

German and International Gender Budgeting Initiatives

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German and International Gender Budgeting Initiatives
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Theses for the Discussion

- **Gender Budgeting is a result and success of the international women's movement especially those working on the peace, social and development cooperation issues**
- Gender Budgeting has grown as an idea in the early 20ties of the 19. century in the international women's rights and women's peace movement
- **Gender Budgeting including the participation of NGOs if not citizens has to be financed and is a legal duty not optional**
- The practice in Africa and Asia under the PRSP and Development Aid- which just provided money printed on paper but the brain capacity came from the grass roots women's movement which was responsible for the first decades of implementation and best practice;
- **Parallel in some OECD countries some women from Gender Budgeting Initiatives rose as well from the grass roots & some female & feminist (?) academics and development aid workers appeared as experts and were responsible for implementation in the legal and practical levels**
- The stakeholder in the "developing" countries have more support financially from the donor countries but OECD (donor) countries –state and citizens- show a lack of political will to implement and: develop themselves as to the same standards as 'others' have to
- **Gender Budgeting empowers most: Where the Money is the Power – it is typically that it is now developed as the last corner stone of methodology for Gender Equality and under participation of women experts: Women reach power**
- Gender Budgeting is a driving force in reforming budgetary processes since basic tools have been developed
- **It can change more then ever- but nothing without participation: Gender Budgeting Initiatives: Let's exchange !**

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Some Quotas

Establishing lasting peace is the work of education; all politics can do is keep us out of war.

Maria Montessori

If American women would increase their voting turnout by ten percent, I think we would see an end to all of the budget cuts in programs benefiting women and children.

Coretta Scott King (US-Civil Rights Activist 1927-2006)

When men talk about defence, they always claim to be protecting women and children, but they never ask the women and children what they think.

Patricia Schroeder, former Democrat in the US House of Representatives as Colorado's first Congresswoman, 1973-1996

Never have so many had such broad and advanced access to health care. But never have so many been denied access to health.

Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland, Fiftieth Anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 8 December 1998

Gender budgeting, surely we have means for ensuring gender equality in public finance and surely we have the ability to disaggregate public finance in such a way as to track and show the budget resources that actually go to women.

Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf, President of the Republic of Liberia, Eighth Meeting of the Africa Partnership Forum in Berlin, Germany, 22-23 May 2007

I. Gender Budgeting Initiatives –Definition of ‘Initiative’

Today I am speaking on behalf of the European Gender Budgeting Initiatives Network and indeed, many of these networks are members of national or regional “Initiatives”, groups or organisations which target is starting an initiative on state level or to do Gender Budgeting Analyses themselves. In Germany I initiated with Anne Neugebauer the first Initiative in Muenster (West-Germany) in 1993.¹

¹ Marion Böker and Anne Neugebauer (1994) (Ed.): "**Nothing is impossible...- on the way to a feminist theory and practice of economy**" (in German), Muenster (Unrast Verlag); Marion Böker and Anne Neugebauer (2002): "Gender Budgeting in Germany. Development, experiences and results" (in German), In: Gender Budget. Grundlagen- Hintergründe- Handlungsmöglichkeiten. Eine Einführung in die geschlechtergerechte Analyse und Gestaltung des Kommunalhaushalts, Kommunalpolitische Schriftenreihe der Petra-Kelly-Stiftung, Nr. 8/, p. 23-29; Bergmann, Nadja/Gubitzer, Luise/Klatzer, Elisabeth/Klawatsch-Treitl, Eva/Neumayr, Michaela (2004): Gender Budgeting. Handbuch zur Umsetzung geschlechtergerechter Budgetgestaltung. Wien, Eigenverlag, p. 17-20;

Our “Initiative” in Münster was a project, a study, a conference and the documentation of the conference in a book. It was an Initiative by two women from within a women’s project, and a project with some financial resources. But we presented our idea, the plan and the later results within the Women’s and Lesbians Forum of Münster since it was not just theory but since we wanted to enhance the finances of a bunch of women’s projects or better: institutions like shelters, the hotline against violence against women, the women’s research centre, archives & library, the women’s and girls’ sport Club, ... And we looked for single politicians sharing wisdom on budget planning and the document with us as well as political parties and a political foundation to support our project in an alliance. We started an “Initiative” which was then after the elections in 1995 taken by the new ruling coalition to establish some real budget articles for financing gender equality for women’s institutions.

These budget articles have been shortened over the years but still are funding these projects and institutions work. In our first in-depth study the expenditure for women’s rights activities and gender equality measures in the budget of 1992 was 0, 005 %. After our “Initiative” and the new local Governments establishment of the new budget articles for equality (Shelter, hotline against Violence against women, Women’s Research Centre, Archives and Library, ...) it was increased to 0, 05 %

But this “Initiative” was not a structural and not long term persistent. There were talks from between the NGO-Forum and the politicians and City Council as to establish a real Gender Budgeting Process of implementation especially after Beijing but there was no political will for such systematic approach and for change.

From time to time because of the published book Anne Neugebauer and I were invited to give a seminar on what Gender Budget could be and we always created practical exercise in the seminars and could convince some stakeholder from the importance of the approach but political will didn’t normally just follow understanding; political will needs clear legal backgrounds and benchmarks as we have them now since Beijing + 5 and the EU-guidelines.

The “Initiative” of the “Initiative for Gender Justice in the Budget of Berlin” since 2000 in Berlin or the UK Women’s Budget Group which exists since 1984 developed over years of steady work as many other “Initiatives” to NGOs; they are independent and consist of a variety of members who wanted to “Initiate” real Gender Budgeting processes through

political decisions, run by state and done by state administration and who brought together other actors like international experts and NGOs. Some of the NGO-Initiatives are groups or alliances of NGOs for the purpose of many issues but who once did an in-depth study for gender budgeting like in the Swedish Women's Lobby to go on lobbying for it and monitoring.

An "Initiative" can easily come from local or national Parliaments, Governments, administrations or an international organisation (IO) but in reality rarely this main stakeholder start their own "initiative".

Within the international framework since the 1990ties the Gender Budget Trainings and may be initiated processes of implementation is mainly supported due to the capacities and funds and their objectives by NGOs and experts through UNIFEM and the Commonwealth Secretariat some development agencies for the Federal Governments Ministry for Development Cooperation from separate countries as e.g. in Germany the *gtz* (Gesellschaft für technische Zusammenarbeit) under which programmes many stakeholders in Asia and Africa even developed the current set of idea and methodology. Now a stakeholder had become UNDP and UNECE which is very stimulative in Eastern Europe.

In such processes mainly the organizers today match stakeholders of all kinds and always involve women's NGOs to participate.

These programmes can have the dynamic and/or objective that after a gender budgeting training or conference a real process might start within the Government run by the Ministry for Finances or the entity for the budget under participation with a network of a variety of stakeholders.

Sustainable "Initiatives" are mostly composed of the best mix of stakeholders and include within the steering group NGO and expert knowledge (and resources for them) and hire experts as consultants for special gender budget analysis, studies and or general consultancy.

Even if traditional the initiative came from NGOs I think that after all legal framework in the EU and UN which says states do have to implement Gender Budgeting we can expect more "Initiatives" coming from local or national (federal) Governments, now.

They will then invite NGOs and experts and such groups who call themselves “Initiative for Gender Budgeting” since they are focusing and specialised on providing lobbying, monitoring, and consulting in the process of implementation.

Today all initiatives are very important: We need to just do it instead of any longer just talk about Gender Budgeting. Budgets have to be really en-gendered, analysed and adjusted in a manner which we will define according to CEDAW and any other legal instrument of gender equality a budget which is serving gender justice and equality in an efficient and transparent way.

II. The early idea of some women activists - Gender Budgeting Initiatives came a long way – inclusion of women’s needs – for more social spending- less for war

First remark: There is no literature or study on the idea of gender budgeting in history. As a former historian having worked on women’s history and as a member of some International Women’s NGOs such as WILPF and IAW I can only contribute a little to this chapter. But I am sure; it would be worth having some studies on how the idea developed a) in history and b) in all regions of the world.

Women in the international women’ (peace) movement since the suffrage had their own ideas on state budgets. First of all they realized that women’s needs are not in the focus of the then dominant male politicians, of male driven politics and as ignored are not in the state (or local) budgets. They claimed for participation of women through quotas (especially the feminist peace movement which equally design the idea of the United Nations)² or more women in decision making positions everywhere. But they also addressed the national budgets when it came to their preferences for social spending of the expenditure instead of for war.

While most women didn’t have access to the budget some huge NGOs commented always state budgets. In the early stage there was no idea of ‘Women’s Budget’ or ‘Gender Budget’ methodology. But NGOs developed a kind of rhetoric figure which still is alive in peace movements and other civil society’s activist’s rhetoric’s:

² Marion Böker (2005) "Gender Justice as a global process of learning – Women’s Rights open the pathway", [In German] In: ZEP – Zeitschrift für internationale Bildungsforschung und Entwicklungspädagogik, Issue 4/2005 [Guest Editor], www.iko-verlag.de/

More social spending for health, better work places, child care, education – Nothing for war”

After World War I started this was debated in Den Haag at the Feminist Peace Movements meeting and one can find the same rhetoric but feed with more economic analyses and concrete budget information in the pre World War II documents of the International Alliance of Women or the US- League of Women’s Voters and the whole new Peace Initiatives from Carrie Chapman Catt in the US-And European Women’s networks. They founded economic commissions and went deeper into the budget analysis but did not claim for a change of budget process but for another budget spending by governments.

1932 e.g. The Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) was already well informed by their Dutch member and women’s rights activist Rosa Manus or Dorothea van Velsen from Germany and other experts about the Nazis objectives to destroy democracy and restrict and cancel all citizen’s rights of Jewish people as well as to plan a war. Carrie Chapman Catt, Aletta Jacobs and another activist travelled in 1928 to Rome and observed an event and speeches from Mussolini and Hitler. For them the further development was obvious. 1933 already a lot of activists from Europe especially Austria and Germany asked for affidavits for to get permits to stay in the USA or Canada within the WILPF and other NGOs.³

The WILPF produced a small yellow sticker which one could fix like a stamp on your tax declaration:

“That part of income tax which is levied for preparation for war is paid only under protest”.⁴

The *Report of the Findings of the Economic Commission of the Women’s Centennial Congress 1940* in which the IAW participated still with some European members analysed:

“The inequitable distribution of national wealth and national income, and the structures of our social system which prevent us from utilizing, developing and conserving our national resources to the full, tend to perpetuate these conflicts [inequality of women and men]”. ...

“The disabilities which women face today as participants in our national life result less from

³ See the rich materials in the New York Public Library Swimmer-Lloyd-Collection; and Swarthmore College Collection on WILPF

⁴ Library of Congress, League of Women Voters, [box 590] new: Series III, 117, Special Series, International Cooperation: Peacemaker, Strauss – Morgan Correspondence; Folder: Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom, 1931-34;

legal restrictions—which the women’s movement of the past 100 years so valiantly fought to eliminate—than from discrimination arising out of our failure to control the material forces of the world in which both men and women live and labor.”⁵ The authors claimed for women’s economic rights.

Finally, they did not want to change the budgeting procedure itself. But their analysis had been a starting point for Gender Budgeting as it came from an economic analysis of the status of women and the causes. These words are still very valid.

And: These were the NGOs which before and after World War I and II had already claimed for a United Nations and worked closely lobbying and monitoring to the League of Nations and then United Nations. Their founding mothers described very early like most parts of the Anti-Slavery, Peace-, Women’s- and Civil Rights Movements the idea of a international peace organisation which focus should be strongly on women’s (economical) rights and participation.

Addressing the whole budget and the budgeting system itself came later. More advanced ideas, theory and methodology from within the women’s movement and Women’s Rights NGOs was from 1976 on amended by the establishment of some resources within the UN: The Voluntary Fund for the UN-Decade for Women (VFDW) was founded at the beginning of the UN-Decade for Women from 1976 - 1985. At the end of the decade 1985 it was re-named in United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and was then established as a regular UN special organisation and linked with the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP). Beside this the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) was now working within the states with NGOs and for the civil society and provided some resources: A main reason why from that time on there was capacity to elaborate and develop strategies, to train for women and empower them and more and more as well men as for the objective of more gender equality.

Within the NGOs who worked with the Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSP), in development contexts and in some OECD states women’s groups started to work on the budget issue. In the USA 1982 – the peak of the anti-war demonstrations – as well as in Europe, internationally there were lots of women’s peace camps, lots of publications and

⁵ Library of Congress Manuscripts- Papers of Carrie Chapman Catt, Container 20 [new 21] Real 13 “Women’s Centennial Congress” New York, Nov. 1940

studies on how to better work for peace. Many realized the old metaphor on the budget, but studies went much deeper. Now, activists knew more about the budget spending. Information was generated from these parliaments where first time members of the parliament were as well peace activist like Petra Kelly or other, but especially she and her co-workers delivered information to a world wide network. The US-WILPF combined working for the UN Decade for Women and peace issue as usual. Part of the two-year-programme was “redefining national security from a woman’s point of view”⁶ and decided “the composition of a plan in which priorities in the national budget would be recorded so that the basic needs of woman and children could be met.”⁷ The final result was Jane Midgley’s book “The Women’s Budget”⁸. Its innovation was not just publishing the pentagons spending and did not just wanted ‘to cut the military spending’ as what was claimed for since World War I.

“New was the idea of ‘economic conversion’, a process by which workers, business and communities would plan ways to transform military industries into other ventures (...). In this way, people, communities, and the federal government would benefit economically and socially. [...] WILPF had always recognized for example, that a war mentally often led to action of violence against women, whether on or off the battlefield. The *Women’s Budget* specifically emphasised the need for the government to fund shelters for rape victims and battered women. It also emphasised the need to ensure a legally protected world for elderly women, displaced homemakers, children, and – a new stance for WILPF- lesbian and gay men.”⁹

Meanwhile in the Australian government presented in 1984 a gender sensible budget as a pilot project run by the state. This was a state initiative while some experts had been participated like Rhonda Sharp. They continued for 10 year but when an ideological shift- a new coalition- took place it was stopped. So the main set of methodology for gender budgeting within the

⁶ In 1940 WILPF, IAW and many other international NGOs debated a concept of ‘personal security’ against security through military defence (expenses). Today at WILPF and the peace women’s NGOs network there is priority focus at www.peacewoman.org on the same issue defining and lobbying for an alternative concept of ‘human security’. The UN nevertheless influenced by this NGOs lobbying adapted “human security” as a concept to get states parties attention and financial spending more on the focus on social security, when first tendencies of neo-liberal privatization showed effects. Human Security shall address the holistic approach of access of all especially the vulnerable individuals to all human rights for a social well-being and more security in the individual’s life. These means that state parties have to fund more for this and probably check traditional and at the moment world wide increasing funds for military and security (anti-terror spending).

⁷ Harriet Hyman Alonso (1993): *Peace as a women’s issue: a history of the U.S. movement for world peace and women’s rights*. New York: Syracuse University Press, p. 256

⁸ Jane Midgley (1985): *The women’s budget*. New York: Jane Addams Peace Association

⁹ Harriet Hyman Alonso (1993), p. 258

real budget and the first results and experiences were collected here. Later – during the NGO forum of Beijing in 1995 and 2000 we learnt that many initiatives in Asian, Asia Pacific and Africa had parallel been working on the same paths.

Especially after the Apartheid was succeeded in South Africa the new challenges and opportunities, the power of women in the ANC and Unions and a gender sensible constitution allowed the 1995 by NROs founded Women's Budget Initiative to work conceptional, regularly funded by Commonwealth, UN Funds such as UNIFEM, and so development funds through gtz in Germany and many others even a regularly documented gender budgeting process within the national and provincial budgets mainly know through the publications of Debbie Budlender¹⁰.

II.a. IMPORTANCE of international exchange – Financing for Equality

The early and the current gender budgeting initiatives wherever show clearly that for implementing a long lasting and successful productive implementation there must be funding for equality. Even if the gender budgeting shall be integrated in the regular process of the states budget planning and expenditure assessment process: financing for equality and especially for the civil societies contribution and participation and for expertise is a key factor.

UNIFEM and UNDP funded since a bunch of activities, mainly trainings in many regions and provided a resource webpage.¹¹

Even in the shattered state of the Berlin State Budget in 2002 when the gender budgeting was implemented provided funding for the gender budgeting:

- a special unite for the coordination of Gender Mainstreaming and gender Budgeting (four paid staff members, money for publications, a conference, webpage...)

- the new job description or: responsibility of the staff of the Land Ministry for Finances to do the work (time of at least two staff members work)

- 100.000 EUR for external expert's consultancy

Thus the European Gender Budgeting Network claimed in its MANIFESTO of 2007 that funds have to provide within the European Union and the single member states to enable the implementation of gender budgeting.¹²

¹⁰ E.g. Budlender, Debbie (2000): The Political Economy of Women's Budgets in the South, in: World Development Vol.28, No 7, pp.1356-1378; and Budlender, Debbie/Elson, Diane/Hewitt, Guy/Mukhopadhyay, Tanni (2002): "Gender Budgets make Cents: Understanding Gender responsive budgets", Commonwealth Secretariat, UK, London

¹¹ <http://www.gender-budgets.org/content/view/15/187/> (as of 1st of June 2008)

In 2000 UNDP provided a mapping of world wide Gender Budgeting Initiatives in which between 40 and 50 Women's or Gender-Budget Initiatives mainly in the “South” and in more of the half of the Commonwealth States were mapped.¹³

Since many more had been started and should be mapped and once again by UNDP Funds revised but no more later since 7 years.¹⁴ Only since the member states of the United Nations decided not to fund for a new UN-World Conference on Women (or: on Gender) there has not yet been a new chance for a current exchange.

Even the suggested regional Conferences as Beijing-Follow-Ups which could be the frame to organize such a follow-up and exchange on gender budgeting have not happened to be organised: A real disaster – or strategy- since it is an obstacle to develop the methodology and networking of activists whether of NGOs, experts, state parties, all state entities as the administrations and especially the Ministries for Finances and Women’s Machineries for the Advancement of Women (and men or: Gender Equality) any further.

The 52nd Session of the UN-Committee on the Status of Women in Feb/March 2008 with the priority theme “Financing for gender equality and the empowerment of women”¹⁵ provided space for many side events on Gender Budgeting and EGBN was presented as a European Network here the first time and found many interested experts who wished to be attached to the network.

The exchange was of utmost importance. Many activities are ongoing but as it was mentioned: too many are in the state of trainings, talking about Gender Budgeting, in-depths-studies of NGOs and/or expert (groups) but rarely activities within the state or provincial or community/municipality level are in acted.

In many states there is a lack of political will to implement. E.g. on the national level in Germany. In 1999 the Government decided to implement Gender Mainstreaming and Gender Budgeting but only slowly took action within the Ministries. But there was a new inter

¹² Manifesto. Gender Budgeting in Europe-NOW! Frankfurt/Main 2007: “-to make available funds for facilitating the production and distribution of gender budgeting tools”; see on the Webpage of EGBN <http://www.infopolis.es/web/GenderBudgets/egbn.html>

¹³ For download at <http://www.gender-budgets.org/content/view/443/153/> (as of 1st of June 2008)

¹⁴ “**Review of gender budget initiatives**”, prepared by Debbie Budlender. Community Agency for Social Enquiry. 2001; www.internationalbudget.org/resources/library/GenderBudget.pdf (as of 1st of June 2008)

¹⁵ See documented at <http://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/csw/52sesspriorityhtm.html> (as of 1st of June 2008)

ministerial working group of state secretaries and a department for gender mainstreaming within the Federal Ministry for Women, Seniors, Family and Youth which should coordinate gender budgeting. Since 2005 this structure was cancelled and there is rarely action. The German Government is internationally still talking very positive on Gender Budgeting but nationally resist any real step in implementation. Even more curious: There is a huge contradiction within the Government. In the development cooperation the entities as the Ministry for Development Cooperation (BMZ) and its agency *gtz* on federal level funds a lot of Gender Budgeting processes and must be rich of experiences. As well the Foreign Office has a stake in this. But they do not share this on the national level nor does the Federal Government is willing to implement: The official argument while being aware that it is possible in the Land of Berlin since 2002 is the following:

“The adoption of the English-language concept of “gender mainstreaming” led to resistance in some quarters, which prevented the sustainable establishment of the goal of gender equality in some contexts. A new orientation with regard to the concept of gender mainstreaming is geared towards presenting equality policy as the result of a preventive process, thereby making it more attractive and, thus, a real strategy for success.”¹⁶

And this is what their representative even offered the audience during the Conference “Let's share the benefit”¹⁷ in June 2007 under the German EU-Presidency, but suggested – and this is documented in the final long version of the conference documentation- adopted English-language terminology in her German speech such as *gender justice in the “Controlling”* and a better “*Management*” (which might then *led to less resistance*).¹⁸

We as the NGO interpret this contradiction as make-up rhetoric for the (ideological) lack of political will.

The 52nd CSW and this EU-Presidency Conference not only consolidated the mandate and duty of states to make gender budgeting in the Agreed Conclusions in many paragraphs¹⁹ but

¹⁶ **Consideration of reports submitted by States parties under article 18 of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women: Sixth periodic report of States parties, Germany**, CEDAW / C/ DEU/ 6, p.10

<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/bodies/cedaw/cedaws43.htm> (as of 26st of April 2008)

¹⁷ See the English, French and German documentation at

<http://www.bmfsfj.bund.de/bmfsfj/generator/Kategorien/Publikationen/Publikationen,did=101658.html> (as of 26th of April 2008)

¹⁸ Europäische Fachkonferenz der deutschen EU-Ratspräsidentschaft „Die Verteilung macht's – Gleichstellung und soziale Gerechtigkeit durch geschlechtersensible Haushalte“, Berlin Oktober 2007, p. 12-13 [I could not find the long version in English, but it must exist];

¹⁹ Fifty Second session, 25 February – 7 March 2008, DRAFT Agreed Conclusions, Financing for gender equality and the empowerment of women 8 March 2008; Para 1; 16; 21. j; k, l, o, p

showed: there are some progresses made in some Gender Budgeting Initiatives as to frame it more precisely in the setting of

- a) A systematic implementation
- b) Human Rights²⁰ and
- c) Economics
- d) Inclusion of the question of Care Economy

These are the always listed aspects in Gender Budgeting Theory but it seems that with more practice in comes more in to the fore of the debates and show a change in paradigms.

II.b. Participation- A further needed improvement

The main component for a Gender Budgeting Initiative I would say is that women are participating that the voice of women and their claim is in the process, those of women as citizens and those as experts on gender, economics on each field of the budget financed measure. As well men with gender expertise should be involved and men as citizens.

As it comes to a participatory budget I think, state has to do the ‘homework’ and collect data, produce gender informed budget documents and empower citizens both women and men to understand the budget document and provide gender training to all citizens so that all stakeholders are able to participate.

Participation of citizens in budget processes is not easy; it means more then the involvement of NGOs.

This must be organised carefully and due to the different needs and time ‘budgets’ of citizens, otherwise there are some mainstream dominant groups participating and other are not.

Even in citizens budgeting participation processes there must be an equal share of women and men of different age and population groups including minorities.

I would say a weak point at the moment in European Gender Budget Initiatives is especially the share- if this is even already organised- and the participation of ethnic minorities, migrant women and men workers, low paid women and men, especially of irregular migrants even if they work, produce wealth, generate added value, pay taxes (indirect taxes) and like every one

²⁰ Within National Human Rights Institutions (NHRI) there have been first discussions on Human Rights Budgeting;

in a state or municipality contribute to the budgets and should have a right to be informed and decide upon the use of this mutual gains. Other (vulnerable) groups of priority seem to be age groups especially the girl and the boy child, and the elderly women and men or the cross sectional groups of handicapped. Like every human being involved everyone must at least have access to the process and be en(sure)d that no discriminating effects are created by budgets and the expenditure is proved to have only the most effective effects on the enjoyment of human and women's rights, of participation and well being of all individuals and in the same moment the citizens/inhabitants in the whole.

The question as to how to organize operational and empowered participation of intersectional target groups is not yet tackled at all,- even if so important.

It is on Gender Budget Initiatives in the future to develop a methodology which will include all groups of people in this process and make budgets in general more informative for objectives and effects due to the human/women and citizens' rights of all individuals within the societies.

But, working in the practice I see that more and more this process of inclusion will come – if we work for it: only it would be a question as to what extent since e.g. yet there is no consensus as to the question of so called 'irregular' migrants as part of 'us' and the participatory and access processes. Another women and men to include are those of ethnic and / or cultural minorities as Roma, Kurds.

For this Stakeholders of Gender Budgeting Initiatives have a great responsibility since while creating the structures and methods of new participatory processes and of the future budget lines and assessment as to gender justice and financing for equality we can open windows and install whether 'inclusive' or 'exclusive' new structures of economical and socio-economic less or more discrimination or equality. But: the chances is high that we can make a difference since gender is a cross cultural and intersectional criteria and since still now most of the stakeholders in the GBIs long for inclusion.

This I can only write from my optimistic perspective of hope and experience. But we do have to be aware that within the process of implementation those stakeholders might become less influential and other contra productive interest of others might work on Gender Budgeting to integrate it as make-up or as an ‘initiative’ for other may be neo-liberal or anti-inclusive and/or non egalitarian objectives (privatization of politics by taking over state & citizen’s duties through multinational companies).

Being aware of this the state, political and administrative stakeholders and civil society should have a strong mutual will for alliances in Gender Budget Initiatives and especially to empower civil society stakeholders for a long lasting capacity of participation.²¹

III. Changes in Paradigm and Practices– Legal setting in the framework of Human Rights, Economics and on the political agenda (1980- 2008)

In this paper there is not enough space to really develop a chronology of the paradigms, but it should be shortly done and might be discussed in the workshop and later elaborated further.

First as to the legal framework an overview:

The legal framework for Gender Budgeting

- **1985:** since **UN-Decade for Women** in PRSP / EU-sponsored
(Canada, USA-WILPF,AUS)
- **1985: CEDAW:** **0–Tolerance for any form of discrimination on the ground of gender/sex – not even through the budget –**
Shadow report German NGOs (GBI Berlin) 3/04: **Article: 1-16; 5, Art 2d, 3;** see Diane Elson (06): Budgeting for Women’s Rights. Ed. by *unifem* :
- **1995: ► 2000: Peking + 5/ 2005: Peking + 10**
- **1997/99: EU – Treaty of Amsterdam**
- **1997: EU-Regulation**
- **2001: EU-Finance Minister Conference by UNIFEM: Benchmark 2015**
- **A5-0214/2003 Decision of the European Parliament**

²¹ By mentioning participation one thinks of Porto Allegre (where women and migrants are not the strongest stakeholders and their share had to be improved), Lichtenberg, a district of Berlin as well as Marzahn-Hellersdorf, both try to combine Gender Budgeting as a top-down process and peoples budget, City of Freiburg (where gender budgeting is a voluntary criteria for peoples budget process);

- **2005:** **Council of Europe:** Gender Budgeting. Final report of the group of specialists on gender budgeting (**EG-S-GB**) www.coe.int/equality
- **2006:** **EU – Roadmap to Equality (bis 2010)**
- **2007:** **CSW:** Confirms GM/GB – especially on girls/boys - age as a category
- **2008:** **CSW Confirms and calls for implementation of GB as an efficient way of financing gender equality**
- **2008:** **CCRE/CEMR: European Charta for Gender Equality within the Life Communities/ by the Council of Communities and regions of Europe and the neighbours; Can be broken down and GB be one objective**

In my experience we started to address the whole local budget of the Muenster Municipality in 1993²² because we as grass root activists of a local women's projects forum wanted access to the information and decision making.

Women's policy activist became tired getting information on budget and budget for women's support and culture and for the remedies of patriarchy so informal, in such low proportions 0,000 5 % - and always after decisions had been made and the little share was left like the left dry cake at the side of a big cake after the party.

Finally our success was to generate new budget articles for equality and we increased the share or volume to 0,005 %. We did not know the WILPF publication of the '**WOMEN' S Budget**' but due to the popular rhetoric metaphor from the women's and peace movement we might have been be inspired by this.

After the process in 1994 we got the same impression like many activist then in 1995 at the NGO forum of the UN-Worlds Women's Conference in Beijing shared with us:

The next step and the change in paradigm is the one to **GENDER Budgeting**. It was even the time when Women's Research and Studies changed while having anticipated the Gender Theories. We knew that we had analyse the budget too short in just asking for women/girls since our feminist approach always has focused on the gender relations and: Gender opened up a fully new space and option of overcoming the dual gender concept of power and domination hierarchy which is traditionally and serves the reconstruction of gender domination and so called 'superiority or hegemony of men over women, the male over the

²² Marion Böker and Anne Neugebauer (Ed.) (1994): "Nothing is impossible...- on the way to a feminist theory and practice of economy" (in German), Muenster (Unrast Verlag)

female, and so only over and over would keep women as the victim, the weaker 'gender' and/or 'sex' more defined by so called biological facts. And it is (still virulent) conceptualizing as well everything 'female' as lower, less of value, e.g. a gay men as 'female' or an dominantly from women occupied professional sector as education as less of important, less paid, less interesting and of prestige for 'males'. [see references in papers of Regina Frey].

And it was of utmost every day importance that all the women's equality and temporary special measures were (are) perceived due to the dual gender construction and the consequence marginalization as 'the (bad old) Women's question. Whatever a women's affair's section did,- it was not relevant or linked with a 'men's question' and could be marginalized and or just not enter the MAINSTREAM of any political or financial debate or decision or decision making level since men were just not targeted.

The gender mainstreaming strategy as it is descript and ratified by all EU member states and almost all accession states as state parties of the UN during the UN-Worlds Women's Conference in Beijing would and should change everything.

And so the gender mainstreaming in the financial and public and other budgeting politics and practices should change.

We have to recognize that GM and GB was mainly developed for more then a decade much more precisely as an efficient and enhanced strategy in practice by mainly activist from Africa and Asia. Forced and driven by the urgent need to eliminate poverty and gender ignorant states they had reached out for more and developed methodology and to address the whole volume of budgets.

Now it was possible to read all the Commonwealth literature and those of South Africa on GB. And we adopted the strategy now matter if there are a few English words.

The EU adopted as well including the now resisting federal German Government the strategy. And the EU guideline on Gender Mainstreaming is legal binding and has by the help of the EU Commission and Parliament even to be implemented in the whole of the EU. And this is based on a new Gender Theory, no way to escape.

I think, we are currently in Germany witnesses of a kind of a similar resistance towards an EU-guideline implementation as we experienced (and still do) it with the EU-Anti-Discrimination guideline. Other EU States are not so much hesitating or have taken the initiative for Gender Mainstreaming and Budgeting much more pro-active. Earlier or later Germany has to implement.

The other changes as mentioned in the Chapter before are:

- A systematic implementation
- Human Rights and
- Economics
- Inclusion of the question of Care Economy

A systematic implementation

Many Gender Budgeting Initiatives started as pilot projects in a few departments and the Gender Budget Analyses focused on a budget line of priority. This might have led much faster and deeper into the impact analysis and to results, probably but rarely to changes in the budget expenditure volumes. The problem is that like in traditional weak approaches may be it will be identified that in a budget line for e.g. health women don't prosper much or not due to their needs from the budget and that stereotypes will be only re-established if more money is requested from the following budget. The higher amount of the budget article/ line 'for women' will be debated in political and public sphere as a demand from women for women because of women's 'deficits'.

If not so and the injustice and related effect to men and: to the gender relation could be communicated as in Germany probably the discussion for more childcare and parental leave, the requesting minister will not have a strong position claiming for more. Since there is no systematic gender budgeting in an holistic approach as to the whole budget, she will not be able to show why and from which other contra productive or oversized or male dominated budget lines or financed but ineffective and dis-functional measures as to gender equality the more money could be taken.

Only a holistic and systematic gender budget analyses could be the basic of argumentation and a way of better steering the whole. Only then one could see that some budget lines for so called security and defence e.g. produce more violence against women national and internationally then they do function for gender equality. Only then it would become visible

that non-individual tax systems decrease women's share in the labour market and that changing it to individual taxation – like the UK Gender Budget Group could successfully lobby for and so make a change in UK – would bring a plus of in Germany of some 23 billion EURO for other measures.

Human Rights

May be in 1995 and 2000 the Gender Mainstreaming and Budgeting strategies have been understood as coming from UN soft-law. And that is may be the reason for states feeling (!) not legally forced to implement.

But in 2003 and 2004 in the dialogue about the 5th German State Report to CEDAW our “Initiative for Gender Justice in Berlin” delivered a Shadow Report under several articles of CEDAW on Gender Budgeting and was positive regarded by the UN-CEDAW-Committee. CEDAW is one of the Human Rights Treaty Bodies and binding international law (since 1985 in Germany).

The Committee asked the German Government when and how they will implement Gender Budgeting and the Government offered to do a feasibility study on it.

This was under the former Government but which in 2004 assigned Dr. Christiane Faerber in doing the feasibility study. Now, when it was finally published in summer 2006 it is still ignored with its findings that Gender Budgeting is possible.

On a brought range Diane Elson demonstrated in 2006 the Human Rights compliance of Gender Budgeting under CEDAW.²³

A further relevant Treaty Body might be CESC (UN Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights) or the UN-Convention on migrant workers rights (CMR) or as it was mentioned from the German women's minister Ursula von der Leyen during the 51st CSW in 2007 in her speech on behalf of the EU-Presidency, Gender Budgeting is relevant as to the girl and the boys child rights, and so the UN-Convention for the right of the Child (CCR) is relevant.

Still all this seems to sound quit new for most of us, but I am sure this is the coming paradigm: Gender Budgeting will open doors for Human Rights Budgeting and it is already pure Human Rights Budgeting as I always present it in trainings and consultancy processes.

²³ Elson, Diane (2006): Budgeting for Women's Rights Monitoring Government Budgets for Compliance with CEDAW. UNIFEM New York; Information to order www.unifem.org

Economics

Gender Budgeting does not only serve interests of women or of gender equality in the social area or a higher human rights regime: Gender Budgeting is addressing real economical rights and problems.

During the 52nd CSW the representative of UNECE (UN Economic Commission on Europe) Ewa Ruminska-Zimny insistently presented the overall economic objectives of Gender Budgeting. Women's access and shares in rights and all spheres of life increase wealth of the states, not only by income but also by all other contribution which they can increasingly make. The UNDP Gender Development Index shows this since years and many findings of micro and macro economics.

More and more it is understood that societies are healthier and economically productive if women and men are equal. Gender responsive public expenditures can be a tool but Gender Budgeting are needed as well in the budgets of international organizations such as OECD, NATO, European Commission an United Nations or of NGOs, banks, in the private sector and in all macro economic systems.

Inclusion of the question of Care Economy

This was always a main focus of NGOs and experts in Gender Budgeting: to make visible the value and share of unpaid care economy contributions. And to somewhat balance the burden sharing in this sector which is such a problematic one since it is based on the dual gender construction as a 'female' one (by traditional so called duty or 'sex' dependent talents and duties of women) and so absolutely undervalued and in the theory and practice systematic and by intention denied.

In the 1920 there have been published a few studies – after the shift of so many women in the 'male' labour market as temporary *manpower* while men had to serve the army for war.

Suddenly it appeared clearly to a few economists that the value of unpaid care economy is high in case nobody would do it unpaid when women would be in the labour force and one would need to hire paid educators for child care, for the elderly and poor, for cooking, laundry services and other work which is irreplaceable in societies. And it was analysed that to do so loans for women and men had to be increased by employers to make all this services available.

Today many more effects are visible: more workplaces will be created and women will have time for getting in decision making levels, in politics, private sector and culture...

III.a. Why OECD paid for it abroad but don't like implementation at home
Or: Friendship of Patriarchy and Hierarchy of State Parties towards
Countries in Development since they partly deny 'development'
especially in the gender contract

It was mentioned before that in OECD countries there is a contradiction in financing and supporting Gender Budgeting in countries who receive development funds while they or the international organisation in which they are in the majority don't do it at home or within themselves.

I think, still this is an expression of the hierarchy not only between "male" and "female" individuals but also in the 'male' to 'female' hierarchy from the donor countries towards receiver countries. The later need 'development' the 'first' do not. The donors create the conditions and criteria for the use of the money, rules, which do not strike affect themselves.

The problem is first this hierarchy which even keep actors/activists from all countries from cooperation without (dualist patriarchal) hierarchy on an equal manner: a disaster for movements and the forces of civil society. The second is that probably the donor or OECD states miss opportunities to develop for the challenges of the future, for a world in peace.

Still the old lesson seems valid for me: To eliminate the dual gender regime would solve partly the disturbing hierarchy between people. Then on the same level follows the same for the capitalist and the racist regime.

III.b. Networking on monitoring and responsible implementation can break the resistance against gender power controlling – some partners are especially groups, men and women of minorities. These might gain as well if we mainstream their perspective: The way to add criteria and analyse other budget effects due to them on equal level: no 'side contradiction' accepted

Therefore networking and monitoring on the holistic and real gender budgeting as a mutual process of all actors is a path for change, is the only chance for change.

S earlier we can include partners from all targeted groups as better we can break walls of separation and hierarchies.

While claiming for this I know that this is rarely a process where (some) women from beginning on had the power of defining criteria and objectives, and so generated the lead. Opening up for all stakeholder means having a high responsibility for all actors to not define the old-new hierarchies e.g. through the very well known dual division of priorities into 'main' (male/white/mainstream/economically powerful...) and 'side' contradiction.

An equal dialogue and process of all stakeholders to organise needs a lot of energy and innovation.

IV. Time of International Implementation (2000- 2015)

There is not much time for coping with the international and so regional European benchmarks. We need to use the time effectively. This could be possible by all possible exchange and processes of learning from each other. And: if on some levels there is no political will we need to be able to quickly change to levels of implementation where there is an open window, an opportunity to set standards for a proper implementation. And still we have to involve and network with such actors who might be pulled out of implementation processes. And we need an ongoing dialogue with such entities that slow down or stop processes.

IV.a. Data collection and analysis as in the methodology will make the existing budget volumes more effective

This is always mentioned and I won't write more about it: We need data and we need enhanced statistics and staff in statistic offices who work with us, at least we need laws on that.

IV.b. Empowerment on budget and participation can generate new budget lines where not existing or are a measures to new challenges

Mainly the argumentation is that Gender budgeting's objectives are not budget cuts nor generating new budget lines. This is a bit limited: A new distribution means always even within the same volume of a budget, that's cuts might be done for a better use according to the overall objective of gender equality. It might as well be useful to generate new budget lines or more volume in case a new measure is needed: see Turkey in case of the need of shelters.

V. Mapping GBIs Networks – Getting the full tiger's energy in the Tank-
Learning from each other - getting it done all over

Following the networking we need a broader and complete mapping of gender budgeting processes: therefore we need funds. While a partly UNDP or UNIFEM is spending this the OECD countries should create an own fund which is available for this work as well as for networking and exchange in this countries and with all other countries. We would need trainers from India as well as from Pakistan, Afghanistan Malaysia, Uganda or Tanzania and South Africa- which is a pretty difficult think to realize in OECD states - and many more and we would need funds for experts from OECD states working within OECD states.

VI. Urgently needed: Political will - unified creativity – continuous monitoring –
participation- Exchange of International Gender

Budgeting Initiatives

While we are here to use the chance due to the great work of our hosting partners to generate progress and to learn from each other we have to state that political will is a resource or the key factor which has to be increased!

As to this I thank not only our hosting partners but all who are here to show political will or who are doing it at home.

We need all of those to show their political will and their gain much stronger within the dialogue of states to convince the others and to build political majorities and decisions and mutual evaluation to reach a ground breaking critical mass of states with a gender budgeting implementation for a ground breaking change.

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