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Need and Rationale for Gender Budgeting in Higher Education in India

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Abstract

Gender equality in education is one of the core elements outlined in several earlier global commitments including the recently formulated United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). Despite several efforts by countries across the world, the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of girls drops down sharply from primary through secondary to tertiary education which has larger implications regarding their empowerment and economic contribution in the development process. Gender Budgeting, as a fiscal accountability mechanism with a gender lens to public financial management, has been embraced by several countries to analyse the gender components in public spending across all sectors and evaluate their outcomes. India adopted Gender Budgeting as a compulsory exercise in all sectors and departments in 2005. This paper analyzes Education Sector Gender Budgeting in India with focus on higher education and by the objectives of adequacy, responsiveness and impact. It argues for a growing rationale to implement Gender Budgeting in Higher Education in the country with greater analytical planning and purpose.

1. Introduction

Gender equality is one of the core elements and commitments outlined in all global and national efforts. The recently formulated United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) also reinforce the importance of gender equality. Gender Budgeting (GB) as an innovative tool to address Gender Inequality was first introduced in Australia in mid nineteen eighties to be adopted by around sixty countries by early 2000. The number since then has grown manifold. The Commission of the Status of Women (CSW) report to the UN Secretary General and agreed recommendations of the 55th session of the CSW in 2011 reiterated this concern by urging countries to adopt gender-responsive budgeting (GB) to ensure that public resources in education, science, technology,

research and development, benefit women and men equally and contribute to the empowerment of women.

Data suggest that despite several efforts, globally and nationally by countries across the world, a large number of girls are still unable to enroll and/or complete schooling, and the Gross Enrolment Ratio (GER) of girls dropping down sharply from primary through secondary to tertiary education. The ten year review of the implementation of the Beijing Platform for Action pointed that of the 104 million children in school age that are out of school, 57% are girls. Not very long ago, UN had proclaimed that after poverty, gender is the most influential factor to keep people out of reach with regard to education (United Nations, 2013). Gender inequalities in the education sector

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are concentrated in more vulnerable communities, being significantly higher in urban slums, rural areas, in poverty stricken communities, among excluded groups (castes, ethnic and linguistic minorities, the disabled), in conflict and fragile regions. Although, it is reported that women enrolments are rising fast and the gender gaps narrowing down but several forms of gender gaps continue to challenge the objective of equity and inclusion in education. Such gaps in education and training are well evident in literature to be having far reaching effects on women's economic participation and only likely to grow in the new era of knowledge centric economy. With the industry 4.0 and 5.0 looming large by way of an industrial transformation, issues and means of automation, digitalization, big data management, environment sustainability are redefining the existing nature of work technology in both traditional and emerging industries of the future. Already there is evidence that technological innovations demand new skills leading to "deskilling" of women in the labour force as 'women tend to be disproportionately vulnerable to the quantitative and qualitative impact of technological change because of their concentration in a relatively small number of lower-skilled, labour-intensive jobs' (ILO, 1994). Studies across the world have reported "technological unemployment" impacting women more than men as women's jobs have a 70 percent or higher probability of automation (IMF, 2018). As per the IMF, 26 million women's jobs in 30 countries are at high risk of being displaced by technology within the next 20 years. Thus, increasing use of technology in future comes with the fears of displacing women in favour of men in employment (Das and Das, 2006; IMF, 2018, MGI 2019), thereby adversely affecting their future potential to better education and work, leading, in all likelihood, to distorted economic development for all.

Thus, specific efforts at mainstreaming women in this new age of industrial transformation

by investing in their education and training are imperatives. This is a long term dynamic and continuous process of skilling, deskilling and reskilling for sustainable employability (Khare 2016). Despite the gravity of promoting gender balance in higher education (HE), countries are not likely to invest much in it. A recent BC report (2015) points at deficient supply of good initiatives to promote gender equality (GE) in HE and the problem of sustainable funding in cases where they do exist. GB, evolved as a fiscal accountability mechanism with a gender lens to public financial management in several countries, aims at not just to analyze the gender components in public spending across all sectors but also to evaluate their outcomes (Chakraborty et.al., 2018).

Against this backdrop, this paper is an attempt to analyzing Education Sector Gender Budgeting in India with specific reference to higher education. It argues for a growing rationale to implement GB in HE in the country with greater analytical planning and purpose. Further, important explicit gender disparities in HE is highlighted that are likely to trigger a greater disparity in employment opportunities in future as evident from current women's work participation patterns in the country and, thereby, making a case for intelligent GB in HE.

2. Structure and Institutional Mechanism for Gender Budgeting in India

Gender perspective on public expenditure made inroads in India as early as 1974 ,but GB was formally introduced in the country in the year 2005-06 (Budget Speech 2005-06, Para-25). The structure of Gender Budget in India borrows from Rhonda Sharp's three-way categorization of expenditure (Sharp, 2003)

- a) **Gender-targeted expenditure:** Gender-specific expenditure targeting women and girls (e.g. women's literacy projects, women scholarships);

- b) **Equal opportunity expenditure:** Expenditures promoting equal opportunities in the public sector (e.g. evaluation of job descriptions to promote equitable hiring of faculty);and
- c) **Mainstream expenditure (the rest):** Budget expenditures not included under (a) and (b) above.

The Gender Budget Statement (GBS) in India, however, categorises it only in two parts and has a purely quantitative format where allocations are disaggregated by sex to be reported in the GBS. Part A, details schemes in which 100% allocations are for women; and Part B, reflects schemes where allocations for women constitute at least 30% of the provisions.

Since 2005-06, the Union Ministries/ Departments had been requested through the Annual Budget Circular to highlight the quantum of public expenditure earmarked in Union budget

for women. The Eleventh Plan (2007-2012) added Gender Outcome assessment to Gender Budgeting across board, initiating creation of separate Gender Budgeting Cells in all Ministries and Departments to undertake the task of collating relevant data on a regular basis for more evidence based budgeting and greater transparency by making it available in the public domain. Gender Budgeting Cells are envisaged as focal points with the Ministry of Women and Child Development (WCD) as the nodal agency for supporting the process of GB. The WCD has taken several initiatives and even facilitated for engendering the schemes and programmes for better planning and resource prioritization in the past decades. The Twelfth Plan further noted that “Mainstreaming gender through Gender Budgeting” is imperative for furthering Gender equity and hence, its reach needs to be extended to all Ministries, Departments and State Governments. Unfortunately, many States have not yet initiated GB (Table 1)

Table 1: Gender Budgeting in the States by Year of Adoption

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

Source: GB Handbook, GOI, 2015

States, such as, Karnataka, Kerala, Gujarat, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh and Chhattisgarh have taken significant steps like identification of a Nodal Department for Gender Budgeting; Constitution of Gender Budgeting Cells; formulation of a State Policy for Gender; setting up Committees for Oversight; creating a Gender Data Bank; making checklists; including a Gender Statement in the State Budget; Capacity Building; preparation of a Brochure and Hand Book; and conducting Performance Audit and linkages with the Results Framework Document in order to institutionalize Gender Budgeting by using a range of mechanisms. In spite of all these, education departments in many states are struggling to implement it as per GOI guidelines. "A gender responsive budget is a budget that acknowledges the gender patterns in society and allocates money to implement policies and programmes that will change these patterns in a way that moves towards a more gender equal society. (GOI 2015). Given differences in needs, Gender Budgeting is a more complex process to look at every part of the government budget and assess how it will address the different needs of male and female. It is not about simply dividing government money 50-50 between men and women or boys and girls. The overall aim is to ensure that every part of the government budget takes gender differences into account. Gender Budgeting is therefore a rather technical exercise and requires specially trained persons, that seems to be deficient.

Efficacy of GB is theoretically assessed on a three pronged framework comprising of adequacy, responsiveness and impact. While the number of ministries adopting GB has grown consistently from 9 to 35 in the past 10 years and the number of demands has also risen almost at the same rate, the magnitude of gender budget as percentage to total budget started declining from the year 2011-12 such that even the absolute size of budget declined in the year 2015-16. The percentage share of GB to total budget that increased from a mere 2.79

in 2005-06 to reach a maximum of 6.22 in 2011-12 to only go down to 4.46 in 2015-16 (Khare 2018). Does this in any way mean that the need for specific allocations to improve gender gaps no longer exists? The answer to this question needs a greater probe and shall be attempted later in this paper.

2. Education Gender Budgeting (EGB)

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

i. Adequacy objective: It is not necessarily about whether an equal amount is spent on women and men, but whether the spending is adequate to women and men's (pupils and teachers) needs in education. It is thus need-based.

ii. Responsive objective: Assesses the extent to which the national education budget responds to the needs of boys, girls, men and women, female and male (pupils and teachers) at all levels of the education system. It is thus action based.

iii. Impact objective: Consider the impact of any form of public expenditure or method of raising revenues on women and girls, as compared to men and boys: whether it reduces disparities, increases disparities, promote discrimination etc. It is thus outcome based.

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

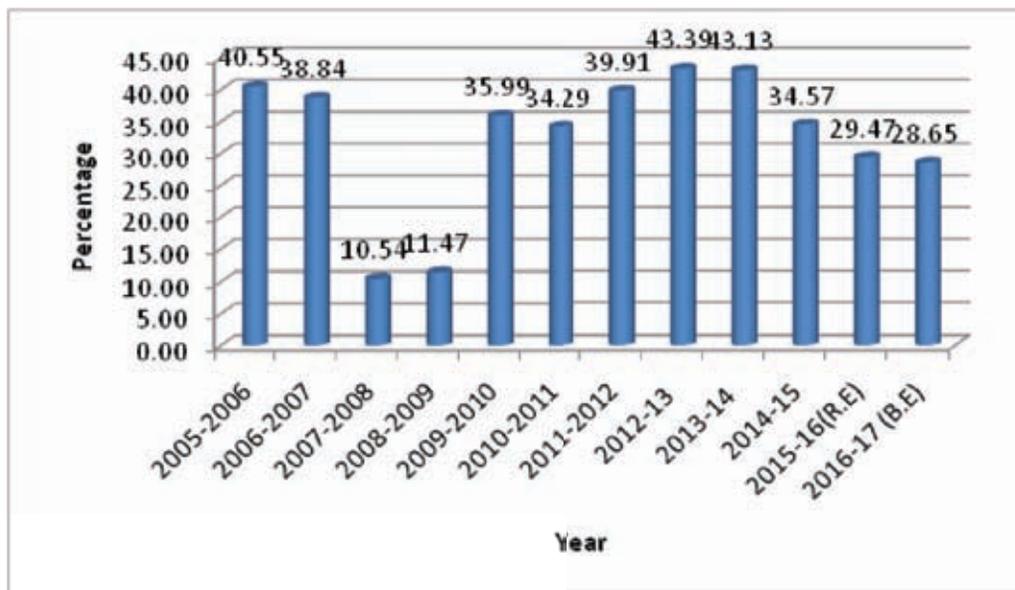
2.1 Education Sector Gender Budgets in India

Although GB in education started in the year 2004-05, Gender Budget Cell, Department of Higher Education was set up only in 2012 in the

Union Ministry of Human Resource Development (MHRD). An inter - sectoral comparison of Gender Budgeting in India reveals that the overall share of gender budget in education sector budget is much more than that of the share of consolidated gender budget in total Union Budget. While the education

sector gender budget is more than 1/3rd of the total education budget (Figure 1), the percentage of consolidated GB to total Union Budget is much lesser and has hovered around 5% since the last decade. However, the share of GB as a whole as well as for education sector in recent times has declined and forces one to ask questions.

Figure 1: Proportion of Gender Budget in Education to Total Public Expenditure on Education



Source: Computed from Gender Budget and Analysis of Budget Expenditure on Education- various years

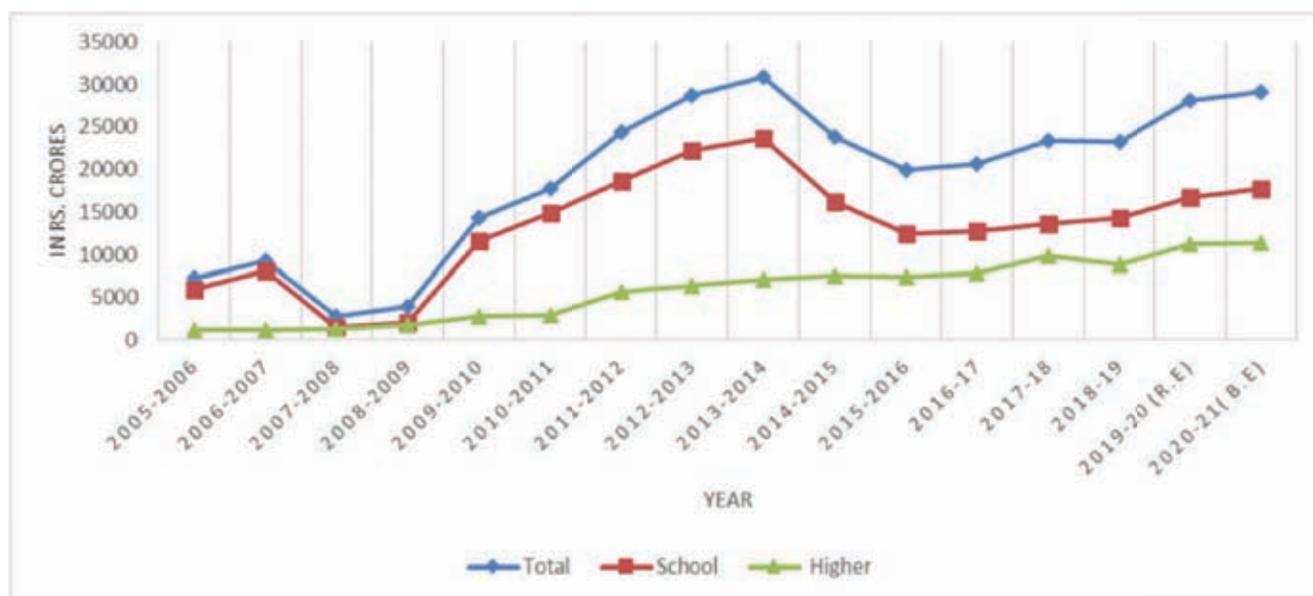
The education Sector GB that reached an all time high in the year 2013-14 in absolute terms has been witnessing a continuous drop since then (Figure 1). This decline is seen both in percentage as well as absolute terms despite the fact that the number of ministries and states initiating GB have increased during the period.

2.2 Sub-Sectoral Shares of GB in Education

Gender Budget in education that grew sharply between 2008-09 to 2013-14 has witnessed a drop thereafter (Figure 2). If analysed by levels of education, it has declined sharply for school education but the amount in absolute terms has grown for HE sector since 2011-12.

However, to this day, it is the school education

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

Figure 2: Gender Budget in Education

Source: Gender Budget on Education - Various Years

Table 1: Share of Gender Budget to education expenditure by Sub-sectors

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

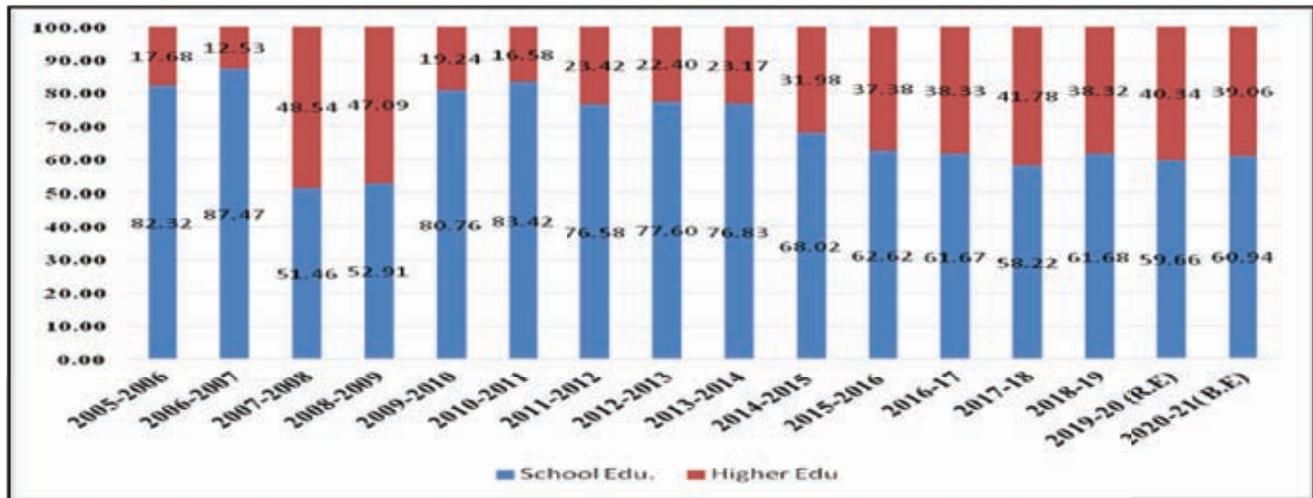
Source: Gender Budget and Analysis of Budget Expenditure on Education (Various Year Publications)

In 2015-16, 24 schemes amounting to Rs. 7446.34 crore have been reflected in Part B of the HE Gender Budget Statement while the spending of union government on girls' school education declined by 8.36 percent.

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

2015-16.

In contrast to school education, the spending on higher education for girls increased from the year 2014-15 to 2016-17. In this period, the sanction to UGC has increased from Rs. 2959.61 crores to Rs. 3113.54 crores. The increasing share of HE in EGB is reflective of Government rising attention towards its policy of inclusive education by promoting girls participation in HE.

Figure 3: Proportion of Gender Budget in Education by School and Higher Education

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

Share of HE, which was only 15% in the EGB for the year 2009-10 increased sharply to reach around 42% in 2018-19 (Fig 3) but still, it is only 6% of the public expenditure in HE . Thus, one can see a shift of the GB component towards HE but still does not seem to be sufficiently increasing to match the growing female enrolments in the HE.

Yet another dimension that may be mentioned here is that while there are a large number of schemes and scholarships that have been earmarked for women in both school as well as Higher education sector but the Special Focus on Gender Equity is more clearly reflected in the programmes for Education of Girls at Elementary Level and to some extent at secondary levels. But at higher education level, it seems to be rather vague. At the school level there are specific schemes that aim to reduce Gender gap, such as, girls' hostels, Lifeskill Education and Additional incentive of School Uniforms (National Programme for Education of Girls at Elementary Level, NPEGEL). Schemes like Kasturba Gandhi Balika Vidyalayas are residential schools which cover girls especially the deprived ones belonging to the SC, ST, OBC community and minority groups. But, at the HE level, although the GB is increasing, there is

lack of clarity on the interventions other than the Scholarship for College and University Students that rose from Rs. 110 crores to Rs. 135 crores. A list of all schemes meant for girls under category A (100 % funding for women) as well as Category B (30% of funding meant for women) support the above statement.

A break-up of category wise EGB reveals that commitment towards 100% women EGB is declining (Table 2). It is the Category B (atleast 30% allocation for women) that comprises more than 95% of the total EGB. Same is true for both school as well as HE gender budget. A marginal increase can be seen in Category A for school education from 2010-11 vis-à-vis HE where it is continuously declining. In fact, the share of 100% women's schemes in category A went down from 3.62% in 2005-06 to a mere 1.98 % by 2013-14 and further to 1 % by 2018-19 (Table 2). While 'category A' EGB remained almost stagnant at the school level in past few years, it has been almost become close to zero for HE level.

Table 2: Share of Gender Budget by Category – School and Higher Education

Years	Share in Total Education Gender Budget (%)		Share in School Education Gender Budget (%)		Share in Higher Education Gender Budget (%)	
	Category A	Category B	Category A	Category B	Category A	category B
2005-06	3.6	96.4	4.29	95.7	0.5	99.5
2006-07	1.8	98.2	2	98.05	0.55	99.4
2007-08	1.2	98.8	2.34	97.66	0	100
2008-09	1	99	1.82	98.18	0	100
2009-10	1	99	0.33	99.67	3.62	96.38
2010-11	0.9	99.1	0.3	99.69	4.07	95.9
2011-12	1.9	98.1	1.87	98.13	2.12	97.9
2012-13	2.5	97.5	2.74	97.26	1.56	98.44
2013-14	2	98	2.57	97.43	0	100
2014-15	0	100	0	100	0	100
2015-16	0	100	0	100	0	100
2016-17	0.2	99.8	1.3	98.7	0	100
2017-18	1.1	98.9	2.3	97.7	0.2	99.8
2018-19	0.80	99.20	1.15	98.85	0.23	99.77
2019-20(R.E)	0.36	99.64	0.52	99.48	0.11	99.89
2020-21(B.E)	0.45	99.55	0.62	99.38	0.18	99.82

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

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

Most of the category B expenditure in the EGB does not categorically ensure a minimum of 30% allocation for women but it is just assumed to be so. Many a times, women do not even comprise 30% of the total population served by those schemes/programmes/courses. For example, women comprise only 27% of the total enrolment in technical education while a large proportion of 'category B' EGB goes to technical education (Table 3). Their representation in the elite IITs is a mere 8% and even these institutes figure

prominently in the 'category B allocations'. A schemewise analysis of HE GB further substantiates the above observation (Table 3).

Table 3: Share of Gender Budget in Higher Education – Scheme-wise

Category A 100%		2005-10 (Av)	2010-15 (Av)	2015-19 (Av)	2019-20 (R.E)	2020-21 (B.E)
1	Access & Equity	0.21	0	0	0	0
2	Women's Hostel in Polytechnics	0.75	1.6	0.12	0.11	0.18
Category B (30%)						
1	University Grants Commission	85.43	53.95	39.96	41.80	40.83
2	Distance Education & ICT	2.05	2.94	1.57	1.57	1.44
3	Polytechnics	2.78	4.05	-	-	-
4	Language & Promotion	1.22	1.31	1.26	1.42	1.33
5	Technical & Professional	1.5	30.24	43.85	43.19	47.69
6	Loans & Fund	0	3.18	6.83	5.86	5.85
7	Scholarship for College & University Students	0.41	1.95	1.57	1.80	1.76
8	RUSA & Consortium for Higher Education Electronic Resources	0	1.91	4.84	4.25	0.92
Total HE GB		100	100	100	100	100

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

Notes: 1. Access means the needs of women in the areas like health, education and Employment etc.

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

3. Distance Education= Indira Gandhi National Open University

4. Polytechnics= Community Polytechnics + Up Gradation of Existing / Setting up of New Polytechnics

5. Language & Promotion =National Council for Promotion of Urdu Language + Rashtriya Sanskrit Sansthan+Central Institute of Indian Language+Kendrya Hindi Sansthan + Central Hindi Directorate + Grant for Promotion of Indian Languages,

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

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

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

trend. Ironically, much of this allocation is for setting up of new IITs, IIMs or other technical institutes and their upgradation, which does not justify to be counted under category B schemes where a minimum of 30% is to be ensured for women/girls if the proportion of girls enrolled in such institutions is much lesser. Yet another

component that makes its presence visible in later years is loans and funds comprising of interest subsidy with little guarantee that at least 30 percent of allocation under this head is being utilized for girl's education. The interest subsidy gets covered by way of a concession that is provided to girl students and also to economically poor students through a central government subsidy scheme announced by the Government in 2009-10. This scheme allows for an interest subsidy on education loans to students from economically disadvantaged sections (family income less than INR 450,000 a year) pursuing technical or professional studies in India. It will be interesting to see what percentage of girl students from this category of population are taking benefit of this scheme for this allocation to qualify under category B as needless to say that their proportion in technical education is certainly not going to be more than that the overall % of girls enrolment in such programmes. However, such an analysis is outside the purview of this paper. But, some indications of lesser participation of women in educational loan schemes as also there being higher percentage of female education loan defaulters can be found in other studies in India (Bandopadhyay 2016, Patra et.al. 2017). Similar questions can be asked with respect to DE & ICT, Polytechnic education etc. particularly when there

is high focus on skill development and vocational education in recent years. Such a situation leaves one wondering if decline in allocations (now being reported as zero) for improving access & equity is justified or not? Also, if gender is to be understood in its right perspective and not as a synonym to women, should medical education also not find some place in GB in order to promote male participation. There, certainly is a case for redistribution of the GB earmarked under category A for access and equity within the HE sector but completely doing away with it is not yet called for. However, given the fact that there are several purely women's schemes under implementation (Box No. 3) zero reporting under Category A in the past few years seems to be a reporting error unless the allocations for these schemes are merged in the UGC, Technical education or scholarship heads under Category B allocations. Such anomalies call for serious corrections in the GB reporting as also the importance of increasing the share of 100 % women targeted schemes to improve participation of women in specific courses other than just scholarships or interest concession on loans. Such observations call for serious gap analysis in GB reporting as is evidenced by few examples of select Schemes that qualify to be reported under PART A and are identified in Box No.1

Box-1:100 Percent Women Oriented Schemes

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

Such schemes (Box 1) should have been reflected in Category A, which certainly exist and would have qualified for a good amount of share in the HE GB, if reported properly. It is difficult to say, whether several of the category B allocations should have qualified for equal opportunity expenditure or mainstream expenditure. For example, the ones on IITs, IIMs, upgradation and setting up of new schools etc. are schemes in which neither the policy nor the practice proves a minimum of 30% of women participation in this category of institutions. Until and unless the policy provides for such reservations for women, these may be treated as mainstream expenditure and not reported under Category B.

Categorizing the expenditure into the theoretical connotations, following inferences may be drawn with respect to HE GB in India.

- a) **Gender-targeted expenditure:** Gender-specific expenditure targeting women and girls (e.g. women's literacy projects, women scholarships) exists but is not correctly reported.
- b) **Equal opportunity expenditure:** Expenditures promoting equal opportunities in the public sector (e.g. evaluation of job descriptions to promote equitable hiring of faculty) are lacking and need to be strengthened. There may be several ways of doing it. For example, allocations for improving women's employability and research capacity, academic growth, job potential, internship opportunities, jobs in science/technology labs, research and innovation centres etc. are more meaningful and rewarding in the long run. The emphasis should be on providing and creating awareness towards opportunities to improve economic participation rather than just perform non-economic activities.

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

It can thus be seen that GB in HE falls short of its first two objectives i.e. the adequacy objective and the responsive objective. Firstly, to achieve the Adequacy objective, a lot still needs to be done to improve and shift the participation of women as well as men in order to achieve greater gender balance in several disciplines and courses, institutions and regions. Secondly, for the Responsive objective to be achieved, several felt needs of women (pupils and teachers), in particular still need to be addressed both for the students and faculty in the HE system, some of which have been identified under the equal opportunity expenditure in the above paragraph. Assessment of the third objective i.e. Impact objective will require consideration of the impact of any form of public expenditure. This in turn will require a very rigorous data based econometric exercise that may be beyond the scope of this paper. But, some indicative analysis based on available State-wise data may help draw some insights. It is suggested that effectiveness of education financing campaigns can be measured on how far they promote participation of boys and girls and reduce disparities between men and women, promote fair conditions for both male and female (pupils and teachers), address school related gender based violence and discrimination and empower men and women in employment and development. Let us try to briefly examine some of the above aspects in order to see why Gender Budgeting in HE is still justified and try to identify few important intervention areas. A story that begins with gender

disparity in participation in HE gets translated into participation and promotion both in HE and in the labour market.

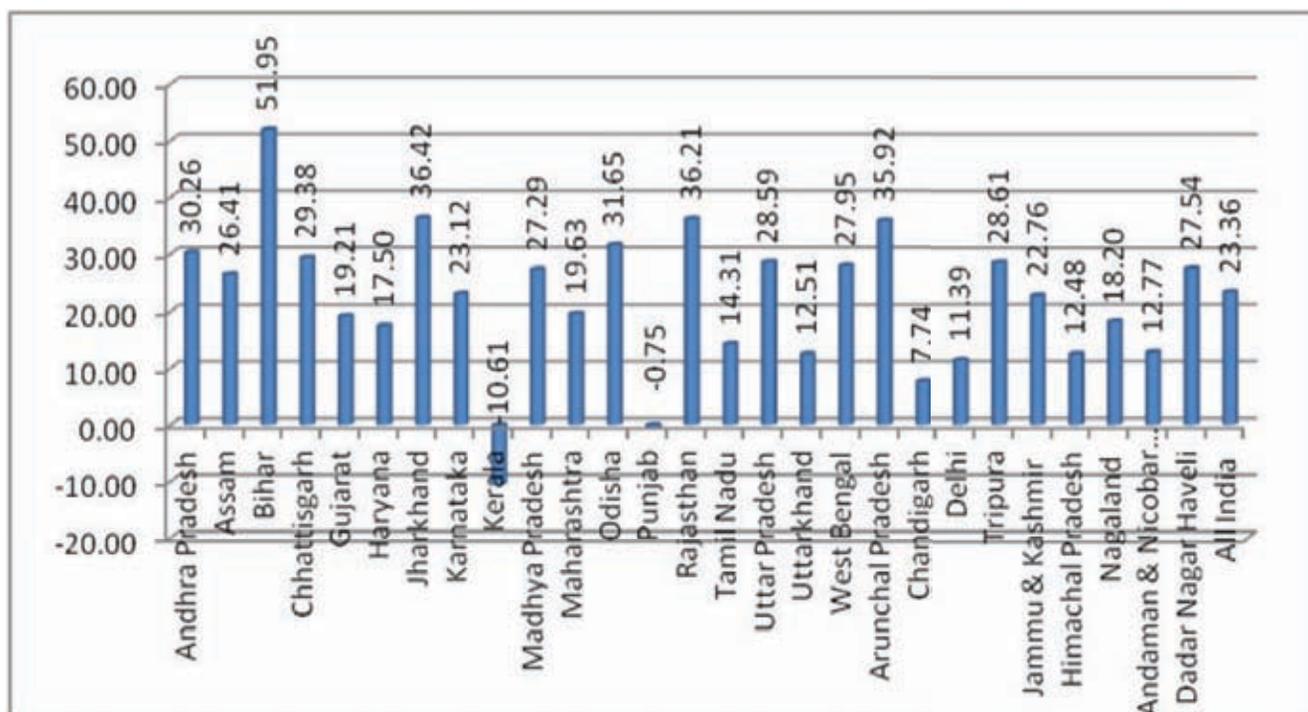
3. Higher Education Graduate Participation and Employment Disparity

While number of girls and women at all levels of education have increased, access to quality education and opportunities and freedom gained through education remain unequally distributed. The women literacy levels are still 16% below men (GOI 2011). While, girls in most other countries (including 5 developing nations) typically outscore boys in reading as measured on international tests of comparative educational achievement (Lynn and Mikk 2009; Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) 2010), the situation in India is reverse with the inequalities only rising by rising levels of education. The persistence of gender inequalities

is reflected explicitly in the education sector and also in the employment patterns as its implicit outcome. In order to highlight the important aspects of gender disparity in the HE sector, we highlight Adverse Female Graduate Ratio, Adverse Female HE Participation Ratio and Adverse Female employment ratio in the Indian States.

Adverse Female Graduate Ratio: The story of Gender Gap that begins at the most basic stage of literacy gets steeper with the gap between Male to Female HE graduates' share in population being almost a quarter percent, something that has serious implications for women's economic participation and empowerment in future. Barring the State of Kerala where the female share in graduate population outnumbered male share by 10% percentage points and Punjab where it is marginally higher (not even 1%), this ratio favors men in all other states of the country (Figure 4).

Figure 4: Gap between Male- Female graduates in Higher Education (%)



Source: Author's calculation using Census of India 2011 C-8 EDUCATIONAL LEVEL BY AGE AND SEX FOR POPULATION AGE 7 AND ABOVE - 2011 only for Relevant age population as 21 years and above.

The gap is as high as 52% in the State of Bihar. In more than 14 states, this gap is higher than the All India gap and deserves attention. If such gaps continue to persist, they may lead to greater empowerment disparities given the highly dynamic, tech savvy and innovation driven labour market. The adversity becomes all the more clear when the course/programmatic biases for girls and women are analysed.

Adverse Female HE Participation Ratio: Gender Parity Index (GPI) in higher education, one of the most popular measures of progress towards gender equity is adverse not only for All India but also for a large majority of Indian States (MHRD, GOI). GPI is favourable for women (greater than 1) in only six of the major Indian States (AISHE Report (2015-16),) in the country and the gap is much higher for ST and SC being 10 and 4

respectively. Not only this, the course specific participation Ratio prove that most disciplines that are comparatively more job oriented like Science and IT/Computer applications, engineering and technology etc. are male dominated while Females constitute more than half of the student enrolment in Arts and Social Sciences (Khare 2014, 2018). Infact, the M-F enrolment ratio in engineering and technology at the undergraduate level, instead of improving, has worsened between 2010-11 to 2015-16 (Khare, 2018). Gender inequalities and imbalance in the arts, humanities and social sciences is not just akin to India but a reality faced by the world as a whole (Equality Challenge Unit 2011). The situation is far worse with very little improvement for women from socially disadvantaged communities as is evident from Table 5

Table -5:Enrollment in Technical Education (% of Female to total)

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

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

Even, those few who get the chance of being part of the technical/professional education rarely find place in the best quality high end institutions of good repute. The percentage of girl students in the IITs in India is bare 8%. Although, the gaps are narrowing down, women's participation continues to be low in science and technology and high status disciplines, prestigious institutions globally and in India. (Morley et al 2006, Morley & Lugg 2009, UNESCO 2010, Becher, 2006, Beede et.al. 2011, Equality Challenge Unit 2011, Chanana 2012 Bebbington, 2002 Dyhouse, 2003, AISHE, 2015-16, Khare 2016) and are concentrated in

subject areas associated with low-wage sectors of the economy (World Bank, 2002). There are disparities in mathematics and language learning, gendered curricula and subject choices (Morley et al 2006, 2009 EIU 2014, Ramachandran 2010) and ingender insensitive pedagogy (Welch 2006).

Moving forward to the domain of work and career progression, studies point at under representation of women in positions of power and decision making as well as in well paid jobs (British council 2014, Knight & Richards, 2003, Chanana, K. 2013, Morley 2013, Khare 2016 Pritchard,

2010). Reflections from Graduate employment ratios in India substantiate the literature.

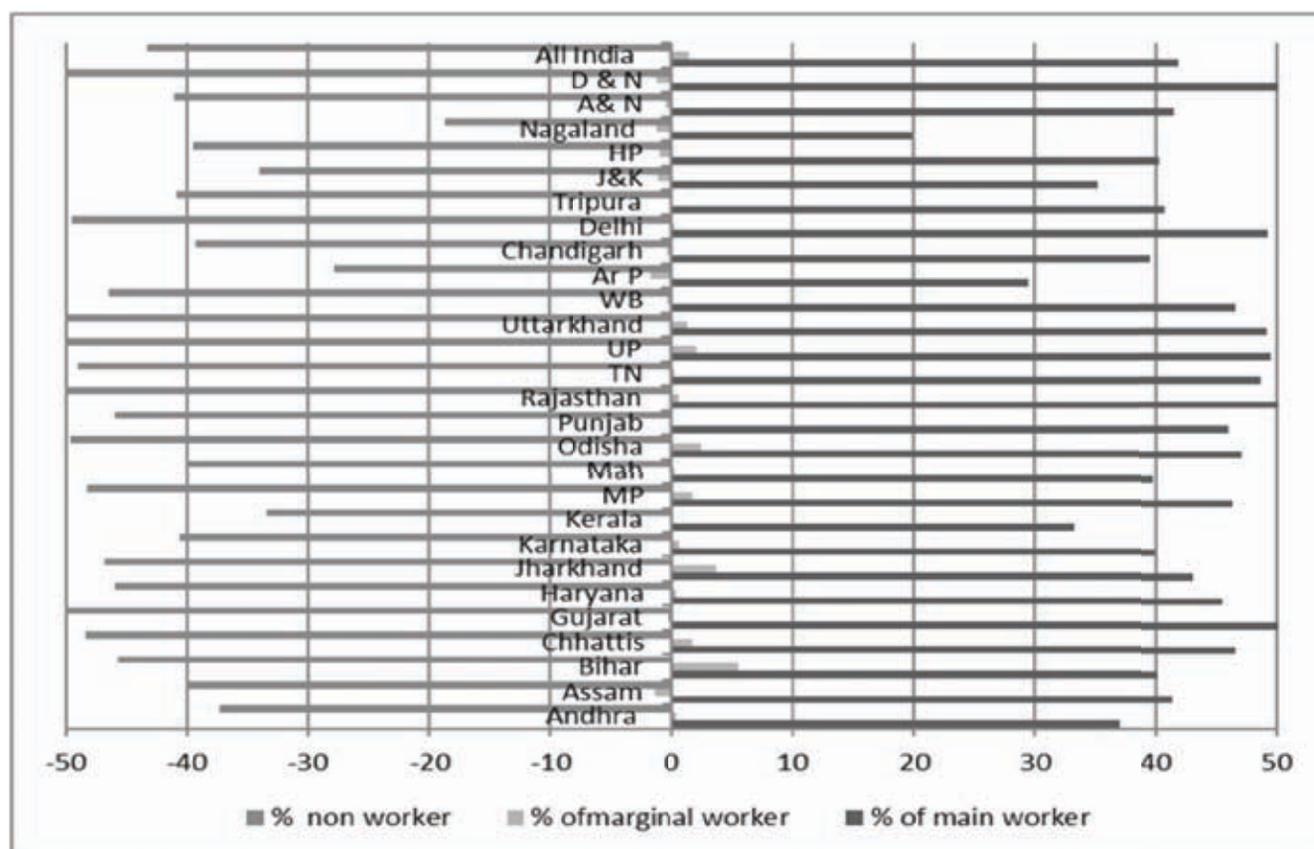
Adverse Graduate Employment Ratio:

Data prove that female graduate population still has a major share of non-worker category while for men, it is the main worker category that has the major share. These figures for All India are worth noting. As against 69% of male main graduate workers, there are merely 27% female main graduate workers (Census 2011).

Situation remains adverse even in the states like Kerala, Karnataka and few other southern

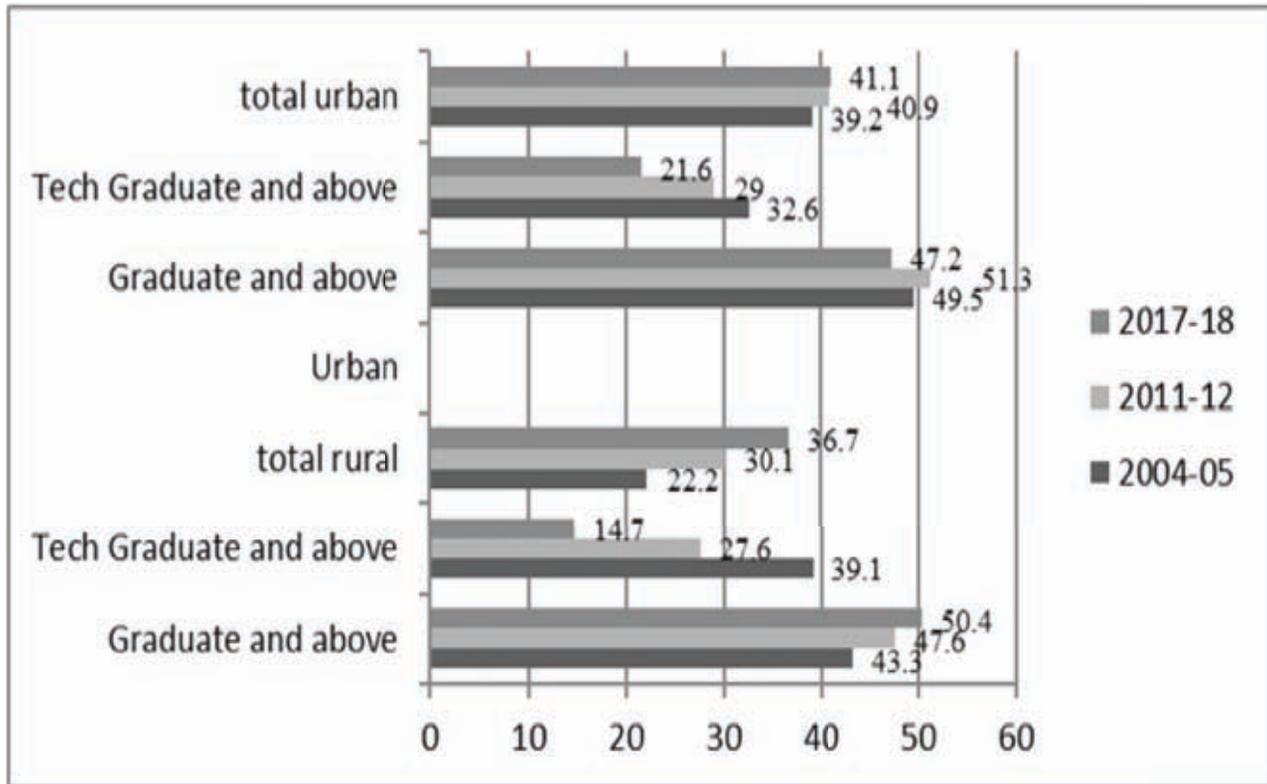
regions that had a more balanced HE participation ratio and favourable female graduate ratio. For all states in the country, main worker category is overwhelmingly skewed in favour of men and for non-worker category in favour of women (Fig No.5). Also the LFPR of women is much lower than men but the male – female (M-F) gap in labour force participation rate (LFPR) is increasing over the years (Fig No.6) in both rural and urban India. Infact, even for graduate plus education category, this gap has remained as high as almost 50%, and increased in rural areas (Figure no.6). It is only for the technical graduates category that the M-F gap has declined significantly.

Figure-5: Male-Female Gap in HE Graduate Workers by category



Source: Same as in Figure 4

Figure-6: Male- Female Gaps in Labour Force Participation Rates by Education in Rural and Urban areas



Source: Authors estimation based on NSS and PLFS unit level data

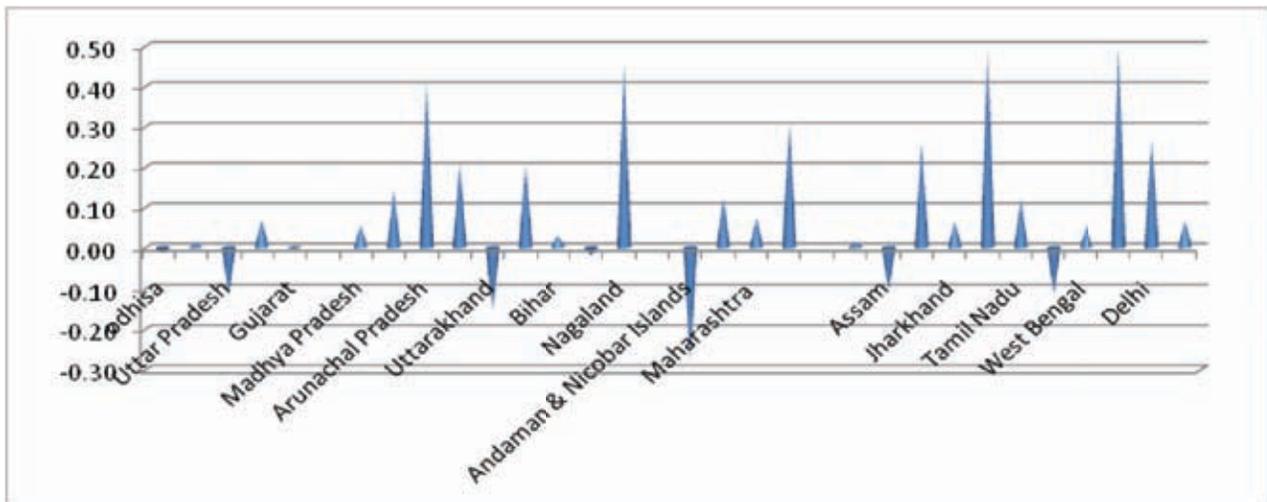
Gender, thus, remains a strong determinant of many educational inequities and better presence of women in higher education has a limited impact on the labour market (UNESCO, 2010 Channana, 2013). Two important insights that can be drawn from the above are that rural India still remains a hot-spot while technical and professional education seems to be driving the gender equity vehicle and hence should be the focus areas for Gender Budgeting in education.

4. Spatial Mapping of Deteriorating Gender Parity in HE

Analysing the shifts in Gender Parity Index (GPI) in HE, it is indeed worrisome to note that over the past five years, the GPI in several states has either deteriorated or remained almost stagnant. States showing a deterioration in GPI over the past five years include fourteen States in all (Figure 7)

some of which are also those that have adopted GB. Does this mean GB does not help? Studies have shown that GB does have a positive impact on reducing gender inequalities and therefore, serves as a motivation for countries to adopt GB (Stotsky, 2016; Sharp and Elson 2008, Chakraborty 2016; Kolovich and Shibuya, 2016). Chakraborty et al (2018) in their study on Asia Pacific countries prove “Gender budgeting has significant effect on increasing Gender Development Index (GDI) and small but significant potential to reduce Gender Inequality Index(GII). These results strengthen the rationale for employing gender budgeting to promote inclusive development.” Not only does this justify for taking GB in HE more seriously but also making deeper analysis into what works and where the implementation / programmatic gaps lie.

Figure 7: Change in GPI between 2010-11 and 2015-16

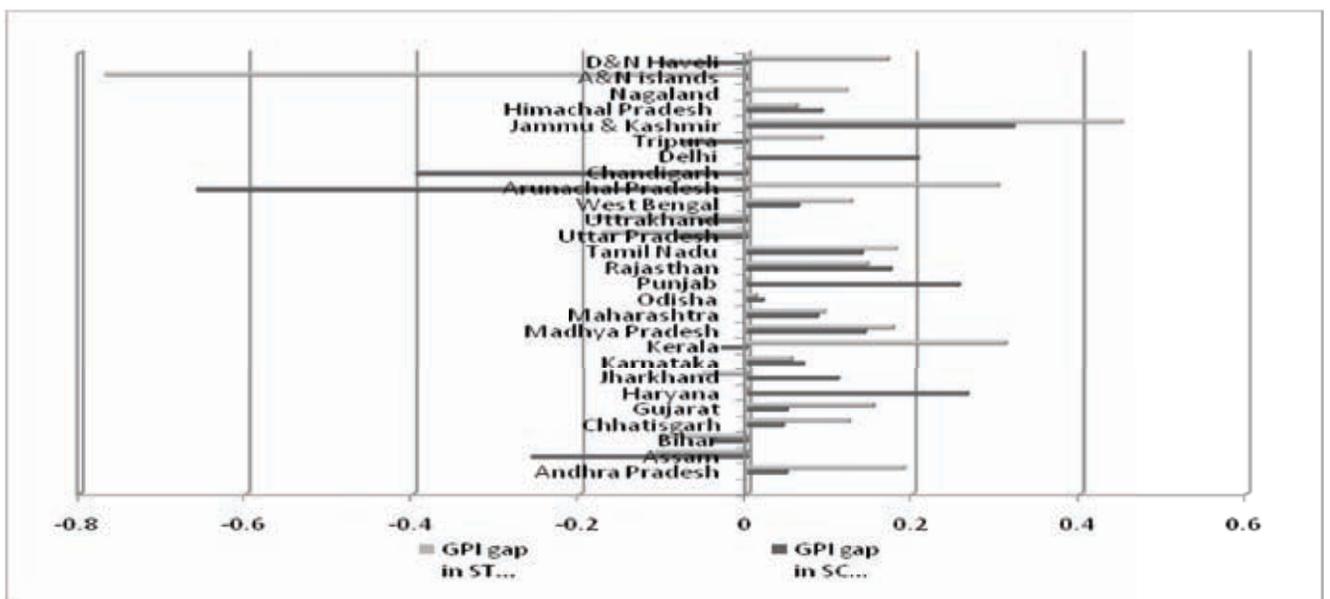


Source: Author's calculations.

There are several states where the GPI as a whole might not be giving alarming signs but if the same is checked for SC/ST students the situation might be different. (Fig. No. 8). It is not necessary that if GPI as a whole has improved for a State, it has improved for all categories of students. These are cases when improvement in the GPI of general category students camouflages the deterioration in the GPI for the socially disadvantaged group of SC/ST students or vice-versa. States like

Jharkhand, that are tribal dominated areas, have experienced an improvement in the GPI as a whole but deterioration for the tribal community. In fact, even developed states like Kerala that have a proven track record of pro-women indicators of literacy and GERs have witnessed a decline in the GPI value over the period as a whole and also for the SC category with improvement only in ST category.

Figure 8: Change in GPI for SC and ST(2010-11 to 2015-16)



Source: Author's calculations.

Several such indications emerge when just a simple spatial mapping of the States is undertaken in terms of the direction of shift in GPI for all students and by SC and ST students between 2010-11 to 2015-16. Superimposing the two gives nine distinct combinations of variations in GPI. At the two extreme ends are the States that have experienced improvement or deterioration in GPI for all three groups of students. In between there are several other permutations and combinations. The states can accordingly be classified as below:

- i) All three categories shown improvement: comprises 11 States, maximum have adopted GB
- ii) All three categories have shown deterioration: three States including UP, the most populous.
- iii) Improvement as a whole but drop for SC/ST: Bihar, one of the poor performing states, falls in this category. It is clear that socially disadvantaged groups deserve more focus in the State.
- iv) Deterioration as a whole but improvement for SC/ST: The only state that qualifies to be in this category is Odisha. The State, thus possibly needs to look at the drop in the GPI for general and other category of students that must be significant enough to pull down the overall GPI.

More such detailed analysis of HE and Schemes/programmes from a gender lens shall help improve the GB exercise.

5. Conclusion and Policy Implications

Logically as women's participation in HE grows, their labour market participation should also improve. However, across the globe, it is found that such transformation is not happening. So whilst it is true that there are far more students these days, and the majority are women, it necessarily does not mean that there is more than

formal equality in terms of "the numbers game". This is controversial as the "numbers game" is a mask for continuing power plays whereby the "rules of the game" remain misogynistic (David 2015). India slipped by 21 positions from 2016 to be ranked 108 among 144 countries according Global Gender Gap Index 2017 as per the World Economic Forum (The Hindu 2017) which certainly calls for a deeper look into its GB exercise, more so in HE as skilled and qualified human resource are considered to be the table turners in future global competition. It wouldn't be wrong to say that "those will succeed best who understand to integrate women as an important force into their talent pool".

Needless to say, specific and intelligent interventions through GB in HE are likely to have far reaching impact on achieving gender parity and women's empowerment by triggering a virtuous cycle of employable and economically active educated women. Prior to the introduction of the GBS, there was no way of even estimating how much of the government's total expenditure was flowing to women. Now with the production of the GBS, an institutionalized effort is being made in this direction. However, the Gender Budget Statement does not capture all the women focused interventions and there are several reporting/documenting anomalies. Proper impact analysis of this part of budget on its gender relevance is a tough task that requires special expertise and good data, both of which are lacking. Sex disaggregated data are still not available on several schemes. Assumptions behind reporting any specific proportion of funds in the GB Statement are not clear. The same is true about the benefits accruing to women in various development schemes which can be termed as being ambiguous.

Even for the specifically earmarked funds for Women, inconsistencies in GB statement can be noticed. While there are schemes currently under implementation and reflected in the outcome

budgets, they are not listed in Part A, and at times schemes reported in category B may show more than 100 percent allocations against them. In the case of some of the educational / scholarship-based programmes, loans, professional and technical education, allocations are reported under Part B of the Statement without any clear justification (by way of data on enrolments / number of scholarships provided).

Good Gender Budgeting relies heavily on data, so that policies, programmes and budgets can be evidence based rather than based on myths or assumptions. Data is imperative at all five stages of the budgeting process and require to be used to take informed decisions. Even, simple spatial analysis with sex-disaggregated data can provide insights into the real need and problem. Several States in the country can be seen as performing poorly on several fronts in attaining gender equality in HE that gets translated to work places. Even socially developed States like Kerala that have many indicators favouring women's participation in HE are found to be unfavorable to them on certain counts. What is most frustrating is the fact that in all States of the country, the economic participation of Female HE graduates is low. Although, the higher education sector in India is massifying at a pace as never before, with girls' enrolments fast closing upto boys and even outnumbering boys in many courses (medical education being an important one), still there are several visible and invisible dimensions of gender discrimination that hinder women's progression to/in job and constraints them to perform economic activities, thereby affecting their contribution in economic growth. The situation is likely to get worse in the future, with a more automated and tech oriented work order.

Even many of those States that have implemented GB are falling back on GPI. This calls for taking up the GB exercise in right earnest with data based evidential guidance. There can be

no hesitation in saying that even after 10 years of GB, many States are yet to adopt practicing it. GB in higher education has a long way to go to achieve its adequacy, responsive and impact objectives. Though there is a shift in EGB towards HE, its share in the overall HE expenditure is decreasing and is not justified. In fact, there is immense scope and need to continue with gender-targeted, equal opportunity as well as empowerment expenditure, all of which must have clear cut deliverable, marked and measured. According to the 2016 report by the International Monetary Fund, GB is positive and significant for primary school enrollment equality, and can potentially improve gender equality in primary education and thus, has an important role to play in doing so in HE. As rightly put by Morley et al (2015) policies on gender equality and gender mainstreaming need to be developed and accompanied by strategic action plans, resource allocation and reporting mechanisms. Thus, the need for GB in India's HE in order to strengthen several visible and invisible trends in favour of women is not unjustified. Corrective actions need to be taken within the HE sector for them to get translated outside and become cumulative by triggering a virtuous cycle employment and empowerment. Therefore, the relevance of GB in HE cannot be overemphasized. Situation in India's HE is more complex given its rising numbers and increasing diversities on campus, socio-cultural, regional connotations to the existing biases. Region specific interventions through spatial mapping at sub-national level, and further down to district level, may be more helpful. GB with a specific focus on rural, socially backward community and discipline specific learning opportunities has all likelihood to act as a guiding light towards gender parity.

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