

PUBLIC BUDGETING WITH A GENDER LENS:  
FULTON COUNTY, GEORGIA AND  
SAN FRANCISCO,  
CALIFORNIA

by

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ABSTRACT

PUBLIC BUDGETING WITH A GENDER LENS:  
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Public budgeting with a gender lens, also known as gender budgeting [GB], evaluates policies for their effects on men and women to promote gender equity. This research assesses GB in Fulton County, Georgia and San Francisco, California – the only two local governments in the United States [U.S.] that practice it. This study describes the adoption, implementation and impact of GB to fill a dearth of research on U.S. approaches within global GB literature.

The study utilizes qualitative methods of focus group discussion, face-to-face and telephone interviews of county administrators and nonprofit agency representatives, as well as observation and secondary data comprising of program reports, departmental and county budgets, and online publications. Utilizing the Politics of Public Budgeting theoretical framework, this research demonstrates that politics play a major role in the adoption, implementation, and continuity of a gender initiative.

Research findings indicate that administrative champions are as important as political champions in putting policy into action. Furthermore, the U.S. GB approaches redefined and

expanded the focus of gender services from women only to include men and LGBTQ persons, thereby demonstrating differential effects of GB rather than adverse effects. Findings also highlight embedding GB in mainstream budgeting processes. This study transfers knowledge from international examples, including developing countries, to the U.S., thus reversing the norm in academic research. Ultimately, the research contributes to American public budgeting by highlighting GB as yet another budgeting approach that intentionally balances scarce resources with competing interests to attain equitable policies.

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CHAPTER 1  
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Gender in Public Budgeting

More than sixty countries in the world practice gender budgeting [GB], with Australia and South Africa as the pioneers (Rubin & Bartle, 2005; Leadbetter, 2004; Elson, 1998; True, 2003). In the U.S., in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, only two local governments practice budgeting with a gender lens: the City and County of San Francisco, California, which incorporated a gender perspective in 1975 and Fulton County, Georgia, which adopted its gender initiative in 2007. The efforts leading up to policy adoption began with local elected representatives' affiliations with the United Nations [UN] conferences and gender initiatives such as the Convention for the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women [CEDAW]. Even though, the United States as a country did not ratify CEDAW, San Francisco and Fulton County, Georgia became signatories to the convention.

San Francisco, operating in a strong mayor form of government, began focusing on gender issues when the Board of Supervisors created the Commission on the Status of Women [COSW] in 1975, with seven [7] commissioners appointed by the Mayor to 4-year renewable terms. COSW was created to ensure equal opportunities for women in the municipality. The Department on the Status of Women [DOSW], which is comprised of five [5] employees, was created in 1994 to carry out the policies of the COSW. Since then the commission and the department have collaborated with area non-profit agencies and for-profit companies to identify problems and take action to promote equality in service provision and organizational practices.

San Francisco's municipal government consolidated its city and county entities in 1856 and has since operated as one municipal entity officially known as the City and County of San Francisco. The journey to GB for San Francisco began with one of the commissioners attending

the Fourth UN Women's World Conference in Beijing, China in 1995, after which efforts were made to incorporate CEDAW into the city and county processes. These efforts led to policy adoption in 1998.

Fulton County, Georgia took a similar path by attending a UN sponsored conference hosted by CIFAL<sup>1</sup> in Atlanta, Georgia in 2005 (Bartle et al., 2008). One of Fulton County's commissioners attended the conference and became a signatory to the Atlanta Declaration – a commitment to advance gender mainstreaming<sup>2</sup> in municipalities. These efforts led to Fulton County's gender equality policy adoption in 2007. Unlike the San Francisco consolidated municipal government, Fulton County operates as a separate entity from the City of Atlanta and uses a council-manager form of government.

GB, which is a relatively new concept in the world of economics, public budgeting, and public administration, is defined as “an attempt to breakdown government's mainstream budget according to its impact on men and women” (Leadbetter, 2004). Studies show that GB is widespread in the world particularly in Australia, Europe, Africa, and select Southeast Asian countries (Leadbetter, 2004; Klatzer, 2008; Elson, 2003; Klasen, 2007; Stotsky, 2007; Sharp & Broomhill, 2002). The concept of GB however, has captured little attention in the United States [U.S.]. There is scarce literature on GB in the U.S. and even fewer articles published in American scholarly journals (Rubin & Bartle, 2005). Furthermore, there is little empirical documentation of the implementation process of GB in the U.S.

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<sup>1</sup> CIFAL is a French acronym, which stands for international training center for local actors, that is, government actors, private sector and nonprofit actors. CIFAL Atlanta was started in 2004 as a public-private partnership between the United Nations Institute for Training and Research [UNITAR] and the City of Atlanta. It operates under U.S. Law as a 501 [c] [3] not-for-profit organization dedicated to develop the capacity of government authorities and civil society leaders to implement the UN millennium development goals and achieve sustainable development (CIFAL, 2012).

<sup>2</sup> Gender mainstreaming is a phrase used to refer to the process where gender considerations are integrated and embedded into regular government processes and become the norm or part of the day-to-day activities of government rather than special projects targeted at a certain group.

## 1.2 Scope of Research

This is a descriptive case study of GB approaches as practiced in Fulton County and San Francisco to fill the shortage of U.S. GB research. The following questions are used to guide the research:

1. What factors influence the implementation of gender budgeting?
2. Does the budgetary allocation of gender budgeting significantly affect the overall municipal budget? How is the cost of data collection and evaluation funded?
3. What are the effects of gender budgeting? Identify intended and unintended effects.
4. In what way(s) has the practice of gender budgeting changed the county's services and resource allocation?
5. How does the U.S. practice of gender budgeting compare with the practice of gender budgeting in other countries?

This research provides a global perspective of gender budgeting [GB] through a comparative framework to inform research on GB in the U.S. The norm in research and publications has been to transfer knowledge from the U.S. to other countries, particularly developing countries. This research reverses the norm by transferring knowledge on GB from other countries, including developing countries who have practiced GB for a longer time, and using their experiences to guide the study of GB in the U.S. The international examples are also used comparatively alongside the U.S. case studies to determine the differences and similarities in approaches.

This research finds that there is not only a transfer of knowledge from international examples to the U.S. but that the U.S. practice of GB, specifically the Fulton County approach, is a worldwide trendsetter because of its dual focus on both genders. Focus on both males and females is a new approach that differs from the common focus on women-only that is widely

practiced in international examples and in the San Francisco case study. The San Francisco case study also offers a new approach of focusing on the LGBTQ<sup>3</sup> population. In addition, this research finds that politics deserves center stage, as is commonly given to cost considerations and technical aspects of GB, because politics is a significant factor in the adoption, implementation, and continuity of a gender lens. Furthermore, the study uncovered the use of private partnerships with faith-based, non-profit and for-profit organizations to provide direct services to citizens as well as the use of interdepartmental cooperation to implement GB.

This research utilizes a mixture of qualitative methods along with time-series trend analyses to guard against bias that can be created by using a single method. The study does not utilize quantitative methods, contrary to some GB studies (Walby, 2005; Bartle, et al., 2011; Nallari & Griffith, 2011). GB requires a predominantly qualitative analysis because quantitative measures alone are not enough in evaluating gender equality because numbers do not explain underlying causes or outcomes (Walby, 2005; Bartle, et al., 2011). For instance, in the Caribbean, girls have higher participation rates in primary and secondary education than boys but this educational attainment does not translate into women's better positioning in labor markets or increased decision-making in the region (Demetriades, 2007). So the ratio of boys to girls in education may not be an appropriate indicator of gender equality (Demetriades, 2007), rather further analysis may be required to gain a proper measure of gender equality; or to better understand why the high rates of education in girls do not lead to better placement in the labor market.

Another example of quantitative analysis failing to tell the full story behind correlations is the case of Kenya, where lower participation of girls in schools correlates with lower status of

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<sup>3</sup> LGBTQ is an acronym that stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer groups of people.

women in politics, decision-making, and in the economy (FIDA-Kenya, 2008; Kamau, 2010). Although the numbers make the correlations in this case, one may need to conduct further research to find the reason behind girls' lower participation in schools. Qualitative research sheds more light on the issue by highlighting African cultural factors, for instance, as one of the underlying reasons behind the low participation of girls in school and the subsequent low status of women in politics and the economy (Dena, 2012). Therefore qualitative methods are important in explaining fundamental issues in social science research.



## CHAPTER 2

### LITERATURE REVIEW

Rubin (2010) posits that public budgeting is political because of factors such as reform orientation, the incrementalist method of budgeting, the dominant role of interest groups in the process, the power plays in the budget process, and the policy debates. "Public budgeting is not about numbers, it is about making democratic governance work" (Morgan, 2002: 3). Gender budgeting entails a reform perspective, the dominant role of elected and administrative representatives in policy debates and possible power plays in resource allocation. Stotsky (2006a) discusses externalities as a justification for gender budgeting. Policies may have externalities that cause differential effects on gender and conversely there are external benefits to reducing gender inequalities. Some external benefits to reducing gender inequalities are for instance, increasing the number of women in labor market participation will lead to an increase in economic activity thus positive economic growth for the nation as a whole. Stotsky advocates use of the external benefits argument to urge fiscal authorities to remove discriminatory practices and policies. She asserts that the motivation to address externalities can encompass equity as well as efficiency considerations.

According to Stotsky's argument, making the case for gender equality by using social equity justifications may not render speedy or successful results as far as action on the part of authorities; however, making the case for gender equality by using economic justifications [externalities] may render results that are more acceptable thus successful. Stotsky's reasoning lends itself to the argument that political acceptance takes center stage in the success of a gender budgeting [GB] approach in government where the political game of tradeoffs is played. The perceived value of the tradeoff determines the success of the initiative hence Stotsky's argument of using economic justifications rather than social justifications to push a gender lens

onto the government agenda. Besides being a playing field for power and politics, public budgeting is also a mechanism for setting goals, allocating resources necessary for achieving the goals, measuring progress toward goals, identifying weaknesses or inadequacies in organizations, and for controlling and integrating the diverse activities carried out by numerous subunits within large bureaucracies (Lee, et al., 2008). Budgeting is the manifestation of an organization's strategies, whether they are strategically planned, haphazard, arbitrary, complacent, or a result of competing political forces bargaining for shares of resources (Lee, et al., 2008).

Regardless of the justification for gender budgeting, the political aspect that goes along with incorporating a gender lens cannot be downplayed. Politics is an integral component of adopting, implementing and continuing with a gender lens in any jurisdiction, particularly when the policy is geared towards one gender only; the female gender. Rubin's (2010) theory that politics plays a prominent role in public budgeting is used throughout this research as the theory holds true for GB both in the U.S. and internationally.

There is an intellectual crisis in GB literature where there seems to be a disconnect between theory and practice. GB theorists seem to be in an ivory tower discussing costs and the technical aspects of gender budgeting, while touching only briefly on the complex nature of the politics that go along with it. In GB, politics takes a center and integral part because of the contentious nature of the initiative as well as the competing interests and tradeoffs debated on in policy dialogue. The competing interests and tradeoffs debates in GB often surround the actual and perceived benefits and challenges. For instance, viewing gender as a women only venture will create divisionary politics while viewing gender as benefiting both men and women may not cause as much divisiveness. The political debate may present a major obstacle or in rare cases, present a significant benefit to the gender initiative. Practice therefore should inform

theory, and publications on gender budgeting should discuss politics along the same lines as discussions on cost and technique, because without a political champion or the political acceptance of the initiative, it may not get adopted, and even if it gets adopted, it may not be successfully implemented in the absence of an administrative champion. This research illuminates the importance of discussing politics as a major component in incorporating a gender lens in public budgeting.

Public budgeting is a cyclical process where one stage influences the next and the cycle continues every fiscal year. For instance, the planning stage [preparation and submission] influences what happens at the implementation stage, which consequently influences evaluation results, which in turn influence the subsequent year's planning stage in terms of policy/program revision, retention or removal. All stages of a budget cycle are affected by competing interests and scarce resources, particularly the planning stages where influence on policymaking is paramount. The budget process is cyclical in order for the system to absorb and respond to new information, thus making government accountable for its actions (Lee, et al., 2008). There are four stages in a budget cycle according to Lee, et al., (2008). The first stage is preparation and submission where budget requests are made, revisions are done based on results of past budget evaluations, and budgets are prepared for the next fiscal year. The second stage is approval, which entails passing of budgets by elected representatives. The third stage is execution, which refers to implementation of the budget policies, and the fourth stage is audit and evaluation where policies and programs are evaluated in terms of output, outcomes, and general effects to ensure accountability. These stages in most cases overlap because of the timing of the fiscal year and amount of work that goes into each stage of budgeting.

Gender budgeting [GB] in this study takes a similar cycle and touches on all stages of the budget cycle. When GB is fully embedded into countywide procedures it affects all stages of

the budget cycle as is the case in Fulton County, Georgia, however, when it is not integrated into countywide procedures, GB affects mostly the evaluation stage of the budget cycle as is done in San Francisco. GB implementation structure differs with each jurisdiction depending on factors such as available resources, governmental structure, and political acceptance of the initiative. Internationally, most countries implement GB at the national level and devolve it down to local levels in which case it may touch on all stages of the budget cycle and have more emphasis on the evaluation stage.

Today, governments at all levels have a wide array of budgeting methods to choose from, which would not be possible were it not for the budget reform efforts that began in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century (Lee et al., 2008). According to Lee et al., (2008), budget reform efforts in government began with Program Budgeting in the early 1900's, followed by Performance Budgeting in the 1940's, Planning-Programming Budgeting [PPB] in the 1960's, and Zero-Based Budgeting [ZBB] in the 1970's. During the era of President Bill Clinton in the 1990's, more reforms towards customer centric focus included the National Performance Review [NPR], the Government Performance and Results Act [GPRA], and strategic planning in the late 1990's. During President George W. Bush's era in the 2000's, more budget reforms were geared towards performance in the President's Management Agenda [PMA] and the Program Assessment Rating Tool [PART].

Recently, there has been a move toward Performance-Based Budgeting [PBB], outcome based budgeting, and emulation of private sector budgeting techniques such as Management by Objectives [MBO], Total Quality Management [TQM], Management for Results [MFR], and the Balanced Scorecard method. In line with Lee et al.'s (2008) espousal of the history of budget reforms is the introduction of gender budgeting, which offers yet another

technique of doing public budgeting, in an effort to address social inequalities found in budgetary outcomes.

### 2.1 Stages of a Gender Budget Cycle

A government budget cycle utilizing a gender lens is similar to Lee, et al.'s (2008) description where budget instructions are sent out to the agencies with gender-specific questions. In the first year of GB, an initial analysis is done by collecting gender disaggregated data and conducting gender analysis to determine whether the programs and services are gender equitable.

A hypothetical scenario is used here to explain the GB process: If for instance, the gender analysis shows that a health care program, which is intended to benefit all genders and ages, but in actuality benefits, say, 85% women, 10% children, and 5% men; the program staff will then reevaluate the program and find out why only 5% of men, for instance are served in this program. The program staff, given the evaluation results above, may suggest changes such as increased outreach and health awareness programs targeted for men in order to increase the number of men utilizing the service. In the same way, given the evaluation results above for the case of children, the program staff may evaluate the data further to find out why only 10% of children are served in this program, and out of the 10%, how much of it represents boys and how much represents girls. Program staff may then suggest changes to the program such as a health education component for parents or families in order to increase the number of children served. If out of the 10% it is found that, say 7.8% represents boys and 2.2% represents girls, then the staff may focus their health education more towards childcare health for girls in order to balance the numbers.

The process follows that in the next budget cycle, the newly created outreach activity for men and health education component for families may cost the department in terms of staff time, increased workload, or increased costs. These changes have to be incorporated into the budget preparation and submission stage in order that they can be approved and implemented to make the program more gender equitable. The budget stages then continue in a cyclical manner each fiscal year until GB is fully embedded into the county budgeting processes.

In Fulton County's GB approach, four stages are used in the budget cycle namely the budget preparation stage, the budget approval stage, the implementation stage and the evaluation stage. Gender specific questions are included in the budget instructions during budget preparation at the start of every budget cycle. Each department responds to gender specific questions as part of the budget guidelines by stating how many men, women, boys and girls they serve in each program. They also provide gender impact statements by stating how each gender segment is affected by a change in the programs they offer, whether it's a financial change or a program revision. In the budget approval stage, hearings are held where the budget committee asks for more information concerning gender impact statements and the budget proposals put forth. In the implementation stage, gender disaggregated data is collected and gender analysis is conducted to find out how the various gender segments among citizens are affected or are benefiting from public service. In the fourth and final stage of the budget cycle, the program is evaluated based on results of the gender analysis, and revisions are recommended if needed to make the program more equitable to all genders. In the beginning of the budget cycle in the following fiscal year, the gender questions are asked again and the gender impact statements are given, and the cycle continues each year.

Public decision-making is democratic and participatory thus political (Lee, et al., 2008; Rubin, 2010). Gender budgeting [GB] is introduced to public budgeting during the evaluation

stage when budget programs and policies are evaluated for their differential effects on men and women. GB thus identifies weaknesses and inadequacies of an organization at the evaluation stage; it then proceeds to reform service provision and resource allocation by influencing the planning stages of budget preparation and approval in highlighting gender inequality as a problem and advocating for it to be a priority. GB therefore ends up influencing all stages of a budget cycle and becomes integrated into mainstream public budgeting. This process is referred to as gender mainstreaming or otherwise known as embedding a gender lens into countywide budgeting processes.

## 2.2 The Politics of Gender Budgeting

The objective of GB is to evaluate budget policies for their intended or unintended effects on both genders. If a policy is found to have differential effects on one gender, the policy is revised so as to reduce any adverse or differential effects. GB is practiced because public budgeting policies are assumed to be gender-neutral when in actuality they are gender-blind (Klatzer, 2008; Schiff & Lewin, 1970). Gender neutral refers to a situation where effects of a policy are known and neither gender is adversely affected. Gender blind, on the other hand, is a situation where effects of a policy are not readily known and may manifest latent differential or adverse effects on one or both genders. The dangers of a gender blind policy are that one gender may lose access to public services and resources as an unintended consequence of the policy, leading to gender inequalities in areas such as access to health care and other quality of life aspects. Gender analysis, gender budgeting and gender mainstreaming, are all viewed as utilizing a gender lens, and are suggested as possible remedies to fix gender blindness.

However, in order to adopt and implement gender analysis, gender budgeting or gender mainstreaming, a great deal of political acceptance is required on the part of elected

officials, administrative officials and the public as a whole. GB theorists discuss the cost and technical sides of GB to great lengths (Budlender, 2005; Budlender & Hewitt, 2002; Elson, 2003; Hansen, et al., 2003; Jacobs, 2009; Klasen, 2006; Klatzer, 2008; Nallari & Griffith, 2011; Nordic Council of Ministers, 2005; Rake, 2000; Rubin & Bartle, 2005; Sharp, 2003; Stotsky, 2006[a] & 2006[b]; Walby, 2005) but do not spend as much time discussing the political implications that a jurisdiction has to undergo in taking on such a venture. As found in this research, the political back and forth involved with the adoption and implementation of a gender lens are rigorous, cause divisionary dialogue, and threaten the continuity of the gender initiative. GB literature should emphasize politics as much as it emphasizes cost and technique because this research finds that in the U.S. practice of GB, cost and technical aspects of GB are not necessarily forefront concerns for administrators. In addition, this research found that in the two U.S. case studies, the budget allocations for gender budgeting do not significantly affect the overall county budget and are lower than most program and department budgets in each of county jurisdictions. What is more of a concern for the Fulton County and San Francisco administrators, as data in this research shows, is the broad acceptance and buy-in of GB principles by elected representatives, county staff, and the public as a whole.

Gender budgeting embodies similar values as public budgeting in its quest to attain gender parity and social equity by promoting efficient use of government resources. Public budgeting strategies from the 1900s to the present have emphasized financial control, managerial improvements, and/or planning (Lee et al., 2008; Schick, 1966), prioritization and accountability (Rubin, 1996), and limitation of control (Bartle, 2001). In addition, there are competing elements in the budgetary decision-making process such as power plays, scarce resources, responsiveness to the environment, the separation of taxpayers from decision-makers, and constrained administrative strategies (Rubin, 2010), all of which influence



outcomes. Public budgeting is thus inherently political (Rubin, 2010) and this argument applies more so to GB. Political divisions are especially encountered when the gender lens is targeted to one gender, which makes for unproductive and one-sided dialogue. The political divide is thus an important bridge to cross for the successful implementation of any policy and particularly for the longevity of GB.

Government in the last decade or so has experienced a democratic era, similar to a New Public Service perspective, where citizens and leaders have reverted to the foundations of the American constitution (Denhardt, 2004). The public is increasingly embracing the traditional principles of democracy such as equity, public interest, the common good, and equality in class, which has led to consideration of equity concerns in areas like gender, race, and sexual orientation. Using a gender lens in budgeting implies that public budgeting is evolving along the notions of this democratic era by evaluating budgets to ensure gender equality in the allocation and distribution of resources and in service provision. The process of public budgeting is responsive to the changing socio-political environment but it is not without competing interests.

### 2.3 Gender Budgeting: A Global Perspective

The global perspective of GB varies with different regions. In addition, the implementation of GB has taken different approaches in each country and has had varying successes and effects in every country. This section highlights GB examples as practiced in various countries to shed light on the international perspective. Gender budgeting [GB] is also known in other countries as gender-sensitive budgeting or gender-responsive budgeting (Beveridge et al., 2000; Durojaye et al., 2010; Rubin & Bartle, 2005). The primary focus of GB in most countries internationally is on women only, similar to San Francisco's approach. Fulton

County's dual focus on both genders is a sharp contrast to the norm and introduces a fresh aspect of GB.

Australia was the first country to practice GB in 1984, followed by the country of South Africa in 1995. Other countries such as Canada, the United Kingdom, India, Mexico, several African, European, and Nordic countries followed shortly thereafter. These gender policies were spurred on by international gender equality commitments put forth by the United Nations [UN]. Most commitments that prompted action on gender equality initiatives include the Beijing Platform for Action, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women [CEDAW], and the Millenium Development Goals [MDGs] that link gender equality with social and economic development (Sharp, 2003; Budlender, 2005; Nordic Council of Ministers, 2005; Nallari & Griffith, 2011). The UN gender equality commitments have influenced national and regional governments such as the Commonwealth Secretariat, the European Council, the African Union and numerous national governments that have adopted gender equality initiatives.

In some countries, GB tends to focus on women only because of a history of women marginalization due to cultural factors, and they use gender initiatives or affirmative action strategies to elevate the status of women (Bird, 1993; Rake, 2000; Leadbetter, 2004; Stotsky, 2007; Jacobs, 2009; Quinn, 2009; GTZ Health Kenya, 2010). Women marginalization in most countries has been used as the primary reason for supporting and adopting GB, hence the use of the term "adverse effects" in the definition of GB to demonstrate gross violation of human rights on one gender (Klatzer, 2008; Rake, 2000). On the other hand, in countries whose women are not considered marginalized or subjugated, the use of the term "adverse effects" may be replaced with the term "differential effects" to show the differences in treatment between men and women by virtue of socialization, and not necessarily making the case for any type of

subjugation or gross violation of human rights. In the United States for instance, Fulton County, Georgia's GB approach focuses on men, women, boys, and girls thus evaluates the differential effects of public policies on both genders rather than focusing on just one gender. The San Francisco case study however illustrates some violation of human rights in their fight against human trafficking, which seems to be a prevalent issue in the region.

The International Labor Organization's [ILO] Bureau for Gender Equality gives an overview of GB initiatives around the world and is largely used in this section, among other sources, to explain the origin and progression of GB in different countries. The Australian GB initiative was the first attempt to analyze government budgets from a gender perspective (ILO, 2005). This initiative dates back to the mid-1980s when federal and state governments in Australia implemented what were called Women's Budget Statements [WBSs] as a tool for mainstreaming gender into economic and social policy (ILO, 2005).

State governments produced WBSs<sup>4</sup> on the anticipated impact of all ministries' budget revenues and expenditures on women and girls (ILO,2005). At the federal level, the Office of the Status of Women led the initiative and required that government agencies should not only examine programs directed at women and girls but should also audit their regular programs for their impact on women and girls (Sharp, 2003; Sawer, 2002; Budlender & Hewitt, 2002). The WBSs at the sub-national level had the same function as the federal WBS (ILO, 2005). The only difference was that states and territories also included budget information on equal employment opportunity programs in the public sector (ILO, 2005).

Following the Australian experience, a diverse group of GB initiatives sprang up (ILO, 2005). In 1989, the United Kingdom Women's Budget Group [UK WBG] emerged (ILO, 2005). As a think tank composed of gender advocates from various sectors, the UK WBG originally

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<sup>4</sup> WBS's refer to Australian official budget documents known as Women's Budget Statements.

began by publicly commenting on the effect the national budget under the Margaret Thatcher government was having on women (ILO, 2005). To date, most of the UK WBG work has focused on the analysis of national revenue-raising mechanisms, such as changes in taxes and social security instruments (ILO, 2005).

In 1993, the Canadian non-governmental organization [NGO], Women's International League for Peace and Freedom conducted a one-time exercise in gender analysis and resource allocation by gender (ILO, 2005). The initiative concentrated on defense expenditure and the opportunity cost of reallocating it to the social sector (ILO, 2005).

In South Africa, two NGOs and Members of Parliament [MPs] jointly launched the South African Women's Budget Initiative [SAWBI] in 1996 (ILO, 2005). The SAWBI is perhaps the most institutionalized GB initiative (ILO, 2005). It has also been cited as one of the most successful initiatives because it draws support from civil society, parliament, government and international agencies (ILO, 2005). The South African example reinforces the argument that widespread acceptance of elected officials, administrative officials and the general public is important and central to the success of a gender initiative. As a result, the SAWBI "has provided a major role model for development of gender-responsive budgets" (Sharp, 2003: 6). The scheme is a research and advocacy initiative focusing on national and sub-national budgets, with civil society doing the research and parliamentarians engaging in advocacy (ILO, 2005). During the first five years, the SAWBI only focused on analyzing the gender impact of expenditures. Analyses of the revenue side of the budget began later with research on direct and indirect taxation, donor funds, and excise and customs (Sharp, 2003; Budlender & Hewitt, 2002).

In 1996, the Commonwealth Secretariat launched a pilot project of government-led GB initiatives in Barbados, Sri Lanka, and St. Kitts and Nevis, designed to enhance government

capacity to apply gender analysis to policy and budgets (ILO, 2005). The pilot project was also a way of institutionalizing the gender mainstreaming strategy into policy development and implementation (ILO, 2005). Countries participating in the pilot took a sectoral approach to GB work by focusing on the expenditure side of the budget in three sectors: health, education, and agriculture (Budlender & Hewitt, 2002). However, the Commonwealth pilot programs were not sustainable despite careful planning and implementation (ILO, 2005). The strong sustainability of the South African initiatives compared to those of Australia and the Commonwealth Secretariat show that engaging civil society is critical in ensuring the continuity of GB work (ILO, 2005). The major lesson learned was that the involvement of civil society is critical, particularly in terms of generating demand for the continuation of the initiatives (ILO, 2005).

More recently, bilateral and multilateral agencies have implemented GB initiatives linked to their work supporting national planning processes, such as the production of Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (ILO, 2005). This has been driven by global efforts to implement and monitor progress in relation to the MDGs<sup>5</sup> and other international commitments (ILO, 2005). Another entry point has been through support to public sector reforms promoting government accountability and good governance such as decentralization processes and the introduction of performance budgeting (ILO, 2005). This also includes GB work linked to World Bank processes, such as public expenditure reviews [PERs]<sup>6</sup> and medium-term economic frameworks [MTEFs]<sup>7</sup> (ILO, 2005).

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<sup>5</sup> MDGs is a UN acronym that stands for a list of eight Millenium Development Goals, which most countries have ratified to achieve in their respective jurisdictions. Included in the eight MDGs is the goal of attaining gender equality which is directly tied to economic development.

<sup>6</sup> PERs are country-level reviews coordinated by the World Bank.

<sup>7</sup> In contrast to government budgets, which often extend up to one year, MTEFs are multi-year expenditure plans usually covering three to five years.

UN Women<sup>8</sup> (2011) explains how GB is implemented in other countries using a trickle down process of decentralization from national levels to local levels. UN Women states that sector ministries prepare their annual plans and budgets upon request from ministries of finance and according to a set of guidelines and considerations including budget envelopes and ceilings. Decentralization policies then delineate what sector ministries are responsible for at the national level and what responsibilities and resources are decentralized to the local governments. Implementation in most cases is done in collaboration with churches, community groups, and the private sector; an approach which resembles San Francisco's model of a gender lens.

In the international context, countries that implement GB receive training and technical assistance from UN agencies such as UN Women, which benefits planning and budgeting officers in different countries like Ecuador, Morocco, and Nepal (UN Women, 2011). This type of assistance is given to countries in an attempt to help them get GB policy commitments off the shelf and into action by mainstreaming gender into regular government processes. In Rwanda, UNICEF initiated a program which aimed to increase the enrollment, retention, and achievement rates for girls by supporting the government of Rwanda in building partnerships for girls' education. The result was significant increases in universal primary enrollment with slightly more girls than boys accessing primary education and to the establishment of policy frameworks and a budget for girls' education (UNICEF, 2007; UN Women, 2011).

Similar trends were experienced worldwide where there were higher enrollment numbers for girls in primary education than boys as a result of affirmative action (UNESCO, 2007). Enrollments have increased faster for girls than boys over the past few decades and both primary and secondary school completion rates have improved more rapidly for girls (HDR,

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<sup>8</sup> UN Women is a United Nations entity for gender equality and the empowerment of women.

2010; UN Women, 2011). However, the argument is that even though more girls are getting enrolled now more than ever, they still form the majority of children out of school. UNESCO (2007) reports that for every 100 boys out of school there are 122 girls; this is the case in Yemen with 270 girls, Iraq with 316 girls, India with 426 girls, and Benin with 257 girls for every 100 boys out of school. In these countries, such statistics continue to justify the need for a gender lens in governance in order to improve opportunities for girls and women.

In order to achieve successful results in GB, some countries like Morocco took the approach of combining their gender initiatives with positive outcomes in other policy areas such as education (UN Women, 2011). Nepal developed a gender sensitive budget tracking system, which showed that for the year 2009, twenty-four [24%] of the country's education sector budget directly contributed to addressing gender equality priorities (UN Women, 2011). In Uganda, the education sector included activities and financial resources towards the revision of school curriculum to remove gender stereotypes and construction of separate toilet facilities for boys and girls in 92% of primary level schools as of 2009 (UNIFEM, 2010; UN Women, 2011).

Fulton County used a similar approach and took advantage of having a new county manager who introduced a new budgeting approach – outcome-based budgeting – which then created an environment conducive for change in the introduction of GB. In addition, Fulton County housed GB funds in the non-agency portion of the county budget in order to insulate it from resistance or budget cuts. Rubin (2010) refers to this strategy as obfuscation, which she refers to as a budgetary tactic that hides full information on an initiative in order to protect it from opposition.

Gender budget formats differ with every country depending on their context. The table below taken from an African context by Stotsky (2007) gives an example of what a gender budget might look like:

Table 2.1 Gender Budget from an African Context<sup>9</sup>

<b>Education Ministry Budget</b>				
Objective	Gender Dimensions	Activities	Budget	Performance Indicators and Benefits
Expand primary education	Girls have a lower enrolment rate than boys, and the goal is to equalize this rate and achieve universal primary education.	Subsidize parents who send their daughters to primary school with eligibility based on a means test.	Derived from an estimate of the number of parents who would make use of this subsidy on an annual basis.	Ratio of boys to girls in primary education and total enrolment rate of boys and girls. Improved earning power for girls because of better education.
<b>Health Ministry Budget</b>				
Objective	Gender Dimensions	Activities	Budget	Performance Indicators and Benefits
Reduce HIV/AIDS exposure	Girls have a higher exposure to HIV/AIDS than boys because of cultural practices that limit the ability of girls to protect themselves against unsafe sex.	Develop programs that teach men the dangers of unsafe sex to women and girls.	Derived from an estimate of the cost of training health care workers to deliver the message.	Changes in girls' infection rate. Reduction in treatment costs and improvement in health and life expectancy.

<sup>9</sup> Stotsky (2007: 9-10) shows an example of a gender budget taken from an African context.



Table 2.2 Gender Budget from an American Context

PROGRAM NAME	GENDER DISAGGREGATED DATA		POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS	GENDER IMPACT STATEMENTS		OUTCOMES
	<i>Could also be name of project or budget line item</i>	Number of Customers Served by Gender		Gender Analysis Results ( <i>disparities</i> )	<i>Recommendations may lead to program redesign</i>	
Arts & Culture	#Men #Women #Boys #Girls	Boys and men were identified as underserved populations in department-wide programming.	(i) Conduct a series of focus groups with men and boys. (ii) Develop and refine future programming to address the disparity of male participation in arts programming.	State impact on:  -Men -Women -Boys -Girls	State impact on:  -Men -Women -Boys -Girls	Outcomes for:  -Men -Women -Boys -Girls
TLC Gender Sensitivity in Early Childhood	#Men #Women #Boys #Girls	78% of the children from birth to age five that were referred to TLC for mental and behavioral health concerns were boys. Analysis found gender biases in childcare services.	Developed a scientifically-based child care provider module to train caregivers on gender specific approaches to promoting healthy social development and learning.	State impact on:  -Men -Women -Boys -Girls	State impact on:  -Men -Women -Boys -Girls	Outcomes for:  -Men -Women -Boys -Girls
Parks & Recreation	#Men #Women #Boys #Girls	Found that girls were underrepresented in many sports programs.	(i) Outreach efforts to parents to include girls in sports for their health and well-being as well as for possible college scholarship or financial aid opportunities. (ii) Provide free sports clinics to girls ages 5-17 to attract girls to sports on a longer lasting basis.	State impact on:  -Men -Women -Boys -Girls	State impact on:  -Men -Women -Boys -Girls	Outcomes for:  -Men -Women -Boys -Girls

Gender budgets in different government jurisdictions take different formats but the goals and intentions are similar in that they are geared towards gender equality in society. The policy example above taken from Fulton County shows what a gender budget in the U.S. might look like.

GB has spread in other countries and particularly in developing countries because of donor assistance which provides a resource incentive. Developing countries in most cases adopt gender equality initiatives at the strong recommendation of international organizations who also are potential donors of grant monies. Developing countries thus adopt such initiatives to gain the approval of donors and to benefit from any material support offered. UN Women (2011) states that donors provide direct budget support to government ministries towards their priorities and goals if they are in alignment with that donor organization's principles. International organizations also provide other kinds of support as mentioned previously in areas like training and technical expertise, which absent the support would translate to monetary expense for these countries in hiring trained professionals. Therefore, more than just the moral obligation or commitment to gender equality, governments in developing countries are sometimes enticed by the monetary and non-monetary support packages that come with the adoption and implementation of a gender initiative. This presents a win-win situation for both sides because the advocacy organizations gain in their mission to achieve gender equality while recipient governments benefit from the 'rewards' offered.

In the U.S. case studies, Fulton County and San Francisco do not receive funding from international organizations to implement their gender budgeting initiatives, unlike other countries, particularly developing countries who receive donor funding. The two U.S. counties fund their gender initiatives locally and are because local resources are scarce and competitive, champions of the initiative are forced to minimize the cost of GB in order to ensure its longevity

and acceptance by elected representatives and county staff. Fulton County and San Francisco have been able to implement GB at minimal cost, contrary to GB literature claims that GB costs are high and can threaten the continuity of an initiative (Hansen, et al., 2003). The complexity with the cost argument is that in addition to budgetary allocations for GB, there are other nonmonetary costs that manifest in terms of insufficient staff time and increase workload, as well as having to do more work with fewer resources. However, these same factors of insufficient staff time, increased workload, and doing more with less, are not new in government administration where administrators have grappled with such issues in most government programs. Public budgeting is riddled with scarce resources and competing interests thereby creating an environment where government administrators always have to do more with less. The same is experienced in gender budgeting.

In addition to the GB cost debate is the presence of donor funding in other countries, mostly developing countries, which amounts to a higher dollar amount than would be available at a local government level in cases like Fulton County and San Francisco. Because GB literature globally covers examples from other countries, the argument that the cost of GB is high may hold true for countries receiving donor funding particularly when looking at costs covered by international organizations and donor agencies (UN Women, 2011). In the U.S. case studies, however, the same claims do not hold true because of the absence of donor funding thus this research reexamines the cost implication of GB in the U.S. to find that the budgetary cost of GB is lower than would cost with donor funding, and does not significantly affect the overall municipal budget. More discussions on the budgetary impact of GB in the U.S. are covered in chapter 6.

#### 2.4 Gender Equality: The Problem of Measurement

Gender equality is essential for sustainable economic growth and full social development (Rubin & Bartle, 2005). Budgets represent a government's priorities, the power relations in society, and the values of a country, yet their unintended effects produce gender inequalities and unequal distribution of power. The rationale for GB is that budgets prepared by government should address the needs and interests of different groups to ensure equality in society (Durojaye et al., 2010). In order to measure progress towards gender parity, one has to use certain measures to realize success or failure at achieving the goal. In the international arena, various measures of gender equality have been developed, which vary slightly depending on regional, political, cultural and other contextual factors. Countries use indicators to measure gender equality. Indicators mostly arise out of empirical research conducted by internationally recognized organizations that show gender inequalities in various sectors of the economy.

The developments of public budgeting do not come without challenges. Measuring performance and progress in public budgeting has been an issue over time and the same issue presents a problem for gender budgeting. How does one know that they have attained their ultimate goal of gender parity in society? What measure can be used to determine gender parity? The biggest challenge in U.S. budget reforms is the problem of measurement (Lee et al., 2008) and the operationalization of complex budgeting techniques, which also remains a significant challenge in the implementation of gender budgeting (Hansen et al., 2003; Walby, 2005). Measuring outcomes in GB presents a challenge to the U.S. case studies as both Fulton County and San Francisco admitted the difficulty in establishing an independent measure for gender equality. Nonetheless, innovation in public budgeting continues because of pressure on

government to be increasingly adaptive to a changing environment while at the same time be accountable for revenues, expenditures and efficiency in service provision.

Comparably, Walby (2005) discusses the pressure on GB scholars to use quantitative skills where qualitative skills are more useful. This pressure comes from the need of GB scholars to gain acceptance from scholars in more technical fields such as economics, budgeting, finance, and accounting. GB scholars seem to view acceptance by such academic fields as quality endorsements to spread the technique of gender budgeting. However, Walby argues that the qualitative aspect of GB may be sufficient to argue for the approach without succumbing to the pressure to use quantitative methods.

There are international, regional, and country level measures of gender equality; however there are no independent measures of gender equality formulated for local levels of government. The most commonly used measures are formulated by the United Nations Development Programme's [UNDP] Human Development Report [HDR] team. The most recently revised measure is the Gender Inequality Index or GII, which is an improvement of two formerly used indices; the GDI and the GEM (UNDP HDR, 2011). The Gender-related Development Index [GDI] and Gender Empowerment Measure [GEM] were formulated by UNDP in the 1995 Human Development Report. Other popularly used measures are the Gender Equity Index or GEI developed by Social Watch and the Gender Gap Index [GGI] developed by the World Economic Forum (Demetriades, 2007). The most recognized regional measure of gender equality in the world is the African Gender and Development Index [AGDI], which is specific to the African region and formulated by the UNDP African Economic Commission. Each index comprises of several indicators that are compounded to form a measure of gender equity.

The Gender Empowerment Measure [GEM] and the Gender-related Development Index [GDI] are UNDP's gender equality measures developed to measure gender inequality in countries across the world. The GEM is based on estimates of women's relative economic income, participations in high-paying positions with economic power, and access to professional and parliamentary positions (UNDP HDR, 2008). The GEM measures women's levers of power at the national level to determine the gender equality level of a country (Permanyer, 2008). The GEM is determined using three basic indicators:

- (i) proportion of seats held by women in national parliaments,
- (ii) percentage of women in economic decision-making positions, and
- (iii) female share of income [earned incomes of males vs. females] (Klasen, 2006).

One problem with the GEM is that it is considered elitist because it only takes into consideration women's participation in national positions, not local governments (Klasen, 2006).

The Gender-related Development Index [GDI] is different in that it adjusts the Human Development Index [HDI] for gender inequalities in the three dimensions covered by the HDI; these are life expectancy, education, and income (Klasen, 2006). The indicators used to calculate the GDI and GEM can be classified into five categories: education [enrolment and literacy], health [life expectancy], income [although labor market participation is preferred in most measures], share in parliament, and share in higher labor market positions (Dijkstra, 2006). The GDI is an improvement on the GEM and the HDI.

Social Watch's Gender Equity Index [GEI] combines indicators from both the GDI and GEM, with a separate gender equality rating estimated for three dimensions. The first dimension, education, is measured by the literacy gap between men and women and by male and female enrolment rates in primary, secondary and tertiary education (Social Watch, 2006). The second dimension is participation in the economy; measured by the percentage of women

and men in paid jobs, excluding agriculture, and by the income ratio of men to women (Social Watch, 2006). The third dimension is empowerment measured by the percentage of women in professional, technical, managerial and administrative jobs, and by the number of seats women have in parliament and in decision-making ministerial posts (Social Watch, 2006).

The Gender Gap Index [GGI] includes measures from the Executive Opinion Survey of the World Economic Forum, a survey of 9,000 business leaders in 104 countries (Demetriades, 2007). It takes a wider range of factors into consideration, but so far this greater descriptive capacity has meant fewer countries can be assessed using the indicator. The GEI calculated by Social Watch can be applied to around 130 countries, whereas the GGI only provides information on 58 countries (Social Watch, 2006).

Other gender equality indicators used include gender identity, autonomy of the body, autonomy within the household, political power, access to social resources [education and health], access to material resources [land and credit], access to employment and income [including the distribution of unpaid work], and time [leisure and sleep] (Dijkstra, 2006). A common indicator that is used in most indices is labor market statistics by gender, which is said to have micro and macroeconomic implications on the economy (Nallari & Griffith, 2011). This may look at employment by gender at an organizational level, department level or country level.

The choice of indicators varies because some of the data to be collected is available in some countries and unavailable in others, or some data may not be comparable across countries or even over a period of time. It is difficult to use one universal measure of gender equality across all jurisdictions of the world because of such limitations. These measures vary by context from influences of history, politics, culture, et cetera. For instance, the African Gender and Development Index [AGDI] formed by the UN Economic Commission for Africa is fairly standard for the African region because it has undergone extensive local research

(Dijkstra, 2006), but can only be used in the African region. Standardizing a measure however has proved difficult because of contextual relativity thus the five recognized measures discussed above are normally used with consideration on the limitations of each one of them.

### 2.5 Arguments in Favor of Gender Budgeting

A major argument of public budgeting policies is that they are assumed to be gender neutral. The reality is that these budgeting models are gender blind thus have potential to produce gender-adverse effects (Klatzer, 2008). Adding a gender lens to the public budgeting process is considered the solution to this problem of gender blindness. Even though budget policies appear to be gender neutral at face value, in-depth analyses have shown that the unintended effects of budgetary policies have adverse effects on women (Rake, 2000). However, this seems to be the finding and justification for most countries in the international arena and not necessarily true for the United States experience. Gender analysis in the United States has found underrepresentation of both male and female segments of the population (Fulton County, 2007). GB helps to uncover and avoid unintended effects. Proponents of GB also argue that governments have failed to attach money to policy commitments for promoting gender equality (Leadbetter, 2004; Stotsky, 2007) hence the need for GB. Gender budgeting is thus viewed as providing accountability of government efforts towards gender equality. GB reduces the gender blindness of public budgets by highlighting gender effects and suggesting ways of addressing such inequalities.

Another argument is that GB is intended to strengthen socioeconomic development. Literature shows that countries that have taken steps to address gender differences increase their pace of economic development and reduce poverty (Klasen, 2007; Shaw, 2002). This has been used as a justification to adopt GB techniques in national budgets around the world. One



of the eight UN Millenium Development Goals<sup>10</sup> [MDGs] explicitly links economic progress to creating equal opportunities for all men and women (Barrow, 2009; Squires, 2005; Squires, 2009; Stotsky, 2007). In addition, most MDGs touch on issues of poverty and gender inequalities. Women are disadvantaged because they face barriers in educational, social, and economic advancement (Bird, 1993; United Nations, 2012). These barriers are manifested as low status jobs, lower levels of education, and lower income for women, generally and on average, in comparison to men (Bird, 1993).

The UN gender initiatives have influenced the adoption of GB in countries throughout the world. However, the U.S. approach to GB, as seen in the case of Fulton County has a different focus that moves away from the popular international focus on women only. Fulton County's focus on both genders is new and unique and presents for more productive and engaging dialogue between policymakers of both genders in fighting against gender inequalities. This dual focus on both genders in public budgeting introduces a new aspect of policy evaluation based on differential effects of policies on both genders, rather than adverse effects on one gender, as is espoused in most GB literature.

### 2.6 Arguments Against Gender Budgeting

The concept of GB has failed to gain the approval of economists and public finance scholars because of the uncertain impact on macroeconomics, the unfavorable political attitude toward integrating gender indicators into budgeting, and the high cost and low practicality associated with its implementation (Elson & Catagay, 2000). However, this raises interesting questions about equity versus efficiency in public budgeting (Schiff & Lewin, 1968 & 1970).

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<sup>10</sup> The Millenium Development Goals are as follows: (1) End poverty and hunger, (2) Universal education, (3) Gender equality, (4) Child Health, (5) Maternal Health, (6) Combat HIV/AIDS, (7) Environmental Sustainability (8) Global Partnership (United Nations, 2012).

Using Schiff & Lewin's (1968 & 1970) analogy, it may be more efficient to use 'traditional' budgeting techniques but are these techniques effective in achieving the organization's goal[s]? Do these techniques resolve for instance, the issue of gender inequality in an organization where gender equality is a goal?

A major argument against GB is that while there is evidence of microeconomic impact of gender differences on behavior, the macroeconomic impact has not been fully identified. There is no linkage between gender differences in fiscal policies and impact on the overall economy of a nation. GB techniques do not examine the intersection with monetary policy, or how macroeconomic objectives such as growth of GNP and rate of inflation are set in relation to the budget (Elson, 2003; Rubin & Bartle, 2005). This constrains efforts to consider exploring budget strategies for more gender equitable outcomes (Elson, 2003).

Furthermore, measuring the degree of inequality in itself is complex. This becomes a major setback in evaluating the degree of gender inequality in relation to quantitative subjects like economics, finance, and budgeting. UNDP and other international organizations have over the years attempted to develop indicators and measures of gender equality that countries across the world can utilize. Problems with these measures include the inability to generalize indicators or results across countries, which differ in for instance, political systems, governing structures, cultures, et cetera. Another problem is that the indicators do not cover every aspect of an individual's contribution to the economy because of lack of data and quantification difficulties (Nallari & Griffith, 2011; Stotsky, 2007; Elson, 2003). These problems make it difficult to show the macroeconomic impact of gender differences.

Moreover, indicators and measures are developed for use at the national or country levels and cannot be replicated at local levels because of difficulty in obtaining data or computing it. Nonetheless, UN and IMF studies indicate that economic growth and greater

macroeconomic development correlate with reduced gender inequalities (Stotsky, 2006b). When an individual is inhibited from participating fully in their country's economy, it affects the economic output of that country. When inhibition from economic participation occurs by gender, it affects the country's economic output on a substantial scale. The local jurisdictions in the U.S. that practice GB track the progress on gender equality by regularly collecting gender disaggregated data, conducting gender analyses, and publishing annual or quarterly reports. Other countries like Morocco and France use similar tracking methods (Harris, 2011) as opposed to the complex UNDP measures of gender equality.

Integrating gender indicators into public budgeting, and budget reform in general, requires tremendous time and cost (Hansen et al., 2003). There is great difficulty in analyzing policies by gender because gender disaggregated data has not been collected in the past for most public policies (Klatzer, 2008; Stotsky, 2007; Rubin & Bartle, 2005). In addition, it is not politically and economically feasible to get government buy-in or acquire resources for data collection and analysis for every budgeting program or policy. For instance, assessing the impact of public goods on gender is difficult to measure because they are not delivered exclusively or individually.

Integrating a gender lens into mainstream public budgeting will alter the quality of results attained. According to Walby (2005), GB would be an integration into the mainstream rather than a radical change. Integration, Walby argues, has a higher chance of acceptance by the mainstream but is less likely to have substantial impact on gender equality and the overall goals of gender budgeting. In addition, the pressure to rely on quantitative measures in economics, finance, and budgeting presents a challenge to GB – a technique driven by social issues that could benefit from qualitative analyses (Walby, 2005). Integrating gender into mainstream public budgeting would have to accommodate quantitative measures, whereby the

analysis could stand to lose some important qualitative observations. Walby is of the view that although quantitative skills are important in research, they may not be paramount in GB research and scholars in this field should not succumb to pressure merely to gain acceptance from technical subject scholars. This research attempted to use both quantitative and qualitative methods in order to capture important observations in the analysis of Fulton County's and San Francisco's approaches to gender initiatives. However, the researcher affirmed Walby's argument that qualitative methods were sufficient and more useful for GB research, hence the use of quantitative skills in this research was left to a minimum and for the sole purpose of reinforcing qualitative claims.

Finally, GB has been criticized for focusing on one aspect of inequality, that is, the focus on women only. The term 'gender' is widely misinterpreted as implying women, rather than both men and women as the true meaning of the word implies. This misinterpretation of gender is a false representation of GB approaches that focus on both men and women such as is the case with Fulton County, Georgia. Such wrongful perceptions have led to a lack of support and a quick dismissal of gender initiatives in public policy discourse thus require a change in the mindset of policymakers and the public through more discussion, training and awareness. GB is also criticized for not taking into account other aspects of inequality such as men, race, ethnicity, age, class, sexuality, and geographical region. However, in response to this criticism, scholars in support of GB argue that gender analyses can easily be structured to accommodate, rather than ignore other forms of inequalities (Walby, 2005; Klatzer, 2008) as seen in Fulton County's dual focus on gender by targeting men, women, boys, and girls.

## 2.7 Gender Budgeting in the United States

This section discusses the demographic characteristics of the two jurisdictions in the U.S. that practice gender budgeting – San Francisco and Fulton County – as well as their journeys to adoption and implementation of the gender initiative. San Francisco County's 2010 population was at 805,235<sup>11</sup> forming about 2% of the state population in California. The 2012 population estimates show an increase of about 20,000.<sup>12</sup> The female population in San Francisco is 49.2%, the foreign born population is 35.6%, and the population with a language other than English spoken at home is 45.3%.<sup>13</sup> The race and ethnic composition of San Francisco shows Whites as the largest group, followed by Asians as the second largest group and Hispanic/Latino as the third largest.<sup>14</sup> These demographic factors explain San Francisco's focus on language and ethnicity, specifically to Asian and Pacific Islander populations, in their gender services. The chart below shows the U.S. Census Bureau percentages of race and ethnicity distribution in San Francisco County as of 2011. The land area in San Francisco is 46.87 square miles with a density of 17,179 persons per square mile.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>11</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2012).

<sup>12</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2012).

<sup>13</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2012).

<sup>14</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2012).

<sup>15</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2012).

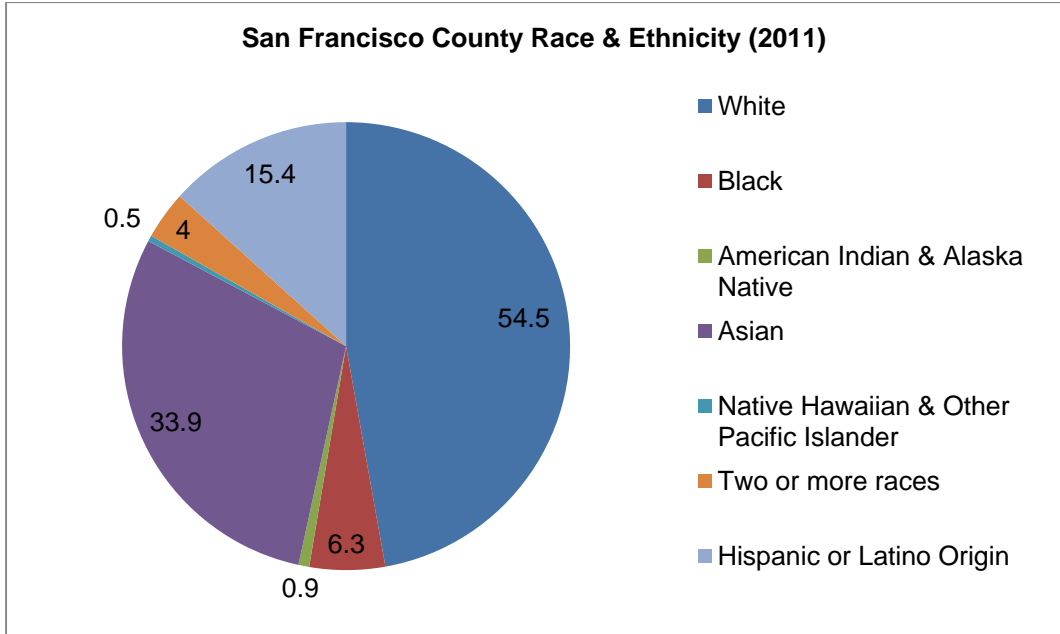


Figure 2.1 San Francisco Race & Ethnicity

Fulton County's 2010 population was at 920,581<sup>16</sup> slightly higher than the population in San Francisco and forming about 9.5% of the state population in Georgia, also a much larger percentage than San Francisco. The 2012 Fulton County population estimates show an increase of about 57,000,<sup>17</sup> a faster increase than the case in San Francisco. The female population in Fulton County is 51.1%, the foreign born population is 12.8%, much lower than San Francisco's foreign born population, and the population with a language other than English spoken at home is 16.1%,<sup>18</sup> also much lower than San Francisco numbers.

<sup>16</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2012).

<sup>17</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2012).

<sup>18</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2012).

Table 2.3 Select Demographic Characteristics

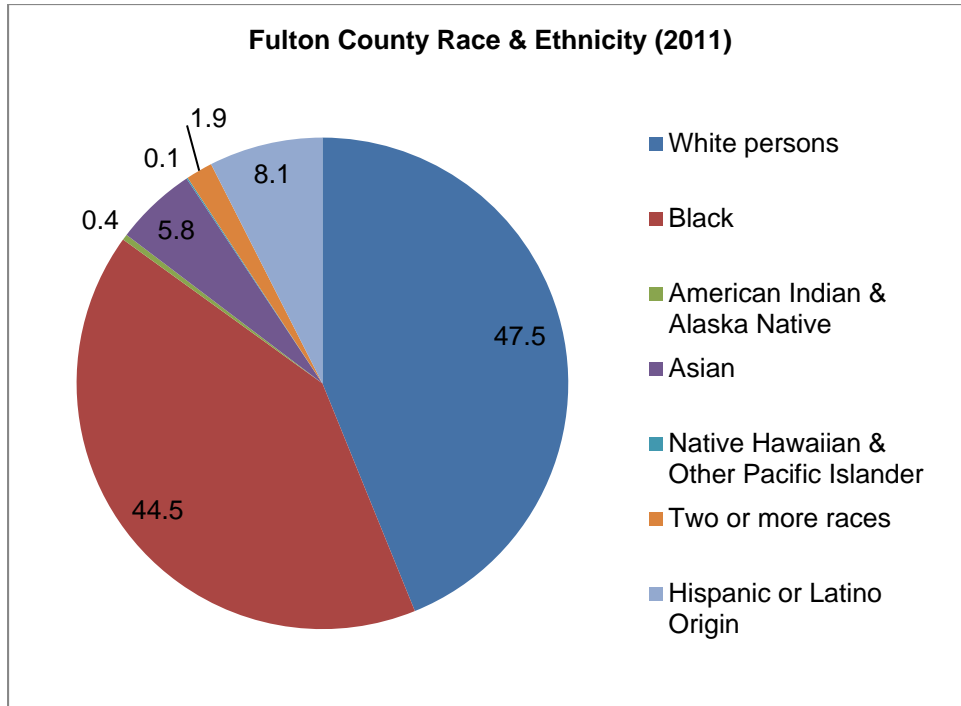
CHARACTERISTIC	FULTON COUNTY, GA	SAN FRANCISCO COUNTY, CA
2010 population	920,581	805,235
% Population in State	9.5%	2%
Female population (2011)	51.1%	49.2%
Foreign born persons (2011)	12.8%	35.6%
Language other than English spoken at home	16.1%	45.3%
Poverty level	15.9%	12.3%
Land area (square miles)	526.64	46.84
Persons per square mile	1,748	17,179.1

The race and ethnic composition of Fulton County shows Whites and Blacks as the two largest groups and almost at par with one another.<sup>19</sup> These demographic factors explain Fulton County's dual focus on males and females in their gender services, rather than a focus on language services. The chart below shows the U.S. Census Bureau percentages of race and ethnicity distribution in Fulton County as of 2011. The land area in Fulton County is 526.64 square miles with a density of 1,748 persons per square mile.<sup>20</sup> Fulton County covers a bigger geographical area than San Francisco while San Francisco has higher density figures than Fulton County.

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<sup>19</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2012).

<sup>20</sup> U.S. Census Bureau (2012).



**Figure 2.2 Fulton County Race & Ethnicity**

The City and County of San Francisco is a pioneer in GB in the United States and is located in the San Francisco-Oakland-Fremont Metro area in the state of California. San Francisco is also a pioneer of a number of other gender initiatives such as CEDAW<sup>21</sup> implemented through their Commission on the Status of Women [COSW], from which was created the Department on the Status of Women [DOSW]. San Francisco began pursuing gender equality efforts in 1975 when it formed COSW to ensure equal opportunities for women in the consolidated city and county, and thereafter in 1994 created DOSW to carry out policies of COSW. In 1998, San Francisco incorporated a gender lens into the mainstream budget

<sup>21</sup> CEDAW is a UN gender initiative which stands for Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination Against Women, and it is ratified by a number of countries worldwide.



process in accordance with the internationally acclaimed United Nations CEDAW initiative (Bartle et al., 2008).

In the gender lens implementation, San Francisco utilizes gender analysis tools such as self-assessment tests and best practices, periodic program reports, among other resources. In 2011, the DOSW staff in San Francisco was downsized due to budget cuts which affected its implementation of the GB technique. However, gender analyses for most departments and presentations by administrative staff to the COSW are ongoing to ensure that gender equality is realized within the local government. San Francisco's downsizing and lack of success in embedding GB into countywide processes may indicate that political acceptance as well as buy-in from administrative heads are important aspects not just in the adoption of a gender policy, but in the implementation and in the long term continuation of the policy.

Fulton County, Georgia located in the Atlanta-Sandy Springs-Marietta Metro area introduced a gender lens into their county processes in 2007. The county government created a gender equality taskforce with a focus on men, women, boys, and girls (Bartle et al., 2008). The gender initiative began by introducing five existing programs to the gender lens approach to establish a foundation for the practice of GB, and has since then continued to add five programs each year to the gender initiative. Currently, the GB technique is practiced by all departments countywide. Some departments have minimal participation by responding to gender specific questions in the budget instructions during budget preparation while other departments are more engaged with one or more programs fully participating and receiving mini grants courtesy of the gender initiative. Some of the results in the county's gender evaluation process found that the male population in the county is underserved in certain human and health services, particularly in healthcare programs. This is a unique finding given that gender analyses in other countries almost always find that women are the underserved population. The question rises as

to whether the gender analyses conducted in other jurisdictions of the world could be gender bias toward women as they never report any male underrepresentation or maybe the gender research does not at all evaluate male figures.

Some countries have a history of women marginalization due to cultural or historical reasons thus use marginalization as a justification to integrate a gender lens into formal systems of governance or budgeting (GTZ Health Kenya, 2010) and focus their gender services on women only. However, some scholars argue that the scope of GB is wide enough to include other areas of inequalities such as race, ethnicity, and class, even though the international concept of GB places more emphasis on women (Squires, 2005; Walby, 2005; Klatzer, 2008).

Table 2.4 Gender Budgeting Governance Structures in the U.S.

<b>FULTON COUNTY</b>	<b>SAN FRANCISCO CITY &amp; COUNTY</b>
5-member steering committee	7-member commission
18+ employee taskforce & faith-based organizations	Formal private partnerships with 24 nonprofit and for-profit organizations
1 GB Program Coordinator*	5 employees
City of Atlanta is the county seat	Consolidated city and county entities in 1856 and operates as one municipal entity
Active political and administrative champions	Active political champion & <i>inactive</i> administrative champion
Council-manager	Strong mayor

Rubin & Bartle (2005) seek to impress the importance of GB in academic public administration literature in the U.S. and subsequently among practitioners of public administration at all levels of government. The authors present GB as a possible next step in the evolution of public budgeting in the U.S. They point to GB, with its emphasis on both genders equally as a way to respond to discriminatory budgeting practices in the United States. In addition, GB promotes the use of participatory, interactive, and consultative processes which are at the center of democratic principles valued by U.S. institutions and citizens alike.

## CHAPTER 3

### RESEARCH DESIGN

This research uses a descriptive case study approach to shed light on the implementation of gender budgeting [GB] in Fulton County, Georgia and the City and County of San Francisco, California. Therefore, the study predominantly utilizes data from government administrators' perspectives along with objective secondary data. A descriptive study asks "what" questions (McNabb, 2009: 1) to "represent the first scientific toe in the water in new areas of inquiry" (Grimes & Schulz, 2002: 145). GB is a fairly new concept in the U.S., and particularly in American scholarly literature (Rubin & Bartle, 2005), thus a descriptive study is used to describe its implementation in order to pave way for more dialogue in policy discourse, deeper analytical and comparative research in the future.

This research utilizes a mixture of qualitative methods in order to triangulate data sources and findings, and to reduce bias that may be caused by using a single method. Creswell (2009) argues that having dominant qualitative methods in a mixed-method approach serves a larger transformative purpose for studies on social inequities, which present a reform strategy for marginalized groups of ethnic, racial, and/or gender inequalities. Additionally, Creswell posits that in this transformative research design, the researcher may embed a smaller form of data within another larger data collection in order to analyze different types of questions. Using Creswell's argument, this research has taken a dominant qualitative focus in a mixed-methods approach to include a smaller portion of time-series trend analysis.

The time-series trend analyses in this study assess the budgetary impact of incorporating a gender lens into public budgeting processes, as mentioned in the second research question. The time-series trend looks at program, departmental and county budgets

over an eight [8] year period of time for Fulton County and a twenty-five [25] year period for San Francisco. Qualitative analyses include coding of interview transcriptions, use of inductive logic to generate broad patterns from emergent themes, and axial coding to position analyses within the theoretical framework so as to develop or confirm theories.

Content validity is addressed in the mixed methods approach by using various combinations of data collection and analysis procedures. Construct validity is addressed by referring to methods used by previous researchers in similar subject areas.

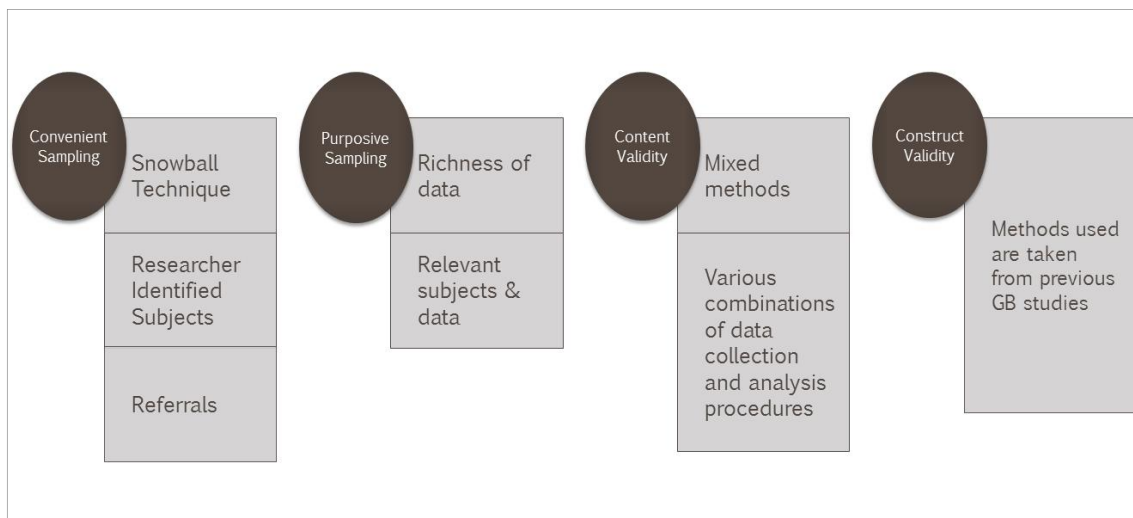


Figure 3.0: Sampling & Validity

### 3.1 Secondary Data

The secondary data portion of this study addresses all five research questions. Secondary data was used firstly to enrich the qualitative data that was obtained via interviews and focus group discussions. It was primarily used to supplement and affirm data from personal interviews or group discussions, for instance, data on program information and gender analysis

results. Secondly, in addressing question five [5] of the research questions, secondary data was used to obtain international examples of GB in order to do a comparative analysis of the implementation of GB in the U.S. Comparing the U.S. perspective with the global perspective of GB is analyzed using data obtained from published reports as well as interview data.

The secondary data sources used in this research include the International Monetary Fund [IMF] reports, which evaluate the interaction between gender and macroeconomics, gender and budget processes, and calculations on gender inequalities. The researcher also used Heinrich Boll Foundation<sup>22</sup> and GTZ<sup>23</sup> reports, which describe GB in a global view, particularly in the African region. Other sources of reports on GB from Europe, Canada and the Scandinavia include the Commonwealth Secretariat London, the Department for International Development [DFID], the United Nations agencies, World Bank, and the UNDP Human Development Report.

### 3.2 Qualitative Methods

The qualitative methods in this study address questions 1 through 4 of the research questions. Fulton County and San Francisco have several departments involved in gender equality program [GEP] committees and at least twenty-six [26] persons associated directly or indirectly with gender initiatives in the jurisdictions. The data collection methods used for this research were face-to-face and telephone interviews, observation, and focus group discussions.

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<sup>22</sup> The Heinrich Boll Foundation is a German-based political non-profit organization that promotes democracy, civil society, equality, and a healthy environment internationally. With its headquarters in Germany, Heinrich Boll has twenty-eight [28] offices worldwide and cooperates with more than two hundred [200] partners in more than sixty [60] countries (Heinrich Boll, 2012).

<sup>23</sup> GTZ is a German acronym which stands for German Technical Cooperation, an international cooperation enterprise for sustainable development. GTZ is a German government agency that provides technical assistance with limited capital funds throughout major regions of the world. They, for instance, provide assistance with urban upgrading in housing and other community projects in Africa, Latin America, and Southeast Asia (GTZ, 2012).

Selection of interview subjects was done using non-probability sampling methods such as convenient and purposive sampling.

The researcher obtained a total of twenty-four interviews [24], which is two shy of the total anticipated twenty-six [26] interviews. Further details on the number of face-to-face and telephone interviews, the number of focus group respondents, the length of interviews, and where they took place are given in subsection 3.2.3 below. Observation data was obtained by attendance at two commission meetings; one in Fulton County and one in San Francisco as well as one staff meeting to observe municipal policy processes. Analysis of municipal program reports and budget documents from the two case studies were used as secondary data. In addition, online research including United Nations reports, country level reports on gender initiatives, academic books and journal articles on GB were used to provide additional and objective sources of secondary data.

The table below summarizes the targeted and acquired number of interviews as well as the methods of data collection.

Table 3.1 Sample Population & Data Collection Methods

SUMMARY OF RESEARCH METHODS (DATA COLLECTION)			
Method	Jurisdiction	Target	Completed
Face-to-Face Interviews	Fulton County	5 (senior administrators)	5 (senior administrators)
	San Francisco	5 (senior administrators & one commissioner)	3 (senior administrators)
Telephone Interviews	Fulton County	2 (1 external consultant & 1 former commissioner)	0
	San Francisco	2 (1 external consultant & 1 staff member from City Administrator's office or Mayor's office)	4 (nonprofit organization representatives)
Focus Group Discussion	Fulton County	7 (department representatives countywide)	18 attendants; 12 active participants
	San Francisco	5 staff members (DOSW)	0
Observation (Commission & Staff Meetings)	Fulton County	1 commission meeting	1 commission meeting; 1 staff meeting
	San Francisco	1 commission meeting	1 commission meeting
Secondary Data	Fulton County	UN reports and conference papers, academic books, journal articles, municipal reports and budget documents, country level reports.	
	San Francisco		
Total Target Participants for Interviews: 26		Total Completed Participants for Interviews: 24	

### *3.2.1. Convenient Sampling – Snowball Technique*

Convenient sampling was done through a snowball technique where the researcher identified various program coordinators and county staff involved with gender services for interviews and focus group sessions. The researcher utilized online research and looking through county government organizational structures to develop a sample population. The snowball technique is used when the researcher is not familiar with participants and needs to target specific relevant participants for the research (Kamau, 2009; Robson, 2002). The gender initiatives coordinators in both counties were contacted and they helped the researcher set up interviews and focus group discussions with individuals that were directly involved, knowledgeable in, and influential in gender services within their counties.

For instance, in the case of Fulton County, the gender coordinator assisted with identifying commissioners that are involved with gender initiatives and senior administrative officials for face-to-face interviews. Department heads and program coordinators were also identified by the researcher and contacted for a focus group discussion with the help of the GEP coordinator. In San Francisco, the researcher identified possible respondents and with the help of the GEP coordinator, contacted administrators for face-to-face interviews, which led to referrals for more interviews [via telephone] of several non-profit organizations that worked in partnership with the City to provide direct gender-related services. The snowball process thus worked effectively to reach a good number of respondents for the study.

### *3.2.2. Purposive Sampling*

Purposive sampling was done to ensure that the respondents were knowledgeable about the practice of GB in their county (Kamau, 2009). The study sought to describe the implementation of GB, therefore the number of respondents was not nearly as critical to the



study as was the richness of the data. It was imperative that the persons contacted for interviews were either directly involved in gender services, or were knowledgeable and influential on the policy surrounding gender initiatives. This research puts more emphasis on obtaining relevant and credible data (Kamau, 2009) thus targeted county staff, commissioners, and organizations that partnered with the municipalities in providing gender services. The importance of using a snowball technique is to be able to select participants who can speak with authority and give substantial information on the various aspects of GB and other gender initiatives in their jurisdiction.

Still, purposive sampling was done cautiously to ensure that the selected participants represented differing perspectives about the practice of GB to avoid biasing the data one way or the other. The study sample was thus able to reflect differing perspectives; including staff that were enthusiastic about having a gender initiative in their county, to staff that voiced their challenges with the increased workload and complexity of implementing a gender lens to their day-to-day operations.

### *3.2.3. Interviews*

Data collection in the two jurisdictions included face-to-face interviews, a focus group discussion, telephone interviews, and secondary data. Secondary data entailed online research from the two municipal websites, budget documents, and program reports as well as from independent journal articles. In addition, the researcher looked at the Fulton County organizational structure and the functions of each department as well as the roles they played in direct relation with the gender initiative in order to identify potential respondents for this research. Once the researcher identified potential respondents for face-to-face and telephone interviews, each of the respondents were contacted via email and telephone in order to

schedule interview sessions. This process along with the help of the GEP coordinators in each county proved to be useful because most of the targeted respondents agreed to the researcher's request to interview and the process led to a snowball of additional face-to-face and telephone interviews and the ability to conduct a focus group discussion.

#### 3.2.3.1 Fulton County, Georgia

Data collection in Fulton County included face-to-face interviews, a focus group discussion, observing a commission meeting, and secondary data. Five [5] face-to-face interviews were conducted in Fulton County using open-ended questions. The length of the interviews averaged at about one hour. The individuals interviewed in Fulton County were senior county employees who also served as policymakers for the gender equality initiative. The five individuals in charge of the gender equality initiative set policy, determine the budget and oversee activities of the gender equality taskforce group, thus they had authority to speak on the initiative and provided first-hand information on implementation of the gender lens in county processes. Each of the face-to-face interviews in Fulton County took place in the privacy of the respondents' respective offices, which provided a conducive environment for candid and free-flowing conversations, follow up questions and further probing of responses.

The focus group was attended by eighteen [18] taskforce group members. Twelve [12] taskforce members from ten [10] different departments shared their experiences in the programs they were coordinating, the benefits and challenges of gender analysis, and the changes that have come about as a result of incorporating a gender lens. The focus group discussion lasted for one [1] hour and it involved members of the gender equality taskforce group who comprise of department staff in charge of various programs that participate in gender analysis. The researcher, with the help of the Fulton County GEP contact person, scheduled the

focus group discussion to coincide with one of the periodic taskforce meetings. The taskforce meeting took place in one of the Fulton County conference rooms.

In addition, the researcher observed a board of commissioners meeting to gain a practical understanding of the county's policymaking process since adoption of the gender lens was done in a similar environment.

The total number of individuals from Fulton County that actively participated in this research is seventeen [17]. This number was higher than the anticipated thirteen [14] interviews. Each respondent was provided with an informed consent form to sign before conducting the interviews and focus group discussion. The data obtained was extremely rich, candid, and useful to this research.

#### 3.2.3.2 San Francisco, California

Data collection in San Francisco included face-to-face interviews, telephone interviews, observing a commission meeting, and secondary data obtained from county employees and from the municipal website.

Three [3] in-depth face-to-face interviews were conducted with county staff, all of which head various programs and gender initiatives in San Francisco. The three individuals provided first hand and relevant information regarding the status of gender services in the City and County of San Francisco. The face-to-face interviews varied in length depending on the respondent's availability on time. The length of the interviews averaged at about thirty [30] minutes. Each interview took place in the respondents' respective offices which provided a conducive environment for free-flowing conversations, follow up questions and probing of responses.

After interviewing the three individuals, the researcher was referred to several nonprofit organizations that worked in partnership with the department in providing direct gender-related services to the community. Four [4] telephone interviews were thus obtained from four nonprofit organizations to provide another perspective of providing services to the community through public-nonprofit partnerships.

In addition, the researcher attended a commission meeting in which various departments reported their progress toward achieving gender equality. The meeting was one of many, which are held every fourth Wednesday of the month by the Commission on the Status of Women [COSW]. One of the functions this commission serves is to keep departments accountable on their gender equality commitments by having them periodically collect and report gender disaggregated data for their recruitment processes and for programs and service provision. COSW was created in 1975 by the San Francisco Board of Supervisors to ensure equal opportunities for women in the city and county. In 1994, the Department on the Status of Women [DOSW] was formed to carry out policies of the commission. The commission is also funded in part by the Friends of the COSW, a nonprofit organization.

The secondary data obtained from San Francisco comprises of electronic program reports and information from the City's and nonprofit organizations' online resources as well as print copies of reports provided by staff at DOSW. Other independent sources of secondary data included journal articles and UN reports.

A total of seven [7] respondents participated in San Francisco's face-to-face and telephone interviews; this number is lower than the anticipated [12] interviews. The researcher experienced difficulties in obtaining and scheduling interviews in San Francisco because some of the contacted respondents were not readily willing to interview. After much question and answer and persuasion, a few of the respondents agreed to participate in the research.

However, some of the respondents backed out at the last minute and became unavailable for the interview appointments.

The snowball process in San Francisco was not as easy and successful as it was in Fulton County. The difficulty in obtaining a large and rich volume of interview data from San Francisco creates an impression that the GB initiative may be shrouded by political tension hence the unwillingness of staff to comment and partake in this study. In particular, some senior county staff in the mayor's office and the city administrators' office did not respond to requests about participating in this study which may indicate that there is little or no political will on the part of senior administration to support or advance GB in their jurisdiction. Furthermore, a few senior administrators who had responded via email and telephone and agreed to take part in the research, backed out at the last minute and could not be reached for any comments.

Nonetheless, the few interviews that the researcher obtained from San Francisco proved useful because they were obtained from sources that are directly in charge of operating the gender initiative. In addition, the interviewees provided relevant data, pointed the researcher to several online and print resources to use in data collection, and made referrals for telephone interviews, which compensated for the low number of face-to-face interviews. Moreover, there are numerous sources of independent secondary data available for use to supplement the San Francisco interview data.

#### *3.2.4. Questionnaires*

A questionnaire was developed to guide the researcher through the interview and focus group discussion sessions [see Appendix]. The questions were designed to elicit responses from differing points of view regarding the implementation of the gender lens in county

processes. To this end, the interviews and focus group discussion targeted senior, mid-level, and regular employee positions to provide differing points of view.

The interview and focus group discussion questions were checked by the researcher's dissertation committee members for relevant content and wording. The questions were also further cross examined for clarity and simplicity of comprehension by a few select individuals from different disciplines and at varying levels of education. In addition, the gender equality coordinators in both counties were given a chance to look at the questions for clarity or concerns before the start of the interview process. As it were, none of the gender equality coordinators in either county expressed concerns with the questions.

This research was approved by UT Arlington's IRB board beginning May 24<sup>th</sup> 2012 to May 24<sup>th</sup> 2013. The participants were provided with informed consent forms to sign before conducting the interviews. Similar questions were asked of each respondent and the respondents were given the option to skip the questions they were uncomfortable answering. Focus areas changed with every interview depending on the respondent's position of employment and the depth of knowledge they possessed in certain subjects of inquiry. In addition, some of the questions incorporated statements like "to the best of your knowledge..." to guard against assumptions that every respondent is able to give full information on what is asked. In qualitative research, the perception of a respondent is important, as is the accuracy of a response. In this research, the risk of obtaining wrongful information was minimized through the use of the snowball and purposive sampling techniques, which ensured that the selected respondents had authority within their jurisdictions and were knowledgeable in the subject area.

### *3.2.5. Data Recording*

Data recording was done through audio recording of interviews and note-taking. After data collection, transcribing of the audio recording was done manually to ensure accurate verbatim transcription. Copies of the audio recordings were retained as records to confirm the verbatim transcriptions. The researcher wrote observations while in the field and provided a detailed documentation of the research process that can be used to establish a qualitative database for future research in the subject area. The researcher's handwritten notes and the interview transcriptions were typed into Microsoft Word documents and stored electronically.

All data pertaining to the research is recorded and stored electronically as well as in print copies and in various locations as per the university's research administration requirements. The researcher's handwritten notes, the transcribed interviews, the secondary data were stored in the researcher's computer and flash drives, as well as in the supervising professor's office at the university.

### *3.2.6. Data Analysis & Interpretation*

The data collection process assured respondents of anonymity and confidentiality of their identities. To honor this assurance, the researcher developed special codes to describe raw interview data. Aliases were used to conceal the identities of respondents for confidentiality purposes. In addition, codes were cross-checked for validity by the researcher's supervising professor who is well versed in qualitative methods of conducting research. The coded data was organized into themes that emerged from the data analysis. Inductive logic was then used to identify broad patterns from the emergent themes. The broad patterns were then evaluated in

light of the literature reviewed and the secondary data obtained. Axial coding<sup>24</sup> was then used to select applicable categories and position them within the theoretical framework of this research in order to develop or confirm theories. Some of the emergent themes that were used in the axial coding include:

- Insignificant budgetary cost of implementing a gender lens
- Redefined focus on gender; dual focus on males and females in Fulton County & broadened focus to LGBTQ persons who self-identify as female in San Francisco
- Focus on youth
- Interdepartmental cooperation
- Public-private partnerships with faith-based, non-profit, and for-profit organizations
- Administrative/work impact of GB
- Issue of outcome measurement: no independent measure for GB in both case studies.

### 3.3 Comparing Perspectives

The two data sets – the U.S. case studies and select international examples – are compared for differences and similarities in GB implementation styles. The comparison cannot be done on an equal basis because of contextual differences among countries such as political systems, government structures, political and social ideologies, historical factors, level of development, cultures, among other variables.

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<sup>24</sup> Axial coding is a method of correlating interview data with theoretical claims or premises. It refers to a process of organizing qualitative data into themes, concepts, and categories, checking that the themes represent the interview data, then using the data to identify, confirm, or refute the theoretical framework. Axial coding is part of grounded theory.



Even when viewed from a single country perspective, this research found significant differences. In the U.S. case studies, the Fulton County case study differed significantly from the San Francisco case study in several ways including

- the focus on women only in San Francisco and the dual focus on both genders in Fulton County,
- the formation of a separate funded commission and department to operate the gender lens in San Francisco as compared to the full integration of the gender lens into countywide processes in Fulton County,
- the use of non-profit and for-profit partnerships in San Francisco, funded by the City and County
- the use of faith-based organizations in Fulton County, not funded by the County, and
- the predominant interdepartmental cooperation in Fulton County

This research found that the use of non-profit and for-profit organizations was unique to San Francisco while the use of faith-based organizations and interdepartmental collaboration was unique to Fulton County. The differences in implementing GB in the two case studies may have been influenced by the different forms of government – a strong mayor form of government in San Francisco and a council-manager form of government in Fulton County. The differences could also have come about as a result of historical practice as in the case of San Francisco which has employed the indirect service model since the formation of the Commission and Department on the Status of Women in the 1970's.

In highlighting the differences between the U.S. case studies, explanations are offered for differences and similarities where possible, some of which may explain and highlight contextual differences. Country specific examples do not provide accurate comparisons because of systemic differences but the comparison of the U.S. and other international

examples in this research is used to show various ways in which the GB technique has been applied in governmental settings and the effects it has produced in different contexts. This is done in light of offering varied approaches of implementing a gender lens that an interested government jurisdiction in the U.S. or internationally could adapt.

The research data and theoretical interpretations are evaluated alongside each other to arrive at a framework depicting the impact of integrating gender in a municipal government. Throughout the research process, the focus is on learning the meaning that the participants hold about GB. To assure participants of true representation of their views, after data collection and data entry were completed, the researcher shared the interview and focus group discussion transcriptions with the respective respondents. In addition, the researcher shared in aggregate form, the themes which emerged from the data with the gender initiative coordinators in both jurisdictions to ensure the true meaning of the subject area as pertains to their jurisdictions is preserved and communicated in the discussion of findings. The findings are examined through Rubin's (2010) theoretical framework presented which speaks to politics being an inherent part of public budgeting, which is found to be particularly the case for gender budgeting.

### 3.4 Research Limitations

This research takes a descriptive case study approach that presents certain limitations when it comes to generalizing results. The findings can only be attributed to the specific examples studied. In addition, descriptive research reports a situation as it exists in order to create awareness and understanding. This is useful when researching a new concept such as GB in the U.S.

Creswell (2009) explains the strengths of qualitative case study research as lying in its particularity rather than its generalizability. Despite the strengths being in its particularity,

qualitative case study results can be generalized when studying additional cases produces similar results thus applying the same replication logic used in quantitative research.

In addition, the study uses data from government administrators' perspectives to effectively describe the implementation of GB and does not utilize data directly from the citizens. The analysis and recommendations therefore comes from analyzing one aspect of the conundrum which is the service administrators' perspective. The research attempted to neutralize the effects of a one-sided perspective by obtaining data from non-profit organizations and objective secondary data sources such as UN reports, academic books, and journal articles. An area for future research is to obtain data from citizens in order to shed light on the actual effect of gender budgeting on the society.

This research is important in highlighting the importance of GB which is fairly new in the United States, highlighting its benefits and challenges, understanding the operational aspects, and the political and budgetary costs of implementation. The study is relevant in its contribution to the sparse scholarly literature on GB in the U.S. and in illuminating the prominence of politics in gender budgeting to enlighten public administration practitioners committed to social equity. Furthermore, it is significant in filling the gap on the U.S. contribution to global literature on gender budgeting and to the wider fields of Gender Studies, Policy Studies, Political Science, Public Budgeting and Public Finance.

## CHAPTER 4

### ADOPTING A GENDER LENS

Chapters four [4] through seven [7] cover the data analysis and discussion of research findings. The chapters describe the U.S. case study gender budgeting models, the impact of GB on overall municipal budgets, impact on administrative work and influence on societal outcomes, as well as comparing the international GB approaches to the U.S. GB case studies. All direct quotes are taken from face-to-face and telephone interviews, and the focus group discussion. Names and other forms of personal identity such as specific job titles have been coded and some omitted for anonymity and confidentiality purposes.

This chapter [chapter 4] discusses the key factors that influence the adoption of a gender lens. In order to adopt a gender lens in any government institution, there must be factors that drive the need for such a change. Literature on this issue presents the following key factors that influence the successful adoption<sup>25</sup> of gender budgeting [GB]:

- Existence of a political champion (Bartle, et al, 2008; Elson & Catagay, 2000)
- Political acceptance (ILO, 2005)
- Cost of implementation (Elson & Catagay, 2000; Hansen, et al, 2003)
- Continuity of the gender initiative (Walby, 2005)

A governing jurisdiction requires a person to champion the cause and lead the effort of getting it adopted as policy. In order for the policy to be adopted, political acceptance by elected officials, administrators, and the public is needed. After adopting a gender lens, implementation begins, which requires responding to administrative costs, costs of data collection, evaluation, and training of government employees for awareness and skills to incorporate a gender element in

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<sup>25</sup> Successful adoption in this research is defined simply as getting an initiative formally adopted as policy within a government jurisdiction; it does not necessarily include implementation of that policy. Policy implementation is discussed in the next chapter [Chapter 5].

their administrative processes. Finally, because of the budgetary impact and the administrative commitment required to ensure the gender lens is fully incorporated, the challenge of its continuity and self-sustenance is threatened by issues like budget cuts and staff cutbacks, waning interest, working more for less, and difficulties of collecting gender disaggregated data. The four factors listed above have been identified broadly in the literature review as significant factors in the implementation of a gender lens.

This study found that the four factors mentioned above were common not just in the two jurisdictions of Fulton County and San Francisco, but also in most other countries internationally that have implemented a gender lens in their governing institutions. Furthermore, this research found additional factors that were not extensively discussed in GB literature but were certainly found to play a crucial role in the adoption and implementation of GB in the U.S. case studies. The additional factors include an administrative champion, influence of the United Nations [UN], as well as historical and cultural influences.

#### 4.1 Political Champion

A major factor in implementing GB is the existence of a champion within the institution or organization to lead the adoption effort. County commissioners in both San Francisco and Fulton County took the role of political champions for gender initiatives as a result of their affiliations with and attendance at the United Nations (UN) conferences. The commissioners were instrumental in creating awareness on gender equality within their jurisdictions, which culminated in the adoption of gender initiatives as policy. The commissioners in both counties used their positions to influence fellow commissioners, administrative staff, and the public on the importance of making a conscious effort to govern with a gender lens. The presence of a champion and gaining buy-in from organizational leaders are useful factors in the political

processes of allocating resources and policymaking, which form part of the public budgeting process.

#### *4.1.1. Political Champion in Fulton County, Georgia*

In Fulton County, the effort to adopt gender initiatives was led by former commissioner Nancy Boxill in 2006, who brought it to the attention of the then Mayor of Atlanta, Shirley Franklin as an initiative in conjunction with the Atlanta CIFAL<sup>26</sup> - a subset of the United Nations [UN] organization that looks at various human rights issues. According to interview respondents, Fulton County has a rich history of civil rights, as the home of Dr. Martin Luther King and other civil rights leaders, thus it was fitting that the county take a leadership role in the area of gender equality to ensure civil rights through the equal application of services, meeting of needs, and providing access to citizens.

Most respondents, however, were not willing to elaborate on the political nature of the debates that surrounded the adoption of the initiative either because they were not county employees at the time or presumably because of the sensitive nature of the subject. One of the Fulton County administrators commented on the contentious experience of adopting GB and creating awareness throughout the county, “once you demystify it and get folks to stop freaking out about it then I think that they’ll say, oh ok that makes sense, why didn’t you just say that.” From the apparent struggle to get the initiative accepted and implemented countywide as well as the wrongful perceptions and negative reactions encountered during employee training and awareness, it could be assumed that the gender initiative may have been a contested issue.

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<sup>26</sup> CIFAL is a French acronym, which stands for international training center for local actors, that is, government actors, private sector and nonprofit actors. CIFAL Atlanta was started in 2004 as a public-private partnership between the United Nations Institute for Training and Research [UNITAR] and the City of Atlanta. It operates under U.S. Law as a 501 [c] [3] not-for-profit organization dedicated to develop the capacity of government authorities and civil society leaders to implement the UN millennium development goals and achieve sustainable development (CIFAL, 2012).

Nonetheless, research participants mentioned over and over the importance of having a political champion to illuminate the importance of adopting a gender initiative and to sponsor the effort in getting it passed as policy. The research participants' views are commensurate with theoretical claims in GB literature on the pivotal role of a political champion.

#### *4.1.2. Political Champion in San Francisco*

The political efforts to implement San Francisco's gender lens were led by the former Mayor Gavin Newsom who championed gender initiatives in the consolidated city and county (San Francisco DOSW, 2010). Other political champions include the Commission on the Status of Women [COSW] that was formed in 1975 by members of the county Board of Supervisors.<sup>27</sup> Some gender initiative efforts took place in 1995 when several people from the UN Fourth (4<sup>th</sup>) World Women's Conference in Beijing, China realized that the United States was not a signatory to the UN CEDAW convention. CEDAW, which stands for the Convention on the Elimination of Discrimination Against Women, was the focus of the Beijing international conference, ratified by many countries, and described as the international bill of rights for women.<sup>28</sup>

After the conference, U.S. attendees returned home and "looked around for a friendly environment to adopt the CEDAW statute upon the urging of many people."<sup>29</sup> San Francisco may have been considered a friendly environment because the municipality already had a women's commission [COSW] and a department for women's issues [DOSW] thus providing an avenue to launch the CEDAW statute. In addition, San Francisco is known for its liberal, diverse, and progressive culture thus conducive for new initiatives such as gender equality.

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<sup>27</sup> The County Board of Supervisors is San Francisco's legislative body.

<sup>28</sup> Menon, A. (2010).

<sup>29</sup> Quote from a county administrator in a face-to-face interview.

Community organizing was done, women were trained and awareness raised at various places including the Board of Education to educate people on gender equality. A hearing was conducted before the Board of Supervisors to determine if the CEDAW statute was necessary and upon finding that gender discrimination existed in San Francisco, the statute was adopted in 1998. Testimonies at the legislative hearing showed that women and girls continued to face widespread discrimination at work, school, and in the community, including the pervasiveness of violence against women and girls. The political institutions and representatives in the city and county worked together to adopt CEDAW as policy, which has since then developed into a robust program providing funding to nonprofit partners in direct service provision. The gender equality effort in San Francisco would not have been adopted or implemented had it not been for the political champions who brought awareness to the initiative after learning about it at the UN conference.

#### 4.2. Administrative Champion

An effective way to infiltrate mainstream public budgeting with a gender perspective is to gain buy-in from agency heads. The leader of an organization influences the direction the organization takes. For instance, agency heads influence the processes for the distribution of the agency's budget and may determine the allocation of resources in their departments. In addition, the leaders of an organization have influence over the techniques and budgeting models used in the organization. From a managerial perspective, budgeting policies and requests are influenced by the agency head's behavior, attributes, and aspirations (Collins, 1978; Collins & Mendoza, 1999; Douglas & Wier, 2005; Feldman et al., 2006; Huang & Chen, 2009; Ryu et al., 2007; Schiff & Lewin, 1968). Similarly, the aspirations of administrative leaders influence their acceptance of a gender initiative.



It is imperative to gain buy-in from administrative leadership and staff in order to implement an adopted policy; otherwise it remains a declaration that sits on a shelf with no action taken after policy adoption. In both jurisdictions, the gender initiatives were adopted as policy then continued to be implemented and put into action by administrative staff in the municipal governments. While a political champion plays the fundamental role of introducing a GB policy and getting it formally adopted, a greater challenge faced by most institutions is that of policy implementation and even greater the challenge of continuation. As time goes by, organizational change occurs such as a change in leadership, which may affect the continuity of certain projects depending on the aspirations of the new leadership. Three factors are at play here: policy implementation, organizational change, and continuation; all three factors are dependent upon the influence of the agency head, otherwise known in this discussion as an administrative champion. An administrative champion is needed to push for implementation and lead the effort towards gaining buy-in from other employees who are instrumental in performing the actual implementation work.

The continuation of a gender initiative may be affected negatively or positively by organizational change as is seen in the experiences of the U.S. case studies. In Fulton County for instance, organizational change occurred with a change of guard in administrative leadership, which affected GB positively when the new county manager introduced changes that merged well with GB principles. The new Fulton County manager introduced an outcomes-based budgeting approach with a customer centric focus which augured well with GB principles. The convergence of these budgeting changes with the support and buy-in of the new county manager created a conducive environment to embed and integrate gender budgeting into the county's mainstream budgeting processes. In San Francisco, organizational change also occurred with a change of guard in administrative leadership, but contrary to Fulton County's

experience, San Francisco had a negative effect of organizational change when the new Mayor's aspirations and priorities did not align with GB implementation. An administrator commented on San Francisco's inability to gain administrative acceptance of GB from the mayor's office:

"We tried to get the Mayor's budget office to include a [gender budgeting] requirement but we were not successful the way Fulton County has been in having that be a requirement. [However], we've been able to train [other departments] in gender budgeting."

The administrative champion's buy-in is thus important and without it can be detrimental to a cause such as GB. As Public Budgeting literature states that an agency head's aspirations influence the policy direction of the organization, the same argument applies to GB implementation and continuation.

To gain buy-in from staff, consistent efforts in awareness, education and training on the gender initiative and policy requirements are paramount. These efforts are time consuming, may increase staff workload, and in some cases, when specialized skills are required, can be costly. The process of administrative buy-in took different approaches in both county jurisdictions which influenced their implementation approaches.

#### *4.2.1. Administrative Leadership in Fulton County, Georgia*

This subsection discusses the administrative effort that went into implementation of the gender initiative in Fulton County. Efforts of the county manager, the taskforces that were created, and the gender equality program coordinator were all influential in the implementation of the initiative. This research found that the Fulton County former commissioner and political champion of gender equality, Nancy Boxill engaged the county manager at the time to identify resources in order to move the gender initiative policy forward. As a result funds were identified

to hire an external consultant who organized and trained staff in the gender analysis processes. The county manager has since been responsible for setting the tone and the direction of the gender initiative for the county. In addition, most respondents indicated the importance of the county manager's support in keeping the initiative active.

The political champion initiates the political and administrative acceptance process while the administrative champion takes up the process of getting it accepted among staff and implemented. The political champion in Fulton County had a lot to do with the initial process by locating funding for GB and handpicking a taskforce in conjunction with administrative leaders in order to begin the implementation process. The county manager on the other hand, had a duty to implement the policy because the unspoken motto is that once it becomes policy, it becomes a mandate. The council-manager form of government, which is the form of government used in Fulton County, may influence the actions of a county manager as he is directly responsible to the elected officials. Thus it could be in the best interests of the county manager to implement policies created by the legislative body.

In addition, two taskforces, one comprising of five senior county administrators and another comprising of about twenty representatives from various county departments were established to implement the gender initiative and roll it out countywide. The taskforce comprising of five senior county administrators is known as the Gender Equality Steering Committee, whose members are in charge of spearheading the initiative and overseeing pilot programs which were established to kick-start the GB process. The steering committee's ability to juggle their regular work schedules and initiate the gender lens to a stage where it stabilized was key to the successful implementation of the initiative. A county administrator who actively participates in the gender initiative commented on the need for an administrative champion:

*“The key is you need to have the political will to do it and then you need, some folks say you need an external champion and an internal champion and that may be true. Maybe you need the political champion and the administrative champion.”*

Other forms of administrative involvement include creating the new position of a Gender Equality Coordinator to oversee the initiative, funded under the office of the County Manager. In addition, during implementation, department heads and employees were directly involved in allocating staff time to embed the gender lens into their departmental programs and processes, in collecting gender disaggregated data, gender analysis, program evaluation and program redesign. The process of GB in Fulton County did not create a new department but one staff position and required current staff to reorganize their work processes in order to accommodate the implementation of the policy. Similarly, the steering committee comprises of current county staff in senior positions who were given the mandate to include the gender initiative policy implementation in their regular work schedules.

#### *4.2.2. Administrative Leadership in San Francisco*

Similar to Fulton County, the administrative leadership in San Francisco joined efforts with the legislative bodies to enable the implementation of the CEDAW principles in 1998. The DOSW<sup>30</sup> Policy Director served the role of administrative champion for the CEDAW gender initiative (San Francisco DOSW, 2010). What was more useful to the process was that the then mayor [Gavin Newsom] supported the CEDAW convention thus led to the successful implementation of the initiative. In the more recent gender budgeting initiative, San Francisco did not have an administrative champion because the current mayor did not seem to support its

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<sup>30</sup> DOSW refers to the Department on the Status of Women which is a San Francisco City & County agency in charge of implementing the policies of the Commission on the Status of Women [COSW] and disbursing municipal funds to nonprofit partner agencies.

countywide implementation. There is thus a linkage between political and administrative champions when it comes to adoption and implementation of a GB policy. A political champion is necessary to get a GB policy adopted and an administrative champion, preferably in a top leadership position, is necessary to ensure its implementation. San Francisco's experience was such that there was a disconnect in the link between policy decisions and countywide implementation of the policy.

Unlike Fulton County's use of taskforces to implement GB countywide where all departments and staff participate, San Francisco housed their gender initiative in a separate department from the rest of the county departments. The gender initiative is under the Commission on the Status of Women [COSW] and the Department on the Status of Women [DOSW]. The COSW also has a Friends association [Friends of the COSW] that provides additional funding to DOSW for travel and training to supplement limited municipal funds. DOSW's major role is to funnel money from the City and County of San Francisco to community based organizations that in turn provide direct services to citizens in the areas of domestic violence and other gender-related services. This type of formal funding structure using private partnerships is unique to San Francisco's Gender Budgeting approach. The DOSW staff also train staff in other departments on Gender Budgeting principles, collecting gender disaggregated data, conducting gender analyses and publishing reports on a periodic basis.

The strong-mayor form of government with a county board of supervisors as the legislative body is used in San Francisco. The strong-mayor form of government normally gives the mayor veto power (Rubin, 2010) thus it is important to gain the administrative head's buy-in for proposals tabled on the agenda. This form of government may have had an effect on San Francisco's inability to implement GB when it did not align with the administrative head's priorities and aspirations for the municipality. Fulton County, on the other hand, has a council-

manager form of government where the county manager is answerable to the council thus important to consider political interests when presenting proposals for approval.

The forms of government and the nature of administrative leadership support in these two jurisdictions had a part to play in the GB implementation process. In Fulton County the policy was adopted by the legislative body and implemented countywide<sup>31</sup> thereafter with the support and leadership of the administrative head. In San Francisco the policy was adopted by the legislative body but the implementation process was curtailed because the administrative head did not fully support the initiative as far as countywide implementation was concerned. However, San Francisco managed to implement GB by having the COSW and DOSW ensure gender requirements under the CEDAW statute were met by other departments in a regular evaluation process. In addition, while Fulton County embedded the initiative countywide, San Francisco housed the initiative in one department [DOSW]. The differences in GB implementation approaches between the two municipal governments were influenced by administrative leadership and government structures.

Table 4.1 Gender Budgeting Implementation Structure

<b>Fulton County</b>	<b>San Francisco City &amp; County</b>
5-member steering committee	7-member commission
18+ employee taskforce & faith-based organizations	Formal private partnerships with 24 nonprofit and for-profit organizations
1 GB Program Coordinator	5 employees
City of Atlanta is the county seat	Consolidated city and county entities in 1856 and operates as one municipal entity
Active political and administrative champions	Active political champion & <i>inactive</i> administrative champion
Council-manager form of government	Strong mayor form of government
Gender initiative embedded countywide	Separate department for gender affairs

<sup>31</sup> Countywide implementation refers to embedding an initiative and also known as gender mainstreaming where the gender budgeting technique is practiced by all departments and is integrated into the regular budgeting processes and work routine as opposed to a pet project type of format.

### 4.3 The United Nations

This subsection discusses the influence of the United Nations [UN] in the adoption and implementation of Gender Budgeting [GB]. The United Nations is a term coined by the United States President Franklin D. Roosevelt and was first used in 1942 during the Second World War when 26 countries pledged their governments to continue fighting against the Axis Powers.<sup>32</sup> The UN Charter was drawn up in 1945 in San Francisco and the UN officially came into existence on October 24, 1945 when a majority of 51 member countries ratified the Charter.<sup>33</sup> Since its inception the UN has had tremendous influence on the activities of numerous countries of the world and has 193 countries as member states.

The UN gender initiatives influenced both Fulton County and San Francisco in their adoption and implementation of GB. In both counties, the gender initiatives were a direct result of commissioners and other government representatives attending UN conferences after which they became aware of UN gender initiatives, signed declarations to uphold gender equality in their respective jurisdictions, and went on to replicate the UN gender principles in their municipalities. Other countries that have implemented GB and other gender initiatives went through a similar process of attending UN conferences then signing on to treaties, statutes or conventions that spearheaded gender equality efforts in their respective jurisdictions.

#### 4.1.4. Historical and Cultural Influence

Historical and cultural influences are discussed simultaneously in this subsection because they occur simultaneously and also in some cases they have a cause-and-effect relationship. The two U.S. case studies have unique histories that have caused them to develop

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<sup>32</sup> United Nations. (2012b).

<sup>33</sup> United Nations. (2012b).

unique cultures socially, and which has subsequently influenced their administrative style, thus influenced their organizational culture and political culture. The historical and cultural predispositions in both U.S. counties have influenced in one way or another, their adoption of the GB technique, their focus on gender services, and their styles of implementation.

*“So I think the challenge is being able to set it [GB] in motion quickly especially when you are looking in many instances at cultural change; there are still those who don’t want to look at things through a gender lens and may actually be offended that you’re even asking.”*

*– A senior county administrator*

Culture in this subsection refers mostly to social and political culture. Political culture responds to social culture as it is a direct representation of the citizenry. Social culture in the case of GB influences political outcomes and administrative focus of service provision. For instance, San Francisco’s gender focus on LGBTQ<sup>34</sup> persons is due to the large LGBTQ population and their dominant<sup>35</sup> culture in the City and County. San Francisco is home to largest gay pride parade in the U.S. and it is also home to some of the first openly gay public officials beginning with the late Harvey Milk who was assassinated in 1979. This incident drew protests from the LGBTQ population in San Francisco and as a result there was a proliferation of nonprofit organizations with services geared to LGBTQ persons and the issues they face with discrimination. These nonprofit organizations are part of the partner agencies that receive funding from the municipal government to provide gender related services to LGBTQ populations. The political culture as well as administrative services of the City and County thus respond to the social culture of the people of San Francisco, largely of which pertains to the LGBTQ populations.

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<sup>34</sup> The acronym LGBTQ is commonly used to refer to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer persons.

<sup>35</sup> Dominance as compared to most other jurisdictions in the U.S.



Similarly, Fulton County's civil rights history influenced the adoption and implementation of GB in an effort to continue the legacy of upholding the rights of all segments of the population. Because the civil rights movement advocates equal rights for all population segments regardless of race, ethnicity, gender, age or disability, the Gender Budgeting approach in Fulton County is such that, rather than focusing on women only, it focuses on men, women, boys, and girls, to ensure equal opportunity for all population segments. In this case, the municipal government is also responding to the historical and social culture of its citizenry by upholding equal rights for all.

In integrating a gender lens, not only does a jurisdiction need a political or administrative champion, but the cultural and political environment of that jurisdiction needs to be receptive to the proposed gender initiative. The adoption of gender initiatives in Fulton County, San Francisco, and other countries worldwide had one thing in common and that is the historical and cultural predispositions that made the jurisdictions receptive to the gender lens. Fulton County was receptive to gender equality because they viewed it as an extension of the already existing legacy and history of being home to the civil rights movement. San Francisco has a long standing presence of gender services through the COSW and DOSW from the 1970's and the region is known for its progressive and liberal culture with various women and LGBTQ policy-related issues already in place, thus their predisposition made it possible for a new initiative such as Gender Budgeting to be received with an open mindset.

Some respondents mentioned that in places, for instance where the "conservative culture of the South"<sup>36</sup> is prevalent, people may have a cultural mindset that could block the advancement of certain initiatives, such as a gender lens, that are outside of the norm. A Fulton County administrator stated:

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<sup>36</sup> Quote from an administrator in a face-to-face interview.

*“You may want to integrate [the gender initiative], it’s a policy, it has to be implemented and when we talk about the nuts and bolts of implementing it, not just the political or administrative [obstacle], you have that block of being in the South, people have certain roles, people have their own place as far as class, gender, race, and ethnicity. So that’s what makes Fulton County so unique in doing this [overcoming the gender equality mind block].”*

The civil rights history of Fulton County as well as the progressive and liberal culture of San Francisco made the environment conducive for a progressive policy such as Gender Budgeting. In other countries, the adoption of gender initiatives into political and administrative institutions have been influenced and/or justified by the history of women marginalization and/or prevalent practice of harmful traditional customs. There is therefore, almost always a precursor or an underlying condition in the culture of a particular jurisdiction that necessitates the acceptance of a gender initiative.

## CHAPTER 5

### IMPLEMENTING A GENDER LENS

This chapter discusses the implementation of gender initiatives in Fulton County and San Francisco in terms of the scope of gender services and evaluates the overall Gender Budgeting [GB] approaches in both counties. In terms of the scope of gender services, Fulton County utilizes a dual focus GB approach that impacts both males and females while San Francisco's focus is primarily on women, with a secondary or broader focus on LGBTQ<sup>37</sup> persons who self-identify as female. As far as implementation approaches, both counties have used various iterations of partnerships with private organizations and interdepartmental cooperation to provide gender services to their citizenry. While the use of non-profit organizations in providing gender services may be part of normal practice for most government jurisdictions, the use of for-profit organizations to provide gender-related services is unique to San Francisco.

Both municipalities have utilized private partnerships and interdepartmental cooperation to varying extents. For instance, Fulton County's strategy focuses on interdepartmental cooperation with some evidence of private partnerships with faith-based organizations, whereas San Francisco has utilized formal partnerships with nonprofit and for-profit organizations to a greater extent than interdepartmental cooperation. This chapter elaborates on the strategies used by each municipality as well as the political climate and cultural factors that have helped shape their implementation of gender initiatives. Both jurisdictions were able to adopt policies, statutes and initiatives to allow for governance with a gender lens. However, implementation of the same policies, statutes, and initiatives took varying approaches in the two jurisdictions.

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<sup>37</sup> LGBTQ is an acronym commonly used to refer to lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer persons.

Fulton County was able to embed GB throughout the county by ensuring the gender lens is applied in budgeting processes, while San Francisco was unsuccessful in embedding GB throughout the county, which seemingly is due to the lack of an administrative champion. In the past, the San Francisco mayoral position had been instrumental in advancing gender initiatives in the municipality, but with the current mayor, San Francisco's DOSW<sup>38</sup> did not have the administrative support they needed to integrate GB in countywide budget processes. No reasons were given for the lack of success in embedding a gender lens into San Francisco's countywide budgeting process but the most likely scenario is that the political environment at the time was not ready for such a change. DOSW has however been able to conduct GB training and conduct gender analyses with a few departments such as the Department of Public Works and also produced a gender disaggregated report on the status of girls in schools. In addition, the COSW<sup>39</sup> holds hearings on an ongoing basis to check departments' progress on gender equality.

Fulton County carries out GB by issuing budget instructions every fiscal year with gender specific questions and by collecting gender disaggregated data for various programs thus influencing program revisions and budget allocations from the results of the gender analyses. Fulton County has been successful in embedding GB throughout the county and a large part of this effort has been attributed to the existence of an administrative champion and the support shown for the initiative by senior administrative county officials.

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<sup>38</sup> DOSW stands for Department on the Status of Women, a department in the City and County of San Francisco that is in charge of providing gender services in the municipality.

<sup>39</sup> COSW stands for Commission on the Status of Women, a 7-member legislative body created by the City & County of San Francisco to formulate gender-related policies.

## 5.1 Defining the Scope of Implementation

GB in most countries outside the U.S. takes a primary focus on women because of contextual historic factors or cultural practices that subjugate women. Typically, gender equality research findings in other countries indicate that women and girls are discriminated against and that women's participation in the labor force is lower than men's (Kamau, 2010; Dena, 2012; UN Women, 2011; UNESCO, 2007). GB is thus used as a remedial measure to improve the numbers or statuses of women and girls to bring them closer towards parity in their participation in relation to men and boys. San Francisco's exclusive focus on women mirrors the approach taken by most countries worldwide in their GB initiatives.

In Fulton County however, their initial research findings indicated that in certain human and health services, men were underserved, while in other areas such as jobs in the Department of Public Works and in senior employee positions, women were underrepresented. In certain programs such as youth and children's sports, girls were underrepresented while in arts programs and child care services, boys were underrepresented. Therefore as a result of these findings, Fulton County defined their focus in such a way that their gender budgeting initiative was geared towards men, women, boys and girls to ensure that all groups were adequately served in the various programs and services provided by the county. Fulton County thus took a dual gender focus while San Francisco maintained the women-only focus that is commonly used internationally.

### *5.1.1 Focus on Males and Females*

Fulton County's dual focus is a unique and cutting edge approach that has not been practiced elsewhere in the world. This section illustrates programmatic examples of how Fulton County focus on both males and females in their gender initiative.

Fulton County's GB acknowledges that women's issues continue to evolve and women continue to face challenges, yet inequality in services to men has also become prevalent, "particularly in the three areas of justice, health, and education."<sup>40</sup> The county health department had a majority female clientele while the male clients who sought health care were focused on communicable diseases, which includes sexually transmitted diseases [STDs]. The number of male clients receiving preventative health care was low.

When Fulton County found inequities with men seeking and receiving basic healthcare, they revised the service and formed a men's health care program to increase the numbers of male clients seeking preventative care by co-locating<sup>41</sup> clinics and making referrals from one clinic to another to try to get more male participants in those programs. In addition, the communicable diseases branch of the county's health department added on preventative care services such as cardiovascular disease checks and blood pressure screenings to capture the men who came in for STD treatment. So for instance when a male went in for an STD checkup, he would also receive a blood pressure check, cholesterol check, blood sugar check, and prostate check if applicable. This way the services provided to men included both treatment and preventative care to catch problematic health conditions early on; which is beneficial to the individual as well as the government because of the savings in health care costs. This type of program design would probably not have been realized without the deliberate focus on GB services, including its assessment of public service users.

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<sup>40</sup> Comment given by a Fulton County administrator in a face-to-face interview.

<sup>41</sup> Co-locating refers to a situation where various health services are located in close proximity to each other and where referrals are made for additional services when a client seeks a particular service, for instance, if a citizen goes for an STD test, they are automatically referred to a prostate check, cardiovascular screening, etc in an effort to provide more services in one visit.

Another department that discovered the underrepresentation of male citizens was the Arts Department. "The Arts Department is among the well-funded departments in the county"<sup>42</sup> and when Fulton County did their initial gender analysis they found that they had fewer males participating in arts programs; both those that were provided directly by the county and those that were provided by their grantees. Theoretically, more women were going to art activities like the symphony and the museum which are supported through grant dollars, thus more women than men were benefiting from the grant dollars. This caused gender inequalities in arts programs. An administrator describing the inequality in arts programs stated that "arts being a crime prevention program, an economic development tool and a quality of life tool, it was important to create better balance in service provision." The arts program revisions, as a result of the gender analysis, included providing activities that were of more interest to males such as comic book drawing activities and holding a comic book conference where participants got an opportunity to talk with and about comic book artists; this event drew mostly young males. They also added dance classes for males in an effort to better balance services provided by the Arts Department.

Another program dealing with the dual focus on gender is in workforce development services. In the first year of carrying out gender analyses, staff from the Office of Workforce Development [OWD] found that they had lower enrollment for men and thus took measures to improve those figures. In the second year, even though men's enrollment figures had gone up as a result of the remedial measures, OWD found that men's completion rates in the workforce development programs were lower than women's completion rates. Currently, OWD is in the third year and has developed strategies to improve men's outcomes in completing their workforce development placement programs.

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<sup>42</sup> Quote from a senior administrator on the GB initiative during a face-to-face interview.

Fulton County also looked at public transportation services to find disparities in access to services and use of public transportation. The City of Atlanta and Fulton County are well known for their connectivity in public transit systems thus it was imperative that all population segments had access to public transit, and if some segments did not, the county would determine a way to alleviate the challenges. The gender analysis in this area indicated that people with limited economic means and single women head of households were heavily reliant on public transportation. Persons of limited economic means include both men and women, while the identified segment of single women head of households provided a more targeted approach to provide access for that group.

County staff determined ways to make public transportation more accessible to these segments of the population by going further in their analysis with the notion that not all single parents are female. The county has numerous males who have custody of their children and are sole providers, thus their focus changed to holding public meetings at a time that was convenient for both single male and female heads of households. Because of the deliberate effort to govern with a gender lens, Fulton County administrators became mindful of days of the week and times to schedule public meetings. For instance, they became mindful of the venues to hold meetings in terms of accessibility to those who used public transportation; they considered potential work schedules for those who might work the regular and irregular shifts; they also considered the challenges faced by single male and female heads of households that might affect their ability to attend public meetings. These considerations that may be thought as minor to most public organizations have significant potential to hinder citizens from accessing information, public services, and civic engagement. The county insists on a deliberate and a conscious approach to such issues in providing services to their citizenry, which they would not address had it not been implemented through a gender lens.



Other programs and services in the county targeting both men and women include the library system's work-life balance program that highlighted the under-use of the Employee Assistance Program [EAP]. EAP provides assistance to employees with mental health care issues, financial and legal issues. Once the gap was identified for both men and women employees, EAP training was done in the first year at an annual staff development day and in the second year, monthly trainings were offered to employees that included a focus on women's and men's health. The library system is planning in the third year to conduct follow up sessions in order to determine the types of EAP services that have been utilized as a result of the trainings. Each program participating in Fulton County's gender analysis uses pre- and post-tests to find out the effectiveness of the changes in programs and services.

Other programs with a focus on both men and women include the Tax Assessor's Office and the Department of Public Works [DPW]. The Tax Assessor's program, which is still at its infancy stages conducted surveys with homeowners regarding services from the Tax Assessor's office during homeowners' association meetings. The goal of the surveys is to provide information on the people served and their specific needs in order to tailor services to ensure each gender is served appropriately. For instance, current survey data indicates that there are more female homeowners but because the program is still at its infancy stages, the data is inconclusive as far as service provision for this segment of the population.

In DPW, there is focus on looking at the roles of women in nontraditional jobs as well as examining the roles of men in nontraditional jobs. There are challenges of recruitment, salaries and the types of positions available for both genders. Some of these challenges stem from cultural mindsets that associate certain jobs and roles with certain genders, particularly for upper level management who are in charge of defining job descriptions, job titles and approving hiring recommendations. To counter some of these challenges, gender sensitivity training

sessions are held periodically with upper level management officials to open up possibilities of men and women in nontraditional jobs.

Fulton County's dual gender focus is beneficial for various reasons, one of which is widespread political, social, and administrative acceptance because it covers both genders thus broadening support, rather than a narrow focus on one gender. For instance, when addressing audiences at local and international conferences, Fulton County's approach receives positive feedback and elicits positive dialogue because of its dual focus on gender. A Fulton County administrator commented on the feedback they receive at conferences worldwide:

*"When we were in Brazil, there was a gentleman who stood up and said, I like what you've done, I like the fact that you made it about men, women, boys, and girls. I can go back and sell this [to my superiors]."*

In discussions with Fulton County respondents, it became evident that if governments continue focusing their gender services on women only, resistance may be experienced from the 'out' group [e.g. men] as well as resulting in gender inequities. In Kenya, like many countries in the world, women are the exclusive targets of gender initiatives and are thus able to attain economic and employment opportunities as a result of targeted services and programs provided by the government and international organizations. However, this female-only focus should probably be reevaluated in Kenya and other countries with a similar approach to include other groups, particularly young men who struggle to attain the same benefits that the women did not have at one point in history. Granted there may have been a need in the past to provide programs and services exclusively for women in Kenya who were victims of marginalization due to cultural practices stemming from harmful traditional customs; it is probably time to open up the gender focus to men in order to achieve a balanced approach to gender equality.

Because this female-only focus has been practiced for decades, it became the norm to focus on women only in various gender-related programs and services. The consequence is

that as the years have gone by, men have had increasing difficulty in, for instance, accessing credit for small businesses and obtaining resources on meaningful employment. Times have changed and the tables have turned such that men are an underserved population in particular arenas, much like the data found in several of Fulton County's programs. It is thus imperative for the government and international organizations to embrace a dual focus in analyzing the gender impact of public services in order to avoid creating new gender inequalities. A Fulton County administrator commented on the benefits of a dual focus as compared to a single focus on women only: "When you specifically identify one group, [such as] one gender, one race, one age group; that single focus creates inequality in society."

Another problem with a single focus on women is that it makes for unproductive dialogue in policymaking. The presentation of policy issues focusing only on the impact of women, or any other narrow group, in a legislative body that is almost always comprised of majority male representatives could more likely result in opposition and resistance. Taking the example of Kenya, the country approved a new constitution through a national referendum which included a gender quota clause that increased the number of women in parliament to a minimum 13%. While this measure was passed as policy and part of the new constitution, when it came time to implement the clause, implementation efforts were met with opposition and the political dialogue that ensued created divisions between men and women in the policymaking body and the nation as a whole. Rather than have unproductive dialogue which leads to no action and no positive outcomes, why not include both genders in the conversation and have a more productive dialogue that could potentially lead to successful results for everyone in society? Why focus on one gender when you can focus on both? At the end of the day, some action is better than no action, particularly when there are numerous plans and policies sitting on a shelf that a group of legislators cannot agree on.

An administrator with intimate knowledge of Fulton County's GB process spoke to the dual approach that has worked well for the municipality so far: "Because we've taken the focus off of women, people listen, people really pay attention to what we say."

### *5.1.2 Focus on Youth and Children*

Continuing with the dual focus on both genders, both Fulton County and San Francisco targets their gender services towards the needs of youth and children. Fulton County focuses on boys and girls, while San Francisco focuses on heterosexual girls and LGBTQ<sup>43</sup> youth who self-identify as female.

To this end, departments in Fulton County have conducted gender analyses that point to areas of focus for children of both genders and resulted in program redesign to change the target of public services. This subsection highlights some of the programs that have been targeted to boys and girls. One prominent program that has targeted both boys and girls is the Transforming the Lives of Children program [TLC]. Child care facilities such as day cares and schools have for years used assessment tools that were gender-biased because they did not recognize the developmental differences between boys and girls. In working with the mental health department for instance, Fulton County's TLC program found that the mental health department was receiving more referrals for boys than for girls from the childcare agencies, because "boys have been known to act out."<sup>44</sup> Teachers and other care givers did not have tools or knowledge on how to care for boys when they 'acted out.' Evaluation data also made evident that males exhibit outward symptoms of mental health disorders while women internally manifest their disorders<sup>45</sup> which explained why there were twice as many male referrals to the

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<sup>43</sup> LGBTQ is an acronym that stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer persons.

<sup>44</sup> Statement given by an administrator in a face-to-face interview.

<sup>45</sup> Information extracted from the TLC program annual report to the Gender Equality Taskforce.

department in charge of mental health development, disabilities and addictive diseases. The boys had different developmental characteristics from girls.

As a result, the TLC program began providing training and tools to teachers and caregivers that would enable them to provide the proper care for both boys and girls by being cognizant of the different developmental capacities. The TLC program trains teachers and child care staff that work with children from zero to five [0-5] years through gender sensitivity training to educate them on the difference between boys and girls, their learning differences, and brain formation.<sup>46</sup> They train childcare staff on gender specific mental health awareness; they develop and implement gender specific intake and assessment activities; they also work with parents in the transfer population such as homeless parents and parents in treatment facilities.

The Parks and Recreation department also began doing gender analyses using surveys and looking at registration forms for programs provided by the youth athletic associations. They found that girls were underrepresented in various sports. To remedy the underrepresentation of girls in sports, the Parks and Recreation department offered girls-only sports camps in two one-week sessions separated by about a month for girls ages five to seventeen [5-17] years. The camps offered four sports concurrently at four main recreation sites: basketball, swimming, tennis and volleyball. A staff representative from the Parks and Recreation department explained that they were also cognizant of federal legislation [Title IX] calling for equity and aligned the goals of the girls' sports camps with those of the federal legislation:

*“The main objective of what we did was to expose girls to sports, things like fellowship, teamwork, healthy lifestyle, and self-discipline so that they would get interested in pursuing these sports in a more organized basis and of course with the anniversary of Title IX maybe they’ll [continue] in high school, move on to college, etc. So there is an end purpose besides just offering sports camps.”*

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<sup>46</sup> Information retrieved from the Gender Equality Taskforce focus group discussion.

In addition, the Parks and Recreation department instituted health surveys for girls and their parents or guardians on the children's eating and playing habits in order to find out if majority of the girls led active and healthy lifestyles. The department used the results of the survey to identify additional steps to take in providing health information or services.

In San Francisco, even though the DOSW's focus is exclusively on women, there are instances when [male and female] children benefit from gender services provided, for example, in cases where a mother with young children is a recipient of gender-related services thus the children benefit by default. Such instances include domestic violence assistance, shelter assistance, health care services to pregnant women and so forth. Children's services may also be available in departments other than the Department on the Status of Women [DOSW], for instance, the Health and Human Services, the Department of Children, Youth and Families, and in services provided by the municipally-funded nonprofit agencies.

The San Francisco Girls' Report of 2012 administered as a benchmark against which improvements could be made, girls' enrollment in science, technology, engineering and mathematics [STEM] that had remained low and declined over the past decade. The total student enrollment in computer education classes in San Francisco public schools dropped 72% from the year 2000 to 2010; for girls alone, the drop was 77%. The COSW and DOSW recommended the need to develop strategies to attract girls of all racial and ethnic backgrounds to take STEM classes and succeed in them.

The San Francisco DOSW also works with a variety of nonprofits to provide services to underserved communities. The Asian Pacific Islander Legal Outreach agency known as API is nonprofit organization funded by DOSW and provides among others, services to boys and girls by hosting a youth advisory council that organizes different projects to Bay Area teens on activities such as painting murals, performing in plays, creating a resource guide, an annual

poster contest, talent shows, and an online forum that engages teens on dating and domestic violence (API, 2013).

### 5.1.3 Focus on Women Only

This subsection discusses the strategies used by San Francisco to implement its gender lens which has a focus on women only. San Francisco funds six key categories to provide direct and indirect services to its citizens. The six key categories are

1. Emergency domestic violence shelter
2. Transitional housing
3. Prevention and education programs
4. Legal services
5. Intervention and advocacy services
6. Crisis lines
  - a. Domestic violence hotline
  - b. Sexual assault crisis hotline

Part of the CEDAW statute that was adopted in San Francisco had specific stipulations such as conducting a gender analysis of all services, employment practices and budgets. A taskforce was created to conduct the analysis in order to determine if there were gender inequalities present in the administration and then to make recommendations as far as remedying the inequalities. One of the first two departments to use the gender analysis was the Department of Public Works [DPW]. DPW is responsible for maintaining city streets and public areas, restoring public monuments, and providing architectural and engineering services to other departments.<sup>47</sup> DPW has potential to harbor gender inequalities due to the nature of its jobs. Public Works jobs are considered nontraditional for women and as a result employ few

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<sup>47</sup> Department of Public Works (2007).

women. This department was analyzed in terms of recruitment and employment practices, as well as in terms of customer satisfaction and service utilization by gender.

Besides issues such as lighting and safety concerns in public areas e.g. playgrounds and bus-stops that may require gender considerations, the DPW analysis uncovered that its services were rarely gender specific.<sup>48</sup> However, the gender analysis helped DPW in its construction projects to ask questions like “What are women’s needs? What are men’s needs? How are the needs met or not met based on gender? How can the needs and concerns of all persons be best incorporated into the project?”<sup>49</sup> Even though differential impact did not apply in most projects, DPW officials found the gender analysis exercise helpful in that they were mindful of the differential impact some of the projects may have on gender.

Under DPW’s workforce composition data, women were found to be notably underrepresented among service and maintenance workers and over-represented among office or clerical workers. It was also noted that in some employment pools, female availability pools were low in nontraditional job applications, indicating that men and women applicants viewed themselves in gender-stereotypical roles and thus applied only to traditionally-defined employment positions e.g. more females in clerical pools and more males in engineering pools. This finding of gender-defined job applications implies that gender sensitivity training should be conducted not only among county staff in charge of recruitment, but also in the public sphere to educate people on the possibilities of men and women working in nontraditional jobs.

There was an even higher disparity in pay with over 80 percent of male employees earning over \$70,000. The percentage of women across all other salary ranges was consistently below 30 percent indicating that the numbers of women in each salary range and

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<sup>48</sup> Department of Public Works (2007).

<sup>49</sup> Department of Public Works (2007).



women's pay was low compared to men. There was only one salary range – the lowest – which showed a roughly equal percentage between men and women in both numbers and pay. From the analysis above, the discrepancy in the numbers of men and women seems to be caused by stereotypical job applications and recruitment. However, more research is needed to determine if the salary discrepancy is due to seniority, discrimination, or other factors.

Nonetheless, the COSW<sup>50</sup> and DOSW<sup>51</sup> in charge of gender analysis recommended that DPW make a conscious effort to recruit women in all other categories except clerical and office positions where women were over-represented. Training and active recruitment of women for the service and maintenance positions was also conducted to increase their numbers in those categories. In their 2012 report and hearing to the COSW, the DPW did not give a gender assessment of recruitment figures but reported improvement in increasing the number of female engineers in compliance with CEDAW principles. In looking at DPW's organizational chart however, the current percentage of female staff is approximately 27 percent. The increase in the number of female engineers as reported is not yet visible and its not known whether the increase occurred in other levels of employment such as in the field or within the department. It may also be that the 27 percent female representation in DPW staff is actually an increase if in the past they had a number lower than that. However these figures were not reported during this research and it is not known what type of progress the DPW has made regarding balancing gender in recruitment.

The most popular program for women in San Francisco is domestic violence. San Francisco has about twenty-four [24] agencies which the municipal government funds and partners with to provide direct gender-related services to citizens. The agencies are funded

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<sup>50</sup> COSW stands for the Commission on the Status of Women in San Francisco, California.

<sup>51</sup> DOSW stands for the Department on the Status of Women, whose function is to carry out policies of the COSW.

through an open and competitive application process where they submit requests for proposals and are funded on a three-year cycle. In 2011, DOSW received about \$7 million in funding requests out of which they had only \$2.7 million in actual funds to distribute. To meet a growing demand for services, every nonprofit agency received a 12 percent increase in their program funding from the municipality for FY 2012-13.<sup>52</sup> The funding to nonprofit agencies is renewable annually and they are required to submit quarterly reports and conduct self-evaluations twice a year in order to meet the renewing criteria.

Even though their primary focus is on women, San Francisco goes further to analyze their data based on race and ethnicity, immigration status, parental status, and language as these components have shown to be of significance in the area because of the diversity in population. Furthermore, the focus on women stretches for some programs to include LGBTQ<sup>53</sup> groups of people who self-identify as female.

#### *5.1.4 Focus on LGBTQ*

In collecting gender disaggregated data for the various programs and services offered, San Francisco asks individuals to identify their gender and rather than providing only two options of male and female, additional gender categories of LGBTQ are included. San Francisco has a number of nonprofit organizations funded by the City and County government to provide services to LGBTQ persons. One such organization is the Community United Against Violence nonprofit also known as CUAV which receives funding from the DOSW for relationship violence support among LGBTQ persons. A representative from CUAV spoke about the importance of San Francisco's support for the services they provide.

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<sup>52</sup> DOSWa (2012).

<sup>53</sup> LGBTQ is an acronym that stands for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer persons.

*"[We have] the vote of confidence from the city and recognition that LGBTQ domestic violence exists and that its an important issue to put the city's resources toward. Its also important in that majority of our funding does come from local, city and state grants."*

CUAV was founded in 1979 and serves lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer survivors of violence. In 1979, after San Francisco's first openly gay elected official [Harvey Milk] was assassinated, many LGBTQ social and community institutions were facing police brutality and oppression so CUAV was formed out of a grassroots movement to create alternatives for community based approaches to safety for LGBTQ people.<sup>54</sup> CUAV provides free bilingual care support services for "no and low income LGBTQ people of color who are facing hate violence, domestic violence, and police violence."<sup>55</sup> Most clients hear about CUAV by word of mouth, from the internet, and from referrals of organizations such as Victim Witness - a department in the San Francisco's District Attorney's office that deals with people who are victims of crime.<sup>56</sup> DOSW provides funding to CUAV which in turn provides direct services to citizens as an extension of the city and county.

In their gender analysis of services to youth in schools, San Francisco's DOSW looked at the differential impact amongst heterosexual and gay and lesbian students in high schools. In the past, all services and programs were lumped together without giving attention to specific challenges and needs of LGBTQ identified students. The analysis found differences in impact when it came to bullying, mental health, and use of alcohol and cigarettes between lesbians, gays, and heterosexual students. The Report on Girls in San Francisco mentions that the sexual identification among students increased significantly between 2001 and 2011. The percentage of girls who identified as lesbians increased from 0.7% to 1.3%, similar to boys who

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<sup>54</sup> Information from a nonprofit organization representative during a telephone interview.

<sup>55</sup> Quote from a nonprofit organization representative during a telephone interview.

<sup>56</sup> Information from a nonprofit organization representative during a telephone interview.

identified as gay; there was also a substantial increase in female students who identified as bisexuals [3.9% to 7.2%], with a slight decrease in bisexual boys [2.1% to 1.8%].<sup>57</sup> A DOSW administrator remarked that these numbers are a concern as “in almost every category except maybe one of the violence categories, lesbian girls fared worse than boys.”

As far as safety was concerned, the LGB students were about two and a half times more likely to feel unsafe and enter into a fight during a given month compared to heterosexual students.<sup>58</sup> Compared to heterosexual females, lesbian or bisexual females are roughly three times as likely to be bullied or be in a fight during one year.<sup>59</sup> A DOSW administrator expressed concern for these behavioral and societal trends: “We are failing our lesbian girls. They are suffering from depression, suicide, [and] bullying; its clearly a demographic that is not receiving the attention it deserves.”

In terms of mental health, heterosexual females were more likely to experience symptoms of depression [30%] and consider suicide [15%] than heterosexual males [22% for depression and 9% for suicide].<sup>60</sup> However, lesbian or bisexual females [53%] have a dramatically higher likelihood of experiencing symptoms of depression and seriously considering suicide compared to any other group.<sup>61</sup> When it came to topics such as attempted suicide, tobacco, alcohol and other drug use, the percentage of lesbian or bisexual females [67.5%] was higher compared to gay or bisexual males [60.1%] and heterosexual females [37.2%].<sup>62</sup>

Some of the recommendations that came out of the girls’ report was to improve outcomes for LGBTQ identified students in schools. Some of the strategies mentioned include

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<sup>57</sup> DOSWb (2012).

<sup>58</sup> DOSWb (2012).

<sup>59</sup> DOSWb (2012).

<sup>60</sup> DOSWb (2012).

<sup>61</sup> DOSWb (2012).

<sup>62</sup> DOSWb (2012).

developing comprehensive sex education programs for same-sex couples, mental health care, peer counseling, and sharing of data with other agencies and nonprofits.<sup>63</sup> In evaluating San Francisco's data, this research finds that it is imperative for each governing jurisdiction to be aware of the type of people they serve as well as the unique challenges and needs citizens face in order to provide relevant and effective services to each segment of the population.

Although Fulton County does not yet have an explicit focus on LGBTQ persons in their gender equality initiative, most interview respondents alluded to the county's possible move to expand their gender focus to include LGBTQ persons. The expansion of gender categories was seen as realistic by administrators because of the positive reception of the GB technique. Proponents in Fulton County argued that adding the LGBTQ gender categories was likely to be received well by the political and administrative arms of government. A Fulton County administrator commented:

*"I think that another next step for us is transgendered issues such as gay, lesbian, bisexual issues. We haven't really done a lot of work in that area yet. Fulton County is very progressive and has some policies offering rights to gay and lesbian couples and I think that we will ultimately do more in that area."*

## 5.2 Public-Private Partnerships & Interdepartmental Cooperation

*"We are an office of five [5] people and so I'm very proud of the work we're able to accomplish, but we can't do it all; we have to partner in order to push this [gender initiative] forward."*

*– A San Francisco municipal administrator*

The COSW and DOSW work hand in hand with other departments, but they mostly partner with non-profit and for-profit organizations to provide gender services to the residents of

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<sup>63</sup> DOSWb (2012).

the consolidated City and County of San Francisco. In Fulton County, departments work hand in hand and cooperate on various programs, projects and administrative tasks, and this research found few instances of public-private partnerships with faith-based organizations in some GB programs. The two government jurisdictions take part in public-private partnerships and interdepartmental cooperation to accomplish their gender policies. This section discusses the two strategies used by each jurisdiction to achieve set objectives in implementing the gender initiatives.

#### *5.2.1 Public-Private [Nonprofit] Partnerships*

San Francisco's DOSW does not provide direct services but funds about twenty-four [24] 501©3 nonprofit organizations to provide domestic violence and other gender-related services. The department provides funding to the organizations and oversight of their activities. DOSW offers a myriad of gender services through the nonprofit agencies including women abuse programs, prevention of domestic violence for women, a Chinese Women program for high-stress relationships in families, family support services to prevent child abuse in Asian/Pacific Islander families, early crisis intervention programs, and clinical treatment services. Some of the nonprofit agencies that DOSW works with to provide these services include the APA Family Support Services organization, the Asian Pacific Islander Legal Outreach [API] organization, the Community United Against Violence [CUAV] organization, and the Asian Women Shelter [AWS].

APA promotes healthy lifestyles for Asian/Pacific Islander children and families by providing family support services to prevent child abuse and domestic violence. They offer center-based services, home-based services, and clinical services. They also provide Asian language services for families in need and a Chinese Women program for help with high-stress

relationships in families. APA was founded in 1987 and consists of professionals and experienced home visitors who help families at risk cope with challenges such as language barriers, cultural conflicts, child care practices, and appropriate parenting skills. They also provide clinical services and follow-up medical liaison services through partnership with the San Francisco General Hospital.

The API Legal Outreach agency started in 1975 and serves domestic violence survivors in the Bay area particularly in Asian and Pacific Islander communities. They assist with “domestic violence, family law matters, elder law matters and elder abuse, tax clinics [tax controversies with the IRS], and immigration.”<sup>64</sup> Under its immigration service component, API serves human trafficking survivors and helps clients with housing matters such as eviction or landlord-tenant issues. API also has attorneys on hand to serve clients who speak with different dialects and languages.

CUAV receives funding from DOSW for relationship violence support among LGBTQ persons. They provide free bilingual care support services, individual peer advocacy, resource referrals, connections with other organizations, drug and group support, relationship connections, holistic wellness and safety, learning about boundaries, and practicing self-determination. Most of the challenges CUAV's clients face stem from trying to survive with the high cost of living in San Francisco.<sup>65</sup> They also encounter people experiencing employment discrimination, housing discrimination, lack of stable housing, lack of access to institutions, lack of economic opportunities and immigration issues.

The Asian Women's Shelter [AWS] is a nonprofit organization founded in 1988 to address the needs of women, children, and transgender survivors of domestic violence and

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<sup>64</sup> Quote from an organization representative during a telephone interview.

<sup>65</sup> Information extracted from a telephone interview with an agency representative.

human trafficking, especially immigrants and refugees. They provide emotional services through counseling and connecting clients to various social services in a case work type of setting. AWS offers legal connections and housing assistance in a twelve [12] week program after which they support them with moving on to transitional housing for a longer term solution.

In terms of external financial support, San Francisco's COSW has an active Friends of the Commission nonprofit organization that raises funds which they would not have access to if they were to rely completely on government funds. The Friends organization provides funding for travel and training - funding categories that are no longer provided by the government. Other San Francisco agencies such as the Human Rights Commission, the Library, Parks and Recreation departments have Friends organizations that provide them with additional funds, which cushion the impact of governmental budget cuts. The nonprofit organizations therefore play a crucial role in providing gender services and other services in the San Francisco area.

### *5.2.2 Public-Private [For profit] Partnerships*

Part of the San Francisco CEDAW statutes involve utilizing CEDAW principles in the private sector. Using this mandate, San Francisco in conjunction with private companies such as the Calvert Group Ltd and Verite developed an online tool for promoting gender equality in the workplace. DOSW invited private companies to create benchmarks and resources to help other companies striving towards gender equality. Some questions that private companies considered in this process were: if you want a department free of discrimination, what would that look like?<sup>66</sup> Over time, the group of private companies created about five hundred to six hundred [500-600] benchmarks which were then narrowed down to about one hundred [100]. The group of companies then held round-table discussions between 2008-2010 to provide

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<sup>66</sup> Information extracted from a face-to-face interview with a San Francisco county administrator.



feedback on the benchmarks, collect a set of resources, and talk to experts in the field on how to improve the online resource.

The formulated benchmarks now known as gender equality principles were put on a website where any company could access them. In addition to the principles, other resources on the website include workplace resources and a self-assessment tool to measure gender equality progress. The principles, resources, and self-assessment tool address the following issues:

1. Employment and compensation
2. Work-life balance and career development
3. Health, safety, and freedom from violence
4. Management and governance
5. Business, supply chain and marketing practices
6. Civic and community engagement
7. Leadership, transparency and accountability<sup>67</sup>

Due to the success of this electronic format for doing gender equality assessments with for-profit organizations, San Francisco plans to broaden its availability to other sectors as a county administrator explains:

*“[Our intention] is to take what we’ve done in the private sector with that website and create something similar for government using our gender analysis guidelines. So that people would be able to self-assess against a set of benchmarks in their service area, in their budget area, and in their employment area and then collect in one place all the best practices.”*

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<sup>67</sup> GEP (2012).

### *5.2.3 Public-Private [Faith-Based] Partnerships*

Fulton County works in collaboration with faith-based organizations in the community to provide gender-related services. The domestic violence program provided by the Fulton County Police Department is one such example as it utilizes building facilities and the network potential of faith-based organizations to engage citizens in participating in seminars and domestic violence program-related activities. The domestic violence program is an interdepartmental collaboration project between the Police Department and the Behavioral Health Department, as well as a public-private partnership between the two county departments and local faith-based organizations. The faith-based organizations are the grassroots medium that link the county administrators to the local citizens in order to reach out and provide direct services.

As found in this study, the role of faith-based organizations is unique to Fulton County while the role of nonprofit organizations is unique to San Francisco. The research did not uncover specific reasons as to why the forms of partnerships differ within the two jurisdictions but a general and objective analysis would be that the unique partnerships could have been influenced by the jurisdiction's history, the organizational culture, and the preferences of agency heads.

### *5.2.4 Interdepartmental Cooperation*

In San Francisco's domestic violence program, the Department on the Status of Women [DOSW] works closely with the Police Department and the Probation Department where they hold regular meetings with the police chief to address pending issues and to provide services such as shelter and bilingual assistance. Furthermore, in the state of California, a portion of marriage license fees, about \$12 go towards domestic violence services. DOSW appropriates the portion of the marriage license fees that is geared to domestic violence and

allocates the funds equally to the domestic shelters throughout the city and county. For instance, in fiscal year 2011-12, these monies summed up to \$194,000 which was divided equally among the shelters. These monies are in addition to what DOSW offers in program funds to nonprofit agencies.

Funding for nonprofit agencies comes not only from the DOSW but also from other municipal departments that serve the same client base as the agencies and ensure that they are able to provide direct services to citizens. The APA Family Support Services organization for example, receives funding from the Human Services Agency and the Department of Children, Youth and Families, in addition to the DOSW funding.

In Fulton County, the Finance Department worked in collaboration with the Information Technology [IT] Department to implement GB and embed it into the county budgeting processes. Together they developed a software called info path whereby each department could respond to budget instructions and questions at the beginning of a budget cycle. Part of the instructions included gender specific questions and providing gender impact statements that stated how each gender segment: men, women, boys and girls, would be affected if the budget was a) reduced, b) maintained, c) increased, or d) if the program was taken away. Whereas in the past departments had to fill out paper forms and submit to the finance department, now with the help of the IT Department, and the move towards outcome-based and gender budgeting, the departments are able to fill in their information online and submit it to a database that stores the information from year to year. This helped the county streamline the process and also helped in the transition to a new system of public budgeting.

In addition, the gender initiative has prompted departmental collaborations where several departments meet as a bigger gender equality taskforce comprised of about twenty staff or more. The gender equality taskforce, which is different from the smaller steering committee,

comprises of department heads and department representatives who meet periodically to discuss various programs and projects which have performed gender analyses and together they determine ways to improve service provision. In this forum, employees from different departments learn strategies used by other employees in their programs, share expertise and resources, and some departments end up cooperating in providing a certain service or program to the community. One such example is the collaboration between the Police Department and the Behavioral Health department in providing domestic violence services by holding teen dating information sessions in schools, seminars on domestic violence awareness, and working with faith-based organizations to engage young people in safe dating practices.

### 5.3 Misperception of the Term 'Gender'

In implementing a gender lens, the researcher encountered misperceptions in the understanding of gender budgeting [GB] and the term 'gender,' which is wrongfully perceived to mean women only to most people when it can be applied to both males or females. One administrator commented: "You know anytime you say gender, women issues pop up." This wrong perception of the term 'gender' was an interesting finding as it influenced the direction and the level of political, social, and administrative acceptance of the initiative. This subsection discusses the misperception of the term gender, which has caused challenges in the awareness and acceptance of services that are geared to both men and women, thus prompting discussions about the naming of such services using terms other than gender. Because of the misperception, various interview respondents mentioned moving away from the term 'gender' and giving the initiative a name that speaks more to social equity than gender equality.

The term 'gender' is defined as "the state of being male or female."<sup>68</sup> The World Health Organization (2012) further defines gender as "socially constructed roles, behaviour, activities and attributes that a particular society considers appropriate for men and women." Therefore, gender, according to its proper definition does not imply women only. However, the misperception of the term 'gender' has come about because of the historical and practical use of the term in describing services geared towards women only. The historical and practical use of the term 'gender' to imply women-only has tainted the new practice of gearing gender services to both men and women, as is the true meaning of the word.

In Fulton County, the gender initiative is clearly defined as encompassing men, women, boys and girls; however, because of the misperception that gender means women only, administrators and citizens were initially unreceptive to the idea of a gender initiative with the misconceived notion that it was targeted to women only. People still oppose the initiative by the mere fact that it has the word 'gender' in its name. However after much training and awareness, Fulton County expects that the gender initiative will be embraced once people learn that it is geared to men, women, boys and girls.

County administrators expressed the difficulty they have had and continue to have when training employees on GB and in conducting awareness sessions in public forums and at conferences. The research findings show that members of staff, particularly department heads do not, at first, take the gender initiative implementation process seriously as they do other policies. The principal reason given was that when staff members hear the term gender, they associate it with women's projects, and some staff still do even with awareness training. As a matter of fact, some staff members will not participate in the GB training unless it is mandatory because the term 'gender' is used in advertising the training session. A county administrator

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<sup>68</sup> Oxford Dictionary (2012).

who administers GB employee training stated: “A lot of our pilot programs weren’t necessarily targeting women, yet when one hears the word gender, they think this is a women’s issue or initiative.” Male employees particularly, do not associate themselves with the term ‘gender’ as they view it to mean women’s affairs.

Despite Fulton County’s clear definition of their gender focus being on men, women, boys, and girls, people still associate the gender initiative with women-only issues. Another administrator shared similar encounters regarding misperception of the term gender: “When we’ve done the [gender budgeting] trainings, we’ve had people think that its somehow related to our sexual harassment training or that it had some purpose other than its intended purpose.”

Some Fulton County administrators explained that they have always had to preface their presentations at conferences by explaining the terminology ‘gender budgeting’ to avoid intimidating their audiences with the term ‘gender’. Most respondents also alluded to the idea of calling the initiative something else or removing the term ‘gender’ altogether. For instance, one administrator stated:

*“[On the term gender], people shut down and its sort of like the word ‘feminist’ [which] means so many things to so many people and it’s a word I don’t even like to use. Its message is so skewed or can be so widely interpreted. I wish there was another way of talking about it, we just want to make sure that other people’s opportunities and services are the same no matter who they are.”*

A staff member shared about the frustration experienced by employees in their GB training and countywide implementation efforts:

*“The negative perception of it being perceived as a burden, it being perceived as additional work, it being perceived as costing more money. And then you go into the, oh, you all are trying to do girls’ work, what are y’all girls doing.”*

Most respondents expressed that even though their goal was to attain gender equality and even though the term 'gender' worked during policy adoption and the initial implementation, it was time to change the term to more broadly define the activities of the county towards social equity for all citizens. There is thus the intention of moving away from the term 'gender equality' to a term such as 'social equity' in an effort to successfully embed the initiative throughout the county and to foster its political, administrative, and societal acceptance. Rubin (2010) discusses the strategy of broadening your acceptance base in making an initiative more palatable to political representatives, administrative officials, and citizens, thus reducing possible backlash and smoothing the implementation process.

In contrast, San Francisco appeared to experience issues with the misperception of the term 'gender' in a different way because their gender focus is defined as primarily women. This is explicitly stated in their policy and in the naming of their commission and department - Status of Women. San Francisco's gender focus and experience mirrors the focus of most countries internationally that have adopted the technique of GB by focusing on women only. However, unlike the international focus on women only and Fulton County's focus on both genders, San Francisco's focus has broadened to include lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer [LGBTQ] groups of people.

## CHAPTER 6

### IMPACT OF A GENDER LENS

*“You’ll hear me talk about impact [more] than anything else. I put in a dollar into the tax budget, how does that dollar impact men, women, boys, and girls. And does it impact them differently? And if so, why does it impact them differently? And that different impact, does it contribute to or create an unequal playing field? And what can we do to change that?”<sup>69</sup>*

This chapter examines the impact of using a gender lens in public governance by highlighting the administrative and societal effects. Administrative effects are discussed in terms of budgetary impact and impact on employee workload. Budgetary impact refers to any monetary changes that have been done as a result of introducing the gender lens. For instance, the introduction of a gender lens may lead to an increase or decrease in funds. Work impact or employee workload looks at whether the introduction of a gender lens affected the normal work flow, workloads and if it required current personnel to reallocate their time and functions in order to fulfill GB requirements. Administrative procedures are in one way or another affected by new policies that come into place and require additional effort on the part of employees or additional funds in order to accomplish the mandated policy.

Societal effects are discussed in terms of differential impact on men, women, boys and girls and in terms of outcome measurement or the lack thereof in measuring progress toward gender equality. Differential impact speaks to the various ways in which men, women, boys and girls are affected by government service and resource allocation. As an example, the Fulton County Police Department in conjunction with the Behavioral Health department offered seminars and outreach services to educate the community on domestic violence. This service was initially geared towards adult men and women; however after conducting a gender analysis

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<sup>69</sup> A Fulton County administrator discussing the impact of gender budgeting in a face-to-face interview.



of the different segments of the community: men, women, boys and girls; data from the Police Department found that the highest incidences of domestic violence occurred among teenagers ages fourteen to sixteen [14-16]. An even more surprising finding was that sixteen [16] year old girls presented as offenders at a slightly higher rate than the boys. According to a Police Department domestic violence program representative, the average person assumes that most offenders of domestic violence are adult males, but the finding that sixteen [16] year old girls rated as the highest offenders challenged the average person's expectation. The program thus changed its outreach focus from adult men and women to teenage boys and girls, particularly of ages 14-16 years, in order to effectively address the issue of domestic violence in the community. The differential impact of this service would not have been realized had it not been for the gender analysis.

### 6.1 Administrative Impact

This section addresses the second research question for the purpose of affirming qualitative findings. The method used includes a horizontal or time-series trend analysis of program and county budgets to understand the budgetary impact of adopting and implementing GB. The time series trends visually present budget fluctuations in the two municipal governments. Assessing the budgetary impact of GB concerns costs of data collection, policy evaluation, training, sources of funds, and whether these costs significantly affect the overall municipal budget. Current GB literature states that the cost of GB implementation is high such that it affects the overall municipal budget (Elson & Catagay, 2000; Hansen, et al, 2003) and thus is detrimental to the continuity of the initiative (Walby, 2005). The argument is that the budgetary impact further complicates the budgeting process and threatens the continuity of the gender initiative. Findings in this research contradict current GB literature by illustrating that the

budgetary allocation for GB in the U.S. case studies does not significantly affect the overall municipal budget. Current GB literature pertains to the budgetary costs of GB as it applies to international examples because of the lack of U.S. GB literature.

The difference in findings concerning budgetary impact between the U.S. case studies and the international examples may be attributed to the availability of donor funding for other countries and the lack of donor funding for the U.S. case studies. Donor funding amounts to significant budgetary allocations in other countries (UN Women, 2011) whereas local funding for GB in the U.S. case studies is limited to the scarce municipal government funding. In San Francisco, however, the DOSW receives additional funding from a Friends association namely the Friends of the Commission on the Status of Women which provides funds for travel and training and supplements the government funds allocated towards GB. Fulton County relies solely on government funding and as such have been able to keep GB costs minimal by embedding the initiative into countywide budgeting processes. The budgetary impact of GB could not be evaluated against other public budgeting approaches such as performance budgeting or outcomes based budgeting because there are numerous public budgeting approaches (Lee, et al., 2008; Schick, 1966). Therefore, comparing the various budgeting approaches would be complex in determining whether the cost of GB as a budgeting approach is more or less costly than other public budgeting approaches. This research focuses on the budgetary allocation for GB in the two U.S. case studies to determine whether the dollar amount allocated for GB takes up a significant portion of the overall county budget.

The department and overall county budgets are evaluated over an eight-year [8] period for Fulton County and over a four-year [4] period for San Francisco, while utilizing qualitative and secondary data to explain causes of budget fluctuations over the years. The explanations

for budget fluctuations are to check whether budget increases or decreases are attributable to gender budgeting implementation.

The data used includes program reports and budget documents. In Fulton County, the overall county budget as well as the non-agency budget, which provides funding for GB, were evaluated. In San Francisco, the COSW and DOSW departmental budget, which caters for gender-related services, as well as the overall City and County budget were evaluated. The time frames selected for the time-series analysis of each of the municipal jurisdictions were determined by the availability of budget data during data collection. Fulton County's departmental and county budget data that was available online included budgets from 2006 to 2013 thus forming an 8-year time-series. San Francisco's departmental and county budget data that was available online included budgets from 1988 to 2013 thus forming a 25-year time-series.

#### *6.1.1 Budgetary Impact*

This study revealed that the budgetary impact of GB in Fulton County is minimal and insignificant as the GB budget allocation is only \$150,000 per year thus does not significantly affect the overall county budget. The Fulton County GB budget has not changed since its adoption in 2007 and it takes up only 0.03% of the overall county budget. In addition, because Fulton County has been able to sustain their GB technique since its adoption in 2007, the case study refutes the theoretical claim that GB costs are high such that they affect the continuity of the initiative. However, this is an area to pay attention to in the long run to find out how long Fulton County will keep up the GB technique in budgeting processes and if it changes, determine if the cause was the cost of GB.

Similarly, the San Francisco DOSW budget is insignificant in relation to the overall city and county budget. San Francisco's gender budget (FY2011-2012) was \$3,521,239 while the overall city and county budget was \$6,828,705,831, thus the gender budget takes up 0.05% of the overall municipal budget. In addition, when compared to other departments' budgets, DOSW's budget has the fifth (5<sup>th</sup>) lowest amount allocated amongst a total of fifty-two [52] departments. The proportional allocation for the GB budget in San Francisco in comparison to allocations of other departments and the overall county budget has remained consistent over the years. Thus the San Francisco GB budget allocation has consistently not affected the overall county budget significantly. Similar to the Fulton County case study, the claim that cost is a significant factor for the case of San Francisco is not true and the claim that cost interferes with the continuity of the gender initiative does not hold true for San Francisco either because the municipality has carried out their gender initiative since the 1970's and have sustained it during the recession and other budget cutbacks. The following analysis discusses the budgetary fluctuations in Fulton County and San Francisco and explains the causes of such fluctuations.

The Fulton County approach argues that gender budgeting [GB] is a way of conducting day-to-day government 'business' and not really a special, one-time project that requires more funding. Fulton County proponents argue that it is a budgeting technique that is embedded or mainstreamed into countywide budgeting processes thus should not increase costs significantly. A Fulton County administrator speaking on the impact of GB on departmental and county budgets stated:

*"It [gender budgeting] makes for better informed decisions, I don't necessarily correlate gender budgeting with increase in costs. We've been very clear and even when we adopted our policy our commission sponsor was like this isn't about increasing costs to the county. This is about looking at what you already have and how you're spending it."*

The Fulton County model argues that if you embed GB into mainstream budgeting processes, it should not be costly to implement. However, if you set it up as a separate department or ministry as popularly done by governments internationally, then it becomes costly to create a new department, staff it and run it. Fulton County took the gender mainstreaming approach, which basically involves permeation of GB techniques and procedures alongside mainstay budgeting procedures. By embedding their gender lens, Fulton County has managed to keep GB costs low as well as keep the political and administrative acceptance levels high. This practice is commensurate with Walby's (2005) argument that gender mainstreaming achieves more successful results in terms of political acceptance than a radical change. However, Fulton County having attained such substantial impact both administratively and societally as espoused in the previous chapter contradicts one of Walby's arguments that gender mainstreaming achieves less substantial impacts because it is more agreeable than radical changes. Walby (2005) may have alluded to the political impact being greater when radical changes are implemented rather than using gender mainstreaming which aims for a softer and more agreeable political and administrative integration.

Fulton County has experienced a 13 percent decrease in actual budget expenditures from 2007 [when the gender lens was adopted] to 2011.<sup>70</sup> However, there are a number of reasons that explain the decrease in the budget, unrelated to gender budgeting. First, the county was subjected to budget cuts that the whole nation experienced due to the Great Recession. Second, Fulton County experienced a 33.3 percent decrease in property tax revenue and third, they had a 15.3 percent decline in tax digest value from 2008 to 2012.<sup>71</sup> The fourth reason for the decrease in budget was state law that increased the homestead exemption

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<sup>70</sup> Fulton County Finance Department (2012).

<sup>71</sup> Fulton County Finance Department (2012).

for Fulton County, making it two times higher than other counties in Georgia. This change is directly linked to a \$48 million decline in revenue since 2009. Fifth, the county has had increased foreclosures which have led to a 14 percent vacancy rate from 2010 to May 2012, and sixth, the county population has increased by 12.8 percent from the year 2000 to 2010 which has led to increased demand for public services. The time series chart below illustrates the fluctuations in the overall county budget over a period of eight [8] years.

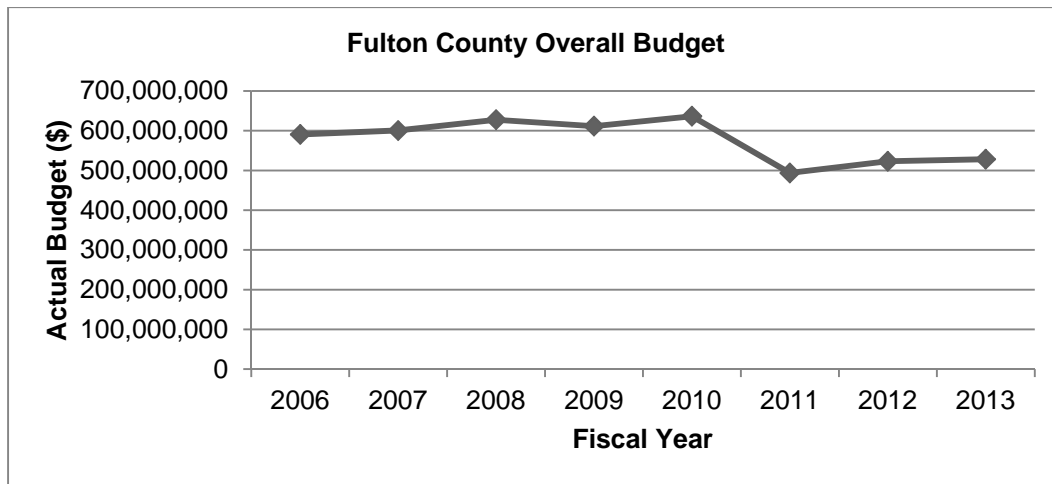


Figure 6.1 Fulton County Overall Budget

Other factors that led to a decline in expenditures in Fulton County was an increase in the unemployment rate from 4.9 percent in 2007 to 10.5 percent in 2011; Georgia's poverty rate increased dramatically from 14 percent in 2006 to 18 percent in 2010 while Fulton County's rates increased slightly from 15.7 percent in 2006 to 17.7 percent in 2010; and the number of Fulton County full time employees decreased dramatically in each employment category and overall from 2006 to 2010. Overall, there has been a -29 percent change in the number of full time employees from 2006 to 2012. This reduces the manpower costs which in turn means

employees have to do more with less. Lastly, Fulton County employees have not received a traditional cost of living increase since 2007.<sup>72</sup> All these factors have in combination contributed to the overall decrease in the county budget but also made it more important that the county use its existing resources as efficiently as possible, which is one of the goals of gender budgeting.

Although no significant increases or decreases in the county budget were attributed to Fulton County's GB process, the county funds GB by allocating \$150,000 per year in the non-agency budget<sup>73</sup> because GB is embedded throughout the county and does not have a separate department to handle GB matters. The GB funds have remained constant since the initial stages of implementation to cater for external consultants to train employees, and in the current, more stabilized GB stage to provide mini-grants to departments for collecting and analyzing gender disaggregated data as well as revising their programs in making them more gender equitable.

The GB policy was adopted in 2007 and the first budget instructions were disseminated in 2009. The initial gender analysis began as soon as the policy was adopted between 2007 and 2009 to identify pilot programs that would take part in the gender initiative. The non-agency GB funds also help in hiring interns to assist with data entry and analysis, and to purchase supplies for various programs. The inclusion of the gender initiative operating costs in the non-agency portion of the county budget insulates the initiative's funds from being a direct and easy target in times of budget cuts, negotiations or reallocation. There is a general move away from the term gender because of the stigma associated with the term that causes division in policy dialogue. The use of the non-agency budget category conceals the 'gender' identity of funds thus insulating the initiative from opposition. Rubin (2010) refers to this budgetary tactic as

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<sup>72</sup> Fulton County Finance Department (2012).

<sup>73</sup> Information extracted from face-to-face interviews of senior Fulton County administrators.

obfuscation in making it less visible so as to avoid resistance and other negative consequences such as budget cutbacks. Sometimes obfuscation is done intentionally as a budgetary tactic by administrators and at other times it is done because of the complexity of budgetary and policymaking processes.

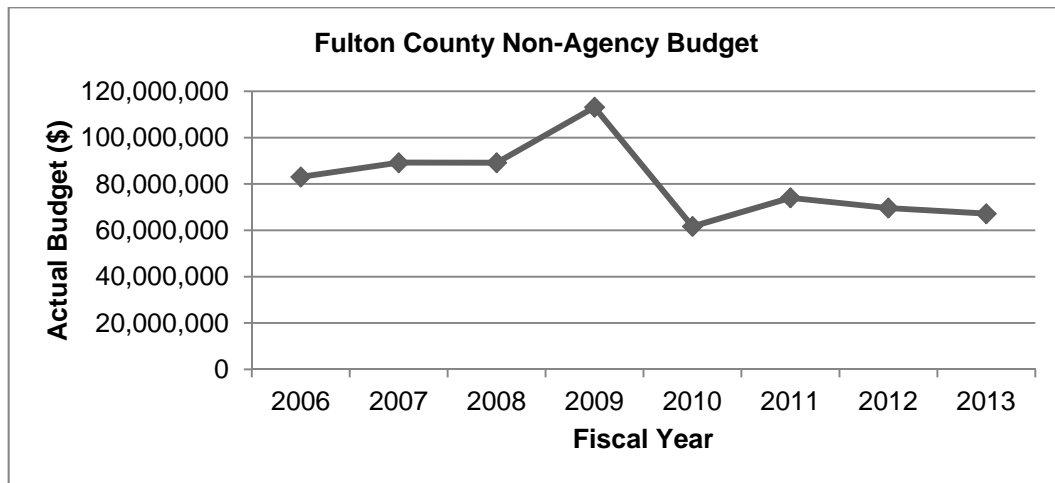


Figure 6.2 Fulton County Non-Agency Budget

The portion of Fulton County's budget that is directly associated with gender budgeting is covered in non-agency funds and it amounts to \$150,000 per year. This is an insignificant increase in cost compared to the FY 2012 total non-agency budget of \$69,616,049 in 2012 and the overall county budget of \$523,026,146.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>74</sup> Fulton County Finance Department (2012).



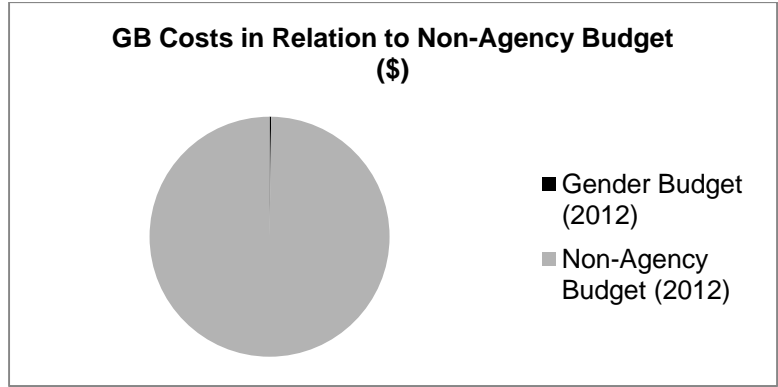


Figure 6.3 Fulton County Gender Budget Impact on Non-Agency Budget

The gender equality budget takes up 0.2% of the total non-agency budget, and 0.03% of the overall county budget. The two charts illustrate how insignificant the GB costs are in relation to non-agency and overall county budgets. This finding goes against the claim that GB costs significantly affect overall budgets such that they threaten the initiative’s continuity.

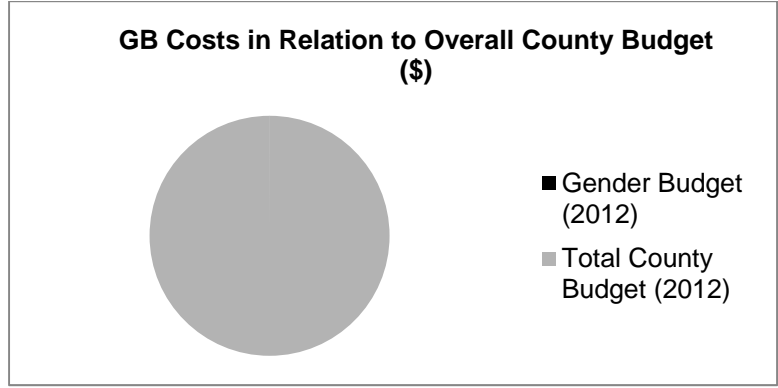


Figure 6.4 Fulton County Gender Budget Impact on Overall County Budget

Fulton County’s GB is such that the cost of implementation is not detrimental to the survival of the initiative. The county has worked tremendously to ensure that this initiative is

embedded into countywide budgeting processes in order to keep the costs low. Literature on the practice of GB in other countries asserts that cost is a major disadvantage in implementing the technique. Fulton County's model negates the claim that the cost of implementing GB is too high that it affects its continuity.

Nonetheless, cost is an important factor in GB because Fulton County has taken tremendous caution in keeping costs low and insulating GB funds in the non-agency budget in order to keep the initiative growing and to protect it from opposition. The Fulton County case study shows that the budgetary impact of GB, at the initial startup stage and during the stabilization stage, does not significantly affect the overall county budget as the jurisdiction did not need a dramatic increase in funds to implement the initiative.

The budgetary impact in San Francisco was different from Fulton County because of the different GB structures used in the two jurisdictions. In Fulton County, GB is embedded and rolled out countywide such that each department participates in the process. The cost is thus spread out to all departments and the workload is absorbed as part of the employees' day-to-day work. The Fulton County approach thus absorbs costs and leads to minimal and insignificant budgetary impact. The San Francisco gender services structure is such that a separate department [DOSW] was created and a commission [COSW] was appointed to make policy and operate the gender services. The COSW funds are included in the DOSW budget, which are provided by the municipality for the sole purpose of gender-related services. The San Francisco GB structure also includes the use of private partnerships to provide direct services while department and commission staff deal with policymaking and oversight of resources and service provision.

With such a structure, costs in the areas of staffing, office space, supplies, wages, and funds to provide gender services for both COSW and DOSW are likely to significantly affect the

overall county budget, possibly to the point where the continuity of the gender initiative may be threatened. However, San Francisco has an advantage of having implemented their gender initiatives and formed the COSW and DOSW back in the 1970's and 1990's respectively such that they have become stable entities of the municipality that are not severely threatened in times of budget cutbacks. In addition, the analysis that follows shows that the DOSW budget is not significantly high in relation to the overall city and county budget.

In San Francisco, the DOSW budget for fiscal year [FY] 2011-12 was reduced by \$134,321 from the previous year's budget and the decrease was attributed to administrative cost savings.<sup>75</sup> Similar decreases in budgets were found in most other departments in the city and county. For the past five years, the department has consistently funded direct services such as hotlines for domestic violence, shelter beds, legal counseling, and prevention education. The costs of providing gender services are minimal in comparison to the funds set aside for policymaking, that is, the commission [COSW]. For instance in 2012, the COSW budget was \$3,112,562 while the DOSW budget, including COSW funds, totaled to \$3,521,239, leaving only \$408,677 for service provision in the various gender-related programs. The time-series trend analysis below illustrates budget fluctuations in San Francisco's COSW and overall county budget over a twenty-five year period. The figures are taken from San Francisco's City and County General Fund totals and the COSW budget allocation to compare the trend in increases or decreases in funds.

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<sup>75</sup> San Francisco Budget (2012).

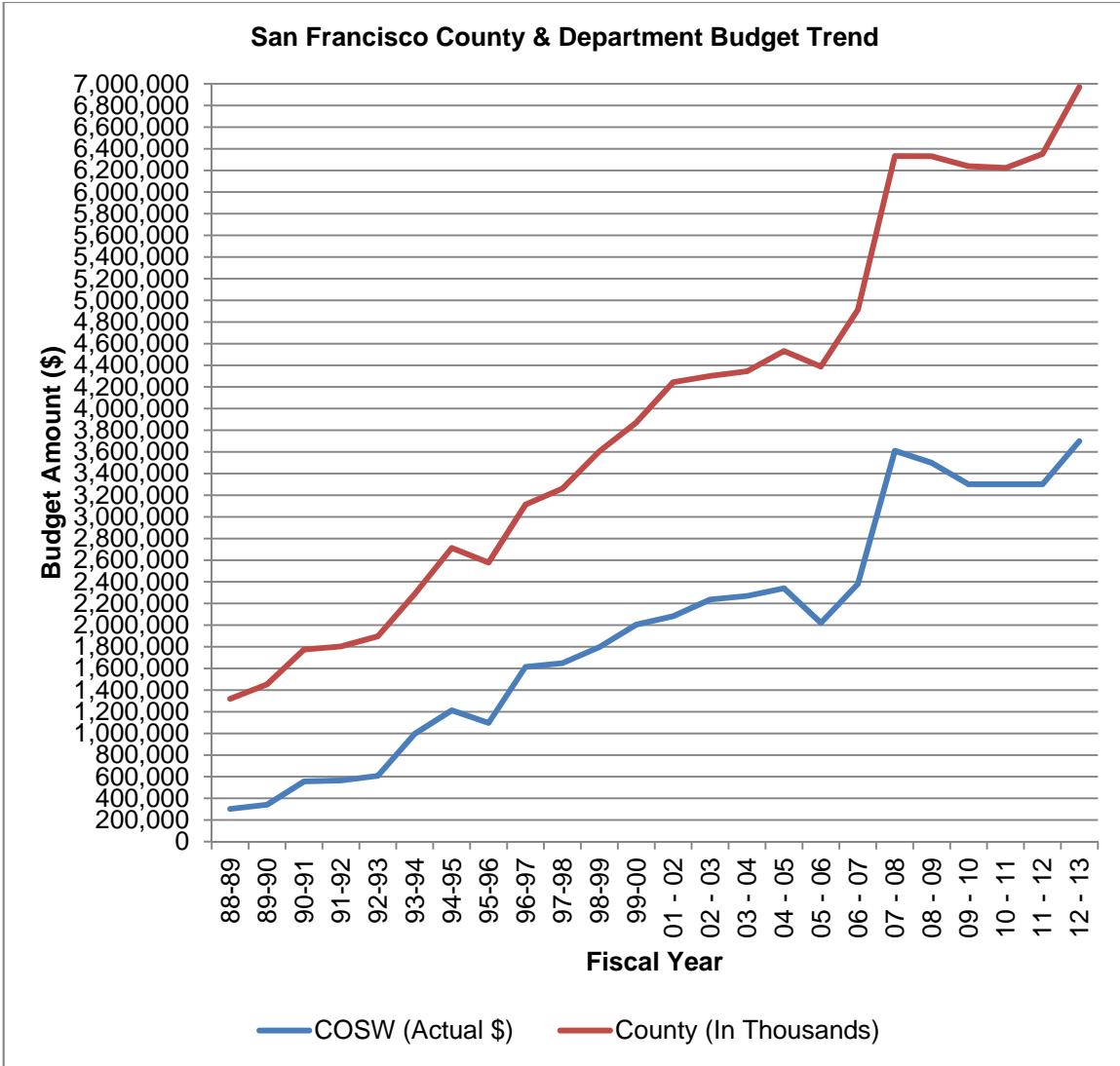


Figure 6.5 San Francisco County & Department Budget Trends

The time-series chart above shows that both the COSW budget and overall county budget have increased almost proportionately over time.

The time-series chart below finds that over a twenty-five [25] year period, the gender budget takes up an average of 0.09% of the overall county budget, thus does not significantly affect the overall county budget.

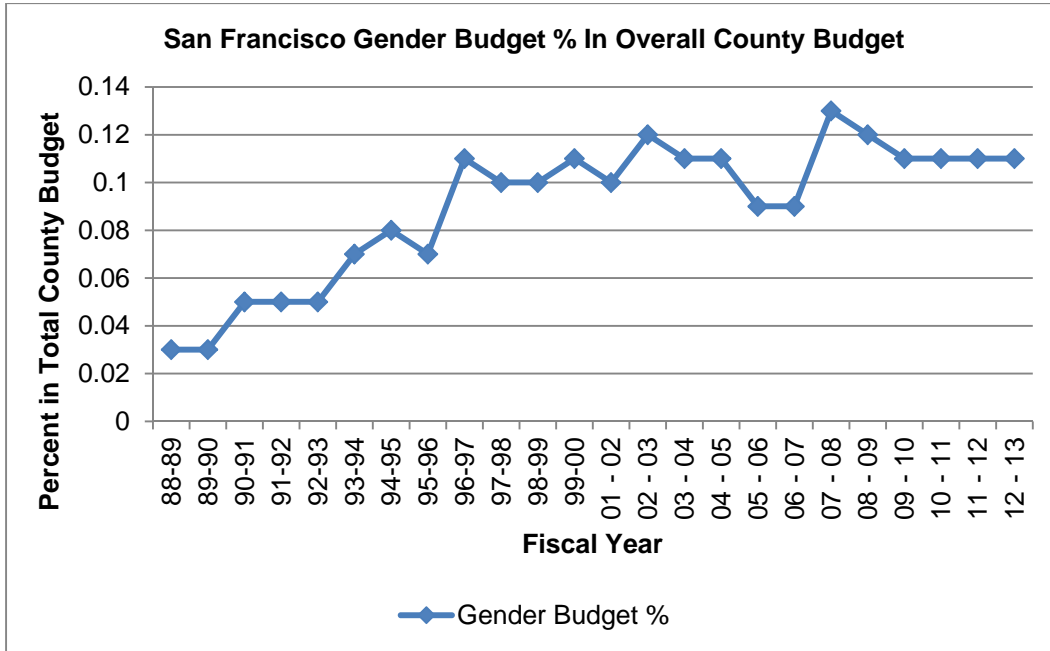


Figure 6.6 Percentage of San Francisco Gender Budget in Overall Municipal Budget

San Francisco’s DOSW historical budget breakdown shows that the domestic violence line item increased significantly from fiscal year 2009-10 to FY 2010-11 and was reduced drastically [by 43%] from FY 2010-11 to FY 2011-12. Similarly, the aid assistance or grants line item was reduced by almost \$200,000 from FY 2010-11 to FY 2011-12. On the contrary, the COSW budget line item was increased by about \$100,000 from FY 2010-11 to FY 2011-12. The increase in the COSW line item indicates relevance, cognizance and continuing need for gender services, particularly in policymaking. Although the costs of operating a department and a commission may seem high, the San Francisco DOSW budget is actually insignificant in relation

to the overall city and county budget. San Francisco's gender budget takes up an average of 0.09% of the overall municipal budget. In addition, when compared to other departments' budgets, DOSW's budget has the fifth (5<sup>th</sup>) lowest amount amongst the fifty-two [52] City and County departments in San Francisco. The chart below shows that the COSW budget occupies a small and insignificant portion of the pie chart in relation to the overall San Francisco City and County budget.

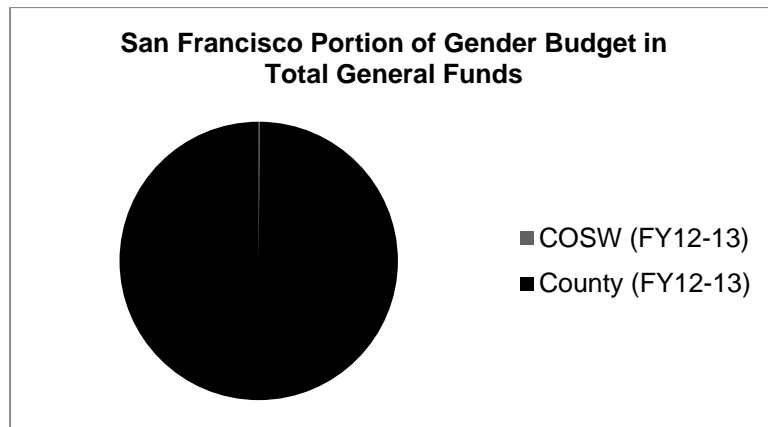


Figure 6.7 San Francisco Gender Budget Impact on Overall Municipal Budget

Similar to the Fulton County case study, the claim that cost is a significant factor for the case of San Francisco is not true as show in the analysis above and the claim that cost interferes with the continuity of the gender initiative does not hold true for San Francisco because the municipality has been carrying out their gender initiative since the 1970's and have held on to it even during tough budget cutbacks. As a matter of fact, the policymaking body in women's affairs, the Commission on the Status of Women [COSW] received a budget increase of about \$100,000 in the 2011-2012 fiscal year, which implies that their work is still relevant and recognized as important to the city and county. The U.S. examples of GB's budgetary impact

refute the theoretical claims put forth by Elson & Catagay (2000) and Hansen, et al (2003) that GB is associated with high costs and that such high costs affect GB's continuity. Nonetheless, cost is an important consideration even though it may not significantly affect the overall county budget. The consideration is to keep the GB budget low in order to avoid resistance during budget and policy deliberations.

Budgetary allocations and costs of implementation differ with each jurisdiction depending on availability of funds. Some countries receive donor funding and assistance from UN agencies in implementing gender budgeting unlike the U.S. case studies. Analyzing the budgetary impact of GB therefore has to be done carefully in a comparative approach which likely has various influencing factors that differ with each jurisdiction. When donor funding is factored in the calculation of GB implementation budgets, the costs run higher than, say, funding provided by a local municipal government. The U.S. GB approaches are municipally funded thus utilize less resources than countries that receive donor funding. The GB cost debate is thus complex and best evaluated by context and availability of resources. In the U.S. examples, Fulton County relies solely on limited municipal government funds while San Francisco is funded by both the municipal government and a Friends association namely the Friends of the Commission on the Status of Women that provides funds for travel and training. Funds from the San Francisco Friends association supplement the limited funds provided by the municipal government. Fulton County's gender equality program however, does not have a similar association.

### *6.1.2 Work Impact*

This section discusses the effects of gender budgeting [GB] on the administrative work of the municipal governments in the two case studies. The data used in this section includes

interviews, a focus group discussion and program reports to evaluate how staff time is reallocated in integrating the gender initiative. Some of the changes that have come about as a result of GB include having a positive impact on administrative work by providing proper and up to date information about clientele served and their specific needs. GB has also created a heightened awareness amongst employees around the implications of gender in the way that the jurisdictions operate from a systemic place as well as a programmatic way. A county administrator remarked: "We definitely get better data from the departments about who our customers are and who we're serving."

The gender initiatives have also been a cause for collaboration between departments who would not normally be engaged with each other. Respondents agreed that in the normal day-to-day operations of the county, "there is a tendency for departments to operate in their own silos" but the gender equality initiative has been an interesting example of a change model for the government institutions as they engage in interdepartmental cooperation and private partnerships. With the paradigm shift brought about by the gender initiatives, provision of government services and the system of allocation of resources has taken a more citizen-based approach.

County officials allege that using a gender lens makes sense from an efficiency perspective in that government officials do not want to waste resources, but want to make sure that they are leveraging them in the best way possible and in order to do that they need to be more intentional about evaluating performance measurements and outcomes. The processes have to be directed and intentional in order to determine how effective government services are and how efficiently they are managing resources and leveraging them. Does it all lead to equitable outcomes?



Use of the gender lens has made administrators pay attention to the services they offer and the various ways it may affect various segments of the populace. Most county officials mentioned how some simple tasks such as setting the time and location of a public meeting had to be thought out as far as accessibility for citizens who use public transportation or consideration for the day and time of the meeting for citizens who work nights, weekends, and other non-traditional shifts. Such considerations that may have seemed trivial in the past, have the potential to prevent citizens from engaging in civic matters and in some cases even keep them in the dark as far as knowledge on government services from which they could benefit. As a result of the gender initiative being embedded within government processes, administrators are now more mindful of gender and other equity considerations when it comes to resource allocation and service provision.

A major issue in gender initiatives and particularly with GB is the collection of gender disaggregated data. San Francisco has a focus not just on women, but on other genders within the LGBTQ categories. When it comes to collecting gender disaggregated data, a San Francisco administrator admitted that staff experience challenges in getting persons to self-identify within the LGBTQ categories because of the stigma associated with it: "Some [programs] do a great job and some just have a little bit more of a challenge collecting that data because sometimes people won't open up with that kind of information." San Francisco's difficulty in collecting and measuring gender disaggregated data corresponds to literature that states that the biggest challenge in public budgeting is problem of measurement (Lee, et al., 2008) and the operationalization of complex budgeting techniques. Literature on gender budgeting also states that obtaining gender disaggregated data remains a significant challenge (Hansen, et al., 2003) and that there is intense pressure for GB scholars to conform to

quantitative data over qualitative data in order to fit in with economics, finance, and accounting disciplines (Walby, 2005).

The issue with gender disaggregated data is that in most cases, this is data that has never been collected before, and in other cases, it is personal information that is difficult to obtain from people. Without gender disaggregated data, it becomes extremely difficult to know the people served, thus difficult to know what type of services to offer. It is incredibly difficult to obtain information on the significant trends unique to LGBTQ persons that may be different from heterosexual persons because of the sensitive nature of that information. The unique trends between heterosexuals and LGBTQ persons may not be known for now but are worth looking into in order to realize the nature of services required for each group. Certainly in providing services like mental, psychological, and social or relationship counseling, it may be necessary to know if the person served is a heterosexual or LGBTQ identified person so as to know the challenges, needs and experiences unique to that person, and in order to serve the person effectively.

When Fulton County implemented GB, it was at a time when the county was experiencing change administratively with the hiring of a new county manager. Organizational change thus played a positive role in the continuation of GB in Fulton County and in embedding it into county wide budgeting processes. The new county manager brought a fresh perspective to the administrative processes and introduced new changes such as a move to outcome-based budgeting and a focus on customer service, both of which merged well with GB principles. GB thus got incorporated along with outcome-based budgeting and the customer service focus with the full support of the administrative head. As Kingdon (2003) states in his analysis of agenda setting and policymaking, when the three streams of problem, policy, and politics converge at the right time, the chances of a proposal getting approved are high. Therefore, GB in Fulton

County being introduced at a time when administrative and organizational change was occurring presented a conducive atmosphere for convergence of problem, policy and politics, and led to GB's successful implementation.

Fulton County experienced their fair share of problems when it came to collecting gender disaggregated data, which is the first step in implementing GB. County officials stated that they were, in the beginning, optimistic in thinking that staff could go to every meeting, orientation, or other event, and collect data directly from citizens using each government service. Members of staff complained that they simply did not have time to go out, or spare a few minutes to attend meetings to collect the usage data. The problem is that without the gender disaggregated data, gender analysis cannot be conducted, and therefore GB cannot be implemented or evaluated as appropriate for their programs. Problems with insufficient staff time, increasing workload and inadequate resources have also presented major obstacles with the proper implementation of the Fulton County gender initiative. Therefore, even though the financial or budgetary impact seems insignificant in overall scheme of things, the real impact is felt by employees when they have to do more work for less or unchanged pay.

Nonetheless, Fulton County leaders view GB as part of their day-to-day system of governance. Fulton County does not view itself as an activist or advocate of GB, and it does not intend to impose its views on other local governments to use the approach. Fulton County leaders emphasize the importance of using a gender lens to effectively conduct business, and contend that their approach better serves their citizens.

Other governments may achieve gender equality by using a different approach. This is yet another area for future research, identifying strategies that other local governments in the United States can use to address the issue of gender equality in their jurisdiction without

necessarily applying a gender lens in the way that Fulton County and San Francisco have done. Below is a summary of the impact of GB on work in the two U.S. case studies.

Table 6.1 Summarized Impact of GB on Work

<b>Positive Work Impact</b>	<b>Negative Work Impact</b>
Make Informed Decisions	Problem of data collection
Heightened awareness of differential effects & gender implications	Insufficient staff time
Interdepartmental cooperation	Increased workload
Citizen-based approach	Inadequate resources
Organizational change (FC)	Organizational change (SF)

## 6.2 Social Impact

Social impact looks at the effects of gender initiatives on society by assessing how different segments of the population, such as men, women, boys, girls, and the LGBTQ segments, have benefited or otherwise been negatively affected by the implementation of a gender lens. A point to note is that this research relied on government administrators' perspectives and subjective<sup>76</sup> as well as objective<sup>77</sup> secondary data sources, but did not obtain data from citizens. Citizens who benefit from these gender services may shed more light as far as the social impact of GB, thus this is a limitation of the study where the public perspective was not captured. This limitation also presents an area for future research in getting the real picture of the social impact of GB in the two case studies.

<sup>76</sup> Secondary data sources that may be considered subjective include county program reports or annual departmental reports, as well as other publications by the municipal government.

<sup>77</sup> Secondary data sources that may be considered objective include organizational reports and journal articles written and published by persons who are not affiliated with the municipal governments under study.

This section evaluates the various ways in which different sections of the populations in Fulton County and San Francisco have been affected by the use of a gender lens in governance. A Fulton County administrator elaborated on the societal impact that staff can clearly point to as a result of the gender budgeting [GB] technique:

*“I can see a visible impact. [For instance] TLC<sup>78</sup> provided training to caregivers in handling the specific traits of boys and girls, the Fire department made a training video to encourage women recruitment, Health services [provided] outreach to men, [the] Parks and Recreation [department] provided girls’ sports camps to encourage the participation of girls in sports. That’s the positive impact that I speak of, I am able to pinpoint that this is how we serve men where our men are unrepresented in some of the services we provide. This is how we serve women where women are underrepresented in some of the services we provide. This is how we serve boys and this is how we serve girls. I can give specific examples of the projects and the programs that the different departments have been implementing and have received success.”*

Programmatic changes have caused societal impact in various ways. In Fulton County, when the Parks and Recreation Department offered sports camps to increase the participation of girls in sporting activities, they not only enrolled girls into sports but they also provided them with opportunities for sports scholarships, instilled active and healthy lifestyle behavior in them, and provided them with information on leadership schools and academic performance. This speaks to the social impact in society as a direct result of gender budgeting.

With the development of recruitment DVDs and marketing efforts geared at attracting more women for nontraditional employment opportunities in the Water, Public Works and Fire Departments, Fulton County expects to record an increase in recruitment for women within the three departments. This effort has potential to create employment opportunities for women in nontraditional jobs, an area that was identified in the gender analysis as needing increased effort on the part of the government to create gender balance in the workforce.

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<sup>78</sup> TLC stands for Transforming the Lives of Children - a program under the county health department geared towards childcare programs.

Another area of social impact is in the way service is provided, for instance in providing victim support, a female victim of rape may require a different approach than a male victim of rape. Similarly, an LGBTQ victim of rape may require a different approach for support than a heterosexual victim of rape. The differential effects are discovered by conducting a gender analysis to realize the different ways the citizens require service. Fulton County's TLC<sup>79</sup> program identified gender biases in the way boys and girls were treated in various childcare institutions, which led to more mental and behavioral health referrals for boys. If these biases had gone unchecked, numerous boys would have undergone mental and behavioral health evaluations which they otherwise would not have had to undergo. Numerous boys in these institutions would have been labeled as mentally and behaviorally challenged when they really were not. The gender analysis uncovered gender biases and TLC program staff developed tools and skills for gender sensitive childcare services, as well as training for caregivers, parents and guardians in order to increase awareness of the developmental differences in girls and boys. Now caregivers give girls and boys the attention they deserve, with considerations for the way gender may influence their behavior.

In San Francisco, an administrator speaking on the Department of Public Works' gender equality progress claimed that the biggest impact has been in raising awareness amongst employees that gender is an important consideration to take into account during policymaking. The administrator claimed that employees now understand that they cannot lump men and women together and assume that the impact is going to be the same. This research illustrates that it is beneficial to both administrators and citizens for governments to conduct

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<sup>79</sup> TLC stands for Transforming the Lives of Children - a program under the county health department geared towards childcare programs.

gender analysis in order to realize the differential impact experienced when administering services for administrators, and for citizens when obtaining government services and resources.

In addition, as a result of including members of direct service providers and grassroots organizations [nonprofit agencies] on the county's policymaking bodies, San Francisco has been able to reduce domestic violence homicides by eighty percent [80%].<sup>80</sup> Administrators stated that about a decade ago they had approximately ten [10] domestic violence homicides a year and they have now reduced to one [1] or two [2] a year. They attribute this success to the direct service model they use through nonprofit agencies and their long term policy reform approach.

The work of the nonprofit agencies in providing direct services helps the city to provide specialized services in cases where city employees are not trained. A good example is in administering services to the LGBTQ community which may require someone who is familiar with LGBTQ experiences or trained to counsel LGBTQ persons. The nonprofit agencies in San Francisco take on the role of providing direct services to various segments of the population on behalf of and as an extension of government.

### 6.3 Outcome Measurement: Measuring Gender Equality

Outcome measurement refers to the determination and evaluation of the results of an activity, plan, process, or program and their comparison with the intended or projected results.<sup>81</sup> This section discusses the need for outcome measurement in gender budgeting [GB] which is glaringly absent in both jurisdictions because of the challenges of measuring abstract phenomenon like gender equality or inequality. In order to know whether a jurisdiction is moving

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<sup>80</sup> Quote from an administrator during a face-to-face interview.

<sup>81</sup> Business Dictionary (2012)

toward gender equality as the ultimate goal of service provision, it needs to determine a method of measurement that will measure progress in order to affirm goal attainment.

GB is based on the pursuit of gender equality in society. Gender equality implies that women are given the same treatment as men (Social Watch, 2006). In order to measure progress towards gender parity, one has to use certain measures to realize success or failure at achieving the goal. Fulton County, Georgia and San Francisco both practice GB with the intent to create gender equality and/or gender equity in their respective societies. However, without measuring their efforts, they may not realize when they attain gender equality or equity. The question thus arises, how do they know that they have attained their ultimate goal of gender parity? Is there a standard measure used to determine whether gender parity in society has been attained?

When the question on measuring gender equality was posed to respondents in both counties, the answer given was the same: "Its really hard to measure." Both counties do not have a standard measure to determine whether they have attained their ultimate goal of gender parity in society. It may be that gender parity is a goal that the jurisdictions have to continually work at in everyday life. If for example, a jurisdiction attains gender parity in a program area, say, workforce recruitment, it does not mean that the gender parity attained today will always remain that way, neither does it mean that the jurisdiction should stop all gender equality efforts in workforce recruitment. Society is in flux, things and people change, there may be turnover in the workplace which may require more recruitment time and again and as such gender equality efforts have to be ongoing. Most administrators thus do not emphasize on independent measures of equality, rather they value periodic reports to track progress and continue working at ensuring equality in resource allocation and service provision as a day-by-day activity.



Fulton County administrators view gender equality as an ongoing practice, not a project with an end date. They claim that this is their way of conducting day-to-day business. Even if they attain gender equality, they still work at maintaining that balance between the genders and that is why they focus not only on women but on men and women, boys and girls. In this case therefore, they measure their progress towards gender equality by assessing the impact their services and policies have on their population, they collect gender disaggregated data which informs them when and where they experience gender inequality and address it in their day-to-day programmatic work. In addition to collecting data, they produce periodic reports and ensure that checking for gender inequalities is an ongoing activity in their programs and services. Some countries such as Morocco and France utilize tracking methods similar to Fulton County and San Francisco by producing gender reports in each department or ministry to track progress of gender equality and for accountability purposes (Harris, 2011).

In the international arena, various measures of gender equality have been developed, which vary slightly depending on regional, political, cultural and other contextual factors. Countries use indicators to measure gender equality. Indicators mostly arise out of empirical research conducted by internationally recognized organizations that show gender inequalities in various sectors of the economy. Governing jurisdictions respond to such statistics by taking action to reduce the inequalities. GB is one of many actions taken by jurisdictions as a commitment to reduce gender inequalities.

Sometimes gender parity is attained and other times it is not because of factors that are outside of human control. The important thing is that gender equality become a constant awareness and consideration that is given to processes in our everyday lives. Given the fact that neither Fulton County nor San Francisco has a standard measure of gender equality, this research utilized examples from the international sphere to find out what measures are

commonly used to determine gender parity since gender initiatives are widely implemented in other countries.

There are international, regional, and country level measures of gender equality; however there are no independent measures of gender equality formulated for the local levels of government. The most commonly used measures are formulated by the United Nations Development Programme's [UNDP] Human Development Report [HDR] team. In the 2011 UNDP HDR, a new measuring mechanism was created entitled the Gender Inequality Index [GII]. This latest measure consists of indicators of reproductive health, empowerment, and labor market participation, setting it apart from the GEM, a measure used in prior years.

The GII ranges from 0, which indicates that women and men fare equally, to 1, which indicates that women fare as poorly as possible in all measured dimensions. The health dimension is measured by two indicators: maternal mortality ratio and the adolescent fertility rate. The empowerment dimension is also measured by two indicators: the share of parliamentary seats held by each sex and by secondary and higher education attainment levels. The labor dimension is measured by women's participation in the work force. The GII is designed to reveal the extent to which national achievements in these aspects of human development are eroded by gender inequality, and to provide empirical foundations for policy analysis and advocacy efforts.<sup>82</sup>

Using the GII measure of gender equality, the United States ranks #47 in the world with a value of 0.299 while Sweden ranks #1 with a value of 0.049, where the closest score to zero (0) suggests gender equality (UNDP HDR, 2011). GII is computed at the national level and it is difficult to compute at the local levels because of lack of availability of data for all the components that go into measuring gender equality using GII. This measure could therefore not be used as an independent measure of gender equality for either San Francisco or Fulton County. The lack of data and quantification difficulties for gender equality or equity measurement is mentioned in various GB literature (Nallari & Griffith, 2011; Stotsky, 2007;

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<sup>82</sup> UNDP HDR (2011).

Elson, 2003), and was apparent in this research when attempting to tailor the UNDP universal measures for Fulton County and San Francisco.

A governing jurisdiction has the discretion to decide which measure to use when addressing gender inequality. Research may need to be done in the American context to come up with a measure of gender parity that is suitable for the United States, and even then additional measures may be needed for the various regions or local governments in the U.S. A measure that may work for San Francisco, for instance, may not work particularly well for Fulton County, Georgia, which is in a different region of the country. The two local governments have different community characteristics, use different governing structures, and are faced with different challenges and experiences. Each jurisdiction may have to formulate a measure that suits their area. In addition to formulating a measure, each jurisdiction will have to commit to collecting that set of data regularly and make it available.

Every governing jurisdiction in the world chooses a measure depending on what their focus of gender equality is and what they hope to achieve. This research proposed to evaluate each county's progress toward gender equality based on the measure the county uses; however, it is apparent that both Fulton County and San Francisco have not established a measure by which to evaluate their gender equality. However, both jurisdictions track their progress on gender equality by collecting gender disaggregated data, conducting gender analyses and publishing annual reports which explain the status of gender equality thus indicating where the gender imbalance exists. Rather than using a standardized measure of gender equality, both counties rely on gender disaggregated data.

Both counties expressed that they consider their gender initiatives as ongoing processes just like any other service they provide to their citizens. Therefore, while measuring gender equality is important in tracking progress, it is not an absolute requirement because the

gender equality work of the county is ongoing as part of their mission to ensure that both genders are accounted for in resource allocation and service provision.

## CHAPTER 7

### GENDER BUDGETING MODELS

This section compares the two approaches to gender initiatives where Fulton County introduces a dual focus on gender and San Francisco modifies a women only focus to include LGBTQ persons who self-identify as female. The two U.S. GB approaches are also compared to international examples of Gender Budgeting which represent the international GB model in this analysis. Finally, the chapter concludes with policy recommendations based on values embodied in each of the GB models discussed.

#### 7.1 The Fulton County Embedded Model

In many countries, implementing a gender lens has a different meaning because it is really about basic human rights, for example a country with a history of women marginalization may take a different focus and approach in implementing a gender lens from a country without a history of women marginalization. In Fulton County, the focus is on resource allocation; it is more about the impact of resource allocation which necessitates collecting data, analyzing the data to know who is served and how they are impacted, and then redefining the outcomes where necessary to achieve equitable resource allocation. A county administrator commenting on Fulton County's use of gender budgeting [GB] as merely a strategy to better serve their citizens and better manage government resources gave the following remark:

*"After everything I've done or seen or read about it, I don't see anything negative in implementing it because I think it only makes you better. If it drives you to really collect the data and understand ultimately who you're really serving helps you define a better outcome, how do you go wrong there?"*

Because Fulton County's model is predicated on social equity and their goal is to ensure that they allocate resources and provide services equitably, their gender focus has been on both genders rather than focusing on one gender only, as is the common practice throughout the world. Fulton County's model is unique in that its gender equality program is geared towards

men, women, boys, and girls thus catering to all members of the community. A county administrator explained how Fulton County arrived at the decision to have a dual gender focus:

*“We really had to clear a path that would work for us. If we had come in and said this is just a women’s program and we’re going to do some things for women, I don’t think, I feel like we would have lost credibility within our organization. But being able to look at ways that there are imbalances in services for both men and women, we’ve been able to increase interest.”*

The Fulton County GB model emphasizes three main values, namely, interdepartmental cooperation, partnerships with faith-based organizations, programmatic impact, and embedding gender in all stages of the budget cycle. Embedding GB into the countywide budgeting processes is also referred to as gender mainstreaming, where gender initiatives cease to be separate programs and are included to be part and parcel of the regular budgeting processes of government. In Fulton County, gender considerations are given during budget preparation, budget approval, implementation, and evaluation stages. The cycle then continues into the following fiscal year. Fulton County uses a gender lens in their outcomes-based budgeting approach and they claim the two approaches combine well to achieve their budgetary goals.

The Fulton County GB model begins its first year of implementation by conducting a countywide gender analysis. This analysis includes disaggregating data by gender and any other categories policymakers deem relevant. The object is to find out if the program is reaching out to both genders equally. The questions to ask at this phase include,

- ‘Do you know who you serve?’ If not, collect gender disaggregated data so that you know what groups or segments of the population you serve.
- ‘Do you know the effects this program has on men? women? boys? girls?’ If not, conduct gender analyses in order to know the effects because this information is required in the budget preparation phase of the budget cycle.

Depending on the results of the analysis, the program is revised to ensure both genders are equitably served in the program. It is important to note however, that some programs or services are geared specifically to one gender because of physical, biological, or health

predispositions, for instance, prostate checks or pregnancy services may not be applicable in the gender analysis because they can only be geared to one gender. In such cases, the disaggregated data may be collected and analyzed by age, race, income, or other social equity variables.

After data analysis, service provision and resource allocation for a particular program may be restructured or the program design may change to accommodate both genders. The gender analysis results inform the program redesign. This stage is known as the evaluation stage and the process continues in a cyclical manner through the four stages of the budget cycle. Currently the intention in Fulton County is to transition the gender lens into a social equity lens in order to accommodate several other equity considerations such as race and sexuality<sup>83</sup> in addition to the traditional definition of gender as male and female. This intention is in line with Walby's (2005) and Klatzer's (2008) argument that GB can be customized to a jurisdiction's needs and can include other forms of equity considerations. The figure below represents a diagrammatical version of the Fulton County model of a gender lens fully embedded into the county budgeting cycle.

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<sup>83</sup> Sexuality refers to an expression of sexual receptivity (Merriam-Webster, 2012) or the desire in being sexual; feeling or experiencing sexual stimulation (American Psychological Association, 2012). The term sexuality is used interchangeably with sexual orientation to imply LGBTQ sexual categories. Sexual orientation can also be taken to mean gender identity with gradual mainstream acceptance and the recognition of LGBTQ as gender categories. San Francisco has LGBTQ as additional gender categories in their gender initiative and Fulton County alluded to heading in that direction with their gender initiative in the future.

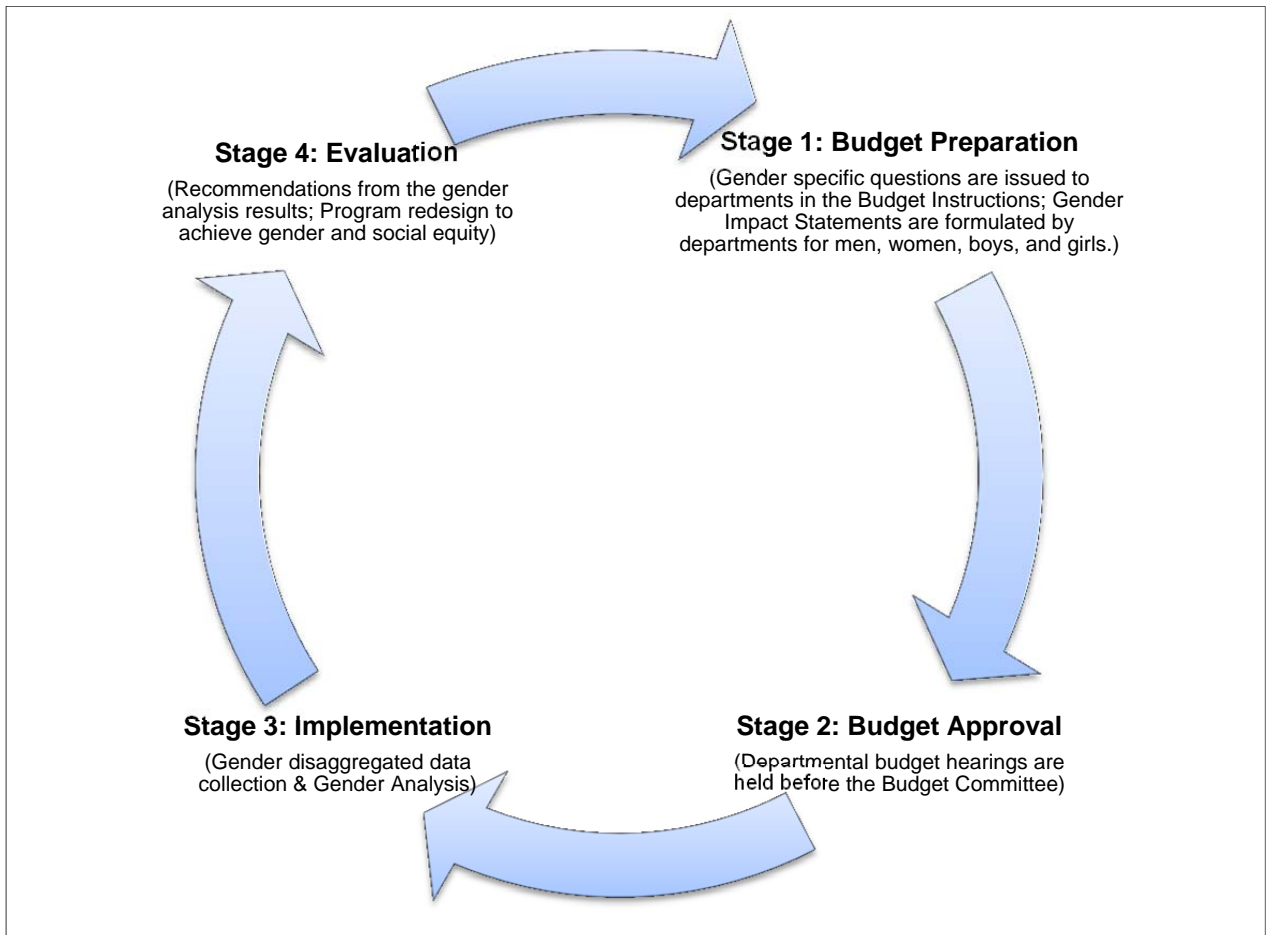


Figure 7.1 The Fulton County Model of a Gender Lens

The initial gender analysis in Fulton County began in 2007; they have since made incremental changes to their programs and their budgeting processes to get to a point where the gender lens is fully embedded in all county budgeting processes. They began including gender considerations in their budget instructions in 2009 thus the full gender budget cycle, as described in the diagram above, began in 2009 and has continued to date. The Fulton County model emphasizes the following values:

- [i] dual focus on gender – men, women, boys, and girls,
- [ii] interdepartmental cooperation in combining resources and expertise between and among departments to achieve a common goal,



[iii] programmatic impact, which is illustrated by stating the differential impact of men, women, boys, and girls in the gender impact statements, the gender analysis results and in the program redesign, and

[iv] gender mainstreaming otherwise known as embedding the gender lens into countywide budgeting processes, which has encouraged each county employee to be engaged in the differential effects of service provision and resource allocation.

[v] partnerships with faith-based organizations.

### 7.2 The San Francisco Indirect Service Model

San Francisco's DOSW<sup>84</sup> attempted to include a GB requirement in the countywide budgeting processes but they were not as successful as Fulton County. The DOSW has however, been able to provide GB training to county employees and encourage departments to collect gender disaggregated data through the COSW.<sup>85</sup> They have, from this practice, been able to conduct commission hearings on gender analyses every two years requiring departments to give updates on their gender equality progress.

The structure of implementing a gender lens in San Francisco is completely different from the structure in Fulton County. Whereas Fulton County utilizes a taskforce comprised of various department representatives and one full time employee for their gender initiative, San Francisco established a commission and a department to solely handle gender-related services and disburse monies to partner agencies. The DOSW works in collaboration with area non-profit agencies by funding their activities and in turn the nonprofit agencies provide direct gender-related services to the citizens. The San Francisco model is thus an indirect service model and one that promotes private partnerships. In addition, the San Francisco model does not embed GB in countywide budgeting processes as is the case in the Fulton County model. The San Francisco gender equality model does not affect countywide budgeting processes but operates

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<sup>84</sup> DOSW stands for the Department on the Status of Women, a municipal agency in San Francisco.

<sup>85</sup> COSW stands for the Commission on the Status of Women, a policymaking body in San Francisco.

within a single department formed for the purpose of providing gender services. Other departments are not involved with the gender initiative.

One advantage of the San Francisco model is that the private partnerships enable the municipal government to reach far, wide, and deep into the various segments of an incredibly diverse population. San Francisco has numerous ethnicities and citizens who speak a variety of languages that may present a communication barrier to administrators. By using the area nonprofit agencies, municipal administrators are able to serve citizens without facing that language barrier. In addition, San Francisco is diverse with a strong LGBTQ presence, which may present an issue when an administrator, who is not trained or exposed to issues facing LGBTQ persons, has to provide a service for them. San Francisco's partnerships with nonprofit and for-profit agencies enables them to reach a much larger audience in providing specialized services that cater to the specific needs of the diverse segments of the population.

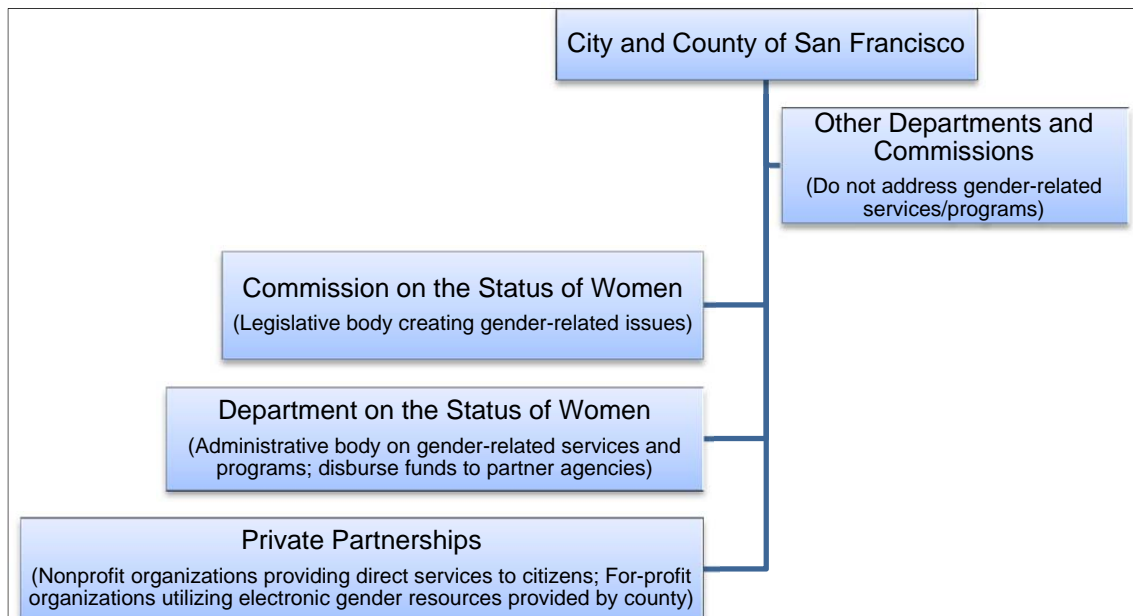


Figure 7.2 The San Francisco Indirect Service Model of a Gender Lens

The diagram above represents the San Francisco model of implementing a gender lens. The figure shows the departments that are in charge of overseeing [COSW] gender-related issues, implementing [DOSW] the gender lens, and partnerships that the municipality forms with private organizations to provide services to the citizens. The box on the other side of the diagram that states 'Other departments and commissions' represents all other city and county departments which according to the San Francisco model do not take part in operating the gender lens. However, there are a few departments such as the Department of Public Works that report their gender progress to the COSW on a periodic basis to ensure their recruitment processes are gender sensitive and to be in compliance with the CEDAW statute. The San Francisco model emphasizes the following values:

- [i] primary focus on women,
- [ii] private partnerships by funding nonprofit organizations to provide direct gender services, and providing self-assessment tests and other gender resources electronically to for-profit organizations,
- [iii] the gender initiative is an independent component separate from other county departments; it is not embedded into countywide budgeting processes, and
- [iv] secondary focus on other equity considerations such as foreign languages, ethnicities, and LGBTQ persons. This focus is commensurate with the theoretical assertions of Walby (2005) and Klatzer (2008) who claim that gender initiatives can accommodate other forms of equity concerns in addition to gender.

### 7.3 The International GB Models

The international examples illustrate a completely different pattern from the U.S. case studies. International examples show that the gender lens is adopted at the national level, unlike the U.S. where it is adopted at the local level and at the will of the jurisdiction. While most other countries ratified and participate in the United Nations [UN] gender initiative [CEDAW] at the

national level, the United States did not ratify the UN gender initiative thus local governments are not required to adopt the principles. However, U.S. local governments have the choice of selecting approaches to governance that help them attain their goals. Thus San Francisco and Fulton County having been exposed to the UN gender principles chose to adopt them and incorporate them into their governance processes. This is different in other countries where because the gender principles are adopted at the national level, local governments are thus required to implement them as part of the devolution process. Local governments in other countries represent the grassroots level thus it is imperative that they buy into the national gender principles and implement them. An added incentive for local governments in other countries to implement gender initiatives is that the initiatives are normally funded either by their national governments or by international donor agencies. The gender equality funds are thus welcome at the local level as they give the local governments an extra source of income to provide services and resources.

Amongst the international examples, some countries have formed ministries or agencies of gender affairs that carry the specific function of collecting gender disaggregated data nationwide and conducting gender analyses then publishing reports of the country's progress on gender equality. The work of the ministry begins at the national level and devolves down to the local or grassroots level. In most cases, the GB training and expertise is provided by a UN agency such as UN Women.<sup>86</sup> However, the structure used in implementing GB differs from country to country, and from region to region, depending on the culture or historical practice of the jurisdiction. The structure also differs depending on the availability of resources administrative buy-in, and political acceptance just as is the case with Fulton County and San Francisco.

A country's progress on gender equality is monitored at the national level as well as at the international level where country representatives provide a report of their experiences in

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<sup>86</sup> UN Women is a United Nations entity for gender equality and the empowerment of women.

formal presentations at UN sponsored international conferences. Whereas there is the initial and ongoing minimal influence of the UN in the American GB context, the UN influence in other countries internationally is even greater and continues on an ongoing basis. The UN agencies act as watchdogs or guardians in most countries that ratify their gender principles to protect gender interests and human rights. This is mostly experienced in developing countries. The UN also acts as a donor agency in some cases and provides services such as training and other kinds of material support for countries to ensure successful implementation of the gender initiative. The UN therefore succeeds in its mission to promote gender equality and the recipient country also benefits from the funds and other kinds of material support.

The table below highlights some differences and similarities between the international examples of Gender Budgeting and the U.S. GB approaches.

Table 7.1 The International GB Models Versus The U.S. GB Models

<b>Similarities &amp; Differences Between GB Approaches in the U.S. and Internationally</b>	
<b>SIMILARITIES</b>	<b>DIFFERENCES</b>
Primary focus on women ( <i>common in international examples &amp; San Francisco</i> )	GB adopted at the national level ( <i>done in international examples but not in the U.S.</i> )
Dominant UN influence ( <i>found in all governments that implement GB in the U.S. and internationally</i> )	Implemented countrywide ( <i>implemented countrywide in international examples but locally in the U.S.</i> )
Emphasis on the evaluation and preparation stages of the budget cycle ( <i>common in international examples &amp; San Francisco</i> )	Devolved down to local/grassroots levels ( <i>adopted nationally and devolved to local levels in international examples</i> )
Creation of separate agencies/ministries to operationalize gender services ( <i>common in international examples &amp; San Francisco</i> )	Donor assistance in funding, training and technical support ( <i>found in international examples; U.S. examples of GB are municipally funded</i> )

#### 7.4 Policy Recommendations

Gender Budgeting literature speaks of adverse effects (Stotsky, 2007; Walby, 2005; Elson, 1998; Elson, 2003; Elson & Catagay, 2000; Klasen, 2007) possibly stemming from the historical subjugation of women. However, the U.S. case studies rather than show adverse

effects on gender, they show more of differential effects on gender. There is therefore a need to redefine effects on gender in the U.S. case studies to speak to differential effects rather than adverse effects in order to distinguish between gross violations of human rights, which occur in countries causing adverse effects, and the differences in treatment of genders in areas other than basic human rights violations. There is a need for GB literature to carry two descriptions of the effect on gender in order to address both differential and adverse effects depending on contextual differences amongst the countries.

Although the United States does not experience adverse effects in the gross violation of human rights, if the differential effects are not checked they may eventually lead to adverse effects. There is inherent gender blindness and gender bias in public budgeting policies and processes. People may not always consider gender when making budgetary decisions and lack of gender considerations may have differential effects on males and females. Focusing attention on gender in public budgeting by embedding and mainstreaming GB into countywide budgeting processes helps to check differential effects of public policies, and in the long term, check against gender adverse effects.

Rubin (2010) explains that collecting particular information in a particular way, which she refers to as the budget format and process, influences the analysis and discussion of budgetary decisions. GB employs a similar technique in collecting gender disaggregated information and analyzing it in such a way to enable administrators make more informed decisions in public budgeting. Therefore, to effectively redirect policymaking in incorporating equity considerations, it is imperative to embed GB in the mainstream budget process as done in Fulton County, Georgia so that each county employee participates in the process. As discussed earlier, GB is flexible to allow forms of equity considerations other than gender into the process. GB in and of itself, is a useful technique for any local, state, and national government to employ as a strategy to better serve citizens and to better manage government resources. In addition, embedding GB and mainstreaming it into countywide processes proves

more successful in gaining widespread political and administrative acceptance, rather than introducing it as a separate component of service apart from the mainstream budgeting processes.

Although literature claims that a political champion is important in the adoption of GB, this research finds that not only is the political champion important, but an administrative champion is just as important in the implementation stage of GB. The challenge that faces the implementation of numerous plans and projects in municipalities is the shelf-syndrome, where a plan is carefully crafted and adopted by the legislative body, but goes to 'die' on a shelf because the administrative side of government cannot find resources or the opportunity to implement the plan. GB faces similar challenges when a jurisdiction has a political champion to get the initiative adopted but has no administrative champion to ensure that the initiative gets implemented.

The way program administrators frame their requests may influence whether or not a request is approved (Rubin, 2010). In addition, the environment may favor some claims over others (Rubin, 2010; Kingdon, 2003). Kingdon, like Rubin, argues that the policy proposal should be ready for tabling once the right moment comes along because timing and receptivity of the environment are important factors, therefore alluding to Rubin's argument that the way a request is prepared and presented influences whether it gets approved or not. Rubin argues that one way of presenting requests in order to get them accepted is to make them look cheap, cost-effective, or even free. Fulton County's GB costs at \$150,000 per year may have something do with its successful implementation because the initiative seems to be cost-effective. Rubin also states that a step further to get the initiative accepted in administrative circles and implemented is to demonstrate that it will not significantly increase employee workload. Fulton County's embedding of GB spread the costs and the workload to all county employees thus having minimal impact on increased individual employee workload.

Rubin (2010) also talks of mobilizing political and administrative support by broadening the acceptance base of the initiative. Fulton County achieved support for GB by broadening the focus from the commonly practiced women-only focus to a focus on men, women, boys, and girls. The broadening of the gender focus for Fulton County not only acquired political and administrative support, but also societal support and greater justification to adopt and implement the initiative. All segments of the population benefit from the scope of the service thus a broad support base. Rubin explains that the delivery of services that benefit citizens broadly is generally publicly acceptable. In situations where benefits are targeted at a narrower group, Rubin suggests that program proponents should offer support to other groups in order to widen their support base. In broadening their services, San Francisco added to their focus on women, by including groups like LGBTQ persons who self-identify as females for both adults and school-age children. This move broadened the political base and influenced increased support for the gender initiative. Organizations certainly need to consider scope in the implementation of initiatives because the wider the scope, the greater the support base, and the higher the changes for the initiative to succeed.

Two policy recommendations are discussed in this paragraph: one, moving away from the term 'gender' to embrace a social equity focus, and, two, utilizing obfuscation as a strategy to avoid opposition of gender initiatives. Obfuscation as propounded by Rubin (2010) is a budgetary tactic that may be important in pushing for controversial initiatives such as GB. Hiding full information from the public may prove useful to protect an initiative from resistance. Fulton County's gender initiative funds are housed under the non-agency portion of the county budget thus are not an easy target for budget cuts. In addition, there are discussions amongst administrators that the county might move away from the term 'gender' and embrace more of a social equity focus to avoid the controversy and resistance that normally shrouds gender initiatives. Despite Fulton County's dual focus on both genders, the term 'gender' is still wrongfully perceived to imply women's projects among administrative circles and citizens. This



misperception causes an obstacle for administrators who are involved with GB training, awareness, and implementation efforts as they are tasked with overcoming the 'gender' mind-block before beginning any GB work. Thus a move away from the term 'gender' to a social equity focus may prove more successful and less controversial even if it means using obfuscation to gain acceptance politically, administratively, and socially.

Another policy recommendation for GB is to keep costs down by, one, embedding GB in countywide processes and, two, finding external funding sources through Friends associations as San Francisco has done with the Friends of the COSW, which provides funds for travel and training to supplement limited municipal funds. However, the ability to embed GB and find external sources of funding is determined or predetermined by existing conditions and governing structures. Every jurisdiction has to determine if there are political, cultural, historical or social factors that may justify the adoption and implementation of a gender initiative. Fulton County's civil rights history was the foundation and justification for political and administrative officials to venture into GB while San Francisco's long term existence of a Status of Women department and commission as well as its progressive and liberal culture were major factors in the adoption and implementation of GB. Both jurisdictions were also strongly influenced by the United Nations, which introduced the concept of GB internationally. However, each jurisdiction utilized a different approach to implementing GB because of differences in governing structures and other factors. Other factors that may influence the GB approach include the organizational culture of the jurisdiction, available resources, and the administrative head's aspirations.

Finally, it is important to conduct additional research and find other ways of providing gender services without necessarily utilizing GB, by assessing strategies used by other local governments in the U.S. to fulfill social and gender equity considerations within their jurisdictions. Rubin and Bartle (2005) in impressing the importance of GB in public administration literature in the U.S., present GB as the possible next step in the evolution of public budgeting. Therefore, comparing the gender budgeting technique with other gender

equality strategies in the U.S. may shed more light into the usefulness of GB as the potential next step in U.S. budget reform.

## CHAPTER 8

### CONCLUSION

The foregoing research describes the various approaches of utilizing a gender lens in governance processes as practiced in Fulton County, Georgia and San Francisco, California. Gender budgeting [GB] should be country-specific, or in the American context, jurisdiction-specific, because the political environment, changes in administrative regimes, and social and historical contexts differ with every governing jurisdiction. These factors affect the start and continuity of GB practices with politics taking center stage as the most important consideration to have when adopting and implementing a gender lens. This research shows that one way to ensure political acceptance by majority stakeholders is for governments to incorporate GB by focusing on both genders equally rather than placing special emphasis on one gender, in order to comply with democratic principles and to promote overall social equity.

The field of Public Administration has long esteemed values of efficiency and effectiveness in an effort to do more with a conservative amount of resources. Introducing a gender lens in public budgeting seeks to accomplish the same values while navigating a complex political course, which determines the success or failure of the initiative. Furthermore, a gender lens in public budgeting can be extended to cover not only gender but to include other forms of social inequality such as race, class, disability, sexuality, age, and geographical region, among others. The GB technique is flexible to be improved upon, modified, or implemented as it is in any political and societal context (Walby, 2005; Klatzer, 2008). More comparative research is necessary however, to compare governments that formally utilize a gender lens against governments that do not in order to shed light on how the non-participating governments address gender inequities in their budgetary and resource allocation processes.

Adopting and implementing a gender lens helps administrators to keep in the forefront the needs of citizens and makes government officials conscious of equity concerns during deliberations in policymaking, budget preparation, budget cut backs, and when considering

elimination or addition of programs. It also helps administrators account for what they do and how they spend taxpayers' money. Administrators claim that the use of the gender lens and the results produced by the technique enables them to pinpoint who they serve with clarity; they are able to explain the impact of government services and resources on the various segments of the population, and the data collected provides them with information to help them make informed decisions.

This research also confirmed the claims that factors such as a political champion, acceptance, cost, and the continuity of a gender initiative are important in the adoption and implementation of a gender lens. The claims were taken from what literature describes as the situation in other countries and the same has been confirmed as true for the United States case studies, except for the claim that GB costs are high and that they threaten the continuity of the initiative. Both U.S. case studies showed that GB costs are actually low and do not significantly affect the overall government budget. This is however, due to intentional effort by administrators to keep these costs down in order to avoid resistance with pushing forward the initiative. In normal government practice, most administrators strive to keep program costs down and increase administrative cost savings in order to assure the continuity of their programs. This is no different for an initiative like Gender Budgeting.

Both Fulton County and San Francisco were able to adopt and implement a gender lens because of the political champions who initiated and led the effort. The gender initiative in both counties was accepted because the political climate at the time allowed it. Similar to Rubin's (2010) politics of public budgeting theoretical framework, both Fulton County and San Francisco strategically planned for the most effective and efficient way to implement the initiative while being conservative with resources and constantly aware of political considerations. It is imperative to use the term differential effects rather than adverse effects in the U.S. GB examples because they do not necessarily deal with gross violation of human rights situations. The term adverse effects is well suited in countries whose citizens continually face gross

violations on human rights for various reasons such as harmful traditional practices and historical or political subjugation of persons. It is also important to highlight the redefining and expanding of the focus on gender services in both U.S. case studies where Fulton County has a dual focus on males and females and San Francisco has an added focus on LGBTQ persons.

Although San Francisco's DOSW was able to continue with other gender-related services to their citizens, it was not able to continue with the GB technique and this may be attributed to various reasons. One reason is that they did not find an administrative champion for GB in the new mayor, where historically, San Francisco mayors were instrumental in advancing gender interests such as in the time of Mayor Gavin Newsom and his predecessor when CEDAW was passed. Another reason is that it may have been a case of wrong timing to table the GB proposal in the county agenda. GB was introduced at a time when the nation was in the brink of a recession and where local, state, and the federal governments were experiencing budget cutbacks. Introducing a new method of budgeting when governments are experiencing budget cutbacks has potential to encounter resistance and as Kingdon (2003) explains in his analysis on agenda setting and policymaking, if the three streams of problem, policy and politics fail to converge at the right time when the environment is conducive for the initiative, there is a high chance that the proposal will not be approved.

Fulton County, on the other hand, has been successful with the implementation and continuity of GB in its jurisdiction even though administrators realize that they have to keep the interest going by reinventing their budgeting approach in order to avoid losing interest in the initiative. Fulton County's GB received positive reactions because there was the existence of both a political and an administrative champion. There was also a change of guard when a new county manager joined the municipality and introduced new changes to the budgeting system which corresponded and blended well with the GB principles. In addition, Fulton County's dual focus on men, women, boys, and girls, gave the initiative a broad support base thus greater political, administrative, and societal acceptance. The Fulton County experience may have been

a case of what Kingdon (2003) terms as convergence when the three streams of problem, policy, and politics converge at the right time and when the environment is conducive for change.

As far as the structure or model to use in implementing a gender lens, each jurisdiction utilizes a different structure suitable for itself because of various reasons such as the political climate, availability of resources, cultural influences, administrative processes, and so forth. Each jurisdiction evaluates their position on the various influential factors and charts their own path in the implementation of a gender lens. Neither Fulton County nor San Francisco administrators take an advocacy approach to their use of the gender lens. Both jurisdictions are of the view that this is just a technique they chose to use in order to better serve their citizens; and although they would not discourage other jurisdictions to follow in their path, they do not take an advocacy stance on it. As a senior county administrator noted:

*"We're not really trying to sell them [other U.S. local governments] on it [gender budgeting]... I'd recommend it simply because it's the right thing to do. Does it require a taskforce and full time staff person? Each organization is going to have to evaluate their own means."*

Similarly, this research does not take an advocacy stance on implementing a gender lens or gender budgeting. This research simply highlights gender budgeting as a technique of public budgeting and the prominent place of politics in gender budgeting. This research also concurs with Rubin & Bartle (2005) that should the gender budgeting technique continue to be used in U.S. local governments, it presents a possible next step in public budgeting reform. It offers yet another way of conducting public budgeting to attain gender and social equity, which is a forefront goal in any institution of public service.

APPENDIX A  
QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR FACE-TO-FACE & PHONE INTERVIEWS

## A. QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR FACE-TO-FACE & PHONE INTERVIEWS

The questionnaires are used as a guide for the researcher when conducting face-to-face interviews or via telephone; they are not to be filled out directly by the respondents. The bulleted points under each question serve as probes that the researcher can utilize during the interview to ensure the relevant information is obtained.

### *Introduction:*

My name is Mercy Dena, a doctoral student from The University of Texas at Arlington. I'm currently working on my dissertation research, which focuses on gender budgeting in the United States. The purpose of this interview is to get information on gender budgeting as pertains to Fulton County/San Francisco City/County. This information will help to put together a descriptive and analytical framework regarding gender budgeting in the United States. I appreciate you availing your time to participate in this study. I would like to assure you that your responses are confidential and anonymous; any personal information will be coded to ensure confidentiality. (*For telephone interviews:* Continuing with this interview implies that you have given consent to participate in the study. Do you have any questions before we begin?)

### *Questions:*

#### ***Adoption phase***

1. What do you understand gender budgeting to mean?
2. When do you recall (Fulton/San Francisco) county begin the practice of gender budgeting?
3. Why was gender budgeting adopted?
4. What is your level of involvement with gender budgeting?



5. Please describe the process of adopting gender budgeting as it applied to your county.
  - The political process
  - The administrative process
  - How long did it take to adopt gender budgeting (from its conceptual stage to the official adoption as policy)?
6. In your opinion, what specific factors would you say played a significant role in the adoption of gender budgeting in your county?
7. What challenges were encountered during adoption?

***Implementation phase***

8. How did the county implement gender budgeting after it was adopted?
  - i. Were all departments involved right from the start or did you begin with pilot programs?
    - a. If pilot programs, which programs were first selected and why?
    - b. Is gender budgeting now practiced by all departments or is it still rolling out in phases?
  - ii. Could you briefly describe the county's budget cycle?
  - iii. Is gender budgeting implemented at some or all stages of the budget cycle? If some, which stages are directly involved with gender budgeting, and why?
9. Were county employees trained on gender budgeting?
  - i. Was the training done in-house or was it provided by an external party?
  - ii. What kind of training was provided?
    - a. Was awareness training (of the concept of gender budgeting) provided?

- b. Was technical training provided (on how to conduct gender budgeting)?
- 10. I'd like to discuss some of the challenges the county encountered during different phases of implementing gender budgeting.
  - i. Which programs had the most challenges, and which ones had the least challenges? Why is this so?
  - ii. What challenges were encountered during implementation?
  - iii. What challenges were encountered during training?
  - iv. What challenges were encountered during data collection?
  - v. What challenges were encountered during data evaluation?
  - vi. What future challenges do you foresee given the experiences you have had so far with gender budgeting?

***Impact of Gender Budgeting***

- 11. I'd like to talk specifically about the financial implications of gender budgeting.
  - i. Has gender budgeting increased the county budget significantly? If so, how?
  - ii. To the best of your knowledge, what percentage of the overall county budget would you attribute to gender budgeting?
  - iii. To the best of your knowledge, what percentage of a departmental budget is allocated to gender budgeting?
  - iv. What programs/funds/items in the county budget are most affected by the practice of gender budgeting?
  - v. What is the source of funding for gender budgeting?
  - vi. Thinking about the financial implications of gender budgeting, would you say the financial impact of gender budgeting affects its continuity?

12. Overall, what changes have come about as a result of gender budgeting?
- i. How has county service provision and resource allocation changed/improved since the implementation of gender budgeting?
  - ii. In your opinion, do you think gender budgeting will continue to be practiced in the long term? OR (In the case of San Francisco) What are the prospects of actively practicing gender budgeting in the near future?
  - iii. Do you see gender budgeting spreading to other counties in this state or across the nation?
13. To the best of your knowledge, please tell me some of the effects of gender budgeting.
- i. What are the positive effects?
  - ii. What are the negative effects?

APPENDIX B  
QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

## B. QUESTIONNAIRE GUIDE FOR FOCUS GROUP DISCUSSIONS

### *Introduction:*

My name is Mercy Dena, a doctoral student from The University of Texas at Arlington. I'm currently working on my dissertation research, which focuses on gender budgeting in the United States. The purpose of this interview is to get information on gender budgeting as pertains to Fulton County/San Francisco City/County. This information will help to put together a descriptive and analytical framework regarding gender budgeting in the United States. I appreciate you availing your time to participate in this study. I would like to assure you that your responses are confidential and anonymous; any personal information will be coded to ensure confidentiality.

### *Questions:*

I'd like to talk specifically about the financial implications of gender budgeting, first at the county level (overall budget), and second, at the department level.

1. What is the source of funding for gender budgeting?
2. Has gender budgeting increased the county budget significantly?
  - i. To the best of your knowledge, what percentage of the county (expenditure) budget would you attribute to gender budgeting?
  - ii. What programs/funds/items in the budget are most affected by the practice of gender budgeting?
3. To the best of your knowledge, what percentage of a departmental budget is allocated to gender budgeting?
  - i. Does it vary by program or is it an equal allocation across the board?
  - ii. Please explain the reason behind taking that approach (i.e. vary by program or equal allocation across the board or other)?

4. How does the county decide the dollar amount going into program A as opposed to program B in the implementation of gender budgeting?
5. What are some of the challenges experienced in reporting or documenting the financial aspect of gender budgeting?
6. Thinking about the financial implications of gender budgeting, would you say the practice of gender budgeting is financially sustainable in the long term?

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## BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Mercy Dena Bryant was born and raised in Kenya. She received a Bachelor of Arts degree in Political Science and Public Administration from Moi University, Kenya. During her undergraduate education, Mercy was an intern at a public office in Ngong Division, Kenya, where she worked as a local government liaison to Community Based Organizations in the area. Most of the organizations were rescue and aid centers for young girls and women escaping harmful cultural practices such as early marriage and female circumcision. Upon completion of her undergraduate education, she went on to work with the YWCA in Mombasa, Kenya educating girls in elementary and secondary schools on reproductive health.

In 2009, Mercy received a Masters of Public Administration degree from Southern Illinois University Edwardsville in Illinois, United States and continued on to a Ph.D. program in Public and Urban Administration at the University of Texas at Arlington, where her research interests touched on gender and governance issues within the U.S. and internationally. Mercy also worked as an intern at Lewis & Clark Library System in Edwardsville, Illinois and as a graduate research assistant and project manager at the Institute of Urban Studies at UT Arlington. While working at the Institute, Mercy provided tremendous support in research and community projects for municipal governments in the North Texas region. Mercy's professional expertise lies in the areas of economic development, market analysis, and strategic planning while her academic experience is in public and non-profit administration, public budgeting, gender studies, social science research, survey administration and data analysis.