services, especially services considered 'female' and 'natural' like feeding people or cleaning. If work in subsistence agriculture or unpaid forestry were included as Care Work, the risk is that other care activities would be ignored in discussions. A compromise was reached on these points in the methodology design. The 'average weekly working hours' exercise (Annex 1 and 2 from 2012) is included, which proposes a high-level category of work on natural resources, as well as subsistence agriculture. In later steps, the focus of analysis is on 'care of persons'.

Likewise, the group had a long discussion about whether 'taking responsibility for care' included providing payments for care, such as remittances or paying a domestic worker. In the end, the group agreed that care analysis is to make visible the dimensions of care that are less visible – especially unpaid Care Work, thus simply paying for care is not included.

Fourth, which colleagues will adopt the methodology? Care has a 'collective action' problem: many stakeholders are implicated so no one takes responsibility. There's a tendency for thematic specialists and teams to defer the issue to 'someone else', passing the problem from health services to community organisations to economic development strategists to families, or to women's groups, who then rightly argue that governments, men and businesses

need to be involved. How do we propose to 'get the right people in the door' to come to a meeting to talk about 'care'? Some described care analysis quite instrumentally as a means to improve the outcomes of a wider programme, while others wished to publicise the analysis as a transformational end in itself. If the challenge is to get more people engaged, promoters need to be skilled at explaining care analysis in multiple ways, appealing to both practical and idealistic motivations, and using examples to show the relevance of care analysis to a range of specialists.

Lastly, there is the risk that discussions on Care Work will provoke a backlash. Care is almost universally seen as women's responsibility, and a broad spectrum of religious or traditionalist leaders affirm that care is women's 'natural' role. Thus raising the question of 'who provides care in this community?' runs the risk of aligning with the agendas of traditionalists who would send women 'back into the kitchen'. Likewise, in a longer process of change, women and men proposing redistribution of gendered care roles may need support or even protection. This challenge requires special consideration by programme teams interested in carrying out 'care analysis'.

Rapid Care Analysis – an evolving proposal

We want programme teams to respond 'I can do this. I should do this'. We aim for exercises that are easy to understand, and fun! A tool with clear language, diagrams and examples, specific instructions, and clear directives. Ideally, the results and recommendations from the care analysis are inspiring and practical. In the end, the activities and interventions make a noticeable difference to well-being, to women's empowerment or both.

For a manager, the exercises are flexible enough to adapt to a variety of contexts. In some cases, a helpful, usable analysis should be able to fit into a few hours, in others a few days. For the most dedicated teams, the exercises inspire a process of reflection and action over months. The participatory methodology may need a good facilitator, but does not require a top-notch researcher who charges 'top fees'. Carrying out a care analysis itself doesn't strain the manager's budget, or it will seldom be implemented, although the communities' recommendations for change from care analysis may require resources.

The proposed rapid care analysis 'toolbox' has four steps, each with one or more focus group discussions with women and men. The purpose of each step is as follows:

1. To understand the relationships of care in the community:

These discussions build broad ownership and understanding about this 'public good'.

2. Find out what care activities and tasks are performed in the community, and by whom:
Here is the average weekly hours exercise, detailed exercises on unpaid Care Work by gender and age, and variations in care needs over time.
3. To understand the different types of support available in the community around care:
This has a 'care diamond' for discussing infrastructure and services, and a local map.
4. Find out which care activities are most problematic for women, identify options for reducing and redistributing Care Work, and prioritise these options:
Problems may be about excessive time, impact on health or restricted mobility, and may be analysed for girls or men as well. Options are visually ranked by feasibility and positive impact, among other criteria chosen by the group.

In developing the steps, we have faced the following tensions:

First, it is critical that the analysis includes discussions about gender equality and care. The results must specify how Care Work can block women's empowerment. Yet this focus on women's strategic interests may undermine broad ownership over the project, including men. Upcoming experiences of piloting with mixed groups may shed light on how to manage this tension.

Second, Care Work fluctuates. It has a seasonal dimension, such as the time required to collect water and fuel. Care requirements change over time in families and with migration. Care needs may change radically with periodic crises such as flooding or conflict. Changes in government policies on health, education or social protection will impact the estimated hours, diagrams and maps of care. We discussed how to document fluctuations in care without exercises being too complex, and proposed choosing one or two axes of variation. One group now piloting the rapid care analysis was displaced during conflict, and is recently resettled. The advice is that one exercise identifies changes in care before and after resettlement.

Third, we debated how much to be directive and pre-determine categories, or to have participants generate categories and concepts of care, based on local perceptions of 'what care is'. Clearly, time constraints of facilitators and participants will shape the decisions. An exercise being piloted pre-determines six fairly universal care activities – meals, clean clothes, personal care (bathing, toileting, and dressing), clean living space, moral support and care during illness – and offers the option that the group choose two more categories for the exercise.

Fourth, short-term achievable change is practical and more likely to be funded, but will not make significant change in women's lives. Eventually our ambition is for more fundamental change. Funding for ambitious interventions isn't currently available; our strategy is to demonstrate short-term positive impacts, to build the case for investing more in care. This issue links to another dilemma about the guidance we give to facilitators and practitioners about ambition. In the fourth step, what should be the size or scope of the 'problem statements' created by focus groups doing the care analysis, and the level of 'options' for change generated by the discussion?

Fifth, the proposed exercises focus more on what women and men (boys and girls) do than why. We expect that some groups will open discussion on the beliefs about why these roles are women's or men's. It's unclear how much beliefs should be addressed during the phase of rapid care analysis as compared to the process of implementing activities for change. Do we need to understand why people believe things are as they are?

Sixth, we expect significant debate about how much evidence communities want or need – and the quality and rigor of this evidence – in order for the information generated by the analysis to be legitimate for leaders and community members. The evidence of the 'problem' may be critical for leaders to accept undertaking a new investment or change. Conversely, the problem may be clear, however, more time may be required to generate options and reflect on how to choose between them. An example in the draft tool proposes criteria for choosing between options – level of investment, social acceptability, external support, timeline and the expected positive impact on women – however, the criteria for decision-making may be far more complex.

In conclusion, Oxfam's 'innovations in care' initiative has taken on a very specific challenge: to design a set of exercises with potential to be easily and widely adopted by time-poor development and humanitarian practitioners. The aim is to build a broad base of evidence relevant to programme design, and through replication, to increase commitment to addressing care as a development issue. Yet care is complicated, and this 'rapid care analysis' also risks of over-simplifying issues or raising expectations without sufficient resources to promote change. The debates in methodology design mirror difficult choices for programme managers who carry out the care analysis in a range of contexts. Nevertheless, we are inspired by process, and the opportunity is compelling – to build creative and effective steps towards resolving a centuries-old challenge of providing effective care for people and ensuring women's rights.

Notes

- 1 See <http://growsellthrive.org/> and <http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-work/food-livelihoods/gem>
- 2 <http://growsellthrive.org/group/gem-learning-event-2012>. Videos about learning from three global regions, and of the household chores and market work: 'Just another day: One Day in the Life of a Female Farmer': <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hkud7IvaqII&feature=youtu.be>
- 3 Valeria Esquivel: Conceptual Issues of Care in Households and Communities, (forthcoming)
- 4 From Esquivel (2013): We can analyse how the responsibilities for particular groups of dependents (girls and children, adults older or sick) are distributed across the 'diamond' [Razavi 2007]. We can evaluate how the 'care diamond' is working from the perspective of both care receivers and care givers, paying special attention to whether the design and application of 'care policies' reduce (or exacerbate) gender inequities in the distribution of care. 'Care policies' are those that assign "time to care, money to care, and care services" (cited by Ellingsaeter, 1999: 41, cited by Faur [2009])
- 5 <http://www.actionaid.org/publications/making-care-visible>

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OUTLOOK

Interview with Eleanor Blomstrom & Marcela Tovar from WEDO

“Green Economies may increase job opportunities for women, but at what cost?”

When and why did WEDO take up the issue of care and its link to the Green/Sustainable Economies? What was the context?

WEDO first began thinking about the Green/Sustainable Economies concept during the early discussions for Rio+20, working with partners in the Women’s Major Group (WMG) to develop a position paper addressing the concept, which at that point was still Green Economy. The WMG proposed a discussion of ‘sustainable and equitable economies’ instead, which would have an intergenerational justice view not inherent in Green Economy, and which would also allow for varied applications of the concept by moving from a monolithic economy to multiple economies. Worldwide, governments and civil society groups had varying positions on the subject and its potential as a tool for achieving sustainable development.

One strong concern was, and still is, that adopting a Green Economy would simply be green washing – and do nothing to change inequitable economic structures at any level. This point is particularly important to WEDO, as inequitable economic structures are at the heart of challenges to full enjoyment of women’s human rights and achievement of gender equality.

How does WEDO link care and Sustainable/Green Economies? What is your approach to the link between the two?

WEDO links care to sustainable/green economies in all of its work in the international policy sphere – from the Rio+20 follow up to the climate change negotiations to the Commission on the Status of Women (CSW). From WEDO’s perspective as a women’s global advocacy organisation working on intersection of gender equality, human rights and sustainable development, WEDO sees an integral link between the two.

Care Economy activities and women’s unpaid work are often undervalued or unknown in the larger economic context, and they are not included in traditional measures such as Gross Domestic Product (GDP). More research must be done to understand the impact of Care Economy activi-

ties on positive efforts toward sustainable development and also toward economic well-being generally. And it is crucial to ensure women’s work and contributions to economy and society, including the case of unpaid work and caregiving, are valued.

WEDO also approaches the link between care and sustainable/green economies by looking at women’s more formal employment, with partner organisations working more closely on labour issues such as Sustainlabour. Research and anecdotal evidence have pointed out that sustainable or green economies may increase job opportunities for women, but at what cost? What is the safety net/safeguard within Green Economy policies that can ensure women are not burdened by Care Work while also working a full time job – or are not limited in training for new occupations because of the unequal care burden? Further, what is being done to address the societal structures that have prevented women from being part of many of the fields that will be part of the new ‘green job’ growth.

What do you think is the most pressing issue, where do we need most urgently further discussion and more research?

It is challenging to pinpoint one particular issue because the concept of linking care and sustainable economies is under-researched and under-reported. More research is needed on existing linkages between unpaid/Care Work and sustainable development, in areas such as patterns of production and consumption, value chains and production in different economic sectors, especially the agricultural sector. A question to ask is, how much unpaid/Care Work has to be put into sustaining communities and what are the differences, if any, in the rural/urban contexts or industrialised/non-industrialised contexts? It is also important to understand who does what, and what women and men get for their working hours.

Where are the practical links between green/sustainable economies and care? What do you think it can mean for companies and/or states?

Traditional economies and green/sustainable economies all



require many hours of Care Work – usually done by women – to sustain them. Moving towards sustainable development, in its truest sense, requires practical linkages between green economies and care – as a means to ensure resources, well-being, jobs, livelihoods and rights for future generations as well as persons today. It also means valuing all the efforts to sustain a community, whether local or global, no matter who does them or what monetary value has typically been associated with it. On one hand, companies and states can make efforts to recognise women’s (and men’s) contributions to care through financial means, time allotments and/or quotas that ensure women have choices in terms of employment as well as access to goods, services and decision-making structures. Companies and states can put regulatory measures in place to recognise women’s unpaid/Care Work and further support a shared responsibility of unpaid/Care Work between women and men, as well as support sustainable production and consumption patterns by individuals. Examples include incorporating and incentivising flexible working schedules, on-site child care facilities, ensuring improved access to mobility, implementing labour rights regulations, planning cities strategically so that women have access to jobs, services and goods easily and conveniently, and ensuring women’s participation in boards and decision-making structures and CEO positions. On the other hand, companies and states will need to assess their own institutions, decision-making structures, norms and attitudes to ensure that measures supporting Care Work are not implemented within a dysfunctional system.

Looking back at the workshop and the initial questions we posed: what do you think could be financial instruments and organisational models that place the Care Economy at the centre?

The discussions during the workshop were comprehensive and interesting, with a wide range of opinions on matters from the role of the neoliberal economy to transnational corporations to microcredit. A financial transaction tax, as has been discussed to fund sustainable development, could simultaneously contribute to Care Economy efforts. This is one area that requires further discussion and exploration, especially as the post-2015 development agenda

processes merge with the post-Rio+20 processes, which include sustainable development goals, efforts to move beyond-GDP and financing.

Organisational models must ensure gender equity at different administrative and directional levels, child care provision must be guaranteed and paid for a working parents. Most importantly, Care Work must not be romanticised; it must be valued for its contributions and it can even be commodified in certain contexts, such as the non-industrialised contexts where women already do the work and would benefit from enjoyment of labour rights and compensation.

How will WEDO take up the workshop’s results and the discussions, and how do you want to include it in your future work?

WEDO will follow up on the workshop in numerous ways. For one, WEDO is at the CSW from March 4–15, 2013, advocating for a strong outcome document. Included in that document, WEDO will advocate for text addressing the structural causes of discrimination and violence against women, and how that is connected to green/sustainable economies and the Care Economy. Texts explore the unequal burden of caregiving and household tasks but they are not currently linked to unsustainable economic activities that contribute to environmental degradation or short-term solutions to crises such as climate change. WEDO is advocating that the linkage be clear.

WEDO is engaged in a number of processes that the workshop content applies to: Climate Change, Post-Rio+20 and Post-2015, and will continue to evaluate the processes for entry points on the issues. Entry points for WEDO may include policy advocacy and text analysis and revision, Member States and other stakeholders, to ensure that the structural dimension of women’s role in Care Work is well-incorporated. WEDO will likely also take up the results and discussions to aid in its awareness-raising of other civil society organisations and networks that do not understand or are possibly even resistant to making such links. A critical basis for all the advocacy around care economies and sustainable economies is the human rights framework.

“Green Economies may increase job opportunities for women, but at what cost?”

Ulrike Röhr

Keep the Ball Rolling

How to proceed

A shift to a sustainable, green and caring economy is urgently needed. That's why I am quite sure that discussions will continue and progress rapidly. At the end of the workshop many ideas emerged about what should and what must be done, ranging from providing research and data, to concrete projects on the ground showing how such an economy may be successfully implemented, to political regulations and, above all, the need for continued discussions and the creation of a network further developing the linkages between care and green economic activities. A detailed list of all the suggestions and workshop results can be found on page 20.

While there is no lack of ideas and commitment, time and money are scarce. There is an urgent need to provide funding to build up a "think tank" to undertake/conduct research, or to implement projects. What we also need is sufficient time – everybody's time – to strengthen the network, to broaden the understanding of our different concepts and to develop new, more inclusive ones.

Next steps

The Friedrich Ebert Foundation is planning to host a follow-up workshop later this year. We will collaborate in the preparations for the workshop, in particular regarding the drafting of a platform, an online discussion and decisions regarding the main issues we need to address. WIDE Switzerland is also thinking about a follow up workshop in 2014. GenderCC – Women for Climate Justice is planning a workshop at the margins of UNFCCC COP19 in November 2013 in Warsaw, linking the care and sustainable economy to climate change. This could be done in collaboration with our colleagues from WEDO and other organisations involved in the climate change negotiations.

And of course the Rio+20 follow up and in particular the development of Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) provide an excellent opportunity for linking the care economy to the gender equality goals as well as to a

sustainable economy – as mentioned by Eleanor Blomstrom and Marcela Tovar in their interview (pp 48–49).

Mascha Madörin made some important points regarding the conceptualisation of a "care-eco-economy" in her contribution to this documentation (see pp 26–31) and provides some entry points for linking sustainability and care. She suggests elaborating on this approach, complementing it with an additional chapter on the externalisation (and suggesting the internalisation) of costs, as well as with separate chapters on the Care Economy and the Livelihood-Economy, their common links to sustainability and to human rights aspects, supporting it with case studies – all of which would be an excellent idea for a publication. So, if time and money can be provided, we (in our German and Swiss networks) would love to further develop this idea and invite everybody to contribute.

At the end of the workshop expectations were high. For sure, we will not be able to fulfill all of them, but we will try our best to continue the debate and strengthen approaches linking the care, the livelihood, the green, and the sustainable economies, as well as the human rights aspects. An online forum or a learning platform might aim at fostering our approaches in between meetings.

Acknowledgement

I would like to give a huge applause to all the participants of the workshop, for their enriching contributions to the workshop and to this documentation, for their commitment and sometimes for their patience. It was a pleasure to work with you.

A special thank-you goes to the Friedrich Ebert Foundation, for the organisation of the panel discussion in the evening of the second day, followed by a reception, and for inviting all the participants for a welcome dinner. Last but not least I want to thank the Federal Environmental Ministry, in particular Sabine Veth and Peter Franz, for their support and for funding the workshop. We sadly missed them and their ideas at the workshop. That is again a question of resources, even in governmental organisations.

The authors

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Eleanor Blomstrom coordinates programs on sustainable development and climate change at WEDO. Her work involves research, training, partner management and development, and global-level advocacy. Eleanor is active as a leader in the Women's Major Group for Rio+20 and its follow-up, as well as in the biodiversity and climate change negotiations with numerous partners from around the world. She participates in several networks for post-2015 to ensure the gender and environment links. Eleanor holds a Master of International Affairs in Urban and Environmental Policy and a BA in Environmental Sciences.

Priti Darooka is the founder and executive director of PWESCR. She has a wealth of experience in the human rights and social justice fields. Prior to establishing PWESCR, Ms. Darooka promoted women's and economic empowerment at the Ford Foundation in New York. Previously she worked at UNIFEM on violence against women indicators and assessment and on coordinated UNIFEM's work in Afghanistan. Among other activities and positions, she was a consultant to the Center for Women's Global Leadership.

Conny van Heemstra is an anthropologist and historian, having graduated from Rhodes University, Grahamstown South Africa. She has been active in the environmental movement in South Africa and Germany. In the project "Green Economy and Green Growth – who cares" she drafted the background paper and was involved in organising the international workshop.

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Thalia Kidder is the Senior Adviser, Women's Economic Rights for Oxfam Great Britain (<http://policy-practice.oxfam.org.uk/our-people/programme-policy/thalia-kidder>).

In addition to 'Innovations on Care', her recent work includes leading training on Women's Economic Leadership in agricultural markets in East Asia and Central America (<http://growsthrive.org/>) and Researching Women's Collective Action in Ethiopia, Mali and Tanzania. Previously, she helped develop Oxfam's campaign on informally employed women, Trading Away our Rights, and programme advising on gender and microfinance. She was also a community and labour organiser in North America before moving to the UK.

Mascha Madörin is an economist, who deals with topics relating to political economy from a feminist perspective. One of her focuses is Gender Budgeting and the political and social economy of care in Switzerland, as well as theoretical scholarship on feminist economy, in particular macro and mesoeconomic aspects. She was a member of the research team responsible for the UNRISD study which examines "women's work" in eight countries on various continents, and also looks at the different relationships between gender, family, market and economy in these contexts.

Anita Nayar is a feminist activist and scholar presently engaged in research on the social and ecological consequences of the commercialisation of indigenous medicine in India. For the past 15 years she has worked with women's movements, governments and UN agencies to bring a gender perspective on environmental, social and economic issues to bear on inter-governmental negotiations and agreements, as well as national and local policies. She is presently an Executive Committee member of Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN) and coordinates their research and advocacy work on political ecology.

Ulrike Röhr is an engineer and sociologist by background and has been working on gender issues in environment, and especially in energy and climate policy for many years. She is committed to mainstreaming gender into climate policy on local and national level, and to strengthening women's involvement in the UNFCCC negotiations. She is head of genanet – focal point gender, environment, sustainability, which is part of the German women's organisation LIFE, seated in Berlin. In recent years genanet worked collaboratively with main German women's organisations on gender perspectives of a green and sustainable economy.

Annemarie Sançar is a social anthropologist, with an expertise on ethnic identities, ethnicity and migration policies. From 1995 to 2003, she was in charge of critical communications and migration and peace policy in a Swiss feminist NGO. Since 2003, she has been in charge as Gender Advisor for the Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation (SDC). Aside from her professional activities,

she is actively involved in the Green Party, and was elected on the communal council in Bern from 1996 to 2004, and in WIDE+ Switzerland.

Nidhi Tandon is the founder and director of Networked Intelligence for Development, a Toronto based network of independent development consultants. Nidhi works on local grassroots issues, in the context of globalisation and increasing disparities between peoples and nations. Recently she has been specialising in digital media, information and communication technologies and applications that enhance women's livelihoods in developing countries. She designs and runs grassroots training workshops enabling women to organise and articulate their priorities around sustainable development.

Marcela Tovar-Restrepo is part of WEDO's Board of Directors and director of the Latin American and Latino Studies Program and teaches in the Anthropology Department at Queens College (CUNY). Marcela has worked close to WEDO, previously as Coordinator of the Sustainable Development Program and more recently in the GEAR Campaign. She has served as an international consultant mainstreaming cultural and gender rights into policy-making processes at different UN instances as technical advisor and researcher for International cooperation agencies, governments, social movements and NGOs in areas such as gender and ethnic diversity, environment and human rights and conflict.

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