



Policies
to Promote
Sustainable
Consumption
Patterns

WP 1: “Gender aspects of sustainable consumption strategies and instruments”

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1 Introduction, Definitions and Content of the Paper

This paper presents the arguments for and examples of how to integrate gender aspects into sustainable consumption strategies and instruments. The term 'gender aspect' refers to an understanding of gender relations as a structural category of society. This means an understanding of gender relations within the frame of a gender order that distinguishes among questions relating to the symbolic order, the economic and political order, and the social organisation of sexuality (Becker-Schmidt 1999).

In the context of EU policies the term gender is characterized by the methodological differentiation between sex and gender.¹ "Sex hereby refers to biological characteristics as chromosomes, physiology and anatomy that distinguish females and males. *Gender* refers to the array of socially constructed roles and relationships, personality traits, attitudes, behaviours and values that society ascribes to the two sexes on a differential basis. Gender is relational, gender roles and characteristics do not exist in isolation but are defined in relation to one another. Gender is a system of signs and symbols denoting relations of power and hierarchy between the sexes and refers to men as much as to women." (Klinge and Bosch 2001)

Gender related aspects of sustainable consumption strategies and instruments are to be seen twofold: on one hand these are *aspects of political instruments and strategies* which have potential impacts on gender equality, which is a core value of European politics (see chapter 2.2). This perspective relates to the normative dimension of sustainability (gender equality as a normative aspect of sustainability). On the other hand, these are *aspects of gender relations* which have potential impact on the sustainability of consumption patterns. In this sense gender aspects bear the potential to improve or to block the intended effects of sustainable consumption instruments and strategies. Both perspectives will be followed in this paper. But the focus lies on identifying gender aspects which are relevant for sustainable consumption and SC instruments and particularly to identify *aspects of gender responsiveness to SC instruments*.

The findings of this paper will be included into the conceptual framework of eupopp-project. As a kind of qualification for this, the paper summarizes some crucial points of the theoretical and conceptual debate on 'gender and sustainable consumption' and gives some background information on gender policies in international, UN, and EU contexts, including main issues of debate.

¹ After a controversial debate on epistemic and methodological consequences of constructivist understandings of gender the debate is going back to the difference between sex and gender as starting point for definitions though there is an agreement about the fact that gendered differences in society are socially constructed (Davis et al. 2006; Schultz 2006) This is mainly due to the fact that gender research in medicine and life sciences need a reference point as regards the state of the art in physiology (Klinge and Bosch 2001: 32ff).

A main part of this report consists of a discussion of research findings on the interface of gender research and research for sustainable consumption.² The main question of the discussion is:

- What are key gender aspects of consumption and how can they contribute to an improvement of sustainable consumption instruments?

In order to identify this kind of gender aspects, a method on how to identify gender aspects in environmental and sustainability research, which was developed in gender impact assessments, is applied. With the help of this method gender aspects in sustainable consumption are discovered which relate to three overall gender dimensions in society (work, body and health, and power relations). This chapter ends up with a list of identified gender aspects in sustainable consumption.

On this basis the study discusses the different categories of instruments selected by eupopp-project demonstrating with the help of some examples how sustainable consumption instruments take key gender aspects into account. As a kind of exemplary introduction the EU *Renewed Strategy for Sustainable Development* and the *Sustainable Consumption and Production and the Sustainable Industrial Policy Action Plan* are analyzed.

At the end, a short summary of the findings is given as regards their relevance for the theoretical frame (working package 1) and a short outlook is presented on how to introduce gender aspects in WP2 and WP 3 of eupopp-project.

Content of the paper:

1. Introduction, definitions and content of the paper
2. Political backgrounds and institutional contexts
 - 2.1 International and UN women and gender policies
 - 2.2 EU policies for gender equality
 - 2.3 Conclusion
3. Understanding gender aspects in sustainable consumption
 - 3.1 Gender aspects related to three overall gender dimensions – analytical framework
 - 3.2 The debate on political consumption as a theoretical foundation of ‘gender responsiveness to sc instruments’
 - 3.3 Trends and indicators related to gender aspects of consumption in everyday life

² We thank especially Michala Hvidt Brengaard in Copenhagen, Michelle Micheletti in Stockholm and our project partners Eva Heiskanen and Kristiina Aalto in Helsinki for their valuable comments (hints and links).

Policies to Promote Sustainable Consumption Patterns

- 3.4 Findings as regards gender differences in consumption/sustainable consumption
- 3.5 Gender aspects related to the consumption fields of feeding/nutrition and housing/energy use
- 3.6 Conclusion
- 4. Gender aspects of SC instruments and strategies
 - 4.1 Gender aspects in the EU Renewed Strategy for Sustainable Development and in the Sustainable Consumption and Production and the Sustainable Industrial Policy Action Plan
 - 4.2 Gender impact assessment and gender aspects of regulatory instruments
 - 4.3 Gender budgeting and gender aspects of economic instruments
 - 4.4 Gender aspects of labels
 - 4.5 Gender aspects of consumer information and education
 - 4.6 Other instruments: consumer advisory boards and others
- 5. Summary and preliminary conclusions for work packages of eupopp



2 International and EU Policy Backgrounds and Institutional Contexts

2.1 International and UN Women and Gender Policies

European policies on gender equality are closely interconnected with those of the United Nations. The most important policy goal on an overall level in this field is the antidiscrimination objective. It refers to the international antidiscrimination convention: *the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW)* adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly and ratified by the European Union.³

To eliminate all forms of discrimination against women is still a major objective of women's movements, trade unions and UN policies and a main political goal of international human rights and women's rights organisations. This political context is relevant for defining gender aspects and insofar the fight for humane working conditions in the *global production chain* is one of the key gender issues from an international perspective. Civil society organisations (CSOs) as for example Amnesty for Women, Oxfam, the Clean Clothes Campaign, the Network of Local Action against Sweatshops or the Maquila Solidarity Network demand consideration of women work conditions in the production of textiles and other goods when buying these goods for low prices in industrialized countries. The interconnection of women's work in countries of the economic South and consumption patterns in countries of the economic North are well analyzed in gender studies. Politically, these debates result in different demands for political action including the call for general changes in lifestyles, general boycott against overconsumption and specific branches or for positive boycotts⁴ and actions to increase socially and environmentally labeled products in the market.

Beside these ongoing political actions of CSOs, important intersections in international gender policies have been the UN world conferences. Some of their main themes and issues are briefly depicted in this chapter because of their predominant role of agenda-setting (what are 'important' gender issues): At the First World Conference on Women, 1975 in Mexico-City, the issue of "women and the environment" was brought into public debate by the Indian physicist and women activist Vandana Shiva. She reported about the struggle of the Chipko movement in the Himalaya region, which had become a very prominent example of discussing property rights (the "commons") since then. This

³ CEDAW is often described as an international 'bill of rights for women'. Consisting of a preamble and 30 articles, it defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. Discrimination against women is defined as "(...) any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field" (United Nations 1979)

⁴ 'Boycotting' means the orientation on and consideration of environmental, social and ethical aspects of goods and services (which are communicated by labels as for example) in buying decisions

conference made the debate on women, the environment and development, the so-called WED-debate, an issue. The Chipko women tried to protect the trees of the woodlands they commonly owned against commercialisation and destruction by embracing them. The wood was their reservoir of nutrition, it supplied materials for house building and was used for the production of small goods. Governmental and industrial interests denied the Chipko people their traditional right to the Commons, and tried to expropriate them.

Since this First World Conference on Women 1975 the question of *access to and control of natural resources*, the cognition of *cultural diversity* and *livelihood* are ongoing themes in women's movements, in gender lobbying and gender research. The debate was strongly influenced by theorists and activists from the economic South. The strong involvement of so-called third world women in environment-and-development issues is explained in gender studies by the fact, that these women are more directly exposed to the negative effects of environmental degradation in their *everyday life* (Shiva 1988; Rodda 1991; Harcourt 1994; Braidotti et al. 1994; Roy 1998, Schultz et al. 2003). More than elsewhere, women in Asia are well organized. Since the beginning in 1984, DAWN (Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era), a network of women scholars and activists from the economic South, developed a global view of the interdependencies of the economic macro level and the everyday life of women. Basic to its analysis is the perspective on empowerment of women. Not a formal equity is needed for women, they argued, but an improvement of the actual power relations (DAWN 1985). This empowerment-perspective including an approach strongly focussing on everyday life of analysis is guiding gender policies and gender research until today.

In the early nineties, the concept of sustainable development and specifically the issue of sustainable production and consumption patterns emerged during the UNCED (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development) 1992 in Rio de Janeiro. In preparing the UNCED conference, international women NGOs and above all the Brazilian section of WEDO (*Women, Environment and Development Organization*), an international advocacy network that seeks to increase the power of women worldwide, were very active. They included women policies into the agreements of the conference. In Rio, women were considered as a 'Major Group', which means their involvement was acknowledged as a necessary prerequisite for achieving sustainable development.

The commitment to overcome gender inequality and the objective of the necessary, full and equal participation of women form essential components of *Agenda 21*, one of the most important agreements of UNCED. Agenda 21 is a comprehensive plan of action to be taken up globally, nationally and locally by organizations of the United Nations System, Governments, and Major Groups in every area in which human impacts on the environment are being observed.⁵ Agenda 21 concluded that environmental

⁵ Agenda 21, the Rio Declaration on Environment and Development, and the Statement of principles for the Sustainable Management of Forests were adopted by more than 178 Governments at the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 3 to 14 June 1992.

degradation is an outcome of the unsustainable patterns of production and consumption, particularly in industrialised countries. Thus, since Rio 1992, the fact of *overconsumption* by first world countries, is a key issue in political debates on development perspectives. Since then, in feminist debates as well as in gender policies and sustainability policies, the differences of North-South-perspectives are elucidated with respect to these unequal consumption and production patterns. The need for a broader dialogue between the North and the South with regard to achieving sustainable consumption is an ongoing subject of discourse since then.

In the nineties, in gender policies the question of environment and development became more and more connected with the question of basic rights: livelihood rights, reproductive rights and environmental justice. A milestone for this was the World Conference on Women in Beijing 1995. The conference interlinked these issues by posing the argument that, globally seen, women are suffering more from poverty. Thus, new issues were raised in Beijing which are also strongly influencing the debate on sustainable production and consumption until today:

- The interdependencies of women's poverty and environmental degradations in their living conditions,
- The important role of women in preserving healthy food and nutrition,
- The preservation of women's traditional knowledge in the face of commercialisation by biotechnological firms,
- The effect of organic pollutants on women's reproductive health.

All these issues are directly or indirectly interconnected with production and consumption patterns as consumers in countries of the global North can influence the conditions of women and workers in the South by buying fair or alternative products and by lobbying against expropriation of people in the South.

Since the World Conference on Women in Beijing 1995, the perspectives on sustainable development have been strongly connected to the debates about globalization and their understanding from a feminist perspective. The interconnection of the two debates became even stronger through the actions and women groups of the "globalization from below"-movement (attac/women). They emphasized the fact, that globalization is a form of world-wide geopolitical restructuring of economic, societal, cultural and socio-political structures, which have strong impacts on the environment and on the living conditions of women. They referred to theories which criticized new forms of the world-wide financial system (Bakker 1994; Young 2002) and which analyzed new forms of spatial segregation in big cities leading to an exclusion from social participation for the people affected. Furthermore they showed that these tendencies of reorganization of urban space according to class/social milieus and ethnicity are characterised by a strong gender-bias (Sassen 1996; Mc Dowell 1997).

Thus, the issue of gender and financial markets, of environmental justice and urban development & poverty were brought into the debate.⁶

To complete the account of the UN activities of the nineties, the Commission on Sustainable Development (CSD) needs to be mentioned, which was introduced in order to monitor and report on implementations of the UNCED (Rio) agreements. Furthermore, the Millennium Development Goals are an important political background, because they defined eight goals⁷ to be achieved by 2015. Goal no. 3 explicitly addresses gender equality (“Promote gender equality and empower women”). These goals are contained in the Millennium Declaration which was adopted by 189 nations and signed by 147 heads of state and governments during the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000.

At the end of the nineties a report was submitted to the Commission of Sustainable Development (CSD) on the subject of “Gender and Sustainable Consumption” (Grover, Hemmati and Flenley 1999) which summarizes the debate and activities of that time. This report already contains main arguments of the debate on gender and sustainable consumption and identifies main gender aspects which are relevant until today: First, the authors state critically that although the issue of sustainable consumption has gained significant importance in international policy, the gender perspective has not really been integrated. With respect to findings on the subject of gender and consumption they argue that there is evidence from developing countries on the different income allocation priorities amongst men and women. Furthermore they present evidence that *more poor and illiterate women* as compared to men have been left out from ‘consumption explosion’ and consumer-related benefits of the nineties. “As result more women lack basic consumer necessities which is a paramount consumer and human right. The principal rights of the consumer – access to essential goods, choice, safety, information, representation, redress, consumer education and a healthy environment – are least attainable by poor women.” (ibid.) They recommend to initiate more research on female headed households because there has been an expansion of this category worldwide. They cite a survey from Japan which shows that elderly people and especially women show the most sustainable lifestyles. In general, they recommend to integrate gender indicators into surveys on sustainable consumption and to conduct surveys which give more information on consumption behaviour of different social groups by considering ‘social categories’ (based on a disaggregation of gender, age, income, ethnicity and location) within countries and globally.

In 2002, ten years after the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development in Rio de Janeiro, the *World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD)* took place in Johannesburg, South Africa. Although the World Summit was

⁶ The US American government under Clinton picked up the issue of environmental justice and made it a main political objective.

⁷ The eight MDGs are: Goal 1: Eradicate extreme poverty and hunger, Goal 2: Achieve universal primary education, Goal 3: Promote gender equality and empower women; Goal 4: Reduce child mortality; Goal 5: Improve maternal health ; Goal 6: Combat HIV/AIDS, malaria and other diseases; Goal 7: Ensure environmental sustainability; Goal 8: Develop a Global Partnership for Development



prepared carefully by women's networks, NGOs and within some European governments (Hemmati and Gardiner 2002; NRO FrauenForum ed. 2002; BMU 2002) the 'output' of the conference was disappointing for gender lobby organizations because the conference did not agree on an obligatory action plan. Instead, the WSSD agreed on a Plan of Action which supports the development of a 10-Year Framework of Programs (10YFP) on sustainable consumption and production. This global process, which is led by UNEP (United Nations Environment Programme) and UN-DESA (United Nations – Department of Economic and Social Affairs), is called the Marrakech Process because that is where the first meeting took place.

The Marrakech process is accompanied by the *UN Women Caucus* which is the institutionalized body of women represented as a Major Group in CSD (the UN Commission of Sustainable Development).⁸ Women Caucus commented most of the COP-meetings which are dealing with specific topics of the Marrakech process. The last as well as the next COP⁹ are dedicated to Climate Change.

Climate Change is the 'big theme' in the new century (see: Koordinationen for Könnsforskning – The Coordination for Gender Studies, Copenhagen, 2009; Women's Environmental Network and the National Federation of Women's Institutes 2007). Within the theoretical approach of adaptation and mitigation which was brought in by global change research, new thematic issues came up such as the debate on 'gender and natural disasters', floods, drought, desertification and deforestation. A new internationally operating NGO-network "*GenderCC – Women for Climate Justice*" is observing and supporting the political processes on climate change since COP9 in Milan (2003). It aims to integrate *gender justice* into climate change policy at local, national and international levels.

Insights into the stage of this debate is provided by an interactive panel of experts on "Gender perspectives on climate change" which was organized for the 52nd session of the UN Commission on the Status of Women, 25 February – 7 March 2008. The panel concludes that "There are important gender perspectives in all aspects of climate change. Gender inequalities in access to resources, including credit, extension services, information and technology, must be taken into account in developing mitigation activities. Adaptation efforts should systematically and effectively address gender-specific impacts of climate change in the areas of energy, water, food security, agriculture and fisheries, biodiversity and ecosystem services, health, industry, human settlements, disaster management, and conflict and security. Women make up a large number of the poor in communities that are highly dependent on local natural resources for their livelihood and are disproportionately vulnerable to and affected by climate change. Women's limited access to resources and decision-making processes increases their

⁸ The UN Women Caucus was led by the international Women, the Environment and Development Organisation (WEDO) until 2007. Since then other women activist and lobby groups are leading the CSD-Women network.

⁹ Last COP was The United Nations Climate Change Conference, Poznań, Poland, – COP 14, 1-12 December 2008. The next COP 15 will be on 7 – 18 December 2009 in Copenhagen: the next UN Climate Change Conference.

vulnerability to climate change“. (ibid.) As regards political action some guiding questions were posed, inter alia with respect to the active role of women as agents of change. (United Nations/ Commission on the Status of Women 2008)¹⁰

2.2 EU Policies for Gender Equality

“Gender equality is a fundamental right, a common value in the EU, and a necessary condition for the achievement of the EU objectives of growth, employment and social cohesion“. ¹¹ It defines a core value of European democracy: equality between women and men. As such it refers to two legal strands: International antidiscrimination laws, Human Rights (see above 2.1 CEDAW), and European legislation.

European legislation on gender equality has a long-lasting history. Already the Treaty of Rome, 1957, defined “Equal opportunities and treatment for men and women” and introduced an article on equal pay. ¹² Since then a comprehensive body of EU Directives concerning different gender equality issues was introduced, including the Employment Equality Directive (Directive 2006/54/EC) and the Council Directive 2004/113/EC which defines the principle of equal treatment between men and women in the access to and supply of goods and services (OJ L 373, 21.12.2004 p. 37). The Employment Equality legislation concerns consumption patterns insofar as it refers to the work dimension in consumption patterns and thus, to all forms of the gendered division of labour. The Directive on Equal Access to and Supply of Goods and Services concerns consumption patterns insofar as it regulates the access to markets directly, as for example by prohibiting gender different fee systems for life insurances. Thus, it also refers to the gendered division of labour in a broader sense. Furthermore, EU legislation has broadened EU policy on antidiscrimination and equal opportunities beyond gender since 2000 by introducing the Race Equality Directive (EC/2000/43) and the Employment Equality Directive (EC/2000/78) which prohibits direct and indirect discrimination on the grounds of racial or ethnic origin, religion and belief, disability, age and sexual orientation. Since then, gender equality has been embedded in a broader anti-discrimination perspective of cultural diversity.

In its *Treaty Establishing the European Community*, the Treaty of Amsterdam, 1996/1999, gender equality is defined as: “an equal visibility, empowerment and participation of both sexes in all sphere of public and private life ...” (European Community 1996/99) A key contribution and novelty of the Treaty of Amsterdam is the inclusion of the principle of *gender mainstreaming* which means: “The systematic consideration of

¹⁰ • “What are the major contributions of women as agents of change in mitigation and adaptation to climate change at local levels? What good practice examples exist, and how can these be made more visible and more effectively utilized?” (Commission on the Status of Women 2008)

¹¹ Commission of the European Communities: A Roadmap for equality between women and men 2006-2010, COM(2006)92 final, Brussels 01.3.2006

¹² Article 119 of the Treaty of Rome 1957 introduced the principle of equal pay for women and men in equal work



the differences between the conditions, situations and needs of women and men in all Community policies and actions (...)." (ibid.)

The strategic and operational level of EU policies concern the EU framework strategies including political goal setting and policy field specific action plans. With respect to gender equality, the overall framework strategy is the *Roadmap of equality between women and men* (COM(2006)92).¹³ It outlines six priority areas including priority actions of EU policy for gender equality for the period of 2006–2010:

- Achieving equal economic independence for women and men,
- Enhancing work, private and family life
- Promoting equal participation of women and men in decision-making
- Eradicating gender-based violence and trafficking
- Eliminating gender stereotypes in society
- Promoting of gender equality outside the EU.

Although the policy goals of the *Framework Strategy of Gender Equality* are intended to be introduced into all different policy fields (cross-sector approach), the actual process of implementation greatly varies due to the complex structure of the different EU policy fields. Thus, it is depending on policy field specific action plans how these goals will be included (see chapter 4.1 on the EU Renewed Strategy for Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Consumption and Production and the Sustainable Industrial Policy Action Plan).

Gender reporting, gender indicators and the question of data and statistics

Finally, *gender reporting* has to be mentioned as an important means of evaluating progress in gender policies and of designing new policy actions. The annual current state of societal gender relations, specified by selected *gender indicators*, is given regularly by the annual *Gender equality reports* of the EU (Commission of the European Communities 2006, European Commission 2008a). These gender reports provide detailed insights into problems of gender inequalities as for example the persisting 'gender pay gap' which has a strong influence on consumption patterns on an individual level insofar as the amount of income provides or restricts access to markets, goods and services (see chapter 3). Though the EU has made great efforts to improve the data base of gender statistics, a general lack of gender disaggregated data is seen as a severe obstacle for achieving more gender equality in Europe.

¹³ In line with the Roadmap, the European Council approved the European Pact for Gender Equality in March 2006, this Pact also reflects the Member States' determination to implement policies aimed at promoting gender equality.

2.3 Conclusion

To sum up: Overall goals of gender policies are antidiscrimination, human rights and women's rights. On a normative level the objective of environmental justice/climate justice is linked to unequal gender relations as women – globally seen – suffer more from poverty. Poverty eradication and empowerment of women are treated as overall political goals for action. Participatory decision-making including women and empowerment of women and men are demanded. As regards political action, the issue of unhumane working conditions and women work in the global production chain are brought into the debate by different civil society groups.

Furthermore, the acknowledgement of the important role of women in maintaining healthy food and nutrition and more generally concerning all questions related to health and reproductive health are brought into political actions by UN women policies and CSOs.

Gender debates and gender policies are linking the question of sustainable consumption and sustainable lifestyles to the question of *livelihood rights, good livelihood and everyday life*. A study which was elaborated for the UN at the end of the nineties on 'Gender and Sustainable Consumption' proved that poor and illiterate women, because of their economic vulnerability, lack access to essential goods, choice, safety, information, representation, redress, consumer education and a healthy environment. It showed evidence of different income allocation priorities amongst men and women and demanded more research on female headed households. These are key gender aspects of sustainable consumption until today.

Currently, gender policies are linking the question of sustainable production and consumption patterns to the risks of climate change and the issue of economic and physiological vulnerability. In this context, the role of financial markets is seen critically. With respect to climate change, empowerment and participation of women in decision-making are demanded. Women are addressed with respect to their active role as change agents in mitigation and adaptation to climate change (on a local level and beyond).

EU gender policy is based on a cross-sector approach which means that the core value of gender equality has to be implemented into all fields of EU policies. It is based on the overall strategy of 'gender mainstreaming' which means "The systematic consideration of the differences between the conditions, situations and needs of women and men in all Community policies and actions". Priority areas of action are defined in a framework strategy, which currently is the *Roadmap of equality between women and men* (2006 – 2010). The *Roadmap* does not explicitly address the issue of sustainable production and consumption. However, with its strong focus on employment and working conditions the *Roadmap* refers to gender issues which are indirectly linked to consumption patterns. Its sixth goal of 'Promotion of gender equality in external and development policies' refers to working and living conditions of women and men in the developing countries and thus to the goals of international and UN gender policies.

Focussing on the gender dimension of sustainable consumption patterns has consequences on two levels: firstly on a normative level of defining sustainability and secondly on a strategic level of political action for sustainable production and consumption patterns which is defined and implemented through strategies and SC instruments.

The first perspective is dealing with the promotion of gender equality. That means it analyzes whether the issue of gender equality is integrated into sustainability strategies and SC instruments. In contrast, the second perspective is dealing with the implementation of sustainability. Thus, women and men as (different) agents and their societal limits to contribute to (more) sustainability is focused on.

This perspective of implementing sustainability is emphasized in the current debate on climate change and disaster management. Women are not seen as a vulnerable group per se but as being dependent on concrete economic and social situations. Instead, it is demanded to promote the active role of women as agents of change with respect to mitigation and adaptation to climate change. The following list summarizes the gender aspects of sustainable consumption which are mentioned predominantly in international an EU wide debates:

Gender aspects of sustainable production and consumption which are highlighted in international and EU debate:

International and UN gender policies have identified a series of issues which are viewed as highly interlinked with unequal gender relations on a global scale:

- The issue of unhumane working conditions and women work in the global production chain
- The issue of women's role in maintaining healthy food and nutrition
- The issue of defense of traditional knowledge against commercialisation by biotechnological firms
- Health issues in general and issues of reproductive health (including the issue of organic pollutants and its effects on women's reproductive health)
- The issue of different physical and economic vulnerability of women and men in global change/ climate change and disaster management
- The issue of social vulnerability of poor women and their dependence of financial markets

In general, international and UN gender policies are linking the question of sustainable consumption to the question of good livelihood and everyday life.

In order to promote sustainable consumption the following gender issues should be considered:

- Different income allocation priorities amongst men and women

Policies to Promote Sustainable Consumption Patterns

- Female headed households
- Consumption behaviour of different social groups by considering 'social categories' (based on a disaggregation of gender, age, income, ethnicity and location)
- The issue of gender stereotyping and sexual objectification in advertising

In the same way as international gender policies, EU gender policies also relate to the issues of women in employment and working conditions, of women and poverty eradication, of elimination of sexual violence and trafficking of human beings and to issues of everyday life and health.

More specifically EU gender policies address (priority goals for action in the Roadmap of equality between women and men, 2006 - 2010):

- The demand of an increase of women and elder workers in the labour market
- The issue of increasing the number of women entrepreneurs
- The issue of demography and migration
- The issue of combating multiple discrimination, in particular against female immigrants and women belonging to ethnic minority groups
- The issue of work–life balance and flexible working arrangements for both women and men
- The issue of eliminating gender stereotypes in education, training and culture, in the labour market and in the media

All these issues are 'gender aspects of sustainable consumption' in the sense that they are somewhat relevant for global and European production and consumption patterns. The next chapter describes gender aspects of sustainable consumption in more detail and with reference to a narrower understanding of sustainable consumption.



3 Understanding Gender Aspects in Sustainable Consumption

In this chapter, we will examine key gender aspects of consumption. These aspects provide the basis for a conceptual framework with which to assess the impact of sc instruments from a gender perspective. In our theoretical reasoning we refer especially to the debate on political consumerism in political sciences' gender studies and to approaches of everyday life practices and consumption in sociology and economic consumer research. Taking stock of these ongoing debates, we will highlight some critical insights on how consumption patterns of men and women differ and how these differences are shaped by gender relations, both on an individual and on a structural level. Drawing on statistical data and on own empirical research, we will then take a closer look at the need areas of feeding/nutrition and domestic energy use which form the research focus of the eupopp-project. To what extent do consumption patterns of women and men differ within these fields? What are the implications of these differences as regards sustainable consumption? The chapter ends up with a list of 'gender aspects of sustainable consumption' which is the basis for our discussion of how to consider gender aspects in sc instruments and strategies in chapter 4.

3.1 Gender Aspects and Dimensions – Towards an Analytical Framework

Gender dimensions

Gender differences shape the life situation of women and men at various levels. They appear at the level of values, role models, personal identity and expectations as well as at the level of rules, practices and institutional arrangements which structure social relations and everyday life. In order to assess gender impacts of policies and instruments, gender researchers have elaborated an analytical framework encompassing the following dimensions (Verloo/Roggeband 1996; Schultz et al. 2001, 2003):

- The gendered division of labour
- The body, health and the societal organisation of intimacy
- Empowerment and access to decision making

This framework represents a generalized model of gender dimensions in societal relations to nature. It provides an analytical tool that can be applied to explore gender relations in different fields of investigation. In the following sections we will first introduce the dimensions of the framework which will then be applied to the field of consumption in order to identify gender aspects of consumption practices. We will then explore how these aspects are linked to the three dimensions. The resulting set of gender aspects serves as an input to develop a framework to assess the impacts of sc policies and instruments from a gender perspective (see chapter 4).

First gender dimension: Gendered division of labour

In the following we will take a closer look at the different dimensions. In gender research the gendered division of labour is a key concept. It refers to “norms, rules and practices in the field of labour, where asymmetrical distinction is produced between women and men, between paid and unpaid labour, between work inside and outside the home, and between male and female tasks and professions.” (Verloo/Roggeband 1996:6)

Indicators in this dimension are closely related to the European Commission’s Roadmap for equality between women and men COM(2006)92 and the Commission’s annual report on gender equality in the EU (EC 2008b).

Among the key indicators are

- *Employment rate gap of men and women**
- *Unemployment rate gap of women and men**
- *The gender pay gap**
- Sectoral and occupational segregation by gender
- Reconciling professional and private life
- *Poverty risk gap** (EC 2008b: 8)

Indicators marked with an asterisk are also included in the EU Renewed Strategy of Sustainable Development (SDS). An additional indicator from the EU SDS related to this dimension is

- *Gender pay gap in adjusted form (theme 3)*

These indicators account for socio-economic differences in the life situations of women and men. However, they do not reflect gender differences in consumption practices and the organisation of everyday life. They have to be supplemented by other indicators which are discussed below.

Second gender dimension: The body, health and the societal organisation of intimacy

The concept of intimacy is related to “norms and institutions around sexuality, extending to the social organisation of personal relationships, procreation and motherhood.” (Verloo/Roggeband 1996:6) Gender aspects in this dimension refer to questions of health, reproductive health, bodily needs and physical vulnerability.

Feminist environmental studies about risk perception and disaster research show that the issue of vulnerability is very important (Seltmann 2004). Standards of environmental regulation, have for example in many cases and for a long time referred to an average, healthy male human being. They did not take the special vulnerability of pregnant women, children or the elderly into account (Schultz 1987). Gender studies in

disaster research state that natural disasters imply gender impacts as well. Women and girls are more often than men affected by injuries, fractures and diseases in the follow-up of disasters. Furthermore, more sexual violence and violations were observed in the contexts of catastrophes (Seltmann 2004). In the field of consumption this dimension is closely related to the role of women as providers and to health issues and well-being.

The EU Renewed Strategy for Sustainable Development includes the overall perspective of *well-being* including public health and contains two indicators on public health and gender:

- *Healthy life-year's and life expectancy at age 65 by gender*
- *Suicide death rate by gender*

Obviously, these indicators are neither linked directly to the field of consumption nor do they cover the above mentioned gender aspects within this dimension appropriately.

Third gender dimension: Empowerment and participatory decision-making

A third dimension is related to unequal power relations between the two sexes. It addresses the unequal access of women to decision making in research and development, technical design and politics. Indicators in this dimension related to the Commission's annual report on gender equality in the EU (EC2008b) are:

- Share of women in science and engineering professions
- Share of women in national parliaments
- Share of women among managers in enterprises and administrations

No indicators of the EU renewed SDS apply to gender aspects in this dimension. However, this gender dimension is basic for an understanding of the 'doing' of political instruments and refers to the distinction between the level of content of instruments and its political-institutional level of making, implementing and controlling. This gender dimension opens access to a theoretical understanding of "gender responsiveness to SC strategies and instruments". In the following paragraph this will be explained in more detail.

3.2 The Debate on Political Consumption as a Theoretical Foundation of 'Gender Responsiveness to sc instruments'

What role can consumers play to promote sustainable consumption? Do women and men exercise this role differently? How do political tools and instruments which try to promote sustainable consumption address the roles of consumers?

In order to focus on gender aspects by addressing the political dimension of consumption, an understanding of consumption in the frame of categories of gender studies within political sciences is helpful. Here, a brief discussion of the basic concepts of the

public and the private in modern thinking is needed, as for a long time major theoretical assumptions about consumption have ignored the active contribution of consumption to politics and society because of its private character. The outdated stereotypes mainly veiled the active role of women in political participation, but in a certain way also the active role of all consumers. Since in modern thinking the consumption sphere has been linked to the 'women's sphere' according to the dichotomous division of society into a public and a private sphere (Bethke Elshtain 1981), consumption and thus consumers were 'feminized'.

This is a very brief description of a main axis in modern western thinking that needed hundreds of years to come up in European societies and of which the analysis has filled libraries on gender studies by now. Within modern thinking the idealized assumption considers consumption as a private activity which has no value in monetary economy in contrast to production as a basic contribution to monetary economy and to the public sphere. Obviously, this dichotomous model of modern thinking was highly gendered. Thus, a whole series of feminist debates and gender studies concentrated from the very beginning of the second feminist movement in the seventies on showing how and why private issues as body politics and family politics are *political issues* (Lilith Frauenbuchladen ed. 1976; Bock/Duden 1976). Above all, they unmasked the myth of 'the male breadwinner' and 'the female consumer' functioning as ideological stereotypes which block gender equality in housework and employment (Hans 1990; Schultz 1994; Krondorfer/Mostböck, Carina ed. 2000; Dackweiler/Hornung 2003; Schultz 2003). Since then, detailed gender studies on money and consumption have elaborated the indispensable contribution of *consumption work* for the dominating money economy and its essential contribution to society's wellbeing. Above all, detailed (case) studies on paid and unpaid women work in different cultural and historical contexts elaborated the important political impact of consumption work and everyday life on economy and society (Becker-Schmidt 2002).

This line of arguments was taken up and specified with respect to the upcoming debate on political consumption by gender studies in political sciences at the end of the nineties. Particularly, the work of Michele Micheletti on this subject has to be mentioned (Micheletti 1999; Micheletti 2003; Micheletti/Stolle 2005; Boström et al. 2005). By discussing the political character of consumer behaviour with respect to environmental-friendly products and gender auditing, Micheletti showed the political impact of consumer behaviour. Without repeating here her carefully exposed concepts in detail, one can say that she analyzed new emerging forms of consumption within the political sciences' categories of collective action, political participation and citizenship. Whereas traditionally in public choice studies consumerism has been seen as counterproductive to citizenship Micheletti developed a theoretical perspective on consumerism as political participation and presented consumers as political actors in the frame of citizen action.

This is insofar important for discussing sc instruments as with the focus on the role of *consumer-citizens* a main question as regards political instruments will be: How do these instruments address consumers as citizen? And by doing so: How do they reflect

the gendered character of citizenship (Lister 2007)? And at the end: How do consumers – women citizens and men citizens – react to these instruments?

Having a closer look on societal self-interpretations and citizens' roles from a gender perspective shows that a simple analysis of sex differences (statistics on women and men) is not sufficient, though it is important in order to gain insight into the relationally gendered structures of consumption patterns (see next paragraph). Reflecting the socially constructed division of gender roles and social responsibilities implies a critical handling with gendered stereotypes as women in the exclusive role of responsible 'carers' and men as responsible 'breadwinners'.¹⁴

According to Micheletti the overall change in political theory from a government to a governance-perspective leads to a *new understanding of institutional responsibility for the citizens' well-being* which should consequently find its expression in a new understanding of citizen action. Feminist scholars already developed the argument that participating in politics is no longer limited to involvement in political parties and civil society organizations. Instead, they proved that politics take place at the everyday-level of everyone's life. Thus, this kind of scientific analysis fits well with all consumption research which is related to everyday life (Shove, Spargaaren, Röpke, Reisch).

Micheletti developed further the understanding of citizen-consumers specifically to women as consumers exemplifying it by the example of 'positive consumerism', which she illustrated with the *White Label Campaign*. This campaign was initiated by women in the US and took place already in the end of the 19th century:

"The White Label Campaign of the National Consumers' League is a historic example of positive consumerism. It was not a boycott or negative consumerism (IFF and Elsam 1996, 8-9) but a campaign to encourage citizens to buy goods produced by certain companies over others. It took place in the United States between 1898 and 1919. The author of the study, historian Kathryn Kisli Sklar, does not use the concept political consumer or political consumerism, but it is clear that the labeling campaign fits this phenomenon well. She states that the campaign not only empowered consumers to speak for the welfare of their communities but gave women consumers the ability to exercise moral and political power that was formerly reserved for clergymen, businessmen, and labor leaders (Sklar 1998, 18). The new general secretary of the National Consumer's League, Florence Kelley, was the social movement entrepreneur behind the idea. She wanted to focus the organization's attention towards the relationship between consumption and production rather than consumption and distribution, the relationship which has traditionally interested consumer cooperatives.

In ways similar to contemporary projects, the League developed an official label that it registered in 1899. Companies had to qualify to use the label on their products and in their advertising. The manufacturer had to submit to an inspection and meet the mini-

¹⁴ This attempt to avoid gendered stereotypes in instruments and the ways to implement them contains a 'paradoxical circle' which is often discussed in gender research: How to address gender and gender aspects without consolidating gendered stereotypes? We will come back to this question in our last chapter.

imum standards set up by the League. Three of the first steps in the campaign were building up a grassroots movement, locating factories already worthy of the label, and choosing the depth and breadth of the campaign. Kelley made the strategic decision to target a few manufactured products on a nationwide scale. (The other option was to narrow down the geographic scope and target a larger number of goods.) She also considered it wise to mobilize middle class rather than working class women since these women had the economic means to organize their purchasing power more effectively. Simply put, they bought more and had the time and resources to become ethical consumers. The goods chosen for labeling were women's and children's machine-made white cotton underwear-- products which were purchased frequently. Different manufacturers made these products so it was possible for women to make a choice among brand names." (Micheletti 1999: 11).

The example demonstrates that particularly women and housewives were – and still are as numerous studies show – predominantly involved in political consumerism. Furthermore, the example makes evident that the strategies used in the past to organize citizen-consumers to achieve their goals do not greatly differ from the ones of today. In contrast to an understanding of consumption as an individualized private action, political consumption can be understood as a kind of individualized collective action (Micheletti 1999: 16).

This understanding helps to define the concept of 'individual level factors' in the eupopp-project. Individual level factors in consumption also address this kind of 'individualized collective actions'. It means an ethically or politically motivated orientation on consumption actions which include individual and collective changes with reference to institutional or market practices. With this perspective, consumer choices and consumer actions and in a broader sense consumers' activities are focussed on. Against this background, we are talking about political consumerism "when people engage in boycotts, 'buycotts' or in discourse about market practices with the aim of using the market to vent their political concerns, they are said to engage in the act of political consumerism. The narrow definition of political consumerism is therefore the consumer choice of producers and products based on political and/or ethical considerations." (Micheletti/Follesdal/Stolle 2003)

Political consumers choose particular producers or products because they want to change institutional or market practices. They make their choices based on considerations of justice or fairness or on an assessment of business and government practices (Stolle/Micheletti 2005:1).¹⁵ That is why surveys on attitudes and values of consumer-citizens and their orientations on sustainability and sustainable consumption practices are highly informative to understand the effects of sc instruments.

Women are very active in this kind of political market activities, which are in fact not a new form of activism, particularly in the US. Besides the White Labelling Campaign,

¹⁵ Because of its consciousness of the co-production character of individual and collective action (consumerism), this debate on gender and political consumption goes beyond the debate on 'green consumerism'.

Stolle and Micheletti quote the examples of the anti-sweatshop labelling scheme of that time, which called on American women to buy cotton underwear for themselves and their children that was certified 'sweatshop free'. In the 1960s, the United Farm Workers successfully employed consumer boycotts to put pressure on Californian farmers and landowners. African-Americans have also used the market as an arena for racial politics. They repeatedly incited boycotts to further the civil rights movement, with the Montgomery Bus Boycott as the best-known case. In the 1970s and 1980s boycotts were used as a tool in the worldwide campaign against the Apartheid regime in South Africa. Part of the globalisation movement deliberately uses consumer behaviour as a political tool (Stolle/Micheletti *ibid.*:1).

With this in mind, the historic example of 'White Labelling Campaign' and the debate on political consumption create sensitivity for the political-institutional level of the making of an instrument. Not only criteria used by and targets communicated through SC instruments contain gender aspects. This is just the level of content. Also the procedural and institutional level of design and implementing instruments has to be reflected upon with respect to gender aspects. A key question as regards the institutional level of instruments would be: How are women and men involved in the design, decision-making and implementation of the instrument? Do they participate differently? Do they have different access to decision-making processes and the design of the instrument? How does the institutional setting of the implementation of an instrument take gender aspects into account?

This kind of gender aspects are related to the gender dimension 'empowerment and participatory decision-making of women and men'. They concern participation of women and men as consumer-citizens in the design and control of sc instruments:

- Empowerment of women and men as consumer citizens
- Participation of women and men in implementation of sc instruments in all stages of the policy cycle
- Access for women/men as citizen-consumers to decision-making
- Participation of consumer-citizens in institutional setting of implementation.

3.3 Trends and indicators related to gender aspects of consumption in everyday life

Consumption and everyday life

In order to gain a perspective on 'gender responsiveness to sc instruments' the procedural perspective on 'making and implementing sc instruments' must be combined with a perspective on which contents are addressed by the instruments and how do citizen-

consumers respond to it. This demands an analytics focus on everyday life and consumption research.¹⁶

In consumer research and policy, it has become common to view consumption as a complex process, including the stages of purchase, use and disposal. Moving beyond a narrow economic perspective, consumption is defined not only in relation to market choice, but is seen as a whole set of activities, including “selection, purchase, use, maintenance, repair and disposal of any product or service” (OECD 2002: 16). In gender studies which are related to sustainable consumption and production specifically the ‘use phase’ is focused on (Weller 2004).

This shift of perspective offers a more comprehensive focus on the consumption process and gives way to investigating into how consumption practices like heating or eating are embedded into everyday life. Moreover, it provides a promising starting point to link the debate in gender and consumer research to the study of the environmental impacts of consumption and to investigate via life cycle analysis or the analysis of material flows how the different stages of the consumption process are linked to the use of environmental resources.

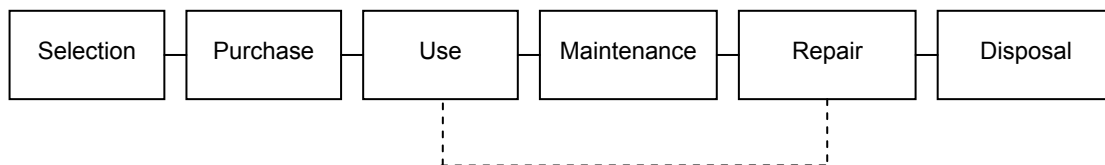


Figure 1: Different stages of the consumption process

Consumption activities, like eating, heating, or bathing are closely related to the way in which people organize their everyday lives (Cogoy 1999, Shove 2003). Like other social practices, these consumption practices are more or less institutionalized collective phenomena, being governed by habits and routines rather than by deliberate and rational choice (Giddens 1984, Stieß/Hayn 2006). “Ordinary consumption” (Gronow/Warde 2001) emerges at the interplay of socio-technical systems of provision and conventions. It is framed by routines, normalised expectations, personal values and attitudes as well as by the dictates of convention and public interests (Spargaaren 2004, Shove 2004).

As sociologists point out, consumption practices are not performed in isolation, but are embedded in a social context. The way we consume is framed by the context of households, family and community life (Jurczyk 2002, Schultz/Stieß 2008). To a certain extent, multi-person households can be regarded as “communities of provision”, in which everyday life is organized collectively and goods and services are jointly used.

¹⁶ A more detailed comprehensive discussion of different theoretical approaches on sustainable consumption is elaborated in working package 1 of eupopp, see Heiskannen et al. 2009

As a consequence, consumption cannot be conceived on an individual level alone, but has to be examined as an outcome of social processes. Sociologists have argued, that on a micro-level, the organisation of everyday life is characterized by an ongoing negotiation of needs, preferences and interests between the different household members. From this perspective, the way how different tasks and duties are assigned within a household turns out to be a fragile and arbitrary outcome of these negotiations (Kaufmann 1992). Moreover, on a macro-level, consumption is linked to structural factors, like participation in the labour market and the distribution and income. These structural factors play an important role, because they determine the financial resources and the scope of consumption and mark out the setting for the organisation of everyday life.

Gendered consumption patterns in consumer research

In consumer research, it has been repeatedly stated that consumption practices are not gender neutral and that consumption is a gendered process (Costa 1994; Horowitz /Mohun 1998). Women represent the largest group of shoppers, because they make the purchasing choices of everyday life items. They are involved in the entire consumption cycle of choosing, buying, using and disposing both for themselves and for others (Grunert-Beckmann 1997: 625). Consumer surveys show, that women and men have differing consumption patterns. Together with income, age and household size, gender is a determining factor for consumer behaviour.

Gendered consumption patterns: indicated by different consumption decisions of women and men in the household

In the UK, according to a study, women take over 80% of the consumer decisions (Mawle 1996; Vajpayi 1996), while men may spend more than 80% of household funds (OECD 2008: 47). In Finland, a survey with 500 families consisting on two adults and children (80% of the women and 88% of the men with paid employment) showed similar results: "Couples decided together on expensive purchases such as durables and an apartment. Furthermore, they were rather traditional in their decision-making. The men's influence was the greatest when the families purchased cars, computers and televisions. The women's area in the decision-making was furnishing and food. Entertainment consumption was most often decided between all family members together." (Raijas 2007: 5)

These differences are due to a variety of reasons. On an individual level, they reflect personal attitudes, beliefs, values and expectations. On a structural level they are related to different time-use and work duties of women and men and on gendered biographic patterns. The differing life situations of women and men are explained prevalently by the gendered division of labour, assigning the responsibility for housework and caring activities rather to women than to men.

As a consequence, consumption patterns of women and men cannot be understood independently of their tasks and work duties, both in the market and at home. In the

past decades, European countries were subject to a far reaching socio-economic transformation being characterized by an increasing participation of women in the labour market (Eurostat 2008). Within this process, traditional gender roles eroded and more participatory models of gender arrangements within families emerged in many European countries. However, it remains to be explored to what extent this transformation also led to changes in the organization of everyday life and related consumption practices.

Against this background, differing consumption patterns of men and women will be discussed more detailed in the following section. But before we do so, we will take a closer look at the background of everyday life consumption. We present some indicators, accounting for the socio-economic situation of women and men in the European Union.

Explanatory factor: Different socio-economic situation of women and men

Within the past decades the socio-economic situation of women in the EC has dramatically changed. Employment of women increased significantly and the traditional gendered division of labour, assigning paid labour to men and unpaid housework to women eroded to a certain extent. Despite these transformations the employment patterns and social-economic situation of men and women still differ considerably.

- *Employment:* The proportion of men of working age in employment exceeds that of women throughout Europe. In the EU-25 as a whole, some 72% of men aged 15–64 were in paid employment in 2006 as compared with just over 57% of women in the same age group. The proportion of women of working age in employment varied from just over 73% in Denmark and just under 71% in Sweden to just over 46% in Italy and only 35% in Malta (Eurostat 2008: 53).
- *Work time:* Considerably more women in employment than men work *part-time hours*. In the EU as a whole, almost 94% of men usually worked 35 hours or more a week in 2005 compared to 64% of women (Eurostat 2008: 84).
- *Wages:* Across the EU as a whole, average gross hourly earnings of women (those between 16 and 64 years old and working 15 hours or more a week) were, on average, 15% below those of men in 2005. Women earn less than men in all Member States and in 2005 in six countries — Germany, Estonia, Cyprus, Slovakia, Finland and the UK – the gap was 20% or more (Eurostat 2008: 93).
- *Risk of poverty:* Women of working age are slightly more likely than men to live in households at risk of poverty than men, defined as having an equivalized disposable income of below 60% of the national median. In 2005, an average of 15% of women aged 16–64 in the EU-25 had an equivalized disposable income below this threshold as opposed to 14% of men. Although there are marked variations in these figures across the Union, in 16 EU Member States the proportion of women with an income below the poverty threshold was larger than that of men (Eurostat 2008: 91). In all but five EU Member States – Lithuania, Hungary, Poland, Romania and

Finland, the relative number of women living in a low income household was either the same or larger than that of men. Women living alone with a dependent child are especially vulnerable. In 2005, some 32% of single parents in EU-25 countries, almost all of whom were women, had an income which placed them at risk of poverty, the proportion being over 25% in all Member States except the three Nordic countries and Slovenia (Eurostat 2008: 91).

These key indicators account for persisting socio-economic gender differences in the EC. They also have direct and indirect implications on consumption patterns. They are closely connected to the equipment with financial resources, influence the personal time use and account for the different socio-economic vulnerability of men and women. These indicators, thus, can be used to account for critical gender aspects of consumption.

3.3 Findings as regards gender differences in consumption/ sustainable consumption

Consumption expenditure and income allocation

Consumption expenditures can be used as an indicator to measure consumption patterns of men and women. Although there is a bulk of statistical data on consumption expenditure throughout the EU (Eurostat 2005), budgets are usually assigned to “household behaviour” and are not disaggregated by sex. In only few countries, e.g. Sweden and the UK disaggregated statistical data on per capita consumption expenditures of men and women for 2004 are available. The following example is drawn from Sweden (SEAC 2007) (see table 1).

Expenditure in SEK/capita 2004			
Type	Men	Women	Men's consumption as a share of women's
Eating out	2 010	1 370	3/2
Alcohol	360	160	2.5/1
Tobacco	620	380	2/1
Consumer goods	190	820	1/4
– (incl. hygiene)	40	800	1/20
Household services	620	1 220	1/2

Clothing and shoes	3 010	4720	2/3
Health and medical care	1 470	2450	2/3
Transport	1 350	740	3/2
– of which car repairs and maintenance	670	380	2/1
Leisure-time activities	2 800	2 650	1/1
– of which sport	1 350	970	3/2
– books, newspapers, TV licence	430	690	2/3

Table 1: Consumption per type of expenditure in Sweden (SEAC 2007) (quoted from Johnsson-Latham 2007: 39)

The statistical data show that in Sweden women spend more than men on consumer goods, including hygiene, health and clothing. Men are more likely to eat out than women, consume more alcohol and tobacco, and spend more on transport and sport (SEAC 2007). These data show that women have different income allocation preferences than men. Not only in so-called developing countries, as Menati and Grover stated in 1999, but also in European (Nordic) countries women spend their financial resources more for basic essentials than men do. They buy more frequently basic essentials such as food, clothing and household articles, while men tend to buy expensive capital goods such as homes, cars and electronics. Obviously, despite the high participation of women in the labour market, gendered patterns of organisation of everyday life and consumption still persist.

These data illustrate that consumption expenditures are unequally distributed between men and women. They also show that the role of men and women varies depending on the respective consumption area. Some consumption areas, like health and nutrition, are more closely connected to women. Others, like car dependent transport are more closely connected to men.

Summing up, we can conclude that women make a lot of purchases that have a direct impact on resource use and climate change, including food, clothing and household goods. As household managers, they play a key role to controlling a considerable share of carbon emissions that are produced in the home. They are, thus, key actors for sustainable consumption strategies (WEN 2007).

Unfortunately, empirical gender disaggregated data are not available for every consumption area to the same extent. Some areas, like transport and mobility are better explored (e.g. Linden et al. 1999) than gendered income allocation for example nutrition or domestic energy use.

Statistics on gender disaggregated consumption expenditures are an important tool to account for different income allocation preferences of men and women. However, they provide only limited insight into the consumption process. Consumption expenditures are related to the act of purchase, but they don't provide information of how these goods and services are used and by whom. Taking household appliances for example, environmental impacts do not only depend on the product's technical properties, but are also influenced by the way these appliances are used. To a certain extent, multi person households can be regarded as communities of provision, where goods and services are consumed collectively. From this perspective, expenditure is an indicator for the distribution of responsibility for decision making within a household. However, it would be misleading to take expenditure as the only indicator to assign the environmental impact of a washing machine or a refrigerator to a certain household member.

Time Use for Consumption

Time budget surveys provide another source of information to assess the responsibility for different consumption activities within a household. In Germany, for example the amount of time involved for housework clearly differs between women and men. Comparing time use patterns for unpaid work in Germany, salient differences between men and women become visible. According to the time budget survey 2000/2001 women perform nearly 31 hours of unpaid work a week, clearly exceeding the amount of unpaid work done by men (19 ½ hours). By far the largest part of time is absorbed by „housework and gardening“, including cooking, doing the dishes, cleaning the home, repairing and washing clothes, attending to animals and plants (see figure 2). Women spend 63% of their unpaid work time on these activities (2 ¾ hours a day), men as little as 46% (1 ¼ hours). The most time-consuming activities in that category are the preparation of meals and the washing of dishes (women 24%; men 14%) and the cleaning of houses or apartments (women 18%; men 15% of the time spent on unpaid work). Washing clothes is almost completely assigned to women: women spend more than half an hour per day on repairing and washing clothes, men not more than 2 minutes. “Shopping and household organization” is another time consuming activity which is unequally distributed between women and men: women spend 51 minutes and men 42 minutes a day. Moreover, women spend more than twice as much time on caring for and looking after children and adult household members. The time exceeds that of men by 26 vs. 12 minutes.

Also in other European countries (Belgium, Estonia, France, Hungary, Slovenia, Finland, Sweden, United Kingdom and Norway) differences between women and men regarding the amount of time used for domestic work become evident. Domestic work includes food management, care for textiles, cleaning and household upkeep, gardening, repairs, shopping and childcare. Whereas the time women spend for these activities ranges from 3:42 hours per day (Sweden) to 5:02 hours per day (Estonia, followed by Hungary and Slovenia), men take from 2:16 hours per day (Finland) to 2:48 hours per day (Estonia). Time spent by women for domestic work hence adds up to 66% of their total time (France) while men use a maximum of 40% daily for household activi-

ties. Regarding the overall percentage of persons being occupied by domestic work per day, the share of women varies from 97 to 98%, compared to 81 (France) to 93% (Norway) of men (Eurostat 2004).

It also becomes apparent, that women and men perform different domestic activities. While women are mainly in charge of general housework and caring, men's activities are rather focussed on maintenance and repair-work. Women spend most time for cooking and cleaning: especially women in Estonia, Hungary and Slovenia spend much of their time for food preparation (1:21 hours, 1:27 hours and 1:25 hours) and for cleaning and upkeep (53 minutes, 47 minutes and 56 minutes). Men use most time for construction and repairs (up to 33 minutes per day in Estonia), cleaning and upkeep (36 minutes per day also in Estonia) and for shopping and services (28 minutes in Germany and 27 minutes in France) (Eurostat 2004).

On the other hand, women invest less time in do-it-yourself activities, in honorary work and in providing unpaid social and informal aid than men (19 minutes compared to 35 minutes of men) (FSO 2006: 42f).

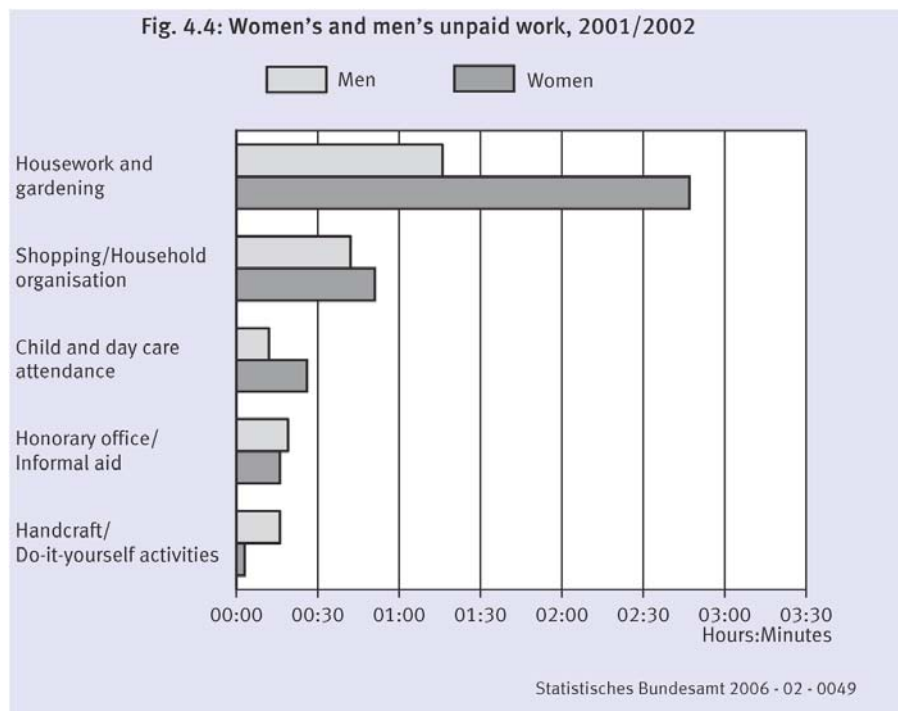


Figure 2: Women's and men's unpaid work in Germany 2001/2002

Time use statistics show convincingly, that use patterns for products and services in everyday life is differing between men and women. Consumption practices related to housework, caring activities and household organization are, at least in Germany, still more closely associated with women. Despite an increasing participation of women in the labour market and the erosion of traditional gender role models, there is a persist-



ing core of housework activities related to the preparation of food, washing and cleaning which is still assigned to women. As a result, women have to find ways to reconcile obligations from job and housework when organising their everyday life. Compared to men, they suffer more from time scarcity and have a less generous access to leisure time.

Time scarcity of women increases in *households with children*. In order to reconcile family obligations with job requirements, employed mothers reduce the time used for paid work. In addition to their jobs, they have to cope with a good 5 ¼ hours of unpaid work a day, of which childcare activities account for 1 ¼ hours. Compared with employed women living in households without children, employed mothers spend more time for paid and unpaid work. They compensate this expenditure by cutting back their leisure time activities and social contacts and even by affording less time for their personal needs (sleeping, eating, personal hygiene): The disposable time, which they have for these activities, is a good half hour shorter per day than that of employed women without children (FSO 2006: 43).

The daily routine of *single mothers with children* is even more characterized by time scarcity and overburdening. Compared with employed women living without children their daily employment is nearly 1 ¾ hours longer. In order to compensate this expenditure, they spend less time with housekeeping activities and they cut down their time for sleeping, eating and personal hygiene by about half an hour (FSO 2006: 44).

Time budget analysis can be directly linked to study the ecological impacts of consumption. Taking time use patterns of different socio-demographic groups in Germany as a starting point, Schaffer (2008) analyzes the personal activities of these groups and their role as producers and beneficiaries of paid and unpaid work in monetary and physical terms. This allows assessing the environmental impact of consumption patterns of men and women and of different age groups. Schaffer concludes that men produce more than twice as much CO₂-emission than women. These differences result from their differing roles in paid and unpaid work. Taking the CO₂-emissions related to the production of private consumption goods, public services and personal activities into consideration, CO₂-emissions of men only slightly exceed those of women (Schaffer 2008: 43).

Against the backdrop of these findings cautiously one can conclude that extensive and long paid working time on the one hand (men) and time scarcity and overburdening with too many responsibilities in paid and unpaid work on the other hand (women) are strong hindering factors for sustainable consumption patterns. But it is not proven that less working hours in paid work and less 'time scarcity' automatically would lead to more sustainable consumption patterns of women and men. This gender aspect has to be seen together with other gender aspects as for example a more equitable division of labour between women and men what could have the additional effect of more communication on 'political consumerism' between the different members of a family/household. Finally, one can assume that the lowering of long employment time and less overburdening is a precondition of more sustainable consumption patterns.

Gender and Sustainable Consumption: Attitudes and behaviour towards sustainable consumption

Studies and surveys in Germany and other European countries show that women are significantly more aware of environmental issues and are more health oriented than men. This tendency is reflected in women's consumption patterns. Men seem to be more technically oriented and are more risk friendly and less prevention oriented. In general a study undertaken by the ISOE in Germany shows that in many cases women's attitude and orientations were more open to sustainable consumption strategies than men (Empacher et al. 2000; Schultz et al. 2003). A Swedish study shows that they are likely to have less resource intensive and more sustainable lifestyles (Johnson-Latham 2006).

In empirical studies on environmental awareness and behaviour in industrialised countries, gender differences have been repeatedly identified:

- Women tend to have a higher environmental awareness than men (for Germany: Kuckartz 2000; Preisendörfer 1999, for Finland: Niva et al. 1997); but they tend to feel less informed about environmental risks and the impacts of climate change (EC 2008; Weber 2008).
- Women show a higher engagement and a greater willingness to act to preserve the environment and to take personal action to mitigate climate change (EC 2008). They tend to advocate changes in life-styles and consumption behaviour, whereas men favoured more technological solutions for mitigating greenhouse gas emissions (WEN 2007; Eurostat 2008).
- Women are more sceptical regarding new technologies and their potential impacts and risks (Kuckartz 2000; Seltmann 2004).

When it comes to determining important socio-demographic variables that influence environmental behaviour and consciousness, it has been shown for Germany that gender is even more relevant than age, income or any other socio-economic variable (cf. Preisendörfer 1999).

Gender differences also can be identified at the different stages of the consumption process:

- Women pay more attention to eco-labels when purchasing products. In Germany 42% of women look out for the Blue Angel (compared to 33% of men) (BMU 2008). In Sweden, statistics indicate that the group that focuses attention on eco-labelling and sustainable purchasing includes some of the poorest members of society: single mothers (SEAC 2007).
- Women also pay closer attention in their purchases to ethical issues such as child labour and fair trade. (Nyberg and Sto n.d.).
- Women consume in a more environmentally friendly manner (shown for Germany, Finland, Sweden, e.g Preisendörfer 1998, Niva et al. 1997):
 - They buy more environmentally sound products,



- They buy more organic food (OECD 2008),
- They eat less meat,
- Their mobility behaviour is less environmentally harmful: they drive cars less often, they walk more and use public transport more often than men (Johnsson 1997).
- Women also have a higher propensity to recycle as a survey from Germany shows (c.f. table 2)

	Women – General group	Men – General group	Single female households	Single male households
Glass	90%	85%	88%	73%
Food waste	65%	58%	60%	41%
Tin cups	77%	72%	72%	56%
Textiles	69%	63%	67%	47%
Medicaments	68%	66%	68%	52%

Table 2: Gender differences in recycling activities “always recycle those products” (Preisendörfer 1999: 143)

Gender and other socio-demographic factors (intersectionality)

It has often been stated that women as well as men aren't homogenous social groups. Consumption patterns are shaped by the interplay of gender with other socio-demographic factors, attitudes and lifestyle orientations. To recognize these interdependencies is a crucial way to avoid 'generalized gender attributions' and gendered stereotypes.

Empacher et al. (2001) argue that gender is particularly relevant related to specific socio-demographic groups.

- Among them are couples with children under the age of six years which have a particular environmental awareness (Preisendörfer 1999).
- Single mothers with children show a high engagement towards sustainable consumption. Often, however, they cannot put this attitude into practice due to a lack of financial resources.
- Women living alone show a higher awareness for the environment than men in single person households (Empacher et al. 2001: 15).
- A recent study for the UK shows that the resource intensity of consumption patterns varies in different life stages (SEI 2007).

Biographical changes have also gendered implications, because they are related to the organisation of housework and everyday life. For example, in many cases the birth of a child is linked to increasing awareness of health and nutrition issues, and the organisation of everyday life is structured in a more regular way. At the same time a growing concern with health might also lead to increased washing and the use of cleansing agents (Empacher et al. 2001: 196f).

The same empirical survey on ‘Consumption Styles in Germany’ which was conducted on behalf of the German Federal Environmental Agency opened deep insights into *consumers’ motivational backgrounds* of consumption behaviour and attitudes. Four main categories including ten types of consumption styles have been identified which clearly show that motivations differ. One of them is the *compassion for animals*. This is especially true for young consumers and within them for girls. Thus, the identified consumption style of “young disinterested consumers” has been characterized by disinterest in environmental issues, by strong convenience orientation including a hostile attitude against housework, by a dominating preference for action and fun and on low prices. Young women and men (until 25 years) did not show remarkable differences in their orientations with one exception: the young women demonstrated noticeable interest for animal rights and they expressed clearly compassion with animals (Empacher et al. 2002: 103).¹⁷ The findings of the survey on ‘Consumption Styles in Germany’ were analyzed secondarily with respect to the impact of *societal changes in gender roles* on sustainable consumption patterns (Empacher et al. 2002: 182ff). At the end of a more detailed presentation the authors summed up main points of their findings:

- Sustainable consumption practices of women have been found in the consumption fields of nutrition and mobility, and partly in the consumption fields of hygiene in the household, of washing and textiles.
- Across all consumption fields women showed a noticeably stronger orientation towards health, prevalently accompanied with a more holistic understanding of the body.¹⁸
- Women mentioned more often ethical and social criteria in connection with their consumption behaviour: they buy regional products in order to preserve working places. Only men of the ‘rural-traditional consumers’ also mentioned doing this.
- And women in general expressed more frequently compassion for animals and an interest in animal rights. They mentioned critically the exploiting character of produc-

¹⁷ A study on ‘green consumerism’ of young Finnish consumers shows a somehow differentiated picture (Aution Heiskanen and Heinonen 2009). This study tries to explain motivational backgrounds of young consumers with the help of a constructivist approach on communication and identity. The German study avoids this kind explanation.

¹⁸ Interestingly, women of all consumption styles – with the exception of one group – expressed distrust because of health risks against genetically modified organisms in food. The exception was the ‘young disinterested consumers’ which at a whole – young women and men – had no sentence to the issue of GMOs (ibid.).



tion in other countries. Also statements against children's work in the context of buying textiles were made by women (Empacher et al. 2002: 195 -196).

3.4 Gender aspects related to the consumption fields of feeding/nutrition and housing/ energy use

In the following section the consumption areas of nutrition and housing/domestic energy use will be closer investigated. These two consumption areas form the focus of investigation of the eupopp project. Drawing on the findings of the previous sections, we will work out main gender aspects within these two consumption areas.

Feeding, Nutrition and Gender

Feeding is a complex consumption process, linking a bundle of activities, including planning, shopping, storing, preparing, eating, washing dishes and disposing the remnants. In recent decades the socio-economic transformations in European countries resulted in significant changes of nutrition practices in everyday life. The increase of women in the labour force and changing conditions of the working day, with longer distances between the home and the workplace and continuous "9-5" working hours, have created time conflicts for many families, particularly in cases where cooking still is a primary task of women. The evolution of the work and school day in European countries have led to a splintering of the day into many short blocks of time during which multiple tasks must be accomplished. Time budgets have become more individualized within households. While cooking may remain for some households an enjoyable pastime on the weekend, meal preparation time during the working week has dropped steadily. Decisions about what to cook are often made only late in the day increasing consumer demand for food products that are fast and easy to prepare (OECD 2001).

Gendered organisation of meal preparing and nutrition in everyday life

Despite increasing employment of women, work and duties related to everyday life feeding are still predominantly assigned to them. This is especially true for those countries in which a large amount of time is spent on food preparation. Almost all women but considerably less men are engaged in activities related to daily food preparation (Eurostat 2004).

A representative empirical study from Germany carried out by ISOE shows that women are key decision makers and actors throughout the different stages of the nutrition related feeding practices (Stieß/Hayn 2005) (see table 3). About 70 percent of women living in multi-person households reported that the management of organization of nutrition related housework is assigned to them, compared to 10% of men (Stieß/Hayn 2005: 66).

A similar distribution of work between women and men was found related to purchasing groceries. 71% of women reported to be the person in the household who always or almost always makes purchases compared to 6% of men. About 20% of women stated that both partners are engaged in shopping (ibid.).

The preparation of meals is primarily assigned to women (table 3). In two of three households women are cooking daily. Only in 7% of households men are regularly engaged in preparing meals. One of three men reported not to engage in cooking at all, and about 30% stated to cook only once a month. Only three percent of women reported not to cook at all. Catering for guests is also a task which is assigned to women. More than 80% of women report to cook almost always or always for guests, compared to 15% of men (ibid.).

This tendency can also be seen in other European countries: Estonia, Slovenia and Hungary are exemplary for this with an average of 52 to 55 minutes per day used for the preparation of meals and thus marking the largest amount of time throughout the considered countries (Belgium, Germany, Estonia, France, Hungary, Slovenia, Finland, Sweden, United Kingdom and Norway). In those three countries women spend an average of 1:21 hours (Estonia) to 1:27 hours (Hungary) on food preparation, compared to 14 minutes (Hungary) to 22 minutes (Estonia) which is spent by men. This also reflects the share of women and men being engaged in food preparation in these countries: Estonia with 90 % of women and 45% of men, Hungary with 84% of women and 32% of men, and Slovenia with 85% of all women and 33% of all men. In Norway, Sweden and the United Kingdom however, men participate to a higher degree in the preparation of food (66, 64 and 62% of all men and 88%, 87% and 87% of all women) (Eurostat 2004).

	Women	Men
Planning and Organisation	71%	10%
Making (almost) always purchases	71%	6%
Cooking daily	66%	7%
Catering guests	83%	15%

Table 3: Engagement for nutrition related activities in multi-person households

Besides a differing engagement in nutrition related activities, women and men also show differing feeding patterns. Women have a higher concern with health risks from salmonellas, toxic substances or genetic modified organisms. They eat less meat and are more likely to buy organic food than men (Stieß/Hayn 2005; Stieß 2004), while men are more likely to eat out of home.



Gender and socio-demographic factors

Engagement in nutrition related practices is closely related to the household composition. In households with children meals are organized more regularly and it is more likely that warm meals are prepared. Increasing attention is paid to the connection between health and nutrition and a growing concern arises with healthy nutrition, food quality and nutrition related risks. In most cases these issues are raised by women, being responsible for caretaking and health-management of the family. The birth of a child is a crucial biographical experience. It also marks a key event where the organisation of nutrition related work within a household is renegotiated. In households with children activities like the planning and organisation of meals, the purchase of groceries and the cooking of meals are more often carried out by women than in households without children (Stieß/Hayn 2005: 57; see also table 4).

	Women without children	Women with children
Planning and Organisation	64%	78%
Making (almost) always purchases	62%	80%
Cooking	79%	88%

Table 4: Engagement for nutrition in multi-person households with and without children

Nutrition styles in everyday life – Interplay of gender, life stages and lifestyles

The way, in which we organize nutrition in everyday life, is shaped by the interplay of gender with socio-demographic factors and lifestyle orientations. The concept of nutrition styles links the social-ecological lifestyle approach to the field of nutrition (Stieß/Hayn 2005; Schultz/Stieß 2008). It provides an approach to investigate the intersection of attitudes towards nutrition and health with socio-demographic factors in the context of nutrition related habits, like the frequency, preparation, composition and duration of meals in an empirical study.

Figure 3 gives a synopsis of the seven nutrition styles which are based on a representative empirical investigation in Germany. The nutrition styles are arranged according to life stage (horizontal axis) and interest in issues related to food and nutrition (vertical axis). The typology shows that nutrition styles in Germany vary broadly, ranging from Uninterested Fast-Fooders to more health-oriented ones (Sophisticated Nutrition-Conscious, Ambitious Fitness-Oriented). Some nutrition styles like the Uninterested Fast-Fooder or the Conventional Health-Oriented are related to specific life stages or life situations. Others, like the Sophisticated Nutrition-Conscious or the Cheap- and Meat-Eaters are distributed more broadly among different age groups.

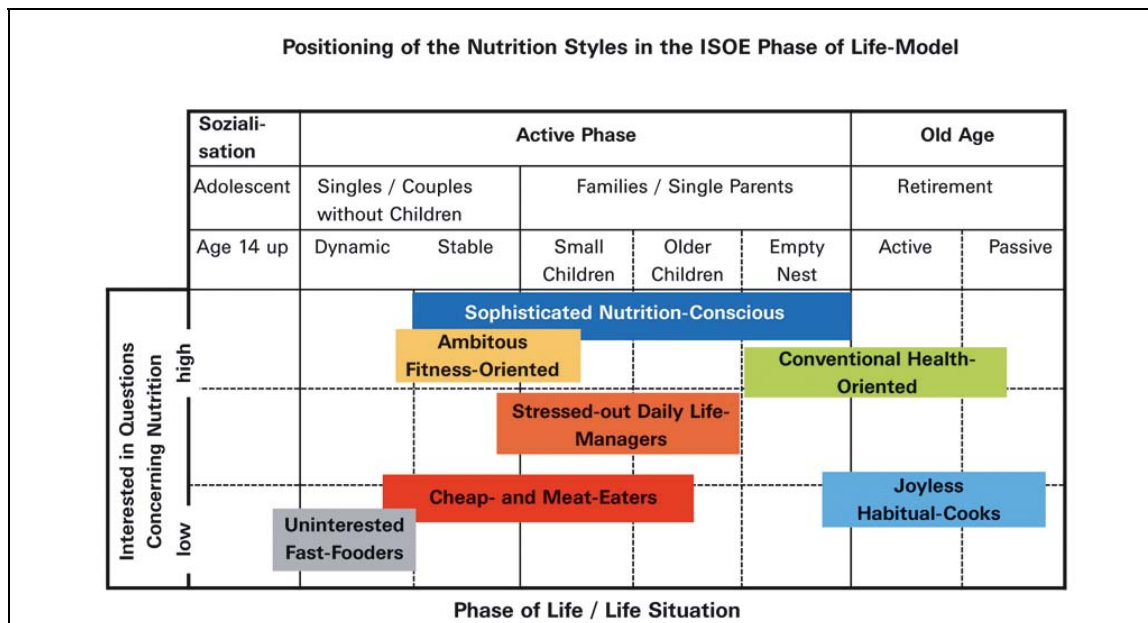


Figure 3: Nutrition styles and life situation

Some nutrition styles are more closely related to gender, while others are not. In particular, the *Uninterested Fast-Fooders* are predominantly men; while the majority of the *Stressed-out Daily Life-Managers* are women. Among the *Ambitious Fitness-Oriented* and the *Conventional Health-Oriented* women are slightly overrepresented. Women are more likely to adopt a healthy and sustainable nutrition style, while men tend to pay less attention to issues of health and sustainability. However the typology also demonstrates that nutrition habits are mediated by life stage and lifestyle orientations.

How nutrition practices are embedded in the fabric of everyday life is differing to a large extent. Some nutrition styles, like the *Ambitious Fitness-Oriented* are quite successfully reconciling job and family obligations and reducing the complexity of everyday life. They delegate nutrition related activities to market services and establish new routines that allow for combining the duties from work and family life more smoothly. On the other hand, the *Stressed-out Daily Life-Managers* have less financial resources. They are more likely to suffer from time scarcity and the burden of everyday life. They have a strong desire for relief and rely to a larger extent on affordable communal services (Stieß/Hayn 2005: 68).

Household energy use

Energy is an essential input to household activities which includes cooking, cleaning, water heating, room heating and cooling, lighting, refrigeration, washing and drying, TV and communications, computers, convenience machines, vacuum cleaners etc. and a myriad of small appliances. Many of these appliances such as refrigerators, freezers or dryers are related to household tasks which are predominantly carried out by women. Despite improvements in energy efficiency, these appliances still account for a major



share of household electricity consumption. In 2005 large appliances were consuming still almost half of the amount of electricity and small appliances, including TV & IT accounted for about 35% and lighting for almost 20% of energy consumption in the EU-15 (Oddyssee-Mure 2007). In some European countries the share of large appliances is even lower. In Finland, for example, only 13% of household electricity consumption was from refrigerators and freezers, and lighting was once again the largest category (20%) (Adato Energia 2008).

The links between gender and energy consumption have long been neglected. A gender approach to energy first was developed related to a Southern perspective (Clancy 2003). The gender approach to energy stresses the need to be aware of the impacts of energy planning for both men and women since they often use, are affected by, or benefit from energy services differently, and the activities of one may affect the opportunities of the other (Clancy/Oparaocha/Roehr 2004). This approach was later also applied to a Northern perspective (Clancy/Roehr 2003).

Summing up studies from several European countries, Roehr concludes that energy use and consumption patterns of women and men differ in industrialized countries. However, generalized statements about women's role in energy consumption are not easy to make. On the one hand, differences in energy consumption among women are based on age, marital status and employment (Clancy/Roehr 2003).

- In two income-households energy use per capita is higher than in those of couples with one income. One reason is that there are more appliances due to higher available income, another is the need to carry out housework more efficiently, washing and drying clothes more and using more convenience and frozen food.
- Elderly women consume less energy than younger ones because of changing behaviour patterns, e.g. cooking less, but also due to lifestyle orientations (positive attitude to use resources sparingly).

On the other hand, household energy use is a cross-cutting issue, encompassing almost all practices carried out at home. Different income allocation preferences and differing time use patterns of women and men may affect energy consumption significantly, but the resulting household energy consumption of the various practices overlaps. If we try to disentangle this complex picture, we must admit that women as household managers play a key role in the field of large household appliances which are related to housework activities like cooking or washing. Women are key actors for energy efficiency in this sector, because they make the purchasing decisions and control the use patterns of these appliances.

Small appliances account for an increasing share of the electricity consumption of private households. In the past decade, information and communication technologies (ICT) have become available to the broader public. The use of personal computers and internet access is rapidly growing in Europe. In 2005, more than half (58%) of all households in the EU-25 had a personal computer at home, and almost half (48%) of all households had internet access. Two years later already 54% of households in EU-27 had access to the internet, in the Netherlands and Island this share of households

connected to the internet was above 80% (Eurostat 2007a, 2007b). As a result, ICT-appliances play an increasing role in household energy consumption.

Between different subgroups of society a deep divide emerges between those who are familiar with the computer and the internet and those who are not. This *digital divide* is mainly a matter of age and education, whereas the gender gap is relatively small. In 2007 in the age group of 16-24 there was only a slight difference between men and women in EU-27. In the higher age groups the gap between men and women widens. In the age group of 25-54 61% of men used the internet at least once a week, in the age group of 55-74 the ratio is 31% men and 19% of women (Eurostat 2007b).

Finally, we have to take room heating into consideration, which accounts for about 80% of the household energy use. Energy use for heating and cooling depends on social conventions and normalized expectations (Shove 2003). But heating energy use is also strongly influenced by socio-demographic factors, in particular age and household size. Single person households aged 65plus have a comparably high per capita living space, because they tend to remain in the dwellings in which they lived together with their family. As a result, they have a higher per capita energy use for heating. Women are a majority in this age group.

The use of heating energy is closely related to the time spent at home. Retired or unemployed persons spend more time at home and, thus, use more energy for heating than persons who are employed and work out of home. Heating energy use is also higher in families with small children.

Heating energy consumption can be reduced either by behavioural changes or by technical improvements of homes (efficient heating system, insulation). These technical improvements of the home are more likely to be carried out by men. Research in Germany in the 1990s shows that men are mainly responsible for technical decisions and investments in thermal insulation of homes, boilers and hot water installations (Clancy/Roehr 2003). These findings are supported by time use analysis. Men spent significantly more time with handy craft and do-it-yourself-activities than women (FSO 2006: 42). A comparative study of time use shows the same pattern in different European countries. The most typical male tasks in the households are construction and repairs. Men take care of 80 to 90% of these tasks in the 10 countries surveyed in the study. Most time on construction and repairs is spent in France and Estonia (Eurostat 2004: 63).

Besides different time use patterns, also the uneven distribution of income plays a role: The lower income of women makes them disadvantaged when it comes to decisions on financial investments into energy efficient appliances or building improvements or renewable energies.

Attitudes towards sustainable energy use

Summing up, we can conclude that energy use and energy related purchasing decisions are differently distributed among women and men: There are some areas of en-



ergy consumption in which women are more influential and others where the control is rather up to men. Unlike the area of nutrition, the responsibility for energy saving and the use of sustainable energy in the household does not appear to be assigned strictly along gender differences.

Earlier studies from the 1990s reported that women and men have differing attitudes towards energy production and use. For example Clancy and Roehr (2003) state that women have a stronger preference than men for energy conservation and that they prefer renewables while men tend to prefer fossil fuels and nuclear.

More recent surveys however show a different picture. Knowledge on new energy technologies is distributed unequally between women and men. Men are more familiar with these technologies than women (Eurobarometer 2007: 14). Women have also a slightly greater antipathy than men against nuclear power (Eurobarometer 2007: 32). Gender appears also to influence acceptance of fossil energy sources. Women appear to be more in favour of using fossil energy sources in their country. They are also found to be slightly less enthusiastic about renewable energy sources (Eurobarometer 2007: 31). While there are no gender differences regarding energy sources, like solar and wind power, men are more supportive to hydroelectric, ocean or biomass energy than women (Eurobarometer 2007: 29).

When it comes to take action against climate change, women prefer to turn to low-carbon practices in order to reduce greenhouse gas emissions rather than using green technologies. Women are more likely to prefer a change of everyday life practices in order to reduce their carbon footprint, while men more frequently state that they would buy a green car (Eurostat 2008).

Roehr has pointed to the fact that in many strategies towards sustainable energy consumption this complex situation is ignored, leading to a “feminisation of energy saving responsibility”. On the one hand, the responsibility for energy conservation is assigned to women by reducing their use of electric appliances, such as washing machines and dishwashers, and encouraging the rest of the family to do likewise (Clancy/Roehr, 2003).

Energy poverty

Energy poverty has long been discussed as an issue of developing countries. However, the sharp increase of energy costs in the past years has put the issue of energy poverty throughout the EC on the agenda. Women are among the groups that are most vulnerable to energy poverty. In Germany, among the households with the highest share of energy costs women are clearly overrepresented.

A single person household consumes 20% more electricity per capita than a person in a multi person household (OECD 2002a: 22). Women form the majority of single person households and they are more vulnerable to rising energy prices.

Women are also more affected by rising energy costs for room heating. In Germany, women over 65 years living alone have to spend 35% of their income for housing in-

cluding heating energy (compared to 27% average in Germany). Another group with a high share of housing costs are single parent households (FSO 2008).

3.5 Conclusion

Summing up these findings, we can draw some preliminary conclusions related to gender aspects of consumption. As it has been demonstrated above, the gendered division of labour plays a key role for the consumption process, both on a general level and related to the fields of nutrition and household energy use. Within this dimension a first group of gender aspects can be identified which is related to socio-economic differences in the life situations of women and men:

- The *different employment participation* of men and women and the *gender wage gap* results in a different access to economic resources of men and women.
- Moreover, women have a higher socio-economic vulnerability; in particular single mother households have a higher *risk of poverty*.

Another group of gender aspects is closely related to the distribution of work and duties within the household and the organisation of everyday life. Despite an increasing participation of women in the labour market and the erosion of traditional gender role models, there is a persisting core of housework which is still assigned to women.

- As a result, women have to find ways to reconcile obligations from job and housework when organizing their everyday life. Compared to men, they suffer more from *time scarcity* and have a *less generous access to leisure time*.
- Time scarcity of women increases in households with children. Employed mothers spend more time for paid and unpaid work than women without children. They compensate this expenditure by cutting back their leisure time activities and social contacts and even by affording less time for their personal needs. They have a strong *need for unloading and relief strategies*.
- In order to reconcile these different duties women frequently rely on *time saving products and services* (e.g. nutrition: easy to prepare meals, affordable communal services; energy: household appliances, dish washers, dryers etc.).
- Women show *different income allocation preferences* than men. They buy more frequently basic essentials such as food, clothing and household articles, while men tend to buy expensive capital goods such as homes, cars and electronics.
- Women are *key decision-makers* in the fields of food, washing and cleaning. They play a key role in controlling the greenhouse gas emissions of private households.
- Women pay *more attention to environmental and ethical aspects* of consumption. They are more health oriented and less risk friendly and more prevention oriented than men. To a certain extent this tendency is reflected in women's consumption patterns – more visibly in the area of nutrition (e.g. eating less meat) than in the area of household energy use.



- Consumption related *competencies* are differing between men and women. Women are more likely to have a higher *food literacy* than men. Men tend to be more concerned with technical decisions and investments in the field of energy (thermal insulation of homes, boilers and hot water installations).

A second dimension of gender aspects is related to the body, health and the societal organization of intimacy.

- Women pay more attention to health issues. They are more health oriented and less risk friendly and more prevention oriented than men. To a certain extent this tendency is reflected in women’s consumption patterns, in particular in the area of nutrition.
 - Nutrition: buying organic food (but also nutrition additives and other so-called ‘healthy products’)
 - Being aware of health risks related to nutrition
 - Paying attention to hygienic standards in food preparation and provision
- Women have a higher *physical vulnerability* due to exposure to harmful substances in products used in everyday life. Above all, pregnant women are paying a lot of attention on this.

Dimension	Gender Aspect
<i>Gendered division of labour</i>	Women/men in employment susceptible to price signals employment participation wage gap risk of poverty time scarcity less generous access to leisure time. Time conflicts/overburdening need for unloading and relief strategies. Need for time saving products and services Income allocation preferences Household management and decision-making <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paying attention to labelling • Ethical and environmental issues (“buy-cott”) Consumption competences (e.g. food literacy) Women work in the global production chain/ethical orientations/fair trade
<i>The body, health and the societal organisation of intimacy</i>	Health/reproductive health Health Management in households

Policies to Promote Sustainable Consumption Patterns

	<p>Women as care takers</p> <p>Risk perception</p> <p>Physical vulnerability</p> <p>Health standards and regulations</p>
<p><i>Empowerment and participatory decision-making of consumer-citizens including women and men</i></p>	<p>Empowerment of women and men as consumer citizens</p> <p>Participation of women and men in implementation of sc instruments in all stages of the policy cycle</p> <p>Access for women/men as consumer-citizens to decision-making</p> <p>Participation of consumer-citizens in institutional setting of implementation.</p>

Table 5: Gender Aspects of Sustainable Consumption



4 Gender aspects of SC instruments and strategies

This chapter is mainly analyzing which gender aspects are taken into consideration by sc instruments. At the same time, the different instruments selected in the POPP-project are examined. Before doing that, an example is given on behalf of the current Sustainable Consumption and Production and Sustainable Industrial Policy Action Plan and how this action plan could look like if gender aspects would be contained. This analysis is given on the background of defined policy goals in the EU Renewed Sustainable Development Strategy (EU SDS).

In the following, all categories of instruments which are selected by the POPP-project, excluding the instrument of public procurement, are discussed as regards gender aspects: chapter 4.2 regulatory instruments, 4.3 economic instruments – taxes 4.4 communicative instruments: labelling, 4.5 communicative instruments – consumer information/education. Hereby we orient on the already in chapter 3 outlined gender aspects.

First we will give an example for every instrument on how gender aspects are considered. In a second step we will raise some questions according to the eupopp-framework on the 'effectiveness of the instrument'. In this regard, gender aspects are closely linked to the potential of an instrument to change individual behaviour towards sustainable consumption. This view is closely related to the eupopp hypothesis 2, claiming that the effectiveness of sc instruments depends on whether an instrument "takes into account the everyday needs, individual routines and personal or collective determinants of consumption".

These questions should be taken up by the theoretical framework and other modules of eupopp-project for further elaborations. Finally, in paragraph 4.6 we substantiate the urgent need for 'other instruments' which are designated to promote *participation of consumers and especially of women in sustainable design processes* of goods and services.

4.1 Gender aspects in the EU Renewed Sustainable Development Strategy (EU SDS) and in the Sustainable Consumption and Production and Sustainable Industrial Policy Action Plan

First, this chapter takes a look at how the principles of gender equality are represented in the renewed EU strategy on sustainable development and then whether gender equality aspects are covered in the policy action plan which regulates sustainable consumption and production.

First of all it must be admitted, that the *EU Renewed Sustainable Development Strategy (EU SDS, Council of the European Union 2006)* defines sustainability as an overarching objective of EU policies. This overall political goal of the EU is explicitly linked to gender equality. In its first chapter titled 'commitment' sustainable development is defined as follows: "Sustainable development means that the needs of the present

generation should be met without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. It is an overarching objective of the European Union set out in the Treaty, governing all the Union's policies and activities. It is about safeguarding the earth's capacity to support life in all its diversity and is based on the principles of democracy, *gender equality*, solidarity, the rule of law and respect for fundamental rights, including freedom and *equal opportunities for all*." (Council of the European Union, 10117/06, Brussels, 9 June 2006, accentuation authors)

After this commitment, the SDS states four key objectives: (1) environmental protection, (2) social equity and cohesion, (3) economic prosperity and (4) meeting our international responsibility. As regards the second objective of 'social equity and cohesion' a perspective on antidiscrimination, human rights and equal opportunities, including cultural diversity, is taken: "Promote a democratic, socially inclusive, cohesive, healthy, safe and just society with respect for fundamental rights and cultural diversity that creates equal opportunities and combats discrimination in all its forms." (ibid.)

Furthermore, also the 'Policy guiding principles' of the SDS are addressing a fundamental rights perspective: "Promotion and Protection of Fundamental Rights: Place human beings a centre of the European Union's policies, by promoting fundamental rights, by combating all forms of discrimination and contributing to the reduction of poverty and the elimination of social exclusion worldwide" (ibid.).

In its chapter on 'Key Challenges' the SDS sets overall objectives and concrete actions for seven key priority challenges for the period until 2010: (1) Climate change and clean energy, (2) Sustainable transport, (3) Sustainable consumption & production, (4) Conservation and management of natural resources, (5) Public health, (6) Social inclusion, demography and migration and (7) Global poverty and sustainable development challenges.

This means that environmental challenges and action fields predominate, but social challenges and there particularly gender equality issues, equal opportunity and cultural diversity issues are addressed as well. Above all the chapter on *Public Health* demands explicitly "strategies to help women and men in achieving and maintaining positive emotional status thus improving their well-being, their subjective perception of quality of life and their physical and mental health" (ibid.). This chapter is in particular asking to pay attention to "to vulnerable groups". Furthermore, it is the only chapter in which as a basis of decision-making "consumer interests" are being mentioned. Operational objectives and targets of the SDS with respect to *sustainable consumption and production* are formulated with a strong bias on environmental targets. Information campaigns with retailers and other organisations (for organic and fair products) are mentioned but not consumption practices in the sense of everyday life practices of citizen-consumers.

Finally it should be mentioned, that the chapter on 'Social inclusion, demography and migration' addresses gender relevant aspects including quality of life, the need to reduce child poverty and respect for cultural diversity. As regards operational objectives it formulates inter alia: "Significantly increasing the labour market participation of women



and older workers according to set targets, as well as increasing employments of migrants by 2010.” (ibid.)

The political goal of *fundamental rights and cultural diversity* of the EU Renewed Sustainable Development Strategy can be linked to the priority area 4 - 6 of the EU framework strategy on gender equality 2006 - 2010: (4) Eradication of all forms of gender-based violence; (5) Elimination of gender stereotypes and (6) Promotion of gender equality in external and development policies, whereas the sustainability goal of *social equity and cohesion* can be linked to the other three priority areas of the EU framework strategy on gender equality: (1) Equal economic independence for women and men; (2) Reconciliation of private and professional life; (3) Equal representation in decision-making. Furthermore, the goal of social equity and cohesion is very much taking into account the objectives of the Beijing Platform and the millennium development goals of poverty reduction.

In contrast to the EU Renewed Sustainable Development Strategy (EU SDS) of 2006, the *Sustainable Production and Consumption and Sustainable Industrial Policy Action Plan* of 2008 {SEC(2008) 2110} {SEC(2008) 2111} does not explicitly address aspects of gender equality. This might be due to the fact that this EU policy action plan combines two policy fields, that of EU Industrial Policy and that one of Sustainable Production and Consumption, of which the latter one is a new action field in EU policies. In its general objectives the *SCP and SI-Policy Action Plan* is first of all referring to the EU Lisbon Strategy with its overall objectives of growth and jobs and secondly to the challenge “to integrate sustainability into this picture”. It quotes the definition of sustainable development given in the EU renewed SDS (“continuous improvement of the quality of life and well-being for present and future generation”), but does not as the EU SDS does, refer to gender equality and the other aspects which are the basis of political action in the EU.

Thus, the policy action plan is predominantly dealing with environmental sustainability and is above all viewing it as a ‘greener product & goods’-approach: “The core of the Action Plan is a dynamic framework to improve energy and environmental performance of products and foster their uptake by consumers. This includes setting ambitious standards throughout the Internal Market, ensuring that products are improved using a systematic approach to incentives and procurement, and reinforcing information to consumers through a more coherent and simplified labelling framework, so that demand can underpin this policy. The approach will address products that have a significant potential for reducing environmental impacts” (ibid.).

On the whole, the action plan is focussing on greening products instead of promoting sustainable production and consumption. The objective of ‘quality of life and wellbeing’ is not addressed at all. Links to issues which are mentioned explicitly in the EU SDS such as public health, social inclusion, demography and migration and global poverty are not given.

The key objective of ‘smart consumption’ is explicated exclusively with respect to buying decisions of consumers and better products. Thus under point 2, titled “A dynamic

policy framework for smarter consumption and better products', the objective of smarter consumption is formulated without referring to any findings of consumer research on consumption practices.

In particular, three topics would have been included in this policy action plan if consumer sciences and gender aspects had been considered:

1. The relevance of the different ways to use products, energy and water (use phase) for smarter consumption is totally missing and would have been addressed explicitly including an understanding of consumption as *everyday life practices*. In this context, gendered patterns of work, housework and time use would have been mentioned.
2. In general, consumers are seen without social differentiation. With the exception of the chapter on "Retailers and Consumers" social differentiation and cultural diversity are not taken into account. To consider gender differences, which is generally an 'eye-opener' for social and cultural diversity, would have helped to consider consistently different consumer target groups
3. Consumers are presented as passive recipients of information, as a kind of black box, in which predominantly labelling information is dropped in and "smarter" consumption behaviour gets out. Thus, the role of information is simplified in an intolerable way and overestimated whereas the potential of proactive consumer-citizens for smarter consumption is not mentioned at all. If the different roles of consumer-citizens as: 1. purchasers and market actors, 2. everyday life actors and users of goods and services and 3. actors for political consumption had been considered, an objective to built up "initiatives for smarter consumption of consumer-citizens" would have been stated. These initiatives for smarter consumption of consumer-citizens would have been treated in analogy to the "initiatives for environmental industries" (as demanded by the action plan). Finally, this *renewed Sustainable Consumption and Production and Sustainable Industrial Policy Action Plan* would have set targets and defined actions to combine both types of initiatives.

Instead, the policy outlined in this action plan focuses on consistent data of products and of harmonized methods to generate them, on enhancing labelling of products, the promotion of green public procurement, and on incentives which are linked predominantly to public procurement. Only the chapter on "Work with retailers and consumers" (point 2.6) focuses inter alia on consumers: "To achieve this (better information) other stakeholders, such as producers as well as consumer and other non-governmental organisations will also be involved." (ibid.) In this chapter the EU consumer policy is mentioned which "can provide market tools to empower citizens as consumers, to make sustainable environmental choices. "Therefore the Commission will support actions to increase consumers' awareness and promote the development of on-line consumer education tools. Thus, the role of consumers is again reduced to being the receivers of information.

Besides the objective of "Enhancing the environmental potential of industry" by revision of EMAS regulation and the already mentioned 'industrial initiatives for environmental



industries', the action plan dedicates one chapter (4) to "*Works towards global markets for sustainable products*". In this chapter, very much in contrast to its headline, sustainable products are not linked to fair trade labelling and fair trade-initiatives. Thus, the question of human rights and women's rights in working places of the global production chain is not addressed at all. All normative goals, political objectives and actions which are demanded by the UN and international gender policies (as presented in chapter 2.1) are ignored in this EU policy action plan.

To sum up: In its chapter on 'Key Challenges' the SD Strategy defines overall objectives and concrete actions for seven key priority challenges for the period until 2010. In this context social challenges and equal opportunity issues and cultural diversity issues are addressed mainly in the chapter on Public Health, in the chapter on 'Social inclusion, demography and migration' and in the chapter on 'Global poverty and sustainable development challenges'. Inter alia action is demanded to ensure *social inclusion, well-being and quality of life*. Operational objectives and targets of the SDS with respect to *sustainable consumption and production* are formulated with a strong tendency towards environmental targets. The same is also very true for the *Sustainable Consumption and Production and Sustainable Industrial Policy Action Plan* of 2008 {SEC(2008) 2110} {SEC(2008) 2111} which does not mention gender equality at all. However, this Action Plan should include all social dimensions which are addressed in the EU Sustainable Development Strategy.

4.2 Gender aspects of regulatory instruments

The distinction between the level of content of a measure/instrument and its political-institutional level of implementation was conceptualized within the frame of making the instrument of a gender impact assessment (GIA), which is a key instrument of gender mainstreaming. This instrument can be used with respect to all different policy fields. It is discussed here firstly because it was applied on the subject of regulation. Then some outlines regarding 'responsiveness to sc instruments' will be given.

Gender impact assessments (GIA) respond to the cognition that the supposedly gender neutral design of political means, instruments or strategies can have unintended, serious and often negative consequences for gender relations. Thus, the aim of a GIA is to promote the goals of gender equality by implementing them into a concrete policy field's measures. Its function consists in ascertaining whether policy measures – for example laws, programs, concepts and everyday administrative procedures – have different effects on men and women and the gender relations. Hereby it should be kept in mind that scoping a specific societal problem and action field demands to concretize who is meant by 'women, men and gender relations': "It should be borne in mind that gender is a structural difference which affects the entire population. Neither women nor men should be treated like some special interest group among several such groups. On the contrary, gender affects, and indeed often reinforces, differences and vulnerabilities according to other structural differences, such as race/ethnicity, class, age, disability, sexual orientation etc. Policies which appear gender neutral may on closer

investigation turn out to affect women and men differently. Why? Because we find substantial differences in the lives of women and men in most policy fields; differences which may cause apparently neutral policies to impact differently on women and men and reinforce existing inequalities. Policies which are directed at, or have clear implications for, target groups/population groups are, consequently, to a larger or lesser degree gender relevant.” (European Commission 1998:3) With the knowledge of these effects one can determine how to avoid negative consequences and achieve improvements.

Gender impact assessments have been widely used in the area of development cooperation. GIAs have been adopted by a number of European governments as a tool for implementing gender mainstreaming. The instrument was first developed by Mieke Verloo and Conny Roggeband to assess gender impacts of a social program in the field of education in the Netherlands (1993). Since then, GIAs have been applied to various professional fields: assessing social programs and environmental measures (in the field of environmental protection, conservation, radiation protection, agricultural, forestry and forestry policy), as well as research policy and at various levels. (Verloo/Roggekamp 1996; Rubery/Fagan 2000; Schultz et al. 2001, Hayn/Schultz 2002, 2004, Weller 2004). A GIA can be carried out as an *ex ante* or *ex post* evaluation: the former permits gender aspects to be systematically included in decision making processes and enables the identification of negative effects and alternative (partial) solutions before implementation.

A gender impact assessment includes a topic- and task-related component, which means the carrying out of a gender analysis by means of a list with identified gender aspects. Apart from this level of content, on a *procedural level*, the political-institutional conditions of implementing a political measure or instrument will be investigated in order to promote effective implementation. This analysis of the political-institutional level is very often underestimated, but it provides an important basis for better anchoring the recommendations of the GIA in political-institutional structures. On the basis of carrying out ‘*ex ante*’- as well as ‘*ex post*’-GIAs in several policy fields this second level of analysis was pinpointed and conceptualized with respect to political empowerment and participation (Schultz et al. 2001; Hayn/Schultz 2002).

As regards the eupopp -project and the category of *regulatory instruments*, examples of conducted GIAs in the field of *laws* are highly interesting. At the beginnings of the 21st century the German government (social democratic and green party coalition) conducted a gender mainstreaming process in all German ministries. In the action fields of the Federal Ministry for the Environment, Nature Conservation and Nuclear Safety three gender impact assessments were conducted on the subject of laws. One was a gender impact assessment on the subject of the Radiation Protection Ordinance (Hayn/Schultz 2002), the second GIA was on the subject of the draft for an Environmental Information Law and the third GIA was conducted on the subject of an amendment to the Environment Statistics Law (*ibid.*).

Without wanting to repeat the entire analysis of these GIAs one finding of these gender impact assessments in the field of regulation was evident: Legal law has to be granted equally to women and men. Thus, gender aspects in the field of regulation refer either

- to legal definitions of treating the two sexes unequally or
- they refer to the institutional forms of implementing regulations not of the law by itself, but the way of implementation might cause unequal gender effects.

Discussing the example of the Radiation Protection Ordinance both possibilities were given. The Ordinance demands specific regulation for women being in reproductive age with respect to work in specific work areas which are affected by radiation. In this GIA the second gender dimension of *health and reproductive health* was highly relevant. In an exemplary way, which in this context means with respect to all possible regulations of radiation effects and effects of chemicals or other substances on the body of humans (workers, civil persons in households, persons of neighbourhoods, possible affected target groups), this GIA demonstrated that different *physical vulnerabilities of women and men* with respect to reproductive health can justify different regulations for women and men without violating the gender equality norm.

With respect to the first gender dimension of the *gendered division of labour* this GIA identified the specific target groups affected by the Ordinance.¹⁹ They relate to women's work in a specific area ("Kontrollbereich") of radiation affected working fields. This example refers to gendered professions and thus to different patterns of career making and career options for women and men in the labour market which at the end was discussed under the gender aspect of equal opportunities. Thus, the first gender dimension of gendered division of labour also is highly relevant for this regulation. The example stands for all regulations concerning the working conditions in production fields which at the end are linked to (sustainable) consumption.

Besides affecting gender aspects of both gender dimensions (work and health) this GIA exemplifies the potential to improve the goal attainment of a measure or an instrument by focussing on the third gender dimension of *empowerment and political participation*. In case of the Radiation Protection Ordinance above all the institution of authorized radiation protectors in the different affected working fields bears potential to improve the intended radiation protection in everyday life of work. The GIA of the Radiation Protection Ordinance disclosed no violation of equal law principles, instead it detected a list of concrete points and measures how the institutions and procedures related to the enforcement of the law could be improved in order to attain a better gender equality namely by better information and more participation of the radiation protectors (Hayn/Schultz 2002).

By addressing gender aspects of regulatory instruments above all the implementation of regulations can be improved by considering gendered target groups. This means no

¹⁹ They are: medical personal, personal in research (physics, chemistry, radiology and biology), personal in nuclear power technology and personal in aircrews.

communication by addressing a general gender (women or men) but by addressing specific gendered target groups in the context of their everyday life. As the given example demonstrates, the meaning of everyday life is not restricted to household concerns but implies also everyday life in working conditions. *Gender aspects have the potential to adjust and improve the goal attainment of regulatory instruments within the margin of regulation 'de jure' and regulation 'de facto'*. Furthermore the view on gender aspects creates sensitivity for social diversity and very specific target groups including women and men in defined social areas: women and men in different professions as well as women and men in social groups of different income and social stratum, of different ethnic backgrounds etc.

Thus, also the GIA on the subject of the drafted Environmental Information Law²⁰ comes to the conclusion: “By means of the GIA not only the formal (legal) equality of men and women was analyzed but the view was extended to include issues of the actual effects of the Act. (...)The distinction between male and female users not only refers to the different treatment of men and women but also shows various social contexts, life circumstances and daily practices which account for the need for environmental information. These factors might either encourage the use of the Act or present an obstacle. (...) This is the reason why accompanying measures such as public relations measures which incorporate the different realities in the lives of the target groups play such an important role.” (Hayn/Schultz 2004: 4)

This recommendation is not trivial because a lot of improvements of sc instruments with respect to gender equality could be achieved if the *affected target groups would be addressed specifically* and accompanying measures of information and would be elaborated in this sense.

Conclusion:

From consumer research we know that women and men react differently on some (specific) sc instruments. From gender impact assessments on laws and regulations in the environmental field we know that the effectiveness of this kind of political instruments could be improved if the specific target groups affected – including women and men along all identified gender aspects of cultural diversity – would be addressed with accompanying measures. Thus, the eupopp-project could select one specific example of sc regulation to exercise the integration of gender aspects into this instrument in an exemplary way.

²⁰ This draft of the Environmental Information Law was not adapted in the process of making a law).



4.3 Gender aspects of economic instruments

In gender policies a method and analytical tool is elaborated which is dedicated to include gender aspects into market instruments: gender budgets. As the authors are no economists and no experts in market instruments, we just cite information on this subject.²¹

Gender budgets are a tool for “establishing whether a government’s gender equality commitments translate into budgetary commitments.” Thus, a gender budget is not a separate budget for women; instead it is an approach which can be used to highlight the gap between policy statements and the resources committed to their implementation, ensuring that public money is spent in more gender equitable ways. The issue is not whether we are spending the same on women and men, but whether the spending is adequate to women and men’s needs (Rake 2002). Cagatay et al. state that “the ultimate goal of these is to come up with reprioritization of both expenditures and revenue-raising methods in order to promote social justice.” (p. 14)

The Origins of Gender Budgeting go back to the eighties. In 1984, Australia was the first country to introduce a gender-sensitive budget as a pilot project. Although it is not clear from the literature exactly what countries have attempted to precisely prepare a gender budget, it appears that several nations have moved in this direction: Barbados, Fiji, Kenya, Mozambique, Namibia, Philippines, South Africa, Sri Lanka, St. Kitts, Switzerland, Tanzania, Uganda, The United Kingdom, Zambia and Zimbabwe (Unifem 2000).

Meanwhile a network of over 40 gender budget initiatives around the world has been established. Gender budget initiatives go beyond the assessment of programmes targeted. Sharp and Broomhill (2002) explain that most gender budgeting initiatives have three core goals. They seek to: (1) mainstream gender issues within government policies; (2) promote greater accountability for governments’ commitment to gender quality; and (3) change budgets and policies.

Basically gender budgeting can involve analyzing any form of public expenditure, or method of raising public money, from a gender perspective and identify the implications and impacts for women and girls as compared to men and boys. Several toolkits for gender budgeting have been developed – most prominently by Debbie Budlender and Ronda Sharp (1998), Diane Elson (1997) and Katherine Rake (2002). It can be used in any phase of the budget cycle, from planning and identifying objectives and identifying the financial allocations to meet these objectives, to an evaluation of the extent to which these objectives have been met. Gender budgeting is applicable to both macro and micro level economic policy and to both public spending and revenue. Most initia-

²¹ Core information is taken from: Kate Bellamy, Background Paper on Gender Budgeting for the CoE Informal Network of Experts on Gender Budgeting. November 2002.
http://ec.europa.eu/employment_social/gender_equality/framework/opinion_on_gender_budgeting_en.pdf; Retrieval. 5. Feb. 2009

tives around the world have focused on public expenditure, but the UK WBG has spent considerable time analysing tax credits.

The example of the *UK Women's Budget Group* is very prominent. UK WBG was able, through gender budget analysis and lobbying activities, to contribute to the reversal of a proposed change to the *tax benefit system*. The UK Women's Budget Group found that the *Working Families Tax Credit (WFTC)* which was introduced to encourage 'welfare to work' in the UK, will reduce gender inequality between households, since women predominate in those households receiving WFTC. However, the behavioural effects of the WFTC will have the unintended consequence of reinforcing the gendered division of labour since WFTC creates disincentives to employment for the partners of poorly paid men.

Another purpose of gender budgeting can be to conduct an audit to assess distributional effects of actual political activities. This kind of analysis links expenditures actually made to the actual participation in the activities provided and benefitting from the outputs. Example for this is the budget analysis of the New Deal Programmes for the Unemployed in the UK. Dr. Katherine Rake, Chair of the UK WBG, conducted a gender budget analysis of New Deal programmes aimed at unemployed people in the UK. She calculated the expenses per recipient in order to assess the gendered outcome of the government spending. The funds were distributed under three categories – 'young people', 'long term unemployed' and 'lone parents'. She found that only 8% of funding for these programmes go to 'lone parents', of whom 95% are female. Yet 57% of funds go to 'young people', of whom only 27% are female (Rake 2000).

These examples demonstrate that gender budgeting is an instrument which could be connected to different kinds of economic instruments like environmental subsidies as well as eco taxes and user or product charges. Core question would be to ask for gendered income distribution effects of economic instruments.

- What do 'green taxes' ('eco-taxes') mean for poor social groups in comparison to wealthy social groups (single parents/mothers/poor groups with migrant backgrounds?)
- Would 'accompanying measures' for poor people, including single mothers/single parents lead to more gender justice of this instrument?
- Gender aspects may also relate to soft effects of economic instruments in terms of changes in attitudes and awareness, capacity building and the generation and dissemination of information (see popp review on economic instruments).

On a procedural level, also the inclusion of women stakeholder groups provides an important issue.

Furthermore, in a German study, women showed a more positive attitude towards climate change policies and expressed willingness to pay more for it than men do. The findings of Knigge and Goerlach (2005) suggest that gender can affect the impacts of monetary SC policies on consumption behaviour: A significantly higher share of women

stated that they reduced their household energy consumption significantly as a response to the introduction of the eco-tax in Germany compared with men. This example could be a proof for the effectiveness of this sc instrument.

4.4 Gender aspects of labels

As already pointed out in chapter 3.2 the *reaction to policy instruments* cannot be seen as a passive activity. On the contrary, the active way of adopting instruments by different consumer groups must be emphasized. And this is even truer when it comes to communicative instruments. Consumers are not a 'black box' into which information or labels are put in and out of which 'sustainable consumption behaviour' emerges as a result (as underlined in the Sustainable Consumption and Production and Sustainable Industrial Policy Action Plan).

After this preliminary remark we have to look for resilient data which can give an answer to our question concerning different patterns of women and men in taking labels into account. Comprehensive information is taken from the literature mentioned above dealing with political consumerism including responses to environmental or ethical labels as 'boycotting'. This information is based on a very solid empirical basis as it includes data from the European Social Survey (ESS) as well as a Swedish National Survey (SOM 2003) that includes several questions on political consumerism.²² First of all the analysis shows that women score higher than men being political consumers (54% – 43%), which is confirmed by other surveys (Lit.). Political consumerism is more likely to be practised by the group aged 30 – 39 who have a higher education than non-political consumers, they are citizens with higher income who live more frequently in urban than in rural areas, particularly in large cities. Political consumers have a more general interest in politics than non-political consumers and in Sweden they have more often sympathies with the Left Party and the Greens than non-political consumers.

With respect to motivations the sample was divided into three groups: (1) non-political consumers, (2) people who are either boycotters or boycotters, and (3) people who have both boycotted and boycotted. Interestingly, all three types consider self-interest when they shop. However, political consumers are additionally showing an orientation towards other aspects to a higher extent than non-political consumers. "They look at clothing labels, lists of ingredients on packages, and labelling schemes to see whether the product leaves an ethical, ecological, or political footprint. They want to know whether their consumer choices have hidden environmental consequences and

²² "The Swedish survey questions are part of our research project "Political Consumption: Politics in a New Era and Arena" financed by the Swedish Council of Research (Vetenskapsrådet). The questions tap a variety of different aspects of citizens' use of political consumerism. To find political consumers in both data sets we defined them as people who either have boycotted or boycotted for political, ethical or environmental reasons in the past 12 months. To analyze why they are political consumers we asked questions about the effectiveness of forms for political engagement, their trust in and views on institutions (governments, multinational corporations, civil society associations, global protest groups), and what they consider as important when buying groceries and clothing/shoes. At present this is one of the most comprehensive data on political consumerism in existence" (Stolle/Micheletti 2005:2)

whether they have an impact on animal rights as well as on general working conditions in the countries that manufacture our consumer goods, and on other ethical and political considerations. They also think about how their consumer choices affect child labor.” (Stolle/Micheletti 2005:5). In short, political consumers respond to labels by taking part in multi-actor driven interactions around products and services on the market what Micheletti (2003) named ‘*politics of products*’.

Women historically took part in this kind of politics more with respect to *buycotting* (taking environmental and ethical labels into account) than with respect to boycotts. Only recently more women than men started participating in boycotts (currently, according to the EES from 2002 in 9 from 21 European countries). In contrast *buycotting* “has become a near-routine form of engagement for women (particularly in Scandinavia)” (ibid.: 8). In all countries besides Spain and Israel more women than men are acting as buycotters.

Eastern Europe: But in Eastern Europe *buycotting* as well as *boycotting* are not frequently used as a form of political engagement by women. “These differences are most likely linked to the presence of national labelling schemes and other national factors that influence this form of transnational activism.” (ibid.: 8)

The findings of Stolle and Micheletti are confirmed by market studies from Sweden, Denmark and the U.S which confirm the gender gap with respect to labelling (LUI 1999: 3; Klint 1997: 28; Wessells/Donath/Johnston 1999). The study of LUI, a Swedish survey institute specializing in consumer research for the farming community, finds that women shoppers also stand out on such aspects as whether food is guaranteed to be free of salmonella, GMOs, growth hormones, medicines, chemical additives, and chemical pesticides (LRF/Ekologiska Lantbrukarna 2001: 21, cit. of Stolle/Micheletti, ibid.:8).

Furthermore, particularly women care to a higher extent about animal rights and working conditions in the production countries and they have more environmental concerns when buying groceries and clothes. This goes confirm with the already cited survey on ‘Consumptions Styles in Germany’ (see also chapter 3).The findings of this survey confirm completely those of Stolle and Micheletti. These are all aspects which should be considered by labels on the level of content.

But there is one finding in the study of Stolle and Micheletti which refers to the institutional-political level of making and implementing labels. Testing some hypothesis which could explain the predominance of women as political consumers and buycotters on behalf of the empirical data, the authors could prove that women do not know more about labelling schemes, but instead have significantly more trust in them than men. “In other words, women tend to believe more strongly in their legitimacy” (ibid.: 9). Thus, more emphasis should be given in the fabrication of ‘trust’ of a label.

Labels are communicative instruments that can provide information in a compact and simple form. They thus have the potential to make purchases easier and reduce the burden from everyday life. Having a closer look at the gender aspects identified in chapter 3, they all can be addressed through communicative measures. More impor-



tantly, these aspects have to be reflected in order to adapt a label to different social contexts and to improve its effectiveness. Main topics in this regard are:

- Definition of criteria: Do the criteria of the label reflect gender aspects appropriately: These concerns are not only limited to environmental issues, but also include working conditions of women and men in production (ethical and fair trade labels) as well as physiological vulnerability, health issues and risk sensitivity (nutrients, GMO, pesticides etc.).
- From a gender perspective, sustainable consumption is both related to environmental and social targets related to gender equality. Hence, conflicts between labels addressing environmental targets and ethical labels might arise. An important issue is how these conflicts are addressed and settled in a transparent and participatory way.

On a procedural and institutional level special attention should be paid to the third gender dimension which is focussing on the political process of making, implementing and controlling of labels in order to enhance the *empowerment of women and consumers in participatory decision making*:

- Institutional-political making, implementation and control of a label with respect to trust;
- Participatory decision-making of women and consumers in the process of making a label;
- Participatory decision-making of women and consumers with respect to production issues through a label ('politics of products' around labels).

4.5 Gender aspects of consumer information and education

As already stated, gender aspects have the potential to hamper the effectiveness of instruments or to improve it. A prominent example which is widely discussed for the hampering effects of gender aspects as regards consumer information and education is the example of education for waste separation in the household.

At the second half of the eighties the waste management system in Germany was totally restructured. One element of this reorganisation was the introduction of waste separation systems in the households.²³ A majority of the local communities (big cities)

²³ Jurisdiction over waste was not in the hands of local communities – though they are responsible for waste removal – but in those of the Federal government and, in part, the State governments. In 1985, the Federal government announced its priorities “to reduce, recycle and dispose”. How waste was to be reduced, however, was not defined legally that time. Since 1985, the amount of rubbish has increased dramatically. Several communities therefore had begun, on their own initiative, to collect waste separated into reusable material: paper, glass, aluminium, cans. These have been then sold to recycling firms. A number of small, alternative recycling companies and initial steps toward a recycling economy emerged. These were accompanied by massive public information campaigns to encourage the sepa-

developed information measures to educate consumers-citizens to carry out waste separation. In their study on “Women and Waste” of that time Irmgard Schultz and Monika Weiland studied information measures of 30 German municipalities between 1985 and 1990. They found out that the information material did not address actors with respect to carrying out this kind of housework. The suggestions were directed toward consumers in general, or toward ‘the household’ (even toward ‘the kitchen’ in one case). Women as subjects who manage the household were conspicuously absent in these brochures. The increased unpaid labour that recycling involves for women and men as household managers as well as the knowledge and experience of women and men that comes from everyday contact with the products were not mentioned at all. Furthermore, the waste problem was communicated as a problem of individual households and not as a societal problem of market-oriented production. In view of the fact that household waste made about only ten percent of the total waste amount of that days, the concentration on waste education was characterized as displacing the problem and its causes. Moreover, since waste education was directed exclusively toward behavioural changes in the conduct of the household, this strategy was interpreted as a kind of ‘privatization’ and moralizing strategy against women. Instead of developing complex societal alternatives including new technological innovations, the strategies to minimize waste systematically fall back on unpaid reproduction work. With the unspoken insinuation that women have a greater affinity for the environment and nature, women are thereby expected (as are all feminized household managers) to put in more work, engagement and extra strain in order to cope with the everyday (cf. Schultz/Weiland 1991). At a whole, the core arguments of the study aimed at two facts: (1) increasing extra work was demanded by information campaigns with no knowledge of the everyday coping strategies of women and men, and (2) communities privatised their systems of provision (waste, later: energy, water) accompanying it with the most powerful education strategy after denazification in post-war-Germany, without having involved their citizens, without any consumer-citizen participation.

In the frame of this study also *different groups of women* (different with respect to educational status and financial income) were asked about their demands on waste systems (focus groups). On the basis of these findings some recommendations for concrete measures were developed which help to *disburden* women and men from increasing unpaid work and responsibilities. The study ends with a reflection on the active role of so-called private persons in local communities referring to its subtitle: “Women as actors in the municipal waste economy”. The term and concept of ‘consumer-citizens’ historically was later elaborated but already addressed.

The example can be taken for all information and education instruments. The following questions should be considered with respect to gender aspects:

ration of waste or recycling. In 1991, a decree of the environment minister called for building an economy of recycling. All packaging wastes should be collected in separate bins. For the collection and recycling of these wastes a monopolist firm, the so-called Duale System Deutschland, was founded.

- Is the problem to be solved which is addressed by the information or education instrument a problem for consumer-citizens (alone)? Or how can *shared responsibilities between business – citizen-consumers and state authorities* be addressed?
- Are citizen-consumers, women and men, involved in making the instrument/the campaign?
- Does the sc information and education instrument contain implicit moralisation of women's responsibility by fading out gendered patterns of responsibility for paid and unpaid labour and housework?

By reflecting possibilities how 'feminization of responsibility' can be avoided the authors of the mentioned study on youth consumption in Finland come to the conclusion that perhaps a solution could be to search for and communicate specifically sustainable consumption behaviours that are more gender-available to men (Autio et al. 2009). This could be a general conclusion how to deal with gender differences in consumption practices.

5 Summary and preliminary conclusions for work packages of eupopp

This summary is elaborated by the authors on the basis of a draft of Eva Heiskanen and Kristiina Aalto from NCRC in order to integrate it into the framework paper of eupopp-project. Thus, it repeats some crucial points of our findings and draws some conclusions for WP 1. Additionally, a general remark on how to deal with the 'paradox' of avoiding gendered stereotypes and simultaneously addressing gender aspects is stated. At the end a short outlook on how to deal with the findings of this study in working package 2 and working package 3 is given.

Summary and conclusions for eupopp-working packages:

Integrating gender aspects of sustainable consumption into the analysis of sc instruments is new and innovative. This challenge goes far beyond the consideration of normative orientations on gender equality, but demands also to integrate a gender perspective into the analysis of the effects of political instrument implementation. Leading question is: How do gender aspects promote or hinder intended effects of SC instruments? The demanded analytical gender perspective is characterized with the term of 'gender responsiveness to SC instruments'.

Gender issues have been increasingly acknowledged in international policy debates on sustainable development. They are related to United Nation core values of human rights, women rights and antidiscrimination. In an international context, gender aspects of sustainable consumption are particularly relating to inhumane working conditions of women insofar as they are an element of global production chains. Other gender issues are: the unequal consumption patterns of women and men which offer less access to essential goods particularly for poor women, the dominant role of women in maintaining healthy nutrition, health issues and reproductive health and the issues of gendered vulnerability in cases of disasters and financial crises. In the EU, gender equality is a fundamental right, guaranteed in treaties and implemented into the EU Renewed Sustainable Development Strategy. The gender policy of the EU is based on the strategy of gender mainstreaming and targeting priority areas of action. Currently, the 'Roadmap of equality between men and women' (COM(2006)92) focuses on six priority areas which are all influencing consumption patterns (1. Achieving Equal Economic Independence for Women and Men, 2. Enhancing Work, Private and Family Life, 3. Promoting Equal Participation in Decision-Making, 4. Eradicating Gender-based Violence of Trafficking, 5. Eliminating Gender Stereotypes in Society, 6. Promoting Gender Equality Outside the EU). However, gender equality as a fundamental dimension of sustainability has not yet been integrated into the European policy frameworks for sustainable consumption.

Here a more analytical (rather than merely normative) gender approach is helpful which focuses on the active role of women and men in 'producing everyday life' (agency). This approach could be integrated into sociological approaches of everyday life prac-



tices of consumption (Shove, Spargaaren) and into integrative approaches of environmental economics (Röpke, Reisch). Gender debates and gender policies are linking the question of sustainable consumption to the question of livelihood rights, good livelihood and everyday life. A gender approach towards everyday life stresses the importance of consumption practices, which are social rather than individual processes, and which are embedded in a social context such as household, family and community life. Using a 'gender lens', which means focussing on gender relations and gendered differences in consumption patterns, sharpens the analysis of different agency of 'doing sustainable consumption' which at the end leads to a better understanding of behavioural mechanisms which are related to the goals of sustainable consumption.

In order to identify gender aspects of behavioural mechanisms of consumption three gender dimensions should be considered: (1) the gendered division of labour - work, (2) the gendered body, health and the social organization of intimacy and (3) empowerment and access to decision making of women and men.

With respect to the *gendered division of labour*, empirical studies have shown that women are more often in charge of consumption decisions related to food, clothing and household articles, and they are key decision-makers in the fields of food, washing and cleaning. Women and men have different consumption-related competencies, with women tending to be more food-literate, and men tending to be more knowledgeable about technical aspects of household energy consumption. Time budget studies proved different patterns of time use and persisting core household work of women. As a result, women have to find ways to reconcile obligations from professional work and housework when organising their everyday life, often with the help of convenience products. Compared to men, they suffer more from time scarcity and have a less generous access to leisure time.

With respect to the issue of *body, health and societal intimacy*, women tend to be more concerned about health issues because of their responsibility for care duties. Physical vulnerability to harmful substances in everyday products differs highly depending on the respective age (children, grown up and old people) and to women and men.

As regards the *responsiveness of women and men to SC instruments* some surveys indicate that women pay more attention to environmental and ethical aspects of consumption and they respond especially on communicative instruments (labels). Here, gendered stereotypes in communication and marketing campaigns have to be avoided.

Against the backdrop of the in detail reported gendered differences and trends in consumption patterns (in general and as regards the feeding/nutrition and the use housing/use of energy fields) cautiously one can conclude that extensive and long paid working time on the one hand (men) and time scarcity and overburdening with too many responsibilities in paid and unpaid work on the other hand (women) are strong hindering factors for sustainable consumption patterns. But it is not proven that less working hours in paid work and less 'time scarcity' automatically would lead to more sustainable consumption patterns of women and men. This gender aspect has to be seen together with other gender aspects as for example a more equitable division of

labour between women and men what could have the additional effect of more communication on 'political consumerism' between the different members of a family/household. Finally, one can assume that the lowering of long employment time and less overburdening is a precondition of more sustainable consumption patterns (framework condition).

All in all, integration of gender aspects thus calls for a more differentiated approach to consumption patterns and the individual and framework conditions influencing consumption. If we try to influence consumption, we are influencing the activities of people who are subject to very different circumstances. Gender is one of the core issues influencing these circumstances, but it has to be seen together with other social characteristics as ethnicity, income/ societal stratum etc. (intersectionality). Other aspects such as household type, age, lifestyle orientation and various socio-demographic aspects influence what people can do and to what kinds of arguments and instruments they are likely to respond.

The third gender dimension, 'empowerment and access to decision making of women and men', is particularly relevant for the way we can change consumer behaviour, i.e., the design of policy instruments to promote sustainable consumption. Consumption, long believed to be the domain of women, has largely been viewed as a private and apolitical sphere of life. The notion of political consumerism as for example boycotting and 'buycotting' (purchasing according to social and environmental criteria and labels) challenges this view of consumption as a purely private matter. It also transcends the division between 'individual-level factors' and 'framework conditions' of consumption. When consumers are conceived of as political actors, they are part of a collective movement that aims to change the framework conditions via individual (and collectively co-ordinated) action. The promotion of sustainable consumption is not likely to succeed purely as a top-down process, but rather, requires a re-conceptualisation of consumption as being more than a private and self-interested activity. Consumers need to be addressed and empowered as consumer-citizens, i.e., not only private but also political actors. By designing instruments to promote sustainable consumption patterns, a gender approach suggests that women and men, female and male citizen-consumers, need to participate in all stages of the policy cycle, which in turn requires access to decision making and the development of suitable institutional settings.

As the given examples of integrating gender aspects into sc instruments in chapter 4 demonstrates, all 'gender aspects' which are elaborated with the help of the three gender dimensions can be relevant according to the specific problem addressed of the specific sc instrument:



Dimension	Gender Aspect
<i>Gendered division of labour</i>	<p>Women/men in employment susceptible to price signals employment participation wage gap risk of poverty time scarcity less generous access to leisure time. Time conflicts/overburdening need for unloading and relief strategies. Need for time saving products and services Income allocation preferences Household management and decision-making</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Paying attention to labelling • Ethical and environmental issues (“buy-cott”) <p>Consumption competences (e.g. food literacy) Women work in the global production chain/ethical orientations/fair trade</p>
<i>The body, health and the societal organisation of intimacy</i>	<p>Health/reproductive health Health Management in households Women as care takers Risk perception Physical vulnerability Health standards and regulations</p>
<i>Empowerment and participatory decision-making of consumer-citizens including women and men</i>	<p>Empowerment of women and men as consumer citizens Participation of women and men in implementation of sc instruments in all stages of the policy cycle Access for women/men as consumer-citizens to decision-making Participation of consumer-citizens in institutional setting of implementation.</p>

Table 5: Gender Aspects of Sustainable Consumption

Information on ‘gender responsiveness to sc instruments’ is scarce and mainly available regarding the sc instruments of labels. With respect to other sc instruments some conclusions can be drawn on their effectiveness by the findings of already carried out gender impact assessments on environmental laws and regulations (SC regulation instruments) and with respect to market instruments by findings of carried out gender budgets. These sc instruments seem to gain more effectiveness if women and men are not addressed in general but in intersection with other aspects of cultural diversity and social differences. Target groups are to be addressed specifically according to the social areas affected by the sc instrument. Communication measures in combination with these sc instruments which are directed to the target groups affected seem to augment the effectiveness of the instruments.

With respect to labels women tend to respond more often to ethical, social and environmental criteria of goods and services than men. But they should not be addressed as a general gender. Instead, labels and communication instruments pose the urgent need to avoid gendered stereotypes by addressing gender aspects.

How to deal with the ‘paradox’ of avoiding gendered stereotypes and addressing gender aspects simultaneously?

So far we see there are (the less) two ways to avoid gendered stereotypes and ‘feminization of responsibility’ in sc instruments:

- One way is to address *specific gendered groups* which are affected by the sc instrument specifically, as for example men in reproductive age and as (possible) fathers as regards the problem of hormone-like substances in water and reproductive health (sc regulative instruments). In this case women should not be addressed in general (‘female gender’) and a classification of women being ‘more physical vulnerable’ to all chemical substances should be avoided. This is not true in general (not all women are in a reproductive age) but depends on different physical responsiveness and vulnerability of both genders to chemical substances. Furthermore, women are identified stereotypically with reproductive functions. In this case it would be better to argue with the example of men’s vulnerability;
- A second way could consist in addressing the in fact existing gendered behaviours of men in private household and family contexts by putting them into a sustainability context (that means to search for sustainable consumption behaviours of men in household contexts and highlighting them). On the other hand, the existing gendered behaviours of women as for example their stronger health orientation as background motivation for sustainable consumption could be communicated and exemplified within the frame of professional contexts (and work – life balance). Thus, the background stereotypes of the male breadwinner and the female carer and consumer could be avoided.

Finally we propose to include all consumption trends mentioned in this paper into working package 2. A list with a summarized trend description (list of gender trends in consumption) is elaborated so far we have cited respective literature and can be com-

pleted. This list of gender trends will be sending to the eupopp-partners which are conducting WP 2 and WP 3.

As regards WP 3 we propose to include available data on gender and cultural diversity trends (demographic changes) into the scenarios and to select *one specific sc label instrument* for exercising the integration of gender aspects in detail.

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