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Gender Mainstreaming in India : Perspectives and Concerns



Government of Karnataka
FISCAL POLICY INSTITUTE

Gender Mainstreaming in India : Perspectives and Concerns

Fiscal Policy Institute

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Administrative Address

Fiscal Policy Institute, Kengeri Post, Bengaluru-Mysore Road, Bengaluru-560060

Telephone : (91-80) 26971000

Fax : (91-80) 26971010

Email : director@fpibangalore.gov.in

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राम मोहन मिश्र
सचिव
RAM MOHAN MISHRA
Secretary



भारत सरकार
महिला एवं बाल विकास मंत्रालय
शास्त्री भवन, नई दिल्ली – 110 001
GOVERNMENT OF INDIA
MINISTRY OF WOMEN & CHILD DEVELOPMENT
SHASTRI BHAWAN, NEW DELHI-110 001
Website : <http://www.wcd.nic.in>



18th June, 2021

Foreword

One of the major thrust areas of Ministry of Women & Child Development, Government of India is to achieve gender equality through policy interventions and by creating appropriate institutional framework for women empowerment at national and sub-national levels.

It gives me immense pleasure to know that for the Financial Year 2020-21, Fiscal Policy Institute (Finance Department, Government of Karnataka) is publishing a collection of articles on various aspects of gender and Gender Budgeting titled "Gender Mainstreaming in India : Perspectives & Concerns".

The publication contains relevant articles contributed by administrations, academic and practitioners with regard to capturing gender mainstreaming efforts prevalent in diverse areas in the society and the strategies that need to be adopted towards gender mainstreaming and Gender Budgeting. This publication will serve as a reference material towards enhancing and advancing Gender Budgeting in the country

I sincerely hope that this publication would further sensitise all the stakeholders and strengthen the governance initiatives in order to achieve our committed goal of gender equality and Gender Budgeting in India.


(RAM MOHAN MISHRA)

ವಂದಿತಾ ಶರ್ಮಾ, ಛಾ.ಆ.ಸೀ.,
ಅಪರ ಮುಖ್ಯ ಕಾರ್ಯದರ್ಶಿ ಮತ್ತು
ಅಭಿವೃದ್ಧಿ ಆಯುಕ್ತರು

VANDITA SHARMA, I.A.S.,
Additional Chief Secretary and
Development Commissioner



ಕರ್ನಾಟಕ ಸರ್ಕಾರ ಸಚಿವಾಲಯ
ವಿಧಾನ ಸೌಧ

Karnataka Government Secretariat
Vidhana Soudha



21st June, 2021

FOREWORD

Gender mainstreaming is a challenging transformative agenda that needs concerted efforts and inputs at both the Government and civil society level. One of the key focus areas of Fiscal Policy Institute has been preparation of Gender Budget every financial year on behalf of Govt. of Karnataka. Gender Budget Document meticulously analyses the allocations towards various govt. schemes and programmes that have a direct and indirect impact on women as a beneficiary category. It shows the concern of the government for gender specific issues and objectives. Other activities of Fiscal Policy Institute like training, capacity building and research activities in the area of Gender Budgeting and Audit are also indicative of its endeavour towards gender mainstreaming.

I am delighted to know that Fiscal Policy Institute is bringing out the publication, '**Gender Mainstreaming in India: Perspectives and Concerns**', containing contributions from eminent academicians, experts and administrators that analyse ongoing gender mainstreaming efforts in various areas and attempts to give an insight into the complex issues. It also enables us to identify the gaps as well as the strategies required to make our efforts more effective to achieve the objectives laid out in the Sustainable Development Goals 2030.

This publication would serve as a valuable resource for all gender related trainings and also as an important reference for planners, researchers and all those interested in understanding gender mainstreaming from a practical perspective.

Fiscal Policy Institute deserves appreciation for conceptualizing and compiling this volume and making it available for the public at large.


(Vandita Sharma)

Gender Mainstreaming: Issues and Challenges

Shalini Rajneesh¹

Introduction

The exclusion of women places half of the world's population outside the realm of opportunity, to partner in building prosperous societies and economies. Some of the glaring indicators of female marginality are - when households cannot access sufficient food, women are often the first to go hungry. While girls are increasingly doing better in school and university than boys, this has not translated into gender equality in the labour market. The gender-pay gap stands at 23 per cent globally and, without decisive action, it may take another 68 years to achieve equal pay. While women have made important inroads into political office across the world, their representation in national parliaments at 23.7 per cent is still a far cry from parity. One in every five women and girls have experienced physical and/or sexual violence by an intimate partner within the last 12 months. Yet, 49 countries have no laws that specifically protect women from such violence. Women continue to do 2.6 times the unpaid care and domestic work that men do (UN Women, 2018). Amidst all these glaring disparities, United Nations Sustainable Development Goal 5 on Gender Equality holds a ray of hope, indicating that by investing in the empowerment of women and mainstreaming them, it is possible to promote sustainable socio-economic development.

What is gender mainstreaming?

Gender mainstreaming means integrating a gender equality perspective at all stages and levels of policies, programmes and projects, so that they benefit both women and men and do not perpetuate inequality between them. There are several hidden socio-economic gender inequalities, which need to be identified and rectified through affirmative action by government as well as society.

The agreed conclusions of United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) 1997, defined gender mainstreaming as, "The process of assessing the implications for women and men of any planned action, including legislation, policies or programmes, in all areas and at all levels. It is a strategy for making women's as well as men's concerns and experiences an integral dimension of the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programmes in all political, economic and societal spheres. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality."

As women and men have different needs and living conditions and circumstances, it leads to unequal access to and control over power, resources, human rights and institutions, including the justice system. The situations of women and men also differ

¹Dr. Shalini Rajneesh, IAS, Additional Chief Secretary to Govt. of Karnataka, Planning, Programme Monitoring and Statistics Department, Government of Karnataka. e-Mail: shalinirajneesh.sr@gmail.com

according to country, region, age, ethnic or social origin, or other factors. Hence, gender mainstreaming has to take into account these differences while designing, implementing and evaluating policies, programmes and projects, and ensure that we achieve gender equality, in a time-bound manner.

As such, gender equality is the overarching and long-term development goal, while gender mainstreaming is a set of specific, strategic approaches as well as technical and institutional processes adopted to achieve that goal. Gender mainstreaming integrates gender equality in national public and private organisations, in central or local policies, and in services and sectoral programmes. In the long run, it aims to transform discriminatory social institutions, laws, cultural norms and community practices, such as those limiting women's access to property rights or restricting their access to public space.

Why mainstreaming

A society in which women cannot realise their full potential loses out on the significant potential for innovation, economic growth, and job creation. For instance, a recent study (IMF, 2018) showed that in India, measures to close the gender gap could lead to a 6.8 per cent gain in GDP. Another study by MGI(2015) estimated that advancing women's equality in India could boost its GDP by \$0.7 trillion in 2025 or 16 per cent as compared to the 'business as usual' scenario.

The International Monetary Fund estimates that India's gross domestic product (GDP) could expand by 27 per cent if the number of female workers increases to the same level as that of male workers. The importance of women's participation in economic growth is also reaffirmed by a study by the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific, which estimates that if India's female labour force participation reached parity with that of the United States (86 per cent), its GDP could gain US\$19 billion. Hence, entrepreneurship and labour force participation remains critical to harness the economic potential of women, and thus achieve the sustainable development goals (SDGs) by 2030 (Sabrina Korreck, 2019).

Basic Principals of mainstreaming

The responsibility for implementing the mainstreaming strategy rests at the highest levels within the agencies implementing it. The basic principles include:

- Need for targeted, women-specific policies and programmes, and positive legislation with women as focal points (ILO).
- Adequate accountability mechanisms for monitoring progress.
- The initial identification of issues and problems across all area(s) of activity should be such that gender differences and disparities can be diagnosed.

- Assumptions that issues or problems are neutral from a gender-equality perspective should never be made.
- Gender analysis should always be carried out in every project.
- Clear political will and allocation of adequate resources for mainstreaming, including additional financial and human resources if necessary, are important for the translation of the concept into practice.
- Efforts should be made to broaden women's equitable participation at all levels of decision-making.

Efforts for gender mainstreaming - international perspectives

Under international human rights laws and agreements, notably the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action, states have committed to eliminating discrimination against women and promoting gender equality. The five-year review and appraisal of the Beijing Platform for Action (Beijing + 5) established 2005 as the target date for the repeal of laws that discriminate against women. Yet the progress achieved was **insignificant**. Hence, achieving greater equality between women and men will require changes at many levels, including changes in attitudes and relationships, changes in institutions and legal frameworks, changes in economic institutions, and changes in political decision-making structures. The 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women endorsed gender mainstreaming as a critical and strategic approach for achieving gender equality commitments. The twenty-third special session of the UN General Assembly, the Millennium Declaration, and a variety of resolutions and decisions of the General Assembly, the Security Council, the Economic and Social Council, and the Commission on the Status of Women, have reiterated the above goals.

Since 2000, UNDP together with the UN partners and the rest of the global community have made gender equality a global agenda. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) marked a historic and effective method of global mobilisation to achieve a set of important social priorities worldwide. The agenda of MDGs was further carried forward in a broadbased and quantifiable form through Sustainable Development Goals 2016-2030. Goal 3 of MDG covered gender equality. The task is carried forward in SDG-5, focusing on gender equality.

Gender mainstreaming in India - efforts and outcomes

In India, in recent years, more focused interventions (laws, policies and schemes) inclusive of gender budgeting by the state and central governments have been undertaken to address the issues of women which result from their situation of subordination, oppression and marginalisation in the gender, class and caste hierarchies. The transgender groups also have been brought into the gender related development discourse and the state has directed welfare actions during the last decade through a policy framework.

There are 63 schemes that have been introduced by the central and the state governments for the social and economic empowerment of women exclusively which are included in Category A Schemes of the Gender Budget Document (2020-21). The major schemes include:

1	Rashtriya Mahila Kosh	To provide soft loans for economic activities
2	STEP scheme of the Government of India	Support To Training And Employment Programme For Women to provide competencies and skills that enable women to become self-employed/entrepreneurs. The scheme is intended to benefit women who are in the age group of 16 years and above across the country.
3	Sabala - Empowerment of adult girl child	This scheme, called the Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls (RGSEAG) SABLA, has been implemented in 9 districts (Kalaburagi, Kolar, Bengaluru Rural, Ballari, Vijayapura, Dharwad, Chikkamagaluru, Uttara Kannada and Kodagu) of the state.
4	Beti Bachao Beti Padhao	To increase female sex ratio and arrest foeticide.
5	One Stop Centre Scheme	A scheme for the rehabilitation women in difficult circumstances
6	Women Helpline Scheme	A scheme for women in difficult circumstances
7	UJJAWALA	A comprehensive scheme for the prevention of trafficking and rescue, rehabilitation and re-integration of victims of trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation
8	Working Women's Hostels	To provide safe and economical shelter to improve women's labour participation rate
9	Swadhar Greh Scheme	A scheme for the rehabilitation women in difficult circumstances
10	Mahila Shakti Kendras (MSK)	To empower rural women through community participation and to create an environment in which they realise their full potential. It provides an interface for rural women to approach the government for availing their entitlements, also empowering them through training and capacity building.
11	Nirbhaya	Nirbhaya Fund - which can be utilised for projects specifically designed to improve the safety and security of women. It is a non-lapsable corpus fund, being administered by the Department of Economic Affairs, Ministry of Finance.

12	PradhanMantriMatru Vandana Yojana & Matrupoorna Yojane	Financial assistance and nutritional support to women. Matrupoorna provides hot cooked meals to pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers through the existing system of Anganwadi centres.
13	Entrepreneurship Development and Support schemes (Swa Shakti Project and Swayam Siddha Scheme)	Financial assistance for sustainable livelihood and asset ownership
14	Skill development and training for minority women, training of Anganawadi workers and helpers	Economically empower women through capacity building
15	Training programmes for women entrepreneurs	Entrepreneurship development

Apart from these central schemes, there are other state schemes that seek to economically empower women by providing financial assistance for sustainable livelihood and asset ownership etc. In Karnataka, schemes like Animal Husbandry Programme for Women, Micro Credit to SCs/STs/Minorities through SHGs, Interest Subsidy for Women through KSFC, Udyogini, Samruddhi-KWDC, Stree Shakti, Self Employment Scheme, New Pension System for Anganawadi Workers, Pradhan Mantri Awas Yojane Grameena, Dhanashree, Ashraya Basava Vasathi, Living cum Workshed Scheme and Vajapayee House Sites for Urban Landless etc are being implemented for women empowerment. Although these schemes address specific needs of women, they do not attempt to remove the basic obstacles coming in the way of gender mainstreaming, for example the labour force participation.

Gender budget

In Karnataka, the state has had the advantage of many fiscal reforms initiatives in Public Expenditure Management including Programme Performance Budgeting (PPB), Monthly Programme Implementation Calendar (MPIC), Result Framework Document (RFD) and Gender Budgeting (GB). Karnataka has also been a pioneer in GB initiatives. Ashok Lahiri Committee (July 2004) recommended pilot introduction of GB in one of the states and Karnataka was chosen for this purpose. It was highlighted in the budget speech of Karnataka in 2006-07 as:

'Gender based budgeting helps to prioritize and orient public expenditure to reflect the concerns of women. To give focus to this, a Gender Budget Cell would be set up in the Finance Department to identify the quantum of resource allocation and expenditure for women and proper translation of policy commitment'

Para, 25 of Budget speech of 2006

Gender budget cell at Fiscal Policy Institute

Based on the proposal of the Finance Minister, a Gender Budget Cell (GBC) was established by the Finance Department, Government of Karnataka, vide G.O No. FD 21 GIE 2005, Bangalore, dated 29th January 2007, in the Fiscal Policy Institute. Since its inception in 2007-2008, the Government of Karnataka has been submitting the GB Statement document to the Legislature. The GBS document is prepared in line with that of the Union Budget. About 60 schemes are included in category A and 698 schemes in Category B.

As per the Budget Estimates 2020-21, total budgetary allocation of GoK is Rs. 23789333 lakh. The percentage of this allocation towards Gender Budget is 15.88. This amounts to Rs. 3778341 lakh. Out of this total gender allocation, Rs. 473234 lakh (12.52 %) is budgeted for programmes and schemes under Category A. The remaining gender allocation of Rs. 3305106 lakh is budgeted for programmes and schemes under Category B. During 2019-20, there were 62 programmes and schemes under Category A and 725 under Category B. During 2020-21, the number of schemes has increased to 63 (Category A) and 890 (Category B).

Despite the implementation of various schemes, gender inequality continues to exist at a significant level in the country, as is evident from the Gender Inequality Index (GII) value of 0.668 and in the Global Gender Gap index India is placed at 112th position among 153 countries. These inequalities are evident in access to paid employment and significant gaps between men and women in the labour market. The reproductive function of women is the major reason for economic discrimination in the labour market. Hence, policies which compensate and incentivise an equal employment ratio need to be enforced both in government/private sectors.

Gender mainstreaming - outcomes

The SDG Index -2019 report published by NITI Aayog has brought out the state performance in indicators of gender mainstreaming and empowerment.

Table No:1 - State Performance in SDG 5: Priority Indicators

SNO	States / UTs	Sex ratio at birth	Female to male ratio of average wage/salary earnings received during the preceding calendar month among regular wage salaried employees (rural+urban)	"Rate of Crimes Against Women Per 100,000 Female Population "	"Percentage of ever married women aged 15-49 years who have ever experienced spousal violence "	Proportion of sexual crime against girl children to total crime against children during the calendar year	Percentage of seats won by women in the general elections to state legislative assembly	Female labour force participation rate (LFPR)	Operational land holdings - gender wise*
1	Andhra Pradesh	916	0.68	68.90	45.2	63.08	8	34.40	1.76
2	Arunachal Pradesh	Null	0.72	53.40	34.8	55.49	3.33	10.70	0.01

SNO	States / UTs	Sex ratio at birth	Female to male ratio of average wage/salary earnings received during the preceding calendar month among regular wage salaried employees (rural+urban)	“Rate of Crimes Against Women Per 100,000 Female Population “	“Percentage of ever married women aged 15-49 years who have ever experienced spousal violence “	Proportion of sexual crime against girl children to total crime against children during the calendar year	Percentage of seats won by women in the general elec- tions to state legislative assembly	Female labour force participation rate (LFPR)	Oper- ational land hold- ings - gender wise*
3	Assam	915	0.74	143.60	26.6	43.04	6.35	9.80	0.03
4	Bihar	900	0.82	28.80	45.2	47.82	11.52	2.80	1.58
5	Chhattisgarh	961	0.66	61.10	38.1	76.15	14.44	36.50	0.38
6	Goa	Null	0.80	39.60	14.8	36.54	5	24.70	0.01
7	Gujarat	855	0.72	27.00	23	80.83	7.14	15.40	0.60
8	Haryana	833	1.03	88.70	34.3	56.70	14.44	10.70	0.16
9	Himachal Pradesh	918	0.74	35.70	7	35.84	5.88	39.70	0.05
10	Jharkhand	916	0.50	35.60	34.8	72.64	10.39	10.90	0.21
11	Karnataka	929	0.70	45.20	24.4	62.06	3.14	20.40	1.20
12	Kerala	948	0.97	60.20	16.3	82.41	5.71	21.30	1.20
13	Madhya Pradesh	916	0.96	78.60	34.8	43.62	9.13	23.40	0.82
14	Maharashtra	881	0.81	55.00	23.1	59.67	6.94	24.10	1.49
15	Manipur	Null	0.75	18.10	54.7	44.19	3.33	17.70	0.01
16	Meghalaya	Null	0.75	40.70	31	142.34	5	34.90	0.05
17	Mizoram	Null	0.96	57.60	17.5	170.26	0	23.40	0.01
18	Nagaland	Null	0.80	6.90	16.6	88.12	0	13.10	0.01
19	Odisha	938	0.63	94.50	36.4	58.47	8.84	15.00	0.14
20	Punjab	886	0.96	34.10	21.2	57.74	5.13	12.30	0.01
21	Rajasthan	856	0.89	73.30	26.4	51.45	12	19.30	0.53
22	Sikkim	Null	0.92	53.10	3.5	99.19	9.38	34.20	0.00
23	Tamil Nadu	907	0.72	15.50	44.6	74.57	9.33	27.20	1.07
24	Telangana	897	0.59	94.70	46	90.32	5.04	26.10	0.94
25	Tripura	Null	0.76	51.20	29.7	112.59	5	10.10	0.05
26	Uttar Pradesh	878	1.25	53.20	38.3	72.06	10.55	9.40	1.25
27	Uttarakhand	841	0.78	36.80	14.4	57.96	7.14	13.70	0.07
28	West Bengal	939	0.57	67.30	35	59.04	13.93	16.40	0.16
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Null	0.92	47.70	19.6	100.78	Null	25.40	0.00
30	Chandigarh	Null	0.81	59.80	22.5	25.67	Null	19.10	0.00
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Null	0.75	9.90	36.3	75.00	Null	26.40	0.00
32	Daman & Diu	Null	0.56	23.00	28.8	52.00	Null	19.90	0.00
33	Delhi	850	0.70	133.30	29.6	36.52	8.57	11.20	0.00

SNO	States / UTs	Sex ratio at birth	Female to male ratio of average wage/salary earnings received during the preceding calendar month among regular wage salaried employees (rural+urban)	"Rate of Crimes Against Women Per 100,000 Female Population "	"Percentage of ever married women aged 15-49 years who have ever experienced spousal violence "	Proportion of sexual crime against girl children to total crime against children during the calendar year	Percentage of seats won by women in the general elections to state legislative assembly	Female labour force participation rate (LFPR)	Operational land holdings - gender wise*
34	Jammu & Kashmir	917	1.00	51.90	13.9	14.79	2.3	22.90	0.07
35	Lakshadweep	Null	Null	14.00	8.9	200.00	Null	14.60	0.00
36	Puducherry	Null	0.81	19.30	40.3	143.16	13.33	14.00	0.01
	India	896	0.78	57.90	33.3	59.97	8.32	17.5	13.96

The dismal performance is evident from the fact that the sex ratio at birth is as low as 833 in Haryana, the female-male wage ratio is 0.5 in Jharkhand. 33 per cent of women on the average experience spousal violence, 60 per cent of total crimes are sexual crimes against girl children. The Female Labour Force Participation Rate is as low as 17.5 per cent. Although Karnataka fares well compared to most states, yet Kerala has made almost double its progress. The striking feature of Kerala is its matrilineal social structure and high female literacy which has promoted a strong organisational and entrepreneurial spirit that stands up to discriminatory practices and ensures gender mainstreaming. While it would take a longer period to change the patriarchal system in society, it is certainly possible to improve literacy and entrepreneurship among women. In Norway, the gender mainstreaming campaign was titled 'Every Second,' meaning thereby that every second opportunity would be given to a woman by grooming her and society and institutions likewise to bring in gender parity. This is perhaps the way forward!

The SDG 5 index for states and Union Territories is presented in the following table.

Table No:2 SDG 5 Index for States and Union Territories

SNO	States / UTs	Sex ratio at birth	"Female to male ratio of average wage/salary earnings received during the preceding calendar month among regular wage salaried employees (rural+urban) "	"Rate of Crimes Against Women Per 100,000 Female Population "	"Percentage of ever married women aged 15-49 years who have ever experienced spousal violence "	Proportion of sexual crime against girl children to total crime against children during the calendar year	Percentage of seats won by women in the general elections to state legislative assembly	Female labour force participation rate (LFPR)	Operational land holdings - gender wise*	SDG5 Index Score
1	Andhra Pradesh	69	36	52	17	68	16	33	4	37
2	Arunachal Pradesh	Null	44	63	36	72	7	8	0	33

SNO	States / UTs	Sex ratio at birth	“Female to male ratio of average wage/salary earnings received during the preceding calendar month among regular wage salaried employees (rural+urban) “	“Rate of Crimes Against Women Per 100,000 Female Population “	“Percentage of ever married women aged 15-49 years who have ever experienced spousal violence “	Proportion of sexual crime against girl children to total crime against children during the calendar year	Percentage of seats won by women in the general elections to state legislative assembly	Female labour force participation rate (LFPR)	Operational land holdings - gender wise*	SDG5 Index Score
3	Assam	68	48	0	51	78	13	7	0	33
4	Bihar	55	64	80	17	76	23	0	3	40
5	Chhattisgarh	100	31	57	30	62	29	35	1	43
6	Goa	Null	61	72	73	82	10	23	0	46
7	Gujarat	18	43	81	58	60	14	13	1	36
8	Haryana	0	100	38	37	72	29	8	0	36
9	Himachal Pradesh	70	48	75	87	82	12	38	0	52
10	Jharkhand	69	0	75	36	64	21	8	0	34
11	Karnataka	79	41	69	55	69	6	18	2	42
12	Kerala	95	93	58	70	59	11	19	2	51
13	Madhya Pradesh	69	92	45	36	78	18	21	2	45
14	Maharashtra	40	62	62	58	70	14	22	3	41
15	Manipur	Null	50	87	0	78	7	15	0	34
16	Meghalaya	Null	49	72	43	29	10	33	0	34
17	Mizoram	Null	92	60	68	15	0	21	0	37
18	Nagaland	Null	60	95	70	56	0	11	0	42
19	Odisha	87	27	34	33	71	18	13	0	35
20	Punjab	44	92	76	61	71	10	10	0	46
21	Rajasthan	19	79	49	52	74	24	17	1	39
22	Sikkim	Null	84	63	94	50	19	32	0	49
23	Tamil Nadu	61	43	89	18	63	19	25	2	40
24	Telangana	53	18	34	16	55	10	24	2	26
25	Tripura	Null	53	64	46	44	10	8	0	32
26	Uttar Pradesh	37	100	63	30	64	21	7	3	41
27	Uttarakhand	7	55	74	74	71	14	11	0	38
28	West Bengal	88	13	53	36	70	28	14	0	38
29	Andaman & Nicobar Islands	Null	84	67	64	50	Null	23	0	48
30	Chandigarh	Null	63	58	59	87	Null	17	0	47
31	Dadra & Nagar Haveli	Null	50	93	34	63	Null	24	0	44
32	Daman & Diu	Null	13	84	47	74	Null	18	0	39

SNO	States / UTs	Sex ratio at birth	“Female to male ratio of average wage/salary earnings received during the preceding calendar month among regular wage salaried employees (rural+urban) “	“Rate of Crimes Against Women Per 100,000 Female Population “	“Percentage of ever married women aged 15-49 years who have ever experienced spousal violence “	Proportion of sexual crime against girl children to total crime against children during the calendar year	Percentage of seats won by women in the general elections to state legislative assembly	Female labour force participation rate (LFPR)	Operational land holdings - gender wise*	SDG5 Index Score
33	Delhi	14	40	7	46	82	17	9	0	27
34	Jammu & Kashmir	69	99	64	75	93	5	21	0	53
35	Lakshadweep	Null	Null	90	84	0	Null	12	0	37
36	Puducherry	Null	62	87	26	28	27	12	0	35
37	India	52	57	60	39	70	17	15	28	42
	Target	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Aspirant (0-49) Performer (50-64) Front Runner (65-99) Achiever (100)

Source: SDG Index 2019

All the states are in aspirational category indicating that the agenda is not achieved even up to 50%. Only Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh and Kerala are hovering near the cut-off Aspirational line. No state is in Front Runner and Achiever category. (Aspirant 0-49) Performer (50-64) Front Runner (65-99) Achiever (100). This indicates that a strong action plan with adequate resource commitment and continuous monitoring and evaluation is required if the targets are to be achieved by 2030. The above narration clearly points out the need for the following actions:

1. The courts have to take up gender crimes on top priority and on fast track, like that of cases under the Domestic Violence Act.
2. The government has to make stricter laws, different punishment and rigorous enforcement.
3. The political parties have to move towards 50% seats for women by 2030.
4. Land being the most important economic empowerment factor, the ownership of land has to be made 50:50 to drive a change in mindsets.
5. Labour laws need to be given a face-lift by mandating 50% female labour force participation.

Major challenges

Elimination of all forms of violence against all women and girls

Sexual violence against women is pervasive in India. According to the latest data released by the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB), India recorded 88 rape cases every day in 2019. The northwestern state of Rajasthan reported almost 6,000 rape cases in 2019 followed by Uttar Pradesh with 3,065 cases.

- There were a total of 4,05,861 cases of crime against women which were registered in 2019. The number is a 7.3% increase over last year's where the number of registered cases were 3,78,236.
- 30.9% of the crimes against women were labelled under 'Cruelty by husband or his relatives.' This implies that 30.9% of all the crimes last year against women were perpetrated by people who were close to the victim.
- 21.8% of these crimes were registered under 'Assault on women with intent to outrage her modesty.'
- There were 1,08,025 victims of kidnapping or abduction in 2019, out of which 84,921 were women. Among these, 55,370 female victims were children.
- Out of the 3,80,526 people who went missing last year, 2,48,397 were women. The overall figure of missing persons in the country has increased by 9.5% in 2019 from last year. (NCRB report,2019).

The elimination of these crimes requires a strong women police force, women police stations, security arrangements at public places and a strong judicial system for providing justice to women. There is a need for effective implementation of the existing protective legislation for women. Further, in the long run, there is a need to change the mindsets of the people to promote a healthy and safe atmosphere for women.

Increasing the labour force participation rate

The economic empowerment of women holds the key to change and equality. Despite significant strides, India's growth story has ignored women. The World Bank estimates that 75% of working-age women (35% of India's working-age population) currently do not have paid work. Only 59% of women have access to mobile phones, with an abysmally low internet penetration rate of 19%, and only 35% of women actively use their bank accounts, further limiting their opportunities. In rural India, while 75 per cent of rural women workers are engaged in agriculture, women's operational landholding is only 13.96 per cent. Lack of gender disaggregated data in land records makes it difficult to implement the 2005 Act.

India's female Labour Force Participation Rate (LFPR)—the share of working-age women who report either being employed, or being available for work—has fallen to a historic low of 23.3% in 2017-18, meaning that over three out of four women over the

age of 15 in India are neither working nor seeking work. (The age of 15 is the cut-off used for global comparisons by the International Labour Organisation.) This would imply that they are most likely running the house and taking care of children.

Women's access to the modern production sector and jobs has to be increased to increase their LFPR. Education, entrepreneurship development and skilling play a major role.

Promoting entrepreneurship and self-employment

Entrepreneurship among women is a vital component of the overall solution. It not only boosts the economy through job creation, but also delivers transformational social and personal outcomes for women. Today, India has 13.5-15.7 million women-owned enterprises, representing 20% of all enterprises. While large in absolute numbers, these overwhelmingly comprise single person enterprises, and a large number of these enterprises are in traditional sector. Further, several enterprises reported as women-owned are not in fact controlled or run by women. Therefore, an integrated approach is required to promote sustainable enterprises.

The basic components of the strategy are:

- a. Individual and Group Entrepreneurship
- b. Training & skilling in modern production enterprises: The 'Skill Sakhi' model
- c. Provision of credit facilities: Atma Nirbhar and other such packages.
- d. Marketing linkage: e-marketing platform e-trading
- e. Provision of **support facilities** like **Special Industrial Parks, infrastructure facilities, higher subsidies, marketing facilities, raw materials** to individual women entrepreneurs and groups.

The call to action is for a coordinated effort across a few key themes—an enabling and comprehensive policy framework, equal access to finance, expansion of mentorship and networking channels, tailored knowledge and capability building, and cultural openness. (Bain & Company and Google, 2019).

Education and skill development

Though the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) is higher among girls, yet their participation in the labour market and in the organised sector employment is low, indicating the fact that girls do not have the required domain knowledge and skills that are demanded in the expanding labour market in the organised sector. There is a need to increase girls' enrolment in technical education which is less than a third in engineering courses and less than 30 % including polytechnic courses.

Girls' access to vocational education and skill development needs to be increased

through special provision under Pradhan Mantri Kaushal Vikas Yojana (PMKVY) and state schemes. The increased access to education and work will reduce the burden of domestic work also.

HOW EDUCATION BEATS HOME WORK

Distribution of women attending domestic duties by age group and level of education 2017-18 (%)

Level of Education	Age Group		
	15-29	30-59	15-59
Illiterate	8.0	26.1	18.5
Up to middle level	23.9	24.7	24.4
Secondary	14.3	9.8	11.7
Graduate and above	6.0	4.7	5.3
Total	52.3	65.4	59.9

Source: Annual Report, PLFS 2017-18 Note: Graduate and above includes diploma/certificate courses



Effective participation in decision making process.

The 2011 UN General Assembly resolution on women's political participation reiterated that "women in every part of the world continue to be largely marginalised from the political sphere, often as a result of discriminatory laws, practices, attitudes and gender stereotypes, low levels of education, lack of access to health care, and the disproportionate effect of poverty on women." Therefore, to eliminate a multi-faceted problem like gender inequality, a multi-pronged approach must be adopted; and among the various initiatives, political empowerment of women could act as a catalyst. Political empowerment could lead to opening of more opportunities for women and as a result, create a level playing field for them.

In India, between the First Lok Sabha (1952) and the Sixteenth Lok Sabha (2014), women's representation has increased from 4.4 per cent to 11.9 per cent. A similar trend of low representation of women is also observed in the Rajya Sabha (Upper House) during the entire period of post-Independence era. Women's representation in Rajya Sabha has increased from 6.9 per cent in 1952 to 11.4 per cent in 2014. Again, these figures are substantially lower compared to the global average of 22.9 per cent and Asian average of 16.3 per cent of women representatives in the Upper House.

Therefore, it is imperative that the government takes legislative and constitutional reforms to ensure women's fair access to political spheres, especially in the Lok Sabha (Lower House) and Rajya Sabha (Upper House). There is an urgent need to bring back to the table the Women's Reservation Bill guaranteeing 33 per cent reservation to women.

Women need to be trained to take effective participation in governance at all levels. More coaching centres for girls with adequate facilities are required to facilitate the entry of women in higher levels of administration as IAS and IPS officers.

Pandemic and gender

Gender mainstreaming and gender equality continues to remain a grey area in the 21st century also. The effects of the Covid-19 pandemic may reverse the limited progress that has been made on gender equality and women's rights. The coronavirus outbreak exacerbates existing inequalities for women and girls across every sphere - from health and the economy, to security and social protection. The pandemic has also led to a steep increase in violence against women and girls. Women play a disproportionate role in responding to the virus, including as frontline healthcare workers and care givers at home. Women's unpaid care work has increased significantly as a result of school closures and the increased needs of elderly people. Women are also harder hit by the economic impacts of Covid-19, as they disproportionately work in insecure labour markets. Nearly 60 per cent of women work in the informal economy, which has put them at greater risk of falling into poverty.

Conclusion

Gender mainstreaming is now a global agenda and the development process in future will be sustainable only if it is gender inclusive. A major strategy would be to strengthen the economic independence of women and raise the percentage of women in employment and valuing their unpaid work. This implies getting more women into work and making it possible for them by sharing the work between men and women in the care economy more equitably. A safe and secure environment, free from violence is essential to harness the potential of women. Given the targets to be achieved by 2030, the task is huge and requires action on mission mode on all fronts. Attaining the targets not only in SDG-5 but in all the 17 goals is mandatory to promote gender mainstreaming and equality.

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Malnutrition, the Anganwadi System and Women's Work*

Uma Mahadevan¹

It is heartening that data from the fifth round of the National Family Health Survey (NFHS-5) shows gains in some important areas. In most of the 22 states and Union territories surveyed, infant mortality rates and under-five mortality rates have fallen; and institutional births and child immunisation rates have increased. Access to improved drinking water and sanitation has increased in almost all areas surveyed.

However, on child malnutrition, it is clear that beyond behaviour change communication and regular growth monitoring, direct nutrition interventions are essential - especially during pregnancy, breastfeeding and in the early years of a child's life.

Karnataka has seen a significant reduction in child malnutrition: lower rates of wasting, severe wasting, underweight, and even a slight reduction in stunting.

Malnutrition is a complex societal problem, embedded in a fraught mix of social norms, gender discrimination, drought, migration, and chronic poverty. There is no simple "fix" or magic bullet. Reducing malnutrition requires a special focus on ensuring quality nutrition and care in the "first 1,000 days", from conception till the age of 2 years, that are critical for a child's development. But beyond this, it also requires a comprehensive, multisectoral, lifecycle approach to the problems faced by girls and women, and to the social determinants of malnutrition.

Along with counselling and behaviour change communication, pregnant women, lactating mothers and young children need hot cooked meals with adequate protein, milk, and green leafy vegetables. Studies have shown that there are several weaknesses in the take-home rations programme for pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers, such as the possibility of pilferage; uneven quality; supplementary nutrition rations getting shared within the family; and finally, even if consumed by the pregnant woman, the quantity tends to be insufficient to meet her Recommended Daily Allowance. States like Karnataka, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana have therefore replaced take-home rations for mothers with daily hot cooked meals, funding the additional cost from their own resources. For younger children, replacing contractor-based take-home ration programmes by supplementary nutrition supplied by local women's groups would help to sustain the local economy of the village.

¹Uma Mahadevan, IAS, Principal Secretary (Panchayat Raj), Rural Development and Panchayat Raj Department, GoK. e-Mail: umamahadevan@gmail.com

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Milk is also an important part of the supplementary nutrition programme, as for example in Karnataka. Karnataka is the second largest milk producing state in India. The state provides a glass of milk five times a week to over 10 million (one crore) children aged six months and above upto Class 10 in anganwadis and government and aided schools. This programme was further extended to all special schools for children with disabilities receiving state grants. The milk programme was also extended to all pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers as part of the daily hot cooked meal at the anganwadi. The milk programme provides valuable protein and calcium to children and mothers, as well as an assured income to milk farmers in the state, a large section of whom are women.

Hot cooked meals for pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers also provide an opportunity for frontline workers to layer health interventions such as iron and folic acid tablets, calcium, deworming, tetanus toxoid, and early childhood stimulation and parenting sessions. Instead of frontline workers going to each woman's house, if the eligible women come to the anganwadi, then it makes it easier to provide all women with appropriate services and counselling. Mothers' lunch groups at the anganwadi also function as informal social networks, helping women to support each other during stressful times.

Evidence is key to guide future policy interventions. An important study by Public Health Foundation of India (PHFI) of Karnataka's Mathrupoorna programme for pregnant women and breastfeeding mothers found a reduction in anaemia, improved gestational weight gain, improved birth weight, and reduced depression among women participants.

Beyond the "first thousand days", the intergenerational cycle of malnutrition and its social determinants call for a life cycle approach. Such an approach should address the complex social ill of child marriage. One of the most effective ways to prevent child marriage is supporting girls to stay in high school. Grassroots social empowerment programmes should focus on identifying obstacles to girls' education in order to increase girls' enrolment, access and retention in secondary education. Adolescent girls' nutritional status and anaemia can be improved by extending the mid-day meal programme to secondary educational institutions, as some states have done.

Malnutrition should also be understood in the context of women's work. On an MGNREGA worksite in Kolar, Karnataka, last year, a male worker came up to me and said that men ought to be paid more than women. I asked him why. "Adhu yaavaagalu hange," he replied "That was how it always was. Not so in MGNREGA", I told him.

With equal wages for women and men, and direct payments to workers' bank accounts, MGNREGA helps women to increase their incomes. Another major programme which can improve women's livelihood, their social empowerment and their lives is the National Rural Livelihood Mission (NRLM). Increased incomes give women more voice in family decisions, and the ability to care better for their families and themselves.

But all this is possible only with access to safe and reliable childcare. Childcare enables women to go out of their homes to earn a livelihood. Longer working hours for the anganwadi, such as in Karnataka where it runs from 9.30 am to 4 pm, will help women go out to do paid work, including on MGNREGA worksites. Mobile creches for younger children at these worksites and construction sites will help women to work without anxiety about their children's safety and well-being.

The anganwadi system needs strengthening. Regular supportive supervision is essential to monitor the functioning of these early childhood centres. Although anganwadi supervisors are tasked with a set of anganwadis to supervise, they must depend on public transport to reach these anganwadis. Anganwadi supervisors can be supported with interest-free loans and fuel allowance to buy two-wheelers, enabling them to provide regular guidance to their cluster. Their skills should be upgraded with certificate courses on nutrition and early childhood stimulation.

Anganwadi workers, supervisors, ASHAs, and ANMs need a convergent technology platform which empowers them with relevant data and helps them to reach all mothers and children. Such a platform should be managed by the state to cater to its specific local requirements and state-specific programmes. Online training at scale has been the discovery of the pandemic year. Anganwadi workers and supervisors can be supported for professional development through live online sessions on nutrition, growth monitoring and early childhood education.

Anganwadi infrastructure needs attention: sturdy buildings, kitchens, stores, toilets, play areas and fenced compounds; functional water connections and arrangements for handwashing. To cater to multiple meal requirements, anganwadi kitchens need double-burner stoves, gas cylinders, pressure cookers and sufficient steel cooking vessels. Kitchen gardens should be planted with drought-resistant and highly nutritive plants like moringa.

The most effective platform for community action on the ground is the gram panchayat. We often talk about the “last mile” for communication services. The panchayat should be the “first mile” for social welfare services. There are around 250,000 gram panchayats in India, and nearly 14 lakh anganwadis, the majority in rural areas. The anganwadi should become the hub of mother-child activities in the village, and leadership of anganwadi committees should be devolved to mothers. The anganwadi committee, chaired by a stakeholder mother and including other parents, grandparents and the panchayat ward member, should be a subcommittee of the gram panchayat, as is the case in Karnataka. It should meet every month on a fixed day and its discussions should be presented to the gram panchayat for action.

Exclusion and convergence are two major challenges in social welfare programmes. Local governments are best placed to address locally the problem of exclusion. They can ensure coverage of the poorest women and children, especially nomadic and semi-nomadic communities, and seasonal migrants such as brick workers and sugarcane

harvesters. Panchayats are also the best forum to prevent child marriage and ensure that all girls stay in school.

Convergent action on the ground is a strength of gram panchayats. Anganwadi workers, ASHAs, ANMs and anganwadi supervisors can work together with panchayat members to ensure that all children and mothers are covered with immunisation, antenatal care, maternity benefits and nutrition services. Gram panchayats can use their funds, converged with MGNREGA, to provide sturdy buildings, clean drinking water, sanitation, composting, and strengthen anganwadis. They can engage women's collectives under NRLM for anganwadi and school needs, and provide panchayat services such as end-to-end solid waste management, water pump operations, surveys, bill collections and management of fair price shops. Such steps will increase women's individual and group incomes in sustainable ways. They will also lead to more engaged participation in local governance by women and eventually, their greater social and economic empowerment.

Education Sector Gender Budgeting in India

Mona Khare¹

Introduction

Gender-responsive budgeting aims at mainstreaming gender into public finance. Since the Fourth World Conference of Women held in 1995 in Beijing, gender mainstreaming has become an internationally acknowledged strategy for promoting gender equality. The Beijing Platform for Action explicitly refers to the “integration of a gender perspective in budgetary decisions on policies and programmes, as well as the adequate financing of specific programmes for securing equality between women and men”. In the Beijing Plus 5 document, it was reiterated that limited resources at the state level make it imperative that innovative approaches to the allocation of existing resources be employed, not only by governments but also by non-governmental organisations and the private sector. Gender analysis of public budgets is emerging as an important tool for determining the differential impact of expenditures on women and men to help ensure equitable use of existing resources. The Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development defines gender budgeting as “integrating a clear gender perspective within the overall context of the budgetary process through special processes and analytical tools, to promote gender-responsive policies” (OECD, 2016). It is considered crucial to promote gender equality and has been embraced by countries across the globe. Australia was the first country to have initiated Gender budgeting in the 1980s and proved that it has multiplier effects on poverty eradication, employment generation etc. Thereafter several countries in Asia, Europe, America, Pacific, Africa and the Middle East adopted Gender Budgeting.

Section I. Why Gender Budgeting in Education?

The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was adopted by the UN General Assembly way back in 1979. CEDAW emphasised the importance of gender equality not only for promoting prosperity but as a matter of basic human rights. Education being an important component of economic as well as human development received visible attention from the 1990s especially with the publication of United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Human Development Index (HDI) comprising of life expectancy, education and income per capita. Soon, the publication of Gender Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) highlighting gender gaps in human development on three basic dimensions- health, education and living standards became the major indicators of measuring global and regional progress. Simultaneously, the momentum created by

¹Mona Khare, Professor & Head, Department of Educational Finance & CPRHE, NIEPA, New Delhi.
e-Mail: mona_khare@rediffmail.com

the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and the Education for All (EFA) agenda in the 1990s set off significant progress towards achieving Universal Elementary Education and improving educational opportunities for all at all levels and in all fields of study. As a result, the issue of gender inequalities in the education sector also received a lot of attention. Gender equality commitments are clearly outlined in the newly-formulated Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) too, for not just improving equality in access to education but also reducing gender gaps in learning outcomes thereby targeting quality inclusive education.

Data suggest that despite several efforts globally and nationally by countries across the world large number of girls are still unable to enrol and/or complete schooling, the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of girls dropping down sharply from primary through secondary to tertiary education. The 10-year review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action pointed out that of the 104 million children in school-age that are out of school, 57% are girls. Worldwide, for every 100 boys out-of-school, there are 122 girls. In some countries, this gap is even wider. For example, in Yemen, for every 100 boys out of school, there are 270 girls, in Iraq 316 girls, in India 426 girls, and Benin 257 girls (UNESCO, 2007). Not very long ago, the UN had proclaimed that after poverty, gender is the most influential factor to keep people out of reach with regard to education (United Nations 2013). Gender inequalities in the education sector are concentrated in more vulnerable communities, being significantly higher in urban slums, rural areas, in poverty-stricken communities, among excluded groups (castes, ethnic and linguistic minorities, the disabled), in conflict and fragile regions. Such gaps in education and training are well evidenced in the literature to be having far-reaching effects on women's economic participation and only likely to grow in the new era of the knowledge-centric economy.

Already there is evidence that technological innovations demand new skills leading to “deskilling” of women in the labour force as ‘women tend to be disproportionately vulnerable to the quantitative and qualitative impact of technological change because of their concentration in a relatively small number of lower-skilled, labour-intensive jobs’ (ILO, 1994). Studies across the world have reported “technological unemployment” impacting women more than men as women’s jobs have a 70 per cent or higher probability of automation (IMF 2018). As per an IMF study, 26 million women’s jobs in 30 countries are at high risk of being displaced by technology within the next 20 years. Thus, increasing use of technology in future has all the fears of displacing women in favour of men in employment (Das and Das 2006, IMF 2018, Randstad) thereby adversely affecting their future potential to better education and work which can lead to distorted economic development for all. Thus, specific efforts at mainstreaming women in this new age industrial transformation by investing in their education and training are imperative. Needless to say that this is a long-term dynamic and continuous process of skilling, deskilling and reskilling for sustainable employability (Khare 2016) and would entail focused planning and budgeting. The Commission of the Status of Women (SW) reports to the UN Secretary-General and agreed recommendations of the 55th session of the

CSW reiterate this concern by urging countries to, among other measures, adopt gender-responsive budgeting to ensure that public resources in education, science, technology research and development, benefit women and men equally and contribute to the empowerment of women. It can be observed that Gender inequalities in education are both explicit as well as implicit.

India - Explicit and Implicit Nature of Gender disparities in Education

Disparities can be seen in terms of Explicit and Implicit forms. Although, the Gender Parity Index in education at all levels of education reveals a balanced situation, the disparities are more explicitly visible through Adverse Literacy rates, Adverse Female Graduate Ratio, Adverse Female HE Participation Ratio to name a few and implicitly through India's Gender Inequality Index (GII) and adverse Female employment ratio in majority of the Indian States.

Disparity in Participation: While numbers of girls and women at all levels of education have increased under the EFA goals and the MDGs, access to education, and opportunities and freedoms gained through education remain unequally distributed. According to the latest census estimates, while the literacy rate has risen to 73% in 2011 the gender gap has narrowed only slightly, with women still at literacy levels 16% below men (GOI 2011). Overtly, in primary education, the current enrolment ratio of 940 girls per 1,000 boys seems perfectly in sync with India's overall gender ratio of 940 females per 1000 males. But a closer examination brings various other forms of disparities to light. When it comes to school choice between high fee charging quality private schools to neighbourhood free or low fee charging Govt schools, girls are mostly sent to the latter. There are 1,017 girls enrolled for every 1,000 boys in government schools and only 804 girls for 1,000 boys in private schools. States like Haryana (639 girls per 1,000 boys in private schools, and 998 girls per 1,000 boys in government schools), Rajasthan (643, and 1,060), Delhi (677, and 1,019), Gujarat (689, and 936), Punjab (710, and 816) have greater disparity. Some states like Kerala (967 girls per 1,000 boys in private schools), Bihar (974) and Assam (980) have lesser disparity but no state except Meghalaya has more girls than boys enrolled in private schools.

Disparity in Learning Skills: What is more worrisome is the fact that educational disparities by way of learning achievements in India are striking given their contrast to a worldwide pattern of less marked gender inequality in education. The gap in reading skills in India is especially noteworthy. While girls in most other countries (including 5 developing nations) typically outscore boys in reading as measured on international tests of comparative educational achievement (Lynn and Mikk 2009; Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 2010) the situation in India is reverse. Innumerable social and economic reasons that hinder girls' education more than boys (Govinda), tend to reverse their retention rates, performance level and transition rates (from one school level to another).

Disparity in Course Choices: Similar disparities can be observed when it comes to the choice of courses/institutions, the inequalities only rising by rising levels of education. Gender Parity Index (GPI) in higher education calculated for 18-23 years age group based on the ratio of the female to male in higher education is one of the most popular measures of progress towards gender equity and the level of learning opportunities available for women in relation to those available to men. It also serves as a significant indicator of the empowerment of women in society. It may be noted that this is adverse for a large majority of Indian States. GPI is favourable for women (greater than 1) in only six of the major Indian states in the country and the gap is much higher for ST, SC - being 10 and 4 respectively. (Khare 2020)

Further, a continuing **adverse ratio in course-specific participation** is visible more so at higher levels. Several disciplines continue to remain male bastions, more importantly, the ones that are job-oriented. Gender inequalities and imbalance in the arts, humanities and social sciences is not just akin to India but a reality faced by the world as a whole (Equality Challenge Unit 2011). Female constitute more than half of the student enrollment in Arts and Social Sciences but their representation is lesser even in pure Science and commerce disciplines (Table No. 1).

Table No. 1 Male-Female Ratio in Enrollments at Under Graduate Level in major disciplines

Year	Arts & Social Science	Science & IT/ Computer	Engineering & Technology Total	Commerce	Medical Science	Professional Education	Library & Information Science	Others	Grand Total
2010-11	1	1.7	2.4	1.4	0.9	2	1.2	0.3	1.3
2015-16	0.9	1.1	2.6	1.2	0.6	1.9	NA	0.8	1.1

Source: Khare 2018

Rather in all disciplines, the situation is adverse with the exception of medical education. The gendered biases are more distinct in technical and professional courses where their representation is barely above one fourth and one third respectively. It needs to be stressed here that graduates from the latter disciplines have a higher probability of being in demand by employers. (Khare 2014). As such, women's capacity to actively participate and contribute economically gets stifled at an early stage. Such gender biases are both the cause and consequences of a life-cycle of explicit and implicit discrimination in girls education. The situation is still far worse with very little improvement for women from socially-disadvantaged communities as is evident from Table No.2

Table No.2 Enrollment in Technical Education (% of Female to total)

Year's	SC	ST	OBC	Open	total
2012-13	3.4	0.7	17.9	12.2	34.2
2013-14	3.7	0.8	10.0	11.7	26.2
2014-15	4.2	0.8	9.7	11.4	26.1
2015-16	4.5	0.9	9.9	11.4	26.7
2016-17	4.7	1.0	10.2	11.5	27.3

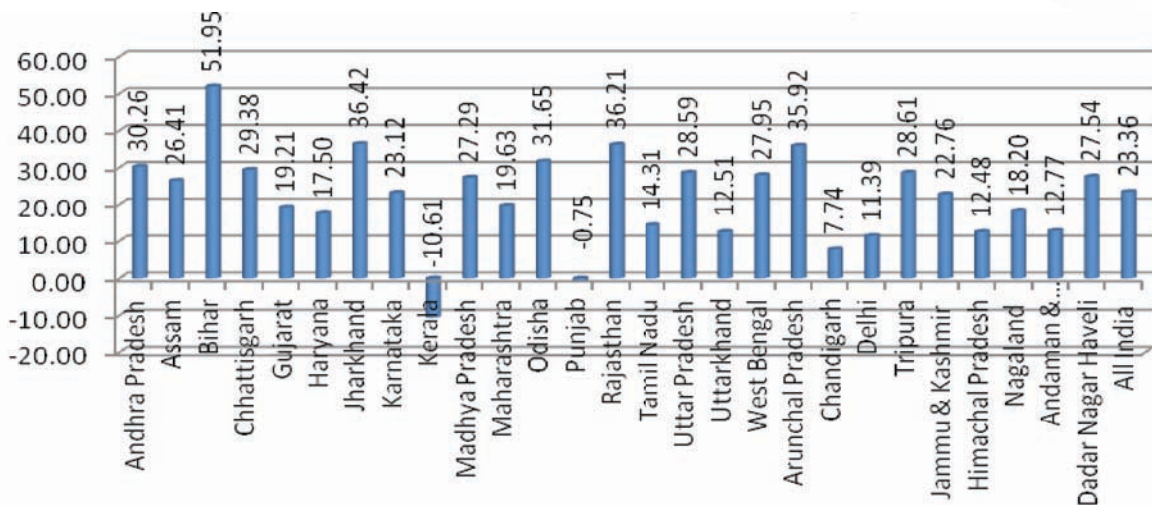
Source: <https://www.facilities.aicte-india.org/dashboard/pages/angulardashboard.php#!/graphs>

Even, those few who get the chance of being part of the technical/professional education rarely find a place in the best quality high-end institutions of good repute. The percentage of girl students in the IITs in India is a bare 8%. Although it is reported that women enrolments are rising fast and the gender gaps narrowing down, women participation continues to be lower in science and technology and high-status disciplines, prestigious institutions globally and in India. (Morley et al 2006, Morley & Lugg 2009, UNESCO 2010, Becher 2006, Beede et.al. 2011, Equality Challenge Unit 2011, Chanana 2012 Bebbington 2002, Dyhouse 2003, AISHE, 2015-16, Khare 2016) and are concentrated in subject areas associated with low-wage sectors of the economy (World Bank, 2002). There are disparities in mathematics and language learning, gendered curricula and subject choices (Morley et al 2006, 2009 EIU 2014, Ramachandran 2010), gender insensitive pedagogy (Welch 2006).

Such disparities in student life tend to get carried forward to the domain of opportunities for work and career progression. Studies from various parts of the world point at under-representation of women in positions of power and decision making, well-paid jobs (British Council 2014, Knight & Richards 2003, Chanana K. 2013, Morley 2013, Khare 2016 Pritchard, 2010)). Reflections from Graduate employment ratios in India substantiate the literature.

Disparity in Graduate Population Ratio: The story that begins at the most basic stage of literacy gets steeper with the gap between Male to Female HE graduates' share in the population being almost a quarter per cent. Such an Adverse Female Graduate Ratio has serious implications for women's economic participation and empowerment in future.

Figure No 1 Gap Between % of Male to Female HE graduates'



Source:- Census 2011,(C-8)

Note self-calculated from C-8 EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY AGE AND SEX FOR POPULATION AGE 7 AND ABOVE - 2011 only for Relevant age population as 21 years and above.

Barring the state of Kerala where the female share in graduate population outnumbers male share by 10% points and Punjab where it is very marginally higher (not even 1%), this ratio favours men in all other States of the country (Fig No.1). The gap is as high as 52% in favour of men in the State of Bihar followed by Jharkhand, Rajasthan and Arunachal Pradesh. These States certainly need to make efforts at correcting this severe skew. Interestingly, both the Southern and Northern States show a relatively better position. In more than 14 States this gap is higher than the All India gap and deserves attention. Reducing this gap becomes all the more pertinent in today's knowledge society where HE is valued highly by the global labour market. If such gaps continue to persist, they may lead to greater empowerment disparities given the highly dynamic, tech-savvy and innovation-driven labour market. The adversity becomes all the more clear when the course/programmatic biases for girls and women are analysed.

Disparity in labour market participation: Data prove that women's transition from HE to Labour Market as well as career advancement is highly-skewed in favour of men as is evident from an *Adverse Graduate Employment Ratio*. As against 69% of male main graduate workers, there are merely 27% of female main graduate workers. However, for the non-worker category, this share is almost reverse with Female graduates comprising 67% as non-workers as against male graduates (Census 2011)*. The situation is no different for even the technically or professionally qualified. Not only is the ratio of male-to-female engineers 1.96, but a current ratio of females to males employed in

the IT industry is also lower than that of the engineering population (India Skills Report, 2014). Available literature says that women engineers not only face difficulty in getting jobs as employers are reluctant, but they get less promotion and fewer salaries as compared to men which eventually lead to less professional recognition. Similarly, only 3 % of legislative, management and senior official positions are quoted to be held by women (Nandy 2014). Underrepresentation of women in senior roles is something that is brought to the fore time and again by several authors (Morley 2011, UNESCO 2012, ECU 2011ASSOCHAM 2012, Jha 2008, The Corporate Gender Gap Report 2010 World Economic Forum 2009).

Gender Development and Gender Inequality Rising: One of the significant causes of the above-highlighted Gender disparities can be stated to be the existing dissonance between India's Gender Development Index and Gender Inequality Index - the two vital indices prepared by UNDP to map women's progress. Although India's GDI has improved in absolute terms in recent years, however, relative to the rest of the world, our ranking has barely changed (Lahiri). India ranked 149 (out of 164) in 2017. On the other hand, even after a moderate improvement in the GII with its value declining from 0.687 in 1995 to 0.524 in 2017, our global ranking went down. Which means we need to focus on bridging the various forms of gender inequality. In fact, of the three components of GDI (Life expectancy index, the education index and the income index) all Indian States fare worst on the education component. The GDI is the ratio of female to male HDI and shows how much are women lagging behind men on each of the three dimensions. According to the human development report 2018, the mean years of schooling for males was 8.2 and for females, it was 4.7. The components of the GII, in India, reveal that only 39% of adult women have reached at least a secondary level of education compared to 63.5% of their male counterparts. GB as embraced by many countries is thus a logical tool to be used.

Section II. Gender Budgeting in India:

Although gender sensitivity while allocating resources might have become more explicit after the introduction of Gender Budgeting in the country, gender perspective on public expenditure made inroads as early as 1974 with the publication of the report of the Committee on the Status of Women. The Sixth Five Year Plan focused on health, education and employment of women and the following Seventh Plan initiated the monitoring of 27 beneficiary-oriented schemes to establish the impact of these schemes on women. However, it was in the Eighth Plan (1992-97) that the need to ensure a definite flow of funds to women was emphasised with the clear statement "special programmes on women should complement the general development programmes". However, this did not make any great difference. As such, the Ninth Five-Year-Plan (1997-2002), not only reaffirmed the earlier commitment but adopted Women Component Plan as one of its major Strategies. Directions were given to both Central and State Governments to ensure a minimum of 30 per cent of the funds/benefits/ to be earmarked in all the women related sectors and be especially vigilant in monitoring them.

As a follow-up measure, the National Policy for the Empowerment of Women was adopted by the Ministry of Women and Child Development in 2001. It was also specifically mentioned that a gender perspective in the budgeting process for all time-bound action plans should be implemented by the Ministries. Almost all countries use a budget call circular or equivalent document that serves as an official notice from the finance ministry instructing government agencies on how to submit their annual budget bids (Budlender, 2015). 2003 saw the formation of Sub-Group on Gender Budgeting by the Ministry of Finance in India in order to develop an Institutional framework and matrix capture of financial data of budgetary allocations from the gender perspective. Both steps were aimed to facilitate and speed up the process of Gender Budgeting in the Government. The Tenth Plan (2002-2007) further elaborated as to how gender differential impact is assessed and gender commitments are translated into budgetary commitments effectively by considering women's Component Plan and Gender Budgeting as complementary tools. Also to ensure that women receive their rightful share from not just women related but all general development sectors, too by the process of dissecting the Government budget. In Budget Speech 2005-06 (Para-25), the Finance Minister for the first time introduced a Gender Budget Statement with growing concern to provide money specifically for women and announced that "in course of time, all Departments will be required to present gender budgets as well as make benefit incidence analyses". (Budget Speech 2005-06, Para-25). The commitment went a step further in the Eleventh Plan (2007-2012) by adding Gender Outcome assessment to Gender Budgeting across the board, initiating the creation of separate Gender Budgeting Cells in all Ministries and Departments to undertake the task of collating relevant data regularly for more evidence-based budgeting and greater transparency by making it available in the public domain. The Twelfth Plan noted in continuation that "Mainstreaming gender through Gender Budgeting" is imperative for furthering Gender equity and hence, its reach needs to be extended to all Ministries, Departments and State Governments.

Gender Budget Statement was first introduced in the Budget 2005-06. The Ministry of Finance, Government of India issued instructions on Gender Budgeting to all Ministries and Departments. Since then, many state governments have prepared a Gender Budget Statement and have started reflecting allocations for women in the GB Statement of the State Budget.

The Gender Budget Statement indicates, in two parts, the budget provisions for schemes that are substantially meant for the benefit of women.

Part A details schemes in which 100% provision is for women and *Part B* reflects schemes where the allocations for women constitute at least 30% of the provision. It can be seen that schemes falling under Category

The structure of Gender Budget in India borrows from Rhonda Sharp's three-way categorisation of expenditure (Sharp, 2003)

- a) **Gender-targeted expenditure;** Gender-specific expenditure targeting women and girls (e.g. women’s literacy projects, women scholarships)
- b) **Equal opportunity expenditure;** Expenditures promoting equal opportunities in the public sector (e.g. evaluation of job descriptions to promote equitable hiring of faculty and
- c) **Mainstream expenditure** (the rest) budget expenditures not included under the two previous ones

Every year the Ministries/Departments are requested through the Annual Budget Circular to highlight the quantum of public expenditure earmarked in the budget for women. The Eleventh Plan (2007-2012) added Gender Outcome assessment to Gender Budgeting across the board, initiating the creation of separate Gender Budgeting Cells in all Ministries and Departments to undertake the task of collating relevant data regularly for more evidence-based budgeting and greater transparency by making it available in the public domain. Gender Budgeting Cells are envisaged as focal points with the Ministry of Women and Child Development (WCD) as the nodal agency for supporting the process of GB. The Ministry WCD has taken several initiatives and even facilitated for engendering the schemes and programmes for better planning and resource prioritisation in the past more than a decade. The Twelfth Plan further noted that “Mainstreaming gender through Gender Budgeting” is imperative for furthering Gender equity and hence its reach needs to be extended to all Ministries, Departments and State Governments. Unfortunately, still many States have not initiated GB (Table No.3)

Table 3: Gender Budgeting in the States - Year of Adoption

Early Adopters	Subsequent Adopters	Recent Adopters
Odhisa 2004-05	Madhya Pradesh 2007-08	Andaman & Nicobar Islands
Tripura 2005-06	Jammu & Kashmir 2007-08	(November 2012)
Uttar Pradesh 2005	Arunachal Pradesh 2007-08	Rajasthan (August 2011)
Karnataka 2006-07	Chhattisgarh 2007-08	Maharashtra (January 2013)
Gujarat 2006	Uttarakhand 2007-08	Dadra Nagar Haveli 2011-12
	Himachal Pradesh 2008	
	Bihar 2008-09	
	Kerala 2008-09	
	Nagaland 2009	

Source: GB Handbook, GOI, 2015

States such as Karnataka, Kerala, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, Chhattisgarh etc, have taken significant steps like identification of a Nodal Department for Gender Budgeting; Constitution of Gender Budgeting Cells; formulation of a State Policy for Gender; setting up Committees for oversight; creating a Gender Data Bank; making

checklists; including a Gender Statement in the State Budget; Capacity Building; preparation of a Brochure and Hand Book; and conducting Performance Audit and linkages with the RFD to institutionalise Gender Budgeting by using a range of mechanisms. Yet education departments in many states are struggling to implement it as per GOI guidelines. *“A gender-responsive budget is a budget that acknowledges the gender patterns in society and allocates money to implement policies and programmes that will change these patterns in a way that moves towards a more gender-equal society”*. (GOI 2015). Given differences in needs, Gender Budgeting is a more complex process to look at every part of the government budget and assess how it will address the different needs of male and female. It is not about simply dividing government money 50-50 between men and women or boys and girls. The overall aim is to ensure that every part of the government budget takes gender differences into account. Gender Budgeting is, therefore, a rather technical exercise and requires specially trained workforce that seems to be deficient.

Efficacy of GB is theoretically assessed on a three-pronged framework comprising of adequacy, responsiveness and impact. While the number of ministries adopting GB has grown consistently from 9 to 35 in the past 10 years and the number of demands too risen almost at the same rate, the magnitude of gender budget as a percentage to total budget started declining from the year 2011-12 such that even the absolute budget declined in the year 2015-16. The percentage share of GB to the total budget that increased from a mere 2.79 in 2005-06 to reach a maximum of 6.22 in 2011-12 to only go down to 4.46 in 2015-16 (Khare 2018). Does this in any way means that the need for specific allocations to improve gender gaps no longer exists is a question that needs greater probe and shall be attempted a little later in the chapter.

Section III. Education Gender Budgeting (EGB)

EGB is an approach designed to mainstream education-related gender dimensions into all stages of the budget cycle from planning to execution to review with the three-pronged objectives to be understood as follows:

1. **Adequacy objective:** It is not necessarily about whether an equal amount is spent on women and men, but whether the spending is adequate to women and men's (pupils and teachers) needs in education. It is thus need-based one.
2. **Responsiveness objective:** Assesses the extent to which the national education budget responds to the needs of boys, girls, men and women, female and male (pupils and teachers) at all levels of the education system. It is thus action-based one.
3. **Impact objective:** Consider the impact of any form of public expenditure or method of raising revenues on women and girls, as compared to men and boys: whether it reduces disparities, increases disparities, promote discrimination etc. It is thus an outcome-based one.

Although, GB includes both the revenue and expenditure aspects this paper is limited to look at only the expenditure side of the GB in education in the following section.

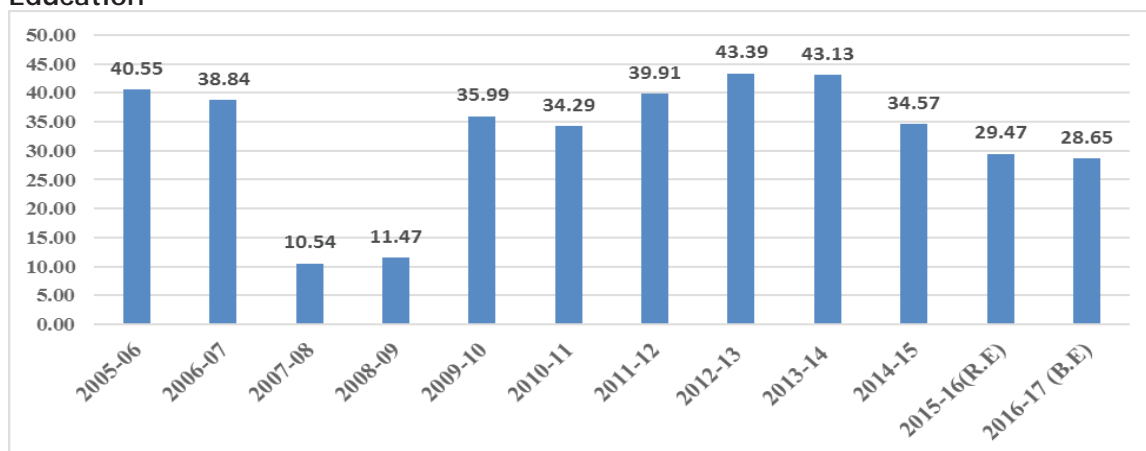
The effectiveness of education financing campaigns can be measured on how far they go in responding to gender issues in education to:

- Promote participation of boys & girls in schools (pre-school, primary, secondary, tertiary, etc)
- Reduce disparities between men and women in adult literacy classes
- Promote fair conditions for both male and female teachers
- Address school-related gender-based violence & discrimination
- Empower men and women in development

Education Sector Gender Budgets in India: Analysing Union Budget

Although GB in education started in the year 2004-05, Gender Budget Cell, Department of Higher Education, was set up only in 2012 in the central Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD). An inter-sectoral comparison of Gender Budgeting in India reveals that the overall share of gender budget in education sector budget is much more than that of the share of consolidated gender budget in the total union budget. While the education sector gender budget is more than 1/3rd of the total education budget (Fig 2), the Percentage of consolidated Gender Budget to Total Union Budget is much lesser and has hovered around 5% since the last decade. However, the share of gender Budget as a whole as well as for the education sector in recent times has declined and forces one to ask questions. The education Sector GB that reached an all-time high in the year 2013-14

Figure 2: Proportion of Gender Budget in Education to Total Public Expenditure on Education



Source: Computed from Gender Budget and Analysis of Budget Expenditure on Education (Various Years Publication)

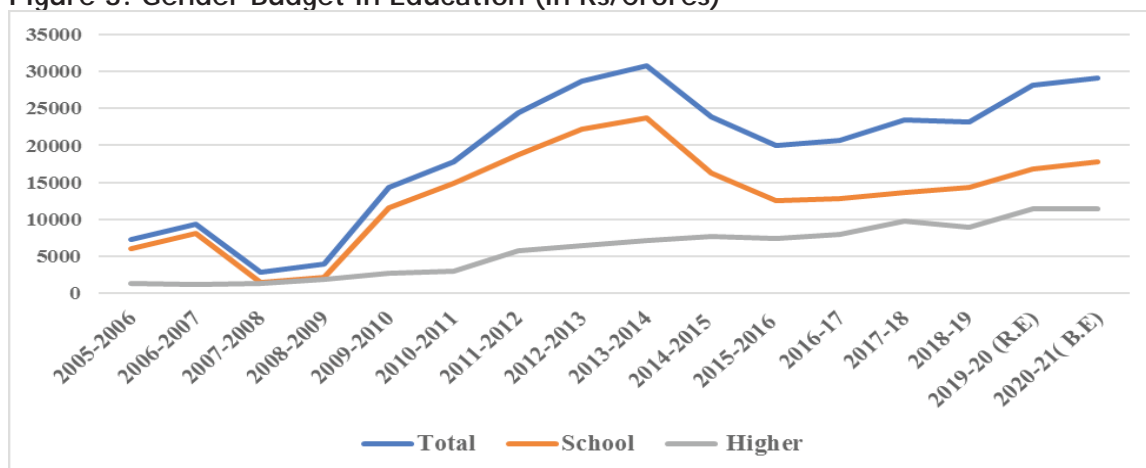
in absolute terms has been witnessing a continuous drop since then (Fig2). This decline is seen both in percentage as well as absolute terms even though the number of ministries and states initiating GB have increased during the period.

Sub-Sectoral Shares of GB in Education

Gender Budget in education that grew sharply between 2008-09 to 2013-14 and witnessed a drop thereafter (Fig.3) if analysed by levels of education it has declined sharply for school education but the amount in absolute terms has grown for HE sector since 2011-12.

However, it is the school education and literacy that has a reasonably high share of gender component even today and this percentage is more than a quarter. While GB comprised almost a 40 to 50 % share in school-level public expenditure till the early years of this decade it fell sharply to remain only around 30% by 2016-17 (Table 1). On the other hand, the percentage share of gender budget in higher education did not grow at a similar rate and is not even double-digit (Table 4) even though the gender disparities are more pronounced in this sector with far-reaching effects. The increase in the share of EGB for HE in recent years may be considered as a realisation of this need. In the year 2014-15, school education had a total of 22 schemes under gender budgeting and Higher Education had been provided for 23 line items under gender budgeting.

Figure 3: Gender Budget in Education (In Rs/Crores)



Source: Gender Budget and Analysis of Budget Expenditure on Education (Various Years Publication)

In 2015-16, 24 schemes totalling to Rs 7446.34 Crore have been reflected in Part B of the HE Gender Budget Statement while the spending of Union government on girls' school education declined by 8.36 per cent.

Table 4: % of Gender Budget to education expenditure (sub-sectoral levels)

Year	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11	2011-12	2012-13	2013-14	2014-15	2015-16 (R.E)	2016-17 (B.E)
School and Literacy	42.18	42.63	6.99	8.89	45.13	41.10	45.71	48.06	50.43	35.42	29.56	29.23
Higher Education	7.13	4.84	5.12	5.40	6.68	5.45	9.28	6.34	7.16	6.72	6.06	5.77

Source: Gender Budget and Analysis of Budget Expenditure on Education (Various Year Publications)

The interesting point here is that the decline was mainly witnessed in the major flagship programmes namely, Sarva Shiksha Abhiyan (SSA), Rashtriya Madhyamik Shiksha Abhiyan (RMSA), and National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (Mid-Day Meal Scheme). For instance, the spending on SSA declined around 9 per cent during 2014-15 and 2015-16.

In contrast to school education, the spending on higher education for girls increased from the year 2014-15 to 2016-17. In this period, the sanction to UGC has increased from Rs 2,959.61 crores to Rs 3,113.54 crores. The increasing share of HE in EGB is reflective of Government rising attention towards its policy of inclusive education by promoting girls participation in HE.

Table 5: Proportion of Gender Budget on Education by level (%)

Years	School Edu.	Higher Edu	Total
2005-2006	82.32	17.68	100
2006-2007	87.47	12.53	100
2007-2008	51.46	48.54	100
2008-2009	52.91	47.09	100
2009-2010	80.76	19.24	100
2010-2011	83.42	16.58	100
2011-2012	76.58	23.42	100
2012-2013	77.60	22.40	100
2013-2014	76.83	23.17	100
2014-2015	68.02	31.98	100
2015-2016	62.62	37.38	100
2016-17	61.67	38.33	100
2017-18	58.22	41.78	100
2018-19	61.68	38.32	100
2019-20 (R.E)	59.66	40.34	100
2020-21(B.E)	60.94	39.06	100

Source: Expenditure Budget Vol.1, Statement 20 (various Years)

Share of HE, which was only 17% in the EGB for the year 2005-06, increased sharply to reach around 42% in 2017-18 (Table 5) but still, it is only 6% of the public expenditure in HE and 30% in school education (Table 4). Thus, one can see a shift of the GB component towards HE but still does not seem to be sufficiently increasing to match the growing female enrolments in HE.

Yet another dimension that may be mentioned here is that while there are a large number of schemes and scholarships that have been earmarked for women in both schools as well as Higher education sector but the Special Focus on Gender Equity is more clearly reflected in the programmes for Education of Girls at Elementary Level and to some extent at secondary levels. But at the higher education level, it seems to be rather vague. Although, at the higher education level the GB is increasing, there is a lack of clarity on the interventions other than the Scholarship for College and University Students that rose from Rs. 110 crores to Rs. 135 crores. A list of all schemes meant for girls under category A (100% funding for women) as well as Category B (30% of funding meant for women) support the above statement.

A break-up of category-wise EGB reveals that commitment towards 100% women EGB is declining (Table 6). It is the Category B (at least 30% allocation for women) that comprises more than 95% of the total EGB. Same is true for both school as well as HE gender budget. A marginal increase can be seen in Category A for school education from 2010-11 vis-à-vis HE where it is continuously declining. The share of 100% women's schemes in category A went down from 3.62% in 2005-06 to a mere 1.98 % by 2013-14 and further to 1% by 2018-19 (Table 6). For school level, the category A share that was as high as 4.29 % went down to 1.3% by 2016-17 and has been declining continuously since then. At HE level, it had increased between the years 2005-06 to 2010-11 but has been declining continuously since then.

Table 6: Gender Budget by Category - School and Higher (%)

Years	Total Education Gender Budget		School Education Gender Budget		Higher Education Gender Budget	
	Category A	Category B	Category A	category B	Category A	category B
2005-06	3.6	96.4	4.29	95.7	0.5	99.5
2006-07	1.8	98.2	2	98.05	0.55	99.4
2007-08	1.2	98.8	2.34	97.66	0	100
2008-09	1	99	1.82	98.18	0	100
2009-10	1	99	0.33	99.67	3.62	96.38
2010-11	0.9	99.1	0.3	99.69	4.07	95.9
2011-12	1.9	98.1	1.87	98.13	2.12	97.9
2012-13	2.5	97.5	2.74	97.26	1.56	98.44
2013-14	2	98	2.57	97.43	0	100
2014-15	0	100	0	100	0	100
2015-16	0	100	0	100	0	100

2016-17	0.2	99.8	1.3	98.7	0	100
2017-18	1.1	98.9	2.3	97.7	0.2	99.8
2018-19	0.80	99.20	1.15	98.85	0.23	99.77
2019-20(R.E)	0.36	99.64	0.52	99.48	0.11	99.89
2020-21(B.E)	0.45	99.55	0.62	99.38	0.18	99.82

Note: The 0 per cent figures as reflected in the table is likely to be erroneous data reporting an anomaly often found in the records.

Source: Expenditure Budget Vol. 1, Statement 20 (various years)

It is clear that budgeting for 100% of women schemes is very low and declining over the years. What is even more worrisome is the fact that most of the category B expenditure in the EGB does not necessarily ensure a minimum of 30% allocation for women but it is just assumed to be so. Many times, women do not even comprise 30% of the total population served by those schemes/programmes/courses. For example, women comprise only 27% of the total enrolment in technical education while a large proportion of 'category B' EGB goes to technical education. Their representation in the elite IITs is a mere 8% and even these institutes figure prominently in the 'category B allocations' (Khare 2020).

Scheme-wise analysis of GB: There is a large number of schemes and scholarships that have been earmarked for women in both school as well as the higher education sector. The special focus on gender equity is reflected in the National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level (NPEGEL) that aims to not just promote elementary education access to girls but retain and ensure their participation and learning. NPEGEL has been implemented in 280 educationally-backwards blocks. Interventions under NPEGEL to address the following issues: Reduce gender gap, increase access through provision of girls hostels, life skill education and additional incentive of school uniforms. Similarly, the Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas are residential schools which cover hard-to-reach girls especially the deprived ones belonging to the SC, ST, OBC community and minority groups. Girls' hostels have been opened as a special strategy for ensuring retention of girls at upper primary level and secondary levels. The number of schemes under Category A has remained limited to a maximum of 3 in different years since 2004-05 (Table 7). These included National Scheme for incentive to the Girl Child for Secondary Education, Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme (for SC/ST & OBC Women) Mahila Samakhya for Women, Girls hostels for students of Secondary and Higher Secondary Schools. The number increased under Category B from 11 in 2005-06 to around 30 by 2008-09 to be reduced to just 5 in 2019-20. Until 2013-14 the category B schemes covered a wide range of areas - starting from improving girls access to secondary and higher secondary levels, vocational, adult skill training, minorities, disabled children, NGOs, ICT, Mid-Day meal, teachers training etc. But, slowly by 2018-19 most of the smaller scheme were dropped. (Table 7)

Table 7: Gender Budget in School Education - Scheme-wise (% share)

	Category-B	2013-2014 Actual Budget Total	2013-2014 Actual Budget Total	Category-B	2018-2019 Actual Budget Total	2018-2019 Actual Budget Total
	Scheme	Rs Crore	%	Scheme	Rs Crore	%
1	Strengthening of Teachers Training Institution	160	0.69	Education Scheme for Madrassas and Minorities	5.48	0.04
3	Support to NGOs / Institutes / SRCs for Adult Education and Skill Development	62	0.27	Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan	1502.03	10.62
4	Adult Education and Skill Development Scheme	490.26	2.12	Navodaya Vidyalaya Samiti	963.90	6.82
5	Kendriya Vidyalaya Sangathan	779.77	3.38	Samagra Shiksha	8816.67	62.34
7	Navodaya Vidyalaya Samiti	586.99	2.54	National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (Mid-Day Meal Scheme)	2854.30	20.18
8	Vocationalization of Education	24.03	0.10	Total (B) (SE)	14142.38	100
9	Information and Communication Technology in Schools	105	0.45			
13	Directorate of Adult Education	3.61	0.02			
14	National Literacy Mission Authority	0.61	0.00			
16	SSA	13192.87	57.16			
17	National Programme of Nutritional Support to Primary Education (Mid-Day Meal Scheme)	5550.3	24.05			
19	NCERT	72.99	0.32			
20	NIOS	0.03	0.00			
21	CTSSA	15.64	0.07			
23	RMSA	1477.52	6.40			
24	National Means cum Merit Scholarship Scheme	21	0.09			
25	Central-Sponsored Scheme of Appointment of Language Teachers	1.74	0.01			
26	Scheme for Providing Quality Education in Madrassas	52.5	0.23			
27	Scheme for Infrastructure Development in Minority Institutions	15	0.06			
28	National Bal Bhawan	4.7	0.02			

29	Scheme for setting up of 6000 Model Schools at Block Level as Benchmark of Excellence	450	1.95			
31	Inclusive Education for the Disabled at Secondary Education	15	0.06			
	Total (B)	23081.56	100			

Source: GOI, Gender Budget in India Statement -20 (Various Year Publication)

The scheme-wise analysis of Higher Education GB

The share of UGC that caters largely to general education had a very high average share in the first five years that went down drastically in the next five years by more than 40% while that of the technical and professional education category went up from not even 2% to more than 40% (Table 8).

Table 8: Gender Budget in Higher Education - Scheme-wise (% share)

Category A 100%		2005-10 (Av)	2010-15 (Av)	2015-16	2016-17
1	Access & Equity	0.21	0.00	0.00	0.00
2	Women's Hostel in Polytechnics	0.75	1.60	0.00	0.00
Category B (30%)					
1	University Grants Commission	85.43	53.95	41.81	39.13
2	Distance Education & ICT	2.05	2.94	1.31	1.13
3	Polytechnics	2.78	4.05	0.00	0.00
4	Language & Promotion	1.22	1.31	0.00	1.25
5	Technical & Professional	1.50	30.24	39.48	43.77
6	Loans & Fund	0.00	3.18	8.58	7.30
7	Scholarship for College & University Students	0.41	1.95	1.81	1.68
8	RUSA & Consortium for Higher Education Electronic Resources	0.00	1.91	5.56	5.74
9	Total HE GB	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

*Note:1. Access means the needs of women in the Areas like health, education and employment etc.

2. Equity means fairness of treatment for women and men according to their respective needs. This may include equal treatment or treatment that is different but which is considered equivalent in terms of rights, benefits, obligations and opportunities.

2.Distance Education=Indira Gandhi National Open University,

3. Polytechnics = Community Polytechnics+Upgradation of existing/setting up of new polytechnics +

4. Language & Promotion = National Council for Promotion of Urdu Language + Rashtriya Sanskrit

Sansthan + Central Institute of Indian Language + Kendriya Hindi Sansthan + Central Hindi Directorate + Grant for Promotion of Indian Languages,

5. Technical & Professional = Sant Longowal Institute of Engineering & Technology (SLIET) + National Institute of Technical Teachers Training and Research (NITTTR)+North Eastern Regional Institute of Science and Technology, Itanagar + Central Institute of Technology Kokrajhar + Indian Institute of Technology + Indian Institute of Science Bengaluru + Indian Institute of Information Technology (Design & Manufacturing) Kanchipuram + National Institute for Industrial Engineering Mumbai + National Institute for Forge and Foundry Technology Ranchi + Indian Institute of Information Technology +Indian Institute of Science for Education and Research + National Institutes of Technology + Indian Institute of Management +Indian School of Mines Dhanbad + School of Planning and Architecture + Indian Institute of Information Technology (Design & Manufacturing) Kanchipuram +Support to Indian Institute of Science (IISc) and Indian Institute (s) of Science Education & Research IISER + NewSchools of Planning and Architecture (new SPA) + National Initiative for Excellence in Humanities and Social Science +Setting up of IITs /IIMs including upgrading 5 IITs/IIMs + Assistance to other institute including SLIET NERIST Ranchi CIT Kokrajhar

6. Loans & Fund = Education Loan Interest Subsidy + Interest Subsidy and Contribution for Guarantee Fund

Source: GOI Gender Budget in India Statement -20 (Various Year Publication) Khare (2020)

Recent years continue to reflect this changing trend. Ironically, much of this allocation is for setting up of new IITs, IIMs or other technical institutes and their upgradation, which does not justify to be counted under category B schemes where a minimum of 30% is to be ensured for women/girls if the proportion of girls enrolled in such institutions is much lesser. Yet another component that makes its presence visible in later years is loans and funds comprising of interest subsidy with little guarantee that at least 30 per cent of allocation under this head is being utilised for girl's education. The interest subsidy gets covered by way of a concession that is provided to girl students and also to poor students through a central government subsidy scheme announced by the Govt. in 2009-10. This scheme allows for an interest subsidy on education loans to students from economically-disadvantaged sections (family income less than INR 450,000 a year) pursuing technical or professional studies in India. It will be interesting to see what percentage of girl students from this category of the population are taking benefit of this scheme for this allocation to qualify under category B as needless to say that their proportion in technical education is certainly not going to be more than that the overall percentage of girls' enrolment in such programmes. However, such an analysis is outside the purview of this paper. But, some indications of lesser participation of women in Educational loan schemes as also there is a higher percentage of female education loan defaulters can be found in other studies in India (Bandopadhyay 2016, Patra et.al. 2017). Similar questions can be asked with respect to DE & ICT, Polytechnic education, etc. particularly when there is a high focus on skill development and vocational education in recent years. Such a situation leaves one wondering if a decline in allocations (now being reported as zero) for improving access & equity is justified or not? Also, if Gender

is to be understood in its right perspective and not as a synonym to women, should medical education not find someplace in GB to promote male participation. There, certainly, is a case for redistribution of the GB earmarked under category A for access and equity within the HE sector but completely doing away with it is not yet called for. However, given the fact that there are several purely women orientated schemes under implementation (Box No. 1) zero reporting under Category A in the past few years seems to be a reporting error unless the allocations for these schemes are merged in the UGC, Technical education or scholarship heads under Category B allocations. Such observations call for serious gap analysis in GB reporting as is evidenced by a few examples of select schemes that qualify to be reported under -Part A ((Box No.1)

Box No. 1: 100 Percent Women's scheme

- UGC - Swami Vivekananda Single Girl Child Scholarship for Research in Social Sciences.
- UGC - Post-Graduate Indira Gandhi Scholarship for single girl child applicable to single girl child students up to the age of 30 years for non-professional courses only at PG level.
- UGC Post-Doctoral Fellowship to the unemployed women candidates holding PhD degree (aim to accelerate the talented instincts of the women candidates to carry out the advanced studies and research).
- UGC 100 pc funding for construction of hostels for women and other related infrastructural facilities in colleges
- AICTE: PRAGATI (Providing Assistance for Girls' Advancement in Technical Education Initiative) envisages selection of one girl per family where family income is less than 6 lakh/annum on merit at the qualifying examination to pursue technical education
- UGC - Day Care Centres for married scholars/students in universities and colleges. (Daycare facility on-demand basis for children of 3 months to 6 years of age)

Source: Khare 2016

Such schemes (Box no 1) should have been reflected in Category A, which certainly exist and would have qualified for a good amount of share in the HE GB if reported properly. It is difficult to say, whether several of the category B allocations should have qualified for equal opportunity expenditure or mainstream expenditure. Like the ones on IITs, IIMs, up-gradation and setting up of new schools etc. for neither does the policy nor does the practice prove a minimum of 30% of women participation in this category of institutions. Until and unless the policy provides for such reservations for women, these may be considered to be treated as mainstream expenditure and not reported under Category B.

Section IV. Major areas of Education Gender Budgeting in few States in India

Although many States have initiated GB in education, the focus is limited and concentrated towards the following 5 areas. These are improvement in,

GER via: Scholarship/ Stipend/ Education Voucher, MDM, Residential Schools/ Supply of School Educational Kit/Books

- Safety and security / Transport facility: special bus / cycle / Boundary wall
- Accommodation: Ladies Hostel / Residential Quarters for Women Employees, Special Sports Infrastructure including Hostels for Female
- Vocational education to increase income: Certifying the existing skill and facilitating to improve their standard of living, Coaching for Competitive examinations, Study Loans
- Hygiene: Girls toilets

There is still an immense scope to expand the horizons of GB in education. Some of these may be highlighted as follows:

Safety and security: Gender friendly toilets, incinerator in hostel and educational institutions self-defence training for girls

Decision making & Participation in Politics: Youth Parliament/ Competitions: essay/ debate

Financial Literacy: Add-on course

Awareness Programmes: Sex education, gender awareness

Gender-friendly Workforce Practices: Gender-neutral classrooms, Female Teachers, Incentive to work: Childcare leave, creche

Curriculum Development: Gender-inclusive textbooks, classroom activities.

Gender sensitisation training: To teaching and non-teaching staff, policymakers, officers and administrators.

Section V. Gaps in Education Sector GB

Categorising the expenditure into the theoretical connotations, the following inferences may be drawn with respect to ES GB in India;

- a) **Gender-targeted expenditure:** Gender-specific expenditure targeting women and girls (e.g. women's literacy projects, women scholarships) exists but not correctly reported.
- b) **Equal opportunity expenditure:** Expenditures promoting equal opportunities in the public sector (e.g. evaluation of job descriptions to promote equitable hiring of faculty) are lacking and need to be strengthened. There may be several ways of doing it. For example, allocations for improving women's employability and

research capacity, academic growth, job potential, internship opportunities, jobs in science/technology labs, research and innovation centres, etc. more meaningful and rewarding PhDs. Providing and creating awareness towards opportunities to improve economic participation rather than just perform non-economic activities.

- c) **Mainstream expenditure:** (the rest) Budget expenditures not included under the two previous heads. This comprises a major chunk and requires to be assessed for its gender-differential impact, which is a rather technical and time-consuming exercise. Availability of sex-disaggregated data and technically-trained personnel to undertake such work are the two major challenges towards any such analysis.

It can thus, be seen that GB in ES falls short of its first two objectives i.e. the adequacy objective and the responsiveness objective. Firstly, the Adequacy objective - much needs to be done to improve and shift the participation of women as well as men to achieve greater gender balance in several disciplines and courses, institutions and regions. Secondly, the Responsiveness objective -Several felt needs of women (pupils and teachers), in particular still need to be addressed both for the students and faculty in the system. Assessment of the third objective i.e. Impact objective to consider the impact of any form of public expenditure requires a very rigorous data-based econometric exercise that needs sex-disaggregated data on several counts and is hardly available.

Conclusion

Gender Budgeting has been made mandatory by Government of India for all ministries and departments including MHRD since 2005 -06. Following which many states adopted Gender Budgeting as an inherent part of their budgeting exercise. But many officers of the education departments of the States are not aware of the concept and process of Gender Budgeting.

Although gender gaps in education as a whole have reduced in terms of enrolments to a large extent, glaring gaps remain when it comes to their participation in education, choices given to them, their progression in work, self-estimation of their skills and capacities, etc., all of which go a long way in distorting gender balance in society.

Also, a lot needs to be done for gender-targeted interventions as well as equal opportunity interventions at sub-regional levels and different sections of the population as there exist large scale disparities on both fronts.

Several challenges also exist at the technical level. The Gender Budget Statement does not capture all the women-focused interventions. Anomalies are several. Sometimes, 100 pc women's schemes are not reported under that category while those that may not qualify to be in Category B are placed so. However, even if these may be used in smaller amounts, i.e. less than 30 per cent, they are important and relevant just as many other women-focused interventions where the allocations in themselves may be lesser than 30 per cent of the total budgets so that they do not get captured

by the gender budget statement. Although, they remain part of the mainstream budget and can certainly go a long way in addressing the gender-based challenges of women in HE. But, impact analysis of this portion of the budget on its gender relevance is a tough task that requires special expertise and good data, both of which are lacking. Sex-disaggregated data are still not available on several schemes. Assumptions behind reporting any specific proportion of funds in the GB Statement are not clear. Similarly the benefits accruing to women in various development schemes are also based on unclear assumption.

Even for the specifically-earmarked funds for Women, inconsistencies in GB statement can be noticed. While there are schemes currently under implementation and reflected in the outcome budgets they are not listed in Part A, and at times schemes reported in Category, B may show more than 100 per cent allocations against them. In the case of some of the educational / scholarship-based programmes, loans, professional and Technical education, etc. allocations are reported under Part B of the statement without any clear justification (by way of data on enrolments/number of scholarships provided).

Good Gender Budgeting relies heavily on data so that policies, programmes and budgets can be evidence-based rather than based on myths or assumptions. Data are both for the budgeting process and to make informed decisions. Even, simple spatial analysis with sex-disaggregated data can provide insights into the real need and problem. Only then can money flow to the right people at the right places. Several states in the country can be seen performing poorly on several fronts in attaining gender equality in education. The situation in the Indian education sector is more complex given its rising numbers and increasing diversities on campus, socio-cultural, regional connotations to the existing biases. Region-specific interventions through Spatial mapping at sub-national further down to district/block/village level may be more helpful.

The major challenges faced in the implementation of Gender budgeting may be identified as Lack of gender-disaggregated data, Budgetary constraints; Need for political support; Attitudes, Knowledge and capacity; Continuity and institutionalisation; Coordination; Technical Expertise; Identifying Gender Sensitive line budget items (bifurcation on Expenditures and outcomes, GS Training programme for men /women teachers)

Major Suggestions

For Gender Budgeting to become effective in the education sector the following are required to be done.

- ❖ Sensitisation of all stakeholders towards the need and rationale of Gender Budgeting in education including Policy Makers and Practitioners.
- ❖ Identifying gender-specific needs in education at sub-regional levels by social groups, religious groups, income and occupational groups, other special categories

like disabled, physically challenged, etc.

- ❖ Integrate gender in Planning and Budgeting process at the grass-root level, institutional, sub-national, State and National level.
- ❖ CSR funds to be promoted in education in a gender-sensitive manner.
- ❖ Institutionalising and making gender budgeting cells functional.
- ❖ Proper and adequate staffing of personnel in the gender budgeting cells with technically trained people.
- ❖ Involving other stakeholders, like academicians, civil society, researchers etc., in supporting the proper implementation of gender budgeting.
- ❖ Gender-specific and gender-disaggregated database to be strengthened.
- ❖ Make some mandatory gender-specific requirements for the budgeting in private education institutions.
- ❖ Regular training and interactive events to be organised to be able to develop new skills, identify changing needs, and learn from good practices of different States.
- ❖ Proper training modules and teams to be formed to promote the right implementation of gender budgeting in education.

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Gender Mainstreaming in Higher Education is a pan-India Phenomenon

TV Mohandas Pai¹ and Nisha Holla²

Introduction

The most critical factor for economic growth is a stable population and the inclusion of the entire population in the country’s growth trajectory. Women’s education is one of the largest determinant factors in this regard and has a significant impact on society. Focus on educating the girl child improves the quality of life for all, enhances gender equality, increases per-capita income and growth, reduces fertility and population growth, and makes for a more inclusive society. Societies that have focused on women’s education have invariably developed faster than communities that have not. There is a significant correlation observed all over the world between women’s education and reduced fertility, which is pertinent as it decreases population growth rates and allows people to enjoy a higher quality of life and per-capita incomes.

Correlation between fertility and women’s education

Education impacts access to employment opportunities, quality of life, development of human capital, and the ability to uplift communities. Education and literacy, especially women’s, have a significant impact on population growth and fertility rates as well. Table 1 shows the total fertility rates (TFR) per educational segment in India, as per the Sample Registration Survey (SRS) 2018 - based on the Census 2011 frame and sampling from 2014. SRS estimated the India-average at 2.2, but there is a wide variation between segments with different educational attainment - from 3.0 for illiterate women down to 1.7 for women with undergraduate degrees and above. This gap underscores the impact of education on fertility.

Table 1: Total Fertility Rates (TFR) of women in different education segments.

Total Fertility Rate (TFR)	Illiterate	Literate						India
		W/o formal education	Primary	Middle	Class X	Class XII	Graduate +	
	3.0	2.5	2.5	2.2	1.9	1.8	1.7	2.2

Source: Sample Registration Survey 2018

¹TV Mohandas Pai, Chairman, Aarin Capital Partners, e-Mail: mohan.pai@manipalglobal.com

²Nisha Holla Technology Fellow, C-CAMP. e-Mail: nisha@meridianindia.org

A similar correlation is observed between increasing women's literacy rates and decreasing fertility rates in data from the National Fertility and Health Survey - 4 (NFHS-4), shown in Table 2. In the ten years between NFHS-3 (2003-05) and NFHS-4 (2013-15), literacy rates for women went up from 55.1% to 68.4%, a jump of 24%. In that same period, India's Total Fertility Rate (TFR) dropped 18.7% from 2.68 to 2.18. This inverse correlation is consistent with the population dynamics of most large countries around the world wherein as more women become literate and educated, fertility rates and population growth rates slow down.

This inverse dynamic of literacy and TFR is evident across all Indian communities, as seen in Table 2, but at different rates. The Muslim community had the highest TFR in 2003-05, at 3.4, and experienced one of the steepest drops at 23% to 2.62 in 2013-15. This drop correlates with the largest increase in women's literacy - 30%, from 49.5% in 2003-05 (the lowest) to 64.2% in 2013-15. Other communities, too, experienced steep drops in TFR but given that the Muslim community had the highest fertility rate, by far, the impact is more significant. Higher education of the Muslim community, especially among women, will take this progress further.

Literacy (Percentage of the population)

Survey Period	NFHS-3		NFHS-4		% Increase	
	(2003-05)		(2013-15)		In 10 years	
Community	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Hindu	78.9	54.9	86.4	68.3	9.5%	24.4%
Muslim	70.2	49.5	80.3	64.2	14.4%	29.7%
Christian	84.6	75.9	89.4	80.8	5.7%	6.5%
Sikh	83.6	71.9	88.3	81.1	5.6%	12.8%
Buddhist / Neo-Buddhist	87.3	63.9	94.2	81.1	7.9%	26.9%
Jain	99.6	97.1	97.1	97.5	-2.5%	0.4%
All-India	78.1	55.1	85.7	68.4	9.7%	24.1%

Table 2(a): Increase in literacy amongst Indian communities between 2005 and 2015.
Source: NFHS-4

Total Fertility Rate (TFR)					
Survey Period	NFHS-3		NFHS-4		
	(2003-05)		(2013-15)		
			% Decrease		
			In 10 years		
Hindu	2.59		2.13		17.8%
Muslim	3.4		2.62		22.9%
Christian	2.34		1.99		15.0%
Sikh	1.95		1.58		19.0%

Buddhist / Neo-Buddhist	2.25	1.74	22.7%
Jain	1.54	1.2	22.1%
All-India	2.68	2.18	18.7%

Table 2 (b): Decrease in fertility rates amongst Indian communities between 2005 and 2015. Source: NFHS-4

With fertility rates being lowest for women with graduate degrees, it is imperative to understand how the Indian higher education system has embraced gender mainstreaming. As the following data demonstrates, gender mainstreaming is a pan-Indian phenomenon in higher education. India can harness this robust trend in the workforce and economy.

College enrolment and graduates

Every year since 2012, the Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD) compiles and presents extensive data on India's higher education (HE) base through its AISHE reports - All India Statistics for Higher Education. The most recently released 2018-19 report affirms India's rapid progression towards higher enrollment and inclusion. By harnessing this correctly, we can develop our human capital to accelerate economic growth.

Total enrolment in HE in 2018-19 was 3.74 crore, with 1.92 crore men and 1.82 crore women, as shown in Table 3. Since 2011-12, enrolment has increased by 82.2 lakh at 3.6% CAGR, with 30.4 lakh men at 2.5% CAGR and 51.8 lakh women at an incredible 4.9% CAGR. Women enrolment is rising faster, demonstrating that women are increasingly turning toward HE with clear aspirations.

Enrolment	2011-12	2015-16	2018-19	7yr CAGR	3yr CAGR
				Base: 2011-12	Base: 2015-16
Total	2,91,84,331	3,45,84,781	3,73,99,388	3.6%	2.6%
Male	1,61,73,473	1,85,94,723	1,92,09,888	2.5%	1.1%
Female	1,30,10,858	1,59,90,058	1,81,89,500	4.9%	4.4%
% Female	44.6%	46.2%	48.6%	-	-

Table 3: Higher education enrolment. Source: AISHE

Male enrolment has slowed from a 7-year CAGR of 2.5% to a 3-year CAGR of 1.1%. Between 2017-18 and 2018-19, male enrolment only moved by 5,000 whereas women enrolment rose by 7.5 lakh. Women enrolment has also slowed from a 7-year CAGR of 4.9% to a 3-year CAGR of 4.4% but is nevertheless encouraging. Women are now 48.6% of enrolled students, up from 44.6% in 2011-12. The Gender Parity Index reached 1.0 for the first time, having risen from 0.88 in 2011-12. Female Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) jumped from 19.4 in 2011-12 to 25.4 in 2017-18 and then by another whole point in

2018-19 to 26.4. **2018-19 was the first year that the all-India female GER has risen above male GER, which stagnated at 26.3.**

How is it that even though women enrolment in absolute numbers is lesser than men enrolment, female GER is higher? GER is calculated as the ratio of enrolled students to those in the eligible 18-23 aged population - in which there are fewer women, at 48.6% than men. Interestingly, in the seven years between 2011-12 and 2018-19, the number of women in the eligible 18-23 age population increased from 6.7 crores to 6.9 crores whereas the number of men decreased from 7.33 crore to 7.3 crores. These dynamics, combined with the rapid increase in women enrolment, is yielding a female GER that is overtaking male GER.

The 2020-30 decade will see the rise of the Indian Woman; as more educated women join the workforce.

Total enrolment in India grew from 2.91 crores in 2011-12 to 3.74 crore in 2018-19 at 3.6% CAGR. As discussed earlier, women's enrolment is galloping at 4.9% CAGR, and this paradigm is reflected in all the representative states but at different rates, as seen in Table 4. The most notable difference in enrollment CAGRs of genders is in the north-central zone - in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh, the enrolment CAGRs differ by a whopping 5 points. The difference is more moderate in Uttar Pradesh and Punjab but clear, nevertheless. Moreover, in both Uttar Pradesh and Punjab, the number of women enrolled exceeds men's enrolment.

Jharkhand is reporting the highest CAGRs across India for both genders - 10.4% for men and 11.7% for women. Odisha has almost the same CAGR for both - 3.87% and 3.81%. Irrespective of how bleak Bihar's HE base seems to be, women's enrolment at 3.9% is higher than men's enrolment at 2.3%. Clearly, all citizens in India, irrespective of gender, region, or community, now understand the potential of higher education as an aspirational lever.

Zones	Enrolment (lakhs)								
	2011-12			2018-19			7-yr CAGR		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
North-Central									
Uttar Pradesh	22.47	18.77	41.24	31.90	32.80	64.69	5.13%	8.30%	6.64%
Rajasthan	9.00	6.06	15.06	10.82	10.02	20.84	2.67%	7.44%	4.75%
Madhya Pradesh	10.02	5.83	15.85	10.28	9.02	19.29	0.37%	6.42%	2.85%
Punjab	4.15	3.71	7.86	4.37	4.83	9.20	0.74%	3.83%	2.27%
East									
Jharkhand	1.89	1.67	3.56	3.78	3.62	7.39	10.37%	11.71%	11.01%
Odisha	4.28	3.55	7.83	5.58	4.61	10.19	3.87%	3.81%	3.84%
Bihar	7.84	5.24	13.09	9.20	6.87	16.07	2.31%	3.93%	2.98%
West Bengal	8.56	6.41	14.97	10.57	10.41	20.97	3.05%	7.17%	4.94%

Zones	Enrolment (lakhs)								
	2011-12			2018-19			7-yr CAGR		
	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T
South									
Tamil Nadu	16.75	14.30	31.05	17.37	16.77	34.14	0.52%	2.30%	1.37%
Andhra Pradesh*	8.96	6.78	15.75	9.65	7.96	17.61	1.24%	2.70%	1.88%
Telangana*	7.73	6.09	13.82	7.01	7.25	14.26	-1.61%	2.95%	0.53%
Karnataka	9.48	8.13	17.61	9.93	9.95	19.88	0.67%	2.93%	1.75%
West									
Maharashtra	20.14	15.32	35.46	23.24	19.06	42.30	2.07%	3.17%	2.55%
Gujarat	6.85	4.90	11.75	8.33	6.45	14.78	2.83%	4.01%	3.34%
All-India	161.73	130.11	291.84	192.10	181.90	373.99	2.49%	4.90%	3.61%

Table 4: Total enrolment across genders in representative states for 2011-12 and 2018-19. Source: AISHE

[* data from 2012-13 used for AP and Telangana instead of 2011-12, CAGR adjusted accordingly]

In the southern states as well, female enrolment CAGRs are higher than male. All the female enrolment CAGRs are below 3%, whereas male enrolment CAGRs are below 1.25%. Karnataka and Telangana have more women enrolled than men. Telangana has a negative 1.6% male enrolment CAGR. It appears enrolment in southern states is stabilizing, and a look at gross enrolment rates (GER) across the states will allow us to analyze trends further.

Western states have higher enrolment CAGRs than southern states, for both men and women. Here too, women's enrolment CAGR's are higher than men, consistent with the rest of the country.

GER and Gender Parity

India's GER grew from 20.8 in 2011-12 to 26.3 in 2018-19, as shown in Table 5. In the same period, male GER moved from 22.1 to 26.3 while female GER grew from 19.4 to 26.4 - overtaking male GER for the first time. This indicates the aspirations of women are on the rise. All-India gender parity index (GPI) reached 1.0 for the first time, rising from 0.88 in 2011-12. These trends of female GER growing faster than male GER and GPI normalizing are reflected across most states as well.

Zones	GER						Gender Parity Index	
	2011-12			2018-19			2011-12	2018-19
	M	F	T	M	F	T		
North Central								
Uttar Pradesh	17.5	17.2	17.4	24.2	27.5	25.8	0.98	1.14
Rajasthan	20.6	15.5	18.2	23.1	23.0	23.0	0.75	1.00
Madhya Pradesh	22	14.6	18.5	21.8	21.2	21.5	0.67	0.97
Punjab	22.4	23.6	23.0	25.5	34.3	29.5	1.05	1.35
East								
Jharkhand	10.2	9.5	9.9	19.5	18.7	19.1	0.93	0.96
Odisha	18.3	15	16.6	24.2	20.0	22.1	0.82	0.82
Bihar	14	10.8	12.5	15.1	12.0	13.6	0.77	0.79
West Bengal	15.4	11.8	13.6	20	18.7	19.3	0.76	0.94
South								
Tamil Nadu	43.2	36.8	40.0	49.8	48.3	49.0	0.85	0.97
Andhra Pradesh*	31	23.6	27.3	35.8	29.0	32.4	0.76	0.81
Telangana*	36.9	29.3	33.1	35.8	36.5	36.2	0.79	1.02
Karnataka	24.9	22.7	23.8	28.2	29.4	28.8	0.91	1.04
West								
Maharashtra	28.1	24.3	26.3	33.5	30.3	32.0	0.86	0.90
Gujarat	18.1	14.7	16.5	22	18.7	20.4	0.81	0.85
All-India	22.1	19.4	20.8	26.3	26.4	26.3	0.88	1.00

Table 5: GER and GPI in representative states for 2011-12 and 2018-19.

Source: AISHE

[* data from 2012-13 used for AP and Telangana instead of 2011-12]

Uttar Pradesh had an impressive GER equality in 2011-12 itself - 17.5 (male) and 17.2 (female) - which has increased to 24.2 (male) and 27.5 (female). GPI jumped from 0.98 to 1.14. Focus on learning has seemingly always been part of the state's ethos and is a significant step towards human capital development. Rajasthan's female GER was 15.5 in 2011-12 and has increased quickly to 23.0, equalizing with male GER. This is reflected in the GPI rising from 0.75 to 1.0 in seven years; quite an achievement. Madhya Pradesh also reflects the same paradigm - female GER quickly growing and equalizing with male GER, and GPI rising from 0.67 to 0.97 in seven years. Punjab started with a higher female GER (23.6 compared to 22.4) in 2011-12, and the gap has widened to 9 points (34.3 vs 25.5) in 2018-19. GPI rose from 1.05 to 1.35.

In the eastern zone, Jharkhand's GPI is impressive, but GER is low - 19.5 (M), 18.7 (F), and 19.1 (T). However, given that it started with low GERs in 2011-12 at 10.2 (M),

9.5 (F), and 9.9 (T), the growth in seven years is impressive compared to its neighbours in the east. Odisha's male GER is stagnating, but female GER is growing. West Bengal has driven its GPI from 0.76 to 0.94 in seven years, reflecting the aggressive jump in female GER from 11.8 to 18.7. Bihar remains a tragic case - GER across the board has hardly moved by 1 point in seven years. This incidentally correlates with the state having the lowest per-capita income in the country, INR 48,000 - 1/3rd that of the India-average at INR 1.49 lakhs.

In the south too, women's GER is growing faster than men. In 2011-12, Tamil Nadu had 43.2 (M) and 36.8 (W) which has almost equalized in 2018-19 with 49.8 (M) and 48.3 (W). The state sets the standard in India today for aggressive growth in enrolment. GPI rose from 0.85 to 0.97 in seven years. Though Karnataka's overall GER is low, women's GER has grown very fast from 22.7 to 29.4 while men's GER moved from 24.9 to 28.2 in seven years - correlating with growth in GPI from 0.91 to 1.04.

In 2011-12, Andhra Pradesh and Telangana's statistics were joint as one undivided state, so we track their statistics from 2012-13. Telangana is ahead in GER at 36.2 and GPI at 1.02, compared to Andhra Pradesh at 32.4 (GER) and 0.81 (GPI), respectively. Andhra Pradesh is one of the few states where male GER is significantly ahead of female GER at nearly 7 points. In the west, both Maharashtra and Gujarat have higher male GERs than female GERs by 3+ points, and lower GPIs at 0.9 and 0.85 respectively.

Graduates

Over the last five years from 2014-15 to 2018-19, India has produced 2.3 crore women graduates, as broken down in Table 6; an incredible achievement. Uttar Pradesh (nearly 8 lakhs), Tamil Nadu (5 lakhs), and Maharashtra (4.6 lakhs) are by far the largest producers of women graduates, followed by Rajasthan (3.3 lakhs), Karnataka (3 lakhs), and Madhya Pradesh (2.9 lakhs). The numbers demonstrate there is no doubt the nation has created a pipeline for training and educating women to join the workforce and lead the economy through its next era of growth. Apart from China, no other country has built a system on this scale. The next challenge is to create connecting pipelines between higher education and the workforce.

North - Central	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
Assam	65,871	61,679	55,931	66,972	62,501
Chhattisgarh	67,024	70,840	71,594	79,090	99,121
Delhi	1,17,214	1,33,200	1,98,838	2,06,076	1,90,189
Haryana	1,02,995	1,04,909	1,10,709	1,08,656	1,07,970
Madhya Pradesh	2,86,989	2,61,090	2,28,410	2,24,720	2,90,831

Punjab	1,50,722	1,61,052	1,50,534	1,50,498	1,45,818
Rajasthan	2,55,780	2,81,582	3,17,086	3,44,965	3,32,596
Uttar Pradesh	9,19,509	7,96,851	8,20,267	8,53,374	7,99,581
Uttarakhand	57,547	65,840	1,03,947	67,851	91,044
Total	20,23,651	19,37,043	20,57,316	21,02,202	21,19,651

5 year total 1,02,39,863

East	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
Bihar	1,51,372	1,45,271	1,58,458	1,61,316	1,62,265
Jharkhand	51,960	59,405	68,776	76,743	86,041
Odisha	82,507	88,685	92,785	99,553	1,09,389
West Bengal	1,77,569	1,83,139	1,78,473	1,91,694	2,00,350
Total	4,63,408	4,76,500	4,98,492	5,29,306	5,58,045

5 year total 25,25,751

South	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
Andhra Pradesh	1,68,638	1,77,363	1,77,804	1,88,409	1,98,300
Karnataka	2,61,163	2,64,941	2,77,770	2,74,368	2,91,573
Kerala	1,15,756	1,18,950	1,43,284	1,40,081	1,50,033
Tamil Nadu	5,07,848	4,89,327	4,90,465	5,08,607	5,10,396
Telangana	1,75,518	1,74,280	1,62,633	1,68,771	1,71,135
Total	12,28,923	12,24,861	12,51,956	12,80,236	13,21,437

5 year total 63,07,413

West	2014-15	2015-16	2016-17	2017-18	2018-19
Gujarat	1,75,663	1,78,579	1,99,821	1,74,794	1,79,234
Maharashtra	3,55,010	4,29,060	3,99,094	4,16,769	4,56,065
Total	5,30,673	6,07,639	5,98,915	5,91,563	6,35,299

5 year total 29,64,089

All India	43,87,685	43,85,647	45,54,917	46,45,275	47,83,055
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5 year total 2,27,56,579

Table 6: Number of women graduates by state and region from 2014-15 to 2018-19.
Source: AISHE

Graduates need follow-on employment opportunities

The total number of graduates who completed their course in 2018-19 is 90.9 lakhs, up from 89.7 lakhs in 2017-18. Tamil Nadu has India's highest GER at 49.0, and the third-highest number of graduates at 8.64 lakh. Bihar's GER is among the lowest in the country, at 13.6 barely up from 12.0 in 2011-12. It produced 3.81 lakh graduates, only 4% of India's total. If Bihar with such a large population and high fertility rates does not focus on human capital development, it is a demographic disaster in the making.

Uttar Pradesh has the highest number of graduates - 15.3 lakhs amounting to 16.8% of the total. The state has been the highest producer of graduates every year. Moreover, more than half of the graduates are women! Providing these graduates with gainful employment in the state will significantly boost UP's economy.

Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) 2017-18 is reporting labour force participation rate (LFPR) in the 15-29 age group as 16.4% for women and 58.8% for men; down from 24.4% and 63.6% respectively in 2011-12. By extrapolating AISHE data for the 18-23 age population to the 15-29 bracket (with a factor of three to adjust for the 5- to 15-year window), we arrive at rough estimates of the 15-29 population for 2011-12 and 2017-18 as shown in Table 7. The corresponding LFPR indicate that approximately 14 crore men and 4.9 crore women were in the workforce in 2011-12, which dropped to 12.9 crores and 3.4 crores respectively in 2017-18 - a drop of 1.09 crore men and 1.52 crore women. In the same period, AISHE data shows college enrolment rising from 1.62 crore men and 1.3 crore women in 2011-12 to 1.92 crore men and 1.74 crore women in 2017-18 - an increase of 30.3 lakh men and 44.3 lakh women.

Year	LFPR (15-29 years)		(18-23) age population		Estimated workforce in 15-29 bracket*		AISHE enrolment	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
2011-12	63.6%	24.4%	7,33,33,306	6,69,83,763	13,99,19,948	4,90,32,115	1,61,73,473	1,30,10,858
2017-18	58.8%	16.4%	7,31,21,283	6,87,08,245	12,89,85,943	3,38,04,457	1,92,04,675	1,74,37,703
Delta	-	-	-2,12,023	17,24,482	-1,09,34,005	-1,52,27,658	30,31,202	44,26,845

Table 7: Correlation of workforce to higher education enrolment.

Source: PLFS, AISHE

(* calculated by authors as LFPR x (18-23) popn. x 3)

PLFS must consider that the 15-29 years' workforce could have seemingly shrunk because more are in school and college. In the 18-23 bracket alone, AISHE data demonstrate increased enrollment year-on-year in colleges. MHRD data shows enrolment in secondary school and pre-university is also growing, which means more children in the 15-18 age bracket are in school. Putting the two together, more than half of the 15-29 age bracket surveyed by PLFS is increasingly in school/college, which could account for the perceived drop in workforce participation. Secondly, after receiving education, many women do not get employment opportunities in their home states. On an average,

men are more mobile than women and can move elsewhere in search of skilled work. Both these counts could explain the increase in unemployment rates among women as reported by PLFS.

Today, PLFS is only conducted across 1.02 lakh households; there is a need to expand the sample size while also considering education as a factor for perceived non-participation in the workforce. Moreover, formal jobs data from the Employee Provident Fund Organization shows most formal jobs are in South India, whereas most of the graduates are graduating in North India. Formal jobs for graduates are in deficit in the north and east but a surplus in the south. Men can migrate more easily than women and can access these surplus jobs in the south. There is a need to create more jobs in the north and east where the women graduates are more, so they can easily access jobs congruent to their academic accomplishments, and hence contribute better to the economy.

Social groups

Gender mainstreaming in higher education in India cuts across social groups, as shown in Table 8. Six-year growth rates of women enrolment within the SC community exceeded that of men's at 7.9% vs 5%. Similarly, women's enrolment within the ST community, at 9.5%, is three points higher than men's at 6.2% and within the OBC community is 7.6% vs 5.2%. Enrolment rates for women within the Muslim community are at 8.7% - greater than for any other group and gender in India.

Year	SC Enrolment (in lakh)			ST Enrolment (in lakh)			OBC Enrolment (in lakh)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2018-19	28.36	27.31	55.67	10.52	10.16	20.68	69.09	66.83	135.92
% of total	14.8%	15.0%	14.9%	5.5%	5.6%	5.5%	36.0%	36.7%	36.3%
2012-13	21.19	17.29	38.48	7.32	5.88	13.20	51.00	43.17	94.16
% of total	12.8%	12.8%	12.8%	4.4%	4.3%	4.4%	30.7%	31.9%	31.2%
6-yr CAGR	5.0%	7.9%	6.3%	6.2%	9.5%	7.8%	5.2%	7.6%	6.3%

Year	Muslim Enrolment (in lakh)			Other Minorities (in lakh)		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
2018-19	9.93	9.66	19.59	3.97	4.71	8.68
% of total	5.2%	5.3%	5.2%	2.1%	2.6%	2.3%
2012-13	6.67	5.85	12.52	2.53	3.12	5.64
% of total	4.0%	4.3%	4.2%	1.5%	2.3%	1.9%
6-yr CAGR	6.9%	8.7%	7.8%	7.8%	7.1%	7.4%

Table 8: Six-year enrolment growth rates for men and women of various social groups.

Source: AISHE

Conclusion

Data and trendlines from India's higher education system show that the country has completely transformed as regards women's education. Where after Independence, the country's leadership had de-focused on women's education altogether, in present times, Indian women's gross enrolment ratios and enrolment growth rates exceed that of men. This is a pan-India phenomenon, occurring across states, social groups, and communities.

If we were to project to 2030 where India's GER might have risen to 50 from the current 26.3, trendlines suggest a majority of this growth will have come from women. This is a worldwide phenomenon; in the United States, for example, 56% of graduates are women. Societal development is intrinsically linked to women's education and gender equality. Data from India demonstrates that the massive investment in women's education in schools and colleges for the last 10-15 years is paying rich dividends. The next decade will be the decade of the Indian women as the country re-engineers its labour utilization and employment paradigms to include all these educated women in the workforce of an economy that will only be the third to reach \$10 trillion, after the US and China.

Nucleating Gender Perspective in S&T Interventions for Sustainable Development

Vinita Sharma¹

Gender is a role assigned by society for women and men.

The theory of gender?

Gender is one of the ways in which society is organised. The other ways of organisation of society are by class, ethnicity, religion, and age. Gender is a social construct built over centuries and is not biological. It refers to the attitudes, characteristics, roles, determining values, shaped and perpetuated by society, which it perceives as appropriate for men and women. Gender assigns to men and women different and often complementary, overlapping roles, responsibilities, and activities along-with access and rights. Gender has given women and men different life experiences, knowledge, perspectives, skills, and needs. Gender relations, wherever unequal, have resulted in the backwardness of communities and subsequent failure to avail the benefits of globalisation for the community. Gender relations are dynamic and are influenced and changed over time by changes in economics, technologies, education, environment, politics, the influence of other cultures from media, crises, and conflict. Mainstreaming gender in sustainable development initiatives especially those which are technology-driven is imperative for nation-building.

The national initiatives for addressing the gender issues are two-pronged, namely, Constitutional Provisions & Inclusion of gender in the planning process.

Constitutional provisions

Section 14 - Equality before the law

Section 15 - State not to discriminate against any citizen on the ground of sex

Section 15-(3) - State to make special provision in favour of women and children

Section 16 - Equality of opportunity for all citizens in employment

Section 39 (d) - Equal work equal pay for both men and women

Section 42 - Humane conditions of work and maternity relief

Section 47 - State to raise the level of nutrition and improvement of public health

Inclusion of gender in the planning process- The main impetus toward gender

¹Dr. Vinita Sharma, Former Advisor & Head, Science for Equity Empowerment & Development, Department of Science & Technology, Government of India. e-Mail:vinita.sharma@gmail.com

mainstreaming started when the Department of Women and Child Development, Government of India, came into existence as a separate Ministry with effect from 30th January 2006. Since 1985 it had been a Department under the Ministry of Human Resources Development. The budgetary allocation was minimal. The government felt the need to include women in the process of national development & started efforts to introduce gender budgeting, a tool for dissection of the Government budget to assess differential impacts and for translation of gender commitments into budgetary commitments. Gender budgeting has now become an integral part of the development policy of the Government and also finds a special mention in the annual budget speech of the Union Finance Minister. Gender budgeting forced Ministries & Departments, even those not connected with welfare to look into their programmes with a gender lens. Monitoring by both Government of India and U.N. agencies forced the Scientific Departments also to nucleate gender in their ongoing programmes and also design programmes to specifically benefit women.

The focus of this article would be on experiences of nucleating gender in S&T based programmes of sustainable development. It is often mentioned that Technology is gender-neutral. Experiences however show that technology may be gender-neutral but adoption by women may require adaptation & modulation. Often technology is considered to only mean mechanisation or hardware, however, it is imperative to examine the holistic definition of technology if it has to be the mainstay of development.

What is technology? Technology is a combination of physical tools and related know-how either to make or use that tool to create or add value. Technology can be desegregated into technoware or facilities, humanware or abilities, Infoware or documented facts & organoware or institutional framework. Resource Transformation can only take place when all four components are present in optimal quantities. Where women are concerned & if technoware is available, the ability to use it needs to be inculcated with information in a friendly format along with long term handholding.

Technology has been known to have different meanings for technocrats, scientists, men & women. When women in rural areas were told that technology means a scientific method that simplifies tasks they came up with very interesting viewpoints.

In a workshop in Central India, a woman participant observed: “Technology to me means a cotton cloth, which I can put to different uses to cover my baby, to make a cradle for my baby, to tie up seeds collected and even tie up the fodder/firewood I bring back home.”

“Technology to me means a bus designed without any seating in such a way that there is space within to carry vegetable baskets, goats, hens, etc for sale in the city markets where they fetch a better price. It is very inconvenient in a sari to climb to keep products on the roof. I do not mind not having seats as I can easily stand or squat on the floor of the bus.”

Source: DST Project Rural women in Maharashtra

Therefore, interpretation of term technology to suit local needs is the need of the hour.

Technology adoption and gender issues-demystifying technology

The four fundamental questions to demystify gender and technology are:

1. Do women have the ability to adopt technology?
2. Can women and men work together to find solutions to technical problems?
3. Can women and men use appropriate technology to help increase their productivity?
4. Have the local conditions and working environment been taken into account in selecting the appropriate technology?

“I have been working in the salt brines in Kutch since I was a little girl. I enter the brine pits in the morning & till late evening keep scraping salt. My feet are calloused and as hard as a stone. I have seen that when old women who have worked in the salt brine die their bodies do not burn completely their feet are left unburnt. The protective boots developed by scientists are uncomfortable and hot moreover they do not look nice with my traditional attire. Can technology help me?.”

Source: DST project on occupational health Salt workers in Gujarat

The problems related by a salt brine worker brings out the ground realities in technology designing. While addressing the occupational hazard, scientists had designed boots for these women who wear traditional attire & who could not accept wearing boots. Had the scientists developed appropriate technology in consultation with the users the adoption would have been better & would go a long way in improving quality of life and livelihood. Vital resources in R&D would not have been wasted in a technology not acceptable to users.

Constraints in technology adoption and gender issues

Social Issues and Technology Adoption : In promoting the transfer of appropriate technology, the local social conditions and drawing of skills both are required to be embedded in the programmes to ensure all-round success. The case study given below indicates that in formulating project designs for technology transfer to women in rural areas, factors relating to existing circumstances of poverty and social norms including spousal problems in the locale should be given due priority.

Through support from the Department of Science and Technology, Gol, technologists developed a vertical shaft modified lime kiln to improve the efficiency of the existing kiln. The modified kiln had a shorter and broader shaft and was provided with stairs. Even though the model was efficient and the technology development could be called as successful, women in the area were reluctant to use it. On being repeatedly asked why were they hesitant in using the modified kiln they said: “the stairs and the broad shaft frightens us, we fear that in a fit of drunken rage, my husband may dump me in the kiln and I will be reduced to ashes.” Many meetings later when confidence was built, the women agreed to use the kiln if it was installed nearer the village in a well lit area. They now use the kiln but fire it during the day time, but never in the night as was the usual practice.

Source :(DST Experience from the lime kiln in Karnataka)

Gender-sensitive programme planning- Technology transfer plays a significant role in programmes involving food security, agriculture, and small-scale artisanal production. So while planning, the government functionaries and field workers of NGOs need to ensure that gender concerns are integrated. A suggestive list of issues to be factored in while implementing technology-based programmes is as follows:

- Identifying the differences between the role and needs of women and men of the locality.
- Considering the expected impact on the lives of women and men.
- Considering the contribution of women and men in the programme.
- Assessing the responsiveness of the plan toward the needs of women and men.
- Identifying the social and economic obstacles for women’s involvement in the transfer of technology.
- Listing the resources, opportunities, and access available to the women and men within their communities.
- Listing the skills and technological capability of both women and men.

Mainstreaming gender during technology transfer

- Integrating women and men in the utilisation of technology as basic input for development projects like water harvesting, use of agricultural waste, and dung as composting material and alternate sources of fuel.
- Drudgery reduction through productivity-enhancing devices.
- Involving women and men in the management of common property for fuel for household use.
- Arrange for drinking water supply and management through the use of community asset

funds.

- Explore alternative sources of fuel like briquettes, biogas production, and use fuel-efficient stoves, solar cookers.
- Addressing issues related to Occupational Health.

A suggestive checklist for development planners

- Have the needs and desires of women and men for drudgery reduction, health and education, leisure time options been included for the adoption of technology?
- Is the adoption of technology resulting in a culture of male dominance?
- Is the support system adequate for technology transfer to make the project sustainable?
- Will technology cause ecological imbalance in the target area?
- Have ergonomic factors been taken into account for women while designing the machinery?
- Has the community been taken into confidence to ensure the sustainability of the project?
- Is the technology transfer robust enough for midcourse change during project implementation?

The new paradigm of development has led to a search for alternative development strategies based on the experience and cultural context of individual societies. The focus is on finding appropriate means of integrating women in the development process and utilization of appropriate technology for economic activities. Women are now increasingly recognised as key actors in nation-building. The hurdles to technology transfer occur when women users are not consulted at the outset or there are issues in power relationships, ownership, access & control or that access to technological support from agencies is not forthcoming.

Women's traditional knowledge & technology- Production activities in rural areas that evolved over a long time through trial and error in response to local conditions should be integrated with modern technologies. It is well recognized that women use their knowledge of nature to increase their options for survival as well as improving their productivity. Mostly their innovations are in response to constraints on women's time and labour. They also innovate to minimize their risks. It will be apt to point out that, women know what they want from technology; the gap arises when technology developers do not know what is the requirement neither do they try to elicit information from actual users. The bottom-up approach with the active participation of actual users is the best approach to address innovative traits in women. In new technology areas, however, the methodology can be a mixture of a top-down approach' to demonstrate the technology and then a 'bottom-up approach' for technology transfer. Being economic agents, women work in close contact with the ecosystem, possess an intimate knowledge

of local biodiversity, and help to safeguard natural resources for the future by practicing sustainable agriculture and forestry. The return for the enormous daily chore activities is meagre due to a lack of appropriate technology. Technologies available in the institutes are usually beyond the reach of the village women. More over, technology developed do not always cater to the needs of women. Nor do the innovations always match the local needs. As a result, women usually remain indifferent to emerging technologies. It thus becomes imperative to bridge this gap by collaborative project formulation with such institutes as these institutes have the required technical knowledge base and manpower to train and share field experiences.

The first step for ensuring women's access to truly appropriate technologies and technology transfer is to reject stereotypes and recognize women's role as existing and potential innovators of technology. The thematic areas which can be prioritized with a gender perspective-

1. Technology Assessment and Refinement
2. Livelihoods
3. Drudgery and Vulnerability
4. Natural Resources management
5. Food and Nutritional Security including Water, Health and Sanitation
6. Extension Systems, Grass root Institution and Capacity Building

The system design versus technology-The technology per se is important but even more critical is the system design for its usage. The example cited below illustrates this.

Malaria combating in Bilaspur tribal villages in Chhattisgarh.

A group of young medicos from AIIMS, Delhi formed an NGO and decided to carry out an intervention for detecting & treatment among tribals in remote malaria-endemic villages of Bilaspur district of Chhattisgarh. Whenever a villager(s) has a high fever, a girl of the village who has been trained by this NGO to prepare blood sample slides, collects the patient's blood sample in the morning. She hands over the sample(s) to the driver of the first bus that crosses the village in the morning for the town. The driver hands over the sample(s) to the doctor by 11 a.m. After tests, prescriptions with medicines prescribed for the patients diagnosed with malaria are kept in respective packets for each village. These are collected by the driver in the afternoon who hands them over to the girls in each of the villages during the return journey. So, within 10 to 12 hours, the patients receive both, the test results and the medication from the doctor although the town is a good four to five hours journey from the village.

Source: Project of Department of Science and Technology in Bilaspur, Chhattisgarh.

This intervention demonstrates how a deadly epidemic like malaria in a remote area is being taken care of efficiently by the youth and the community. The technology for slide making is well established. The innovative component is the delivery mechanism set up with the local bus service which could take the samples & bring back the medicines to the patients. Training village girls in drawing a drop of blood & making a slide with proper precautions is another USP of this intervention. It also illustrates how the simple procedure of medical investigation could be confidently learned by young girls in such areas. It provides innovative ways for the community to step in and help get rid of deadly epidemics.

Recognising the value of technology is the first step toward strengthening women's trust in technology and generating an urge to adopt appropriate technology. It becomes increasingly clear that women are increasingly tackling productive work in their traditional roles. Consequently, in promoting the transfer of appropriate technology, the local social conditions, drawing of skills both are required to be accounted for in programmes to ensure all-round success. Aligning R&D and Translational Research in premier Institutions of the country to focus on national programmes announced by Government under Health & Nutrition, Agriculture & Water Resources, Financial Inclusion & Skill Development bringing in the overarching element of Gender is the need of the hour, keeping in mind that No Nation can succeed if half of the population is held back.

Fighting a “Shadow Pandemic”: Impact of COVID-19 on Gender-based Violence

Sudeshna Mukherjee¹

Introduction

Gender-based violence (GBV) is the most widespread form of abuse worldwide, affecting one-third of all women in their lifetime (UN, 2006), with economic costs ranging from 1% to 4% of global GDP (Devries et al., 2013; García-Moreno et al. 2015). Gender-based violence is violence directed against a person because of their gender. Both women and men experience gender-based violence, but more often the victims are women, girls, and sexuality minorities. Gender-based violence, in particular violence against women, is one of the most pronounced expressions of the unequal power relations between women and men.

Ameliorating violence against women and girls is a crucial development goal in its own right. It often prevents the success of other development outcomes for individual women and their families, communities, and nations (<https://www.actionaid.org.u>). The SDG-5 exclusively deals with achieving gender equality and empowering women and girls through its legacy of MDG-3 targeted to eliminate all forms of harmful practices and violence against women and girls (Babu & Kusuma, 2017).

The lives of millions of people the world over are undergoing unprecedented changes in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. It is historically proven that large-scale disasters, be it traumatic (war, terrorist attack) or natural-environmental (tsunami, earth-quake), are often associated with higher emotional and social costs. The cost includes depression, substance abuse, domestic violence, and child abuse (Galea S. et al., 2020, LEB Telles et al., 2020). According to Clare Wenham, Associate Professor of global health policy at the London School of Economics and Political Science, “all epidemics have gendered effects. The problem is that no one had talked about it, and policymakers were not aware” (topicalblog.wordpress.com). In light of the many cases that go unreported and the limited resources for gathering this type of evidence in emergency contexts (Palermo et al., 2014, Stark, 2011), despite increased global awareness of the need to address GBV in a crisis, its prevalence is difficult to determine.

To explain the causes behind GBV, individualist theories presuppose that a propensity to use aggression and violence is an innate or learned characteristic of masculine persons. The interactionist perspective proposes that violence may be a compensatory method of exerting control and constructing masculinity among men who

¹Sudeshna Mukherjee, PhD, Associate Professor, Centre for Women’s Studies, Bangalore University. e-Mail: sudeshna_socio@rediffmail.com

feel that their authority and masculinity have been called into question. Violence is used in a compensatory fashion when men lack other resources to display masculinity. A third emerging **Structuralist approach** emphasises that gender organises social institutions and identities, attitudes, and interactions. Structuralists contend that gender is a stratification system that places women and men into unequal categories, roles and occupations (Risman, 1998). The structural perspective emphasises that gender exists as a social force that operates independently of individual wishes or desires (Risman, 1998). The structuralist approach is methodologically distinct from the individualist and interactionist approaches. It conceptualises gender as a pattern of resource-distribution and social organisation rather than a predictor of individual behaviour. Intersectional perspectives and ecological approach to gender-based violence argue that no one factor alone “causes” violence. Instead, several factors combine to raise the likelihood that a particular man may act violently toward a woman in a specific setting. Feminist Intersectionality, popularised by Kimberly Crenshaw, believes various forms of inequality (e.g., caste, class, gender, age, sexuality, physical ability) often operate together and exacerbate each other and magnify the levels of oppression.

Like the Novel Corona virus, GBV is a highly mutating phenomenon and, therefore, changes its forms and content rapidly. Thus, even during the unprecedented nature of the crisis that caught us unprepared, we saw a phenomenal rise in GBV impacting the already vulnerable, subjected to multiple vulnerabilities. This paper, mostly using secondary data and some primary qualitative interaction, would like to throw light on the nature of gender-based violence that aggravated during the pandemic. The paper will further propose the required intervention to tackle such a situation in the future.

What is a shadow pandemic?

Phumzile Mlambo-Ngcuka, Executive Director of UN Women, commented (<https://www.unwomen.org/>) that the COVID-19 induced lockdown as a protective measure brought another deadly danger in its wake. We have seen a ‘shadow pandemic’ of increasing violence against women. Social isolation and domestic quarantine have a profound gender impact. The situation undoubtedly deepens relationships between family members, intensifying intimacy, and affection (LEB Telles et al., 2020). Nevertheless, everything is not so rosy about family. Often the family is the violent site of intense conflict too. It is well-known that family members perpetrate the most violence against women. In times of crisis and during epidemics, the number of cases tends to increase. In domestic spaces where the “invisible monster” lives, a range of violations can occur, including intimate partner violence, domestic homicide, child abuse, elder abuse, rape, and many more. The unprecedented economic impact of the pandemic has also exacerbated all other types of violence.

The quarantine measures force vulnerable people to share space with their aggressors, causing social alert. The distorted dynamics of power in abusive or controlling individuals’ homes quickly intensified during this crisis since the abuser has more freedom

to act (<http://www.scielo.br/scielo.ph>). Simultaneously, the victim’s movement is restricted, and continued exposure limits the victim’s capacity to cope or seek help. A pandemic situation like COVID-19 creates newer vulnerabilities and throws more unique challenges. Although the pandemic has impacted everybody, albeit differently in terms of degree, it brought unspeakable misery for some hitherto invisible people, living in the margins with multiple vulnerabilities. Their pre-existing vulnerabilities have further intensified due to COVID-19. The pandemic intensified the pre-existing gender-based oppression of older adults, sexual minorities, transgender, and sex workers.

The UN Women’s “Ending Violence against Women Section,” in partnership with regional and country offices, conducted a rapid assessment to gather information from partners—governments and civil society organisations—in 49 countries in five regions to understand the impact of COVID-19 on violence against women and girls and service provisions. The findings based on available data, media reports, and anecdotal data highlight the increased vulnerability and risk factors for women and girls during the pandemic. The reports on violence against women and girls cases are most likely underestimating the real rates and magnitude of the problem, as the pandemic and its circumstances make it much harder for women to report or seek help. Limited awareness about available services, limited access to mobile technology, and movement restrictions hamper survivors’ access to services. All violence against women and girls service providers (governmental and non-governmental), particularly civil society organisations, have limited resources and capacity and are over-stretched to meet survivors’ needs. Service providers divert their resources and efforts to provide immediate protection from the virus and relief to beneficiaries, such as distributing personal protective equipment, food and cash. Immediate responses include advocating for the inclusion of violence against women and girls’ services in national responses and recovery plans; raising awareness and disseminating information about available services, and adapting services to be provided remotely using available technological platforms (Majumdar and Wood 2020; UN Women 2020).

Overview of global trends of GBV in some of the select countries around the world	
China	Domestic violence cases reported to the local police tripled in February at the height of the coronavirus crisis.
Tunisia	Calls to a hotline for women abuse increased fivefold
UK	Calls to the national abuse hotline went up by 65 per cent. (The UK’s largest domestic abuse charity, Refuge, has reported a 700% increase in calls to its helpline in a single day, while a separate helpline for perpetrators of domestic abuse seeking help to change their behaviour received 25% more calls after the start of the COVID-19 lockdown)
Spain	Calls to a state-run hotline have seen an increase of 12.5%, while online consultations grew by 270%

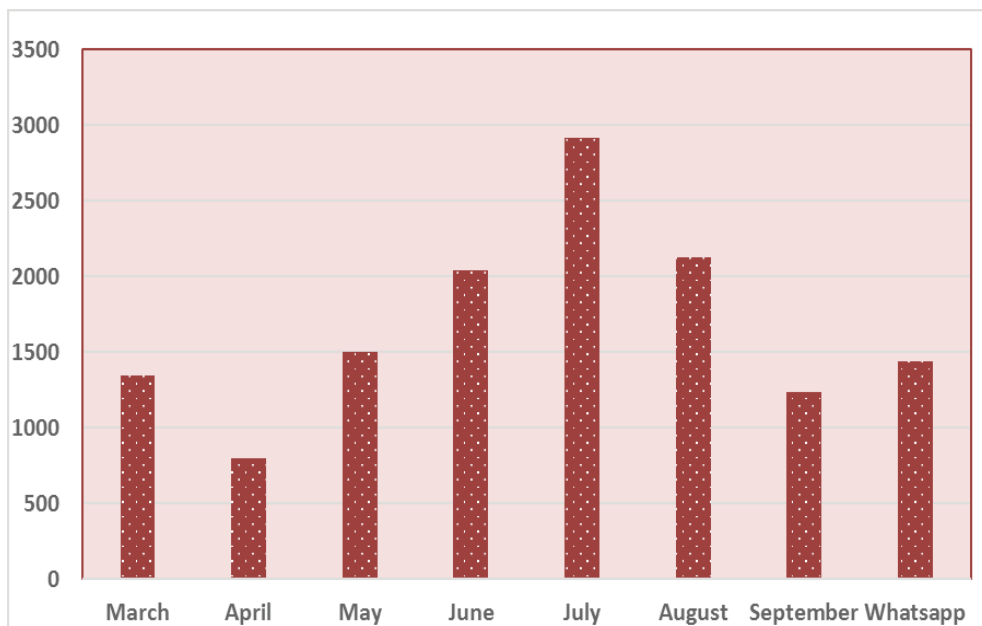
Cyprus	Reports of domestic violence have witnessed a 30 per cent increase in calls in the first weeks of stay-at-home measures
France	French police reported a nationwide spike of about 30 per cent in domestic violence

Source: UNDOC (2020)

Shadow pandemic in India

As per the data compiled by the Ministry of Women and Child Development, presented in the Lok Sabha, the National Commission for Women (NCW) received over 13,000 complaints of crimes against women during the lockdown. For the full COVID-19-induced lockdown period, the NCW has received 13,410 complaints from across the country. The month of July reported the highest 2,914 cases. The first month of the lockdown, March, saw 1,347 such complaints, while in May, it increased to 1,500 cases. In the wake of the high incidences of violence against women, the NCW had launched the WhatsApp number (7217735372) to report domestic violence cases in April. A total of 1,443 complaints were registered through the WhatsApp number from across the states. Uttar Pradesh (5,470 cases) and Delhi (1,697 cases) reported the highest number of these complaints during the lockdown. Together, these states accounted for over half (or 53.45 per cent) of the cases (thefederal.com).

Graph 1: Month-wise number of complaints received by National Commission for Women (NCW)



Source: Ministry of Women and Child Development, 2020

One of the studies was conducted by Saravana Ravindran and Manisha Shah titled ‘COVID-19: Shadow Pandemic’ (Ravindran and Shah, 2020, <https://www.ideasforindia.in>) and violence against women, using data on complaints received by the National Commission for Women (NCW) from across the country. The data are disaggregated by categories of complaints, which they have broadly grouped into (i) domestic violence, (ii) cybercrime, (iii) harassment, and (iv) rape and sexual assault. They have focused on the period January 2018-May 2020 in their analysis. By including two years of data before the COVID-19 lockdowns, they can control this seasonality of violence in the research. Their significant findings include (Ravindran and Shah, 2020, <https://www.ideasforindia.in/>):

- A. Domestic violence complaints increased 131% in May 2020 in districts with the strictest lockdown rules.
- B. There are significant increases in cyber crime complaints in the districts with the strictest lockdown rules.
- C. Rape and sexual assault complaints have decreased by 0.39 standard deviation (119%) during the same period in these same districts, consistent with reduced female mobility in public spaces, public transport, and workplaces.
- D. By contrasting the National Family Health Survey (2015-2016)², the study found that districts with a more significant proportion of husbands who believe that hitting or beating a wife are justified have experienced more substantial increases in domestic violence complaints in April and May. On the other hand, districts in which a more significant proportion of wives report that a husband hitting or beating his wife is justified see fewer domestic violence complaints in May 2020. Where some awareness existed among women on the issue of GBV, there was some resistance.

Disproportional burden of domestic care

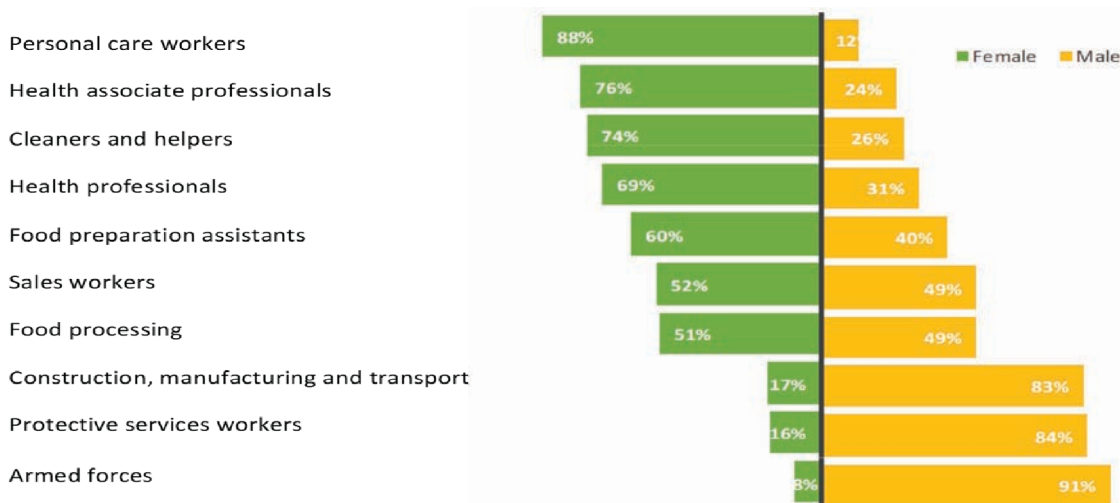
Under a patriarchal social structure, the burden of care, without any doubt, is vested with women. Women and girls are responsible for 75% of unpaid care and domestic work in homes and communities every day all over the world (Moreira da Silva, 2019). The International Labour Organisation (ILO) calculates that globally, women perform 4 hours and 25 minutes of unpaid care work every day compared with 1 hour and 23 minutes of men (Pozzan and Cattaneo, 2020; Power, 2020). The COVID-19-induced lockdown has increased this work burden to a significant extent. In the prolonged absence of domestic support, working women are increasingly finding it difficult to balance ‘domestic work’ and ‘work from home.’ The COVID-19-induced requirement of sanitisation, frequent hand wash, and immunity boosters also led to increased workload. The condition further worsened in houses without regular water supply (Currently, 27% and only 5.78 crore rural households have tap water connections. Of these, 2.55 crore connections

²National Family Health Survey (2015-2016), which asked - husbands and wives separately- whether a husband is justified in hitting or beating his wife in many circumstances.

were provided between August 2019 and October 2020). The manifold increase in the cleanliness challenge enhanced stress and other associated mental health challenges for women.

More than 1.5 billion children are out of school right now (estimated by UNESCO, as of March 25, 2020). Following lockdown and social distancing norms, paid day-care facilities are also closed currently. All these have dramatically increased the need for childcare. Most families have no choice but to watch their kids themselves. Based on the existing distribution of childcare duties in most families, mothers are likely to be more affected than fathers (Titan et al., 2020, nber.org). However, challenges are multifaceted for single mothers and mothers who work as frontline workers. The following graph will show that most frontline COVID-19 workers are women and are often in low-paid jobs.

Graph 2: More women than men work as the frontline COVID-19 workers



Source: ILO

There are several instances worldwide where frontline workers, especially nurses, encountered social violence due to the ordinary people’s ignorance. With stringent social distancing measures and fear of the virus, people are forced to stay at home. Such a situation heightened the risk of intimate partner violence. The likelihood of women in an abusive relationship and their children being exposed to violence has dramatically increased. Family members spend more time in close contact, and families have to cope with additional stress due to potential economic or job losses. Lockdown measures have restricted the victim’s contact with family and friends who may provide support and protection from violence. Closure of shelters and other assistive services also worsened the conditions.

Precarious economy and rising GBV

The sudden nationwide lockdown that forced 1.3 billion Indians to stay indoors was the biggest in the world. The lockdown restrictions were imposed impromptu, without any preparation or coordination with states. Under this, one of the most stringent lockdowns, except for some essential services and activities, the rest of India's \$2.9 trillion economy remained closed (Singh, 2020). The lockdown had severe impacts on an already slowing economy and people's livelihoods as shops, eateries, factories, transport services, and business establishments were deeply affected (Singh, 2020). Unorganised sector workers, especially the plight of migrant workers, drew global attention. According to official data released by the Ministry of Statistics and Programme Implementation, the Indian economy contracted by 23.9% in the April-June quarter of this fiscal year, which is the worst decline ever recorded since India started compiling GDP statistics every quarter in 1996 (Singh, 2020).

The COVID-19-induced lockdown and physical distancing measures have disrupted the livelihoods and ability to earn a living. Over 122 million people in India lost their jobs during the lockdown. Going by the Centre for Monitoring Indian Economy (CMIE) estimates, around 75% were small traders and wage-labourers. The small traders and wage-labourers category lost more than 90 million jobs in April 2020 compared to the 2019-20 average.

The lockdown has decreased people's access to basic needs and services, thereby increasing stress on families, with the potential to exacerbate conflicts and violence. As resources become scarce, women were at greater risk of experiencing abuse. Perpetrators of abuse used restrictions due to COVID-19 to exercise power and control over their partners to reduce further access to services, help, and psychosocial support from formal and informal networks. Further, they also restricted dependent female family members' access to necessary health and hygiene. They may have exerted control by spreading misinformation about the disease and stigmatised partners. There are instances of desertion on the pretext of disease.

A significant number of salaried workers too lost their jobs. According to CMIE, while the small traders, including hawkers, may return to work after the lockdown, the salaried workers will find it challenging to get their jobs back. Eighteen million business-persons are estimated to have lost employment in April 2020. The average count of entrepreneurs was 78 million in 2019-20 and further fell to 60 million in April 2020. CMIE said that the large-scale loss of employment among business-persons indicates that the loss during the lockdown is not limited to just jobs but also enterprises. One-third of the country's 25 crore households (Census 2011) could be facing a livelihood crisis (Source: The Hindu, May 7).

According to renowned political analyst Yogendra Yadav, we must not forget the 3.4 crore persons who were unemployed even before the lockdown. Add their numbers to the 12 crore who lost their jobs after the lockdown: we are staring at a figure upwards of

15 crore (Source: Yogendra Yadav, The Print, April 7). Nevertheless, while the unfolding economic crisis affects almost everyone in one way or another, the evidence mounts that women are disproportionately impacted regarding livelihoods and work. Women-dominated jobs have been hit hard. The female labour force participation in India fell to 26% in 2018 from 36.7% in 2005, amid lack of access to quality education and the underlying social, economic barriers limiting women's opportunities. Women are always the last to be hired and the first to be fired. John Stuart Mill considered them as a "reserve army."

Women in developing economies are disproportionately engaged in informal work and other forms of vulnerable employment (e.g., small subsistence businesses, domestic work), often leaving them out of labour protection measures and social security systems. Among the most prevalent actions adopted by governments worldwide to help workers during COVID-19 are (total or partial) temporary waivers of social insurance contributions and wage subsidies. Both are more likely to reach male workers with few exceptions as these efforts often do not cover informal or vulnerable workers. However, if working from home becomes the norm in the long run, more work opportunities may become available to women who often prefer home-based work. Nevertheless, at the same time, their public role will be limited.

As the economy struggled with the lockdown and thousands of firms and workers stared at an uncertain future, some state governments decided to make significant changes in the application of labour laws. UP, MP and Gujarat announced the most significant changes – but several other states, Rajasthan, Punjab, and Odisha too, made some changes, although smaller in scope. The impact of the change will be perceived on minimum wage, safety measures on factory premises, health and welfare of workers, including maternity benefits, hours of work, payment, overtime, a weekly day off with pay, other holidays with pay, annual leave, employment of children and young persons, and jobs for women. Services such as strikes and lockouts will have no place. The practice of layoff, retrenchment and industrial enterprises' closure will be more straightforward with pronounced direct and indirect gender impact.

Violence experts have long acknowledged the link between economic insecurity and gender-based violence (GBV). Although GBV cuts across geographical and socio-economic status, the poor face disproportionately high risks. Globally, economically insecure individuals tend to live in locations with more conflict, fewer support services, and weaker legal systems. Simultaneously, economic insecurity or chronic poverty makes individuals and households themselves more likely to experience acute stress and resort to risky coping strategies that increase the risk of GBV. True, the explanation of GBV against women occurring solely due to external factors (i. e., pandemic and rapid economic decline) fails to take into account the universality of GBV cutting across socio-economic boundaries. However, evidence from women themselves in different contexts indicates that poverty and crisis exacerbate violence against women. Poverty is not, in itself, the cause of violence against women. Instead, it is one of the main factors that may aggravate or increase violence.

Cost of Gender-based Violence

Gender-based Violence affects the victim/survivor, mentally and physically. Still, there are steep economic costs associated with it, borne by society. They include costs associated with delivering care services (including health care, temporary shelter, livelihood opportunities) to victims and those related to criminal justice response like police and the judiciary. Suppose the public, private, and social costs of violence are calculated; the estimated total is a staggering two per cent of the global gross domestic product (GDP), or US\$1.5 trillion (Puri, 2016). COVID-19 only enhanced that figure in the current circumstances. Governments and service providers are out of gear to reach a high number of women and girls reporting violence during 'stay at home' orders. It is also likely to continue to rise in the aftermath of the pandemic as both the government and women's rights organisations and justice institutions are not equipped financially or otherwise to tackle the situation (UN Women, 2020).

Key Issues and Challenges Faced During COVID-19 Pandemic in Tackling GBV

United Nation's Office on Drugs and Crime (UNDOC) 2020, Gender and Pandemic: Urgent Call for Action, Advocacy Brief - 4 evaluating the conditions of various countries has identified the followings as critical challenges in countering Gender-based Violence in the overtly patriarchal set-up of developing countries lacking the required social security infrastructure.

- Absence of clearly defined policy and a strategic response framework on how to tackle the issue of domestic violence
- Lack of coordination among institutions and stakeholders
- Limited availability of disaggregated data
- Inadequate oversight mechanism
- Deficient capacity of societal watchdogs
- Lack of awareness of the general public and societal barriers
- Resource constraints and outreach capacities
- Lack of targeted training and orientation plans for first responders
- Need to update legal framework including development and enforcement of new SOPs, Rules, Procedures, and Guidelines

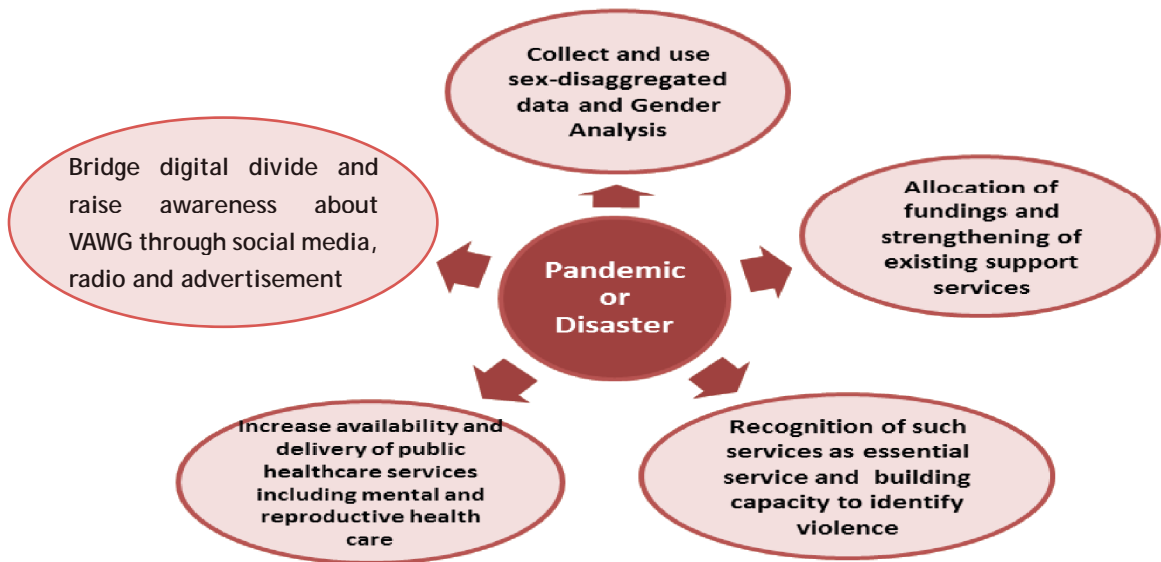
Plan of Action for the Future

Innovative Solutions from Across the Globe	
Canada	Domestic violence shelters remained open during the lockdown. The Canadian aid package was recently announced to include \$50 million to support shelters for those facing sexual violence and other forms of gender-based violence. In Quebec and Ontario, domestic violence shelters are deemed essential services and must remain open during the lockdown.
Italy	Instead of the survivor having to leave the house of an abuser, prosecutors have ruled that the perpetrator must leave the family home in domestic violence situations.
France	As shelters exceed capacity, alternative accommodation is being provided for domestic violence survivors by hotels. Other countries, including in the Caribbean, are also exploring alternative accommodations.
China	The hashtag #AntiDomesticViolenceDuringEpidemic has taken off as part of advocacy with links to online resources - helping to break the silence and expose violence as a risk during the lockdown
South Africa	In the Eastern Cape, support is being allocated to accelerate community-level service delivery for survivors of GBV, with a dedicated focus on women in the informal economy and young girls and women affected by HIV and AIDS.
Antigua and Barbuda	Many online and mobile technology service providers take steps to deliver support to survivors during this limited mobility and increased demand, such as free calls to helplines agreed to by two telecommunications firms.
Spain	In Madrid, an instant messaging service with a geo-location function offers an online chat room that provides immediate psychological support to violence survivors. In the Canary Islands, women can alert pharmacies about a domestic violence situation with a coded message "Mask-19" that brings the police in support.
UK	In Cumbria, police have enlisted postal workers and delivery drivers in looking out for signs of abuse. A popular app called 'Bright Sky' provides support and information to survivors. Still, it can be disguised for people worried about partners checking their phones.
Kazakhstan	Strategies and tools are implemented to address the slowdowns in the justice system because institutional closures are essential to avoid impunity. In Kazakhstan, the lockdown has caused planned court sessions, and violent cases are being adjourned.
Argentina	Has taken steps to address delays in the judicial processes and has extended protection orders for survivors to 60 days.

Colombia	The government has issued a decree to guarantee continued access to services virtually, including legal advice, psychosocial advice, police, and justice services, including hearings. Other countries use virtual means to keep the justice system operating, such as domestic violence survivor teleconference into court proceedings.
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Source: UN Women (2020), Policy Brief No. 17, <https://reliefweb.int/>

Diagram:1 Protocols for Ensuring Safety Against Gender-based Violence During and After Any Pandemic or Disaster



A. Ensure the availability of sex-disaggregated data and Gender Analysis tools

We are a poor data country indeed. Generation of sex-disaggregated data is a precondition for performing any gender analysis. Gender analysis leads to engendering Public Policy. The data quantifying the accurate scale of domestic violence is often not documented. Hence, it is clear that gender-based violence, including domestic violence, is generally under-reported and undocumented, bound to be heightened, given the rigid social hierarchies present in society (www.undoc.org). Traditionally, society is governed by a patriarchal mindset that justifies various violence against women and children.

In recognition of the gendered dimensions of COVID-19, all service providers should ensure that programming is based on the findings of a Rapid Gender Analysis (RGA) (www.undoc.org). That includes data disaggregated by sex, age, caste, religion and disability to understand better the differential experiences of affected individuals and communities and guide gender-informed action in the short, medium, and long term. Evidence needs to be collected, in any format, about levels and trends of violence in

the domestic sphere, with a focus on femicide and physical/sexual assault. Data needs to be collected on the requirement and capacity of services to respond to the increased demand from women and girls in the context of COVID-19 (UN Women, 2020).

Furthermore, that can be done by gathering police records, data/reports/articles from national focal points, and field offices; furthermore, the possibility of harvesting data through web-scraping tools can be explored. Conduct of electronic surveys, interviews, and virtual focus group discussions with relevant criminal justice professionals (police, prosecutors, judges and magistrates, lawyers, and legal aid providers) and Civil Society Organisations to document the specific impact of COVID-19, is the need of the hour. This would further help to devise targeted measures to curb the spread of victims of GBV(UNDOC, 2020).

Govt needs to develop a database of high-risk people who live alone and establish a system and a network to maintain regular contact and deliver supplies. However, the system must ensure any data collection efforts do not put women and girls at greater risk of violence and distress (UN Women, 2020).

B. Recognition services to combat GBV as Essential Service and building capacity to identify violence

In a developing country like India, with limited investment in social securities, resources are being diverted from the criminal justice system towards more immediate public health measures to deal with COVID-19. Highly under-resourced (in terms of infrastructure and human resource) police and other law enforcement agencies have less time and human resources to respond (www.undoc.org) to Gender-Based Violence Against Women and Girls and may lack specific plans to respond to such incidents during the emergency. The situation has shifted priorities towards enforcing quarantine, monitoring social distancing, managing unexpected exodus of migrant labourers, and other related measures.

Governments and policymakers should prioritise and officially recognise GBV services as an essential and lifesaving component of the humanitarian response to COVID-19. That will include ensuring that necessary services remain open and that adequate funding is provided to enable targeted, safe, appropriate and high-quality GBV interventions to take place.

Relevant state authorities should clearly and publicly indicate that preventing and responding to GBV, even in pandemic and lockdown times, should be a priority for relevant criminal justice officials. Specific warning and sanctioning measures should be in place for not following this policy (UNDOC, 2020).

Government, donor agencies and CSR initiatives of corporates must ensure support for grassroots women's rights organisations, especially those that provide essential services to hard-to-reach, remote and vulnerable populations. Participation of women's organisations and women's community organisations in the decision-making processes

will identify needs and concerns and prevent and respond to violence against women and girls (UN Women, 2020).

C. Allocation of funding and strengthening of existing support services

India has traditionally been allocating limited finances to improve the socio-economic conditions of women. There has always been a significant gap between promises and budgetary allocation, and that is a lingering public sector issue that needs rationalisation. Our gender-budget initiative hardly ever crossed 6% of the total budgetary allocation. The following table corroborates that.

Table 1: Gender Budget

Year	Gender Budget % of Total Budget
2008-09	3.68
2009-10	5.57
2010-11	6.11
2011-12	6.22
2012-13	5.91
2013-14	5.83
2014-15	5.46
2015-16	4.46
2016-17	4.58
2017-18	5.28
2018-19	4.99

Source: Ministry of Women and Child Development, 2018

The same also holds for social sector spending as well, which saw a downward trend from 12.61% in 2010-11 to 6.00% in 2018-19. Even a significant portion of the fund allocated to the Ministry of Women and Child Development is spent on children only, keeping women-centred policies in the lurch.

Prioritisation of resources and efforts to ensure continuity and access to essential services to address violence against women and girls is the need of the hour amidst any crisis. There is a need for an increase in demand for emergency hotlines/helplines, shelters, legal aid, police, and justice services (www.undoc.org). Any measures/policy packages that follow after the state of the emergency declaration should include this budget line.

D. Increase availability and delivery of Public Healthcare Services, including Mental and Reproductive Healthcare

India has a systematic low investment in public health historically. In the fiscal year 2018, the value of public health expenditure by states and union territories amounted to around 1.58 trillion Indian rupees. This was estimated to be around 1.28 per cent of the country's GDP (<https://www.statista.com>). In comparison, the United States' budget estimates showed an outlay of over 17 per cent of the GDP to public health expenditure in its fiscal year 2018 (<https://www.statista.com>). Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, state-sponsored maternal health and child immunisation programmes are severely affected. The family planning organisation Marie Stopes has estimated that 9.5 million women and girls worldwide may lose access to contraception and abortion in 2020 due to the pandemic. This calls for ensuring women's timely access to necessary and comprehensive sexual and reproductive health services (such as emergency contraception and safe abortion, and access to menstrual hygiene) during the time of crisis.

A pandemic or any such disaster has a profound mental health impact. Therefore, there is a need to train first responders (health workers, law enforcement, court officials, emergency shelter and counselling staff still operating during the crisis) for psychosocial support. There is a need for providing training for education and child services staff on safety and referral information for children who may be experiencing abuse at home or are vulnerable to online predators.

There is a need for support for rehabilitation centres to remain open for people with disabilities and chronic illness (chemotherapy, dialysis). There is a need for directing all healthcare institutions to provide adequate healthcare services to people regardless of health insurance status, immigration status and affirm the rights of migrant people and stateless people.

E. Bridging the digital divide and raise awareness about GBV through social media, radio, and advertisements

The pandemic has increased the dependence on technology manifold. Finance, education, purchasing, healthcare facilities, and entertainment have all turned online. The existing 'digital divide' (according to the 75th round of National Sample Survey conducted between July 2017 and June 2018, just 4.4 per cent rural households have a computer, against 14.4 per cent in urban areas, with just 14.9 per cent rural households having access to the internet against 42 per cent households in urban areas) and digital gender divide (2017 UNICEF report stated internet has a severe gender problem with only 29 per cent of all users being female. The 42 per cent "digital gender gap" in India is far more extreme than the global divide) in accessing technology need to be bridged. Otherwise, the vast majority of the citizens will be outside the purview of benefits. Both old and new age media must take the initiative in building awareness against gender-based violence.

Early in the COVID-19 pandemic, it was common to hear that the virus is the great equaliser. However, this crisis quickly illuminated the deep intersectional inequities based on gender, caste, class, physical ability, sexuality, and many more in obtaining access to health's necessary building blocks. It is evident that pandemic or no pandemic, a patriarchal mindset dominates the societal attitude towards women. Women face myriad dangers and the same policy can improve certain types of violence outcomes while exacerbating others. Gender-based violence is deeply embedded in the social structure and cannot be tackled with simple interventions. It requires multipronged initiatives and concerted efforts from all quarters.

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Towards Violence Free Lives for Women

An analysis of Union Budgets (2018-21) for Violence Specific Services*

Amita Pitre¹ , Dharmistha² and Anushree Jairath³

Violence against women and the need for government commitment to address it:

According to the National Family Health Survey (NFHS)-4 (2015-16), one in three women in India faces some form of violence on the basis of their gender and consequent subordination. This includes domestic violence, sexual violence, sexual harassment at work or public places, acid attacks and other forms of harassment. 33% of ever-married women reported domestic violence in NFHS-4. One in four of these women were also physically injured because of the violence. However only 14% of women who faced violence ever accessed any services. As per recent data coming from NFHS-5, there has been an increase in the cases of domestic violence in seven states and Union Territories (UTs). The Crime in India, 2019, reported 32,033 rape cases, or an average of 88 cases daily. In NFHS 5, nine states and UTs reported an increase in sexual violence among girls less than 18 years old.

The recent COVID crisis and consequent lock-down resulted in many women being trapped in their homes with abusive spouses and family members which led to an exacerbation of the quantum of spousal violence faced by women. The National Commission for Women (NCW) released data of women who approached them for help in the 25 days before the lockdown (27 February to 22 March) and 25 days after the lockdown (March 23 to April 17, 2020) (Economic Times, April 17, 2020). During this period reporting of crimes against women increased from 396 cases to 587 and within these the cases of domestic violence increased from 123 cases to 239 cases. Another analysis compared reporting of cases to the NCW in the same time-period in 2019 as the lockdown in 2020 and found an increase in cases of domestic violence in 2020 (Deshpande, 2020). Overall in 2020 data released by the NCW showed nearly 2400 complaints of crimes against women, 25% of which were complaints of domestic violence (NCW, 2020). However, during the lockdown period the Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA), 2005 stopped functioning altogether and women faced great hardships in accessing services. On March 25, 2020, the Ministry of Women and Child Development acknowledged the concerns and issued a circular for all state run ‘One Stop Centres’ and

¹Amita Pitre, Lead Specialist, Gender Justice. e-Mail: amita@oxfamindia.org

²Dharmistha, Independent Gender and Development Consultant. e-Mail: dharmisthac@gmail.com

³Anushree Jairath, Program Coordinator, Gender Justice at Oxfam India. e-Mail: anushree@oxfamindia.org

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helplines to be made functional despite the lockdown.

As an important matter of gender equality, and an issue of women's safety and well-being it is well recognised that the government needs to take steps to both address the crisis of violence against women and work towards preventing such violence. Budgets, their allocation and expenditures are an important indicator of the government's intent and commitment to respond to any concern. They are also a useful tool to monitor the progress of action. This paper therefore tracks the funds allocated by the Union Government in the recent years to address Violence Against Women (VAW), their utilization and challenges faced in gainfully utilizing the funds. At the same time, we also comment on what would be the actual requirement of services and funds even if 60% of women facing violence, if not 100%, were able to access services for violence. While we highly recommend that financing for violence against women must include substantial funds to prevent violence, this particular paper has largely focused on women specific schemes that are either directly linked to addressing violence against women or increasing the safety of women. This in no way implies that other measures, such as leadership building and investment in building the confidence and esteem of women and girls, including measures as broad as women's economic empowerment and property rights for them are any less important. Primary prevention of violence against women is important and needs to be pursued vigorously, while at the same time the gender budget statement needs to be strengthened to allow for a better monitoring of commitments across ministries towards the same. This paper is based on Oxfam India's [study](#) of Union Budgets for VAW which is available as a report '[Towards violence free lives for women: Tracking the Union Budgets \(2018-21\) for violence services](#)'.

Analysis of budgets for violence services: Budgets to address VAW include those budgets allocated for women-friendly police, judicial, legal aid, social and health services response, as well as those for safe cities and transport facilities, which are primarily expected to benefit women. Allocations are made as part of existing programme budgets for these services as well as dedicated women-specific budgets. Typically, at the Union level, women-specific VAWG budgets have been allocated to the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD), Ministry of Home Affairs (MHA), Ministry of Legal Affairs, Road Transport and Railways.

Post the 2012 brutal Delhi gang rape case, the Nirbhaya fund was constituted as a corpus fund, beginning with a 1000 crores allocation, to promote the safety and security of women, and address violence against women. Subsequently, the government continued to add to the corpus until a fund of INR 4357 crores was accumulated (MWCD Annual Report, 2019-20). In recent years, much of the budget for women's safety and violence services has come from the Nirbhaya fund. The Nirbhaya fund accounted for 62%, 75% and 92% of the total women-specific allocations (BE) on VAWG in 2018-19, 2019-20 and 2020-21 respectively.

Nirbhaya Fund allocation to the WCD Ministry is responsible for providing direct

services to address VAW, which 100% benefit women. These include setting up and running the One Stop Centres (OSCs) or Sakhi Centres (an integrated range of services under one roof for women facing violence), Women Helpline (a toll-free information and crisis intervention helpline), and Mahila Police Volunteer scheme (Women Police Volunteer). OSC is a fully centrally funded scheme. Other schemes are expected to be funded 60% by the central government and 40% by the states. Other important women specific schemes such as Swadhar Greh (which provides shelter facilities to women in distress) and Ujwala scheme (for protection, rescue and rehabilitation of survivors of trafficking) have been funded by the MWCD from pre-Nirbhaya Fund days. At the same time Nirbhaya Fund is also allocated to Ministry of Home Affairs, Urban Development, Legal Affairs, Road Transport and Railways for various schemes such as Strengthening of Forensic Laboratories, Emergency Response Service, Safe City Projects, Fast Track Special Courts among others.

Low allocations of funds: Allocations for schemes addressing VAW have increased about 3.5 times from 2018-19 to 2020-21 which is welcome. However, the overall share for VAW services in the Union Budgets is quite low at 0.07% (2020-21) and the trend continues in the current budget. Even within the MWCD budgets (2020-21), the share for VAW programs was only 4.55% for Law and Justice; 1.93% for MWCD and 0.76% for MHA. Similarly, the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MOHFW) which ought to be an important stakeholder in implementing programs for addressing VAW has no allocations in 2020-21 as also in the current budget. It is significant to note this because in recent years VAW has been recognised as an important problem of Public Health and the health system is also recognised as an important space for providing violence services. OSCs are expected to be housed in or very near to District Hospitals; doctors are recognised as service providers who can also file Domestic Incidence Reports (DIRs) in cases of domestic violence; 'Guidelines for Medico-Legal Care for Victims/ Survivors of Sexual Violence' have been issued by the MOHFW and are yet to be fully implemented in the different states and health facilities.

Special Laws and Support for their implementation: Several special laws have been enacted since independence as also in the last fifteen years to identify and effectively address gendered forms of violence. These include the Dowry Prohibition Act, 1961, Immoral Traffic (Prevention) Act (ITPA), 1986 (amendment); The Protection of Women from Domestic Violence Act (PWDVA), 2005; The Prohibition of Sexual Harassment at Workplace Act (POSH), 2013 among others. These are not mere criminal laws but have substantive provisions for preventive policing, awareness building, capacity building, gender sensitisation, protection homes and rescue and rehabilitation measures built into the acts. Effective implementation of such acts needs much more than existing law enforcement mechanisms; specifically needed are dedicated infrastructure and human resources. Many of these acts have defined the mechanism through which they will be operationalised. For example, the PWDVA will have a network of district level Protection Officers and Service Providers including their capacity building and administrative support for optimum functioning. The POSH has defined setting up Local Committees at

district levels and their sensitisation to counter sexual harassment among the informal women workers. However, in the absence of adequate budgets for their meaningful implementation, the true potential of these laws will not be realised. The MWCD stopped a central government scheme meant for assisting the states in implementation of the PWDVA from 2015 onwards. The PWDVA is an important instrument of immediate relief from domestic violence, to safeguard crucial rights of women facing violence as well as single window system for services women may require such as child custody, maintenance, retrieval of *Streedhan* and at times divorce. Ground level experiences of Oxfam India show major challenges to implementation of the PWDVA including as seen during the COVID crisis. Hence, discontinuing this scheme will deprive the states of means to strengthen the implementation of the DV act. Similarly, there is no allocation of budget for implementation of the POSH act. Ujjwala scheme which aids in implementation of the ITPA has been under-resourced from its inception and saw its budget halved in 2018-19 (CBGA, 2019). Women specific budgets needs to be augmented and allocated towards effective functioning of these laws.

Poor expenditures: One of the biggest problems with all women specific schemes is substantial underutilization of the budgets. This leads to a circular logic of reducing the Revised Estimates (RE) for the current year and Budget Estimates (BE) for the subsequent year. Women specific budgets for VAW increased 3.5 times in the years from 2018-19 to 2020-21 after a very poor allocation and uptake in the previous years. Since 2018-19, number of proposals for women specific schemes as well as allocations and approvals have increased. However, the expenditures for specific projects and schemes have been quite low. For example, in 2019-20, a total of 5670 crores of project proposals were approved under the Nirbhaya fund, of which INR 2250 crores (40%) were released, only INR 1376 (61%) of which were finally utilized. Which means of the total funds approved only 24% was utilized. Two especially under-resourced schemes namely Swadhar Greh (Shelter Homes) and Ujjwala (for rescue and rehabilitation of survivors of trafficking) also have the least utilisation at 25% and 10% respectively in 2020-21. The reduced allocations as well as expenditures point to closure of several of these shelter homes (MWCD Annual reports 2016-20 quoted in Oxfam India, 2021). With no construction and capital expenditure support there have been no new shelter homes or OSCs built over the last five years.

The combined result of reduced allocations and under-utilisation has resulted in critical gaps in availability and access to services for VAWG. For example, our research shows that only 100 women per lakh women population in the country have access to free legal aid services (National Health Profile, 2019); and there are only 2.5 beds per lakh women population in union government supported Shelter Homes, One Stop Centres and Swadhar Grehs (Sakhi Dashboard, 2020; Parliament Question, 2019).

Need more transparency in use of fund: A high amount of allocation and expenditure under the Nirbhaya fund in 2020-21 (BE) was for the Home Ministry (73%). The Home Ministry has provided proposals such as strengthening the Forensic Laboratories and

Emergency Response Systems under the Nirbhaya Fund. These are part of much needed police reforms. The Railways and Road Transport have put in proposals for CCTV cameras and public vehicle tracking systems. Though forensic evidence and its poor quality has been consistently in the news when poor investigation fails victims of rape and sexual assault, and are important for investigating crimes against women, the fact is that Forensic Laboratories aid investigation of a wide range of crimes. Similarly, CCTV cameras and Emergency Response Systems help to make public places safer for all including women. Inclusion of these services under women specific schemes is problematic as the Nirbhaya fund was conceptualized for schemes which will solely benefit women. More transparency, therefore, is required to know what proportion of these projects were funded from the Nirbhaya fund. Given that the Nirbhaya fund is limited, it is recommended to spend it on services which will go 100% to assist women. Home Ministry may be given a separate budget for police reforms and part expenses could be reflected in the Gender Budget statement as an overall commitment to increase safety for women.

Another finding of the study was that 57% of the funds in 2020-21, have gone to five states, which are Delhi, Karnataka, Tamil Nadu, Maharashtra and Uttar Pradesh. A large part of the funds were received through allocations to the MHA or the police budget. It is important for states, themselves to be able to put in innovative proposals under the Nirbhaya Fund and not only depend on national level allocations through MHA and MWCD. Also, other departments like urban development, education health, and others should be encouraged to put up innovative proposals for women specific schemes. This will increase the uptake of funds in all spheres touching women's lives and also ensure measures for prevention of violence.

Challenges for effective implementation of violence services: Quality of services is a critical component for effective implementation of any service. Some schemes such as the Swadhar Greh suffer from lack of demand of services, given their diminished priority in terms of fund allocations. For example, the allocations for the Swadhar Greh scheme has halved over the five years from 2015-16 to 2020-21. Our study documents various challenges to the quality of services, right from location of service, to the restrictions on unit costs of services. Social services such as Swadhar Greh, OSC and Women Helpline are most affected due to the poor unit costs. For example, on analysis of expenditures in the Swadhar Greh scheme, it was found that the unit cost of food per day may have been as poor as INR 31. Unit costs of Human Resources, Rents, Telephonic Expenses (for 181 helpline) are all much lower than required to run optimum quality services. For example, the given budgets for the 181 helplines cannot employ more than 12 call responders which would be grossly inadequate given that the service needs to run in three shifts and many state populations are upward of 5 crores. To provide a comparative perspective, the Abhayam helpline run by the Gujarat government in a Public Private Partnership, has nearly 23 call responders with an additional 16 counselors posted in rescue vans which are part of the program. At the other end of the spectrum, the Emergency Response Service by the MHA in Delhi works through three floors of a building, with 1000 police personnel, with 120 personnel including 20 skilled women personnel for women in distress in each shift.

Another bottleneck to quality is that construction costs are provided only one time. No costs are budgeted for maintenance or repairs. This is a serious concern for continued upkeep of premises as well as to expand services.

Late release of funds was also found as a critical challenge to functioning of services, which also leads to under-utilisation of services. Funds for Swadhar Greh were released upto three years from the date of sanction.

Current budgets (2021-22): The Budget Heads for VAW services in 2021-22 have undergone changes such as schemes being clubbed together under a new name, 'Sambal'. The budgets under 'Mission for Protection and Empowerment of Women', which constituted the following schemes: One Stop Centres, Mahila Police Volunteers, Women's Helpline, Swadhar Greh, Ujjawala, Working Women Hostel and Home for Widows (CBGA, 2021), have been transferred to Sambal. The components of the scheme, Sambal, which were budgeted at 2009 crores in 2020-21 saw a 10% decrease (BE) in the current year. Similarly, the Integrated Child Protection Scheme (ICPS) has been renamed Mission Vatsalya (child protection and child care services). The budgets for Child Protection, which are important to address child sexual abuse, violence against children and child labour amongst others, have seen a 40% reduction from 1,500 crore (BE 2020-21) to Rs 900 crore (BE 2021-22) (CBGA, 2021).

Nine services which need to be functional at the district and sub-district level:—

As per current policy guidance the following nine services need to be functional at the district level: a) Dedicated all-women PCR van linked to the Helpline; b) One-Stop Centre and/or Crisis Intervention Centres attached to the District Hospital; c) One Swadhar Greh or shelter home for every four lakh population; d) One Protection Officer with independent charge, dedicated service providers and administrative support for implementation of PWDVA; e) Local Complaints Committee with dedicated office space and staff for implementation of Sexual Harassment at Workplace (Prevention, Prohibition and Redressal) Act; f) District Legal Service Authority (DLSA) with office space and full time secretary; g) Mobile Forensic Van attached to Women's Desks at Police Station; h) Anti-Human Trafficking Units; and i) Empanelled specialists such as psychiatrists, persons specialised in sign language, experts working with children, and other specialised services required. Efforts need to be made that eventually services such as Swadhar Greh and One Stop Centres will be available at the sub-district level too, since districts in our country are geographically very big and also have a sizable population. For example, if one were to apply a population standard for availability of services which would be more equitable than merely one service per district standard, at least one OSC would be required for a 15 lakh women population in urban areas and 5 lakh women population in rural areas. By these standards an additional 1015 OSCs would be required with an additional allocation of INR 827 Crores in the coming five years. (Oxfam India, 2021)

Recommendations for allocation of funds: It is not only important to track budget allocations and expenditures, but also important to understand the quantum of budgets vis-à-vis the requirements. As per Oxfam India calculations, based on the prevalence of VAW reported in the NFHS -4 (2015-16) and the National Crime Records Bureau (NCRB) data, about 8.4 crore women in India have faced such violence in absolute numbers. The VAW budgets at the 2020-21 levels would result in a mere INR 100/- per capita per survivor. This is grossly inadequate. Besides, states are often not in a position to bear the 40% costs of services which can become a bottleneck for expenditure as well as cause delay in release of funds by the central government. Hence, we recommend that the central government must provide at least 90%, of the women specific budgets required to institutionalise VAW services. Calculating the costs of providing psycho-social legal, medical, medico-legal services and institution based services such as of shelter homes, this cost would come to between 10,000 and 11,000 crores annually. At least 50% of these funds should be allocated to the Ministry of Women and Child Development. The Union Budget should incrementally increase the allocations for women specific VAW services to this amount. At the same time, the Nirbhaya Fund corpus allocations per year need to be continued for another five to ten years, so that services as per the current standard requirement of one per district are instituted. Beyond that too there needs to be a long term plan for funding these services and taking them to the sub-district level. There also needs to be dedicated allocation for effective implementation of special laws to address violence against women.

Besides, the above budgets will work well only when mainstream infrastructure such as Police Stations, Hospitals and Health Facilities, Courts, Legal Aid Centres and adequate personnel are on board. An additional budget will be required to provide gender sensitisation training and protocols to all the staff and ensure adequate representation of women personnel amongst these. Only then can we say that services for violence against women as well as other services are available, accessible, of good quality and gender responsive.

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Union Budget 2021-22

Inheritance Rights of Daughters and Combat Role of Female Soldiers

A review of two judgments of the Hon'ble Supreme Court of India during 2020

Anita V. Nazare¹

Introduction

In the modern era, as the concepts and practices of democracy are expanding the policies which enhance the dignity of individuals and equal treatment worldwide, they are concurrently evolving not only within their country of origin but also in countries where they migrate. For example, in any democratic country where rule of law prevails, every offender is awarded the same punishment for a given offence irrespective of his/her gender, religion, caste or creed; the exceptions, if any, being in the trial and award of punishment to juvenile crimes.

Policies enhancing equal opportunities for a decent and dignified life of human beings continue to evolve through new legislation, judicial pronouncement as well as international treaties and conventions for which national governments commit themselves through agreed multilateral protocols.

The progressive transition from a rigid barter system to a well organised market system facilitating efficiency in transactions between producers and consumers as well as employers and employees through standard and fair labour laws reflect a collective human desire to create, own and transfer or exchange income and wealth in a fair and dignified manner.

This review looks into two recent judgments from the Supreme Court of India in the context of the refinement in gender empowerment policies through judicial intervention.

Scope and limits

“Yato-dharmastato-jaya” - ‘May victory find the side of righteousness’. These words are from the great epic Mahabharata, Stri Parva². These words are attributed to queen Gandhari when her eldest son, Dhuryodhan, sought her blessings during the war at the battlefield of Kurukshetra. These words are also the motto of the Supreme Court. During the year 2020, the Supreme Court has delivered two landmark judgments upholding the constitutional values of equality, positive discrimination, protecting the dignity of women and empowerment both within and outside the family. In a way the dharma flowing from both the judgments is that women as citizens of modern India are

¹Anita V. Nazare, DDPI (Development), District Institute of Education and Training, Bangalore Rural District, Karnataka. e-Mail: asnazare@gmail.com

²<https://www.sacred-texts.com/hin/m11/m11013.htm> The Mahabharata Book 11, Stri Parva Translated by Kisari Mohan Ganguli during 1883-1896

at par with men in the eyes of law, beyond conventionally perceived gender stereotypes and professions.

Human emotions and sentiments have come to play a key role in shaping the lives of citizens for a better future and the responses from the established democratic systems have been equally futuristic. Two judgments by the Supreme Court being discussed here point towards the continuing evolution of socio-economic policies in the context of privileges and rights of women in a just, fair and democratic society of the modern era.

The technicalities of these judgments are better discussed and debated by legal experts while in the context of governance, the likely actions directed towards the realisation of the intrinsic values and principles in the judgments would make a significant impact. As such, the discussion here is intended to help the public officials to reflect upon gender perspectives, understand the objective of the legislation and maintain public documents and records as mandated by the administration.

The judgments

The first case relates to daughters as coparceners to ancestral property. The judgment was delivered by a three-judge bench on Aug 11, 2020 (Civil Appeal 32601 of 2018³). It was delivered after referring to more than a hundred judgments. An overview of the historical background has been provided about concepts like coparcenary and joint Hindu family, formation of coparcenary, obstructed and unobstructed heritage, Section 6 of the Hindu Succession Act of 1956, acquisition of rights in coparcenary property, partition and effect of statutory fiction, and section 6(5) with emphasis on public documents.

Historical context of property rights

The historical context of property rights and some key concepts about the institution of a Hindu family have been discussed. Various dharma shastras regard custom as the basis of Hindu law as administered from time to time. Law has advanced and made progress as per the requirements of the society and the prevailing ethos⁴. The Hindu branch of dharma is influenced by the theological tenets of the Vedic Aryans. In the context of laws relating to daughters' rights in ancestral property, there is a need to appreciate the evolution that takes place from customs and traditions through contemporary laws as established by the Constitution of India. What is not modified or abrogated by the legislation or constitutional provisions still prevails, the basic Hindu law emanates from Vedas and past shrutis/smritis. There are two main schools of Hindu law, i.e., Mitakshara and Dayabhaga. Mitakshara has further been subdivided into four schools, i.e., Benares, Mithila, Maharashtra or Bombay, and Dravida or Madras school. Benares, Mithila, Dravida, and Maharashtra denote the old names of the territories. These schools determine the

³https://main.sci.gov.in/supremecourt/2018/32601/32601_2018_33_1501_23387_Judgement_11-Aug-2020.pdf

⁴See Para 18 of the Judgment

jurisdiction of application of law, a much required awareness among the public officials.

The effect of the judgment

Prima facie, the present judgment settles the issue of retrospective applicability of the amendments in the Hindu Succession Act before it was passed in 2005. The Hindu Succession Act as amended in 2005 has implied that the coparcenary rights to daughter would be prospective and not retrospective. Effective from Sept 9, 2005 the daughters became coparceners by birth, in their own right with the same liability in the coparcenary property as if she had been a son. As observed from the judgment, *the daughters have been given the right of a coparcener, to bring equality with sons, and the exclusion of daughter from coparcenary was discriminatory and led to oppression and negation of fundamental rights. The Amendment Act, 2005, is not retrospective⁵ but retroactive in operation since it enables the daughters to exercise their coparcenary rights on the commencement of the Amendment Act. Even though the right of a coparcener accrued to the daughter by birth, coparcenary is a birthright.* The amended law also makes a daughter liable in the same manner as that of a son. The daughter, granddaughter or great granddaughter, as the case may be, is equally bound to follow the pious obligation under the Hindu Law to discharge any such debt.

Further, the eligibility of a married daughter is placed on par with the unmarried daughter as otherwise it is considered unfair, gender-biased and unreasonable and also suffers from the twin vices of gender discrimination among women on account of marriage and is liable to be struck down under Article 14 of the Constitution.

Hindu coparcenary and various dimensions of succession

Coparcenary and Hindu joint family

A Hindu joint family is larger than a Hindu coparcenary. A joint Hindu family consists of all persons lineally descended from a common ancestor and includes their wives and unmarried daughters. The family is one in worship and holds joint assets. They are bound by the principle of *sapindaship* or family relationship arising by birth, marriage or adoption, which is an essential feature of the institution of family. A coparcener is one who shares (equally) with others in inheritance in the estate of a common ancestor⁶. A coparcener has a right in ancestral property by birth and can enforce a partition whenever he likes. However, it should be appreciated that the share of a coparcener until actual partition remains undefined and keeps fluctuating with the birth and death of another coparcener. For eg: When a child is born, he becomes a coparcener, thereby decreasing the share of other existing coparceners. In the event of the death of a coparcener, the rule of survivorship comes into play, and the ancestral property devolves on the surviving coparceners to the exclusion of heirs of the deceased

⁵The retrospective statute operates backward and takes away or impairs vested rights acquired under existing laws. A retroactive statute is one that does not operate retrospectively. It operates in future.

⁶see the Legal Glossary <http://legislative.gov.in/legal-glossary>

coparcener. The interest and the share of the coparcener are of significance in the context of Section 6(5) with respect to partition and other existing laws such as taxation and land legislation.

Formation of coparcenary

The formation of the coparcener has itself been dealt with in detail in the judgment. As such, it removes any ambiguity in the recognition of daughters both unmarried and married as coparceners. In case coparcenary property comes into 'single hands' temporarily, the birth or adoption of a son would revive the coparcenary rights. The coparcenary interest of a Hindu widow is by virtue of the rights conferred on her under the Hindu Women Rights To Property Act of 1937⁷ (Act No. XVIII of 1937) and on her death it merges or lapses to other coparceners. The aggregate ownership or '*samudavika swatwa*' keeps fluctuating with the birth and death in the family. The rights of the coparcener are right by birth, right to survivorship, right to partition, right to joint possession and enjoyment, right to restrain unauthorised acts, right of alienation, right to accounts and right to make self-acquisition.

Unobstructed and obstructed heritage

Mitakshara divides property into two classes, namely, *apratibandha daya* or unobstructed heritage, and *sapratibandha daya* or obstructed heritage. Property in which a person acquires an interest by birth is called unobstructed heritage, because the accrual of the right to it is not obstructed by the existence of the owner. Property, the right to which accrues not by birth but on the death of the last owner without leaving a male issue, is called obstructed heritage. It is called obstructed, because the accrual of right to it is obstructed by the existence of the owner. Unobstructed heritage devolves by survivorship; obstructed heritage, by succession. It is important to note that Section 6 of the Hindu Succession Act 1956⁸ gives unobstructed heritage by birth to a daughter and not upon the death of an owner; hence, the father need not be alive on Sept 9, 2005, the date of substitution. Here the role of revenue offices is important in determining the rights on ancestor property⁹ based on documentary evidence.

Section 6 of the Act

The Act is applicable to anyone who is a Hindu by religion in any forms like Aryasamaj, Brhamosamaj, Prarthana Samaj, Veershaiva, Lingayat, and Buddhists, Jains, Sikhs. (Sec 2 of the Act). Based on the recommendations of the Law Commission on India in their 174th Report, the Hindu Succession Act 1956 was amended in 2005¹⁰. The Provision in Sec 6 as amended *inter alia* states to the effect that... *with commencement of the*

⁷<http://www.ilo.org/dyn/natlex/docs/ELECTRONIC/104955/128192/F-1759061266/PAK104955.pdf> & <https://indiankanoon.org/doc/80896406/> accessed on 9.12.2020

⁸<http://ncwapps.nic.in/acts/TheHinduSuccessionAct1956.pdf>

⁹Known as coparcenary property, which is the one which is inherited by a Hindu from his father, grandfather, or great grandfather.

¹⁰See http://egazette.nic.in/WriteReadData/2005/E_45_2012_114.pdf

2005 Act, in a joint Hindu family governed by Mitakshara law, daughter shall have, by birth, same rights in the coparcenary property as she would have had, if she had been a son. The amended law has positioned daughters also as coparceners at par with sons to claim their share in ancestral property. Thus, the Act brought about changes in the law of succession among Hindus and gave rights, which were till then unknown in relation to women's property. Until then the law, by excluding the daughter from participating in the coparcenary ownership not only contributed to her discrimination on the ground of gender but also led to oppression and negation of her fundamental right of equality guaranteed by the Constitution.

Effect of enlarged rights of daughters

Section 6 presupposes the existence of coparcenary. As the share of the coparcener keeps fluctuating by birth or death, a statutory fiction is created for the limited purpose of ascertaining the share of the deceased coparcener so as to determine the share of the Class I heirs¹¹ left behind. The amendment brings clarity on the heir to the property as in the case of sole surviving coparcener, a widow, a daughter or an adopted son. It is only the enlargement of the rights of the daughters while the rights of other relatives remain unaffected.

Acquisition of rights in coparcenary property

After extensive discussion of the laws, judgments of various High Courts as well as the objective of the amended Act of 2005 the Supreme Court, *inter alia*, has observed that since the right in coparcenary is by birth, it is not necessary that the father of coparcener should be living as on Sept 9, 2005 and the provisions contained in substituted Section 6 of the Hindu Succession Act, 1956 confer the status of coparcener on the daughter born before or after amendment in the same manner as a son with the same rights and liabilities.

Partition and effect of statutory fiction

The right to claim partition is a significant feature of a coparcenary, and with a right to seek severance of status. A partition gives the right to the coparcener to sell or mortgage his share of property while without partition, only undivided share can be sold, and as regards the consent of other coparceners to do so depend on the school of law applicable. In the event of the death of a coparcener before partition, the determination of the share of the deceased and its devolution is not disrupted and thus remains unaffected by the statutory fiction contained in Section (6).

In the case of a partition suit filed by a member, the joint status is severed from the date of filing, but in case the law confers a right, or such other events occur, its effects

¹¹See THE SCHEDULE of the Act for Class I Heirs <https://www.indiacode.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/1713/1/A1956-30.pdf>

have to be worked out in the interest of complete justice even after the passing of the preliminary decree. If the suit for partition is withdrawn before the trial and passing of decree, the joint status is not severed. A partition decree passed by consent does not affect a severance and has no validity if its terms are not executed and the joint status continues. The intention to separate and the division of shares are distinct and separate. An intention of immediate separation is essential to constitute a partition, an actual physical partition has to be carried out pursuant to the final decree, a single member can obtain a share through the instrument of partition, a preliminary decree does not bring about a irreversible situation on account of intervening events (such as amendment recognising the rights of a daughter).

The suit of partition continues to be pending until division by metes and bounds¹² by a final decree takes place, any change in law during the pendency of appeal has to be taken into consideration. A widow's share in the coparcenary property must be ascertained by adding the share to which she is entitled at a notional partition during her husband's lifetime and the share she would have obtained in her husband's interest upon his death, when a coparcener dies leaving behind any female relative specified in Class I as heir the succession of his undivided interest is through intestate and not survivorship.

Section 6(5) and public documents

The statutory provisions made in section 6(5) change the entire complexion as regards to partition. The statutory requirement of substituted Section 6(5) is stricter to rule out unjust deprivation to the daughter of coparcener's right. The repeated emphasis is on registering the partition, the nature of public documents to serve as evidence and their genuineness. The partition should be properly defined; the partition should be evinced by a registered public document or have been affected by a decree of the court. An oral partition should be supported by documentary evidence. All dispositions, alienations, testamentary depositions including partition effected prior to 20.12.2004, shall not be reopened. In many of the cases, a simple mutation in revenue entries is considered as sufficient for severance of status. In case the genuineness of such document is questioned, it has to be proved to the satisfaction of the court. It is settled law that family arrangements can be entered into to keep harmony in the family. The plea of partition is required to be substantiated as under law, there is a presumption as to jointness.

The partition effected merely to avoid any obligation under any law relating to taxation or land ceiling legislation is not relevant for understanding the objects and scheme of Section 6. The court has to keep in mind the possibility that a plea of oral partition may be set up, fraudulently or in collusion, or based on unregistered

¹²*metes and bounds, by :ascertained by measurements and boundaries (pg.no.10) <http://legislative.gov.in/sites/default/files/legal-glossary/M%20to%20O.pdf>*

memorandum of partition which may also be created at any point of time. Such a partition is not recognised under Section 6 (5). The separate occupation of portions, division of the income of the joint property, definement of shares in the joint property in the revenue of land registration records, mutual transactions may lead to the conclusion of partition in conjunction with various other facts.

There are cases in which partition can be reopened on the ground of fraud or mistake, etc., or on certain other permissible grounds. In appropriate cases, it can be reopened at the instance of minor also. The intendment of the provisions is (a) not to jeopardise the interest of the daughter and to take care of sham or frivolous transaction set up in defence unjustly to deprive the daughter of her right as coparcener and (b) prevent nullifying the benefit flowing from the provisions as substituted.

As regards an oral partition, the intendment of legislature is clear that such a plea should not be readily accepted and should cast a very heavy burden of proof upon the proponent such as separate occupation of portions, appropriation of income and consequent entry in the revenue records. It should be supported by very cogent, impeccable and contemporaneous public documents admissible in evidence and not mere stray entries. A partition made by execution of deed duly registered under the Registration Act, 1908, also refers to completed event of partition and not merely intendment to separate.

Conclusion and further research issues

In sum, the said judgment brings gender justice to married and unmarried daughters within a Hindu family in the context of rights to ancestral property at par with sons. The judgment is instructive for policy makers, particularly to appreciate that status quo is not an option for a vibrant society; but changing the status quo is an integral part of evolution of laws for equal treatment of men and women as reflected in the Preamble of our Constitution, the will of the Parliament, and as interpreted from time to time by the Supreme Court. Going forward, some implementation issues may emerge which need to be analysed further by researchers. For eg: (a) adoption of daughters, (b) maintaining separate lineage of ancestral property flowing through mother and father to daughters and sons, (c) issues in merging the properties acquired by children separately from mother and father, when coparcenary property flows in to the hands of grand children.

Judgment relating to equal opportunity in armed forces

Women's positions in pre-modern military history

Most of military history is about men. The world over, for thousands of years, military services continued to be a preserve of men¹³. Kautilya's Arthashastra¹⁴ as well as the Chinese book The Art of War¹⁵ discussed the role of women mainly in the context of espionage and palace coup. The British also identified some virile races to organise their army in India on the basis of races¹⁶. The world has changed a lot since then. However, stereotyping of women continues, which is people's beliefs about themselves and others¹⁷. In America, with the largest military power in the world and the highest annual budget, it took a long time to make the military fully accessible to women, for which legislation for the entry of women into military was passed in 1948¹⁸.

Back home, in India, though women were part of Army Medical Corps since Independence, it was only in 1992 that the Indian Army started its Special Entry Scheme for women officers and progressively expanded its scope and coverage. The first few batches were inducted into the Services, with the Army Service Corps (ASC) and Army Ordnance Corps (AOC) receiving the major share, followed by the Army Education Corps (AEC) and the Judge Advocate General (JAG) Department. The scheme was extended for a period of five years in 1996 and women officers were inducted into the Corps of Engineers (Engrs), Army Air Defence (AAD), Corps of Electronic and Mechanical Engineers (EME) and the Intelligence Corps (Int). So far, however, women have not been commissioned into combat arms such as the Armoured Corps, Mechanised Infantry or the Infantry¹⁹. In all, out of a total of 40,825 officers, the women officers are 1,643.

The issue before the court

The issue agitated through appeals before the Supreme Court is more about securing equal rights to women officers with their male counterparts as provided in the Indian Army Act 1950 but within the letter and spirit of Article 14 and Article 15 of the Constitution of India. Thus the decision is a win for the entire society as the judgment

¹³See *Supremoamicus.org Vol19 The Female Soldier: Need To Induct Women Into Combat Roles In The Indian Army* by BhavanaShriHarsha, Army Institute of Law, Mohali.

¹⁴Translated into English by R Shamasastri, accessible from www.archives.org

¹⁵The Art of War by Sun Tzu Translated with introduction and notes by Lionel Giles, M.A. 19th May 2004 accessible from www.archives.org

¹⁶The Martial Races of India by Lt. General Sir George MacMunn accessible from www.archives.org

¹⁷<https://hbswk.hbs.edu/item/how-gender-stereotypes-less-than-br-greater-than-kill-a-woman-s-less-than-br-greater-than-self-confidence>

¹⁸Women Warriors: The ongoing story of integrating and diversifying the American armed forces <https://www.brookings.edu/essay/women-warriors-the-ongoing-story-of-integrating-and-diversifying-the-armed-forces/#:~:text=Women%20are%20no%20longer%20excluded,percent%20of%20the%20total%20force>

¹⁹<http://www.indiandefencereview.com/spotlights/women-officers-in-the-indian-army-a-reality-check/> 0

has the potential to trigger change in the mindset of the society.

The judgment was delivered by a two-judge bench on March 17, 2020 (Civil Appeal Nos 9367-9369 of 2011²⁰). It is about women officers who have opted for a challenging career in military services wearing a uniform. Such women in uniform are highly qualified, medically fit and have the determination to work in hard working conditions away from families. They are the daughters, part of the forces protecting India's borders. It is about their quest for equality of opportunity seeking permanent commissions in the Indian Army that forms the basis of these appeals. The judgment is about evolving and implementing public policies anchored to the constitutionally guaranteed right to 'equality' in career progression with dignity, and without gender discrimination.

The key issue that was agitated in the appeals is about combat roles and discrimination on the grounds of lack of opportunity for professional growth; absence of job security due to the ambiguous status of the cadre; and rendering service under junior officers due to the lack of a uniform and an equal promotion policy. All of it resulting in loss of pensionary benefits and promotions.

Position taken by government

The Union of India has mainly put forward arguments to justify the policy and management practices against WO being assigned combat duties mainly on three counts. First, it is about the inherent risks in combat duties. Second, management challenges to manage women officer in soft postings, spouse posting, child care leave etc. Third, prolonged absence of WO during pregnancy to mother hood and other obligations for family care. The relevant content in the ensuing three paragraphs quoted from the judgment clearly bring out the conventional bias against women officers in the Army.

Women are not employed on duties which are hazardous in nature unlike their male counterparts in the same arm/service who are liable to be employed in combat duties. For instance, a male officer in Army Service Corps undergoes infantry attachment in field areas upon commissioning and may be posted later to Rashtriya Rifles/Assam Rifles for counter-insurgency/counter-terrorist operations. The personnel below officer ranks are similarly engaged in combat roles. A male officer in the engineering branch would undergo a tenure in the Rashtriya Rifles/Assam Rifles while women officers are not employed due to the inherent risks²¹. Government policy also voices concerns about the dangers of a woman officer being captured by the enemy and becoming a prisoner of war.

²⁰https://main.sci.gov.in/supremecourt/2010/20695/20695_2010_8_1501_20635_Judgement_17-Feb-2020.pdf & another judgment in and Civil Appeal Nos 2182-87 of 2020 @ SLP (C) Nos. 30791-96 of 2015)

²¹As quoted in Para 29 & 30 of the Judgment https://main.sci.gov.insupremecourt/2010/20695/20695_2010_8_1501_20635_Judgement_17-Feb-2020.pdf

The Union of India has also taken a position that the Army faces a huge management challenge “to manage WOs in soft postings with required infrastructure, not involving hazardous duties with the regular posts with the other women in the station”. The Army has to cater to spouse postings, “long absence on account of maternity leave and child care leave” as a result of which “the legitimate dues of male officers have to be compromised.”

While deciding in favour of women’s promotion and permanent commission, the court has acknowledged that positioning women in all streams is a policy decision which has to be applied on a case to case basis. Simultaneously, the Supreme Court has observed that if society holds strong beliefs about gender roles - that men are socially dominant, physically powerful and the breadwinners of the family and that women are weak and physically submissive, and primarily caretakers confined to a domestic atmosphere - it is unlikely that there would be a change in mindsets. However, cross-country experience including that of Israel suggests that access to combat jobs doesn’t lead directly to equal treatment within the ranks²².

However, going forward, the Supreme Court decision has the potential to enhance cultural integration, fraternity, sensitivity and pride, not only within the military but also in the entire society.

Conclusions

Both the judgments have to be enforced to achieve the intendment of the legislature with the support and complete involvement of the democratic institutions. The focus on equality, empowerment and change in mindset in the interests of gender justice must remain undaunted and should not be allowed to be blurred. The merit of such cases depends on the documents that form the evidence and gender neutral public policies. While the law mandates the types and nature of public documents that go into form the evidence, the effect of course can be known only through ease of resolving disputes related to the rights of women, publishing of statistics in asset ownership of women, the number of women who have been awarded permanent commission and the like. In fact, the interpretation of law would be more inclusive when transgender rights of inheritance are also brought into the ambit of law, and with a wider definition by including an offspring and adopted daughter as a coparcener rather than as sons and daughters. The need of the hour is in equal treatment of women within the family and as members of the workforce outside.

²²<https://www.npr.org/sections/parallels/2013/05/16/180045066/Women-In-Combat-Lessons-From-The-Israel-Defense-Forces>

Gender Issues in Administration

Gayitri Devi Dutt¹

Gender issues in administration is a complex concept, with many aspects that are inextricably intertwined in it - equality, inequality, equity, and empowerment configure public administration. Public administration is geared towards achieving development. It is the bedrock of the government and the central instrument through which national policies and programmes are implemented so as to achieve sustainable development.

Ester Borsup, a German-Danish economist, emphasised the need for integration of women into the global economy by improving their status and assisting in total development. This initiated the phenomenon of integrating women's participation in public platforms.

In this context, one can examine the different phases of women's development and also the parallel track the woman has to wade through- family, community and the bureaucratic institutions or the state, in order to be able to participate in decision making processes and contribute towards achieving national sustainable development.

Women's development has gone through five broad approaches. They are:

Welfare approach: This approach focused on the reproductive role, identified a mother's role as important in development and introduced measures to improve the mother's status. Though this approach gained popularity between 1950 and 1970, the passive role of women did not enable them to participate in and contribute towards development.

Equity approach: In the decade spanning the years 1975 and 1985, a development policy seeing women as active participants in development, recognising the inequality that existed between men and women, provided interventions of political and economic autonomy. Since it was a challenging perspective and threatening to men, it was criticised as western feminism.

Anti-poverty approach: From 1970 onwards, this approach was adopted, recognising women's poverty rather than subordination as the cause for their non-development. However the benefits were only in income generating projects conducted on a small scale. Though there were some benefits, poor women were still being isolated. This isolation could not reverse poverty through governmental interventions.

Efficiency approach: Women's economic contribution was considered crucial to

¹Gayitri Devi Dutt, Retired Director of Public Instruction, Government of Karnataka , National level Gender Trainer & a Writer. e-Mail: gayatridevi9@gmail.com

development. Post 1980, this became a popular approach and the triple roles of women were recognised and services were extended considering the elasticity of women's time.

Empowerment approach: Initiated in 1975 but accelerated 1980 onwards, this approach laid emphasis on women's self-reliance, to address the subordination which was not only a social construct but colonial and political oppression. However, women's self-reliance appeared so threatening in concept and practice that it was legally unsupported by both governments and NGOs.

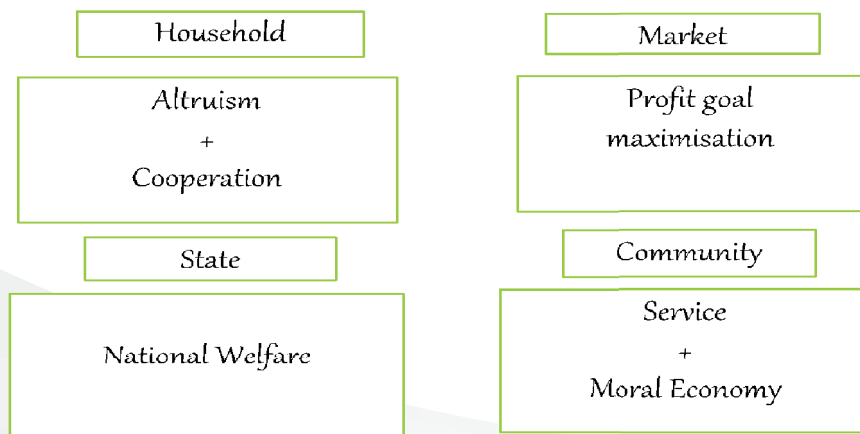
All these approaches with their performance point towards the mainstreaming of gender issues. Women's marginality punctuates and pauses development. If gender policy in development has to be successful, it is important to understand not just the role of public administration in producing gendered outcomes, but the role of gender in structuring power and opportunity within administration and links between these two processes.

It is interesting to penetrate deep into the institutions which construct social consciousness and create gender ideologies (patriarchy, male self-interest, capitalism, religion etc.).

Dr Naila Kabeer's institutional analysis framework gives us insights into the way a woman's role and status is perceived and creates a path that tracks from home to community and to market and the state. These four institutions have an official picture and a hidden, unofficial picture that actually institutionalises the interests of men and women in public administration.

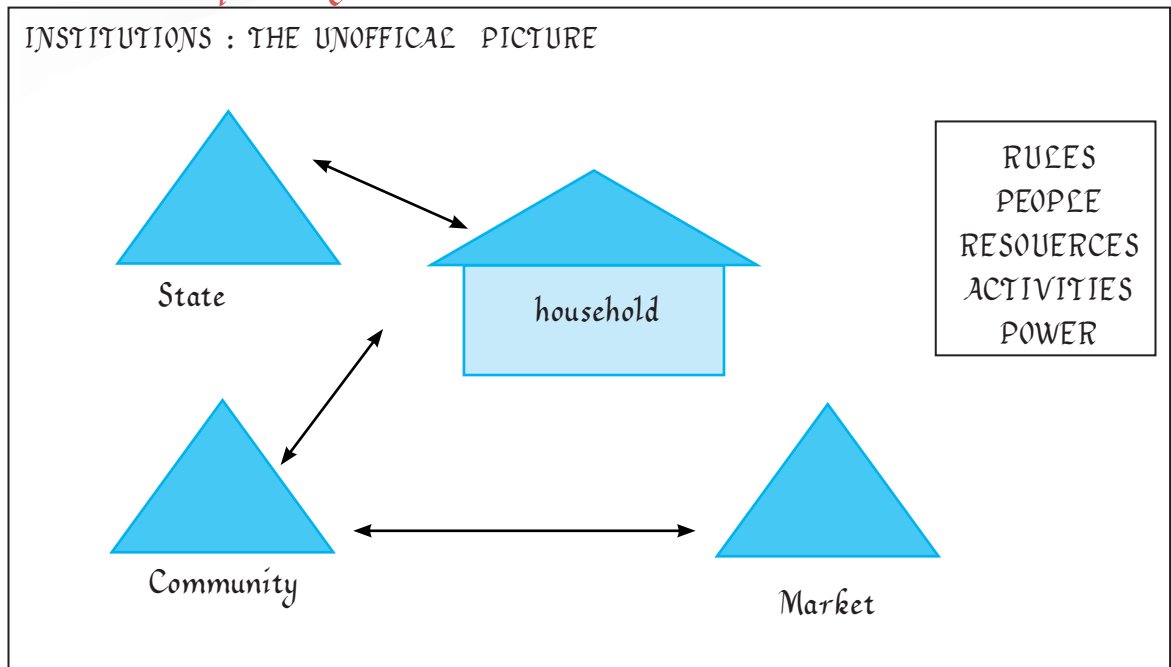
Institutions: The official picture

Unpacking Institutions



The unofficial picture

Unpacking institution contd...



Each institution may have a distinct way of doing things, but there are certain common norms and assumptions that cut across the different institutional sites, leading to systematic and widespread construction and reinforcement of certain social inequalities. To unravel the hidden gender relations, it is essential to analyse the constitutive components, namely rules, practices, people, resources and power; these components are interrelated and the way they operate produces unequal gendered outcomes. Social inequalities are mutually constituted within and across institutional sites. For example, if men are considered exclusive breadwinners, they will be favoured in intra household distribution of resources and claims on the household product.

The five components may be explained as:

Rules: The institutional behaviour is rule governed. The traditions, customs, norms and values enable what is to be done and how it is done and who benefits by giving an appearance of being natural or immutable.

Practices: The rules generate distinct activities or practices in these institutions. The practices may be productive, distributive or regulative, but they reconstitute social inequalities. One has to change these practices to bring in equal relations.

People: The rules and practices determine the category of people who are inclusive and who are exclusive, and also what makes them a particular category; This also decides the allocative process of the institution, thus continuing the gender inequalities.

Resources: Every institution has resources that could be tangible or intangible resources. The tangible ones are assets like land, money, vehicles etc. The human resources are skill, knowledge and education. The intangible ones are a very important form of resources; they are information, contacts, networks, political clout etc., and who gains the eligibility to receive these resources is linked with rules and practices that decide the category. The chain of inequality continues.

Power: Power is rarely diffused throughout an organisation. The unequal distribution of resources and distribution of responsibilities within the institution/organisation, together with the official and unofficial rules, legitimises this distribution and ensures some actors get the authority to set the goals, interpret the needs, propose plans, amendments and mobilise funds and people. In this way, power is constituted as an integral part of institutional life.

Considering a single gender ideology that man is the breadwinner marks the path of both males and females across the institutions. Interestingly, the rules formed at the household continue up to the state in total acceptance. Even if a woman administrator is positioned in the state, her plight is unimaginable. She would be assigned a stereotyped role.

Look at this table and draw inference.

	House Hold	Community	Government	Market
Rules: M:	Bread winner	Men work	Create jobs for men	Potential
F:	Home maker	Manages family	House wife	Homebound
Practice: M:	Mobility	Support mobility	Men work	Avenues
F:	Stay home	Home bound	At home	No outside jobs
People: M:	Knowledgeable	Well known	Efficient	Skilled
F:	Ignorant	Insignificant	Spouse	Can't be good
Resources: M:	Finance	Status	Benefits offered	Monetary returns
F:	Ignorance	Lack of contact	Nominee for pension	A little
Power: M:	Absolute	Solidarity	Decision making	Contribution
F:	Subordination	Can be dictated	Controllable	Do as I say

In this context, the policies formulated might be gender blind or have an appearance of gender neutrality, but gender equality interventions are pushed to the back seat. This calls for mainstream concerns. Biological and social masculinity seems to confer a certain amount of organisational power.

Understanding gender as a constitution not contingent to administration involves tracing the connection between gender, power and organisational costs; the definition

of gender rests on an integral connection between two propositions. Gender is a constitutional element of social relationships based on perceived differences between the sexes, and acts as a primary way of signifying relationships of power.

Efforts are needed to build a more egalitarian administrative set-up which is very challenging indeed. While efforts to create policies which address the inequalities have a smooth sailing, they fail in implementation, and end up making cosmetic changes. Therefore, it is mandatory to analyse the origin or genesis of these biases and nip them in the bud by fixing an appropriate lens to look at. The analysis has to be invariably multipronged.

The gender bias operates from birth to death in every household and society. The moment the infant embarks on this earthly journey, the nurses wrap the child in different coloured cloth and address it in different language (blue for boys and pink for girls). This carries on to schools in deciding the colours of the school uniform. Many co-educational institutes do not subscribe to a common colour, as in NCC and Scouts.

Even before the kids are enrolled in schools, they are given many tales. The well-known and popular fairy tales depict female characters in the most stereotyped roles (Eg: Snow White and the Seven Dwarfs, Cinderella, Beauty and the Beast, Rapunzel). The power to release the girls from their misfortune rests with the male characters depicted as a prince or some other hero. In addition to this, the nursery rhymes unconsciously hammer the biases through the lyrics, but masked by the melody and music.

The schools in their transaction of curriculum crystalize the biases as seemingly natural processes. Often the textbooks in their content marginalise the girl's status, by the description of characters from the stories prescribed, activities assigned to female characters and equations of power through the mathematics content (distribution of property in fractions, the distributor and the recipient designation).

Sports does not include any bias as such, but the segregated data of the material provided and the type of games played serves as a testimonial of awkward biases that make a strong impact on the development of the personality of the kids. Many a times girls are given tennikoit, skipping ropes, and shuttlecock (barring a few urban schools). Peeping into the unorganised games, it is evident that girls mainly play hopscotch, whereas boys play multiple games like marbles, gilli danda, potato race etc. The girls' games are often confined to a boundary, thereby denying spatial experience which affects their cognitive ability in understanding abstract concepts like physics and math. Boys gain an upper hand by playing games in the open space and the horizon.

This proposition is made by Jean Piaget, the German educationist.

Another additionality is the bias created by the teachers through their interaction, language used and the beliefs they carry with them and often reinforced by textual content. Loud talk by girls is controlled and they are made to maintain silence, thus disabling their speaking ability and developing a complex in them, especially in their

adolescent phase.

The community prescribes norms for both boys and girls in their adolescent stage by imposing restrictions on dress and mobility and also diverting the focus from studies and pursuit of knowledge to domestic activities and domestic roles. For boys, the emphasis is on higher education to nurture employability skills and attributing to them the prospective “breadwinner” role.

Further, the job market is open to men and the organisation is customised to suit only male employees. The workplace culture creates organisational hierarchies, inappropriate language is used, there is an irrational way of coordination and interpersonal interactions are male dominated. These serve to exclude women.

In the wake of the reservations policy and equalities commission directives, women are now seen in the public administration sphere. However, their experiences are put forth and best understood by the table given below.

Women administrators

Perceptions	Principles	Practices	Constraints confounded
Constant State of Vigilance. Do not feel safe. Probability Or Possibility of Success. Compartmentalisation Work & Home Family Responsibilities Career Development	Time is Socially Constructed differently for men and women. Biological Clock Tenure Clock Mentoring Adherence to Norms	Hierarchy Boundaries Domination Discrimination Didactic. Dictatorial. Daredevil. Workplace infected with power dynamics. Episodic exchange. Lack confidence	Established Practices Mental Blocks Self-Image Cultural Misunderstanding Pay disparity Glass Ceiling Comparison with male Micromanagement practice Revenue Generation

If one looks at the panchayat system in Karnataka where 30% reservation for women is implemented, the members contesting elections are predominantly from the family of elected representatives. Though elected women members have an opportunity to make

decisions, they are dependent and often directed by their spouses. During the training course too, the spouses peep into the training sessions to grasp what is going on. This indicates the threat men are experiencing on account of the power women seem to be getting. Thus the control mechanism begins in disguise and in innumerable forms. How to resolve this situation is a question that does not find answers easily.

Gender budgeting is one step forward in warding off evil practices and ensuring provision of economic support which is crucial and essential. However, in implementation, it is likely to get disturbed; and if it happens, there is no guarantee that women get the power to question and claim their entitlement.

Social media provides a platform to voice their opinion, to share more art and creativity and have more influence without the bias operating. Well, that is great! Anonymity is a boon and ideas get the focus and not the architect of the idea. Social movements like 'Slut Walk' and 'Me Too' have shifted focus from 'me' to 'us', thereby ensuring group solidarity over individualism. Though there could be misreported incidents, they are in ignorable numbers. And that is encouraging. Yet this breeds another type of inequality, as all women do not have access to the internet nor are they computer literate. But the rural women's issues can be focussed on Twitter to catch attention, probably by feminists or NGOs.

Despite the progress, the inclination of the system to reduce inequalities, and Policy formulation is not adequate. The context demands mainstreaming gender in administration. Gender mainstreaming is a strategy for adopting a gender inclusive perspective across all sectors (for all sectors have administrative systems and women administrators too, though in small numbers) and in all stages of policy creation and implementation, to achieve the gender equality goal.

Such a strategy is required to reduce the historical exclusion, tackle the hidden gender ideologies and enhance the participation of women administrators who are facing exclusion. It will also allocate financial benefits and aids in improving the quality of administration.

How the mainstreaming process is initiated and practiced is of utmost importance. In order to guarantee success, a three-level operation is mandatory, at the legislation, policies and strategies level at the organisation, the state branch i.e. departmental level, household and family as they are the grassroots where inequalities germinate. We need to promulgate the law of gender equity.

The monitoring and evaluation stages are equally important. At every stage, representation of women is a must if the profile of women is to change its status.

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Union Budget 2020-21 and the Gender Budget Statement: A Critical Analysis from a Gender Perspective*

Aasha Kapur Mehta ¹

1. Introduction

Gender Budgeting requires the use of a gender perspective at all stages of policymaking - while formulating legislation, policies, plans, programmes and schemes; in the allocation and collection of resources; during implementation, execution, monitoring, audit, and impact assessment of programmes and schemes; and in taking corrective action to address gender disparities. It is not just reporting information in the format provided for the Gender Budget Statement (GBS). Gender Budgeting is not limited to either the Budget or the GBS. Rather, it is a continuum or an ongoing process of applying a gender lens at all stages of policymaking - before, during, and after the passage of the budget. The budget is one of many entry points to correct gender gaps.

Every year, a few months before preparing the Annual Budget, the Ministry of Finance issues a **Budget Circular**. This is usually issued in September or early October and contains formats, circulars, guidelines, timelines, etc., for submitting information related to the Union Budget to the Budget division of the Ministry of Finance. Budget statements are prepared based on the information furnished by the Ministries or Departments. One of these statements is the GBS. Since Budget 2017-18, it is called Statement 13. To prepare it, the Budget Circular requires Ministries and Departments to highlight the quantum of public expenditure they have earmarked for women for the upcoming year. The GBS gets a lot of attention because it is included in the main budget, and it is tabled in Parliament.

The Budget Circular requires Ministries and Departments to highlight the quantum of public expenditure earmarked for (a) programmes with 100% provision for women in Part A of the GBS and (b) between 30% to 99% provision for women in Part B. What differentiates **Budget Circular 2020-21** from earlier circulars is that it stipulates that **all sectors and departments have an impact on the lives of women and girls**. It uses the term “**compulsory allocations**” for Gender Budgeting and requires that they are

¹Aasha Kapur Mehta, Chairperson, Centre for Gender Studies and Visiting Professor, Institute for Human Development, New Delhi. e-Mail: aashakapurmehta@gmail.com

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reported under Statement 13 of the Expenditure Profile 2020-21. It also requires that all Ministries and Departments “strictly” follow the instructions issued by the Secretary of the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) in this regard. It mentions that the “process of budget planning and preparation provides a critical opportunity to identify, prioritize and address gender concerns in all ministries/departments” (Ministry of Finance 2019), and provides scope for making existing schemes/ programmes more gender-responsive or for formulating new schemes/ programmes.

2. Gender Budget 2020-21 and total budgetary expenditure

The allocations reported in the Gender Budget in the last three years are presented in Table 1. The total allocation for the Gender Budget in 2020-21 was Rs 1,43,461.72 crore, of which Rs 28,568.32 crore has been reported in Part A and Rs 1,14,893.40 crore in Part B. The share of the Gender Budget as a percentage of Total Budgetary Expenditure was 4.98 per cent in 2018-19 (actuals), 4.91 per cent in 2019-21 (budget estimates), 5.29 per cent in 2019-20 (revised estimates), and only 4.72 per cent in 2020-21 (budget estimates). Over the last 15 years, the size of the Gender Budget has remained below 5 per cent in most years with few exceptions.

Table 1: Allocations reported in the Gender Budget in Rs crore and as a per cent of total expenditure

Item	2018-2019 Actuals	2019-2020 Budget Estimates	2019-2020 Revised Estimates	2020-2021 Budget Estimates
Total Budgetary Allocation to Women Specific Schemes or Part A of the GBS	24440.07	27420.03	29473.52	28568.32
Total Budgetary Allocation for Pro Women Schemes or Part B of the GBS	90766.54	109514.07	113339.78	114893.40
Gender Budget (Part A+B)	115206.61	136934.10	142813.30	143461.72
Total Expenditure	2315113	2786349	2698552	3042230
Gender Budget as a per cent of Total Budgetary Expenditure	4.98	4.91	5.29	4.72

Source: Ministry of Finance, Budget 2020-21

It is incorrect to suggest, based on what is reported by Ministries and Departments in the GBS, that only 5 per cent or less of the Total Budgetary Expenditure in India

benefits women and girls. Yet this inaccurate reporting persists for many reasons that are discussed later in this paper. Two important reasons for inaccurate reporting are the following. First, several programmes that benefit women and girls are simply not reported in the GBS. Second, inadequate efforts have been made by Ministries and Departments to identify the gender dimensions of government programmes and make provisions to bridge gender gaps, before reporting in the GBS.

3. Implementing Gender Budgeting: Frameworks, tools and entry points

Several tools have been developed for implementing Gender Budgeting. As noted above, the GBS is only one of them. Before using any of these tools, each Ministry and Department must answer six questions based on the framework listed in the MWCD Gender Budgeting Handbook 2015 that is given in Box 1 below. This framework enables Ministries and Departments to understand the needs and priorities of women, especially poor women, in their domain of work; plan what they can do in the year as well as in the long-term to meet those priorities, and hence, bridge gender gaps. Unless Ministries and Departments fix the process of reporting by first understanding and implementing Gender Budgeting and then determining what is to be reported in the GBS, it will remain a flawed statement.

Box 1: Questions that each Ministry/ Department must address

- What are the Goals and Objectives that my Ministry/ Department seeks to achieve? How do they contribute to the larger National Goal of achieving Gender Equality?
- What are the needs and priorities of women, especially those who are poor, in my Ministry/ Department's domain of work?
- Are these presently included and addressed in the Ministry/ Department's Policies, Plans, Programmes and Schemes?
- What activities will the Ministry/ Department undertake this year that will reduce gender gaps?
- What difficulties does the Ministry/ Department face in enabling its services to reach women and girls?
- How can these challenges be addressed?

Source: MWCD Handbook of Gender Budgeting 2015.

These questions cannot be answered without using Gender Budgeting tools and entry points such as Participatory Planning and Budgeting based on discussions with women in villages and slums, Gender Aware Policy Appraisals such as through situation analysis and the five-step frameworks, Spatial Mapping and the use of Gender Sensitive Checklists. Only after this is implemented will it be possible for a Ministry or Department to report

allocations in the GBS. Participatory Planning and Budgeting is important for ensuring that women's priorities are included while planning and budgeting. For instance, in villages where there are deep-seated cultural barriers that prevent women from raising their concerns during a Gram Sabha, a short-term solution, while we wait for a change in attitudes, is to hold a Mahila Sabha (women's meeting) before the Gram Sabha to ensure women's priorities are identified and included in the plans.

The five-step framework developed by Debbie Budlender requires (a) understanding gender gaps (b) seeing if policy addresses them (c) assessing if budgetary allocations are adequate (d) reviewing the expenditure of the last few years and (e) examining if the situation has changed over time.

On the other hand, spatial mapping tells us how resources are spread across a state, district, block, and even panchayat. For instance, if a gram panchayat has a population of 5,000, it should have five to six Anganwadi centres (AWCs). Spatial mapping helps us to know whether the number of AWCs falls short of norms as well as whether or not the AWCs are located in the poorer habitations of a panchayat.

Use of gender-sensitive checklists by Ministries while planning, budgeting, performance audit, making plans, and taking corrective action can enable greater accuracy in the allocations reported in the GBS (MWCD 2015).

4. Budget Circular and Gender Budget Statement 2020-21: Compliance and deviations

There are more than 70 Ministries and Departments that demand grants from the government. 57 of them have Gender Budget Cells. However, only 34 of these 57 Ministries and Departments have reported allocations in the Gender Budget Statement 2020-21.

- 18 Ministries/ Departments reported allocations in Part A of the GBS 2020-21. Six of the 18 reported allocations only in Part A.
- 28 Ministries/ Departments reported allocations in Part B² of the GBS 2020-21. Of them, there were 16 that reported only in Part B.
- 12 Ministries/ Departments reported allocations in both Parts A and B.

However, more than half the total number of Ministries and Departments did not report any allocations in the GBS. These include Commerce, Posts, Telecom, Consumer Affairs, Corporate Affairs, Finance, Defence, Parliamentary Affairs and Panchayati Raj. Some of them had reported in the GBS in the past.

Just four Ministries/ Departments, viz., Department of Rural Development, Ministry

² This does not include Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, Daman and Diu, Chandigarh, Ladakh and Lakshadweep which also reported allocations in the GBS.

of Women and Child Development, Ministry of Petroleum and Natural Gas and Police, account for as much as 96 per cent of the estimates reported in Part A of the GBS. In Part B of the GBS too, just four Ministries and Departments account for 75 per cent of the allocations that are pro-women and girls. These are the Department of Health and Family Welfare, Department of Rural Development, Department of School Education and Literacy and Ministry of Women and Child Development.

Department of Rural Development: An illustration

The Department of Rural Development is the largest contributor to the budgetary estimates reported in the Gender Budget 2020-21. One-third of the total value of the total Gender Budget comprising both Parts A and B is reported by it. The Department accounts for 75 per cent of the total budgetary allocations reported in Part A and 21.86 per cent of the total budgetary allocations reported in Part B of the GBS 2020-21. The Department reports only two budget heads in Part A and two in Part B.

As much as 90 per cent of the amount reported by the Department of Rural Development as 100% women-specific allocations is for allocations for the Pradhan Mantri Awaas Yojana. However, reporting the entire amount of Rs 19,500 crore budgeted for PMAY houses in Part A of the GBS is inaccurate as PMAY houses are often jointly held by the husband and wife. This should be reported in Part B of the GBS. Second, the amount of Rs 19,500 crore includes Rs 2,800 crore for interest payment to NABARD for loans. This cannot be regarded as an allocation that benefits women and so should not be reported in the GBS.

While the Department of Rural Development correctly reports budget estimates of Rs 1937.79 crore for the Indira Gandhi National Widow Pension scheme in Part A, it does not report other payments that benefit women that are also part of the National Social Assistance Programme (NSAP). For instance, a large proportion of the Rs 6,259 crore allocated to pensions for women senior citizens under the Indira Gandhi National Old Age Pension Scheme benefit women but are not reported by the Department of Rural Development in Part B of the GBS. As 48.5 per cent of those getting old-age pension are women, approximately Rs 3,038 crore (or 48.5 per cent of Rs 6,259 crore) should be reported in the GBS in Part B.

Similarly, amounts paid to women under the Indira Gandhi National Disability Pension Scheme and the National Family Benefit Scheme should be reported in the GBS Part B as well. Further, while the “caring-society pillar” rightly mentions social security through pensions and insurance, an allocation by the Government of India of just Rs 200 per month as an old-age pension does not meet the minimum threshold required for being classified as either “compassionate” or “humane”. This amount needs to be increased substantially.

Two budget heads, National Rural Livelihood Mission-Aajeevika (NRLM) and Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) are reported in Part B

of the GBS. NRLM includes schemes such as Deen Dayal Upadhyaya - Grameen Kaushalya Yojana (DDU-GKY) and Rural Self Employment Training Institute (RSETI) that give skills training to boys and girls. Hence NRLM is rightly reported in Part B of the GBS. The budget estimate reported for NRLM is Rs 4,610.90 crore or around 50 per cent of the total demand for a grant of Rs 9,210.04 crore. However, more than 50 per cent should be reported in the GBS since the bulk of the benefits of NRLM are for women and girls. It would be very useful if information regarding allocations for girls trained under DDU-GKY and RSETI is reported separately in the GBS so that the reach of the programmes and their translation into placement in jobs through DDU GKY and work through RSETI can be tracked.

Under Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (MGNREGS) workers have been provided skills through Project UNNATI to enable them to move up the ladder. The allocations for women under this could be reported separately as well. In the context of MGNREGS, the Ministry of Rural Development reports one-third of the total budget for MGNREGS in Part B of the GBS. However, the data that is available on the MGNREGA website shows that women workers account for around 55 per cent of the total person-days of work under MGNREGS.

Based on the principle that at least one-third of the total person-days worked under MGNREGS should be by women, out of the Rs 60,000 crore budgeted for MGNREGS in 2019-20, the Department of Rural Development reported only Rs 20,000 crore in Part B of the GBS. Applying the same principle, out of the revised estimate of Rs 71,001.81 crore for MGNREGS for Budget 2019-20 the Department reported a revised estimate of Rs 23,667.27 crore for this head in Part B of the GBS. However, this is inaccurate since the data on the MGNREGS website shows that 54.78 per cent of person-days were worked by women. Hence 54.78 per cent of Rs 71,001.81 crore (or Rs 38,895 crore) should be reported by the Department in the GBS Part B instead of Rs 23,667.27 crore. Since 55 per cent of person-days in MGNREGS have been contributed by women for several years, so perhaps the Department may consider revising the gender budget estimate for MGNREGS for 2020-21 from Rs 20,500 crore to Rs 33,825 crore.

Inadequacy of allocations

The second highest budgetary allocation in Part A of the GBS is Rs 3,919 crore for the Ministry of Women and Child Development. Around 64 per cent of this or Rs 2,500 crore, is for pregnant women under the Pradhan Mantri Matru Vandana Yojana (PMKVY). There have been complaints of low coverage in the context of PMKVY. For instance, Chandra (2020) cites an RTI application filed by Ritika Khera, Jean Dreze, and Anmol Somanchi, which shows that only “38.3 lakh women, or 61% of the 62.8 lakh beneficiaries registered under the PMKVY between April 2018 and July 2019, received the full amount of Rs 5,000 promised under the scheme.” The allocations for PMKVY need to be substantially higher if the scheme aims to reach all those for whom it is intended. However, allocations alone are far from enough. Following up to ensure that

all women who are entitled to benefit from the scheme are aware of it and get the promised benefits is also critical.

Apart from the four Ministries and Departments mentioned above, the allocations reported by the other 14 Ministries and Departments in Part A of the GBS are minuscule and together account for 3.8 per cent of the total.

Unspent budgets and reduction in allocations

The amounts budgeted for the Police for the safety of women under the Nirbhaya fund show a decline relative to budget estimates for 2019-20. The decision to reduce this allocation may have been determined by the unspent amounts of around Rs 40 crore in the revised estimates of 2019-20. The reasons for the inability to spend the allocated amounts need to be investigated, especially in light of continued violence against women that threatens their safety and compromises their security.

The allocations by the Ministry of Skill Development and Entrepreneurship for women-specific schemes have decreased by Rs 107 crore between budget estimates of 2019-20 and 2020-21. This is a cause for concern, and the challenges faced by the Ministry need to be explored and addressed.

Similarly, the Department of Social Justice and Empowerment was unable to report spending of the Rs 93 crore allocated to it in the budget estimates of 2019-20 for hostels meant for girls from SC households. MWCD was also unable to spend Rs 120 crore out of Rs 165 crore allocated to it for working women's hostels in the budget estimates of 2019-20. Given the safety concerns, there is a dire need for girls hostels to enable them to study and to provide safe residential facilities for working women. Hence, the reasons for these unspent balances need to be understood and addressed.

In addition to unspent balances in Beti Bachao Beti Padhao and working women's hostels, MWCD had unspent balances of Rs 150 crore in the Scheme for Adolescent Girls, Rs 100 crore in the allocations for Mahila Shakti Kendra, Rs 70 crore in one-stop crisis centres, and Rs 15 crore in Swadhar Greh scheme. The allocations made for such facilities are important to combat violence against women, and serious efforts are needed to ensure that funds under these heads are utilized effectively. The total unspent balances with MWCD in the revised estimates of 2019-20 were Rs 667 crore.

5. Reinventing the Gender Budget statement: Issues needing attention and rectifying the process

While the GBS has successfully drawn attention to budgetary allocations by different Ministries/ Departments for schemes that benefit women, it has several flaws that need to be addressed. A few of these are outlined below.

There are errors in reporting demand-for-grants in both Part A and Part B of the GBS. Anomalies occur because the time given to Ministries and Departments for reporting

information for the GBS is limited. Several programmes and schemes listed in Part B of the GBS simply report a flat 30, 40, or 50 per cent of the total allocations. The preparation of the Gender Budget Statement for the Union Budget remains largely an ex-post exercise. Most of the Ministries and Departments report information for the GBS on their schemes after the total allocations for the schemes have been decided. The assumptions made by Ministries/ Departments while apportioning funds to Part B of the Statement remain unclear. There are problems with disaggregating allocations between men and women. Not all allocations for women that constitute 30 per cent or more of the provisioned amount necessarily get reported in the Gender Budget Statement. There are several schemes in which allocations for women constitute less than 30 per cent of the provisioned amount. These issues are ignored in the GBS. Hence, it is erroneous to argue that only 5 or 6 per cent of the Budget reaches women (see, for example, Das and Mishra (2006); Parvati, Jhamb, Shrivastava and Rehman (2012); Mishra and Sinha (2012); and Mehta (2013)).

Rectifying the flaws in the Gender Budget Statement

To rectify the flaws in the Gender Budget Statement and make it meaningful, the process used for determining and reporting the estimates needs to change. At the outset, each Ministry/ Department must answer the questions listed in Box 1 above.

The estimates of budgetary allocations for women and girls should be based on a roadmap prepared by each Ministry/ Department, which shows how it plans to meet gender needs and bridge existing gender gaps. This will convert the GBS from being a casually-reported ex-post statement to a document that is used continuously to transform the lives of women and girls in each department's domain of work, by enabling government services to reach the hardest to reach so that they are not left behind.

In particular, Ministries/ Departments which deliver infrastructure facilities, such as roads, consider their services to be gender-neutral and do not know why and how to report in the GBS. However, it is important to draw attention to the fact that with a little thought, the same facilities could become far more useful for the less privileged. For instance, while major roads and highways are primarily used by fast-moving vehicular traffic, pedestrians also use them and often find it difficult to cross them. In such a scenario, building and maintaining well-lit subways and foot-over bridges would reduce accidents and ease the burden of travelling for those who do have vehicles. Similarly, rest areas could be developed at frequent intervals along arterial roads and highways, not only for use of toilet facilities but also to take the weight off the backs of women (and men) who are carrying headloads.

On the other hand, spaces could be created in hospitals where women (and men) can stay, rest, and sleep, while waiting for their turn as patients as well as caregivers if they cannot afford hotels. Similarly, safe working women's hostels, spaces in

markets where they can sell their produce, pavements on the roads so that the old or physically challenged do not have to negotiate potholes or rubble, rest areas on railway platforms, etc., are among a few examples of gender-sensitive planning and budgeting in infrastructure. It is also important that the existing infrastructure is well-maintained and made functional. For instance, a large number of public toilets are built across the country every year but ensuring sustainable functionality is critical to prevent them from falling into a state of disrepair. The expenditure for these facilities could be reported in the GBS as they contribute towards achieving a caring and humane society.

6. Union Budget 2020-21: Contrasting the Centre's approach to Gender Budgeting with that of states

Many state governments have also been presenting Gender Budgets, along with their state budgets. Kerala, Odisha, Karnataka, Bihar, and several other states have been performing better compared to some of the other states. For instance, the Government of Odisha, on average, earmarks 36 per cent or more of its total annual budgetary allocations to meet the requirements of the Gender Budget (Parts A and B combined). The government of Kerala reports 18.4 per cent of its Budget in the Gender Budget. However, the Gender Budget for India is a fraction of this at less than 5 per cent (see Table 2).

Table 2: Gender Budget as a per cent of total budgetary expenditure: Odisha and India

Budget Year	Women Specific (100%)	Women Specific (30% to <100%)	Total
Odisha			
2018-19	2.32	35.36	37.68
2019-20 RE	1.96	37.19	39.15
2020-21 BE	1.79	34.01	35.8
India			
2018-19	1.06	3.92	4.98
2019-20 RE	1.09	4.2	5.29
2020-21 BE	0.94	3.78	4.72

Source: Data collated from Odisha state government and the Ministry of Finance, Government of India

The Odisha government provides universal health care. Through its flagship scheme Biju Swasthya Kalyan Yojana (BSKY), assured free health services are provided to all the people from the local sub-centre level up to medical college hospitals. This is truly universal as this is available for everyone in the State. Also, over 70 lakh economically vulnerable families in the State are provided annual health coverage of Rs. 5 lakh per family and Rs. 10 lakh for the women members of the family. Since ill health leads to

entry into poverty for many of those above the poverty line and immiseration for those already struggling with poverty, such efforts are genuinely aimed at building a caring society.

Another important initiative that has been undertaken by the Odisha government to stop distress migration is the provision of an additional 100 days of wage employment in rural areas under MGNREGS and an enhancement of MGNREGS wages on par with minimum wages in the identified blocks through providing a top-up of about Rs.100 per day from the state exchequer in addition to the wages provided by the union government. In Odisha, the allocation for setting up Old Age Homes has also been increased five-fold. Such steps will certainly help build a “caring society,” which the Finance Minister has referred to in her Budget Speech 2020-21 as part of the Government of India’s “three-pillar framework” for economic development in the country (Ministry of Finance 2020).

The Finance Minister also drew attention to the critical issues of lowering maternal mortality as well as improvement of nutrition levels. She mentioned POSHAN Abhiyan that was launched in 2017-18 and said that “more than six lakh Anganwadi workers [have been] equipped with smartphones to upload the nutritional status of more than 10 crore households” (Ministry of Finance 2020). However, while providing smartphones to Anganwadi workers helps report nutritional status, improvement in nutritional outcomes requires several other measures. Most important among those is access to work and incomes to enable households to purchase food, strengthening of the health care system, and raising awareness of mothers, adolescent girls, caregivers, Anganwadi workers, accredited social health activists (ASHAs), regarding optimal nutritional practices, effective breastfeeding techniques during the first six months after childbirth and optimum complementary feeding practices after the infant is six months old, through locally available and home-made nutrient-rich products. Stringent enforcement of the Infant Milk Substitutes Act is needed together with providing access to the functional and effective delivery of antenatal and postnatal care as well as health care and nutrition throughout the lifecycle. The information regarding optimum feeding practices, through spoken tutorials, is available at no cost as these are funded by the government, and are freely downloadable from the internet. What is needed is that the Ministry of Women and Child Development (MWCD) and the Ministry of Health and Family Welfare (MoHFW) use the Anganwadi and health centre network as well as work through the Ministry of Information and Broadcasting to spread awareness regarding these methods across the country to address malnutrition and morbidity.

7. Conclusions: Towards a caring and compassionate society

The Union Budget 2020-21 has laid a lot of emphasis on budgetary allocations for the development of world-class educational institutes, modern railway stations, airports, bus terminals, metro and railway transportation, high-speed trains, warehousing, irrigation projects, expansion of the national gas grid, digital connectivity and new smart cities. While all of these are important, it is even more pressing to ensure that

the poorest and most vulnerable women (and men) benefit from government spending on infrastructure. What is needed is the development of functional, usable, gender-sensitive infrastructure that meets the practical and strategic needs of women and girls.

India is ranked 112 out of 153 countries on the Global Hunger Index 2020, based on undernourishment, child stunting, wasting, and mortality. Our record on health is abysmal with high levels of communicable and non-communicable diseases. Out of pocket expenditure on health care is far too high. Any chronic disease suffered by anyone in the family exacerbates the situation of women in poverty due to financial and other costs and the burden of care work. Health shocks also push the non poor into poverty. India's allocation to health care as a per cent of GDP is among the lowest in the world (Mehta and Pratap 2018). Therefore, the Union Government must learn from states such as Odisha, as pointed out earlier, to prioritise universal and equitable access to quality health care that is publicly provisioned and free across the lifecycle. This has been a longstanding and unmet demand. While "Health for All" and Ayushman Bharat have been mentioned in the Union Budget 2020-21, the scheme provides only partial coverage to a fraction of the population. Ayushman Bharat needs to be universalized based on public provisioning and not in the public-private partnership (PPP) model. What is of serious concern is the reduction in allocations for public hospitals such as AIIMS, on which the poor depend, in Budget 2020-21. This needs to be rectified urgently.

Despite India's commitments to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), the ground reality has been that of high levels of poverty and women's daily struggle for survival necessitated due to livelihoods earned from exploitative wages. Most women work, but many of them are not counted as workers by the data systems. The international focus is on unpaid care work (i.e., cooking, cleaning, child care, and eldercare) contributed by women. However, the unpaid economic contribution (in addition to unpaid care work) of millions of Indian women on family farms, looking after livestock, and contributing to products that are sold by the men in the household remains unrecognised and invisible. There is an incorrect perception, nationally and internationally, that the female work participation rate in India is very low. Our data systems must be rectified to capture the economic contribution of women to GDP.

MGNREGS has been the lifeline of Indian villages. There is a fundamental flaw in the MGNREGA as it provides the right to demand work at the level of the household instead of the individual adult. This illustrates why it is important to apply Gender Budgeting at the stage of Legislation for if this had been done, women's right to work would not have been subsumed in the right to work of the household. The mandatory provision to allocate one-third of total workdays for women was an afterthought that was added after the Department of Women and Child Development pointed out the flaw. To correct this error, all adult women must have separate job cards in their name, that entitles them to at least 100 days of work.

The refrain across the country is Kaam Dilao or give us work. What is needed is the availability of decent work and access to sustainable livelihoods at living wages for all women who can work. Hence **budgetary allocations to ensure access to food for all and that enables access to decent work have to be the first priority, combined with social security at the level of a living wage for those who cannot work.** However, at present, social protection is tokenistic. For instance, the amount allocated by the Union Budget for the old-age pension is Rs 200 per month and is far too low. **Caring social protection would require that pension amounts are equal to the level of a living wage.** Central caps on such allocations must be removed.

India was at the forefront of Gender Budgeting more than a decade ago. However, over the years it has slowly lost the gains made. Statement 20 (now Statement 13) or the Gender Budget Statement, requires substantial and continuous investment of time and thought by Gender Budget Cells of Ministries and Departments for proper implementation of the Gender Budget Charter 2007 issued by the Ministry of Finance (Mehta and Krishnan 2007). If all Ministries/ Departments make efforts to identify the specific needs of women in their domain of work and plan what they can do this year to bridge gender gaps in the services they deliver, this will help them to provide appropriate budgetary estimates in the Gender Budget Statement. This will lead to gender and poverty transformative planning, budgeting, implementation, and outcomes. Perhaps next year's Budget 2021-22 may then qualify as a Budget that represents a caring society.

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Integrating Gender Budgeting into Planning: Kerala's Experience*

Mridul Eapen ¹

I. The Backdrop

1. Introducing the concept of gender in planning circles makes it possible to view the inequality that exists in society, the most visible face of which is the social order based on the sexual division of labour that is, a distribution of tasks between men and women, according to which women are supposed to devote themselves first and foremost and “quite naturally” to the domestic and private sphere, while men devote their time and efforts to productive and public activities. And upon this rests a whole structure of gender-discriminatory norms and practices which disadvantage women. While recognizing the fact that the discourse on gender has moved beyond heteronormativity, predicated on the gender binary- male/ female, largely accepted as the preferred or normal mode of sexual orientation, in this paper we focus on the binary alone, reflecting the most pervasive gender inequality in society and hence the need to empower women.

2. Even if the women do paid work outside the home like men, the household responsibility is theirs extending to the child and elderly care, all of which needless to state is unpaid. Straightaway this puts the woman not only in a dependent position but also one in which her commitment to outside work would be considered less obligatory given her responsibilities within the household. The highly unequal sharing of household work between men and women is not considered adequately in development policymaking; it is assumed that women's time in household work is *infinitely elastic* enabling them to access emerging opportunities while adjusting to any adverse impact emanating from macro changes in economic policy to keep the household running.

3. Socially constructed gender roles result in women and men occupying different social, economical, and political positions within the household, workforce, and community, which are structured in such a way as to leave women with little power economically, socially, and politically, the flip side of which is men's socio-biological drive for mastery, manifested increasingly as violence against women. Ignoring these gender issues in policy design *which tends to neglect women's household and care roles*, negatively impacts women and their unpaid contribution to the economy.

¹Dr. Mridul Eapen, Member, Kerala State Planning Board and Hon. Fellow, Centre for Development Studies, Trivandrum. e-Mail: mridul@cds.ac.in

²Kerala Gender Budget for 2021-22 was presented in the Legislative Assembly on January 15, 2021. Being the fifth and last Budget of the 13th Five Year Plan and of the current Government, it narrates the journey and our experience with the methodology over the years. Some parts of this paper appear in the Gender Budget, 2021-22.

4. With the persistent mismatch between government policy and development outcomes for women, feminist scrutiny has increasingly focused on macroeconomic/development policy, and the urgent need to make it gender-sensitive for bringing about a transformation of women's position in society.

5. Gender Mainstreaming was formally established as a major global strategy for the promotion of gender equality at the fourth United Nations World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995 and was cited in the document that resulted from the conference, the Beijing Platform for Action. Gender Budgeting, as part of fiscal policy, has been adopted as a tool for mainstreaming gender perspective at various stages of planning, budgeting, implementation, impact assessment, and revisiting of policy/programme objectives and allocations, endorsed by over 100 countries globally. The budget of any government commands substantial resources and the state is an influential force in determining gender outcomes which are done by integrating a gender perspective into the budget. Gender budget is not a separate budget for women but is a methodology to assist governments to integrate a gender perspective into the budget. Allocations for women can be culled out from the main budget and presented as a separate document.

6. This takes us back to the “woman question” highlighted by the Socialists in the late 19th century since in their view women were an integral part of the social transformation envisaged. How could the women be liberated from their household and care work to be able to participate in the process of growth? Recognition of this issue head-on, resulted in the vast public investment in support services to women in the socialist countries—child/elderly care, common kitchens, facilities for travel and accommodation, safe and secure environment-- to help them come out of the household and participate in the public sphere.

7. In the contemporary period, Gender Responsive Budgets attempt to integrate women into the planning/development process. They recognize the economic significance of women's unpaid work in the household which tends to be neglected in macro development policy, and the need for public investment in these activities. Foregrounding women's unpaid work and the constraints it poses to women's participation in paid work is therefore central to the debate on rethinking macroeconomic frameworks from a gender perspective. GRB is an entry point into macroeconomic policy.

8. However, recent reviews (for instance by the UNRISD/UN in 2005 and a twenty-year review of the Beijing Platform for Action) reveal that the progress on addressing women's needs through GRB has been slow and uneven with serious stagnation and even regression in some areas². Hence despite some important advances, feminist aspirations for social transformation remain unfulfilled.

9. Another attempt is reflected in the stand-alone SDG for women- Goal 5 in which 5.4 states very clearly the need to recognize and value unpaid care and domestic

²*Gender Responsive Budgeting in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Status Report, UN Women 2016.*

work of women through the provision of public services, infrastructure, and social protection policies and the promotion of shared responsibility within the household and the family as nationally appropriate. The UN High-Level Panel (HLP) on Women's Economic Empowerment, established in March 2016 to progress work on women's economic empowerment about reaching the SDGs, is a valuable opportunity to explore approaches and experiences of changing how household and 'care' is understood and how care is provided. Most development actors now recognize the linkages between the ability of women to become economically empowered and women's heavy and unequal responsibility for unpaid household and care work, especially where public and private care services are inaccessible.

10. As argued by many³, a central problem in achieving the goal of gender equality, has been the difficulty of finding a fit between the technical project of mainstreaming gender equality in policy, programme, and projects, and the political project of challenging inequality and promoting women's rights. A decade of 'gender mainstreaming' seems to have blurred the distinctive focus on transforming unequal power relations between the genders developed by both national and transnational women's movements.

11. A methodology for GB (or GRB) was developed in the context of the GB exercise in Australia (where it first started in the 80s and ratified by the Beijing Platform for Action in 1995) but over time, underwent some modification of the tools to make them simpler to use and broadly a five-step approach has been developed, which too is not as easy as it looks⁴. In this paper, which is divided into three sections, including Section I: The Backdrop: we review Kerala's experience with GB in the 11th and 13th Five Year Plans in Section II, and Conclusions are drawn in Section III.

II. The Kerala Scenario

12. More than two decades down the line since then, during which several attempts have been made to apply the methodology to actual state finances, in India and globally, without significant impacts as pointed out above, the need to evolve a more pragmatic and 'doable' approach has been realized and voiced. The main weakness of GB initiatives has been (a) its limited ability to achieve even its technical objective of estimating the flow of budgetary resources to women due primarily to non-accessibility to gender-

³Maria do Mar Castra Varela, www.mcrg.ac.in/spheres/maria/pdf.

⁴First, is a description of the situation of girls/boys, women/men in a given sector to identify gender disparities; Second, is an assessment of the extent to which the sector's policy addresses the gender issues and gaps identified in the first step; Third, is an ex-post analysis of the Budget focusing on the expenditure side to see where funds have been allocated; do the programmes address the above identified gender gaps ; Fourth, is to move beyond financial numbers and monitor whether the money allocated has been spent as planned, what was delivered and to whom; and Fifth, involves assessment of the impact of the policy/ programme/scheme and the extent to which the situation described in the First step has been changed in the direction of greater gender equality. (Bhumika Jhamb and Yamini Mishra (2015): "Gender Responsive Budgeting in India, Economic and Political Weekly" Vol. 50, Issue No. 12, December 12.

disaggregated data; and (b) the absence of a broader vision of including women in the development planning process.

13. Yet, the GB exercise is worthwhile not only because it sensitises government and society to the fact that budgets impact differentially on men and women, but by doing so creates a consciousness that women's needs have to be built into the project formulation which should get reflected in the plan project write-ups. We attempted to address these lacunae in our efforts with GB in Kerala in the 11th Plan and then again in the 13th Plan when it was resumed. We had learned a few lessons from the earlier efforts which enabled us to realise that GB (used interchangeably with Gender Responsive Budget) is not just a technical exercise but very much a political one too, where policy needs some alteration to address women's concerns. We briefly trace Kerala's experience in GRB.

Using the GB Framework to do a Gender-Sensitive Analysis of Budgets: A Summary Statement

14. We briefly demonstrate how we tried to use this framework for doing GB in Kerala, in the 11th Plan (2006- 20112), in terms of a situational analysis of girls/boys, men/women, and an ex-post analysis of the budget, highlighting the limitations of doing even this minimum exercise. It made it clear to us that we had to move beyond financial numbers toward more meaningful ways of using the GB methodology for addressing issues of concern to women.

15. The classification of expenditure in the budget is given by Plan and non-Plan (in Kerala non-plan continues unlike in the Union Budget), by major heads of an account which indicate the different functions of the government. A demand is proposed for each function and the expenditure on revenue account, and the expenditure on capital account relating to a function are brought together under the same demand which gives us an idea of the total cost of each function. Under each major head, minor heads are denoting the various programmes under the particular function.

16. On the expenditure side, the focus of the Gender Budget in Kerala as at the all India level has been on the women-specific programmes and those with a stipulated allocation for women or an anticipated flow of resources to women, based on secondary data and /or experiential evidence regarding beneficiaries by gender as consumers, workers or producers of the goods and services delivered by the programmes.

17. The former is categorized as Part A and the second as Part B in the Gender Budget Statement and the two together, give us the total financial allocation of resources flowing to women. Needless to state, the foremost objective of Gender Budgeting is to encourage all Departments in the Government to become more gender-aware and scrutinise their budgets from a gender perspective. While it is true that resources from 100 per cent women schemes flow to women, there is some ambiguity with respect to estimating percentages flowing to women from the schemes which benefit both men

and women. Our attempts at GB throw up several limitations:

- It is not easy to track the flow of resources to women in Part B in the absence of gender-disaggregated data.
- Moreover, this exercise is done for 'gender-related' sectors, like Agriculture, Animal Husbandry, Dairy, Fisheries, Rural Development, Education, Health, Social Welfare, Small/Traditional Industries, which constitute not more than 35-40 per cent of plan expenditures. Gender disaggregated data is not always available even for these sectors.
- Almost 60-65 per cent of plan outlays in the so-called 'gender unrelated' sectors remain outside the purview of the GB exercise-- Public Works, Water Supply and Sanitation, Forest, Irrigation, Power, Ports, Transport, Tourism for which it is difficult to disaggregate the beneficiaries by gender. The biggest methodological challenge is to unravel the 'general' or gender unrelated sector expenditures.
- How do we integrate gender into the planning process?

18. Given the difficulties of assessing the resource flows to women from schemes, in particular those, not 100 per cent meant for women from the budgetary / plan data, we realised that the Gender Budgeting exercise needed to be done at two levels:

- *At one level is the need to make the financial data more reliable and proximate the actual flow of resources to women which we should continue to do primarily through improving project/scheme proposal write-ups in the Budget/Plan and procuring gender-disaggregated data from departments.*
- *At another level is to focus on programmes rather than finances and to then ensure that funds are made available for these schemes. This means we need to plan (a) women-specific projects in women unrelated sectors to include them in all sectors of development, and (b) to plan new initiatives depending on women's priorities as perceived in the specific context of the state and derived from its strategy of development.*

19. Including gender into budgeting has to go beyond numbers and a special focus on the Chapter on Women and Child Development, to engage with visibilising women in each sector, recognising their contribution and emphasising the need to consider their needs/interests in the overall determination of macro development policy and the extent to which allocations can be shifted towards social investment and provision of public goods which benefit women. This meant that within the state's overall approach to development which specifically includes gender issues, the public expenditure would have to be redirected to schemes exclusively for women and making composite public expenditure (which benefits both men and women) more responsive to gender concerns.

20. Initially, in the 11th Plan we had to restrict ourselves to primarily women's

issues which would not be taken up in any other department- gender-based violence, empowerment of women and occupational health by formulating a Gender Awareness programme, finishing schools for women, livelihood generation through self-help groups of women, etc. However, by 2009-10 we tried to broaden the reach of gender budgeting by entering gender unrelated sectors through a major thrust on women-friendly infrastructure in 2010-11. The government of Kerala was investing heavily in infrastructure, especially in the wake of the global financial and economic crisis in 2008-09-10; how do we corner some of these resources for women.

21. We know that women too need infrastructure, not just roads, bridges, flyovers, deep port terminals, etc but support services like child care, elderly care, and basic amenities when they travel or where they work and a safe/secure environment at home and in public places. A survey of public offices in the districts of Kerala showed that several public buildings do not have separate toilets for women. For women who commute to work, basic facilities like restrooms and toilets are required at bus stations. It is in this context that a major scheme for women was formulated- **Gender Friendly Infrastructure**, covering sectors normally excluded from a GB exercise with commendable cooperation from the state departments. The scheme in which Kerala State Road Transport Corporation (KSRTC), Public Works Department (PWD), Police, Ports, Housing, as also Health, Social Welfare, and IT sectors played a crucial role. From that year the number of Departments reporting gender budgeting grew from 10 to 17.

Table 1: Schemes benefitting women in 2009-10 and 2010-11

2009-10	2010-11
	1. Police
1. Education, sports, art and culture	2. Education, sports, art and culture
2. Medical, public health, family welfare	3. Medical, public health, family welfare
	4. Urban development
	5. Information and publicity
3. Labour and labour welfare	6. Labour and labour welfare
4. Welfare of SC/ST/OBC	7. Welfare of SC/ST/OBC
5. Agriculture	8. Agriculture
6. Animal husbandry	9. Animal husbandry
7. Fisheries	10. Fisheries
8. Community development	11. Community development
9. Industries	12. Industries
	13. Power
	14. Ports
	15. Transport
	16. Tourism
10. Social security and welfare	17. Social security and welfare

22. Needless to state, the focus in the 2010-11 budget was on 100 per cent women's schemes which could be proposed and be easily identifiable in the infrastructure sectors included. However, it was very clear that the larger resources flow to composite schemes

that benefit both women and men across sectors It is not easy for departments, other than Women and Child Development, to set aside large amounts for women-specific schemes. Larger schemes have to be planned in the Department itself while trying to identify the share for women in composite schemes in other Departments.

23. Hence an overall thrust in the 13th Five Year Plan is on making Planning and Budgeting gender-sensitive through (a) outlays allocated for women-specific schemes, included in Part A of Gender Budget Statement; and (b) schemes in which women's share is specified or identifiable based on gender-disaggregated beneficiary data, and is less than the above (Part B). So, it is pertinent to identify how much allocations have been made for women-specific schemes and to start identifying, wherever possible, how much of the allocations for composite expenditure schemes are benefiting / can be expected to benefit women and girls *based on gender-disaggregated beneficiary data or in which women's share has been specified*. The role of the Department budget/finance officials is critical here in responding to this requirement. A major contribution of GB in Kerala was visibilising women in Infrastructure sectors since 2010-11 which was recognised by Government of India, 12th Five Year Plan in the Chapter on Women's Agency and Child Rights in a Box titled Women Friendly Infrastructure Development in Kerala (Vol 3, 12th Five Year Plan, Gol pg.171)

GB in the 13th Plan (2017-18 to 2021-22)

24. It may be noted that Kerala is the only state perhaps continuing with the 5 Year Plans.

25. A few important lessons for improving the methodology of doing GB learned from our experience in the 11th Plan were:

- *First: a strong political statement affirming the government's commitment to Gender Budgeting.* This was stated in the revised Budget speech of 2016-17 and Approach Paper of the 13th FYP. It was also stated in the Budget speech, that at least 10 per cent of the total state plan outlay should be allocated to schemes that benefitted women.
- *Second and most important: Identify the thrust areas on Gender.* In the 13th Plan, these were identified as (a) Skill development, employment generation, livelihood security (in the light of declining WPRs of women and high rates of educated unemployment) prioritizing vulnerable women. Since child care and lack of other basic amenities (accommodation, travel, safety/security) hold women back from working outside the home, the emphasis was also put on enhancing the reach of creche cum daycare centres, elderly day care homes, hostels, and means of travel; and (b) Prevention of gender-based violence, redressal and rehabilitation in the context of continuing violence in the state (relating to SDG targets 5.2, 5.4 and 5.5).
- *Third and with such a vision, to Integrate Gender Budgeting with the planning*

process, it needs to be an ex-ante exercise recognising the economic significance of the unpaid labour of women in the household and care sector and the need for public investment in these activities to create an enabling environment for women to access opportunities being generated in the public sphere, whether in the labour market or as elected women representatives in the local bodies, etc.

- *Fourth*: evolving a methodology for disaggregating composite schemes by gender to identify wherever possible, how much of the allocations for composite expenditure schemes is benefiting / can be expected to benefit women and girls based on gender-disaggregated beneficiary data (as in Education) or in which women's share has been specified by the Departments concerned.
- *Fifth*: a concerted and sustained attempt at strengthening capacities of **officials** to improve gender integration in the budgeting process through detailed plan write-ups.

Improving GB Methodology in the 13th Plan

26. One advantage that Kerala has and which facilitates the integration of gender into planning is the process followed and its governance. The process of planning/budgeting starts with the call circular sent to all Departments giving broad guidelines for annual plan preparation within the overall 13th Plan framework together with instructions regarding Part A and Part B of the gender budget. In the Kerala context, a modification has been introduced- Part A is defined as 90-100 per cent women-specific schemes and Part B covers anything less than 90 per cent. *However, it is the post-call circular processes followed by the State after the Departments have prepared their plan proposals within an approximate resource envelope, that are uniquely enabling a convergence of planning, budgeting, and financing as also building in gender priorities to yield a separate Gender Budget Statement at the end of the exercise.*

27. Intense discussions follow first at the Director level of each Department with the relevant officers of the corresponding Division of the Planning Board and Member and then at the Minister/Secretary level where each Department's plan almost gets finalized. Being the most crucial phase of Planning, the GB team⁵ sits for each of these meetings and while the presentations are made by Secretary and other officers, one tries to see where girls/women can be brought in.

28. At this stage we cannot do a thorough rehaul of the proposals (which would have been done at the Member-Director level if found essential) but we can request departments to break up the scheme into components and indicate the component flowing to women or based on past utilisation, at least indicate a gender-disaggregated division of beneficiaries, which we will use to project the likely amount flowing to

⁵That is, Member, Gender and 2-3 officers from the Division of the Planning Board which corresponds to the Government Department.

women. For instance, most departments have Training and capacity building schemes for their officials, a gender break up of which is not difficult to provide. One important fact we learned over time was that while gender-disaggregated data may not be available at the macro level, scheme-wise data are maintained by the Departments which has to be extracted with their help and cooperation. The fact that many Departments did break up total scheme outlays into components, especially those directed at girls/women, and made available detailed gender-disaggregated data on beneficiaries, the percentages used to allocate resources to girls/women in respect of such schemes in 2017-18 and the Gender Budgets since then are robust estimates.

29. It was, therefore, possible for us to explain the percentage taken in Part B for each scheme with the help of the Department officials; a practice which is now followed in the Union Gender Budget Statement also. Thus through intensive discussions with Department officials, detailed component-wise allocations, and access to scheme-wise the gender-disaggregated data, we were able to improve on the Methodology for disaggregating allocations in composite schemes by gender. For the coming Budget, 2021-22 for instance in the Irrigation department which primarily focussed on Major and Medium Irrigation, it was difficult to identify a woman component; however, a shift towards Minor irrigation in which Community management of micro-irrigation has opened up a space for women beneficiaries will now allow us to have a certain allocation for women in this Department.

30. We have been able to raise the resources flowing to women from both Part A and B of the Gender Budget. While the Budget in 2017-18 had recommended at least 10 per cent of total state plan outlay to be spent on schemes benefitting women, the allocations for women was 11.4 per cent that year (4.5 per cent in Part A and 6.9 per cent in Part B) which increased to 14.6 per cent in 2018-19 (5.7 in Part A and 8.9 per cent in Part B) both in women-specific schemes and in composite schemes, to 16.9 per cent in 2019-20 (6.2 per cent in Part A and 10.7 per cent in Part B) and 18.4 per cent in 2020-21 (7.3 per cent in Part A and 11.1 per cent in Part B). The attempt in Kerala's GB has been to visibilise women across sectors in Plan write-ups

Brief Overview of the Pattern of Gender Budget in the Last Three Years

31. Guided by the thrust areas on gender identified in the 13th Plan, Gender Budgeting in Kerala has (through a process of learning) taken a much more expansive view on women's lives and roles they play not only in terms of their potential as paid workers but more importantly through their 'invisibilised', unpaid work in social reproduction and create an enabling and safe environment for them to participate in the public domain. With the unprecedented floods/landslides in August 2018, 2019 and pandemic in 2020, the Budgets of the last three years have been austere. However, given the Government's recognition of the critical role women will play in livelihood revival/rebuilding Kerala, the Gender Budget this year like last 2 years, despite resource constraints, focuses on women's employment.

32. A big thrust has been given, in particular to women entrepreneurship, both agro-based and non-agro based, traditional and non-traditional, which has seen rapid growth in recent years but has not been systematically mapped. Individual women startups, nano-micro enterprises under the IT and Industries sector, the special livelihood development package of Kudumbashree, SHGs of other organisations have played a major role in this activity. Prominent among livelihood programmes also, is the large expansion envisaged in NREGA employment to quickly restore livelihoods to women, enhanced self-employment programme of Kerala State Women's Development Corporation, revival of livelihoods of women in the small/medium cashew factories, a substantial increase in Ayyankali urban employment scheme. A large infrastructure project for women to be known as International Women's Trade Centre (iWTC) will be set up at the Kozhikode campus of the Gender Park (an initiative under Women and Child Development) which will be a platform for women to safely start and expand enterprises, and market their products globally. It is intended to provide support to these entrepreneurs right through the business value chain- business commencement, operations/maintenance, accounts, business development, marketing/branding, and sales and to strengthen gender-friendly infrastructure, to create the necessary enabling environment for women to work.

33. The second focus of the Budget is on the prevention of violence, redressal, and rehabilitation of survivors. A major initiative this year to prevent violence against women is an innovative programme in the ongoing *Saddhairyam Munnottu*, (gender awareness programme of WCD in which all women's organisations participate), that is, night walks by women across the state on a sustained basis to remove fear among women of going out in the night and convey to society their equal right to access public spaces at all times. The first attempt was a big success but had to be stopped due to Covid-19. *Sneha*, the gender help Desk of Kudumbashree together with their capacity building and training programmes provide resources to guard against extant gender discriminatory practices.

34. Another programme on gender awareness is the emphasis on *Navothanam Kerala* (Kerala Renaissance) the new, major initiative of the government of Kerala in the form of a massive campaign for creating a gender-conscious society, launched on a pan-Kerala scale with the Vanitha Mathil on January 1, 2019. A focus in the 2019-20 Budget, therefore, was the inclusion of a textbook module in the schools on women's and children's rights and the historical struggles of women against obscurantist practices to build a 'new Kerala'. This will be supported by other programmes on gender awareness and schemes to give them greater access to public spaces, encouraging them in sports, swimming, rock climbing (to be better prepared for disasters), art and culture; provision of a safe and secure environment at home, in public places, and at the workplace, awareness campaign against illegal migration by NORKA (Non-Resident Keralites) department, half the participants being women. A major idea in the field of art and culture was partial funding/support for 2 feature films to be made by women proposed by Kerala State Film Development Corporation.

35. The third focus of the GB is on our continuing attempt of providing an enabling environment for women to come out of their kitchens to work, enhanced allocations for Anganwadi, creche-cum-day care centres, daycare homes for the senior citizens, palliative care, and mobile medical units to provide care for them at home and providing facilities to SHGs to take care of adult girls and boys with intellectual disabilities.

III. In conclusion

36. The biggest challenge and the most important task, besides bringing in more and more schemes into the Gender Budget exercise, is the need for a rigorous Evaluation of Kerala GB schemes, at least some major ones. However, a very positive macro outcome of the Government's development policy, with its strong thrust on employment creation for women within an enabling environment, based on which the Departments and Planning Board plan and Gender Budget are prepared, appears to have paid off in Kerala. The latest Periodic Labour Force Survey (PLFS) for 2018-19 reveals a substantial increase in female workforce rates (Usual Principal and Subsidiary Status) in Kerala from 16.4 per cent in 2017-18 to 20.4 per cent in 2018-19; largely in rural areas and in self-employment and casual work. Interestingly, within self-employment, own account enterprises show an increase rather than a family helper. Of course, the levels are still low but at least have moved upwards. It is in this sense that we can perhaps claim that GB is to some extent being integrated into the planning process in Kerala. The big thrust on Mahatma Gandhi National Rural Employment Guarantee Scheme (NREGA) employment which increased from 620 lakh person-days in 2017-18 to 975 lakh person-days in 2018-19 played a crucial role; over 90 per cent of person-days are accounted for by women in Kerala. Similarly in the Ayyankali Urban Employment Guarantee Scheme (designed similar to NREGA in urban areas, Kerala is the only state to have such a scheme) in which more than 50 per cent are women, in the financial year 2017-18, 8,46,432 person-days of work were created. During 2018-19, the number increased to 16,68,195 person-days in various Municipalities and Corporations. Given the emphasis once again on substantially enhancing employment and livelihoods, especially for those who have lost jobs in the informal sector during the pandemic, but with the financial crunch the states are facing, it is hoped that Departments would be allocating adequate funds for women's employment and other needs in the 2021-22 Budget and the per centage flow of resources to women in the GB does not register a decline in the final year of the 13th Plan.

37. Needless to state while there is no doubt that the efforts of the government to generate employment for women, particularly in 2018-19, and the creation of an enabling environment has indeed yielded positive outcomes in terms of a significant increase in female WPRs, there is urgent need to provide quality employment, given the educated workforce and the emphasis on new skilling programmes in the aftermath of the pandemic. Average daily earnings in casual work and self-employment are much lower than in regular work, Rs.285.8, Rs.212.8, and Rs. 571.8 respectively (2018-19 PLFS).

(I would like to thank my colleagues in the Gender Budgeting team at the Planning Board, and officers of different departments of the government of Kerala who have very sincerely provided gender-disaggregated data and worked towards making GB a worthwhile exercise. Dr.Subrat Das, Executive Director of CBGA, New Delhi, has always helped with any doubts I may have on the subject. Needless to state, without the commitment of the Government of Kerala this initiative could not have been sustained).

Transformative Gender Responsive Budgeting for Women's Freedom and Equality

Jyotsna Jha ¹

In order to understand Gender Responsive Budgeting (GRB), it is important to unpack all three words: gender, responsive and budgeting. *Gender*, as we know well, is a social construct of what it is to be a boy, a girl, a man, a woman or a transgender; in other words, what is masculine, what is feminine and so on. As practiced in different societies including ours, these have become deep-rooted and unequal because of their unfair expectations that amount to restricted life choices for all but much more for girls and women, and also transgender. *Gender responsive* means that the responses are taking care of the differential status and needs of different genders: men, women and transgender; that means these are neither neutral, nor blind, nor sensitive but responsive. *Budgeting* here refers to the entire gamut of fiscal/financial responses including revenue generation, expenditure priorities, institutional arrangements and their impact on gender status and relations; going beyond just allocations and expenditure, it includes processes of decision making, progress monitoring and reporting and it can be practiced at any level or by any entity. This means that GRB is not only about a document of gender budget but that it is just one of the tools that GRB uses.

The notion of GRB evolved out of concerns arising from the disproportionately negative impact on women from international fiscal stabilisation and structural adjustment policies in the 1970s and 1980s. Australia was one of the first countries to experiment with this in a very comprehensive manner and covering all aspects of the federal fiscal practices. The Australian government launched an annual Women's Budget Statement in 1987, examining all tax and expenditure for its implications for women. South Africa is considered as another pioneer country, as the South African parliamentarians and NGOs introduced a Women's Budget Initiative in 1995, producing an annual report on selected areas of expenditure and taxation. South Africa, which became independent from apartheid in 1992 and adopted a progressive constitution in 1994, embraced GRB as an integral part of their governance. GRB also evolved as a mechanism for ensuring adequate money for funding initiatives that promote women's positioning, i.e., women's empowerment and impacts gender equality in diverse areas. It is also believed to be contributing to other policy objectives such as equitable economic growth, more effective spending and improved accountability. There is greater consensus now across the globe that gender budgeting is also good budgeting for all.

Country groupings such as the Commonwealth Secretariat and UNIFEM (now the

¹Jyotsna Jha, Centre for Budget and Policy Studies, Bangalore (www.cbps.in). e-Mail: jyotsna@cbps.in

UN Women) played an important role in taking the concept forward to a large number of countries. Depending upon the economic, political, social and governance context, a variety of approaches emerged and have been in use in different countries. The role of NGOs and civil society institutions became very important in some countries in Asia, Pacific and South America. Also, this became a tool that was being applied at various levels of governance and not necessarily confined to central or union levels. For example, countries like the Philippines focused on its use in the local government budgets in collaboration with NGOs. However, in most countries, the GRB work has largely been focused on public expenditure with some notable exceptions such as the UK which have prioritised their work on the revenue side as well. Diverse approaches are possible and desirable as long as the focus and depth are maintained, and the GRB exercise in question does not become perfunctory².

In India, while some civil society organisations started adopting the GRB frame in some of their work at various levels³, the country-level initiative started with the Government of India in 2004-05 adopting the practice of bringing out a Gender Budget document alongside the Annual Finance Statements (the Budget) though not as a part of the documents that are tabled for vote. A number of states (the number has now gone up to 19) follow the same practice of bringing the gender budget document annually alongside the budget. Karnataka was one of the first to do so. Initially, there was no accountability but since 2010, Comptroller and Auditor General of India (CAG) has been publishing a Report on Gender Budgeting in the State Finance Accounts. This report covers the money 'actually spent' against the gender budget document.

The gender budget documents in India follow the practice of dividing the government budgeted allocations for the year into two lists: List A (100% women oriented) and List B (30% or above for women); some states like Karnataka have added List C where any amount (less than 30%) in other programmes aimed at improving gender equality is attributed to GRB. While different states are practicing the GRB exercise with varying maturity and finesse⁴, the logic of classifying expenditures into lists A and B have been critiqued on many grounds and justifiably so. For instance, the union government included the entire allocation in 2006-07 for Safdarjung Hospital, Vardhaman Mahaveer

² Budlender, Debbie, & Hewitt, Guy. (August 2002). *Gender Budgets Make More Cents: Country Studies and Good Practice*. London.

³ Budlender, Debbie. (not dated). *Review of gender budget initiatives*. Community Agency for Social Enquiry.

⁴ Charaborthy, Lekha (2013), *A case study of Gender Responsive Budgeting in India*, Commonwealth Secretariat, London (https://consultations.worldbank.org/sites/default/files/consultation-template/update-world-bank-group-gender-strategy-consultations/submissions/grb_papers_india_updf_final.pdf)

Medical College and All India Institute of Medical Sciences (AIIMS) in Delhi had been included under Part A, that is as 100% women-specific allocations⁵ ⁶. Similarly, a number of schemes for which half is taken as being meant for women may not be used by women to that extent. For instance, health insurance schemes in Karnataka were found to be used overwhelmingly by men except for reproductive and burns cases where women outnumbered men⁷.

While some of the critiques of the present classification are valid, it is also important to add that the separation of the budget allocation on grounds of gender is not always easy. For example, while the school allocations are divided on account of the population distribution between male and female, it is possible that a much smaller number of girls are actually coming to schools and using the services. Therefore, what becomes important is to view if there is any allocation for bringing a higher number of girls to schools or not; it can be in the shape of a campaign against social norms that prevent girls from being mobile or to create facilities in schools that make girls safer and more comfortable in schools. This implies that gender *responsive* budgeting responds to the issues that would enable greater gender equality, and therefore, does not remain a mere technical exercise. Evidence also suggest that public investment, human development and empowerment are closely linked⁸.

Towards making the gender budgeting exercise more responsive, it becomes important to move ahead and incorporate ex post approaches as well. At present, the gender budget documents are results of ex-ante approaches where the allocations are classified for their gender direction. It would make it responsive if the allocations are matched against their intended use in the short term, and the outcomes in the medium term. While the CAG exercise is examining the issue of actual expenditures against allocation to an extent⁹, the states can commit themselves to assessing the links with the intended utilisation for different sectors on a rotation basis and to examine the outcomes periodically. The issue of transformation becomes critical for the understanding of outcomes.

⁵Das, Subrat and Yamini Mishra (2006), "Gender Budget Statement", *Economic and Political Weekly*, 29 July 2006.

⁶Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability -CBGA (2012), *Recognising Gender Biases, Rethinking Budgets: Review of Gender responsive Budgeting in the Union and Select States*. New Delhi: Centre for Budget and Governance Accountability

⁷http://cbps.in/wp-content/uploads/Gender-Budgeting-Paper_Jyotsna-Jha_October-2014.pdf

⁸Jha et al (2019); *Public expenditure for children in India*, Centre for Budget and Policy Studies, UNICEF (<http://cbps.in/wp-content/uploads/Public-Finance-for-Children-PF4C-across-16-Indian-States.pdf>)

⁹For instance, the national auditor has observed that only 0.37 per cent of the budget allocation was incurred on a scheme aimed at empowering adolescent girls by improving their nutritional and health status, and life and vocational skills during the 2016-17 fiscal; in UP, in most of the schemes related to empowerment of women, there were significant savings ranging from 46 to 100 per cent which were mainly on account of poor implementation of the schemes resulting in non-achievement of targets. (<https://indianexpress.com/article/india/several-irregularities-in-gender-budgeting-in-rajasthan-cag-5091759/>)

While utilisation is more an issue of quantity (e.g., whether equal or higher numbers of women are using health insurance or not; whether equal or higher number of women are getting admissions in Science and Technology courses or not), outcomes also cover the qualitative aspects of change (e.g., whether the families view the girl's mobility as an issue of her freedom and choice; whether women have a choice in deciding when to get married). It is undoubtedly more difficult to gauge and document qualitative changes, but it is important that those objectives are clear and well-articulated so as to inform the budgeted allocations and the utilisation of expenditures. This would also imply that alongside the CAG review, there should also be a *gender* review of schemes. For instance, in Rajasthan, this alone is not an issue that expenditure has been low for family planning services but also the fact that the entire family planning scheme is geared towards female terminal tubectomy rather than including aspects of couple education, spacing methods and male vasectomy¹⁰.

There have been obvious gains from adopting the exercise of bringing out a gender budget document. First of all, it has enhanced the awareness about gender issues and also about specific needs. In some cases, it has also led to an increase in allocations to sectors and areas that are especially important for women. India has also introduced certain tax related measures that incentivise women's ownership of properties and their work participation; however, these are largely limited to the women coming from middle and upper classes. Also, what is missing is a coherent understanding and approach for women's empowerment and its implications for policy framing and implementation. While we have covered some distance, we have miles to go.

In order to make the GRB exercise truly transformative, it is important that there is congruence between what transformation aims at the direction of the policies and related budget items - be they in revenue or expenditure linked intervention. In the case of allocations and expenditure, it implies that any policy or scheme in all social (e.g., Education, Health, Social/Tribal/Minorities welfare, Women and Child Development, etc.) or economic departments (e.g., Agriculture, Industry, Transport, etc.) must be reviewed for their implications for women's greater participation and voice, enabling equal access, care and opportunities, ensuring safety and security as well as mobility and growth. For revenue and other macroeconomic policies and provisions, all measures for taxation and employment must have similar considerations. The main objective of enabling transformation in the form of redistribution of power and control is essential.

The use of multiple and diverse tools including expenditure review, expenditure tracking, expenditure and tax incidence analysis, gender-aware policy appraisal, gender responsive impact assessment for specific programmes - both general and targeted, impact assessments, etc, is important. Another important aspect of a transformative GRB in the Indian context would be to understand the impact of budget on unpaid

¹⁰Finding from a recent Public Expenditure Review of Health in Rajasthan undertaken by the Centre for Budget and Policy Studies, Bangalore for UNICEF (forthcoming)

domestic work, and also efforts to understand and change the gendered nature and implications of unpaid care work.

One of the first requirements for an effective GRB exercise is to have sex-disaggregated data for all interventions; the data system needs to be robust and transparent. This is still not true for a number of programmes and schemes in most Indian states. The conceptual knowledge and understanding of what substantive equality is and why a transformative approach is critical, is also weak. Gender balance and parity, though important, are not the same as substantive gender equality. Next comes the capacity to use these tools, which also needs to be built. However, the most important push comes from political priority - women's empowerment or substantive gender equality has not necessarily been a political priority in India. Institutionalising transformative GRB is indeed a challenging and complex task because of the interplay of powerful interests and the presence of a number of gaps that need to be addressed. Nevertheless, it is important that all stakeholders including government institutions and civil society players converge and make progress towards the right direction of institutionalising transformative GRB at all levels.

Gender Concerns in Evaluation and Auditing of Schemes

Chaya Degaonkar¹

Introduction

The UNDP Report (1995: 1) stipulated that ‘Human development, if not engendered, is endangered’. This set forth the global agenda very clearly two decades after the International Women’s Year and the subsequent International Women’s Decade and conferences. A Gender Development Index (GDI) was introduced to measure the achievements on the gender front. Despite the progress made over the last two and a half decades, we are not on a confident stand to acknowledge that we are near gender parity. Women still lag behind men when it comes to economic opportunity, education, employment and participation in decision-making. Today, all Sustainable Development Goals (SDG), and Goal Five in particular, carry the mandate of gender equality. In this context, the women’s agencies - government as well as civil society - are increasingly involved in formulating and implementing different programmes and policies to bring about power balance in society.

1.1 Gendering evaluation - the need

The issues of gender equality have a lot to do with behaviour set practices, socio cultural set- ups and governance systems. These behaviours are determined by mindsets, which in turn are formed by longstanding traditions and cultural factors. Influencing these norms is hard enough without a critical voice and a strong policy commitment.

The deep-rooted patriarchal cultures and institutions strongly affect the power structure and the important factors that affect life and livelihood. The major ones are:

Access to Assets - markets, income generating opportunities, education, public services.

Knowledge, Beliefs and Perceptions - patriarchy shapes the knowledge system customs and beliefs and perceptions of the people, leading to the perpetuation of inequalities over generations.

Practices and Participation - Men and women’s participation in family, society and political processes.

Space and Time - Use (including geographical mobility)

Legal Rights and Status - Power structure (ownership and control of productive resources).

¹Dr. Chaya Degaonkar, Professor & Head (Rtd), Dept of Economics Gulbarga University, Addl. Chief Evaluation Officer, Karnataka Evaluation Authority, Planning Dept. Govt. of Karnataka. e-Mail: chayakd@gmail.com

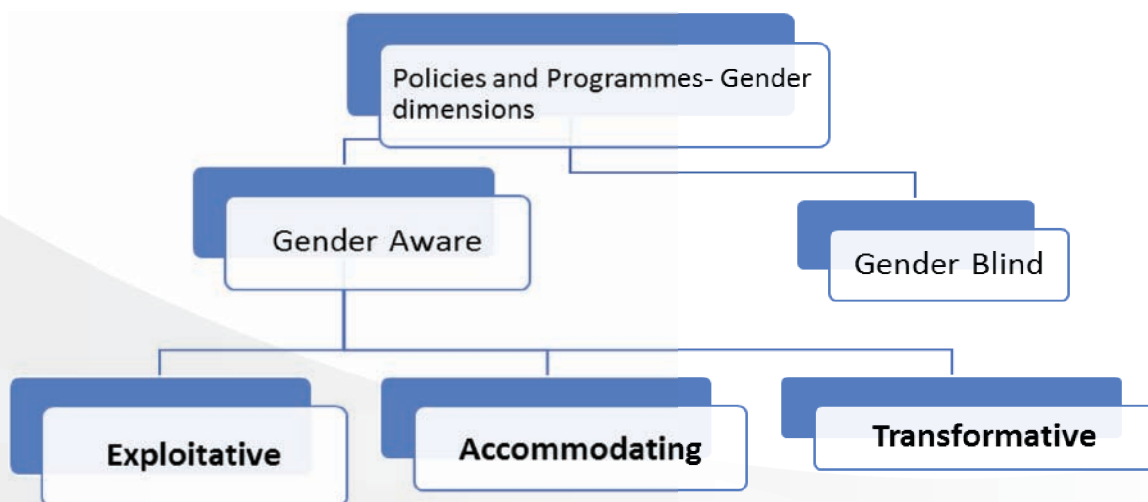
There is a need to take up the assessment of policies and programmes that basically intervene to change this scenario. A concurrent monitoring and evaluation of the programmes and policies from the gender lens and gender auditing of schemes is critical in identifying the nature of programme intervention and its gender outcomes so as to redesign and modify them to suit the requirements for attaining gender specific targets under SDG 2030.

1.2 What is gender sensitive evaluation?

- Gender-sensitive evaluation is a systematic and objective assessment of the design and planning (objectives, results pursued, activities planned), the implementation and results of an ongoing or completed activity, project, programme or policy from a gender perspective.
- It can take place either upon the completion of the project, when focus is placed on gender impacts and the contribution of the programme to promoting gender equality, or throughout project implementation, with the aim of seeking to have a process of continuous improvement.
- It can also take place ex ante to evaluate how a policy can affect gender equality in a specific field.

The policies and programmes of the government intentionally or unintentionally have the possibility of supporting the power structures and further strengthening the unequal power relations. Therefore, generation of scientific evidence, through monitoring, evaluation, research, performance and expenditure reviews and assessment of the extent to which interventions are indeed resulting in intended outcomes and having a positive impact on identified needs and the social and gender problems is essential to restructure the existing policies and design new ones to orient them towards attaining the targets under SDG-5. From this angle, the policies can be broadly classified into two categories:

Fig. 1: Gender Review of Policies and Programmes



Gender Blind: Gender blind programmes or policies give no prior consideration to how gender norms and inequitable power structures affect the achievement of objectives, or how objectives impact on gender. Even if an intervention is categorised as gender blind, it is important to consider whether or not the absence of consideration of gender had a gender impact. Gender blind programmes can easily generate unintended negative consequences, simply by not 'seeing' gender.

Gender Aware: Gender aware policies and programmes examine and address the set of economic, social, and political roles, responsibilities, rights, entitlements, obligations and power relations associated with being female and male and the dynamics between and among men and women, boys and girls.

Under the 'gender aware' category, the continuum offers additional categories of **exploitative (red: stop the intervention)**, **accommodating (amber: proceed, but with caution)** and **transformative (green: it is fine to continue)**.

Exploitative Gender Programme: Gender exploitative policies and programmes intentionally or unintentionally reinforce or take advantage of gender inequalities and stereotypes in the pursuit of project outcome, or whose approach exacerbates inequalities. This approach is harmful and can undermine the objectives of the programme in the long run.

Accommodating Gender Programme: These are policies and programmes that acknowledge but work around gender differences and inequalities to achieve project objectives. Although this approach may result in short-term benefits and the realisation of outcomes, it does not attempt to reduce gender inequality or address the gender systems that contribute to the differences and inequalities.

Transformative Gender Programme: Transformative policies and programmes seek to transform gender relations to promote equality and achieve programme objectives. This approach attempts to promote gender equality by: 1) fostering critical examination of inequalities and gender roles, norms, and dynamics; 2) recognising and strengthening positive norms that support equality and an enabling environment; 3) promoting the relative position of women, girls, and marginalised groups; and 4) transforming the underlying social structures, policies, and broadly held social norms that perpetuate gender inequalities through awareness and changes in mindsets.

The **Gender Integration Continuum** reflects a spectrum—a particular project may not fall neatly under one type of approach, and may include, for example, both accommodating and transformative elements. Transformative elements can be integrated into ongoing projects, with some additional interventions. (Interagency Gender Working Group, 2009).

1.3 Existing scenario

Gender issues were first included in international development evaluation in the early 1990s. But the ways of addressing gender inequality in the evaluative processes of international development agencies have varied. These include evaluations focused on women, on the one hand, and evaluations focused on gender relations or gender-

sensitive evaluation, on the other.

Evaluation focused on women was the first type of evaluative practice to examine the inequality between women and men. It began to be developed in the early 1990s, a time of increasing recognition of the complexity of development and widespread incorporation of the WID (Women in Development) approach into the planning of women-specific interventions. These actions - policies, programmes or projects - are exclusively for women such as category A schemes in the Gender Budget. This approach focuses on the integration of women in the development processes. It aims to analyse the situation of women before, during and after a development action and their participation in it. In this sense, women are placed in a special group of analysis in this evaluative practice (Development Assistance Committee, 1998).

On the other hand, gender-focused or gender-sensitive evaluation began in the late 1990s as a result, in part, of the recognition of the GAD (Gender and Development) approach at the Beijing Conference (1995). This approach focuses on the structural inequalities between women and men, as well as on the exclusion of women from the development process. In addition, assuming that all development policies have differential effects on women and men, the GAD approach stresses the need for mainstreaming a gender perspective within the whole policy cycle including in evaluation. So, gender-sensitive evaluation, as a concept, is defined as a key tool for exploring the structural causes of gender inequalities and for determining the differential implications for women and men of development activities (De Waal, 2006). Gender analysis frameworks serve as essential tools for the analysis of gender inequality in different stages of planning, monitoring and evaluation.

Despite these efforts in international development programmes, gender is yet to be integrated in evaluation and audit systems. The approach remained either superficial or supplementary. The broad observations in this regard are as follows:

- Some social evaluations employ gender sensitive indicators and have a higher quality of gender analysis and tend to include more information on benefits to women.
- Many evaluations face the issue of lack of sex-disaggregated baseline data and limited monitoring information, particularly on gender relations. Hence they are not able to bring out the impact adequately. Even when the data is available and collected, the analysis is very poor.
- Discussion of gender issues is often limited to considering the participation of women in social life. There is little examination of unintended impacts for women, or any other group such as men and women living in poverty.
- Many evaluations use the word 'gender' as a synonym for 'women'. Men are missing from most reports. This means that there is little or no focus on gender relations and on the impact of development activities on gender equality, and little focus on how gender relations may influence women's capacity to participate or benefit.
- Many studies do not have a gender sensitive log frame or a theory of change.

(DAC Review on Gender and Evaluation - OECD 2003)

1.4 Bringing gender into evaluation and audit - Methodology

Desk research

The first step of the gender assessment should be collecting secondary data through desk research. Desktop research (also known as secondary research) involves collecting, reviewing and analysing already existing data, research and documents that are relevant to the topic of the study conducted. It consists of gathering, organising and understanding data previously collected by other researchers. This method is very useful for gathering background information, and for reviewing the present state of knowledge on the topic. When implementing a gender assessment, conducting desk research will provide a basic understanding of the situation on gender equality in a respective country and context, while laying the basis for further research. Desk research can be carried out in several ways in the context of a gender assessment:

Literature review: Undertaking a literature review (i.e. reviewing the existing literature on the subject at hand) is crucial, and an effective way to avoid duplication of efforts. The literature review should be based on diverse and trustworthy sources.

Review of available statistics: When conducting the assessment, practitioners need to rely on existing data. It is key to check that these statistics derive from a reliable source and ideally are disaggregated by sex. Close attention should be paid to the validity of the studies quoted (e.g. sample size, error margin, etc.).

Policy analysis: The desk research part of the study should also include an analysis of the existing legislative framework.

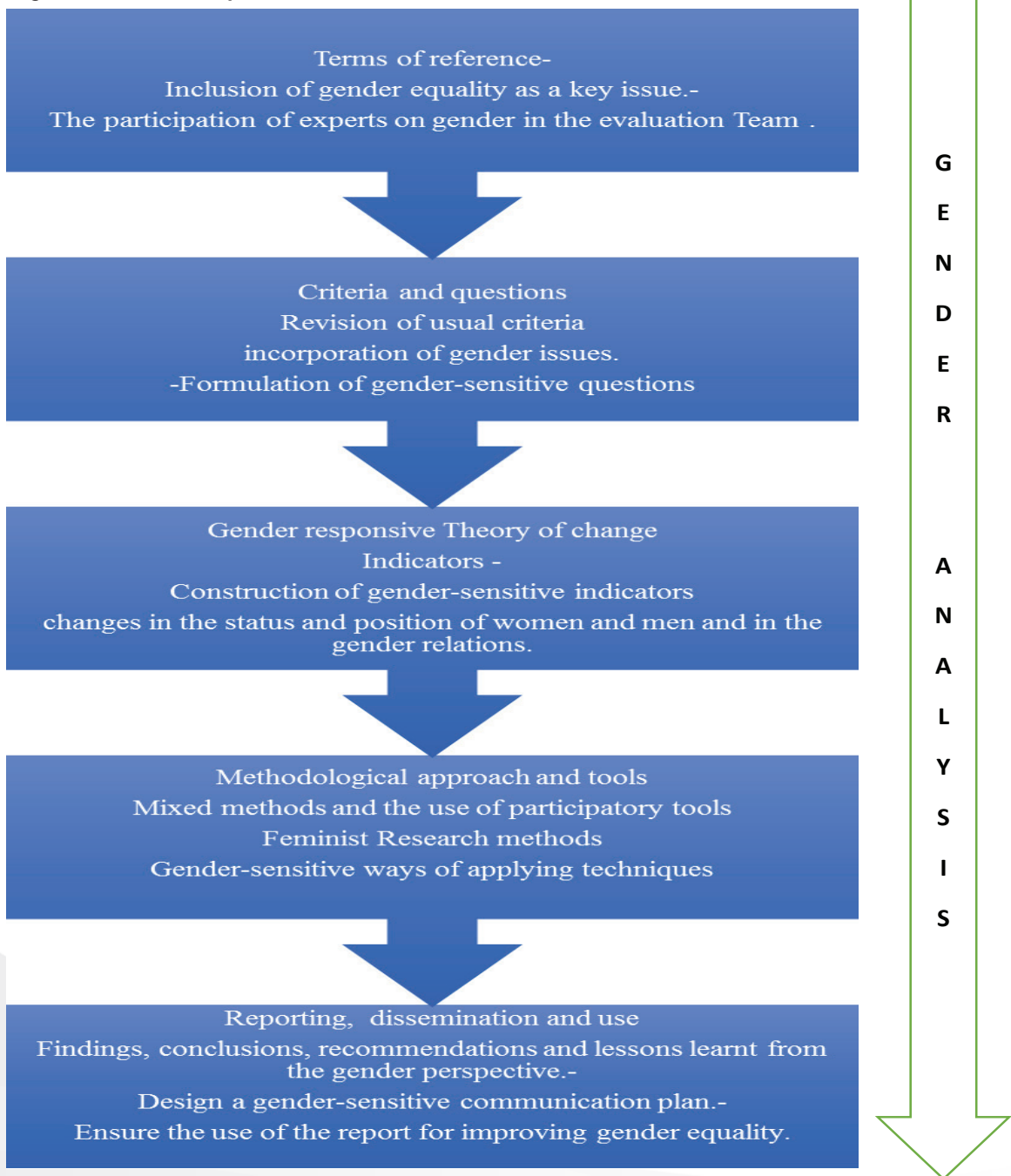
Evaluation design

- Gender responsive National Evaluation Policy (NEP) Framework and gender perspective across evaluation cycle and Gender-responsive National Evaluation System and evaluation improvement plan
- Gender responsive guidelines and templates to be developed and GR revision of existing guidelines; Evaluation planning and budgeting
- Gender responsive analysis of concept notes and NEP proposals commissioning and undertaking evaluations. Gender sensitive TORs and gender balance of evaluation teams
- Gender responsive evaluation questions in each evaluation
- Gender sensitive Theory of Change, causal theories, contextual analysis etc., data collection and analysis
- Sex-disaggregation
- Perspectives of women/ men
- Prevention of hidden biases
- Development of gender-specific indicators Gender-responsive findings and recommendations
- Gender responsive recommendations including on programme performance,

outcomes, sex disaggregated data etc.

- Gender responsive Improvement Plans; Gender-responsive approach to capacity building, professionalisation and institutionalisation.
- Gender responsive communication strategy to disseminate the results.

Fig. 2: Gender Responsive Evaluation



1.5 Major gender analysis frameworks

I Social Relations Framework

- The Social Relations Approach to gender and development planning has been developed by Naila Kabeer at the Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University, UK. The thinking has a socialist feminist background. It is an attempt to develop a new framework for development thinking - one where gender is central to the analysis. It offers a way of understanding how various institutions inter-relate and therefore it gives an insight into the roots of powerlessness, poverty, and women's subordination; but it also shows that institutions can bring about change. It makes it clear that what goes on in the household may damage (deliberately or not) the policies of the state and the market. It also indicates that policies and practice at the middle level of community/ organisations can influence these relationships

II Harvard Analytical Framework

Three basic components of this framework are:

a) **Gender Activity Profile** - Who does what, when, where

Production activities - Income, employment, Reproductive activities-water, fuel, food

b) **Access & control profile** - Mapping the resources owned/controlled by men and women in a community. Access refers to use rights and control refers to power over decision making and institutions of decision making are households, community and interest groups.

c) **Influencing factors** - Influencing factors include all those that shape gender relations and determine different opportunities and constraints for men and women. These factors are far reaching, broad, and interrelated. They include economic, institutional demographic, legal factors.

III Moser Framework (University of London 1980)

This is based on GAD approach:

Gender role identification - Triple roles:

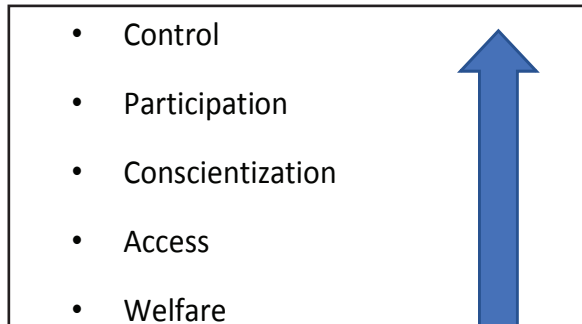
Reproductive - Care taking- Maintenance of household in which women are concentrated and invisible not valued.

Productive - Activities with exchange value - Production of goods & services - Men concentrated.

Community Management - Celebrations and social platforms and ceremonies - Men concentrated.

IV Women Empowerment Framework (Sara H Longwe)

The framework identifies five Levels of equality



Empowerment is essential at each of these levels. “Conscientization” is a recognition and acceptance of the fact that discrimination creates gender related problems and women may themselves contribute to this discrimination and culture of silence. With participation, women are equal to men in making decisions, and control implies that the power sharing between the genders; men and women are equal.

1.6 Gender responsive evaluation - some case studies

- A gender responsive evaluation of the scheme ‘Beti Bachao Beti Padhao’ in Karnataka indicated that about 82 per cent of newly married men in the sample households expressed change in their attitudes about the girl child. The change was also noticed among 65 % women. **It is significant** that the impact is more on men. The TV campaign which showed boys helping mothers in the kitchen and girls sent to the market to buy some items had a positive impact on the psyche of the parents. Therefore, a continuous sensitisation on gender issues through TV, newspaper and wall writing has a positive impact.
- The report on evaluation of ‘Bhagyalakshmi’ scheme noted, that “With 18 years of age and minimum eighth standard education, the scheme looks somewhat marriage oriented.” Considering a majority of parents (76.7%) use the Bhagyalakshmi scheme money for marriage purpose when the girl child attains the age of 18, the State Cabinet increased the age limit to 21 for withdrawal of the full amount under the scheme. The remodelled scheme allows for withdrawal of a portion of the total amount of 1.27 lakh to be withdrawn at the age of 18 for pursuing education and the remaining at 21 years. After shifting the execution of the scheme from LIC to India Post, the government would deposit ₹3,000 each in the name of the child for 15 years under the Sukanya Samridhi Scheme account.

1.7 Gender audit of schemes

The purpose of gender audit is to guide the public policy that contributes to promote gender equality. Specifically, gender audit help to assess the outcomes and impact of flow of resources both physical and financial, on women empowerment and gender equality. It also provides information and feedback for improved decision making allocations and overall implementation / service delivery. The scope of the gender audit exercise goes beyond performance auditing of the budgeted programmes and schemes on the 3Es (**Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness**) to include gender relations and the extent to which objectives of gender mainstreaming are attained. Thus, it adds the 4th

E to it i.e, Equality. It is context specific and differs across the projects. While gender evaluation focuses on a broader and deeper analysis of gender impact of the project in a cause and effect framework, gender audit analyses the gender outcomes, linking it with the flow of resources.

Gender criteria for evaluation

The following is adopted in selection of the project for evaluation and its gender audit:

- Relevance of the project - gender needs both strategic and practical.
- Efficiency in the planning and implementation of gender objectives.
- Effectiveness - effectiveness of the design, strategies, and processes in achieving gender equality.
- Impact -What has been the impact of the project’s outcomes on wider policies, processes and programmes which enhance gender equality and women’s rights. For example, did it have an impact on reducing violence against women or increase women’s participation in economic activities. Positive and negative unintended impacts on gender status.
- Sustainability - Are achievements in gender equality likely to be sustained over a longer period? To what extent has ownership of the policy goals been achieved by male and female beneficiaries? To what extent have strategic gender needs of women and men been addressed through the project?

1.8 Gender audit and performance audit

Gender audit is mainly integrating gender issues in performance audit. The principles of performance audit need to be refined and integrated with gender specific issues and indicators to bring out the gender disaggregated impact of the project. As the system of performance audit is already existing, efforts are required to make it Gender Responsive. The methodological differences and requirements to make it gender inclusive are given in the following table.

Steps in Performance Audit	Steps in Gender Responsive Audit
<p>Criteria for Selection of Audit topics</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Risk • Materiality • Visibility • Past Audits • Estimated impact • Coverage 	<p>Criteria for Selection of Audit topics</p> <p>Apart from the criteria mentioned in PA, the following is to be included</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • All the general criteria may be linked to the importance given to gender. • Impact study on gender perspective of the scheme. • The schemes addressing gender equality should be given priority

<p>Characteristics of good audit criteria</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reliability • Objectivity • Usefulness • Comparability • Completeness 	<p>Characteristics of good audit criteria</p> <p>Apart from the 5 criteria mentioned in PA, the following is to be included</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender Equity • Gender Empowerment
<p>Audit Principles (3 Es)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economy • Efficiency • Effectiveness 	<p>Audit Principles (4 Es)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Economy • Efficiency • Effectiveness • Equity (Gender Equity)
<p>Audit Objectives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether proper policy, planning existed for implementation of the scheme? • Whether adequate financial support given and financial management was done effectively and efficiently? • Whether the scheme implemented in accordance with the Scheme guidelines/ Government orders, etc. • Whether the monitoring mechanism is in place at all levels? • How are things (Descriptive) • Are things they ought to be (Normative) • Why are things not as they ought to be (Analysed) 	<p>Audit Objectives</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Whether the existing policy, scheme guidelines, implementation process is gender inclusive? • Whether the fund earmarked in the gender budget document adequate for women empowerment? • Whether Government/ Department created awareness about gender budget and its impact on economic issues? • Whether the monitoring mechanism captures information in a gender /sex disaggregated way? • Whether an effective impact assessment/evaluation mechanism exist for Gender equity/Empowerment measurement? • In a comprehensive scheme, whether components relating to women are implemented effectively? • Whether gaps in implementation and delivery mechanism of women specific scheme components evaluated? • How are things in relation to men and women • Are things able to influence gender equity/empowerment • Why they have not able to attain the goal

<p>Audit Approach</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • System oriented approach • Result oriented approach • Problem Oriented Approach 	<p>Audit Approach</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gender mainstreaming approach • Women empowerment approach
<p>Audit Criteria</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project Guidelines • Gender budget • Government Orders 	<p>Audit Criteria</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Project Guidelines • Gender Budget Document • Government Orders • Overall gender commitments of the Government in prescribed policies
<p>Audit Scope</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selection of sample is usually 25% of the area covered by the implementing agency and financial performance of the programme • Audit Plan at the implementing agency • Number of years 	<p>Audit Scope</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Selection sample within 25% area coverage must take into consideration 50% women beneficiaries/stakeholders/ sex disaggregated data • Gender differences based on the disaggregated data could be considered for selection of sample • Gender inclusive Audit Plan at the implementing agency • Scheme implementation Should be minimum five years to understand the gendered impact
<p>Entry Conference</p> <p>The purpose of this conference is to inform the entity about the areas to be audited along with audit objectives, the audit approach and the time-frame within which the audit is expected to be carried out.</p>	<p>Entry Conference</p> <p>It should also inform the entity about gender issues and provide relevant information to the audit team to adopt a sensitive approach.</p>
<p>Audit Design Matrix</p> <p>It is based on the audit objectives, associated sub-objectives and lower level detailed questions and it provides a framework for fieldwork and further analysis.</p>	<p>Audit Design Matrix</p> <p>It should include</p> <p>Gender inclusive audit objectives and sub-objectives, audit questions related to gender, and a gender analysis framework (Please refer to Session 2 for Gender Analysis frameworks)</p>

<p>Data Analysis</p> <p>Financial criteria</p> <p>Meeting the criteria of 3E's - economy, efficiency and effectiveness</p>	<p>Data Analysis</p> <p>Gender wise data analysis to arrive at the gendered impact of the programme</p> <p>Meeting the criteria of 4E's - economy, efficiency and effectiveness and 3quity (Gender Equity)</p>
<p>Audit Report Writing</p> <p>Using the standard format used by the Auditors</p>	<p>Audit Report Writing</p> <p>Gender inclusive reporting based on data analysis. The report should contain a section on gendered impact. Gender sensitive language should also be used.</p>
<p>Exit Conference</p> <p>The audit team leader or the Group Officer in charge should hold an exit meeting with the officer in charge of audited unit at the close of audit to seek his observations on the audit conclusions and recommendations.</p>	<p>Exit Conference</p> <p>Gendered impact should be observed and recommendations should be based on the responses of the officer in charge of implementation of the programme</p>
<p>Final Report</p> <p>Contains observations on all the audit questions framed and recommendations</p>	<p>Final Report</p> <p>Should contain observations on gender audit questions framed -specific equality/ empowerment</p>

Source: Facilitating Gender Audit (A Guide to Auditors, Trainers and Researchers) Gender Budget Cell, Fiscal Policy Institute Bengaluru 2019.

1.9 Gender audit matrix and tool kit

Gender Audit Matrix provides a framework for fieldwork and further analysis for the auditors, from gender perspective. The tool kit prepared by the Gender Budget Cell of the Fiscal Policy Institute (2019) provides a detailed practical guidance to measure the gendered outcomes of the project resources and thus provides a scientific and quantifiable measure of the gender impact of a project. The tool kit helps to apply gender markers against the performance indicators and in quantifying the extent of gender equality achieved in the scheme/programme. It also assists in quantifying the degree of gender mainstreaming.

Thus, gender responsive evaluation and gender auditing together provide a scientific analysis of the gender outcomes of the programme and thus help to design and implement suitable schemes/ interventions to maximise the resource utilisation and to promote gender equality.

1.10 Conclusion

Gender equality is not just the right thing to do or a matter of right. It has economic significance as women's exclusion implies exclusion of near half of the talented workforce that can make significant contributions to global GDP. Yet across the globe, women are still a long way off from achieving gender parity with men. The 2018 Global Gender Gap Index finds that women have reached 68 per cent parity overall, leaving a gap of 32 per cent. The challenges are still more and complicated in a patriarchal social structure of India where men devote 36 minutes to unpaid care responsibilities, and women spend six hours for these unpaid care activities. The portion of time specifically spent on housework reaches 85% of it. There are differences in women's situation across the states, the southern states including Karnataka which are 'gender friendly' and therefore, women enjoy a bit more favourable situation than their counterparts in northern states. Therefore, a gender responsive budgeting, gender responsive evaluation and gender auditing are prerequisites that are expected to set a strong base to attain the targets under SDG-5 and gender linked targets in other goals also so that by 2030 no one, especially women, are left behind.

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Institutionalising Gender Audit –The Problems and the Prospects

Shivarudrappa N B¹

The letter from UN Women dated 30th May, 2018 addressed to the Fiscal Policy Institute, Bangalore proposes to ensure that auditors need to be trained in gender audit in order to institutionalise it in the state audit machinery over time. It has also emphasised that in this endeavour, it will be critical to liaise with the state Department of Finance, informing them to reach out to select departments to collaborate with their internal audit systems to ensure that gender audit is incorporated in the current audit mechanisms of these departments. Therefore, it is imperative on the part of the state government to institutionalise gender audit at least in some of its select departments by incorporating it in the current audit mechanisms of these departments.

This article explores the problems and the prospects of institutionalising gender audit by the state government in its departments in general.

“Audit” is sine qua non in making public financial management an effective governance process. By its inherent objective of making the executive accountable to the people through the legislature, audit has occupied an authoritative position in governance.

“Gender audit” is the latest significant addition to the various types of audit in vogue, by its indispensability in making gender budgeting an effective process in the state’s endeavour for women empowerment and gender equity. The initiative of Government of Karnataka in collaboration with UN Women to evolve an effective gender audit system has successfully brought out an Audit Manual and Audit Toolkit to facilitate gender audit. With an effective gender audit tool in hand, the challenge now is to create an effective gender audit system in the coming days.

In the discussions of the Gender Audit Technical Advisory Committee at Fiscal Policy Institute, one important question was raised, viz, ‘Should the gender audit be in the nature of an external audit or internal audit?’. This question acquires importance in the context of the strengths, weaknesses, opportunities and challenges existing in the two main systems of audit, from the perspective of their suitability to the needs of gender audit. The needs of gender audit are reflected in its scope, objectives and expected outputs inter alia, the required competency of auditors to perform gender audit. The existing competencies of the auditors are determined by the scope, objectives and expected outputs of the said two audit systems.

The basic assumption of gender audit is that public policy impacts men and women

¹Shivarudrappa N B, M.Sc., MBA, LL.M. Advocate, Formerly Additional Director (Audit).

e-Mail: shivarudrappanb@gmail.com

differently. Gender audit also outlines how the government will address specific areas where inequality is found to exist. Gender audit of the national budget points to the areas in which efforts need to be made and allocations earmarked to promote the status of women in general and the status of women from disadvantaged groups in particular.

Scope of gender audit

The scope of gender audit is inclusive, as a part of both compliance audits and performance audits, being undertaken by the Comptroller and Auditor General (CAG). Unlike gender evaluations or impact assessments, gender audits generally work within the provided policy /schematic framework. However, currently, the scope of gender audit is limited and depends on how deeply an audit is performed, by the person performing the audit as well as the reason behind the audit. But the scope of the gender audit exercise should go beyond an evaluation of the budgeted programmes and schemes on the 3Es (Economy, Efficiency and Effectiveness) as stipulated for performance auditing, to include gender relations as well as heterogeneity amongst women and also include the following:

- i) The extent to which objectives of gender mainstreaming have been achieved through an economical and efficient use of resources; and
- ii) level of achievements in the context of the implementation of particularly;
 - a. Article 14 which guarantees gender equality; Article 15 which prohibits discrimination and, Article 21 which guarantees right to life and personal liberty, the National Policy for Empowerment of Women, 2001; international conventions ratified by India like the CEDAW21 and other national and state level gender equality policies and legislations.
 - b. The scope of gender audit should therefore be defined carefully in each case, by taking into account the objectives of the investments subjected to audit, efficiency of planning, integrity of data used for planning the programmes, organisational support, sensitisation of the implementing personnel, system of monitoring and evaluation, quality control set-up and beneficiary involvement among other things.
 - c. Gender audit should not limit its scope to assess the situation of women under a programme/scheme but should go beyond, to include gender relations as well as heterogeneity amongst women. Since it may not be possible to select all units implementing gender equity/ women empowerment (GE/WE) programmes and schemes in a single audit, and to verify the entire mass of documents and data forming part of the implementation process, a representative sample may be selected by applying statistical sampling techniques. In such cases, care should be taken to ensure that the sampling is unbiased and representative of the larger pool of activities. In order to analyse the actual impact of the GE/WE programmes and schemes, the auditors may have to undertake beneficiary surveys directly or through an accredited agency or alternatively, depend on third party evidence.

Following are the audit objectives or the mandatory outputs of gender audit:

- Whether the existing policies, scheme guidelines, implementation processes are gender inclusive?
- Whether the funds earmarked in the gender budget document are adequate for women empowerment?
- Whether government/ departments created awareness about gender budget and its impact on economic issues?
- Whether the monitoring mechanism captures information in a gender /sex disaggregated way?
- Whether an effective impact assessment/evaluation mechanism exists for gender equity/empowerment measurement?
- In a comprehensive scheme, whether components relating to women are implemented effectively?
- Whether gaps in implementation and delivery mechanism of women specific scheme components evaluated?
- How are status quo in relation to men and women justified?
- Are policies able to influence gender equity/empowerment?
- Why they have not been able to attain the goal?

Differences between internal audit and external audit

The internal audit examines the effectiveness of an organisation's internal controls and its accounting process. Internal auditors work for the organisation as internal employees. The objective of the internal auditor is to add value and improve the organisation operations and make sure that the organisation is in compliance with the laws and regulations set by the government body. Generally, an internal auditor collects all required information on how the organisation is operating and uses that information to show where it is doing well and where it can improve.

The purpose of internal audit is to evaluate organisational performance on a periodic basis and identify the loopholes to improve aspects in the future which keep the company big or small. Planned internal audits are important for organisations in a wide range of industries.

Responsibilities of the internal auditor:

- The internal auditor shall conduct audit on a daily, weekly, monthly, quarterly or annual basis. Some of the departments might do internal audit more frequently than others.

- She/He shall monitor, analyse the risks and controls of the department.
- She/He shall report his findings and recommendations to the department.
- She/He shall act as trusted consultant for the department, and he is responsible to advise the department on how to best manage its risks and goals.
- She/He is responsible to promote ethics and help to identify improper conduct.
- The most important job of the internal auditor is the ability to perform an impartial evaluation.
- She/He is responsible to detect frauds and errors and provide control for that.

But the present system of internal audit existing in government departments is very rudimentary in its scope due to lack of clearly laid down policy on internal audit. In terms of its competency also, the internal audit is limited to checking the financial transactions for their compliance with laws as required by the CAG for facilitating the compliance audit.

Whereas a gender audit looks for competency beyond the compliance audit as well as performance audit of the evaluating economy, efficiency and effectiveness of developmental schemes, the internal audit is yet to establish itself on the lines of established internal auditing standards to raise its competency to the expectations of a gender audit. However, by its standards, the internal audit system is more suitable for gender auditing than external audit. The Comptroller General of Accounts, in his Internal Audit Policy, has recognised gender audit as one of the types of internal audit and laid down detailed procedures for conducting the same.

In contrast to internal audit, external audit is an independent evaluation of the financial statements prepared by an organisation. External audit is performed by an outside organisation, by an independent person. An external audit provides the government with a valuable check of organisational accounting. In external audit, conflict of interest is less likely to happen as compared to internal audit. The external auditor plays a critical role in validating organisational finances.

The purpose of an external audit is to review the accounts to show that they are accurate and complete. Sometimes, the department may hire an external auditor for investigating fraud.

Responsibilities of the external auditor:

- Providing an independent opinion on the organisation's financial statements.
- Understanding the work environment, operations and internal controls of the organisation.
- Serving stakeholders of the organisation by providing an opinion about the soundness of the financial reports prepared by the organisation.

- Certifying the financial statements is the main job of an external auditor.
- Determining the financial situation that helps further policy decisions.

Even though external audit has been enjoying the support of legal framework, institutional set-up and constant support from government in building the capacity of the auditors through structured institutional trainings and a review system, by its institutional character it deviates much from the requirements of gender audit.

Conclusion and Recommendations

Gender audit is an indispensable evaluation process in public financial management, not just from the point of the constitutional obligation of the state to ensure gender equity, but also from its inherent strength of evaluating the gender budget for ensuring its effectiveness. Since gender audit is a specialised audit system, it not only needs the availability of competent auditors but also the existence of an audit system with a strong legal framework ensuring functional autonomy for the auditors as well as opportunities for continuous updating of their gender audit skills.

By its scope and competency needs, the gender audit suits internal audit standards best. Despite the external audit enjoying a stronger institutional framework, by its scope and pattern, it deviates much from internal audit standards.

In this context, institutionalising gender audit in departments of the government necessitates the following institutional changes to be made:

1. Ensuring functional autonomy for the internal auditors by relieving them from the control of the heads of the department and bringing them under the control of the respective administrative departments.
2. Building the competency of the internal auditors by imparting training in gender audit followed by continuous updating of their skills through trainings.
3. Creating a separate cadre of internal auditors and prescribing suitable qualifications for their recruitments.
4. Creating a separate internal audit department in order to support the internal audits of government departments by providing them with competent internal auditors and also to manage the cadres of internal auditors.
5. Incorporating mandatory provisions in the audit guidelines of external audit for conducting gender audit, especially of the Local Fund Audit Department for conducting gender audit in some selected schemes in its statutory audit.

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Government of Karnataka
FISCAL POLICY INSTITUTE

Kengeri Post, Bengaluru-Mysore Road, Bengaluru – 560060
Telephone : +91 80 26971000 Fax : +91 80 26971010