

**WOMEN AND DEVELOPMENT: A STUDY OF GENDER
BUDGETING IN ASSAM**

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled “**Women and Development: A Study of Gender Budgeting in Assam**” submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Philosophy of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. This dissertation has not been submitted for the award of any other degree in this University or any other University.

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CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
BE	Budget Estimate
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
ECOSOC	Economic and Social Council
FE	Feminist Economists
GAD	Gender and Development
GB	Gender Budgeting
GBI	Gender Budget Initiatives
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GRB	Gender Responsive Budgeting
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
ME	Mainstream Economists
NIPCCD	National Institute of Public Corporation and Child Development
NIPFP	National Institute of Public Finance and Policy
NCRFW	National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women
NGO	Non- Governmental Organization
OECD	Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development
PFA	Platform for Action
RE	Revised Estimate
SWABI	South African Women's Budget Initiative
TGNP	Tanzania Gender Networking Programme
UK	United Kingdom
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNFPA	United Nations Fund for Population Activities
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund For Women

WB	World Bank
WBG	Women's Budget Group
WID	Women in Development
WAD	Women and Development

INTRODUCTION

The focus of this research is to study how woman is situated in the development approaches and what initiatives have been taken into account to address the question of women in these approaches. Development is expected to have equal prospect for all irrespective of women and men. The implications of development in reality provide a different picture that demonstrates its dissimilar effect on women and men. Besides, the repercussions of initial development processes have resulted such inequalities in society that, women, already being the marginalized group, have had to countenance the ailing effects of development processes that have fueled more inequality between man and women. Women's issues had barely been assimilated in the development process. Feminists, particularly feminist economist raised the question of women's exclusion from development.

Gender mainstreaming has been designed to deal with this invisibility and exclusion of women in development process by integrating women into policies and programmes. It could be applied and institutionalised in different areas, but my study looks at gender budgeting that is a tool of gender mainstreaming. There are numbers of ways to do a gender budgeting and it differs in different contexts of the society. Though gender budgeting (GB), gender responsive budgeting (GRB), gender sensitive budgeting refer to the same thing, gender budget analysis and gender budget initiatives (GBI) are somewhat different from each other inspite of the shared goal of integrating gender into policies and programmes of the budget. Gender budgeting initiatives are the steps taken by any organisation (government, civil society organisation and so on). Gender budget analysis looks at budget through gender lense so that it can raise awareness about the differential effects of gender neutral budgets on women and men. There are several tools and methods for doing a gender budgeting analysis. Gender budgeting statement is one such tool that shows the accountability of the government by giving an account of the expenditure for the schemes that promote gender equality. India is one of the few countries to institutionalised gender budgeting. Since, 2005-06 government of India is producing gender budgeting statements that details the expenditure made for women in two parts- Part A that has schemes with 100 % allocation and Part-B which has at least 30

% allocation for women. In the state level, among few other states (Kerala, Rajasthan, Karnataka, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar, Haryana) Assam is one that has come with gender budget statements since 2008-09. My purpose of this research is to analyse the allocation on the schemes under the gender budget statements (GBS) both at national as well as state level of Assam. I would try to examine the changes at the national and state level after the initiatives of GBS.

Area of the research and theoretical framework

In India the need to analyse the budgets from gender perspective was demanded in various reports of National Institute of Public Finance and Policy (NIPFP) (2001, 2002, 2005). In December 2001, the Department of Women and Child Development recommended the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development (NIPCCD) to analyse budgets from the gender perspectives (Department of Women and Child Development 2002-03). According to the recommendation the schemes were divided into three categories on the basis of NIPFP study- women targeted schemes (that have 100% allocations), pro women schemes (which has at least 30% allocation), and gender neutral schemes (all other schemes for the whole community). Schemes were further divided into four categories- Protective and Welfare services, Social services, Economic services, and Regulatory and Awareness Generation services. Gender budget statements that are presented in the Union budget are also divided into on the basis of the first two categories (schemes with 100% allocation and 30 % allocation).

For the research, I have also chosen Assam, because in societal level women in Assam seem to enjoy a respectful position unlike many states of India. However, Assam Human Development Report 2003 declares the contrasting view that the position of women is no different from rest of the country; in fact, women in Assam are even more disadvantaged in some respects. Therefore, my attempt is to examine the steps taken by the government to improve the situation of women in Assam by initiating 'Gender Budgeting' since 2008-09. To examine the state level initiative we need to understand the national level initiatives. Therefore, before analysing gender

budget in Assam I will try to analyse it in the national level and then to analyse in the context of Assam.

Gender research in India, according to Purkayastha, Subramaniam, Desai and Bose can be categorized into three broad streams that are sometime overlapping (Purkayastha et. all 2003, 509). There is a stream of historical analysis that is focused on the changing construction of gender relations and therefore, relied on particular events or on historical secondary documents (such as Butalia 1993; Chakravarti 1993; 1996; Omvedt 1998; Rao 1999; Suresh 1998; Talwar 1999). Analysis of specific cases is another stream that study caste-based atrocity in Sirasgaon as described by Anupama Rao (1999) or Kalpana Kannibiran's (1996) analysis of specific cases. Quantitative analysis is the basis of the third approach that has dominated two areas of research demography and feminist economics, especially the impacts of micro finance projects on women's status and/ or empowerment (such as Agarwal, 1994; Basu 1992; Dreze and Sen 1997).

In a way, my research falls under two of these categories. While talking about the changes in feminist approaches towards the position of women in the development processes and the impact of the policies of development my research is based on the secondary documents on the approaches on women and development. While the first chapter deals with the changes in the approaches from development, empowerment to equality, and also from women to gender; the second chapter gives an account of the historical developments that leads to the emergence of gender budgeting as a tool of gender mainstreaming and few experiences of gender budgeting across the world. Hence, these two chapters loosely fall under the first category of gender research. The third chapter is a kind of quantitative analysis that addresses the gender budgeting in India and Assam on the basis of the data from union budget and state budget of Assam. It gives an account of an analysis of the impact of gender budgeting statements of India and Assam with the source of the respective expenditure budgets. Therefore, my research is framed within these both categories of historical and quantitative analysis.

Methodology

This is an exploratory research based on primary sources as in government documents, reports, and some reports of international organisations and non governmental organisations.

My methodology for the first two chapters is analysing the secondary resources available on the area of women and development and the shifting nature of the focus on development, empowerment and gender equality; and from women to gender. The second chapter gives an account of historical developments of the concept of gender budgeting as a device of gender mainstreaming in attaining gender equality. It also briefly examines few experiences of gender budgeting across the world.

The methodology for the third chapter is quantitative analysis. The analysis of historical developments that has led to gender budgeting initiatives in India as well as in Assam is followed by an assessment of both union and state of Assam's gender budget statements respectively. To analyse the budgets I have made number of tables to show the allocated money under gender budget statements at both levels (i.e. union and state of Assam). At the outset I have made a table showing the total allocations under gender budgeting statement of Union budget since 2005-06. Then I have chosen allocation of money under particular Departments or Ministries. For the Union Budget I have chosen the following departments

- Department of Health and Family welfare.
- Department of Women and Child Development
- Department of Rural development
- Department of Secondary and Higher Education
- Department of Elementary Education
- Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment

I have chosen these Department of Health and Family Welfare, Department of Secondary and Higher education, and department of Elementary Education because health and education are two important areas where there is a huge disparity between women and men. My attempt is to analyse the effectiveness of the allocated money in challenging this existing disparity. As the Department of Women and child

Development is a influential department of the government to raise the women issues therefore, I have chosen this department for the analysis of the allocated money in addressing women issues. Finally by choosing the Department of Rural Development and Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment I have tried to analyse whether gender budgeting has succeeded in addressing the neediest groups of women who are rural and belong to the backward class. To start with the analysis I first focus on the allocation under these particular departments and Ministries in various years under Part A (i.e. 100% allocation for women) and Part B (i.e. 30 % allocation for women) with tables and figures. Following is the analysis of categorization of schemes into four categories under each department and ministries under part A. In categorizing the schemes into the four categories I have followed the methodology used by NIPFP¹. The study of NIPFP provides these four categories- Protective and welfare services, social services, economic services, and regulatory services and awareness generation programmes. I have categorized the schemes into these services from the description of the schemes under each category in the NIPFP study and have attempted to analyse the allocation of money to each category under the selected department and ministries.

The method to analyse the gender budgeting statement of Assam is somewhat different from the methodology used in the context of India. Because, the formats of both the gender budgeting statements are different. The gender budgeting statement of Assam does not have the categorization of 100% allocation and 30% allocation. Therefore I begin my analysis with the summary of total allocation under plan and non plan. Then I have chosen seven particular departments which schemes to be analysed under the four categories as I have used for India. The difference is that in the context of India my analysis is only for 100% allocation schemes, but in the context of Assam it includes the whole allocation as there is no category for 100% allocation and 30% allocation. The estimated no of beneficiaries are given in the gender budgeting statement of Assam and I have attempted to examine this aspect also. In analysing these categories under each department at both the levels tables are prepared for a better understanding. The departments chosen for Assam are –

¹ Gender Budgeting in selected Ministries: Conceptual and methodological issues, National Institute of Public Finance and Policy, New Delhi and Department of Women and Child Development, July 2005.

- Health and family welfare department
- Labour and employment department
- Food, civil supplies and consumer affairs department
- Social welfare department
- Handloom and textile department
- Education (elementary) department
- Education (secondary) department

My attempt is to explore whether the allocations under these departments are improving the women's status and hence, leading to gender equality in the society. The analysis of the categorization of the schemes would help to look at the schemes and allocations critically on the status of women whether the emphasis on the traditional role of women or it is empowering women.

Outline of the research

The research is divided into five parts. This is the first part that gives an account of the area of study, theoretical framework and the methodologies used in the research.

The first chapter is about the historical changes of the approaches on women and development. It discusses the changes that have been taking place in the area of 'women and development'. The chapter focuses on talks how feminism particularly feminist economics has paved the way to examine the exclusion of women in development process and policies. There are three main approaches in the area on women and development- Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), and Gender and Development (GAD). It examines the characteristics, concerns, and goals of these approaches of women and development and briefly points out the reasons for the emergence of the approaches. It also focuses on the shift from women to gender.

After examining the approaches, their goals, and objectives the second chapter has attempted to examine the needs for gender budgeting as a tool of gender mainstreaming. The chapter gives an account of the economic costs of gender inequality and benefits from gender equality and the need of gender budgeting in

attaining gender equality in the society. It examines the historical development of gender budgeting and the differences of gender budgeting initiatives, gender budgeting analysis and the tools and methods of gender budgeting. With drawing from few experiences across the world the chapter examines that there are different forms of gender budgeting according to social and political context of the society.

The third chapter analyses the gender budgeting statements in India and Assam. the chapter is divided into two parts- the first part deals with union gender budget statements. And the second part is a comprehensive study of the gender budgeting in Assam. In this part of the chapter I attempt to give an account of the status of women in Assam and an analysis of the schemes under gender budget statements in this backdrop. I have tried to explore whether the allocations under the statements are effective to challenge the gender inequality and to improve the status of women by giving resources to challenge the traditional roles of women. While analysing these gender budget statements this chapter only focuses on the expenditure level, not the implementation level.

In the conclusion I have briefly attempted to examine the potential of gender budgeting and the problems in implementing gender budgeting.

CHAPTER I

DEVELOPMENT AND EMPOWERMENT OF WOMEN: FROM WOMEN TO GENDER

Introduction

In this chapter, I examine the different approaches to development and how these perspectives situate women and men in the project of development. I am interested in exploring the position of women within the development framework. Do the development policies or strategies benefit women? If development is a process of progressive changes in its straight forward meaning, then what are the progressive changes that women face as a result of development strategies and does it lead to gender equality? If development leads to improved human life then why women are less likely to get equal opportunities in different fields of life and law? Instead, they are treated as mere instruments of the ends of others- reproducers, caregivers, sexual objects, agents of a family's general prosperity and agents of state programs (Nussbaum 2002, 2). Hence, the effectiveness of development for women has been questioned by many, particularly in feminist writings.

We know that development itself is a contested phenomenon. The focus of the development discourse that emerged after the Second World War was on the approaches and the strategies to improve the deprived nature in the newly decolonized nations. There are two main paradigms of development – *orthodox* which sees deprivation as the result of unproductive economic functioning and undermines the power structure between the classes, regions or nations, and *political economy* that focuses on the nature of the process to achieve economic growth (Sittirak 2000). Under the *orthodox* category, there are three models of theories. The first one is delineated by Arthur Lewis (1955) states that unemployment results in deprivation and generating employment would resolve the problem (Sittirak 2000, 8). The second theory is Simon Kuznet's (1955) Curve Theory according to which income inequality increases until a critical income level is attained, after which inequality begins to decrease (Sittirak 2000, 9). The third theory is W. W. Rostow's (1960) Stages of Growth model that gives emphasis that 'development is growth in per capita GNP' (Sittirak 2000,

10). A number of models have been developed on the basis of these theories to bring about development, but all of them did not work out in the expected way. The *political economy* paradigm could be divided into two major groups- the Marxist and the Dependency Theorists. Sittirak here points out that-

while the Marxists focused on a dynamic internal class structure as the key to understanding the control of economic surplus, the dependency theorists were concerned with the connection between the internal class structure within and external relationship between nations (2000: [14]).

Yet another development approach that emerged in the 1970s as a challenge to the mainstream theories of development theories was known as development alternatives. There have been three dominant themes in the theories of development, which may be listed as follows:

- a concern with national processes of accumulation, structural change, and economic growth;
- a concern with poverty and wellbeing;
- a concern with the implications of international economic relations for national development. (Elson 2001, 95-96).

According to these theories and the development debate, capital accumulation, economic growth, modernization, and new economic policy formulation have inevitably benefited all groups of people in all the societies. However, all these theories were basically concerned with the overall development processes which undermine many other aspects of the society. Gaps between the poor and rich, men and women still exist because no benefit accrues to them from the development process. According to Sittirak, this literatures on development represents ‘not only a ‘main’ but also a ‘male’ stream approach to development’ (2000:21). The women’s agenda and the women’s question were invisible. According to Sue Ellen Charlton (1997:7-8) there are four clusters of issues surrounding the definitions of development that are especially important for women-

- the role of ethical and moral choice in development;
- the structure of the international system in the late twentieth century;
- the influence and, in some instances, domination of western norms and institutions in development concepts and policies; and
- the political control of development

While analyzing the question of women in the context of development these issues have to be explored. Nevertheless, the invisibility of women in the 'main'/ 'male' stream approaches to development have resulted in feminists' engagement with development.

In this chapter my attempt is to give an account of how feminists' have addressed the question of women within the development framework. The first section of the chapter deals with the feminist engagement with development and the emergence of the feminist economists. The second section deals with the various approaches to development and women. There has also been a shift of focal point from the development to empowerment of women and the shift from women to gender and these shifts have led to the emergence of the concept of gender mainstreaming. With the concept of gender mainstreaming the importance of policy making for gender equality has become a major focus of the government as well as international organizations to promote gender equality. As a result, the concept of gender budgeting has been designed and I deal with all these in the third section of this chapter.

Section 1: Feminist Engagements with Development

The question of women with regard to the development process has been a major concern among the feminist scholarship particularly in recent times. Although, the subordinate status and position of the women has been a part of different ideologies, nevertheless, 'feminism' as an ideology is a twentieth century phenomenon. The first organized voice of feminism came out in the form of 'women's liberation movement' during the late 20th century (Jaggar 1983, 4). But it does not imply that there was no expression before that against women's suppression in the society. Mary Wollstonecraft's *A Vindication of the Rights of Women* (1792 1985) has been considered as the first theorized text of feminism. The 'first wave feminism'¹ won the

¹The early writings of feminism from its beginning in the till 1960s is broadly known as 'first wave' of feminism that ended with the achievement of female suffrage. The 'second wave' of feminism emerged in the 1960s which is challenged by the 'third wave' of feminism in the 1990s. While the first wave feminism was concerned with the equal rights for women, the second wave feminism questions the other issues of equality and women's liberation. The 'Personal is Political' become the catchword of the second wave feminism. The 'third wave' of feminism emerged as a result of the failure of the

demand for female suffrage, with New Zealand being the first exploitative country to introduce it in 1893. While the 'first wave feminism' only addressed the women's right to vote, it did not question other aspect of women's life and the dissatisfaction. There with led to the emergence of 'second wave feminism' in 1960s. According to Jaggar (1983) this resurgence of feminism questioned the oppressed position of women in the society and the liberation of women became the rallying cry. However, till that time there was not much conceptualization on development and women. It was only when the fundamentals of economic development were challenged after the failure of the first development decade (1961-70) that the questions for women attained importance (for details see Visvanathan et al. 1997; Parpart et al. 2000; Rai 2004 etc.).

The 'development project' coming out during the period of post Second World War for the upliftment in the 'Third World' or 'developing nations', has raised a lot of issues including that of women. However, the major phenomenon during the initial years of development was basically to bridge the gap between the developed and the developing nations through aid-based planning and strategies with the help of the newly established United Nations. Though, due to a number of causes, the first development decade has ended up as a failure. As a result, the newly independent developing nations had come up with the idea of New International Economic Order that would lead to better equity in the distribution of capital and of the world's resources. Since the first development decade wound up as failure, the question of inequality between the poor and the rich, the developed and the developing, as well as a lot other issues including gender inequality were raised. Among the many other means to achieve development, it had been realized that achieving gender equality is vital for development. Equality among man and women is fundamental to the development of a society. But, development not only means equal opportunities for men and women, but also entails the equal ways to seize those opportunities.

second wave feminism to challenge the universal definition of femininity. The central issues of third wave feminism are race, social class, sexuality. However, there are various ideologies within feminism namely Liberal, Socialist, Marxist, Radical, Black, Postcolonial and Third- World, Post-Modern, Post-Structural, Environmental or Eco-feminism and so on. There is another area of feminism that is Feminist Economists which implements the feminist perspective to economics and helps to analyse the development process from feminist perspective. For details see Alison M. Jaggar 1983; Beasley 1999; Bryson 1999 etc.

Feminist writings and the activism about the development project emerged when the contradictions and failures of development project became evident. One of the concerns of the development project was that growth of the Gross Domestic Products (GDP) leads to the development in a society. Feminists, however, challenged the idea that national economic development benefits all groups of the society, particularly, women and the poor. Moreover, the economic analysis of development does not include women's unpaid work and the development process too excludes women. Hence, the economic policies having propensity for economic growth devalue women and their work leading to greater gender inequality. As a challenge to the mainstream economic analysis of development and the policies which exclude women's work, feminist economists have raised their voices to challenge the stabilization of the idea that the growth of the GDP leads to development of men and women alike in society.

Section 1.1: Feminist Economists

Economic growth and the policies and strategies for economic growth are one of the major parts of the development process. Even though the economic growth and economic policies are not only the major part of the development process, it used to be the heart of the development theories in the initial years. The theories that were developed after the Second World War gave more importance to the economic growth, employment generation, poverty alleviation rather than all other factors those were behind the underdevelopment of the newly decolonised nations. They also did not address the different economic contributions that men and women make in different ways. Hence, the conventional economic analysis fails to recognize this difference between the workforce of men and women, which results in the formulation of policies that may result in more poverty rather than alleviating, conflicting relationship within household, and eventually failing to address development as well as gender equality. As a challenge to all these, feminist economists try to analyse gender roles in the economic growth and criticise the biased nature of mainstream economic analyses that treats women and their work as invisible which results in more gender inequality.

The mainstream economists confine their study to the 'paid economy' of markets, prices and so on devaluating the contribution made by the unpaid work of women. Hence, women's work is not considered under the paid economy and is excluded from GDP. Feminist economists argue that women's unpaid work contributes to the economy but excluded because of biasness of mainstream economic analyses as well as because of the social norms and institutions. This biasness is reflected in various institutions including family, market, and the state. According to the feminist economists, orthodox economics is nominally asexual but inhabits in a very male world of paid work and priced leisure (Sweetman 2008). The feminist economists believe that the assumption of mainstream economics that human being are rational, autonomous agents, independent of all natural needs and social influences falls short of analyzing the oppressive institutions and caring services that are freely provided by women. Women, being at the receiving end of oppression, remained unseen in these mainstream economic analyses. Moreover, the traditional and orthodox economic analysis does not address the question of unpaid household works of women such as child care, fetching fuel wood and water, preparing food along with the 'reproduction cycle,' women also perform several unpaid productive works such as cultivation of food and play a role in the cottage industries. Hence, feminist economists points out how subjective biases concerning acceptable topics and methods have compromised the reliability and objectivity of economics research and explores more adequate alternatives (Nelson 2008). According to Martha Macdonald (1995), for a feminist economist the central areas of concern could be broadly divided into three categories-

- Measurement /valuation of women's unpaid work.
- Intra-household issues (distribution of income and resources, labour allocation, decision-making, and power relations).
- Gendered processes in the paid labour market. (Macdonald 1995, 163)

She also points out that the 'unifying theme of feminist work is to challenge the distinction made by the formal and the informal economy, paid and unpaid work, market and non-market activities, productive and reproductive labour' (1995:163). The traditional theories tend to be gender- biased while collecting data by not measuring these aspects of the society. Feminist economists have critiqued neoclassical economics theories for an excessive focus on statistical machinery at the expense of substantive issues (Miller and Rodgers 2008). Moreover, these kinds of studies are sexist and patriarchal. While unpaid works are sometimes included in

satellite accounts, they are excluded from the general economic analysis. The concept of production should include the fetching of water, weeding, collecting firewood, subsistence crop production and housework. According to feminist economists, these unpaid works or the care economy makes a significant contribution in the economic development of society and hence, it should be counted in the economic analysis. There have been criticisms that measuring these kinds of works is too difficult. Marilyn Waring has dismissed such criticism by citing the counter example of how services provided by the government where no market price has been evaluated has not discouraged statisticians (Budlender 1993, 106).

Feminist economists also look at the household as an outcome of misleading difference between women and men not only on the basis of 'sex' differences but also the social constraints on the basis of 'gender' differences². They criticise the mainstream economic analysis for not considering household as an economic site and hence, they focus on a household model to analyse the conflicting interests and power relationship within and outside the family. The inequality in the distribution of income and other resources within and outside the household has led to gender inequality in the society. The central concern in this context is to scrutinize in what way household and the rest of the economy is articulated and how does household response to external economic pressures of price changes for consumer goods and provision of government services. The allocation of labour, income and resources, the division of labour in the home (i.e., the power equation) are other areas where feminist economists have problems with the mainstream economists.

Since women are stereotyped primarily as caregivers in the domestic realm, this makes women's work invisible. It also leads to a devaluation of women's work in the formal and informal sector leading to the fact that in many spheres women are often paid less than men. Moreover, women are found to be working in such jobs which fit the gender stereotyped roles in the family as teachers, nurses, some administrative and secretary jobs which are considered as 'looking after' male bosses (for details see

² Feminists see 'sex' as a biological difference whereas 'gender' is socially constructed on the sexual difference. This notion plays a major role in feminist economic analysis, particularly in the analysis on household work, paid and unpaid economy. For further details see Ferber and Nelson 1993, Peterson and Lewis 2001.

Sweetman 2008, Peterson and Lewis 2001, Nelson 2008). This means that women's work is not viewed as necessary in the society and is believed that women go outside of the house to work only for money. Feminist economists challenge these kinds of gender biased views. Whereas some feminists take help of the mainstream theories and economic models to examine the wage gap between men and women, some of them find problems with the methods, data collection and tools used by the mainstream economists. According to some of the feminist economists these methods and tools are the underlying causes of the inequality between the wages and workforces of men and women.

Feminist economists are in sense a singular school. There are also various strands of feminist economist in understanding and criticizing the mainstream economic analyses. According to Ferber and Nelson (1993) there are three different strands of feminist economists-

- *Feminist Constructionists*, who try to expose gender- biased influences on theories, methods and beliefs.
- Supporters of the *affirmative action approach* are convinced that the only task of feminist economists is to improve the position of women and to boost the representation of women in economics without developing a critique of the economics itself.
- *Feminist empiricists* are similarly confident as to the present state of economics. They say that methods and theory are in principal gender-neutral and objective; discrimination and inequalities between women and men are the result of a wrong or a lack of application of the insights of economics. (Dolfsma and Hoppe 2003, 12)

Nevertheless, despite their distinctiveness feminist economists challenge the mainstream economic analysis in their own ways. The relevance and effectiveness of the feminist challenge to the mainstream economics has been analysed prolifically by Bina Agarwal (2004) by dividing economics into three broad categories:

- *Orthodox mainstream*: This includes neo-classical economics, development such as game theory and covering subject areas of labor, economics and agricultural economics

- *Heterodox mainstream*: This category includes ecological economics, institutional economics, and Marxist economics
- *Heterodox marginal*: The emerging fields such as the care economy, new developments in behavioral economics such as the interface of psychology and economics expressed both in formal models and in experimental games come under this category. (Agarwal 2004, 2-6).

She has also provided a typology of the feminist economics challenge to the mainstream economics on the basis of these categorization and parameters (Agarwal 2004, 3-5).

**Table 1: FEMINIST ECONOMICS AS A CHALLENGE TO MAINSTREAM ECONOMICS?
WHAT MAKES FOR AN EFFECTIVE CHALLENGE? A TYPOLOGY**

<i>Main Focus of Initial Challenge</i>	<i>Intellectual stepping stone for Departure</i>	<i>Potential for formal models and empirical testing</i>	<i>Potential for models of associated policy shift</i>	<i>Potential efficiency effect of associated policy shift</i>	<i>Potential welfare/equity effects of associated policy</i>	<i>Example</i>	<i>Effect on mainstream economics</i>
I. Theoretical	Orthodox mainstream: Game theory	Strong	Strong	Strong	Strong	Household bargaining models	Strong
II. Theoretical/ Empirical	Orthodox mainstream: Labor economics	Strong	Strong	Strong	Strong	Labor market discrimination/ segmentation	Strong
II. 2. Theoretical/ Empirical	Orthodox mainstream: Agricultural Economics Heterodox mainstream: Marxist economics; and other disciplines (e.g., law)	Medium	Medium	Strong	Strong	Land and property rights for women	Medium
II.3. Theoretical/ Empirical	Heterodox mainstream: Ecological economics, Institutional economics	Medium	Medium	Strong	Strong	Common pool resource management; environmental issues	Weak, will Grow
III. 1. Public policy	Orthodox mainstream: Public finance	Medium	Medium	Medium	Medium	Gender Budgets	Weak, will Grow
III.2. Public policy	Heterodox marginal/ Philosophy	Weak	Weak	Strong	Strong	Care economy	Weak, could Grow
IV. Ethical	Philosophy, politics	Weak	Mixed	Strong	Strong	Gender Inequality in a human rights framework	Weak, could grow

Source: Agarwal 2004, 3

Agarwal's typology makes it clear that there are differences of feminist economists. They differ in aspects such as from where they have framed their foundation, what they focus on, and in what way they affect the mainstream economics. In judging the effectiveness of the feminist economics challenge to the mainstream economics, Bina Agarwal also suggests two criteria- first, whether feminist economics fulfills its intellectual responsibility and second, whether it fulfills its ethical responsibility (2004:5). On the intellectual ground, the significant aspiration of feminist economics is that of understanding the nature and causes of gender inequality in all its forms, and on its ethical ground their significance is to benefit and improve the lives of women. In some areas feminist economics has effectively challenged the mainstream economics, whereas in some areas it has not, been able to do so. However, the relationship between the mainstream economics and the feminist economics is not contradictory all the time. Economic theory becomes broadened by feminist insights and the relationship between the two could be complementary also. There is also the need for effective feminist economics challenge to reformulate the policies for the gender equality. As Bina Agarwal remarks

We should not judge the impact of FE mainly in relation to ME. We need to devise our own criteria which even if less effective in challenging ME professionally would be relevant to our larger goal- namely FE as an intellectual endeavor that helps enhance gender equality in the real world, and transforms the lives of real women, men and children. (2004:5)

Section 2: The Approaches to Development, Development Policies and Women

So far I have pointed out that the development theories, debates and development policies of the initial period did not benefit women nor did these improve the status of women, rather women remained invisible to mainstream debates. It was at that point the feminist economist raised their voices. A new subfield of women and development has emerged from the feminist theories, particularly with the help of feminist economist analyses. Similarly, the voices of feminist economists against the invisibility of women in the economy have led others to rethink about reasons for invisibility of women in the development process and development policies too. However, both the fields of feminist economists and women and development have grown simultaneously. They are not the same, but complimentary to each other.

The writings and research on women and development is very diverse and there have been number of ways to look at the approaches and the themes under this field. With the different ways of analyses and understanding of the field the categorization of the approaches and the themes differ. According to Janet Henshall Momsen (2004) there are three fundamental themes

...the first is the realization that all societies have established a clear-cut division of labour by sex, although what is considered a male or female task varies cross-culturally, implying that there is no natural and fixed gender division of labour. Second, research has shown that, in order to comprehend gender roles in production, we also need to understand gender roles within the household. The integration of women's reproductive and productive work within the private sphere of the home and in the public sphere outside must be considered if we are to appreciate the dynamics of women's role in development. The third fundamental finding is that economic development has been shown to have a differential impact on men and women and the impact on women has, with few exceptions, generally been negative. (2004:16)

There are three main approaches in the area of women and development in understanding the shifts from welfare to empowerment of women and from women to gender. In this section my attempt is to analyse these shifts in a broad way. In the first place I attempt to analyse the understanding of the three main distinct theoretical areas of this field i.e. Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), and Gender and Development (GAD). In the process of the growth of the field with these theoretical progresses the focus of the research has been changing from development, welfare to empowerment of women as well from women to gender. Therefore, I will explore the shifts from welfare to empowerment and from women to gender in the next sections.

Section 2.1: Women in Development (WID)

The response to the development theories and development policies from women's perspective was pioneered only with the publication of Ester Boserup's book '*Women's Role in Economic Development*' (1970). Boserup's work has founded a new ground for the feminist perspective of development planning, policies, and theories as well as the invisibility and neglecting of women's role in the economy and agriculture. Boserup's work inspired a new approach called '*Women in Development*' (WID). Boserup analysed data from three continents and explained that women's

agricultural production was critical in sustaining local and national economics and the negative impact of colonialism and modernization. It was with WID that the field of women and development has become popular and significant and other approaches have been developed as a challenge to and to fill up the loopholes of WID. The approach sought to address the failure of development planners to consider women's needs and women's viewpoints which created a flawed integration of women in the process of development. They tried to analyse the failure of the development policies in delivering resources to women. Efficiency was the principal focus of WID in integrating the women in development project as it would result in attaining more goals of the development project. However, WID is criticised for preoccupying itself only with women's role as producers and to undermine their domestic labour and women's subordination. It also did not address the impact of class and race on women and also the impact of global inequities on women in the Third World.

Section 2.2: Women and Development (WAD)

The approach of Woman and Development (WAD) emerged as a challenge to the WID paradigm during the second half of 1970s on the basis of Marxist Feminist thinking. According to WAD, the analysis should be on why women were excluded from the development process rather analysing how they were excluded. WID failed to address the issues of women of the Third World nations, as also the way class and race has impact on women. In contrast WAD literature focused on these issues and also tried to address the dependence of the Third World nations on the rich nations. This approach has been explored very competently by Connelly, Murray Li, MacDonald, and Parpart-

The WAD paradigm stresses the distinctiveness of women's knowledge, women's work, and women's goals and responsibilities. It argues for recognition of this distinctiveness and for acknowledgment of the special roles that women have always played in the development process. For example, the WAD perspective gave rise to a persistent call to recognize that women are the mainstay of agricultural **production** in many areas of Africa, although their contribution has been systematically overlooked and marginalized in national and donor development plans. This concern was captured in the slogan "Give credit where credit is due." Campaigns designed to change policies and place women's issues and concerns on national and international agendas have been a key area of activity for people working within this paradigm, and

disseminating information has been an important strategy. Efforts to organize have been oriented both to making mainstream bureaucracies more responsive to women's needs and to strengthening bonds among women through active, autonomous local groups and networks.

Theorists and activists working within this paradigm have debated the issue of integration (in mainstream agencies and programs) versus separate woman-focused organizing. They recognize that mainstream agencies carry the risk of domination by patriarchal interests, whereas autonomy carries the risk of further marginalization and inadequate funding imposed by the small scale of many women-only projects and initiatives. Much of the theorizing of people working within the WAD perspective is undocumented because active engagement at the policy and community levels has been the major, always pressing, priority. (Connelly et al. 2000:60)

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The WAD suggests that 'women only projects' ought to be generated so that women's interests could be protected from the patriarchal domination. They accept that women's work in the public and private domain is central to the maintenance of their social structures. Their way of looking at the differences of women in accordance to the class and race is very significant. Nevertheless, they are also being criticised particularly by the socialist feminists for its inability to analyse the relationship of patriarchy, differing modes of production, and women's oppression.

Section 2.3: Gender and Development (GAD):

GAD emerged in the 1980s representing the diverse feminist perspectives in particular the socialist feminist thinking. According to this approach, the material condition of the women as well as their position in the national, regional, and global economies do impact on the status of women in the society. It emphasizes gender relations in both the labour force and the reproductive sphere. GAD seeks to integrate women into development process as well as ways to transform unequal social and gender relations and also to empower women. This approach has led to a shift of focus from 'women' to 'gender'. In contrast to the focus of the WID and the WAD on women, gender has become the central analytical concern in GAD. The GAD scholars emphasize the heterogeneity and fluidity of gender and class relations and advocate strategic (but cautious) engagement with official development agencies to forward a



feminist development agenda (Wyss 1999: F813). According to this approach the role of the state is necessary for promoting women's emancipation.

Kate Young (1997) has dealt with six main points about the GAD-

Firstly, the focus in gender and development is not on women *per se* but on gender relations, i.e. the relations between women and men in a variety of settings. Secondly, the approach views women as active agents and not as passive recipients of 'development' but does not assume that women have perfect knowledge or understanding of their social situation. Thirdly, the approach starts from a holistic perspective and looks at the totality of social organization, economic and political life in order to understand the shaping of particular aspects of society. Fourthly, development is viewed as a complex process involving the social, economic, political and cultural betterment of individuals and of society itself. Fifthly, the gender and development approach does not consider welfare, anti-poverty, or equity approaches as three opposed alternatives. Rather it accepts that the welfare and anti-poverty approaches are often necessary preconditions for equity. Sixthly, GAD is much less optimistic about the role of the market as distributor of benefit, and the power that stems from having 'cash in hand' and also stresses the need for organization but more in terms of women's self organization so as to increase their political power within the economic system. (Young: 1997, 51-53).

The scholars, policy planners, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund use GAD as the present discourse to discuss the relationship between development process and women's inequality. On the basis of GAD development planners and practitioners are taking the lead in creating gender-analysis framework for evaluating the distribution of household power, land and resources.

Thus, in this way, the shift from 'women' to 'gender' under the women and development field has taken place with the emergence of these three distinct approaches. These shift could understood precisely and clearly with the help of the following table.

Table 2: Changing Perspectives on Women, Gender and Development

	<i>Women in Development (WID)</i>	<i>Women and Development (WAD)</i>	<i>Gender and Development (GAD)</i>
Origins	Early 1970s after the publication of Ester Boserup's book <i>Women's role in Economic development</i> . The term WID articulated by American liberal feminists.	Emerged from a critique of the modernization theory and the WID approach in the second half of the 1970s.	As an alternative to the WID focus this approach developed in 1980s.
Theoretical base	Linked with the modernization theory of the 1950s to 1970s. By the 1970s it was realized that the benefits of modernization had somehow not reached women, and in some sectors undermined their existing position.	Draws from dependency theory.	Influenced by the socialist feminist thinking.
Focus	Need to integrate women in economic systems, through necessary legal and administrative changes. Women's productive role emphasized. Strategies to be developed to minimize disadvantages of women in the productive sector.	Women have always been part of development process- therefore integrating women in development is a myth. Focuses on relationship between women and development processes.	Offers a holistic perspective looking at all aspects of women's lives. It questions the basis of assigning specific gender roles to different sexes.
Contribution	Women's questions became visible in the arena of development theory and practice.	Accepts women as economic actors in their societies. Women's work in the public and private domain is central to the maintenance of their societal structures. Looks at the nature of	Does not exclusively emphasize female solidarity – welcomes contributions of sensitive men. Recognizes women's contribution inside and outside household, including

		integration of women in development which sustains existing international structures of inequality.	non-commodity production.
Features	<p>WID was solidly grounded in traditional modernization theory which assumed wrongly that women were not integrated in the process of development. It accepted existing social structures- it did not question the sources of women's subordination and oppression. Non-confrontational approach. It did not question why women had not benefited from development strategies. It treated as an undifferentiated category overlooking the influence of class, race and culture. Focused exclusively on productive aspects of women's work, ignoring or minimizing the reproductive side of women's lives.</p>	<p>Fails to analyse the relationship between patriarchy, differing modes of production and women's subordination and oppression.</p> <p>Discourage a strict analytical focus on the problems of women independent of those of men since both sexes are seen to be disadvantaged with oppressive global structure based on class and capital.</p> <p>Singular preoccupation with women's productive role at the expense of the reproductive side of women's work and lives.</p> <p>Assumes that once international structures become more equitable, women's position would improve.</p> <p>WAD doesn't question the relations between gender roles.</p>	<p>GAD rejects the public/private dichotomy. It gives special attention to oppression of women in the family by entering the so called 'private sphere'. It emphasizes the state's duty to provide social services in promoting women's emancipation. Women seen as agents of change rather than as passive recipients of development assistance.</p> <p>Stresses the need for women to organize themselves for a more effective political voice. Recognizes that patriarchy operates within and across classes to oppress women. Focuses on strengthening women's legal rights, including the reform of inheritance and land laws. It talks in terms of upsetting the existing power relations in society between men and women.</p>

Source: Nalini Visvanathan et al. (1997:18-19)

Along with this shift from 'women' to 'gender' there has also been a shift in the policy formulation for women. In the following section I attempt to articulate this shift in policy formulation for women from welfare to empowerment.

Section 3: Policy Formulation for women's development, empowerment and gender equity

The relationship between women/gender and policy has always been a contested one within the feminist theories. Feminists argue that in many areas women's subordination is the result of a wide range of policies that claim to be gender neutral. According to Bacchi (2005) in the conventional understanding, policies are legislative and legal responses to social problems and social needs - they attempt to improve the lives of citizens. Feminists criticise this position that the policies generally address the public domain ignoring the private domain which is associated with women and their work sphere. Hence, the policies have different impact on women and men, and women are always placed at a disadvantageous position. The question of women in the context of policies became popular with the development debate. Development planning have been gender neutral or gender blind which does not recognise women's contribution. Women were seen as passive beneficiaries of development planning, they were being marginalized and their productive role was not recognized and not included explicitly in development planning. As the approaches to women and development emerged the impact of development policies on women also became a major concern among the feminist scholarship. While the development policies did not address most of the women issues, the formulation of policies to promote the position of women in the society has become a major concern among the feminist scholars, particularly with the emergence of WID approach. As there has been shift from WID, WAD, and to GAD there has also been the shift of the discourses of policies for promoting women's position in the society.

Section 3.1: WID and Policy Evolution

The major goal of WID is to make 'women' visible as a category in development research and policy and there was a conviction that if only planners and policymakers

could be made aware of women's concrete and valuable contribution to the economy, women would no longer be marginalized in the development process (Kabeer 1996, xi). On the foundation of Molyneux's work, Caroline O. N. Moser has surveyed four decades of development policies and finds out five distinct WID approaches reflecting policy evolution (as cited in Visvanathan et al. 1997,20). The first approach is the 'welfare approach' of 1950-1970s that focuses on women's reproductive roles. The main concern of this approach was the population control programmes. The second is equity approach that demanded for gender equality. The third approach is anti-poverty that aimed to increase the productivity of poor women. According to this approach the poor condition of women is a problem of underdevelopment not of subordination. This approach gave more attention to enhance women's productive work role through waged work and income-generation, but neglected strategic needs. The fourth approach is efficiency effort and associated with the IMF structural adjustment programmes in 1980s. This approach analyses women not as reproducers only, but as efficient community managers also. In the view of this approach there would be increase in equity once their efficiency in production is recognized. The fifth approach is empowerment approach which is represented by the Third World feminism and 'grass-roots organizing'. This approach is concerned with the strategic needs of women in transforming the oppressed laws and structures.

A major policy initiative under WID is mainstreaming gender issues in development agencies. It has helped in promoting some practices to increase women's visibility. The WID approach has influenced number of international and national organizations in policy making for women's equality. The World Bank then called for such government policies which would realize women's economic potential, at the same time also being sensitive to the role of culture. The International Labour Organizations (ILO) has also committed itself towards equal opportunity and treatment of women and men in all its activities. As a major advocate of women's equality UNIFEM has always been supporting women to achieve equality through promoting a number of projects and development programmes.

Nevertheless, the WID approach has been criticised by many for being too 'women specific' and 'too welfarist'. Moreover, the shift from 'women, to 'gender' has also challenged this approach. Along with this shift there was also a shift in looking at the

policies from a gendered perspective, not from 'women's perspective'. In the words of Lise Østergaard (1997)-

while 'the concept of Women in Development is concrete and may lead to marginalizing women as a particular species with inherited handicaps' but 'the concept of Gender and Development is abstract and opens up for realization of women's productive potentials in development. (1997: 7).

Thus, the focus has shifted from the development policies for women to gender planning or policies for gender equality.

Section 3.2: Policies for gender equality: Gender Mainstreaming

The attempt was made to challenge the power relationship between men and women into development planning with the shift of focus from 'women' to 'gender.' 'Women' as the analytical category was not effective to address the gender inequalities in development process and planning. Moreover, the women specific programmes were stereotyping the role of women; hence, the approach of 'gender mainstreaming' emerged under the GAD. Gender mainstreaming has been adopted to counter the gender-neutral and gender-blind policies. According to Prudence Woodford- Berger (2008:121) the powerful appeal of the notion of gender mainstreaming is its spirit, politics and promise to imbue all systems, structures and institutionalized cultures with awareness of gender-based biases and injustices, and to remove them.

Gender mainstreaming was adopted as an approach to integrate gender perspective into all policy making and decision at the fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing in 1995. Gender Mainstreaming involves the integration of gender equality concerns into analysis and policy formulation, programmes and projects to bring the interests of women as well as men into decision making across all issues (Mukhopadhyay 2008:16). Through gender analysis gender mainstreaming seeks to determine the differences between men and women in terms of rights, responsibilities, access to resources, and power in a given situation. It seeks to integrate a gender perspective into all policy areas. Gender mainstreaming challenges the gender neutral

and gender blind policies that devalue women's interests. I intent to discuss gender mainstreaming in depth in the second chapter.

However, there have been criticisms against gender mainstreaming that in many instances it meant getting rid of focus on women (Mukhopadhyay 2008, 136). It also failed to challenge patriarchy in a radical way. Nevertheless, it has also led to many policy initiatives in national as well as international organisations for gender equality. Most importantly gender-mainstreaming has led the way to gender budgeting which has been adopted as a major tool of government in promoting gender equality.

Section 3.3: Gender- Budgeting

Gender budgeting is an application of gender mainstreaming in the budgetary process through a gender-based assessment of budgets, incorporating a gender perspective at all levels of the budgetary process and restructuring revenues and expenditures in order to promote gender equality. National budgets are the mirror of the policies and programmes for the development of the society. While most of the policies tend to be gender blind or gender neutral, gender budgeting ensures that gender perspective is included in policy formulation and allocation. "Gender budgeting" is a process which examines and assess the public budgets whether they do or they do not contribute to more equality between women and men, and then to introduce changes that promote gender equality accordingly.

Thus, there have been transformations in the approaches of women and development along with the shift of focus from women specific and welfarist to gender equality.

Conclusion

As I have discussed, feminist engagement with development has come a long way from questioning invisibility of women, to women's welfare, women's efficiency, empowerment, and to gender equality. The concern for gender equality has paved the way to gender budgeting. Within the feminist thinking, particularly feminist economist, the goal of the gender budgeting is to challenge the orthodox economists

way of looking at public policy. Bina Agarwal's typology of feminist economics challenge to mainstream economics indicates that the effect of gender budgeting as a challenge to the mainstream economics is weak, but will grow over the time. Therefore, after the years of implementation of gender-budgeting it is time to analyse its effect on the mainstream economics view on public policy as well as its prospective capacity to accomplish gender equality. Moreover, gender-budgeting has emerged under the GAD approach which addressed gender relations rather than women *per se*, and raised questions about subverting welfare for equity that whether fight for reforms is sufficient or whether radical social change is imperative. Hence, there is the need to explore whether gender budgeting is confined to GAD, and is it able to address the major features of GAD or it goes beyond GAD and overcomes the drawbacks of GAD. It is also important to examine the impact of gender-budgeting in promoting gender equality, and in the process also the question of if it addresses the power relation between men and women within the household.

CHAPTER II

UNDERSTANDING GENDER BUDGETING: A TOOL FOR GENDER EQUALITY?

Introduction

Development is not possible without reaching to the people in need, and tackling the varied interests among all the groups of people across the society. Government is responsible for formulating policies and programmes as well as for implementation of such programmes through its various departments for diverse aspects of the society. Government expenditure in the form of budget is the key to effective implementation of the programmes because without the help of valuable resources developmental activities cannot be carried out. Budget is the key policy proclamation that replicates the socio-political and economic priorities of the government. A budget is a tool in attaining development objectives of the state by allocating resources on priority basis. It is also an indicator of government's policy commitments converted into monetary provisions to implement policies and programmes. Budget affects people in multiple ways by distributing resources, claiming taxes, creating job opportunities and so on. Ironically, more often the budget has uneven impact on various groups of people and the policies and programmes do not direct to an equal development among all regions and all groups. The goal of development is not accomplished unless the inequality and backwardness among the disadvantaged groups of people is reduced. Considering the fact that 'women' are the most underprivileged people, the policies should focus to promote gender equality. However, it has been realized that they are gender blind and make less impact in reducing gender inequality. Because of gender blind nature of the policies and programmes the nature of public expenditure and budget in promoting gender equality has become a major concern. With the shifts in the approaches to development, development policies, and policy formulation for women's development, empowerment, and gender equality there have also been shifts in looking at government's expenditure and government budget in advancing gender equality.

But, very often it does not differentiate between the gender relations in the society. As against such gender – neutral approach, the concept of gender budgeting has been designed to make budgets gender sensitive to direct more equality between men and women.

In this chapter, my attempt is to give an account of the concept of gender budgeting as a tool for gender equality. The first section of the chapter deals with the need for gender budgeting. In the second section of the chapter I attempt to illustrate the historical background of gender budgeting, tools, objectives and levels of gender budgeting. The third section gives a brief description of few gender budgeting experiences across the world. I will conclude the chapter by evaluating gender budgeting as a tool for gender equality.

Section 1: The Need for Gender Budgeting

Macro economy plays a foremost role in the development of a nation that includes exports, imports, savings, investments, public expenditure, public revenue, and the Gross National Products. National budget is part of public expenditure. As, I have already pointed out that though budgets are formulated to tackle the requirements and interests of all people, budget and policy makers presuppose that all individuals are equal and have common needs and interests.

The gender neutral nature of the policy formulation and resource allocation in the budget do not assist in reducing the gender inequality. Feminist writings, particularly the feminist economists, have critiqued this ‘gender neutral’ approach which undermines the needs and interests of the women in the name of gender neutrality. In the context of criticising the macro economic side of the government policies, budget, and resource allocation, feminist economist play a vital role. Bina Agarwal’s (2004) typology of feminist economics as a challenge to mainstream economics gives us a better understanding (see chapter I). In her opinion, on the ground of public finance feminist economics challenge the mainstream economics to change the nature of the public policy. And the initiatives for gender budget falls under this typology which have medium potential for formal models and empirical testing, medium efficiency effect of associated policy shift, and medium welfare/equity effects of associated

policy shift. According to her (2004), the effect of this feminist economics challenge on mainstream economics is weak, but will grow in subsequent years.

Section 1.2: The cost of gender inequality

Gender inequality has multifaceted impacts that challenge development strategies of a country. Feminist writings, particularly the feminist economists have criticised the development policies and the ways in which the economic aspects exclude women. Studies have proved that there are numerous costs of gender inequality. Diane Elson (2004: 24-25) has adequately articulated the research on the economic costs of gender inequality. A study in Africa indicates that reducing gender inequality could significantly increase agricultural yields (Elson 2004, 24). For example if women are given the same level of agricultural inputs as men in terms of seeds, fertilizers, pesticides, and education; there could be more than 20 percent growth in women farmer's yields. Gender disparities at the educational level also lessen the nation's gross national product (GNP). In a country if the ratio of female-to-male enrolment is less than 0.75, the country may possibly be lower level of GNP of 25 percent than a country with less educational inequality (Elson 2004, 24). Removal of gender discrimination in occupations and salaries has the possibility of women's income expansion as well as income at the national level. In Latin America, women's wages would rise to about 50 percent and a whole national enhancement of 5 percent if gender inequality in the labor market were trimmed down (Elson 2004, 24). Gender inequality is also linked to the productivity of the next generation. A study by the World Bank (1995) signified that mother's education level and extra income influences positively on children's education, nutrition, and health (Elson 2004, 25). A research by Tibajjuka (1994) shows that

gender inequality hampers a positive supply response to structural adjustment measures. When crop prices rise, economists expect farmers to produce more. But if the payments go mainly into the hands of male farmers, women farmers will not have a direct incentive to produce more. Even if some of the money does find its way to women farmers, they may not have time to produce more for the market because they are already at full stretch producing for their families, collecting water and fuel and looking after their children (Elson 2004, 25).

Elson (2004) is also of the opinion that gender inequality exacts costs through lower output, reduced development of people's capacities, less leisure, and diminished well-being. Thus, research has proved the adverse cost of gender inequality in the society. A growing concern has developed among people to deal with the problem of gender inequality is discernible. As a result, elimination of gender inequality has become a foremost agenda at the international, national, and local level along with the civil society organisations.

Section 1.3: Addressing gender inequality

In the beginning, the approaches to address the gap between women and men and the criticisms against the exclusion of women in development policies were more focused on 'women' *per se* (see chapter I). The WID (Women in Development) and the WAD (Women and Development) approaches have played significant role in this context in criticising the development process and the government policies for excluding women. Whereas the concern of the WID was on analysing the failure of the development policies to consider women's needs and interests and also to deliver resources to women, the WAD was more concerned with why women were excluded from the development policies. The WAD also addressed the issues of women in the Third World, as well as the impacts of class and race on women. However, the focus was on 'women' *per se* and both the approaches failed to address the power relation of gender and the social construction of the gender relationship. Therefore, the GAD (Gender and Development) approach came into view to deal with the issues which are not analysed by the WID and the WAD. The GAD advocates for integrating women into development processes because the material and economic position have impact on the status of women. This approach has used the concept of 'gender' rather than 'women' because more than the biological differences, it is the cultural and social construction that sets the role and the power relationship between male and female. 'Gender' is a social category. Therefore, to deal with the subordinate position of women there is a need to defy this gendered relationship in the society. The GAD approach has introduced the concept of integrating women into the development process so that gender perspective is adopted at all levels for the goal of gender equality. The concept of gender mainstreaming has been premeditated with the GAD advocacy for integrating women into policy.

Section 1.4: Gender Mainstreaming

Gender mainstreaming as a concept emerged in the late 1980s under the GAD approach to counteract the gender neutral and gender blind policies. Its growth was slow initially and was adopted as an international phenomenon only in 1995 at the World Conference on Women, Beijing and approved by the Platform for Action (PFA) and delineated as an approach to be implemented by all the government, UN and other civil society organisations. The goal of gender mainstreaming is to integrate a gender perspective into all policy areas, policy making and decision making by taking account of the difference between men and women. Gender mainstreaming is an approach and a strategy to reduce the deepening gender gap by changing the traditional policy structures that keep the different capabilities, interests, and needs of women and men. Hence, it seeks to broaden the access to new opportunities for both the genders according to their different needs, particularly for women so that they can take advantage of the development policies and practices. It encourages women as decision makers and supports women's collective action in redefining development agendas. The gender mainstreaming strategy has been defined by the UN Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) ¹ 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 so that women and men benefit equally and inequality is not perpetuated. The ultimate goal is to achieve gender equality” (ECOSOC 1997/2).

Gender mainstreaming has various forms and could be applied in different contexts. United Nation's Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women (2002: 13-23) has identified five major areas of gender mainstreaming- gender mainstreaming in policy analysis and development, gender mainstreaming in research, gender mainstreaming in technical assistance, gender mainstreaming servicing intergovernmental bodies, and gender mainstreaming in data collection,

¹ As cited in *Gender Mainstreaming- An Overview*, Office of the Special Adviser on Gender Issues and Advancement of Women. (New York: United Nations, 2002), 1.

analysis and dissemination, and gender mainstreaming is implemented in different ways in context of all these different areas. Gender mainstreaming is a means to make sure that the different interests and needs are taken into account in the policy making and decision making. Because the traditional policy making and implementation worsen the existing gender gap in the society.

Gender mainstreaming, according to Sylvia Walby (2005: 466) could be said as a feminist practice to regulate the policies for gender equality, a feminist strategy that draws on and can inform feminist theory, and is subject to two-way development as a result of both theoretical analysis and policy structure. The strategy of gender mainstreaming is to incorporate gender perspectives in diverse areas of development guarantees the effective accomplishment of other socio-economic goals. To attain its goal gender mainstreaming entails changes in goals, strategies, and actions to ensure that both women and men can influence, participate in and benefit from development processes. Moreover, financial requirements are also necessary for tackling any kind of inequality including gender inequality. The next section discusses why there is a need to finance for gender equality.

Section 1.5: Financing for Gender Equality

There have been number of policy initiatives and strategies for gender equality, but they fails to achieve the same because of the feeble connection between the policies and the investments needed for the implementation. According to UNIFEEM (2008) there are two fundamental arguments connecting public finance with gender equality- in the first place, women's rights must be as promised in innumerable international and national agreements and laws; in the second place, ensuring all members equal opportunities and capacities to participate makes the national economy more productive and efficient. A number of international agreements have played significant role in advocating financing for gender equality. In 1979 the UN General Assembly adopted the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and came into force in 1981, 3rd September. At present 185 countries are party to the CEDAW. It has defined the reasons behind discrimination against women and outlines the agenda of women's equal access to

political and public life, education and health to ensure equality between men and women through national action.

The Fourth World Conference on Women in 1995 adopted the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action to focus on equality, development and peace from gender perspective for the advancement of women and progress for the society as a whole. It suggested that the governments, multilateral financial and development institutions, and civil society organizations should address gender inequality through macroeconomic policies and development strategies with a perspective of financing for gender equality.

Millennium Development Goal is adopted in September 2000 to achieve the development objectives for minimum conditions for a decent life. And among the eight goals the third Millennium Development goal is about promoting gender equality and empowering women. The challenge is to achieve the objectives of Millennium Development Goal by 2015.

In 2002, the International Conference on Financing for Development adopted the Monetary Consensus as an attempt to integrate trade, monetary and financial matters into a consolidated framework for achieving better development results. The section of the consensus on domestic mobilisation calls for gender sensitive investments in basic economic and social infrastructure, social services and social protection, and policy frameworks that improve growth and distribution, raise productivity and empower women. The gender mainstreaming perspective into development policies at all levels and in all sectors is also included in the section on enhancing the coherence of international systems that support development urges.

Thus, financing for gender equality has become a major concern at the national and international level that has made gender-budgeting a significant tool to analyse financing for gender equality within the gender mainstreaming framework. Because, budget play the key role in integrating social and economic priorities, and bring national planning into line through monetary commitments for human development, human rights, and gender equality.

Section 2: Understanding the Concept of Gender Budgeting

The concept of gender budgeting has emerged as an important device of gender mainstreaming to analyse the government budgets contribution to gender equality. As I have already discussed that in the name of gender neutrality budgets become gender blind and directs to uneven distribution of power in the society. Hence, gender budgeting seeks to make the gender impact of budgets visible and to transform them into an instrument to enhance gender equality (Council of Europe: 2005). The concern of the gender budget is to recognize the diverse needs, privileges, rights and obligations that women and men have in society. It recognizes the differential contribution of men and women in production of goods, services and human labour in mobilizing and distributing resources. Gender budget is not separate budgets for women or men, but an attempt to disaggregate the government mainstream budget according to its impact on women and men, and the different groups of women and men. It attempts to bring gender awareness into policies and budgets. Gender budget is not about 50% male: 50% female, but it recognizes women's unpaid labour in bearing, rearing and caring for people in the society and its contribution to the socio-economic sides of the country.

The terms 'gender budgeting', 'gender-sensitive budgets', 'gender-responsive budgets', 'gender-budget initiatives' refer to the same subject matter of analysing financial allocations on proposed policies according to gendered perspective and the impact of government funding on women and girls. Although these are used as synonymously and have similar concern there might be slight differences while using these terms in different contexts. Gender sensitive budget initiatives stands for the initiatives and efforts prepared by different players to analyse, evaluate and contribute to the budget's gender awareness. There can be different types of gender sensitive budget initiatives such as-

Government initiatives: The women's budget introduced in 1985 in Australia was a government led initiative. The office of the Status of Women played a key role in coordinating the exercises between the Ministries of Finance, Economic Planning and

other key spending Ministries, as well as facilitating dialogue with civil society stakeholders.

NGO initiatives: Gender budget initiatives are also undertaken by Non Governmental Organisations. In countries such as UK, Switzerland, Canada, Tanzania and Zimbabwe NGOs have been playing the role.

Joint NGO and Parliamentarian initiatives: Gender budget initiatives can be joint initiatives of NGO and parliamentarians as it has taken place in South Africa. The South African Budget Initiative in 1995 was the result of such joint initiative.

Gender-sensitive budget analysis implies the conceptual and analytical work conducted to assess the impact of budgets on different groups of women, men, girls and boys. Gender sensitive budget is the goal of gender sensitive budget initiatives and gender sensitive budget analysis in attaining gender aware allocation of the budget. Taking account of these differences it can be said that gender sensitive budget is the ultimate goal of gender budget initiatives and gender sensitive budget analysis. Therefore, both Gender budget initiatives and gender sensitive budget analysis are device to achieve gender sensitive budgets. In this context the terms ‘gender sensitive budgets’, ‘gender responsive budgets’ and ‘gender budgets’ refer the same thing.

Gender budgeting also takes into account of the invisibility of care economy of unpaid care work primarily performed by women. Gender budgeting can be used as a means to ensure that there is no gap between national policy development on the advancement of women and budget appropriations. It can benefit the society through trimming down socio economic gender equalities and can assure that public money is better targeted and spent more efficiently to improve policy outcomes.

Section 2.1: The History of Gender Budgeting

The credit of introducing the concept of gender budgeting goes to Australia when the Australian federal and state government implemented the gender budgeting initiatives as a gender mainstreaming strategy to incorporate socio-economic policies for promoting gender equality in 1984. The Australian government’s initiatives of taking

budget as an essential instrument for promoting gender equality has pioneered the analysis of the impact of public budgets on gender relations. It has served as an important point of reference for later gender budget initiatives (Council of Europe 2005). After that the British Women's Budget Group (WBG) since 1989 has been publishing comments on national budget focusing on the assessment of taxes, transfers and the importance of 'engendering' economic policies. In 1993 a Canadian NGO 'Women's International League for Peace and Freedom' undertook a gender budget initiative focused on welfare and defence expenditure. Since 1995, the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women of the Philippines government has been exercising the 'inside government' Gender and Development (GAD) budget. However, it is the Beijing World Conference on Women in 1995 that adopted the Platform for Action's recommendation in taking the initiative to review the impact of public expenditure that (Sharp 2003, 6)

Governments should make efforts to systematically review how women benefit from public sector expenditure; adjust budgets to ensure equality of access to public sector expenditure. (UNIFEM 2000:112)

The Platform for Action and Beijing Declaration is a major step toward gender equality. The Strategic objectives and Actions of the Platform are (1995)-women and poverty, education and training of women, women and health, violence against women, women and armed conflict, women and the economy, women in power and decision-making, institutional mechanism for the advancement of women, human rights of women, women and the media, women and the environment, and the girl-child. Among all these strategic objectives and actions the objectives and action for 'women and poverty' and 'women and the economy' makes a number of recommendations for gender responsive budgets.

The Strategic objective A.1 in Women and Poverty was to review, adopt and maintain macroeconomic policies and development strategies that address the needs and efforts of women in poverty (The Platform for Action and Beijing Declaration, 1995). For this governments were recommended to structure and target allocation of public expenditures to promote women's economic opportunities and equal access to productive resources and to address the basic social, educational and health needs of women, particularly those living in poverty (Strategic Objective A.1 No 58 of Platform for Action).

In 'Women and Economy' the strategic objective F.1 advocated promoting women's economic rights and independence, including access to employment, appropriate working conditions and control over economic resources. For implementation the Platform insisted the Governments to facilitate more open and transparent budgetary processes (Strategic Objective F.1, No165). The strategic objective F.2 in the same section attempted promoting women's equal access to resources, employment, markets and trade. The governments were made responsible to ensure equal access for women to effective job training, retraining, counseling and placement services that are not limited to traditional employment areas (Strategic Objectives F.2 No 166). The Platform for Action also proposed the financial requirements of specific programs for securing equality between women and men. The Governments at the national level were advised to review the impact of public sector expenditure on women and to adjust budget to ensure equality of access to public sector expenditure. At the international level, organizations were invited to assist average of 20 percent of official development with 20 percent of the national budget to basic social programs to be implemented from gender perspective.

Thus, the Beijing Declaration and Platform for Action has legitimately laid the ground for gender budgeting. Since then, there has been an expansion in the application of gender budgeting across the world. In 1995 the South African Women's Budget Initiative (SWABI) was launched that has provided a major role model for the development of gender responsive budgets, particularly in the Southern African region. Multilateral agencies have started to support the gender responsive budgeting projects through assistance, research and information dissemination. Since 1996 the Commonwealth Secretariat has formed partnership with International Development Research Center- Canada (IDRC) and the United Nation's Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) to further this work. Since then gender responsive budget have been introduced in many countries at all levels of government- national, state and local. Some other international agencies have also been supporting in implementing gender responsive budgeting such as Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), World Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), Asian Development Bank and other such institutions. In 2000, June, the Special session of U.N General Assembly explicitly called for attention to the goal of

gender equality in budgetary process at international, national, and regional levels. Its outcome document recommended all the nations to integrate a gender perspective into key macroeconomic and social development policies. Accordingly, across the world gender responsive budgeting or gender budgeting has become a major instrument in promoting and attaining gender equality in the society.

Section 2.3: Objectives of gender budgeting

The diverse writings on gender budgeting has pointed out several objectives of gender budgeting (Sharp 2003, Stosky 2006, Budlender and Hewitt 2002) and the goals and objectives of gender budgeting can vary according to political and social context of the country. Tracking down from those diverse literatures the core objectives of gender budgeting could be described as follows:

- Gender equality is the primary objective of gender budgeting as it seeks to restructure and refine the budgets and policies and thereby raise awareness about the discriminative nature of the gender neutral budgets and policies.
- To raise awareness among stakeholders of gender issues and impacts embedded in budgets and policies.
- Gender budgeting plays a crucial role in monitoring gender mainstreaming activities and makes government accountable by translating government's policy commitments into budgetary commitments.
- Gender budgeting also increases the transparency of, and participation in the budget process through the public consultation and participation in the preparation of the budget.
- Gender budgeting contributes efficiency and effectiveness through its better targeting of policy measures that accounts of the different needs and interests of the men and women.
- Gender responsive budgeting is not only a tool for good economic and financial governance but also a strategy of good governance overall as it helps in fair distribution of resources, to redress inequalities, and to reduce poverty.

Although these are the objectives of gender budgeting, Rhonda Sharp's (2003) categorization of three core goals of gender budget initiatives is very significant. According to Sharp, the three core goals of majority of the gender responsive budget initiatives are-

- to raise awareness among stakeholders of gender issues and impacts embedded in budgets and policies.
- to make governments accountable for translating their gender equality commitments into budgetary commitments
- to change budgets and policies to promote gender equality. (Sharp 2003, 9-18)

According to Sharp gender responsive budget initiatives can claim various successes in the achievement of the above mentioned goals. However, there is need to extend the strategies of gender budgeting and to bridge the gap between gender sensitive budget analysis and gender sensitive budget formulation.

Section 2.4: Tools of gender sensitive budget analysis

There are a number of tools for analyses of budgets from a gender perspective. These tools are to suggest generic methodologies that can be applied jointly and individually to provide data that would inform policy and support civil society organisations to demand for more equitable distributions of government resources and a more effective implementation of women's right. Diane Elson (2002) has listed these tools very proficiently with some examples. The first tool is gender aware policy appraisal which is an analytical approach that scrutinizes the policies and programmes funded through the budget and questions that in what ways are the policies and their associated resource allocations likely to reduce or increase gender inequality. The second tool is beneficiary assessment of the actual or potential beneficiaries the extent to which government policies and programmes match these peoples' priorities. It is done through opinion polls, attitude surveys, group discussion or interviews. The third tool is gender disaggregated public expenditure incidence analysis to review the distribution of budget resources among males and females by measuring the unit of costs of providing a given service and multiplying that cost by the number of units used by each group. It helps to assess the gender distribution of public spending. It can suggest the gender impact of supposedly gender neutral budget cuts. The fourth

tool is gender-disaggregated analysis of the impact of the budget on time use which focuses on assessing the impact of government resource allocation on the time spent in households or unpaid care provision. The fifth tool is gender –aware medium –term policy framework which is used to assess the impact of economic policies on women, focusing on aggregate fiscal, monetary and economic policies designed to promote Globalisation and reduce poverty. The ultimate aim is to incorporate gender variables into the models on which medium term public expenditure planning are based. The sixth tool is gender responsive budget statement that summarizes the implications of the public expenditure for gender equality with different indicators, such as the share of expenditure targeted to gender equality, the gender balance in government jobs, contracts or training, or the share of public service expenditure used mainly by women.

These tools play an important role for a gender sensitive budget analysis and also demand the restructure of the budgetary process and expenditure in order to promote gender equality. In applying these tools, Rhonda Sharp (2003) identifies three ways to categorize public expenditure so as to do a gender sensitive budget analysis- first, expenditure specially targeted at women that includes women’s health programme, special education initiative for girls, employment policy initiatives for women (Budlender 2005, 12). The second category is equal opportunity initiatives in the public sector such as training for clerical officers or women managers, provision of crèche facilities, and parental leave provisions (Budlender 2005, 12). The third is the gender impact assessment of mainstream budget expenditures for instance analysing the needs of adult education and the allocation on it, the users of clinic services, the receives agricultural extension services. Rhonda Sharp’s this categorization has been adopted in most of the gender sensitive budget analysis across the world.

According to Budlender (2005: 12) there are also five steps of gender analysis of budgets- at the first step a description is to be carried out about the situation of women and men, girls and boys (and different sub-groups) in the sector. In the second step an assessment on the gender sensitive nature of the policy should be prepared to look at the competence in the addressing the described situation and then to summarize it. The third step is to verify if adequate budget is allocated to implement the gender sensitive policies. In the fourth step the expenditure should be confirmed that whether

it has been spent as planned. The fifth step is to examine the impact of the policy and expenditure in promoting gender equality. Thus, gender sensitive budget analysis gives us an appraisal of the concern of the budget in supporting gender equality.

Section 2.5: Principles and pre-requisites for effective gender budgeting

Gender sensitive budget has been growing across the world as a tool to achieve gender equality. However, to achieve effective gender budgeting some factors play significant role. The Council of Europe (2005: 12) has identified some pre conditions of gender budgeting such as political will, allocation of specific human and financial resources, co-ordination of information and training and availability of gender disaggregated data; and principles of gender budgeting such as transparency, partnership and co-operation throughout the budgeting process. Gender budgeting would not be successful without active political will to promote gender equality. Government's commitment is crucial to implementing gender budgeting as a strategy for gender equality. NGOs, media, and other civil society organisations should play crucial role in mobilizing people to demand accountability and fair raising and distribution of public resources. Human resources as in trained officials, expert qualified personnel and financial resources are required to carry out the necessary research and analysis. Among all the involved players co-ordination is crucial for collecting and exchanging data and continuous flow of information for a successful gender budgeting. Gender –disaggregated data plays the key role in accomplishment of gender budgeting to assess the gender impact of the policies in general. Moreover, transparency is a guiding principle in the budgetary process in particular and political decision making in general. It is also a maneuvering rule for gender budgeting. Partnership between budget experts, gender experts, civil society organisations, and other external experts is necessary for successful gender budgeting. There is also need for co-operation between ministries, particularly with the Finance ministry and other authorities responsible for gender equality.

Section 3: Few Experiences of Gender Budgeting across the world

Gender budgeting takes many forms in different countries and have different results. A brief look at the experience in various countries² will give us the knowledge of the different nature and scope of gender budgeting. As I have mentioned above, the first gender budgeting initiative was developed in Australia in the mid 1980s and has had pioneered the way in other countries too. The first Australian women's budget was instituted in 1984 after the Labour Party came into power. It was produced inside the government with the coordination of the women's ministry and also works from all other ministries. The departments were expected to identify objectives and mechanisms to improve performances in meeting the needs of women. 1987 onwards it had been known as women's budget statement and given more formal status within the budget process. It has marked significance by focusing on number of issues such as job market segmentation and reorientation of labour market programmes for women's benefit, recognition of women in the unpaid economy as caregivers. However, the women's budget statements have been criticised for not having policy impact and for being only a reporting or accountability mechanism. The women's budgets also had lots of technical flaws in terms of the thickness and the format of the document. After the change in the government in mid 1990 the interest of women's budget has lessened. However, the earlier women's budget statements have left remarkable impact. The seven page appendix A of South Australia's budget statement for 2000/1 still described the impact of the budget on families, while the nine-page appendix B described the impact of budget on women in different sectors such as education and health.

Gender budgeting initiatives also began in Philippines in 1994. The Philippines gender and development budget (GAD budget) takes place inside government and it was led by the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW). It required agencies to allocate at least 5% of their budgets to the development, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of gender and development plans. Within few years GAD budget was extended to local councils as well. NCRFW has been

² These country studies of gender budgeting are taken from Debbie Budlender, *Gender Responsive Budgeting* (Bratislava: UNDP, 2005); Janet G. Stotsky, *Gender Budgeting* (IMF Working Paper, 2006).

playing significant role in implementing GAD budget, and since 2000 the Asia Foundation has started helping NGOs and other civil society organisations in looking at the budgets from gender perspective and develop advocacy on the gender issues. The gender budget initiative in Philippines is an example of complementary roles of government and civil society organisations.

In 1989 the UK Women's Budget Group (WBG) was established by some academic feminists and other personnel. It is an extra governmental group consisted of group of gender activists from different sectors. The WBG has concentrated most of its work on taxes and benefits rather than on expenditure. With New Labour party winning the elections in 1997 the potential of the group has increased due to the interest of the new government in consulting with citizens including women. WBG focuses on efficiency arguments for gender responsiveness. It uses government's stated objectives to argue for gender responsive policies. It points out that economic empowerment leads to the welfare of the family and hence welfare of the society. The WBG has mostly influenced the policy making process through senior public officials and ministers. Gender budgeting initiatives in UK is an example of an academic/civil society based initiative.

The Tanzania Gender Networking Programme (TGNP), an NGO, initiated the gender budgeting work in the country in 1997. TGNP makes a group with the government officials and non-government researchers and works on gender perspectives of budgets. Initially it worked with government mainly on macro economic planning and succeeded in disaggregating the labour part of one of the models into males and females. But, they have realized that without the reflection on the unpaid labour the macro economic model would not be successful. As a result the National Bureau of Statistics came out with plans to do a time use study of unpaid labour in 2005. The gender budgeting initiatives in Tanzania is an appropriate example of NGO based work which has encouraged the government to start its own gender budgets.

In South Africa the Women's Budget Initiative was set up in mid 1995 motivated by the democratic changes in the country. The political change in the country had positive impact on looking at budgets from gender perspective. It was set up by the

parliamentary committee on Finance and by two policy research non governmental organisations. In the first year it analysed six national departments, also public sector employment and taxation. In the following years it covered almost all the sectors and all levels of government. However, because of lack of interests and advocacy within the government and also because of some other various reasons the initiative did not become institutionalised. Nevertheless, it has made such tremendous impact by initiating gender perspective of budgets that many other groups (children, elder people) started looking at the government budget on other groups.

The policies of the government of Netherlands are concerned for the emancipation of women and gender equality since 1985. The government has been producing reports applying the methods of women studies researchers in order to evaluate policies since 1994. In 1998, the government developed and published information on how to conduct budget evaluations from gender perspective at local and provincial level. The government is also concerned in identifying each department's expenditure on emancipation and developing tools to analyse spending from gender perspective. In 2001 an Interdepartmental Working Party on Mainstreaming was set up and it has been doing studies in order to identify departmental expenditure related to equal opportunities. This is an example of government based gender budgeting which fits into an existing system of evaluating policies.

The experiences of gender budgeting across the world has made it clear that gender budgeting has various forms, could have been initiated by different players, and could have different tools and strategies. The success of gender budgeting also varies in different countries due to the structure of the society, government will, NGO participation, and many other factors. According to Rhonda Sharp (2003:7-9) implementation of gender responsive budgeting could be expected to expand more due to several driving forces:

- The economic and social priorities expressed by government budgets have become increasingly subject to scrutiny.

- The negative impact of structural adjustment policies and other neo liberal restructuring policies has drawn the attention to the capability of the national budgets in promoting gender equality through gender responsive budgeting.
- The competence of several recent development such as Millennium Development Goal in reinforcing gender responsive budget initiatives involving a shared interest with gender responsive budget in scrutinizing budgets from gender perspective and promoting gender equality and empower women.
- There have also been a number of complimentary 'people oriented' or 'participatory' initiatives developed by civil society and governments across the world including Brazil, Canada, Bangladesh, and India.
- International agencies such as United Nation's own practice of gender mainstreaming perspective in their own budget processes and programs.

Conclusion: Gender budgeting - a tool for gender equality?

Gender budgeting has become a major phenomenon in the recent years due to its assurance in attaining gender equality. With the experience of gender budgeting across the world there have been varied responses to gender budgeting as tool for gender equality. While in some views, gender responsive budgeting as an important mechanism for ensuring greater consistency between economic goals and social commitments (Hewitt and Mukhopadyay 2002, 54), in some others it is just another initiative without having much impact. In Bartle's (2004) opinion gender budgeting is part of the budget reform process, following a long line of similar efforts: executive budgeting, planning programming budget systems, management by objectives, zero based budgeting, target-based budgeting, and performance budgeting. According to Bartle (2004) gender budget could be influential only as analysis of the budgets, but not as a process, and success of the gender budget analysis depends on government's attitude. Government should take the outlook of the NGOs in making gender budget analysis significant.

Gender budgeting is considered as the device of gender mainstreaming and challenges are made on the ground of gender mainstreaming also. There have been a number of constraints in applying gender mainstreaming in the form of conceptual confusion, inadequate linkages between gender perspective and different areas of policy making, gaps in capacity to address gender perspectives. The most severe limitation is the deficiency in understanding how gender perspectives can be identified and addressed. According to P. Woodford- Berger (2008: 131) despite the efforts and strategies large part of 'the mainstream' remains stubbornly intact. While dealing with multiple, different, gender regimes and orders, it appears to have been overlooked and ignored by the fixed, essentialized models of gender on which much 'gender mainstreaming' is based. Maitrayee Mukhopadhyay (2008: 139) also argues that in many cases gender mainstreaming takes away the focus from women and keep the need of necessary resource for special emphasis on women in the periphery. While gender mainstreaming itself is not free from challenges it is important to question the efficiency of gender budgeting as a tool for gender equality. There have been a number of challenges and criticisms against gender budgeting. Regina Frey (2008) points out four 'biases' of gender budgeting.

In the first place there could be a 'soft policy bias' in the practice of gender budgeting if it is much of 'sex counting' strategy and if it is on the side of state expenditure. Due to the fact that assessing the unpaid care economy is difficult there is a tendency not to compare the state expenditure in social sector with the care sector and it may lead to a quick conclusion that "women cost more". Moreover the misunderstanding of gender budget as 50% man/boy: 50% women/ girl as in terms of equal distribution is flawed. But verifying the exact gender-just distribution is also not easy that also makes a challenge in implementing gender budgeting.

There is an 'expenditure-bias' in the care sector. One of the concerns of gender budgeting in theoretical ground is to focus on the care economy and to make significant impact of public budget on private household. But in practice many examples shows that gender budgeting rarely focuses on the care sector. If the care sector is not conceptualized as an indirect source of income of the state, expenditures

for the social sector will be seen as pure costs, not taking into account that persons doing no care work are being subsidised by the community.

There is a 'micro-bias' of decisions and policies in the micro level and macro level that may contradict gender equality. For example in Berlin there is a clear focus on concrete budgets and not on budget policies under gender budgeting which may make it an alibi strategy by leaving the agenda setting decisions aside having serious impact on gender relations. The analysis on micro level can be useful, but the results should also inform the agenda setting.

'Duality bias' comes from the concept of 'gender'. The concern is whether gender is being used as an open concept that addresses categories like social or ethnic, or age and other categories in gender budgeting. Or whether gender budgeting is using the concept of 'gender' as a multiple concept to overcome a strict male female duality? In different context gender budgeting uses the concept of gender differently. This may create limitations to gender budgeting as strategy for gender equality.

However, gender budgeting broadens the role of government budgeting in all sectors for attaining gender equality. This is a significant achievement of gender budgeting as budget is one of the key factors of development process of a nation through its expenditures and revenues. Gender budget also makes sure that there are finances i.e. resource allocation for gender equality. However, financing for gender equality and gender budgeting not only means securing resources and funding for institutions such as national women's machineries, women's organizations and networks, and gender equality projects, it also means involving the designs and implementing the economic policies that give women and men access to decent work, food security, social assurance and protection.

The importance of gender budgeting is not only limited to gender equality, but also important for wider goals of policy making. Gender budgets also have benefits for the government in terms of improved efficiency to ensure expenditure benefits, and to track the implementation level, to improve transparency and accountability (Budlender 2005, 11). Gender budget also has advantages for women's groups in terms of strengthening advocacy and monitoring of the women's groups, provides

information to challenge discrimination, inefficiency and corruption, and helps to propose new and different policies. Gender budgeting has made the awareness that budgetary allocations and decisions have impact on gender relations and can play key role in reducing gender inequality. On the one hand, in some countries budget allocations have been prioritised in favour of women and girls; on the other hand, some countries have been changing budget guidelines and formats. Gender budgeting seeks to integrate gender perspective more fully into government budget process, and the approach and the strategies of gender budgeting vary according to the context of the society where it has been executed. It is not only about looking at only male or the female section of the population, but on the needs of the different social groups of the people. In some contexts it should not be advocated as it seems to be 'good for women', but may be good only for small group of privileged women. For example, promoting import tax on sanitary napkins in a poor country may not be a great achievement in terms of equity because poor women would hardly spend some money on sanitary napkins given all their other more burning requirements.

Gender budgeting has not proved itself as a tool of gender equality to a great extent, but it surely is making gender awareness in the society and persuading the government to bring into more gender aware policies and more resource allocation to the areas where women and girls need most. However, one should not expect too much from gender budgeting though it has lots of potential and has already making gender awareness (UNFPA & UNIFEM 2006). Every single gender budget initiative has to be recognized as a process of its own, with its characteristics and there are no readily applicable procedure and no formulas that guarantee success (BRIDGE 2003). The success of gender budgeting depends on the involved actors, their goals and activities, as well as the political and social context of the particular country. Moreover, joint efforts of government, civil society organisations, and efforts of working inside and out side of the government are required for the success of gender budgeting.

CHAPTER III

GENDER BUDGETING IN INDIA WITH A SPECIAL FOCUS ON ASSAM

Introduction

The Constitution of India is based on the concept of equality and justice for all in every aspect- legal, social, and economic. The Constitution makers through the provisions of Fundamental Rights and Directive Principles of State Policy along with some other Articles attempted to provide equal status and legal parity to women by guaranteeing equality before law, equal protection of laws, non-discrimination, equality of economic opportunity, and prohibition against untouchability and prostitution. However, despite the constitutional provisions the social structure has been such that discrimination against women is commonplace right from the time when a girl is conceived. Women have to face violence in many forms- physical, sexual, and mental. Though a number of legislations have been passed for the protection of women most of them failed to bring desired effect. Because of the subordinate position of women in our country gender inequality has encompassed all areas ranging from education, employment, health and any other conceivable sphere.

Even after the independence, the policy makers have been trying to improve the status of women by including issues pertaining to women in the Five Year Plans and other national policies. However, even policies such as these failed to ameliorate the position of Indian Women. The stark inequalities existing between men and women in Indian society was brought into focus by the Committee on the Status of Women in its report called 'Towards Equality' in 1974. The Report significantly affected government policy in the context of promoting women's welfare and empowerment from then on. (Desai and Thakkar 2001, 53).

Although the Indian state has always had policies specially targeting women, these have not been successful because of the gender-neutral way of formulation and spending. Therefore, in 2005-06 the Government institutionalised the concept of gender budgeting in the Union Budget by introducing gender budget statement (GBS)

in the expenditure budget. Gender budget statements (GBS) refer to an account of the government's declaration of the allocated money for women under various schemes.

In this backdrop, my attempt in this chapter is to analyse whether the introduction of GBS has made any gender sensitive impact on government allocation in India. A generalised study does not give a real picture, because in a country as large and as diverse as India one can not resort to generalisation. Therefore my attempt is to examine the GBS at two levels- the national and the state level with special focus on Assam. The chapter is divided into two main sections – Part-I and Part- II. In the Part I, I give an account of brief general analysis of the schemes and their respective allocations under the Union gender budget statements. In Part II, the attempt is to extensively examine the allocation and the impact of the schemes that are stated in the gender budget statements in Assam.

At the Union level the gender budget statements have two categories of schemes-Part-A comprising of those schemes with 100% allocation for women and Part-B consists of the schemes having at least 30% allocation for women. I have chosen the schemes under part A of six selected Departments to analyse at the national level. These are Department of Health & Family Welfare, Department of Women and Child Development, Department of Rural Development, Department of Secondary and Higher Education, Department of Elementary Education, and Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. (see chapter Introduction for reasons of their incorporation in this study).

There is no such division of schemes in the gender budget statements of Assam. Hence, all the schemes under seven selected departments are analysed in the Part II of this chapter. These seven departments are Health & Family Welfare Department, Labour and Employment Department, Food, Civil Supplies & Consumer affairs Department, Social Welfare Department, Handloom and Textile Department, Education (Elementary) Department, Education (Secondary) Department.

For the analysis, I have followed the method of classifying the schemes into four categories. These four categories are Protective and Welfare; Social; Economic; and Regulatory and Awareness Generation. Protective services include those areas of

allocation that are targeted on women's homes and care institutions, rehabilitation schemes, pension for widows and destitute women. The schemes under this category do not address the root cause of women's subordination, but they are significant as the aim is to alleviate women's social and economic consequences. Schemes for education, health, and support services like hostels, schemes for water supply, sanitation, fuel and fodder and other schemes that contribute in women's employment directly or indirectly by building their capacity, ensuring material well being or through reducing domestic dependency come under social services. Economic services comprise of the schemes for training, skill development, provision for credit, infrastructure marketing and so on that plays crucial role in bringing women's economic independence. Regulatory services consist of the institutional mechanisms such as National and State Commission for Women, women's cell in police station, awareness generation programmes and the like which offers institutional spaces and opportunities for women's empowerment.

PART I

Analysis of Gender Budgeting Statements in India

A gendered analysis of budget in India was pioneered by National Institute of Public Finance and Policy. The NIPFP came out with various reports demanding gender sensitive analysis of the impacts of the budget. In 2001 December, the Department of Women and Child Development recommend the National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child Development to carry out a gender budget analysis in 22 states. For the analysis, the institute categorised the schemes in the budget into three categories- women-targeted schemes with 100% allocation, pro-women schemes with at least 30 % allocation for women, and gender neutral schemes, i.e., all other schemes in the budget. The schemes were further divided into the four categories as have been mentioned above. Many other women organisations also started demanding gender budgeting at the union level and as a result the union government introduced the gender budgeting statement in 2005-06 Union Budget.

Section1: Analysis of Gender Budgeting Statement in India

Table 1 summarises the number of departments and demands, and allocation under Part A and Part B and total allocation in these years.

Table 1: Summary of gender budgeting statements in India, 2005-06 to 2010-11

Year	100% allocation (Part A)			30% allocation (Part B)			Total allocation (Part A+ Part B) (Rupees in crores)
	No Ministries /Departments	No of Demands	Total allocation (part A) (Rupees in crores)	No Ministries/ Departments	No of Demands	Total allocation (part B) (Rupees in crores)	
2004-05	9	10	-	-	-	-	10,574.16 (RE)
2005-06	11	17	8273.88 (RE)	13	13	15966.63 (RE)	24240.51 (RE)
2006-07	14	21	4618.95 (RE)	21	21	17632.46 (RE)	22251.41 (RE)
	14	20	8428.66	19	20	13919.43	22348.09

2007-08			(RE)			(RE)	(RE)
2008-09	16	22	14875.15 (RE)	22	27	34748.20 (RE)	49623.35 (RE)
2009-10	16	22	15480.95 (RE)	22	27	40813.27 (RE)	56294.22 (RE)
2010-11	16	22	19266.05 (BE)	22	27	48483.75 (BE)	67749.80 (BE)

Source: Expenditure Budget, Government of India, various years.

The analysis of the table indicates that the number of demands, departments and allocation are growing over the years. Under Part B, demands, allocations as well as the number of departments are more than that of Part A. The table mentions only the Revised Estimates (RE) of the budget. The first gender budget statement did not have the differentiation of 100% and 30% allocation. This led to the total amount of allocation being as low as shown above.

A different table is used to analyse all the schemes under all the departments for the first gender budget statement.

Section2: Analysis of gender budget statement, 2005-06

In 2005-06, for the first time the government came out with a gender budgeting statement in the Union Budget (Expenditure Budget Volume. I, 2005-06, Statement 19). It was a straightforward statement with no division into Part A (schemes having 100% allocation for women) and Part B (schemes at least with 30% allocation for women). It was largely an initiative to institutionalize gender budgeting and consisted of two pages. The statement says¹,

“As part of accounting reforms, it is the intention of the Government to consider aspects of beneficiary class identification for a meaningful analysis of the incidence of public expenditure and facilitate evaluation of beneficiary-

¹ For detailed explanation of the government aim in initiating ‘gender budgeting’ and the detailed amount of allocation of money see the Expenditure Budget Vol. I 2005-2006, Statement 19.

impact for identified targets groups. An initial and maiden effort has been made to present here the budget provisions that are substantially meant for welfare of women and children. The class of beneficiaries also benefits from other programmes but that is not presently segregated/ quantified. This is intended to serve as a reference point for future exercises to segregate budget provisions according to the gender of beneficiaries.” (Expenditure Budget, 2005- 2006 Vol. I, Statement 19).

Though the focus in this research is only to look at the 100% allocated schemes/ programmes in the six selected departments- Department of Health & Family Welfare, Department of Elementary Education, Department of Women & Child Development, Department of Rural Development, Department of Secondary & Higher Education, Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment in the union budget; for this initial GBS an analysis of all the schemes illustrated in the statement has been made.

A table is used here to categorize the allocation of money for women in the exhibited schemes. The method of analysis used is the same as has been used in the analysis of 100% allocated schemes of the selected departments in union budget and all the schemes in the selected departments of state budget. The four categories as I have mentioned earlier in this chapter are- protective & welfare service, social service, economic service, and regulatory & awareness generation service. It analyses the budget estimates and revised estimates for the 2004-05, and budget estimates of 2005-06. Basically, it is analysis of the schemes/ programmes of 2004-05. Table 2 categorises the schemes/ programmes into these four categories and table 3 summarises the total allocation in the various categories.

Table 2: Categorisation of gender budget statement, 2005-06

Category	Department	Scheme/Programme	2004-05 BE (Rs. in crores)	2004-05 RE (Rs. in crores)	2005-06 BE (Rs. in crores)
Protective & Welfare	Department of Women & Child Development	Short Stay Home	15.00	14.40	15.00
	Department of Women & Child Development	Scheme for Rescue of Victims of Trafficking	3.00	-	0.25
	Department of Women & Child Development	Other Programmes of Women's Welfare	0.20	0.15	0.15
	Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment	Prevention & Control of Juvenile Social Maladjustment	18.90	18.90	0.01
	Total allocation in Protective & Welfare Service		37.1	33.4	15.41
Social	Department of Family Welfare	Rural Family Welfare Services	1,532.71	1,722.10	1,869.20
	Department of Family Welfare	Urban Family Welfare Services	121.00	121.00	133.08
	Department of Family Welfare	Reproductive and Child Health Project	710.51	485.93	1,380.68
	Department of Family Welfare	Strengthening of Immunisation Programme & Eradication of Polio	1,186.40	1,017.48	1,304.60
	Department of Family Welfare	Assistance for Nutrition Programme for Adolescent Girls- Delhi	2.03	2.03	2.03

		and Pondicherry			
	Department of Elementary Education and Literacy	Mahila Samakhya	30.00	15.00	30.00
	Department of Elementary Education and Literacy	Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya	100.00	90.00	225.00
	Department of Secondary Education and Higher Education	Access and Equity	30.00	5.40	9.00
	Department of Women and Child Development	Integrated Child Development	1,947.44	1,934.40	3,315.25
	Department of Women and Child Development	Day Care Centres	41.00	29.25	41.50
	Department of Women and Child Development	Other Schemes of Child Welfare	14.61	13.56	14.12
	Department of Women and Child Development	Condensed Courses for Women Education	5.25	5.25	5.40
	Department of Women and Child Development	Hostels for Working Women	9.00	6.20	6.00
	Department of Women and Child Development	Nutrition	7.76	8.60	11.53
	Ministry of Labour and Employment	Improvement in Working Conditions of Child/ Women Labour	99.31	98.38	125.05
	Ministry of Non-Conventional Energy	Biogas Programme & NBB	37.97	38.75	21.00
	Ministry of Non-Conventional Energy	Bio-mass Project	25.54	17.54	26.00
	Ministry of Non-Conventional Energy	Integrated Rural Energy Programme	8.99	12.50	-

	Ministry of Non-Conventional Energy	Improved Chulhas	0.25	0.25	0.50
	Department of Rural Development	Swarnajayanti Gram Swarojgar Yojana	360.00	360.00	344.90
	Department of Drinking Water Supply	Accelerated Rural Water Supply Programme	2,610.07	2,610.07	3,645.00
	Department of Drinking Water Supply	Rural Water Supply & Sanitation	360.00	360.00	630.00
	Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment	Girls Hostels	22.00	15.00	0.01
	Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment	Child Welfare Schemes	27.60	22.66	34.55
	Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment	Education work for Prohibition and Drug abuse Prevention	26.09	22.93	30.64
	Total allocation in Social Service		9,315.53	9,014.28	13,205.04
Economic	Department of Women and Child Development	Support to Training & Employment Programme	22.50	16.09	13.50
	Department of Women and Child Development	Balika Samridhi Yojana	0.03	48.00	0.03
	Department of Women and Child Development	Swawlamban	22.50	22.50	14.00
	Department of Women and Child Development	Swashakti Project	25.00	20.00	5.00
	Department of Women and Child Development	Rashtriya Mahila Kosh	1.00	-	0.01
	Department of Women and Child Development	Swayamsidha	18.00	16.35	18.50
	Department of Women and Child Development	Swadhar	2.70	3.69	5.50
	Total allocation in Economic Service		91.73	126.63	56.54
Regulatory & Awareness	Department of Women and Child	National Institute of Public Cooperation and Child	11.75	11.75	11.35

Generation	Development	Development			
	Department of Women and Child Development	Awareness Generation Programme	4.50	4.50	4.50
	Department of Women and Child Development	National Commission for Women	7.00	6.55	5.77
	Total allocation in Regulatory & Awareness Generation Service		23.25	22.8	21.62

Source: Expenditure Budget, Government of India, 2005-06.

Table 3: Summary of Allocation in various services

Category of Service	2004-05 BE (Rs. in crores)	2004-05 RE (Rs. in crores)	2005-06 BE (Rs. in crores)
Protective & Welfare Service	37.1	33.4	15.41
Social	9,315.53	9,014.28	13,205.04
Economic	91.73	126.63	56.54
Regulatory & Awareness Generation	23.25	22.8	21.62

Source: Expenditure Budget, Government of India, 2005-06.

Table 2 and Table 3 indicate the differences of allocation in four categories of Protective and Welfare, Social, Economic, and Regulatory and Awareness Generation Services. The maximum allocation went to the Social category in 2004-05 Budget Estimates (BE) & Revised Estimates (RE) as well as the Budget Estimates for the year 2005-06. Economic service had the second place in both the years, while Protective service came in the third place and Regulatory came in the fourth place in both Budget and Revised Estimates for 2004-05. But, in 2005-06 budget estimates, Protective and Welfare service had the last position. There are also differences of allocation in the budget estimates and revised estimates. While the differences are to an extent typical in a budget, in few schemes/ programmes the differences are very high. There are negative as well positive aspects of this difference. The programme of 'Access & Equity' in the Department of Secondary Education and Higher Education

had Rs. 30.00 crores as the budget estimate, but in the revised estimate it fell down to only 5.40 crores. This creates problems in reducing the gender gap in the society especially in rural societies where girls have limited scope of higher education. When the allocated amount in the BE itself is not enough to meet the challenge of providing opportunity of higher education to girls, the difference of allocation in RE is not at all appreciable. In the context of 'Rashtriya Mahila Kosh', which is a programme of micro credit for poor women, 2004-05 RE is silent. The expenditure of allocated money of 1.00 crore in BE is not displayed in RE. However, one encouraging step was taken in the form of the scheme 'Balika Samridhi Yojana' under the Department of Women and Child Development which provides financial assistance for new born girls. Here too the outlay of money was only 0.03 crores, but the RE presents that the expenditure was 48.00 crores. This reveals that the financial assistance for the girl child has increased over time and would in course of time be able to achieve its goal of promoting interest of the girl child. Notwithstanding the importance of scrutinization of a scheme along with its implementation, which alone can give us a picture of the reality, I would like to limit my study to budgetary allocations only which is also an important indicator of progress towards gender equality. An overall critical analysis of the Gender Budget Statement (GBS) in Union Budget would be formulated after analysing the allocation of all the GBS 2005-06 to 2010-11.

Section3: Analysis of Gender budget statements through four services

An analysis of all the gender budget statements is provided in this section on the basis of four categories. For this purpose I have prepared six tables for categorisation of schemes into four services for the six years of gender budgeting and drawing from these six different tables a summary of allocation of under each category is provided. First I will present all the six tables and after that I would make an overall analysis of allocation of under different departments. The tables also indicate the differences of budget estimates and revised estimates.

Table 4: Categorisation of schemes for the year 2005-06

Category of Service	Department/ Ministry	Scheme/ Programme	2005-06 BE (Rs. in crores)	2005-06 RE (Rs. in crores)
Protective and Welfare Service	Department of Women and Child Development	Rajiv Gandhi National Crèche Scheme for the Children of working Mothers	41.50	41.40
	Department of Women and Child Development	Other Schemes of Child welfare	17.22	16.65
	Department of Women and Child Development	Short Stay Homes	15.00	15.00
	Department of Women and Child Development	Scheme for Rescue of Victims of Trafficking	0.25	0.25
	Department of Women and Child Development	Other Programmes of Women's Welfare	0.15	0.15
		Total allocation on Protective and Welfare Service		74.12
Social Service	Department of Health and Family Welfare	R.A.K College of Nursing	3.70	3.42
	Department of Health and Family Welfare	Lady Reading Health School	1.43	1.43
	Department of Health and Family Welfare	Free Distribution of Contraceptives	172.52	163.00
	Department of Health and Family Welfare	Sterilisation Beds	2.02	3.47
	Department of Health and Family Welfare	RCH II Flexible Pool	420.52	925.18
	Department of Elementary Education and Literacy	Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalaya Scheme (for SC/ST & OBC women)	225.00	225.00
	Department of Elementary Education and Literacy	Mahila Samakhya for women	30.00	24.00
	Department of Women and Child Development	Integrated Child development Services Scheme	3315.25	3325.90
	Department of Women and Child Development	Condensed Courses for Women Education	5.40	5.40
	Department of Women and Child Development	Hostels for working women	6.00	4.50
	Department of Women and Child Development	Nutrition	11.53	11.53
	Department of Women and Child Development	Provisions for projects/ Schemes for the benefit of North Eastern Region & Sikkim	387.53	387.53
	Department of Rural Development	Rural Housing- Indira Awas Yojana (IYA)	2775.00	2750.00
	Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment	Girls Hostel for SCs	0.01	28
	Department of Secondary & Higher Education	Access & Equity	6.40	6.40
		Total allocation in Social Service category	7362.31	7864.76
Economic Service	Department of Family and Health Welfare	Training for ANM/ LHVs	77.73	60.93
	Department of Family and Health Welfare	Strengthening of Basic Training School	2.15	2.15
	Department of Women and Child Development	Balika Samridhi Yojana	0.03	0.03
	Department of Women and Child Development	Swawlamban	14.00	7.50

	Department of Women and Child Development	Swashakti Project	5.00	3.00
	Department of Women and Child Development	Rashtriya Mahila Kosh	0.01	0.01
	Department of Women and Child Development	Swayamsidha	18.50	18.50
	Department of Women and Child Development	Swadhar	5.50	5.50
	Department of Women and Child Development	Support to training and Employment Programmes	13.50	13.50
		Total allocation in Economic service category	136.42	111.12
Regulatory and Awareness Generation Service	Health and Family Welfare Department	Social Marketing of Contraceptives	241.04	143.00
	Department of Women and Child Development	National Institute of Public Cooperation & Child Development	11.35	11.35
	Department of Women and Child Development	Awareness Generation Programme	4.50	4.50
	Department of Women and Child Development	National Commission for Women	5.77	5.77
	Department of Women and Child Development	Central Social Welfare Board	44.50	44.50
			Total allocation in Regulatory & Awareness Generation Service	307.16

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, 2006-07.

Table 5: Categorisation of schemes for the year 2006-07

Category	Name of the Department/ Ministries	Schemes/ Programmes	2006-07 BE (Rs in crores)	2006-07 RE (Rs in crores)
Protective and Welfare Service	Ministry of Women and Child Development	Relief and Rehabilitation of Rape Victims	1.00	1.00
	Ministry of Women and Child Development	Combating Trafficking of Women & Children	0.50	0.50
		Total in Protective and Welfare Service	1.50	1.50
Social Service	Department of Health & Family Welfare	R.A.K. College of Nursing	3.81	3.62
	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Lady Reading Health School	1.31	1.31
	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Free Distribution of Contraceptives	100.00	100.00
	Department of Health & Family Welfare	RCH II- Flexible Pool	1349.43	1123.17
	Department of School Education & Literacy	Kasturba Gandhi Balika Scheme (for SC/ ST & OBC women)	128.00	128.00
	Department of School Education & Literacy	Mahila Samakhya for Women	30.00	26.00
	Department of Higher Education	Access & Equity	6.40	---
	Department of Rural Development	Rural Housing (Indira Awas Yojana)	2920.00	2920.00
	Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment	Girls Hostels for SCs	32.00	32.00
	Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment	Hostels for working women	5.00	5.00
			Total allocation in Social Service	4575.95

Economic Service	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Training for ANM/ LHV's	67.00	32.85
	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Strengthening of Basic Training Schools	2.15	2.15
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Support to Training & Employment Programme	16.00	16.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swawlamban	2.00	2.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Rashtriya Mahila Kosh	10.00	10.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swayamsidha	30.00	30.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swadhar	8.00	8.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Priyadarshini	1.00	1.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swashakti	2.00	2.00
		Total allocation in Economic Service	138.15	104.00
Regulatory Service	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Social Marketing of Contraceptives	49.50	22.21
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Central Social Welfare Board	66.45	66.42
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	National Commission for Women	6.45	6.45
			Total allocation in Regulatory Service	122.40

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, 2007-08.

Table 6: Categorisation of schemes for the year 2007-08

Category of Service	Department/ Ministry	Scheme/ Programme	2007-08 BE (Rs. in crores)	2007-08 RE (Rs. in crores)
Protective & Welfare Service	Ministry Of Women and Child Development	Relief & Rehabilitation of Rape Victims	1.00	1.00
	Ministry Of Women and Child Development	Combating Trafficking of Women & Children	10.00	5.00
		Total Allocation in Protective & Welfare service	11.00	6.00
Social Service	Department of Health & Family Welfare	RCH-II Flexible Pool	1725.00	1928.58
	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Reproductive & Child Health Project	215.99	5.59
	Department of School Education & Literacy	Mahila Samakhya for Women	34.00	34.00
	Department of Rural Development	Rural Housing- (Indira Awas Yojana)	4040.00	4040.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Hostels for working women	15.00	5.00
		Total allocation in Social Service	6029.99	6013.17
Economic Service	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Training Institutions under States	91.67	93.65
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Support to Training & Employment Programme	20.00	20.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Rashtriya Mahila Kosh	12.00	12.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swayamsidha Phase I & II	50.90	24.90
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swadhar	15.00	15.00

	Child Development			
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Priyadarshini	10.00	10.00
	Total allocation in Economic Service		199.57	175.65
Regulatory & Awareness Generation Service	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Central Social Welfare Board	68.72	70.25
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	National Commission for Women	7.45	6.60
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Gender Budgeting	3.00	1.00
	Total allocation in Regulatory & Awareness Generation Service		79.17	77.85

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, 2008-09.

Table 7: Categorisation of schemes for the year 2008-09

Category of Service	Department/ Ministry	Scheme/ Programme	2008-09 BE (Rs. in crores)	2008-09 RE (Rs. in crores)
Protective & Welfare	Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment	Financial Assistance to Women with Disabilities to look after their children after birth	5.00	0.01
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Relief to & Rehabilitation of Rape Victims	40.00	5.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Comprehensive Scheme for Combating Trafficking	10.00	6.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Scheme for Leadership Development of Minority Women	5.00	5.00
	Total allocation in Protective & Welfare Service		60.00	16.01
Social	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Reproductive & Child Health (RCH) II Flexible Pool	2535.00	3066.01
	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Rural Family Welfare Services	2477.24	2463.81
	Department of School Education & Literacy	Mahila Samakhya for Women	38.00	38.00
	Department of Rural Development	Rural Housing- Indira Awas Yojana (IAY)	5400.00	8800.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Hostels for Working Women	20.00	11
	Total Allocation in Social Service		10470.24	14378.82

Economic	Department of Health & family Welfare	Training Institution under States	104.87	96.75
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Support to Training & Employment Programme	37.00	27.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Rashtriya Mahila Kosh	31.00	31.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swayamsidha Phase I & II	200.00	50.08
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swadhar	20.00	15.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Conditional Cash Transfer for Girl Child with Insurance Cover	-	10.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Priyadarshini	23.00	23.00
		Total allocation in Economic Service	415.87	252.83
Regulatory & Awareness Generation	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Central Social Welfare Board	69.75	73.96
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	National Commission for Women	7.75	8.50
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Gender Budgeting	3.00	1.30
		Total allocation in Regulatory & Awareness Generation Service	80.5	83.76

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, 2009-10.

Table 8: Categorisation of schemes for year 2009-10

Category of Service	Department/ Ministry	Scheme/ Programme	2009-10 BE (Rs. in crores)	2009-10 RE (Rs. in crores)
Protective & Welfare Service	Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment	Financial Assistance to Women with Disabilities to look after their Children after birth	5.00	0.01
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Relief to & Rehabilitation of Rape Victims	59.00	0.01
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Comprehensive Scheme for Combating Trafficking	5.00	5.00
		Total allocation in Protective & Welfare Service	69	5.02
Social	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Reproductive & Child Health (RCH) II Flexible Pool	3545.00	3431.37
	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Rural Family Welfare Service	2492.27	2654.41
	Department of School Education & Literacy	Mahila Samakhya for Women	38.00	42.00
	Department of Higher Education	Women Hostel in Polytechnics	100.00	75.00
	Department of Rural Development	Rural Housing- Indira Awas Yojana (IYA)	8800.00	8800.00
	Ministry of Social Justice &	Girls Hostel for SCs	60.00	60.00

	Empowerment			
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Hostels for Working Women	10.00	10.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls	110.00	5.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana	4.00	1.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	National Mission for Empowerment of Women	1.00	1.00
		Total allocation in Social Service	15160.27	15079.78
Economic Service	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Training Institutions under States	100.80	86.56
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Support to Training & Employment Programme	15.00	15.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Rashtriya Mahila Kosh	20.00	16.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swayamsidha Phase I& II	20.00	0.05
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swadhar	15.00	15.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Conditional Cash Transfer for Girl Child with Insurance Cover	10.00	5.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Priyadarshini	27.00	1.22
		Total allocation in Economic Service	207.8	138.83
Regulatory & Awareness Generation	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Central Social Welfare Board	76.57	74.65
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	National Commission for Women	9.56	9.30
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Gender Budgeting	2.00	.05
		Total allocation in Regulatory & Awareness Generation Service	88.13	84

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, 2010-11.

Table 9: Categorisation of Schemes for the year 2010-11

Category of Service	Department/ Ministry	Scheme/ Programme	2010-11 BE (Rs. in crores)
Protective & Welfare Service	Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment	Financial Assistance to Women with Disabilities to look after their Children after birth	5.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Relief to & Rehabilitation of Rape Victims	40.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Comprehensive Scheme for Combating Trafficking	10.00
		Total allocation in Protective & Welfare Service	55.00
Social	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Reproductive & Child Health (RCH) II Flexible Pool	3850.00
	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Rural Family Welfare Service	3108.06
	Department of School Education & Literacy	Mahila Samakhya for Women	46.00
	Department of Higher Education	Women Hostel in Polytechnics	120.00
	Department of Rural Development	Rural Housing- Indira Awas Yojana (IYA)	10000.00
	Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment	Girls Hostel for SCs	80.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Hostels for Working Women	15.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for Empowerment of Adolescent Girls	1000.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana	390.00

	Ministry of Women & Child Development	National Mission for Empowerment of Women	40.00
	Total allocation in Social Service		18649.06
Economic Service	Department of Health & Family Welfare	Training Institutions under States	116.57
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Support to Training & Employment Programme	25.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Rashtriya Mahila Kosh	15.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swayamsidha Phase I& II	5.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Swadhar	34.21
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Conditional Cash Transfer for Girl Child with Insurance Cover	10.00
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Priyadarshini	27.79
	Total allocation in Economic Service		233.57
Regulatory & Awareness Generation	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Central Social Welfare Board	99.75
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	National Commission for Women	8.25
	Ministry of Women & Child Development	Gender Budgeting	2.00
	Total allocation in Regulatory & Awareness Generation Service		110.00

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, 2010-11.

Table 10: Summary of budget estimates under various services (Rs. in crores)

Category of Service	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10	2010-11
Protective & Welfare	74.12	1.50	11	60.00	69.00	55
Social	7362.31	4575.95	6029.99	10470.24	15160.27	18649.06
Economic	136.42	138.15	199.57	415.87	207.80	233.57
Regulatory & Awareness Generation	307.16	122.40	79.17	80.50	88.13	110.00

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, various years.

Table 11: Summary of revised estimates under various services (Rs. in crores)

Category of Service	2005-06	2006-07	2007-08	2008-09	2009-10
Protective & Welfare	73.45	1.50	6.00	16.01	5.02
Social	7864.76	4339.10	6013.17	14378.82	15079.78
Economic	111.12	104.00	175.65	252.83	138.83
Regulatory & Awareness Generation	209.12	95.08	77.85	83.76	84

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, various years.

Section 3.1: Analysis of the table 4 to table 5

In 2005-06, the BE and RE allocations in Protective and Welfare service; economic; and regulatory and awareness generation were a little higher than the earlier year. But, in social service it had reduced to 7362.31 crores (BE) from 13,205.04 crores as shown in the previous year's GBS. A reason for this could be the division into part-A and part-B schemes, because, the previous year's BE included overall schemes in the social service category. However, the BE as displayed in the current year was less than the RE, which is an optimistic point in allocation. But, in particular schemes there were wide differences in allocation in BE and RE. For example, RCH II Flexible Pool, Girls Hostel for Women (Table 4).

In 2006-07, besides the BE and RE differences, the striking point is that little amount of allocation was done in Protective and Welfare service. Under the category of social service, in the department of Higher Education, again, there is a discrepancy as BE shows allocation of 6.40 crores, but the RE does not mention the said expenditure (Table 5).

In 2007-08 also, compared to other categories, provisions under Protective and Welfare service is very less. This is ironical as in view of the reports of increasing violence against women there should have been more provisions in this category of

service. The RE for the scheme of Reproductive & Child Health Project is strikingly less (5.59 crores) than the amount in BE (215.99) (Table 6).

In 2008-09 a new scheme has been introduced under the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment, the 'Financial Assistance to women with disabilities to look after their children after birth' that falls in the protective and welfare category. However, in RE it has reduced to 0.01 crores from the 5.00 crore allocated in BE. 'Swayamsidha phase I & II' had 200.00 crores as BE that had decreased to 50.08 crores in RE. While the provision in social category has increased to 14378.82 crores, other provisions remain at bay. (Table 7)

The provision in 2009-10 again reflects the one sided emphasis on social services with RE 15079.78 crores as against very less provisions in other services. The scheme 'Financial assistance to women with disabilities to look after their children after birth' again repeated the huge difference of outlay like that of the previous year. An important scheme to deal with situations of violence against women called the 'Relief to & Rehabilitation of Rape victims' was introduced. But, it also had a wide gap between BE and RE as reflected in the dip from 59.00 crores (BE) to 0.01 crore (RE). Under the ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment a new scheme was included, but in its initial year there was elevated variation in BE and RE i.e. 100.00 crores and 5.00 crores respectively. The scheme 'Priyadarshini' also had high differences of 27.00 crores BE to 1.22 crores RE. Total BE allocation and the RE allocation in protective service is also striking. (Table 8).

In 2010 Budgetary Estimates, the pattern of allocation is identical to that of the earlier years in provisions under the four categories. Social service again is leading with towering disparity to other three categories. (Table 9).

A comparison of the allocation in these four categories from 2005-06 to 2010-11 in the selected departments is formulated in the Table 10 and Table 11 according to BE and RE respectively. As the tables reflects, except for the protective and welfare services, there is not much difference between the BE and RE in other categories. In protective and welfare services noticeable difference is in the year 2008-09 from BE 69.00 crores to RE 16.01 crores. The allocation in this category is the lowest of all the

categories. There is a wide gap with the other services in all the years. The allocations falling in this category are those for women's homes and care institutions, rehabilitation schemes for victims of atrocities, pension for widows and destitute women etc. Though the root cause of women's subordination is not addressed, these kinds of allocation are needed for women. Allocation for women's homes and rehabilitation centers are necessary for those women who can not afford to take necessary actions against violence, or who do not have a family. This is especially true in a society like India, where are victims of all kinds of violence. Therefore, the gap in allocation in this area needs to be filled up.

Most of the allocated schemes come under the category of social services that focuses on health, education, support services for women as well as schemes related to sanitation, water supply, fuel etc. In all the years of GBS 100% allocation schemes are mostly categorised as social. The table gives an account of the elevated difference of allocation in this service and others. These services are supporting women, but most of the time they fail to empower women. Schemes like hostels for working women does not really help the cause of empowerment as it reaches very few. Again, schemes like 'Indira Gandhi Matritva Sahyog Yojana', 'Rajiv Gandhi Scheme for empowerment of adolescent girls' emphasize the reproductive function performed by women and in a way reinforce biological essentialism. They are not helpful for women's development and empowerment.

Schemes under economic services are helpful for women's economic independence, but the allocation in this category is less compared to the social service. Schemes like training programmes, Rashtriya Mahila Kosh are really beneficial for women's economic activities. But, there is low allocation of money for the schemes like this in the 100% allocation provisions. However, there are also schemes in this category as conditional cash transfer for girl child with insurance cover which could be accessed only by the parents, and it does not actually help in the development and empowerment of the girl child.

Regulatory and awareness generation services include the institutional mechanism for women's empowerment, for instance National or State Commission for Women, awareness generation programmes. These institutional mechanisms play significant

roles in promoting women's issues, helping needy women. The awareness generation programmes are very important for a country like India, because the targeted groups of people rarely know about the allocation and benefits and other opportunities. Therefore, awareness generation programmes are influential in making women, as well as men aware of the schemes and their rights to avail them. But, in all these years the allocations have been too small to bring about noteworthy differences. There are allocations for institutional mechanism, but apart from the one awareness scheme of social marketing of contraceptives' there are no allocations for awareness generation.

Thus, there is unequal allocation in these categories; social service gets the emphasis, whereas, all other categories allocation is insignificant. In many instances, the schemes under social categories highlight the traditional occupation of women, and make women just a receiver of the allocation without any decision making power. There are also gaps in various areas such as remedial actions to curb violence, awareness generation programmes, training etc. which are essential for women's development and empowerment.

Section4: A proportional scrutiny of allocation in the selected departments:

In this section my attempt is to examine the schemes under both 100% and 30% provision for women in the selected departments.

1. Department of Health and Family Welfare:

Table 12: Allocation in the department of health and family welfare

Years	100% allocation (Rs in Crores)	30% allocation (Rs in Crores)	Total allocation (Rs in Crores)
2005-06 (RE)	1302.58	5066.08	6368.66
2006-07 (RE)	1286.46	3198.87	4485.33
2007-08 (RE)	4069.29	3748.32	7817.61
2008-09 (RE)	5626.57	4073.25	9699.82
2009-10 (RE)	6172.34	4510.95	10683.29
2010-11 (BE)	7074.63	5265.48	12340.11

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, various years.

Department of Health and Family Welfare is one department that could help women to have a better health and by promoting children's health that reduce effectively the burden of care-related work. To some extent the department has got some provisions in these areas (see the various tables of categorisation for the schemes and allocation in this department). In 2005-06 it had third highest provisions for women among the other five selected departments, in 2006-07 it was in second position and is continuing it in the following years. Allocations in the schemes under this department like 'Rural Family Welfare', 'Reproductive & Child Health' are increasing by the years. The schemes have potential but ineffective implementations have led to failure many a times. 'Reproductive & Child Health' might give some relief to women's care burden by improving children's health, but at the same time by assisting the reproductive nature of women it may result in other way around. It would again emphasis on women's traditional role of reproduction.

2. Department of Elementary Education:

Table 13. Allocation in the department of elementary education

Years	100% allocation (Rs in Crores)	30% allocation (Rs in Crores)	Total allocation (Rs in Crores)
2005-06	249	5697.50	5946.50
2006-07	154	7952.30	8106.30
2007-08	34	1225.19	1259.19
2008-09	38	10862.40	10900.40
2009-10	42	11010.99	11052.99
2010-11	46	14800.12	14846.12

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, various years.

The purpose of the Department of Elementary Education / Department of School Education & Literacy is to provide education at the primary level and for those who are illiterate. It can also reduce the gap between women and men in literacy, in school enrolment and encourage girls' education. But, as far as the schemes under 100% provision for women is concerned, the department does not have many schemes and allocations. It has only been offering 'Mahila Samakhya' scheme intended to empower women (particularly those who are rural and marginalized). Only this scheme would not be efficient to reduce the literacy gap and empower women. To empower the vast number of women in rural areas there is need for more schemes with 100% provision. The existing 100% provision in this department is not at all representative in nature in the field of empowerment and development of women.

3. Department of Secondary & Higher Education:

Table 14: Allocation in the department of secondary and higher education (Rs. in crores)

Years	100% allocation	30% allocation	Total allocation
2005-06	6.4	1343.15	1349.40
2006-07	-	896.07	890.07
2007-08	-	1232.97	1232.97
2008-09	-	1954.73	1954.73
2009-10	75	2608.24	2683.24
2010-11	120	2830.29	2950.29

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, various years.

Through its specifications Department of Secondary & Higher Education promote higher education. Girls are not generally encouraged for higher studies in our traditional society, especially in rural and backward areas. The general opinion in society is that girls are to be married sooner or later, so spending much on them is not productive. This negative view of society must be challenged for empowerment and development of women and overall society, and the Department of Secondary & Higher Education could play a crucial role with more schemes for girls' secondary higher education. The schemes should be such that the parents would be encouraged to send their girls' for higher education. Along with this, it should also be kept in mind that it should not lead to a reverse situation where daughters are sent to schools just for the financial assistance. Unfortunately, in the context of 100% allocation, this department is the worst amongst other selected departments because it has little outlay for women. In 2005-06 it had 6.40 crores of allocation and that was least of all other departments. In the following three years there was no allocation (see the table). In 2009-10 it had one scheme with 100% provision, 'Women Hostel in polytechnics' and it continued in 2010 also. This is the only scheme, and is not enough for promoting girls' higher education.

4. Department of Women and Child Development:

Table 15: Allocation in the department of women and child development (Rs. in crores)

Years	100% allocation	30% allocation	Total allocation
2005-06	3922.47	-	3922.47
2006-07	148.37	2338.38	2486.75
2007-08	170.75	-	170.75
2008-09	266.84	3850.33	4117.17
2009-10	158.28	4929.77	5088.05
2010-11	1724.00	5417.86	7141.86

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, various years.

In 2005-06 Department of Women and Child Development had the highest provisions. But in the following years the department had comparatively less provisions. In spite of being a department with capacity to raise the women issues, the provisions in this department are very less. It has schemes and provisions, but the allocated money is not sufficient. In the years 2006-07, 2007-08, 2008-09, 2009-10 it

was less than 300.00 crores (see the table). In the year 2010, the BE has increased to 1724.00 crores, but the RE is yet to be accounted for.

5. Department of Rural Development:

Table 16: Allocation in the department of rural development (Rs. in crores)

Years	100% allocation	30% allocation	Total allocation
2005-06	2750.00	2050.00	4800.00
2006-07	2920.00	1380.00	4300.00
2007-08	4040.00	5856.00	9896.00
2008-09	8800.00	10930.06	19730.06
2009-10	8800.00	13960.30	22760.06
2010-11	10000.00	14546.90	24546.90

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, various years.

In a country like India, where most people live in rural areas the department of rural development has a significant position. It can play a major role in empowering rural poor people, particularly women. Apart from 2005-06, the Department of Rural Development has been getting highest allocation in the 100% provision schemes among the other selected Departments and the allocation has been increasing by the years. However, it is only one scheme that has been allocated, i.e., 'Indira Awas Yojana'. Though this scheme is supporting many women in rural areas, construction of a house alone does not amount to empowerment. According to the scheme, the house could be allotted in the name of the female, but also could be done jointly the name of husband and wife. This provision of the scheme may have negative impact in a patriarchal society like ours, where women often fail to realize that they are being subordinated.

6. Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment:

Table 17: Allocation in Ministry of Social justice and empowerment (Rs. in crores)

Years	100% allocation	30% allocation	Total allocation
2005-06	28.00	1482.35	1510.35
2006-07	32.00	492.41	524.41
2007-08	-	335.93	335.93
2008-09	0.01	646.17	646.18
2009-10	60.01	701.60	761.61
2010-11	85.00	1305.09	1390.09

Source: Expenditure Budget Government of India, various years.

The aim of the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment is to ensure the welfare, empowerment and social justice of the disadvantaged group of people, of which, women are considered the most disadvantaged section. But, this does not get reflected in the allocation made under this Ministry. The 100% allocation only covers areas such as hostels for working women, girls' hostels for the underprivileged class., while neglecting other areas where more allocation is needed, such as vocational training for the SC/ST women, educational equipments for the needy. It should be also be ensured that among SC/ST also, the more needy and disadvantaged groups of people get the benefits, because in many instances it so happens that often the people in need gets left behind.

In the context of schemes with 30 % allocation provision for women, all these departments have more allocation than the 100% allocation scheme. The Department of Rural Development has got the highest allocations in all the years except for the initial two years. Department of Elementary Education was leading in the first two years and then has been maintaining the second position since 2008-09. The Department of Secondary & Higher Education and Ministry of Social Justice & Empowerment are the least allocated departments. The Department of Women & Child Development has more allocation in 30% allocation than 100% but the notable point is that in 2005-06 and 2007-08 there were no allocation consisting 30% provisions. The gap between 30% and 100% should be reduced for more benefits for the women.

Section 5: Summary

Though a growth of allocation is taking place, there are gaps of allocation in many instances as I have discussed in section 4 and section 5 of this Part. In many instances the schemes emphasize on women's traditional roles. In the areas of protection and regulatory services more allocations are necessary to tackle crimes against women. The analysis of this part of the chapter is more focused on the allocation level rather on the nature of the schemes in addressing women's issues. An extensive study has been carried out in the next part of this chapter of the state of assam and Gender Budgeting of that particular state.

Part II
A STUDY OF GENDER BUDGETING IN ASSAM

'Laau jimaane dangar houk, pator tol'

(However large the gourd grows, it is always covered by leaves.)

This saying in Assamese society connotes that women are never equal to men and can not have an equivalent status notwithstanding their efforts. Such is the judgment in Assamese society about women! Patriarchal norms are rooted a manner that the women do not realize their subordinated position in the society. They are happy and contented to accept the respectful position in the family and society as the nurturer. The core of patriarchy has always been prevailing in Assamese culture and society, and could be understood from the folklores. With development in the society in the societal outlook has changed to some extent towards women. However, the traditional rules and regulations still restrain women's participation in many spheres. 'Naamghar' and 'Satra' are integral parts of Assamese traditional society where spiritual and religious practices of prayer take place. From taking part in 'naam-xobaah'² to organizing any kind of spiritual religious work elderly women play the key role. They are respected immensely. However, they do not have any objection when they are not allowed to go into some parts of these institutions, and it is actually based on the concept of purity. Women generally think that it is their duty to follow this code of conduct. Not talking about other women, I can give example of my grandmother who had followed all these rules and regulations and always advised us to follow them for the wellbeing of all. In fact I have seen some of these traditions being carried forward by my mother, aunt, and many of the women I know. In case of my grandmother it can be explained in some point that she was not educated and liberated, but this not applicable to my mother and aunt. They are educated women and enjoy a position of dignity, but still the traditional structure is so deeply entrenched in our society that they very often do not recognize their inferior situation.

Gradually, however, Assamese women are now becoming aware of their rights and the disadvantaged arrangements in the society. With the help of some newly established organisations the issues of women's unequal status has become a concern

² Naam-xobaah is a practice of prayer for the welfare of people performed in Naamghar, or could also be executed in someone's premises.

of the government also. In recent years the contribution and needs of women are being articulated and state government is initiating schemes and policies for women's benefit. Legal and institutional supports are being provided from the government's side. Lately, a few women's organisations are also questioning the accountability of government in context of women's issues. In 2008, All Assam Progressive Women jointly with 'Jonaki Bat' study circle' jointly demanded the state government to declare the number of women appointed under the state government since 2004, and the number of culprits involved in murders and atrocities on women and how many of them are actually being punished (Behal 2009, 7). Since 2008-09 the state government has been also including 'gender budgeting statement' that declares the number of schemes under various departments and their allocation targeted at women.

In such traditional background of Assamese society, in this section I attempt to analyse whether the state government's allocation for this schemes under gender budgeting are sufficient for women's development and empowerment. I will also examine whether these schemes are able to challenge the disadvantaged position of Assamese women and what kind of impact they have on women. My objective is also to analyse whether the traditional roles are being emphasized in these schemes and do they help women in decision making. In doing so, in section 1 of the chapter, I would give an account of status of women in Assam in terms of their status in the family and society, economic status, sex ratio, health and educational status along with their political participation. Section 2, very briefly deals with a few schemes available for the women's assistance in Assam. In section 3, I would analyse the allocation made for the schemes in the gender budgeting statements in Assam and whether the allocation has been adequate in accordance to the necessity of women. Section 4 gives a summary analysis of gender budget statements in Assam.

Section 1: Status of women in Assam

Due to the belief that women in north east region including Assam are free from malicious practices such as dowry, child marriage and bride burning, people often assume that by and large they enjoy greater mobility and visibility than women of other communities in India. It might have been a truth several years back, but studies have proved (Sudhir & Hajarimayum 2005; Baruah 1992; Mahanta 2002) that women

in this region are actually more vulnerable to violence and inequality because of the heterogeneous cultural backgrounds, insurgency, ethnic strife and so on. The socio economic set up of the state has not been favorable to the overall development which has resulted in lesser growth. In recent years, taking this advantage of poverty and unemployment there has been an increase in violence against women in many forms. Women and girls have been kidnapped and taken out from Assam along with women and girls of other states of the region and that has now become a regular occurrence. In the period of 2001-2005, instances of women kidnapping and trafficking in Assam have increased from 1070 to 1456 and from 6 to 25 respectively³. The position of women is degrading owing to these kinds of activities. However, it is not that women enjoy an equal status in other spheres. The committee on the Status of Women in India in its report - 'Towards Equality' declares that:

Status refers to a position in a system or subsystem which is distinguishable from and at the same time related to other positions through its designated rights and obligations. In the pure sociological sense, status does not imply rank or hierarchy but denotes only a position vis-à-vis others in terms of rights and obligations. But as each status position in a particular structure can be viewed in terms of superiority and inferiority (that is, in terms of power, privileges, advantages and disadvantages), the notion of status involves comparison and grading. In assessing the status of women we shall follow the comparative approach as well. (Rustagi 2002, 1)

Section 1.1: Status of Assamese women in the family and society

Women in Assam are 'striving in an unequal world'⁴ (Assam Human Development Report, 2003, 106). Women play a vital role in Assamese society but only to be discriminated and underestimated in different forms. As a result of the tribal base Assamese society is liberal to a large extent, yet the overall image is not satisfactory and long put under domination, most of them do not dare or are hesitant to play leadership roles in society, even when an opportunity presents itself (Baruah 2005, vi). Illustrating the image of women as portrayed in Assamese literature, Karabi Deka

³ According to a poster published by Women's Studies Research Centre, Guahati University.

⁴ The phrase is taken from Assam Human Development Report 2003.

Hazarika (Hazarika 1992, 64-68) has examined the status of Assamese women in family and society. The earlier modern writings in Assam and those of Srimanta Sankaradeva⁵ depicted the dignity of women as mother and mistress of the household. Lakshminath Bezbaruah, another eminent writer in Assamese literature, effectively represented in his short stories such as '*Rudai*' and '*Bhadari*' the true picture of rural women in Assam as tolerant, kind, and doting wives. In '*Bhaduri*' Bezbaruah tells the story of a wife who took the blame of her husband despite the fact that she had been beaten half-dead by him for not making the meal in time. Not much has changed in rural areas in Assam. Though women were not confined to a life behind the purdah, yet women belonging to the upper class are restricted by the rigid rules and customs of the society. Hazarika (Hazarika 1992, 65-67) has also examined the status of women as portrayed in some prominent literary works of Jyotiprasad Agarwala, Rajanikanta Bordoloi, Beena Baruah, Mamoni Raicham Goswami, Nirupama Borgohain, Homen Borgohain, Dr. Bhaben Saikia, Dr. Sayed Abdul Malik. All the novels, short stories and poems by all of them actually give us the picture of the status of women which we tend to ignore in real life. These literary works significantly represent the diverse status of women in Assam in terms of the strict and society bound mother, the veiled protests for freedom, victims of rigid rules and customs of the society, obstructions faced by the daughters and daughter-in-laws, problems of widows, discrimination between girls and boys, victims of social circumstances and so on. These might be just stories or novels, but they reflect the real social status of women in Assam. Hazarika, in this point rightly argues that the status of women might be one of respect and adoration, but in real life, situation has not much improved since the days of '*Bhadari*' till today (Hazarika 1992, 67). Thus is the social status of women in Assam. There are few more present generation writers who are not examined by Hazarika. Authors like Anuradha Sharma Pujari and Maini Mahanta in their novels have very competently dealt with the social norms that discriminates women. Anuradha Sharma Pujari in her novel '*Kanchan*' reflects the social norms of Assam that defines a 'good' and 'bad' woman. Maini Mahanta reflects on the problems faced by a homosexual woman. The social status of women is similar to the female characters of these writing who are dominated in our patriarchal society.

⁵ Srimanta Sankaradeva is a colossal personality in the history of Assam, a socio religious reformer who pioneered a new culture and considered as the father figure of modern literary work in Assam.

Section 1.2: Economic status of women in Assam

The economic status of Assamese women is also not very encouraging. Women in Assam are involved in lot of economic activities, but in terms of wages they lag behind their male counterparts and are employed as marginal workers. According to 2001 census, women constitute 9.68 % of the main workforce as compared to 41.6% of men workers; while as marginal worker the percentage of women is 11.12% and only 7.58% is men (Assam Human Development Report 2003, 126). This shows that women are employed more as marginal workers and that results in less income shares of women and limited control over resources inside the family.

Assam has an agriculture based society with more than eighty percent of the people having agriculture as the main occupation (Baruah: ix). A large number of women work in agriculture and cultivation. The pattern of women's work in agriculture has two trends- unpaid family labourers working in their own farms, and wage paid agricultural labourers (Saikia 1992, 28). Saikia's field study shows that 30% contribution is made by women in the total man days involved in cultivation of rice. In transplanting and harvesting the contribution of women is 85% and in post harvest activities is 28%. Despite such contribution in agricultural sector by women it is still considered as male activity and men are the traditional land owners. Therefore, most of the development schemes and government policies in the field of agriculture do not benefit women. Since women do not possess land, the women employed in the agricultural sector can not take credits from the bank (Assam Human Development Report 2003, 128).

Besides agricultural activities women also make significant inputs in handloom and sericulture sector in Assam. Weaving is a part of women's life, especially in rural Assam. But, there are very few benefiting schemes in this area. The number of women engaged in sericulture sector in terms of sorting of seeds, uprooting of seedlings, transplanting, harvesting, rearing livestock and poultry are still marginal. Moreover, men control the regulation of money in sericulture area by selling the products. Women remain indiscernible while they also have key contribution in the

production. Generally the products are taken by big entrepreneurs, in many instances few male members form a group from that particular place and go to different places to sell and get the money and the bulk of the amounts are kept by them. I have lots of personal experiences in this context when various groups have come with the products to my home place. When asked they convey that 60%- 70% of the money is kept by them. If they can openly reveal that they pocket such high percentage, then it is an important concern that in reality how much the employed women get. However, in last few years with the emergence of Self Help Groups the situation has improved to some extent. The need for more support from the government side to make the SHGs more powerful is imperative, but there are very few steps being taken.

In the organized sector the employment of women is 31.8% of the total workforce, of which less than 15% women are in the public sector that includes State and Central Government services, quasi Government employment and private sector establishment (Assam Human Development Report 2003, 129). In the government sector, women are employed in Class III level jobs i.e. secretarial jobs in Government offices and teachers in provincialised schools (Assam Human Development Report 2003, 129). A large number of women employed in the organized sector are in the tea gardens of Assam. The wage difference is not much between male and female but there is job segregation because of the specification of tasks. Male labourers are generally employed in the jobs that require more skills such as planting, pruning, manufacturing, spraying, whereas female labourers are engaged in plucking and skiffing which have less necessity of skilled labour. These kinds of arrangement again prove the existence of societal norms that question women's abilities and results in more discrimination. There are also discriminations in matters of promotions. Trade unionism plays a vital role for the welfare of the labourers in tea gardens but women's participation in trade unionism is rare. According to Seema S. Singha (Singha 2002, 155) women tea labourers' double-burden and lack of awareness are the main reasons for their poor participation in trade unionism and its consequences in backwardness in asserting their rights. They are less privileged in terms of maintenance of houses, sanitation provisions at the work place, medical facilities, and sufficient crèches, etc. most importantly they are also not aware about the provisions provided in various Acts and Rules meant for their protection and welfare (Phukan 2002, 165-174).

Section 1.3: Status of Assamese women – sex ratio, health and education

Understanding the nature of the sex ratio, i.e., the number of women per 1,000 men is an important demographic feature that signifies the status of women in a particular society. A society with higher sex ratio itself shows the higher status of women. Assam is witnessing an improving sex ratio in recent years. The first census report after the independence in 1951 reported a low ratio of 868, but the following census reports are showing an increase i.e. 869 in 1961; 896 in 1971, 910 in 1981, 923 in 1991, and 932 in 2001 (Assam Human Development Report 2003, 113).

UNDP's Human Development Report in 1995 introduced two indicators to measure gender gap in society- Gender related Development Index (GDI) and Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). The National Human Development Report also launched a new indicator Gender Equality Index (GEI). GDI uses the HDI (Human Development Index) sign at the level of life expectancy at birth (LEB), educational achievements. GEM is based on the opportunities that are available to women compared to men at the level of economic, political, and social and their capabilities to make decisions. GEI applies the same method of HDI on the basis of education and health attainments. According to 1991 GEI for India, Assam is ranked 29 amongst 32 States and Union Territories and also ranks below other north eastern states of Manipur, Meghalaya, Arunachal Pradesh, Mizoram and Nagaland and the GDI for 2001 is estimated to be 0.537 (Assam Human Development Report 2003, 109-110).

As far as the question of health is concerned the attention of the family on women and baby girl is very little (Baruah 1992, x). Lack of good living conditions, particularly in rural areas add to the health risk during the pregnancy and child birth. Poor health of women is also a result of laborious working conditions, unequal distribution of work burden in the family and household. In rural areas women have to engage with the agricultural works. In a way women carry all the burden but they do not get the required nutrition. In addition a large number of women do not access medical care; in fact, the minimum medical facilities are not available in rural areas (Mahanta 1992, 153). However, in recent years state and central government have come up with several schemes for the benefit of women's health. I would examine the schemes while analysing gender budget statements.

Apart from the fact that there is a rise in the literacy level for both men and women in Assam as in the rest of India the gender gap is still prevailing in our society. The female literacy rate in 1991 was 43.03% and whereas male literacy was 61.87% and it has increased in 2001 to 56.03% to 71.83 %. The gender gap of 18.84% in 1991 has reduced to 15.8 %. But, in the context of higher education the enrolment rate is lower than primary level i.e. 35% and 48% respectively (Human Development Report 2003, 121-123). This is because of societal belief that education is needed to some extent but higher education is not necessary for girls as they have to get married sooner or later. Moreover, in many instances parents fear that if a girl is highly educated it would be difficult to find a husband for her because the wife should not be more educated than the husband. However, in recent years a consciousness has developed among the parents for girls' higher education. Girls are coming out of Assam for higher studies cities like Delhi, Pune, Mumbai, and many other cities across the country.

Section 1.4: Assamese women's political participation and women's organizations

Women's participation in political process is low in Assam. In spite of the examples of courageous participation in the freedom struggle by some Assamese women such as Kanaklata and Bhogeswari Phukononi, political participation of Assamese women in post independence era is disappointing. Male headed strong family based structure is one reason for this lower political participation. The percentage of women voters are always less than men and women do not take active part in Lok Sabha elections as well as state elections (Dutta 1992, 120-122). Besides, women's organisations are not strong enough to contest in politics and women are also hesitant to enter the malicious and corrupt world of politics (Dutta 1992, 125).

However, with the 33% reservations in Panchayati Raj Institutions rural women are coming forward and playing significant roles and a transformation is silently taking place in the rural areas of the state. Many case studies in this perspective have proved that rural women are making a change in themselves with the given provisions for

women (see Barman 2006, Talukdar 2008, Talukdar, 2008, Bora 2007, Bora 2007, Bhattacharya 2007).

Assam is proud to have the first Democratic Women's Organisation i.e. Assam Mahila Samiti which was set up in 1921 (Das1995). In such a background it is sad to witness poor political participation of Assamese women. Mahila Samitis have been playing significant role for the welfare of the women in Assam with its historical tradition of collective actions. However, apart from its superficial welfarist ideology it has failed to address the root of the socio economic problems of women and critical issues, for instance women's potential earnings in agriculture productivity, women's access to safe drinking resources, awareness about government provisions for women's benefit and legal enactments against violence and so on (Behal 2001, 6).

In recent years many other organisations have come up for the interests of women and their policies and the working styles vary in accordance with their organisational priorities. Some of the notable women's organisations are Assam Mahila Samata Society, Soudou Asom Nari Sangha, All Assam Progressive Women's Association, North East Network and they all have been working in diverse aspects of women issues. Even if not succeeded to change the society they, however, have been generating awareness in the society about the prevailing gender inequality, violence against women and so on.

Section 2: Schemes for the support of women in Assam

Government of Assam has been coming up with various schemes under different departments. The Directorate of Social Welfare was formed in 1960 to ensure that required protections and benefits are offered to the most vulnerable section including women, children, and physically handicapped. The department also promotes and implements centrally sponsored schemes such as the Integrated Child Development Services Scheme (ICDS), Kishori Shakti Yojana, Swayamsidha and so on. The department has particular schemes for women in Assam such as Mukhya Mantrik Mahila Samridhi Yojana for economic empowerment of rural women. There are 10 rehabilitation homes for women and children across the states for shelter and training

to those women who are victims of violence and rescued from moral danger. Table 1 reports the intake capacity and present inmates at these rehabilitation homes⁶-

Table 1

REHABILITATION HOMES FOR WOMEN / CHILDREN			
Sl No.	Name of Homes	Intake Capacity	Present Inmates
1	State Home for Women, Jalukbari.	100	24
2	Home for Destitute Women, Jalukbari.	50	11
3	Home for Destitute Women and Helpless person Bamunigaon.	50	15
4	Vagrant Home, Fatasil-Ambari, Guwahati.	50	47
5	P. L. Home Bamunigaon.	200	208
6	State Home for Women, Nagaon.	100	53
7	Home for Destitute and Orphan Children, Nagaon.	100	65
8	Central Destitute Home, Silchar.	200	190
9	Home for Destitute Women, Dighaltari.	50	17
10	Home for Destitute Children, Lakhimpur.	50	9

Source- Directorate of Social Welfare Assam

The Assam State Welfare Board was created to implement various schemes including centrally sponsored ones for the welfare of women and children through registered voluntary organisations. It is now implementing programmes of Condensed Course of education, Rajiv Gandhi National Crèche for Children, Awareness Generation Project Camp, Family Counseling Centre, and Working Women Hostel and so on.

In the Department of Health and Family Welfare few schemes are being carried out for promoting girl children (Majoni), to ensure healthy pregnancy (Mamoni), Janani Suraksha Yojana (JSY) that offers women financial assistance if a pregnant woman decides to adopt govt. health institute for delivery. The amount is Rs.1000 in urban area and Rs 1400 in rural areas. This scheme is intended for pregnant women's health benefits, but it also has negative aspects. In the name of financial assistance the scheme is emphasizing women's reproductive and traditional role and it in a way

⁶ I have included this table so that I can analyse the allocation in GBS for these homes later in this chapter.

encourages bigger families. In this way the scheme would not make any constructive improvement in the status of women.

'Mukhya Mantrir Karma Jyoti Achoni' is adopted by the Department of industries and commerce for upliftment and benefit of small artisans, weavers, blacksmiths, potters and those engaged in making/ repairing traditional musical instruments. There is another scheme called *'Mukhya Mantrir Assam Bikash Yojana, 2008-09'* to provide self-employment through vocational training to the unemployed youth, establishment of micro and small enterprises to generate more employment, training in the handicrafts sector and so on. These two schemes are in fact generating employment for unemployed youths in the state. A remarkable change is being brought about under the 'Assam Bikash Yojana' by the introduction of *'Gramya Taxi'*. This has employed a number of youths by giving them an income source along with an improvement of transports in the rural places. However, these changes are benefiting mostly unemployed boys and men, not much has changed for unemployed women and girls. Therefore, it would be significant to analyse the schemes targeted at women in the GBS since 2008-09 in uplifting and empowering women.

Section 3: Gender Budgeting in Assam

The first gender budget analysis was prepared in Assam for the budget of 2001-02 in accordance to regulations Department of Women and Child Development. Social scientists and research organisations were commissioned to do this task in various states. In Assam, Prof. Atul Goswami from O.K.D. Institute of Social Change & Development, Guwahati was appointed to make a gender budget analysis. After that initiative no significant gender budget analysis was done in Assam until 2007. In 2007 Gender Budget Analysis Centre (GBAC) was created in *'Rashtriya Gramin Vikash Nidhi'* (RGVN), a development organisation working for livelihood enhancement. GBAC has been doing gender budget analysis of the Assam State Budget 2007-08, 2008-09, and 2009-10. The gender budget analysis for the year 2008-09 was collective analysis of three north eastern states- Assam, Tripura, and Meghalaya. This is the single institution carrying out a gender budget analysis in Assam.

The government of Assam has introduced gender budget statement only in 2008-09. In this section my attempt is to analyse the schemes under gender budget statements under particular departments. The departments I have selected are - Health & Family Welfare Department, Labour and Employment Department, Food, Civil Supplies & Consumer affairs Department, Social Welfare Department, Handloom and Textile Department, Education (Elementary) Department, Education (Secondary) Department. The gender budget statement of Assam consists of the various schemes and programmes under various departments. I have chosen these particular departments because of its consistency in all the GBS and because of their impact on women's status in Assam. Other departments are not regularly allotted schemes/programmes in GBS. The GBS in Assam does not categorise the schemes into 100% and 30% allocation as it is performed in the GBS of India. Therefore my focus is to examine all the schemes under these departments. The schemes are classified into four types of services using the NIPFP methods.

Section 3.1: Analysis of the allocation in gender budget statement of Assam

The gender budget statement of Assam is a simple document declaring the budget estimates for the financial year. It was initiated in 2008-09 and 13 departments and 36 demands were included. The following table shows year wise total allocation, no of included departments and schemes.

Table 2: Summary of Allocation, GBS Assam

years	No of Departments	No of Schemes/ Programmes	Total allocation (BE) (Rs. in Lakhs)
2008-09	13	36	20781.15
2009-10	15	46	10079.17
2010-11	10	47	22588.22

Source: Gender Budget, Government of Assam, various years.

Analysis of this table gives us an account that the no of schemes/ programmes have been increasing in these years from 36 in 2008-09 to 47 in 2010-11. However, the no of departments in 2010 has come down to 10 whereas in 2008-09 it was 13 and 2009-10 witnessed highest no of 15 departments, however the allocation was lowest in that

year. The allocation in the current year 2010-11 has improved considerably. But, many of the departments included in the last two years of GBS are absent this year.

Table 3 will describe the trend of allocation in various departments throughout the years

Table 3: Summary of allocation in GBS Assam in various departments, 2008-09 to 2010-11

No	Departments	2008-09 (BE)			2009-10(BE)			2010-11(BE)		
		Rs. in Lakhs			Rs. in Lakhs			Rs. in Lakhs		
		Plan	Non-Plan	Total	Plan	Non-Plan	Total	Plan	Non-Plan	Total
1.	Excise Department	2.00	-	2.00	4.00	-	4.00	-	-	-
2.	Planning & Development Department	2734.00	-	2734.00	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.	Police (Home) Department	-	203.28	203.28	-	205.93	205.93	-	888.30	888.30
4.	Home Guard & Civil Defence Department	-	-	-	-	133.00	133.00	-	-	-
5.	Art & Culture Department	75.00	-	75.00	8.00	-	8.00	-	-	-
6.	Health & Family Welfare Department	240.00	553.70	793.70	-	776.27	776.27	9000.00	935.45	9935.45
7.	Labour & Employment Department	295.00	10.90	305.90	1040.00	1976.08	3016.08	1245.00	1645.20	2899.20
8.	Food, Civil Supplies & Consumer Affairs Department	200.00	-	200.00	200.00	-	200.00	195.00	-	195.00
9.	Social Welfare Department	1016.21	72.37	1088.58	2137.36	96.03	2233.39	5756.00	176.99	5932.99
10.	Co-Operation Department	-	-	-	94.00	-	94.00	-	-	-
11.	Agriculture	-	-	-	517.90	-	517.90	-	-	-
12.	Dairy Development Department	230.00	-	230.00	600.00	-	600.00	-	-	-
13.	Sericulture Department	-	-	-	127.00	-	127.00	227.25	-	227.25
14.	Handloom & Textile Department	293.00	-	293.00	1916.60	-	1916.60	647.00	-	647.00
15.	Education (Elementary Department)	13955.04	137.25	14092.29	212.00	-	212.00	537.00	1251.03	1788.03
16.	Education (Secondary) Department	10.00	-	10.00	20.00	15.00	35.00	20.00	15.00	35.00
17.	Panchayat & Rural Development Department	751.40	2.00	753.40	-	-	-	-	-	-
18.	Education (Higher) Department	-	-	-	-	-	-	40.00	-	40.00

Source: Gender Budget, Government of Assam, various years.

An examination of the table illustrates that allocation under only eight departments are regular in all these years- Health & Family Welfare Department, Labour and Employment Department, Police (Home) department, Food, Civil Supplies & Consumer affairs Department, Social Welfare Department, Handloom and Textile Department, Education (Elementary) Department, Education (Secondary) Department. Budgetary estimates for the schemes in other departments are not carried out constantly. There were allocations in the Excise department in the initial two years on Rehabilitation of women who were illicit traders of distilled liquor (see Gender Budget Statement of Assam 2008-09 and 2009-10). In Assam this practice has been a major problem particularly in rural areas. Many women earn their livelihood by selling liquor as drinking is a regular habit in most of the villages. By allocating money in this area government took a step to reduce this problem and also rehabilitating those women. However, the targeted women were only 10 and 20 number in 2008-09 and 2009-10 respectively (GBS 2008-09 and 2009-10, Assam). The amount of Rs. 2 Lakhs and Rs. 4 Lakhs were also not enough for addressing this problem. In 2010-11 there was no provision in the GBS in this perspective. There are hundreds of women who are practicing this tradition in villages of Assam and governments silence is a matter of concern.

Gender budget statement is an account of the government declaring the distribution of money on the schemes for women's development and empowerment. But as the table shows, only a few departments are exercising it in Assam. Planning and Development Department plays a foremost role in the state to ensure benefits for all the groups of the society through formulation and implementation of the State Plan schemes. But, only in 2008-09 the department was accountable in terms of allocation for women. The Department does not have any women targeted schemes/ programmes under GBS in the following years. In the same way, Home Guard & Civil Defence Department had allocation on women targeted schemes only in the year 2009-10. Women Co-operation plays a significant role in rural areas in Assam helping them on economic ground, but provisions were only made in the year of 2009-10. The Dairy Development Department was there in 2008-09 and 2009-10, but is missing in 2010-11.

The concern of the Art and Culture Department has been limited to assisting the Women Studies Center (GBS Assam 2008-09), purchasing books for women (GBS Assam 2009-10), and promoting a study on history of women in Assam (GBS 2008-10). Women Studies Centre is a pioneering research center in the Guwahati University in its area and it had been allotted Rs. 50 Lakhs with 100% benefit estimates. There is another Center for Women's Studies in Dibrugarh University and it was not given any portion. However, it could be possible that the allocation is made for both the centres but then it should be signified in the statement. One of the objectives of GBS is that people should be able to clearly understand what provisions have been done for women, but such ambiguousness may forbid the success of gender budgeting. Moreover, in the following years there was no such distribution of money in these centres.

Sericulture sector comprising of Endi, Muga, and Silk is a major earning sector for a number of women of Assam. The demands for products made out of these sericulture products are increasing world wide. But there was no allocated scheme in the Department in 2008-09 GBS. In 2009-10 and 2010-11 the Department has come up with schemes such as Development and Extension of Eri Silk Industry, Muga Silk Industry, Mulberry Silk Industry, Training for reelers openers/ spinners/ reares and so on with the budget estimates of Rs.127 Lakhs and Rs. 227.25 Lakhs. This rise of money is a positive aspect. However, there should be more provisions in this area because Muga Silk has been granted Geographical Indication (GI) registration in 2007 and it is of a high demand in Japan to make kimonos, and in countries such as the U.S., Greece, Germany, South Africa and France (Talukdar 2007). More provisions targeted in this part at women not only empower women economically but increase in export will also lead to overall economic growth.

Panchayati Raj, after the 33% reservation policy for women is playing a noteworthy role in bringing rural women into politics so that they can take part in the decision making process. In spite of its importance the GBS of 2008-09 is the only one that showed the allocation for women in the Department of Panchayat & Rural Development. It has not providing women targeted allocation in 2009-10 and 2010-11.

I have already discussed the role played by women in agricultural sector. Agriculture is being still considered as male domain and the evidence is that allocation was made only in the year 2009-10 for women. The Department of (Higher) education has provided scholarship for girl students for the first time in 2010-11. Though it is a noteworthy effort in an attempt to increase the enrollment of women in higher education, the number of beneficiary is only 750 girls. However, we can expect that in the coming years government would take more positive steps in this area.

The Police (Home) Department has been offering schemes for women police all these years. In the first two years, the beneficiaries estimate was same for 141 beneficiaries with budget estimates of Rs. 203.18 Lakhs and Rs. 205.93 Lakhs in 2008-09 and 2009-10. There is an increase in the year 2010-11 in terms of both allocated money and number of beneficiaries to Rs. 883.30 and 296 respectively (GBS Assam 2010-11). In the initial two years there was only one scheme of Women Police and in 2010-11 a new scheme has been introduced, i.e., Women Personnel under the Head of Account of Forensic Science.

I would examine the budgetary estimates in the seven selected departments for the research, particularly in the next section of this chapter. The above analysis of the GBS in Assam 2008-09, 2009-10, and 2010-11 explains that there are gaps in various departments and numbers of areas are left untouched. However, this study is only limited to the departments included in the GBS. An overall analysis of the absent spheres which are important for improvement of women's status in Assam would be made at the end.

Section 3.2: Examining the allocation in the chosen departments

Table No. 3: Total Budgetary allocation in selected Departments

Department	2008-09(BE) Rs. in lakhs	2009-10(BE) Rs. in lakhs	2010-11(BE) Rs. in lakhs
Health & Family Welfare Department	793.7	776.27	9935.45
Labour & Employment	305.90	3016.08	2899.20
Food, Civil Supplies & Consumer Affairs Department	200.00	200.00	195.00
Social Welfare Department	1088.58	2233.39	5932.99
Handloom & Textile Department	293.00	1916.60	647.00
Education (Elementary) Department	14092.29	212.00	1788.03
Education (Secondary) Department	10.00	35.00	35.00

Source: Gender Budget Government of Assam, various years.

Table 3 reveals the allocated resources in these departments for women. In 2008-09, Education (Elementary) Department had the highest allocation for women. It was a remarkable step to promote education for girls. In all the years of GBS it has been the highest share i.e. Rs. 140929.29 for women among all the departments. However, in the subsequent years the budgetary estimate was very less in the department. It was Rs. 212 Lakhs in 2009-10 and Rs. 1788.03 Lakhs in 2010-11. Despite the literacy gap between women and men (see section 1.3 of this chapter) this kind of fall in distribution of money in elementary education is very disappointing for women's development and empowerment. Education is a primary factor for all kind of human development and such low portion of allotment in education proves government's inability to address the problem of literacy gap between women and men. In addition, the amount allocated in the Education (Secondary) Department is always low. However, the reason for the reduced amount in the Education (Elementary) Department was the exclusion of the scheme of Cooked Mid Day Meal in the following years.

The fact that there has been a substantial growth of allocation for women in Health and Family Welfare Department proves Government's concern for women's health. In 2010-11 the department has acquired the highest share for women targeted schemes (Rs. 9935.45 Lakhs). The trend is similar in the Social Welfare Department in terms of provisions for women. The department offered schemes of Rs. 1088.58 Lakhs in 2008-09, Rs. 2233.39 Lakhs in 2009-10 and Rs. 5932.99 Lakhs. The Labour & Employment department is also playing a significant role with its rising budgetary estimates from the initial year. However, the estimate was highest in 2009-10 (Rs. 3016.08) and it has come down to Rs. 2899.20 Lakhs in 2010-11. The allotment in the Food and Civil Supplies Department was equal in the first two years of GBS i.e. Rs. 200.00 Lakhs and it has reduced a bit in 2010-11 to Rs. 195 Lakhs.

The Handloom & Textile Department had highest amount in the year 2009-10 (Rs. 1916.60) and but in 2008-09 it was just Rs. 293 Lakhs and in 2010-11 it is Rs. 647 Lakhs. A large number of women in the villages earn through weaving which is a part of their daily life. In such a situation this kind of allocation is not sufficient for significant contributions to women's development. Spending in this sector would not only make women economically strong, it would also bring progress to the economy of the state.

Thus, the analysis shows that the allocations in few departments are increasing, but there is still a wide gap at the education level. Handloom and Textile department is also not able to enhance women's economic position. The study of these departments is based only on the overall budgetary estimates. Their schemes would be examined in the next section on the basis of four categories as I have already mentioned.

Section 3.3: Analysis of the Schemes in gender budget statement

In this section, I attempt to examine the budgetary estimates of each schemes and their potentiality in addressing problems of women, and also study the estimates of beneficiaries under the selected departments. I would categorize them into four stated services- protective and welfare, social, economic, and regulatory and awareness generation services. First, I will categorise all the schemes of various years differently

and then I will do a summary analysis of the schemes to check whether they are able to represent the women and open up new scope for their development.

Section 3.3.1: Gender Budget Statement 2008-09- Classification of schemes

Table 4 signifies the classification of schemes in the selected department and Table 5 presents the abstract of allocation in the four categories.

Table 4: Classification of schemes in 2008-09

Category	Department	Schemes/Programmes	2008-09 (BE) Plan	2008-09 (BE) Non-plan	Total (Rs in Lakhs)	Estimated No of Women Beneficiaries
Protective & Welfare	Social Welfare Department	State Home for Women - Nagaon	-	15.66	15.66	200 women
	Social Welfare Department	Home for Destitute Women & Helpless Widows Training cum Production Centre, Jalukbari	-	24.33	24.33	30-50 women
	Social Welfare Department	Home for Destitute Women & Helpless Widows Training cum Production Centre, Nagaon	-	31.10	31.10	100 women
	Social Welfare Department	Destitute Women, Dighaltari	1.58	-	1.58	50 women
	Social Welfare Department	Pension for Social Welfare	-	0.18	0.18	2 women social worker
	Total allocation in Protective & Welfare Service					72.85
Social	Health & Family Welfare Department	Non Planned Schemes (Family Welfare & Child Health, Immunisation of Infants & Children etc.)	-	553.70	553.70	361
	Health & Family Welfare Department	Urban Health Scheme	240.00	-	240.00	100%
	Food, Civil Supplies & Consumer Affairs	Randhan Jyoti Schemes	200.00	-	200.00	16,460 women
	Social Welfare Department	Amal Prova Das Award	-	0.50	0.50	1 women awardee
	Elementary education Department	Incentives for Girls	100.00	-	100.00	16666
	Elementary education Department	Cooked Mid Day Meal	13660.04	-	13666.04	2719831
	Total allocation in Social Service					14760.24

Economic	Labour & Employment Department	Craftsman Training Schemes	295.00	10.90	305.90	848
	Social Welfare Department	VTRC to Women, Beltola	2.13	-	2.13	100
	Social Welfare Department	Mukhya Mantrir Mahila Samridhi Achoni	500.00	-	500.00	5000
	Social Welfare Department	Anganwadi Workers/Helpers enhanced wages	500.00	-	500.00	74,164
	Handloom & Textiles	District Development Schemes	225.00	-	225.00	3000
	Handloom & Textiles	Various Development Schemes under Tribal Sub Plan	13.00	-	13.00	173
	Handloom & Textiles	Various Development Schemes under Schedule Caste Component Plan	55.00	-	55.00	733
	Elementary Education Department	Award of merit scholarships for 212 primary students (Girls)	-	90.00	90.00	1220
Economic	Elementary Education Department	Award of merit scholarships for 557 Mid. Students (Girls)	-	27.00	27.00	200
	Elementary Education Department	Scholarship for physically Handicapped Students (Girls) Middle Sec	-	12.15	12.15	260
	Elementary Education Department	Special Scholarship for physically Handicapped Students for Primary (Girls)	-	8.10	8.10	260
	Elementary Education Department	Special scholarship to SC/ST girls student of Primary schools @ 480/- p.a.	110.00	-	110.00	11458
	Elementary Education Department	Special scholarship to SC/ST girls student of Middle schools @ 480/- p.a.	85.00	-	85.00	8333
	Education (Secondary Department)	Scholarship to Girl students	10.00	-	10.00	170
	Total allocation in Economic Service				1943.28	
Regulatory & Awareness Generation	Social Welfare Department	Contributions/ Subsidies	-	0.10	0.10	3 organisations
	Social Welfare Department	Assam State Women Commission	12.50	-	12.50	1 organisation
	Social Welfare Department	Grants in Aid to Non Official/ Voluntary Organisation	-	0.50	0.50	2 organisation
	Total allocation in Regulatory & Awareness Generation Service				13.10	

Source: Gender Budget Government of Assam, 2008-09.

Table 5: Abstract of budgetary estimates in different category of services

Category of Services	2008-09 (BE) Rs. in lakhs
Protective & Welfare	72.85
Social	14760.24
Economic	1943.28
Regulatory & Awareness Generation	13.10

Source: Gender Budget Government of Assam, 2008-09.

Table 4 illustrates the classification of schemes in the chosen departments. There are five schemes in protective and welfare service and all are put forwarded by The Social Welfare Department, of which four schemes are projected for rehabilitation of destitute and helpless women. But, only four women's homes of the ten existing homes (Table 1) are allotted money which means government is not concerned about women residing in other six women's home. Another scheme is for the pension for social welfare and the estimated beneficiary is only 2 women social worker. This kind of benefits may create more disparity amongst women. The estimates of beneficiaries should be prepared in such way that it represents all the women social worker. Otherwise, proposing welfare pension only for two is not a considerable step. Moreover, there is no scheme for women victims of any kind of violence. Allocating money only to the women's home does not deal with the problems faced by other women victims who are not residents of those homes.

Social services category consists of six schemes - two in the Health & Family Welfare Department, one each from the Food, Civil Supplies & Consumer Affairs Department, and Social Welfare Department and two schemes from the Elementary Department. In the Health and Family Welfare Department non-planned schemes target 361 beneficiaries. The problem here is that the allocation is made in general but not divided into different aspects of family welfare, maternity and child health and immunisation of infants and children. Because of this there could be difficulties at the implementation level. The urban health scheme is allocated with Rs. 240 Lakhs with 100% benefits for all. But, there are some other provisions in the Health and Family Welfare Department under the head accounts of Training of Paramedical, Medical &

Public Health, and Training without any specification of amounts and that may create lots of ambiguity at the point of performance.

The provision of Randhan Jyoti scheme (the Food, Civil Supplies & Consumer Affairs Department) is to provide LPG single bottle connections to a widow or a woman member of each of the one lakh selected BPL families in both rural and urban areas of the state at free of connection charges. The estimated number of beneficiaries is 16,460 women. The critical point here is that this kind of selection of the beneficiaries would help only a few number of women. Moreover, in many instances women might need other basic necessities rather than getting a LPG connection. The scheme also gives emphasis on the traditional occupation of women as the cooking member of the family. It does not facilitate for women a better position in the society other than reducing small amount of their manual labour.

The Social Welfare Department provided Amal Prova Das Award only to 1 women awardee. However, it could be justified on the ground that an award goes to just one or very few. Generally schemes for incentives are classified as economic services, but it has to be financial incentive. The scheme in the Elementary Education Department on Incentives for Girls does not clarify the type of incentive, therefore, I have included it in the social services. There is also the scheme of Cooked Mid Day Meal. Cooked Mid Day Meal schemes have been implemented across the country, it has also been criticized after the results of implementation. In Assam the scheme has been introduced in 2005, and learning from the drawbacks in other states of the country the government should have introduced some other provisions for more enrollments in the schools. Moreover, the scheme does not have any extra provisions for girl students, therefore including in the gender budget statement for women's benefit is itself a critical point.

In 2008-09 there are 14 schemes in the economic services. The objective of the Craftsman Training Schemes is to equip human resources with appropriate skills required in the labour market, both for wage and self employment. This training are for the youth both girls and boys. The estimated number of women beneficiaries is 848, which is very small to the proportion of the needy women in Assam. However, the training is a positive step to make women skilled particularly in weaving,

embroidery and so on. Because, most of the rural women in Assam are performs weaving, embroidery, and this kind of training would make them skilled and self employed. In a way it would help them to enjoy a better economic status.

There are five VTRC (Vocational Training for Rehabilitation Centre for Women) in Assam at Morigaon, Barama, Kachukata, Beltola, and Boko. But only one i.e. VTRC Beltola has been allocated in the Social Welfare Department. This is a discrimination against the members of other VTRCs.

'Mukhya Mantrir Mahila Samridhi Achoni' is to promote economic status of Assamese women through capacity building of women weavers of the state by implementing uniform manufacturing and processing norms. There is also provision for use of modern menageries practices and SHG's (Self Help Group) involvement. This is a very significant initiative for better economic status of women. However, the number of beneficiaries is only 5000 women. The schemes for Anganwadi workers and Helpers enhanced wages is also a positive development because many unemployed women has been appointed in the Anganwadi schools. Enhancing their wages would make them economically strong.

In the Handloom & Textiles Departments three schemes are allotted targeting various women weavers from various groups (SC/ST). Handloom & textiles activities are an integral part of women's lives in rural Assam (see Section 1.2 of this chapter). The assistance of this state through these schemes can make women serious on weaving and professional and also boost their economic state of affairs. But, there is need to encompass more women because the stated number of beneficiaries is just a small part in the comparison of the rural women population.

Though the opportunities of scholarships to the girl students of diverse groups including SC, ST and physically handicapped are important but the amount of scholarship is very low (Rs. 480 /- p.a.). Moreover, the amount is specified only in two schemes of Scholarship to SC/ ST girls, in the context of other schemes the quantity of scholarship is not declared.

There are only three provisions in regulatory & awareness generation service in terms of financial assistance to 3 organisations, Assam State Women Commission, and grants in aid to non official/ voluntary organisations. There are no awareness generation programmes in any of the department which is very necessary in a society like Assam where women do not recognise their subordinate position.

Thus the analysis of table 4 gives us a picture of the schemes in gender budget statements. Whereas some schemes do not facilitate provisions for women's development and empowerment, some schemes have prospective for their better status in the society.

The table 5 gives an abstract of the allocation in each category of services. Highest budgetary estimates are carried out in the social services followed by economic services and protective and welfare services. There are fewer provisions in regulatory and awareness generation services.

Section 3.3.2: Gender Budget Statement 2009-10- Classification of schemes

The schemes in gender budget statement 2009-10 of the selected departments are organised in the table 6 and table 7 summarises the total allocation in various services.

Table 6: Classification of schemes in 2009-10

Category	Department	Schemes/Programmes	2009-10 (BE) Plan	2009-10 (BE) Non-plan	Total (Rs in Lakhs)	Estimated No of Women Beneficiaries
Protective & Welfare	Social Welfare Department	State Home for Women – Nagaon	-	26.47	26.47	180 women
	Social Welfare Department	Home for Destitute Women, Jalukbari	-	30.43	30.43	90 women
	Social Welfare Department	Home for Destitute Women, Dighaldari	10.58	-	10.58	50 women
	Social Welfare Department	Training cum Production Centre, Jalukbari/ Boko	-	38.63	38.63	40 women
	Social Welfare Department	Pension for Social Welfare	-	0.18	0.18	1 women social worker
	Social Welfare Department	Scheme for protection of Women from domestic violence	84.00	-	84.00	1 NGO
				Total allocation in Protective & Welfare Service		190.29

Social	Health & Family Welfare Department	Immunisation of Infants & Children against Diphtheria, Polio & Typhoid	-	776.27	776.27	324
	Food, Civil Supplies % Consumer Affairs	Randhan Jyoti Schemes	200.00	-	200.00	11806women
	Social Welfare Department	Working Women Hostel	-	0.50	0.50	1 NGO
	Social Welfare Department	Amal Prova Das Award	0.50	-	0.50	1 women awardee
	Total allocation in Social Service				977.27	
Economic	Labour & Employment Department	Craftsman Training Schemes	1040.00	1976.08	3016.08	1280
	Social Welfare Department	VTRC to Women, Beltola	5.90	-	5.90	120
	Social Welfare Department	VTRC, Morigaon	16.20	-	16.20	120
	Social Welfare Department	Mukhya Mantrir Mahila Samridhi Achoni	500.00	-	500.00	5000
	Social Welfare Department	Anganwadi Workers/Helpers enhanced wages	1500.00	-	1500.00	74,164
	Handloom & Textiles Department	District Development Schemes	68.60	-	68.60	858
	Handloom & Textiles Department	(no name of scheme mentioned)	350.00	-	350.00	-
	Handloom & Textiles Department	no name of scheme mentioned)	1400.00	-	1400.00	205882 poor women
	Handloom & Textiles Department	Tribal Sub Plan	35.00	-	35.00	140
	Handloom & Textiles Department	SCCP	63.00	-	63.00	250
	Elementary Education Department	Special scholarship to SC/ST girls student of Primary schools @ 480/- p.a.	15.00	-	15.00	3,125
	Elementary Education Department	Special scholarship to SC/ST girls student of Middle schools @ 480/- p.a.	10.00	-	10.00	2,083
	Elementary Education Department	Special Scholarship to S.C. Girl students (Primary) @ 480/- p.a.	50.00	-	50.00	10,416
	Elementary Education Department	Incentives for girls children of age group 6-14 @ 200/ p.a.	100.00	-	100.00	50,000
	Elementary Education Department	Special Scholarship to S.C. Girl students (Middle) @ 480/- p.a.	37.00	-	37.00	7,812
Education	Scholarship to Girl Students	20.00	15.00	35.00	750	

(Secondary)					
Total allocation in Economic Service					7201.78
Social Welfare Department	Assam State Women Commission	20.00	-	20.00	1 organisation
Total allocation in Regulatory & Awareness Generation Service					20.00

Source: Gender Budget Government of Assam, 2009-10.

Table 7: Abstract of budgetary estimates in different category of services

Category of Services	2009-10 (BE) Rs. in lakhs
Protective & Welfare	190.29
Social	977.27
Economic	7201.78
Regulatory & Awareness Generation	20.00

Source: Gender Budget Government of Assam, 2009-10.

Table 4 describes the schemes of the chosen departments under various categories of 2009-10. In 2009-10 the government came up with the second gender budget statement. A new scheme for protection of women from domestic violence is included in the Social Welfare Department which is classified in the protective and welfare services. This is an admirable inventiveness in the situation of rapidly increasing violence against women, however the estimated no beneficiaries is just one organisation. This is inadequate to deal with such a serious problem of women.

Other schemes remain same with increases of allocations in all the included women's home. The notable increase is for Home for Destitute Women, Dighaltari from Rs. 1.58 Lakhs (2008-09) to Rs. 10.58 Lakhs (2009-10), and State Home for Women, Nagaon to Rs. 26.47 Lakhs (2009-10) instead of Rs.15.66 Lakhs (2008-09). Moreover, Training cum Production centre Boko has also been included with Training cum Production Centre, Jalukbari, but the allocation is not specified to the particular centres.

In the social category all the schemes are similar with the previous year gender budget statement expect the planned schemes in the Health & Family Welfare Department and the exclusion of Cooked Mid Day Meal scheme. The budget estimates in planned scheme of the Health & Family Welfare Department has enhanced to Rs. 776.27

Lakhs (2009-10) from Rs. 553.70 Lakhs. But, the number of beneficiaries is less in 2009-10 i.e. 324 than 361 beneficiaries in 2008-09. The increase in the allocation and reduced number of beneficiaries in a way signifies the quality of services, but it should not be forgotten that there are a large number of women are lacking medical facilities, mostly in the villages of Assam. A new scheme Working Women hostel is introduced, but again targeting one NGO.

Both the budget and beneficiaries estimates for Craftsman Training Schemes in economic services have increased notably from the previous year (Rs.305.90 Lakhs and 848 numbers beneficiaries) in 2009-10 to Rs. 3016.08 Lakhs and 1280 targeted women. The Social Welfare Department included one more VTRC, Morigaon with the assistance of Rs. 16.20 Lakhs. There is a rise of allocation for Anganwadi Workers/ Helpers enhanced wages of Rs. 15000 Lakhs (Rs. 500 Lakhs in 2008-09) with same number of beneficiaries that indicate more wages and more economic autonomy. This trend is also taking place in the Handloom & Textiles Department (Table 6 and Table 4). The resources and the targeted girls student are also growing in the scholarship schemes in the Education (Elementary) Department. A new scheme of Incentives for girls children of age group 6-14 is incorporated in the department with Rs. 100 Lakhs and estimated girls student recipients. However, the amount of the scholarship per annum is still unchanged. There are no other schemes in the regulatory and awareness generation services other than supporting Assam State Women Commission (Table 6).

Table 7 illustrates the summary of allocation in various services that more emphasis is given to economic services in contrast to the previous year's emphasis on social service which is a welcoming change for improving women's status. However, further requirements of allocation in protective and regulatory service should be given importance.

Section 3.3.3: Gender Budget Statement 2010-11- Classification of schemes

In 2010-11 the government has approached the third gender budget statement. Presenting the State Budget 2010-11 the Chief Minister declared it as pro-development budget ensuring benefits for rural poor, welfare measures for women and victims of insurgency and many other progressive schemes for the common people (The Assam Tribune 2010). In that case, a study of the gender budget statement of 2010-11 would be significant for an understanding of the basis of the provisions for women. Table 8 presents the schemes stated in the gender budget according to the four classified services and Table 9 outlines the total budget estimates in those categories.

Table 8: Classification of schemes in 2010-11

Category	Department	Schemes/Programmes	2010-11 (BE) Plan	2010-11 (BE) Non-plan	Total (Rs in Lakhs)	Estimated No of Women Beneficiaries
Protective & Welfare	Social Welfare Department	State Home for Women, Nagaon	-	25.86	25.86	200 women
	Social Welfare Department	Home for Destitute Women	-	28.03	28.03	30-50 women
	Social Welfare Department	Home for Destitute Women, Dighaldari	6.50	-	6.50	50 women
	Social Welfare Department	Training cum Production Centre, Jalukbari/ Boko	-	50.30	50.30	180 women
	Social Welfare Department	Pension for Social Welfare	1.50	-	0.18	8 women social worker
	Social Welfare Department	Scheme for protection of Women from domestic violence	75.00	-	75.00	1 NGO
	Social Welfare Department	Setting up old age Home for women	100.00	-	100.00	50 women
	Total allocation in Protective & Welfare Service					285.87
Social	Health & Family Welfare Department	Assam Vikash Yojana 1. Mamoni 2. Majoni 3. Maram 4. Bi-Cycle for ASHA worker	9000		9000	100% women benefited
	Health & Family Welfare Department	Non Plan Scheme	-	935.45	935.45	331
	Food, Civil	Randhan Jyoti Schemes	195.00	-	195.00	11,000women

	Supplies %					
	Consumer Affairs					
	Social Welfare Department	Amal Prova Das Award	1.50	-	1.50	1 women awardee
	Social Welfare Department	Bicycle to Anganwadi Workers	950.00	-	950.00	27142
	Elementary Education Department	Direction and Administration	9.50	1151.03	1160.53	115 nos.
	Elementary Education Department	Literacy Programmes for Illiterate Child Labour and Working Children	6.30	100.00	106.30	4500
	Elementary Education Department	State Share in Sarva Shiksha	107.00	-	107.00	-
	Elementary Education Department	Grants in Aids to village Libraries/ Voluntary Organisation	4.20	-	4.20	16 nos.
	Total allocation in Social Service				12459.98	
Economic	Labour & Employment Department	Craftsman Training Schemes	1245.00	1654.00	2899	1280
	Social Welfare Department	VTRC to Women, Beltola	14.30	11.20	25.50	120
	Social Welfare Department	VTRC to Women, Kachukata	-	6.45	6.45	60
	Social Welfare Department	VTRC, Morigaon	16.20	34.56	50.76	120
	Social Welfare Department	VTRC, Barama	-	19.59	19.59	120
	Social Welfare Department	Mukhya Mantrir Mahila Samridhi Achoni	500.00	-	500.00	5000
	Social Welfare Department	Anganwadi Workers/ Helpers enhanced wages	3950.00	-	3950.00	116423
	Social Welfare Department	Financial Assistance to unmarried unemployed women	100.00	-	100.00	3334
	Handloom & Textiles Department	District Development Schemes (a) Chief Ministers Employment Generation Programme	350.00	-	350.00	51622
	Handloom & Textiles Department	(b) Assam Vikash Yojana	180.00	-	180.00	26549 nos. poor women weavers
	Handloom & Textiles Department	Tribal Sub Plan	36.00	-	36.00	158
	Handloom & Textiles Department	SCCP	81.00	-	81.00	352
	Elementary Education Department	Special scholarship to SC/ST girls student of Primary schools @ 480/- p.a.	17.50	-	17.50	3645 Girls Student
	Elementary Education Department	Special scholarship to SC/ST girls student of Middle	17.50	-	17.50	3645 Girls Student

Department	schools @ 480/- p.a.				
Elementary Education Department	Special Scholarship to S.C. Girl students (Primary) @ 480/- p.a.	50.00	-	50.00	14,000
Elementary Education Department	Incentives for girls children of age group 6-14 @ 200/ p.a.	280.00	-	280.00	50,000
Elementary Education Department	Special Scholarship to S.C. Girl students (Middle) @ 480/- p.a.	45.00	-	45.00	9375
Education (Secondary)	Scholarship to Girl Students	20.00	15.00	35.00	750
Total allocation in Economic Service				8643.30	
Social Welfare Department	Assam State Women Commission	30.00	-	30.00	1 organisation
Social Welfare Department	Grants in aid to NGO	1.00	1.00	2.00	2 organisation
Social Welfare Department	Women Development Council	10.00	-	10.00	1 organisation
Total allocation in Regulatory & Awareness Generation Service				42.00	

Source: Gender Budget Government of Assam, 2010-11

Table 9: Abstract of budgetary estimates in different category of services

Category of Services	2010-11 (BE) Rs. in lakhs
Protective & Welfare	285.87
Social	12459.98
Economic	8643.30
Regulatory & Awareness Generation	42.00

Source: Gender Budget Government of Assam, 2010-11

An analysis of table 8 exemplifies that the schemes in the protective services continues to be the same with the preceding years apart from introducing a new scheme in the Social Welfare Department for Setting up old age Home for women with the allocation of Rs. 100 Lakhs estimating 50 women would be benefited. While there is a prominent expansion of financial resources for the Training cum Production Centre, Jalukbari/ Boko (Rs. 50.30 Lakhs i.e. highest in its nature for all the three years of gender budget statement) targeting 180 women, scheme for women victims of domestic violence lessen to Rs. 75 Lakhs than the previous statement (Rs. 84 Lakhs). However, the number of beneficiaries and allocation for social welfare pension has increased (8 women and Rs. 1.50 Lakhs).

A substantial portion of money has been allotted in the Health and Family Welfare Department under social services. Four new schemes have been brought into the gender budget statement for the first time – Mamoni, Majoni, Maram, and Bi-Cycle for ASHA (Accredited Social Health Activists) worker for Rs. 9000 Lakhs. However the amount is not separated according to the programmes. There is also a sum of Rs. 935.45 Lakhs for non-planned schemes in the department. Besides five more new schemes have been presented – Bicycle to Anganwadi Workers, direction and administration for the Elementary Education Department, State Share to Sarva Shiksha, and Grants in Aids to village libraries and voluntary organisations. Though, the rise of budgetary estimate indicates government's concern for women's health, the direction of the newly added schemes has also reverse impact on the status of women. I will address this particular context in formulating a summary analysis.

In the economic services sector two more VTRC Barama and Kachukata are put in the gender budget statement. Craftsman Training Schemes and Anganwadi Workers/Helpers enhanced wages also get more monetary assistance for more numbers of aimed women. Unmarried unemployed Economic support is also proposed for estimated 3334 numbers of women of Rs. 100% allocation. In the Elementary Education Department although there is a growth at the estimated budget and beneficiary level, the quantity of the scholarship is unchanged. The Handloom & Textiles Department included two new programmes -Chief Ministers Employment Generation Programme and Assam Vikash Yojana with more intended women recipient (51622 and 26549 numbers of women) than all other schemes of the department till now.

Women Development Council is constituted in the Social Welfare Department (Rs. 10 Lakhs budgetary estimate) and the allowance for the Assam State Women Commission is amplified to Rs. 30 Lakhs. These schemes come under the regulatory and awareness generation programme. Grants in Aid are also projected for two NGO.

In the gender budget statement 2010-11, there are truly some optimistic provisions for women have been introduced, however, the orientation of some schemes are to be analysed for the real picture of development. Table 9 encapsulates the total budget estimates in different category of services in the selected seven Departments of Assam

State Government. All the four categories witness growth of allocation in the year 2010-11. Social services scheme are prioritized in this year followed by economic services. The earmark in protective services as well as is more than the other two gender budget statements. But in comparison to economic and social service it is considerably less. There should be more arrangements in these two areas to address some real issues against violence, and to promote awareness. In the next section I attempt to critically examine the budget estimates on these services and also the orientations of the schemes for women's position.

Section 4: Summary analysis of gender budgeting in Assam

It is true that State Government of Assam is making policies for women and allocating money for women's benefits. But, the values the state budget is representing have not produced significant differences on women's status in the society. Table 10 recapitulates the budgetary allocation of classified services in the three years of gender budget statements.

**Table 10: Summary of earmarked BE on women
in gender budget statements in Assam (from 2008-09 to 2009-10)**

Category of Services	2008-09(BE) Rs. in lakhs	2009-10(BE) Rs. in lakhs	2010-11 (BE) Rs. in lakhs
Protective & Welfare	72.85	190.29	285.87
Social	14760.24	977.27	12459.98
Economic	1943.28	7201.78	8643.30
Regulatory & Awareness Generation	13.10	20.00	42.00

Source: Gender Budget Government of Assam, various years.

The above table indicates that social services schemes are prioritised by the State Government of Assam apart from a lessen allocation in the year 2009-10. Social services include educational and health schemes, programmes on water supply, sanitation, fuels and foddors and like that to contribute women's empowerment and development. But, the proposed schemes in gender budget statements in Assam that are classified as social services do not signify the same. Most of the schemes in this

category have the same traditional values about women. The Randhan Jyoti Scheme that provides LPG connection to widows and women from below poverty line highlights women's traditional role as caregiver who prepares food for the family, takes care of all the household works. Moreover, the method (see section 3.3.1) of selecting the beneficiaries is also not effective besides the fact that poor women would prefer other basic necessities of livelihood (such as safe drinking water, sanitation facilities).

The new programmes for women's health Mamoni and Majoni actually glorify the traditional role of motherhood. The aim of the scheme 'Majoni' is to assist girl child born after 1st February 2009 with a fixed deposit of Rs. 5000/-. This can be attained by the girl child and she should not be married till 18 years. This scheme addresses two important issues- encouraging girl child and early marriages of girls. If implemented it would support the rural women provided they are aware about the scheme. In many instances rural people are not conscious about such government schemes. Moreover, the targeted beneficiaries should be the most marginalised women. The condition to avail this benefit is that the birth should be in institutional government or at a charitable organisation, but in many areas women rarely go to the hospitals or any organisations for delivery. The provision of 'Mamoni' scheme is to ensure that an expectant mother gets supplementary nutrition by granting Rs. 1000/-. This scheme again depicts women in the conventional way as a mother.

Weaving is the integral part of women of Assam and it is seen as a traditional occupation of women. The schemes in the Handloom & Textiles Department though financially support the women weavers of Assam; they are kept in their traditional occupation only. However, despite this fact it is true that these schemes build a better economic position for women. There are five VTRC in Assam, but till now only four of them are being allocated as stated in the gender budget statements. The similar trend is applicable to the homes for women in the state as only four amongst ten women's homes are being incorporated in the budget.

The table shows the gap of distribution in the areas of protective & welfare services and regulatory services. In the recent years different kinds of violence are occurring against women. In 2004 Assam ranked in the 5th position of violence against women at the

rate of 20.2 % that is above Indian level of 14.2% (Manohar 2006). Crimes like dowry death and bride burning were not familiar in Assam, but due to the immigration of trading communities from other states of India such kinds of violence have started to appear in the state (Medhi 2005). In such situation the budget does not reflect any significant provision to deal with this increasing trend and taking care of the victims. The only scheme is to protect women from domestic violence and the relevant to one NGO. There is also need for awareness amongst women about the transgressions and their right for better indemnification. In these circumstances also there is no such important planning at the government level.

Assam is also devastated with problem of flood and women are worst victim of such disaster situations, but there is no eminent arrangement in that area. I have discussed about the deteriorate condition of the women workers in the tea gardens (Section 1.2). Though they are very crucial in the growth of the tea industry in the state the State Government does not have any particular scheme or programme for the interests of these women. Thus, the budget estimates for women targeted programmes in the gender budget statements is not addressing the necessities of women of Assam in many areas.

The budgetary values of these schemes are only welfarist in nature. In fact the programmes and policies of the government budget indicate the striving nature for the 'welfare state' status with many inconsistent initiatives (Bezboruah 2006). They are neither empowering the women nor any signifying any development. The assessment of the budgetary estimates as stated in the gender budget statements signifies government's one sided view of gender not the relationship between the genders. It is important to challenge the social relationship between men and women for improved status of women in society structure with traditional values.

Moreover, in 2010-11 few more schemes for women's benefit have been introduced in the State budget, but not included in the gender budget statement. The Chief Minister proposed 50% reservation for women in Panchayati Raj Institutions and also in local urban bodies which appears enticing. Whereas this is a leap forward proposition for women's development, some other declarations of opportunities are in contradiction to such optimism. A scheme for the marriage assistance of Rs. 10,000

to BPL girls has been granted that shows up the State Government's patriarchal perception on women. A plan like this ensures women's traditional position as a wife and that will consequently strengthen the subordination of women in the society. There is another project named as 'Mamata' that offers gifts of powder, towel, mosquito net, blanket, oil cloth, etc to a new born baby. The name of the project is patriarchal because 'Mamata' means kindness which is regarded as female virtue in the society. In addition to idolising women as mother, in a way this will also lead to more babies in the state where the population growth is already high. Thus, many of the Government's initiatives and allocation define women's traditional role in the society.

Conclusion

Drawing from both the experience at national and state level, we can come to the conclusion that incorporation of GBS in the Governments budgets has been making some awareness among people about the different impact of budget on men and women. However, the study has proved that the allocation and schemes both are not significant for enough to challenge the subordinate role in the society. In fact in many instances the schemes strengthen the traditional role of women in the society.

CONCLUSION

With the strengthening of the democratic processes in India and rise in peoples participation in governance there has been in general, a growing awareness about the different effects of budget and policies in the society and it has been realized that gender neutrality is actually gender blindness that ignores the differences of needs and interests between men and women. It has been felt that if a gender perspective is incorporated into policies and programmes then the allocation of money can be done more effectively in the budget so as to bring about gender equality in the society. This research has attempted to understand the relation between gender perspective in the budget and gender equality, whether the former can positively impact the latter.

Though this work has attempted to examine the shift of focus from women to gender and the need for gender budgeting as a tool of gender mainstreaming in attaining gender equality (Chapter I and Chapter II), the primary goal of the research has been the analysis of gender budgeting in India and Assam. The focus was on analysing gender budgeting in India, because it is one of the few countries to institutionalize gender budgeting by introducing gender budget statements since 2005-06; and analysing gender budgeting in Assam because it is one of the states in India that also introduced gender budgeting statement since 2008-09. Moreover, there are contrasting views on the status of women in Assam. In contrast to the general view that women in Assam are emancipated as the practices like bride burning, dowry, child marriage do not exist in the society, the Assam Human Development Report 2003 shows the actual picture of deprived status of women in the society. In most cases women in Assam are lagging behind in assertion of their rights.

The analysis on the basis of expenditure level has demonstrated that more emphasis is given on the social sector which focuses on the traditional role of women. There is need for more focus on the economic services to empower the women by providing opportunities for training, skill development, provision for credit etc. The regulatory services and awareness generation programmes are also needed to give more space to institutional mechanism such as women's commission to raise the voice of women and awareness generation programmes so that women would be aware of the schemes. This is particularly needed in Assam because women are not aware of their

rights. Women in Assam generally have a respected position in the society that satisfies most, especially the women in rural areas. This, however, does not imply that they are not subordinated. In this context the awareness generation programmes could play a major role. One of the findings of the analysis is that the roles of these services are interlinked to each other. For example, if awareness generation programmes are needed to make the rural women of Assam aware about their rights there is also need for education. Hence, the schemes for education under social services are necessary. In a way all the services are interlinked and have their own importance. Hence, the allocation of resources for the schemes should be done in a meticulous way. Therefore, the gender expert personnel, NGO collaboration are necessary which is very limited in Assam.

Thus, the research in a way have shown the capability of gender budgeting by incorporating the women issues into policies, programmes, and budgetary processes that if implemented with the inputs from gender expert, NGOs it could be very productive in the long term. Again the collaboration of gender budgeting with the approaches such as capability approach and agenda setting approach could help in successful and productive results.

Moreover, the fact that gender budgeting can be of different forms with different tools of analysis in accordance with the particular context of the society and political structure, gender budgeting does not become homogenous in incorporating gender perspective and women issues in policy making and budgetary process. And the policies and programmes under gender budgeting not only leads to development and empowerment of women, but to the development of the whole society. Gender budgeting as a tool of gender mainstreaming on the area of women and development would lead to a society with less gender inequality, good governance, and greater development of the society. Gender budgeting is a process and not an event, and realizing and availing more positive results would take some time, hence the association of Government, NGOs, gender experts and collaboration with good elements from some other approaches like capability approach and agenda setting would make gender budgeting more effecting, more accountable. In this context, we can again come to Bina Agarwal's argument that 'gender budgeting is weak but will grow and it has medium potential for welfare/equity, efficiency effects to change the

policies.’ It was in 2004 when she had this opinion about gender budgets, and now in 2010 we can positively say that gender budgeting has grown to a great extent and have effects in policy making, if not policy changing. With the continuing advocacy and NGO- gender expert collaboration it would be effective in policy changing for women and reduce gender inequality to a great extent.

Though the study of budget reveals that over the years larger amounts are being directed in women oriented programmes, it is questionable whether it actually incorporates a real gender perspective. A cursory glance it self shows that the schemes on which money are allocated are aimed at development of ‘women’ as they understood in a patriarchal society. No real attempt has been made to transcend the gender discrepancy and bring this section out of their socially constructed quagmire. The attitude seems to be that women should receive state support, and developed but it should be within the present boundaries as decided by the male order.... they can be recipient but not the decision maker. The budget is a glaring example how in the corridor of state power the term ‘gender’ has been domesticated and has become a synonym for ‘women’- that is, women as they already are in a patriarchal society (Menon 2009, 103).

Although I have examined the effect of gender budgeting on the basis of government’s expenditure for women under gender budgeting statement I have not been able to address many important areas such as effect of gender budgeting at implementation level, more focus on whether gender budgeting is basically reinforcing traditional gender roles due to the limits of the study. Particularly the implementation level is very crucial in analysing gender budgeting. Moreover, comparison between two states would be very effective in understanding the flexibility of gender budgeting in addressing gender relations and women issues in different cultural, societal, and political background of the society.

In such situation, therefore, the analysis has been made to examine the government initiatives as accounted in the gender budgeting statement. The analysis both at the national and state level is made on the basis of the expenditure estimates as shown in the gender budgeting statement, not according to implementation because of the time limitation.

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