



Towards a

Feminist Budget

Women's International League for Peace & Freedom
Aotearoa Section

FOREWORD

The theme for International Women’s Day in 2021 is ‘Choose to Challenge’ and in this publication, WILPF Aotearoa is choosing to challenge government military expenditure by suggesting that there are areas of social spending where the money could be better spent.

We have chosen to think of this report as a step or a contribution to the development of a feminist budget for Aotearoa New Zealand. Hence the title: Towards a Feminist Budget.

Ema Tagicakibau and Meghan Stewart-Ward have done the research and writing for ‘Towards a Feminist Budget’. The timing was tight. They had three months to do the research and write the report and WILPF Aotearoa is extremely grateful to them for their work.

WILPF Aotearoa is also grateful to WILPF International – via the disarmament programme, Reaching Critical Will – for the funding to do this research. We also thank the people who Ema and Meghan interviewed during their research, and those who responded to requests for information and feedback in other ways.

‘Towards a Feminist Budget’ will be available from our website, www.wilpf.nz We intend it to be a ‘living’ document that can be revised and amended and updated over time. We are looking forward to working with other individuals and organisations on this project.

Megan Hutching
President, WILPF Aotearoa
8 March 2021

TABLE OF CONTENTS

GLOSSARY	4
SECTION 1. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY	5
INTRODUCTION	5
OBJECTIVE OF THE REPORT	5
WHAT DOES A FEMINIST BUDGET LOOK LIKE?	6
METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH	6
DOES AOTEAROA NEW ZEALAND NEED A MILITARY?	7
MOVING THE MONEY FROM MILITARY TO PRIORITY AREAS	7
RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A FEMINIST BUDGET	8
SECTION II. LITERATURE REVIEW	11
SECTION III. KEY FINDINGS	15
PART I	15
1. Aotearoa New Zealand does not need a military	15
2. Civilian agencies could reclaim roles taken over by the military	15
3. The military depends on women’s unpaid labour	16
PART II	16
4. Violence against women	16
5. Poverty	17
6. Housing	18
7. Young people and gun/gang violence	19
8. Elder abuse	19
9. Disability issues	20
10. Mental health	20
11. Women’s rights: CEDAW and the WPS National Action Plan	21
12. Changing the structures of work	22
13. Pay equity and equal pay for work of equal value	23
14. Addressing the climate crisis	23
SECTION IV CONCLUSION	24
ANNEX I WOMEN’S RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS AND MECHANISMS	26
ANNEX II INDIVIDUALS/ORGANISATIONS INTERVIEWED	28
ANNEX III INTERVIEW QUESTIONS	29
ANNEX IV WORKPLAN	30
ANNEX V BIBLIOGRAPHY	32

GLOSSARY

CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CPAG	Child Poverty Action Group
DEUNIF	Disarmament Education United Nations Implementation Fund
DHB	District Health Board
GNWP	Global Network of Women Peacebuilders
MS	Multiple Sclerosis
NAP	National Action Plan for Women Peace and Security Agenda
NCWNZ	National Council of Women New Zealand
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PADET	Peace and Disarmament Education Trust
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UNICEF	United Nations Children’s Fund
UNSCR 1325	United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 on Women, Peace and Security
VAW/GBV	Violence against women/Gender-based violence
WFF	Working for Families Tax Credit
WILPF	Women’s International League for Peace and Freedom
WPS	Women Peace and Security

Translation of Māori Words

Aotearoa	Māori name for New Zealand, used interchangeably with ‘New Zealand’ in this report
Ōtautahi	Christchurch
Rangatahi	Young people or youth
Te Tiriti o Waitangi	The Treaty of Waitangi
Wāhine Māori	Māori women
Whānau	Wider family or family group

SECTION I. EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. INTRODUCTION

Each year the New Zealand government spends billions of dollars on the military. In the 2020 budget, the government allocated NZ\$4.6 billion, together with a proposed \$20 billion over the next 10 years to upgrade the military's operational capability, including new ships and aircraft. Maintaining a military sustains the patriarchal structures that foster conflict and fuel war.

The Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF) Aotearoa is part of an international organisation that advocates for peace, justice and human rights at the local, regional and international level. WILPF works for an end to war, violence and coercion, for peaceful negotiated solutions to conflicts, universal disarmament, and the diversion of resources away from armed forces and weapons towards meeting human needs.

WILPF has long been concerned with the extent to which New Zealand, among other nations, has been building the capacity of its military to engage in combat-ready operations, premised on the need for a military to respond to an ever-widening range of threats. Such thinking is based on a narrow definition of national security in military terms, which justifies the resolution of national or foreign policy problems, whether real or imagined, with military solutions through the use of armed force.

At the heart of this report is WILPF's Feminist Budget, which illustrates the benefits of moving the money from military spending to life sustaining programmes that enhance the quality of lives for women and their families, and meet the socio-economic and environmental needs of the people.

2. OBJECTIVE OF THE REPORT

The feminist budget report aims to:

- raise awareness and generate discussion among the general public on the costs of maintaining a military and the benefits of 'moving the money' towards priorities that sustain peace, promote human right and human security, and address climate change;
- provide an online tool that can easily be updated and transferable to enable women's organisations elsewhere to replicate it;
- provide a key resource for researchers and students;
- provide a key policy advocacy tool for women's groups and civil society organisations;
- contribute to network building and collaboration among civil society organisations, particularly women's groups;
- help raise awareness on key issues affecting women.

It must be noted that this report is a living working document, that can be modified, updated and transformed over time. The document provides a useful beginning for WILPF's vision of a just and equal society in Aotearoa New Zealand.

3. WHAT DOES A FEMINIST BUDGET LOOK LIKE? ¹

A feminist budget aims to respond to the needs of the most marginalised in society. It is responsive to the intersecting inequalities of gender, race, ethnic identity, age, income or employment status, religious belief, health status, dis/ability, marital status, sexuality, immigration status, language, etc., and recognises that an individual's or group's different positioning in society reinforces these inequalities. A feminist budget addresses the struggles that women and their families face on a daily basis. It aims to create a society where burdens and benefits are shared equally, which keeps people out of poverty and helps people grow old with dignity in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Avenues for government spending through a feminist budget include, for example, sustainable, accessible and reliable public transport, timely healthcare (including mental healthcare) available for all, subsidised childcare, benefits set at a level that people can live on, a universal basic income, and the expansion of training for skills and employment with special attention paid to training those, such as women, Māori and ethnic minorities, who are typically left out of secure and well-paid occupations.

Cutting New Zealand's military expenditure would not automatically lead to increased funding for services that transform the effects of discrimination and inequality in Aotearoa. This is why a feminist budget analyses the different ways in which diverse groups of people are "impacted by militarization and the intersecting effects of racism, sexism, classism and other forms of discrimination."² It rejects all forms of violence and inequality. By calling for an analysis of the social, economic and political policies and practices that maintain or perpetuate power imbalances and inequalities, the feminist budget strives to make way for structural change. The feminist budget must be based on strong data to inform sound policies and must add value to gender equality. It recognises women, girls and gender minorities as valued members of society, equally deserving of full and appropriate access to all social services so all can contribute to a fair and just country.³

Ultimately, a feminist budget can pave the way towards broader conversations around a values-based and Te Tiriti-based constitutional arrangement in Aotearoa New Zealand.⁴

4. METHODOLOGY AND APPROACH

This report is based on information sought from both primary and secondary sources. Primary sources comprised mainly of personal interviews with stakeholders who were identified either through their organisations or their expertise and knowledge of particular subject areas (e.g. climate change), or their contribution as WILPF members. A list of individuals and organisations who were interviewed, or contributed, can be seen in Annex II.

Secondary sources included a literature review of recent research and analysis, together with online/internet searches to locate and collect information from relevant government department websites, press releases and reports in media websites, stakeholder organisation's websites, plus additional information forwarded by organisations or individuals interviewed and by WILPF members.

¹We acknowledge the contribution of Peace Movement Aotearoa to this section, and in particular the Coordinator, Edwina Hughes.

² Salamat, Nikou, Global Network of Women Peacebuilders. 2020. Investing in human security: how reducing military spending can ensure gender-equal and safe communities, in <https://gnwp.org/human-security/>

³ Contribution by Peace Movement Aotearoa (PMA)

⁴ ibid

These sources were complemented by the researchers' own expertise and knowledge of the subject area, along with their research interests.

Due to COVID-19 restrictions, all interviews were conducted virtually through Zoom, or the telephone (when Zoom failed). Prior to the interview, interviewees were emailed a consent form informing them of their rights. A list of interview questions is appended as Annex III. Direct quotes and sources other than interviews are acknowledged in the footnotes, and all sources of information are included in the bibliography in Annex V.

A number of scheduled interviews did not take place because the potential interviewee was sick or unforeseen circumstances prevented their participation. A few organisations did not respond to the request for interview, while some had to turn down the request due to priorities with service delivery which meant no one was available to speak on policy matters. Nevertheless, for those who participated, there was a general sense of collaboration and cooperation for a worthy cause of mutual benefit. At least one organisation had four young women who willingly contributed to the research.

5. DOES AOTEAROA/NEW ZEALAND NEED A MILITARY?

The following findings arose from conversations around whether Aotearoa needs a military:

- Aotearoa New Zealand does not need a military.
- Civilian agencies are better suited to taking over the military's role in responding to natural and humanitarian disasters, maritime search and rescue missions, fisheries and resource protection and border control.
- The military and the war machinery that fuels it, depends on the unpaid labour of women to sustain it during deployment and peacekeeping operations.


6. MOVING THE MONEY FROM MILITARY TO PRIORITY AREAS

The following issues were identified by interviewees as priorities, when moving the money from the military towards socio-economic and environmental needs (in no order of priority):


- Violence against women (Domestic violence)
- Poverty (including child poverty)
- Housing and accommodation
- Youth and gang violence
- Elder abuse
- Mental health
- Women's rights (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) and the National Action Plan (NAP) for the Women Peace and Security Agenda (refer to Annex I)
- Changing structures at work (neo-liberal ideology of work)
- Pay equity and equal pay for work of equal value
- Addressing climate change adaptation and mitigation






7. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR A FEMINIST BUDGET

The following recommendations have been made in response to moving the money from the military on the left column, towards urgent needs as prioritised below on the right-hand column:

<p>\$ 1,521 million 5 new Super Hercules aircraft, flight simulator and aircrew and maintainer training.⁵</p> <div style="text-align: center; margin-top: 50px;">  </div>	<p>OR</p>	<p><i>Address violence against women and enhance women's rights</i></p> <p>\$50 million At least 10 safe, accessible and purpose-built women's refuge houses.</p> <p>\$200 million Increase staff to focus on Preventive programs to address violence against Māori, Pasifika, ethnic, migrant and disabled women.</p> <p>\$50 million Pay equity to augment women's unpaid/voluntary/part-time work in women's NGOs, women's refuges and front-line staff.</p> <p>\$150 million Place qualified social workers/ counsellors in each school & women's NGOs.</p> <p>\$2 million National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security</p> <p><i>Work on global disarmament and peace</i></p> <p>\$5 million Set up regular disarmament courses in tertiary institutions, educating the next generation of disarmament leaders.</p> <p>\$10 million Increase the size of the DEUNIF and PADET funds to support education, raising awareness and research on disarmament through New Zealand organisations.</p> <p><i>Better care of our rangatahi</i></p> <p>\$150 million Provide emergency accommodation services for youth and families as a safe place to stay during a crisis.</p>
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⁵ 'Five New Super Hercules to Join Air Force Fleet', Press Release, The Beehive, 5 June 2020, <http://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/five-new-super-hercules-join-air-force-fleet>

		<p>\$100 million Early Childhood Care up to 5 years old fully subsidised.</p> <p>\$25 million To parents caring for grown up children suffering extreme disability and children up to 18 years under the Funded Family Care scheme.</p> <p>\$300 million To meet disability health issues across NZ, upgrade local hospitals and rural respites.</p> <p>\$250 million Increase the range of the Working for Families Tax Credit.</p> <p>\$21 million To feed kids at school.</p> <p>\$3 million Youth workers on the ground across south Auckland.</p> <p>\$5 million Youth workers in every high school in Te Waipounamu South Island.</p> <p><i>Innovation Fund for Climate Change & Resilience</i></p> <p>\$200 million</p>
<p>\$ 979 million</p> <p>New Zealand Army (6,492 people)</p> 	<p>OR</p>	<p><i>Caring for our mental health</i></p> <p>\$1 million Mental health support workers to walk alongside 800 people facing challenges in Otago and Southland.</p> <p>\$445 million To double the government’s funding to frontline mental health services, helping another 325,000 people with mental health and addiction needs over the next 5 years.</p> <p><i>Civilian Defence and Rescue</i></p> <p>\$533 million Towards coastguard monitoring and search and rescue services.</p>

<p>\$808 million</p> <p>Purchase of military assets</p> 	<p>OR</p>	<p><i>Housing, Food and Transport</i></p> <p>\$400 million For more warm, safe social housing for low-income families.</p> <p>\$8 million To support local community-build food secure communities. Helping families grow food and creating more community gardens.</p>  <p>\$280 million Increasing the First Home Grants scheme to support people to move into their first home, helping people live where they want to.</p>  <p>\$100 More schools installing solar panels</p> <p>\$20 million Making public transport more accessible and cheaper.</p>
<p>\$625 million</p> <p>Major military capabilities for NZDF</p> 	<p>OR</p>	<p><i>Solve Homelessness</i></p> <p>\$625 million Bringing 41,600 people out of housing deprivation.</p> 

SECTION II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Overview

Militarism, the view that states should maintain military capabilities and be prepared to use them aggressively for state interests, has a disproportionately negative impact on the lives of women, children, indigenous peoples, the environment and the most marginalised in society.⁶ Increasing military materiel and training in the use of force and violence does not foster peace and cooperation between nations. A world free from violence and armed conflict, in which the human rights of all and the environment are protected, is a world worth striving for. It cannot be achieved in the culture of violence that militarism perpetuates.

Militarism and associated military spending prioritise the security of the state over social, economic and cultural security of the people within the state. A feminist budget emphasises that the wealth of the country must be used to enhance the wellbeing of the people themselves (who are the real wealth of any society), by moving the money from unnecessary military spending towards the people's wellbeing.

A budget is not just a financing exercise, it is a method of planning, priority setting and decision making that has consequences for people and their environment.⁷ It is a statement of priorities on what a government values, so, for example, it can be assumed that because there is no allocated budget for the government National Action Plan (NAP) for the Women Peace and Security Agenda, that the NAP is neither a priority nor valued.

According to SIPRI,⁸ the world military expenditure in 2019 is estimated to have exceeded \$1,917 billion (US),⁹ which as the UN Women Goodwill Ambassador states, "is not making us any safer today."¹⁰ New Zealand was included in the SIPRI table ranking the highest increases in military spending around the world in 2019.¹¹

Every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired signifies in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and not clothed... The cost of one modern heavy bomber is this: a modern brick school in more than 30 cities...It is two fine, fully equipped hospitals.

(US President Dwight D. Eisenhower, 'Chance for Peace' speech, Washington DC, 16 April 1953)

⁶ Annick TR Wibben, 'Why We Need to Study (US) Militarism: A Critical Feminist Lens', *Security Dialogue* 49, no. 1–2 (1 February 2018): 136–48, <https://doi.org/10.1177/0967010617742006>; Bell Hooks, 'Feminism and Militarism: A Comment', *Women's Studies Quarterly* 23, no. 3/4 (1995): 58–64; Peace Movement Aotearoa, 'Welfare Or Warfare?'

⁷ WILPF, 'You Get What You Pay For', Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 'You Get What You Pay For', 2014, <https://www.wilpf.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/You-Get-What-You-Pay-For-Web.pdf>, p.3

⁸ Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI)

⁹ SIPRI, 'Trends in world military expenditure, 2019', April 2020, <https://www.sipri.org/publications/2020/sipri-fact-sheets/trends-world-military-expenditure-2019>

¹⁰ Quoted in Salamat, Nikou. Nov 26, 2020. Investing in Human Security: How Reducing Military Spending can ensure Gender-Equal and Safe Communities. Global Network of Women Peacebuilders, in <http://gwnp.org/human-security/>

¹¹ Peace Movement Aotearoa, 'Global Military Spending Increases, New Zealand Ranks In Report', April 2020, <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO2004/S00258/global-military-spending-increases-new-zealand-ranks-in-report.htm>

Apart from the \$4.6 billion that the New Zealand government has allocated towards the military in Budget 2020¹², a further \$20 billion will be spent on war ships, aircraft and other upgrades to replace ageing military equipment. The struggle against COVID-19 has revealed that no amount of military spending can save us from the risks of trans-border global pandemics. These funds could therefore be better utilised to meet the needs of the people for income support and social welfare, housing and accommodation, health care, and the threats from climate change.¹³

Feminists argue that states should shift from a national security focus to a human security and human rights focus, inclusive of environmental justice and holistic wellbeing. This would work to eliminate the systemic oppressions of sexism, racism, and imperialism and ultimately render useless violent responses to conflict.

Feminist avenues for government spending

Feminism is premised on the pursuit of equality between men and women. Feminist economics promotes economic equality between men and women and recognises that the economy depends not just on the production and distribution of goods and services but also on reproduction and care.¹⁴ A feminist budget takes into account both paid and unpaid work, such as care and domestic work which is performed mostly women.¹⁵

In the context of Aotearoa New Zealand and its obligation to Te Tiriti o Waitangi and wāhine Māori, a feminist budget must consider the needs and concerns of Māori women, and those of minority groups such as Pasifika, and migrant and ethnic women. A feminist budget recognises that the unequal power structures of the larger society are manifested in a household, so must ensure that the needs of every household member are met equally.

It is important to note that cutting New Zealand's military expenditure would not automatically lead to greater funding for services that will create greater gender equality, racial equality or reduced economic inequality.¹⁶ Neither will blindly redirecting the funding towards other avenues without budgeting and analyses that address the structural inequalities that perpetuate sexism, racism and inequality. Hence the call for a gender-responsive budget to reveal areas of systemic and structural oppression, and then targeting funding from the redistribution of military spending to areas where the most marginalised in society would benefit in tangible ways in a more just, equal and peaceful society. This is about creating a world in which violence and militarised solutions are not acceptable nor the first responses to conflict.

Areas of government spending that feminist analyses tend to spotlight range from funding for mental and physical healthcare, childcare, social housing, public transport, environmental restoration, a Universal Basic Income, and greater welfare packages since the types of employment women tend to have are more susceptible to economic shocks.¹⁷ Those most at risk of job loss from the economic

¹² Peace Movement Aotearoa, 'Welfare or warfare? Military spending in Budget 2020', 14 May 2020, <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO2005/S00208/welfare-or-warfare-military-spending-in-budget-2020.htm>

¹³ Peace Movement Aotearoa. 2020. Response to Questions on 'Moving the Money project'.

¹⁴ Women's Budget Group. 2018. Women Count: A Casebook for Gender-response budgeting, p.5

¹⁵ Emma Williams, 'What is Feminist Economics?', <https://wbg.org.uk/blog/what-is-feminist-economics/>

¹⁶ Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 'You Get What You Pay For'.

¹⁷ Marilyn Waring, *Still Counting: Wellbeing, Women's Work and Policy-Making*, BWB Texts (Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books Limited, 2018); Prue Hyman, *Women and Economics: A New Zealand Feminist Perspective* (Wellington, N.Z: Bridget Williams Books, 1994); Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 'You Get What You Pay For' <https://www.wilpf.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/You-Get-What-You-Pay-For-Web.pdf>; National Organization for Women, 'What Would a Feminist Budget Look Like? |

shocks of COVID-19 in Aotearoa are women, and wāhine Māori in particular.¹⁸ It is therefore important to know where the money from the military budget should be spent – the areas where it is most needed, where it would be most effective, and where the people of Aotearoa would like to see it spent instead.

In a Feminist Budget, public services such as reliable public transport (especially in low socio-economic areas), homes for all members of our society, timely healthcare (including mental health), education, and training for meaningful employment need to be (at minimum) maintained and ideally expanded and enhanced. This is because it is typically women, Māori, youth, ethnic minorities, migrants, the disabled and the more marginalised in society who are most dependent on these services. Transport, housing and unemployment benefits are just some areas where oppression and discrimination are experienced.¹⁹ State funding of these services is necessary in order for the damaging effects of patriarchy, colonisation, racism, and environmental injustice to begin to be mitigated while the root causes are also addressed. These areas need government funding so that everyone in society can live their lives in dignity, and to their full potential.

The enormous amount spent on the military and militarism is more than enough to finance gender equality and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). A just, equal and more sustainable society is possible, and it begins with a Feminist Budget.

New Zealand’s military spending

In Budget 2020, the New Zealand government allocated \$4,621,354,000 (\$4.6 billion) to military spending.²⁰ Vote Defence Force underwent a small decrease of seven percent compared to the 2019 budget.²¹ However, the government had significantly increased Vote Defence Force in the 2019 budget compared to previous years,²² and this increase was maintained overall in the 2020 budget. By comparison, New Zealand’s contribution to the United Nations’ regular budget for 2020 was US\$8 million (approximately NZ\$12 million).²³

Vote Defence Force = \$3,971 million (3,971,169,000) [excluding capital injection]			
\$3,090 million	Departmental Output Expenses		
	\$2,518 million	Capabilities	
		\$1,006 million (1,005,959,000)	Air
		\$979 million (979,154,000)	Army
		\$533 million (533,367,000)	Navy

National Organization for Women’, National Organization for Women, 31 October 2013, <https://now.org/blog/what-would-a-feminist-budget-look-like/>.

¹⁸ ‘Māori Women Took Hit in First Wave of Covid-19 Job Losses, Stats NZ Data Shows’, Stuff, 21 August 2020, <https://www.stuff.co.nz/business/300088321/maori-women-took-hit-in-first-wave-of-covid19-job-losses-stats-nz-data-shows>.

¹⁹ National Organization for Women, ‘What Would a Feminist Budget Look Like?’; Prue Hyman, *Hopes Dashed? The Economics of Gender Inequality*, BWB Texts (Wellington, New Zealand: Bridget Williams Books Limited, 2017).

²⁰ Peace Movement Aotearoa, ‘Welfare or warfare? Military spending in Budget 2020’, 14 May 2020, <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO2005/S00208/welfare-or-warfare-military-spending-in-budget-2020.htm> ‘Vote Defence Force’, 2020; ‘Vote Defence’, 2020; ‘Vote Education’, 2020.

²¹ Simon O’Connor, ‘2020/21 Estimates for Vote Defence and Vote Defence Force’, Report of the Foreign Affairs, Defence and Trade Committee (New Zealand House of Representatives, July 2020).

²² Peace Movement Aotearoa, ‘Welfare or warfare? Military spending in Budget 2020’, 14 May 2020, <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO2005/S00208/welfare-or-warfare-military-spending-in-budget-2020.htm>

²³ ‘Wellbeing Budget 2020: Rebuilding Together’ (New Zealand Government, 14 May 2020); ‘Contributions Received for 2019 for the UN Regular Budget - Committee on Contributions - UN General Assembly’ (United Nations), accessed 11 November 2020, <https://www.un.org/en/ga/contributions/honourroll.shtml>

	\$572 million	Multi-Category Appropriations	
\$808 million (808,071,000)	Purchase of assets		
\$73 million	Veteran's Affairs		
	\$10 million	Multi-Category Appropriation	
	\$63 million	Non-Departmental Expenditure	
\$718 million (717,714,000)	Capital Injection		

*Not included in Budget 2020, was Cabinet's approval of the purchase of 5 Super Hercules aircraft (C-130J-30 variant), flight simulator and aircrew and maintainer training from the US government at a cost of \$1.521 billion in June 2020.²⁴

Vote Defence = \$649 million (649,003,000)	
\$2.398 million	Audits and Assessments of NZDF and Ministry of Defence (MOD)
\$10.983 million	Procurement/refurbishment of NZDF defence capabilities
\$350,000	Purchase/development of assets of MOD
\$625.389 million	Procurement of Major Military Capabilities for NZDF

In addition, \$1,182,000 was allocated from Vote Education towards the army.²⁵

Examples of other 2020/2021 Vote budgets:

Vote Health = \$20,269 million [excluding capital injection]		
\$15,274 million	20 DHBs	
\$3,760 million	Health and Disability Services (below are just some examples from the breakdown of spending. For full list please see Vote Health)	
	\$208 million	National Mental Health Services
	\$1,707 million	National Disability Support Services
	\$205 million	National Maternity Services
\$529 million	Support, oversight, governance, and development of the health and disability sectors.	
\$55 million	Other expenses	
\$651 million	Capital Investment	
\$6 million	Capital Injection	

Vote Education = \$13,942 million
Vote Social Development = \$33,014 million
Vote Māori Development = \$381 million
Vote Housing and Urban Development = \$ 2,082 million
Vote Pacific Peoples = \$27 million

²⁴ 'Five New Super Hercules to Join Air Force Fleet', Press Release, The Beehive, 5 June 2020,

<http://www.beehive.govt.nz/release/five-new-super-hercules-join-air-force-fleet>

²⁵ Peace Movement Aotearoa, 'Welfare or warfare? Military spending in Budget 2020', 14 May 2020,

<https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO2005/S00208/welfare-or-warfare-military-spending-in-budget-2020.htm>

Vote Education., pg. 72

SECTION III. KEY FINDINGS

PART I

The following issues were highlighted by interviewees on the potential role of the military, the role of women and militarism:

1. Aotearoa New Zealand does not need a military

It is strongly argued that Aotearoa New Zealand does not need a military, as there is no direct threat to its sovereignty or territoriality, and, even if there was, the size of its armed force is insufficient to deter any aggressor.²⁶ Given New Zealand's legacy as a nation of peace, owing to its early adoption of nuclear-free foreign policies and its peace mediation role in Bougainville and the Pacific region, there is great potential in transitioning from a combat-ready armed force to a civilian agency that could better meet the wider security needs of all New Zealanders and our Pacific neighbours.²⁷ Aotearoa New Zealand has been rated in international surveys as one of the world's most peaceful, least corrupt countries.²⁸ It is therefore well placed to be a leader in the Pacific region by following in the footsteps of a country like Costa Rica which does not have a standing army.

The social and financial costs of maintaining the military are too high. The COVID-19 pandemic has revealed to us that no amount of military spending can save us from the challenges confronting our country: high levels of poverty and inequality, broken health and education systems, lack of affordable housing, high demand for mental health services, high rates of violence against women and children and the urgency of climate adaptations, to name a few. This is confirmed in a recent report from the Global Network of Women Peacebuilders which states:

The COVID-19 pandemic serves as a prime example of the ineffectiveness of global increases in military spending to protect human rights during concurrent health, economic and political crises. These crises caused by the COVID-19 pandemic highlight that public investments in social services and social protections are of fundamental importance in protecting all people, their rights, and the planet.²⁹

Instead of allocating money to the military and the unnecessary war machinery that supports it, it would make greater economic sense in the long term, for the government to focus on the people and their needs as a matter of human rights and human security.

2. Civilian agencies could reclaim roles taken over by the military

While the military's work in civil defence has been extremely useful – particularly in responding to natural and/or humanitarian disasters – it is crucial that we remove any humanitarian roles from a

²⁶ Peace Movement Aotearoa, 'Submission: Budget Policy Statement 2020', 23 January 2020, <http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/budget2020sub.pdf>

²⁷ New Zealand was part of the Australian-led Regional Assistance Mission to the Solomon Islands from 2000-2018.

²⁸ The 2017 Global Peace Index which compares 162 countries for the risk of personal violence, rates New Zealand as the world's second safest country after Iceland, see www.newzealandnow.govt.nz/why-choose-nz/safe-secure#:~:text=Peace%20of%20mind,safest%20country%20just%20after%20Iceland

²⁹ Salamat, Nikou. Nov 26, 2020. Investing in Human Security: how reducing military spending can ensure Gender-equal and safe communities. Global Network on Women Peacebuilders (GNWP) in <https://gnwp.org/human-security/>

structure in which, ultimately, the use of force, violence and killing is justified in the name of the international rules-based order.

The government would make a far more positive contribution to the well-being and security of all New Zealanders by investing in civilian agencies such as a civilian coastguard, and increasing funding for diplomacy (including funding to the United Nations), rather than maintaining a combat-ready armed force. Converting the disaster-response roles of the military into a civil defence and international rescue agency, would remove the need for arms and weaponised responses to disasters, while retaining the much-needed roles of maritime search and rescue missions, fisheries and resource protection and border control. A civilian coastguard with offshore capabilities, would be equipped with a range of vehicles and aircraft that are suited for the New Zealand coastline, Antarctica and the Pacific.³⁰

The billions currently allocated for war ships, aircraft, and other military upgrades could be better spent on civilian equivalents such as a coastguard, firefighters and other civilian agencies whose running costs would be cheaper than military establishments.

3. The military depends on women's unpaid labour

While a number of interviewees supported the need to retain the peacekeeping role of the military, it must be highlighted that the global peacekeeping operations actually depend on women's unpaid labour to sustain them. As peacekeepers are deployed overseas to ensure the security of other countries and their citizens, New Zealand, like other troops-contributing states, has depended mainly on women at the 'home-front' to bear the responsibilities of sustaining their families and communities, and ultimately, the global peacekeeping system and the war machinery that supports the (mostly) men's deployment in the first place.

Furthermore, there are issues around increased levels of violence within military families as a consequence of military training and deployments, the silence around the impact of post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD) on the individual soldier and their family, as well as the impact of combat deployments on the communities where New Zealand armed forces are deployed.

Women migrants and refugees escaping from conflict and war-torn societies look forward to settling in a demilitarised, peaceful society – and Aotearoa New Zealand has the potential to create that.

PART II.

Respondents identified the following socio-economic and environmental issues where funding should be prioritised when moving the money from the military. They are not in any order of priority:

4. Violence against women

The work of organisations that support survivors of violence and work with men who perpetrate violence must be fully resourced. New Zealand has the fourth-highest rate of lifetime prevalence of violence against women amongst OECD countries, with 35 per cent of women in Aotearoa experiencing physical and/or sexual violence from an intimate partner at some time in their life.³¹

³⁰ Peace Movement Aotearoa, 'Submission: Budget Policy Statement 2020', 23 January 2020,

<http://www.converge.org.nz/pma/budget2020sub.pdf>

³¹ <https://data.oecd.org/chart/6cRe>

The economic cost of child abuse and intimate partner violence in New Zealand has been estimated at between \$4.1 to \$7 billion per year, and is rising. If nothing is done, the cumulative cost over the next ten years may well approach \$80 billion.³² The Women's Refuge, where domestic violence is the only criteria for accessing its services, estimates that it would cost between \$5m to \$10m for a fully staffed, purpose-built safe home with disability access for women and children, where staff are able to focus on preventive programmes rather than being purely reactive to violence.³³

While the government has allocated \$202 million towards sexual and domestic violence services in the 2020/2021 Budget, this is far from adequate.³⁴ The funding fails to factor in the different needs of different ethnicities and areas and groups with the greatest need, such as Māori, Pasifika, ethnic and migrant communities whose interests and needs are often overlooked by the "unconscious colonial mindset" of government service providers.³⁵

There is also a need to address violence against disabled women. The practice of "adding and stirring" disabled women into violence advisory groups does not work, and many representatives have reported feelings of being unheard or seeing no action taken on the issues they have raised.³⁶ Disabled communities must be genuinely engaged and consulted, so that they are part of any national strategy on violence against women.³⁷

A great deal of work is needed to respond to Aotearoa's high rates of violence against women. This includes not only supporting survivors of violence and their dependants, but also working with perpetrators of violence to address anger and behaviour management, and create a broader culture of peace in the communities. Women must have access to safe, affordable housing when leaving violent situations. The current system of welfare benefits is punitive and inadequate. It keeps women in poverty without helping them gain skills or extend their education.³⁸ This is particularly important for migrant women and those with limited support networks to assist when leaving an abusive partner.

5. Poverty

Aotearoa New Zealand's high rates of poverty need to be solved by the government. It is a myth that having a job is enough to pull people out of poverty. While many New Zealanders work full-time jobs, the high cost of living has forced many, particularly sole parents, to work two jobs, yet still struggle to make ends meet and provide a good quality of life for their families or whānau. Education provides a pathway out of poverty. The government has the ability to nationalise and fully-subsidise early childhood care and school up to 18 years of age, and to fully subsidise public transport. Both initiatives would go a long way towards levelling out the playing field of opportunity.

³² Sherilee Kahui and Suzanne Snively. 2014. Measuring the economic costs of child abuse and intimate partner violence to New Zealand, in New Zealand Family Violence Clearinghouse, <https://nzfvc.org.nz/news/report-identifies-economic-cost-family-violence-new-zealand>

³³ Interview with Dr Ang Jury, CEO Women's Refuge

³⁴ NCWZ mid-term report to CEDAW, August 2020: p.6

³⁵ Ibid

³⁶ Ibid

³⁷ Ibid

³⁸ Ibid, p. 7

A Child Poverty Monitor reports that at least one in five children live in poverty which could get worse if government does not take bolder action, particularly in the aftermath of COVID-19.³⁹ Comprehensive data recently released in a UNICEF Report Card, notes that New Zealand ranks 35th in child wellbeing outcomes.⁴⁰ The head of UNICEF in New Zealand has called on the government to make a significant investment and policy changes to address deeply embedded and shocking childhood trends around health, suicide, and declining proficiency in reading and maths.⁴¹ She warned that these poor grades showed that New Zealand was failing its children, which reflected poorly on a country that prided itself on academic achievements.⁴²

The Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG)⁴³ has consistently called on the government to immediately implement a policy that enables all families under a low- income threshold to have access to the full Working for Families (WFF) tax support, regardless of the source of their income. Currently a qualifying low-income one-child family is entitled to the full \$185 a week (and more if the child is under 3 years old).⁴⁴ However, to meet this full weekly package, the adult/s in the families must have some paid work, and must not be on any welfare benefit regardless of whether or not they are in paid part-time work.⁴⁵ A solo parent who fails to meet the two requirements (of some work and no benefit) loses \$72.50 a week for her children, which amounts to 40% of WFF for a one-child family. CPAG argues that this punitive policy is reflective of a failed neo-liberal ideology that withholds a poverty-reducing payment for the poorest children in the name of a work-incentive (even though not every family with an adult in paid work is eligible for it).⁴⁶ In other words, as CPAG's Susan St John argues, "it is time to end the false dichotomy between the 'deserving' and the 'undeserving' poor."⁴⁷

The number of children living in families with income below the poverty line is shocking, and reflects the extent of inequality of opportunity among New Zealanders that government must address as a matter of urgency. The allocation of \$4.6 billion to the military in the middle of the COVID-19 global pandemic, when the needs of the people are crying out to be met, shows priorities that must be reordered.

6. Housing

There is a real housing crisis in Aotearoa New Zealand. This crisis is felt deeply by people experiencing homelessness, families and children who live in sub-standard housing, those who need emergency housing, people on social housing waiting lists, people without secure private sector tenancies, those

³⁹ S. Robson, 'Food insecurity, damp homes: One in five children in living poverty, 2 December 2020, in <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/431891/food-insecurity-damp-homes-one-in-five-children-in-living-poverty-report>

⁴⁰ UNICEF, 2020. World of Influence, Report Card, in <https://www.unicef.org.nz/stories/new-report-card-shows-that-new-zealand-is-failing-its-children>

⁴¹ *ibid*

⁴² UNICEF, 2020. World of Influence, Report Card, in <https://www.unicef.org.nz/stories/new-report-card-shows-that-new-zealand-is-failing-its-children>

⁴³ We acknowledge the contribution by Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) and CEO Laura Bond, in this section on child poverty.

⁴⁴ CPAG report by Susan St John. 18 November 2020 'Bridging the poverty gap: Why all poor kids need Working for Families', in <http://thespinoff.co.nz/society/18-11-2020/bridging-the-poverty-gap-why-all-poor-kids-need-working-for-families-support/>

⁴⁵ *ibid*

⁴⁶ *ibid*

⁴⁷ *ibid*

on low incomes and people trying to buy their first home.⁴⁸ The social housing waitlist has record high numbers with nearly 22,000 applicants on the register, while the median time to house people on the housing register is 182 days.⁴⁹ This is totally unacceptable.

The cost of solving homelessness in this country has been estimated at \$15,000 for each person experiencing homelessness.⁵⁰ It is estimated that it currently costs government \$65,000 per year for each person who lives in a precarious housing situation. Government estimates of the number of people experiencing homelessness are at 41,600 (though this figure does not take into account the impact of COVID-19).⁵¹ Groups that focus on housing deprivation say that a 'Housing First' approach to solving homelessness is best practice since other issues such as addiction, high debt, and health cannot be addressed until people are housed. It would cost almost the same to solve homelessness in our country through a Housing First approach as it costs the taxpayer to fund the New Zealand Defence Force's major military capabilities. It is time to put people first.

7. Young people and gun/gang violence

Aotearoa needs to resource programmes aimed at reducing violence in our country better. Incidents of gun violence have had a high-profile in the media in 2020 and New Zealand organisations working to reduce violence in our communities assert that more needs to be done to address the harm that gun violence creates, particularly in Auckland. Local organisations and community members have called for more social workers and youth workers in areas that are particularly affected by gun and gang violence. Many young men involved in gangs grow up in sole parent families without male role models, and they turn to gangs and the streets to meet this need. Many of the issues faced by these young people arise from dysfunction in the homes, so there is a need for community leaders, churches and relevant civil society organisations to work together and collaborate to meet the needs of disillusioned young people.

Redirecting funding from the military to preventing conflict and violence in our own streets must be prioritised by the government.

8. Elder abuse

Our senior citizens deserve to be treated with respect, dignity and care, whatever their background or circumstances. According to Age Concern NZ, up to 70,000 seniors will experience some form of elder abuse this year. Seventy-nine per cent of reported cases occur at the hands of family members.⁵² An analysis of data from the New Zealand Longitudinal Study of Ageing concluded that 10 per cent of the population aged over 65 years who are living in the community experience abuse, much of which remains unreported.

⁴⁸ NZ Council of Christian Social Services, <https://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/PO2009/S00262/a-fair-and-compassionate-future-for-all.htm>

⁴⁹ Radio New Zealand update, 3 December 2020, 'Record number of people waiting for social housing', <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/national/432069/record-number-of-people-waiting-for-social-housing>

⁵⁰ <https://www.hud.govt.nz/news-and-resources/statistics-and-research/2018-severe-housing-deprivation-estimate/>

⁵¹ <https://www.hud.govt.nz/news-and-resources/statistics-and-research/2018-severe-housing-deprivation-estimate/>

⁵² See for example, Age Concern New Zealand, https://www.ageconcern.org.nz/Public/Information/Age_Well/Health_Topics_A-Z/Elder_Abuse/Public/Info/Health_Topics/Elder_Abuse.aspx?

As a multicultural society, there is no ‘one size fits all’ approach to elder abuse in Aotearoa New Zealand, so it may be culturally appropriate to respond within the context of each ethnic or cultural group, whether Māori, Pākehā, Pasifika, migrant or other ethnic groups.

9. Disability issues

Disability services vary across the country, both within the public health system and in the community. Regional societies and groups provide a first point of contact and support for those looking for assistance.⁵³ Increased funding would boost the number of regional groups and organisations that provide disability services so that they can continue to provide information, support and advocacy for people living differently-abled lives, as well as their family members, carers, friends, colleagues, and employers.⁵⁴

Financial sustainability is the main issue impacting disability service providers, and access to services in the public health system continues to be one of the main concerns for many support staff and their clients.⁵⁵ Rural areas have extended wait times due to the lack of services available, while departments in the main centres are often overloaded and under-resourced. The predicament of people living with Multiple Sclerosis, as one example, has been made worse by COVID-19.⁵⁶ Many regions also report continued lack of respite beds for those needing hospital care, with many of the current respite services not being age-appropriate for those under 65 years of age.

10. Mental health

New Zealanders are increasingly becoming aware of the delayed onset of mental illness after periods of stress, trauma, and disasters. The earthquakes in Ōtautahi Christchurch saw a period of increased need for mental health services. The COVID-19 pandemic has been predicted to set off another period of increased demand for such services. We have already seen reports of increased rates of eating disorders, calls to helplines, and increased anxiety in 2020. Many have attributed the increase in stress and uncertainty to the pandemic and associated lockdowns.

Aotearoa New Zealand has had stretched mental health services for decades, with frontline workers calling the system “broken” and “in crisis.”⁵⁷ Health professionals, patients and family members, and advocates have repeatedly called for increased government funding to critical services. District Health Boards (DHBs) continue to face high demand for their stretched services and are struggling to replace ageing buildings and outdated alarm systems which are potentially life-threatening, hire staff, and improve safety.⁵⁸ In the 2020/2021 budget, while there was a capital investment for DHBs of \$750m, only one per cent of the budget was ringfenced for national mental health services. The government allocation of \$4.6 billion to resource the armed forces cannot be justified when compared to the urgent need for care and resources for the network of communities that can determine our continued wellbeing, resilience and kindness to each other and future generations.

⁵³ MSNZ (Multiple Sclerosis New Zealand) Annual Report & Strategic Plan, 2020-2025, p.8

⁵⁴ *ibid*

⁵⁵ *ibid*

⁵⁶ MSNZ Annual Report & Strategic Plan, 2020-2025, p.8

⁵⁷ *New Zealand Herald*, 9 February 2017 ‘Workers say mental health system “broken”’, <https://www.nzherald.co.nz/nz/workers-say-mental-health-system-broken/EIWP6H6SOZ3CROB57JNFW54DCQ/>

⁵⁸ *ibid*

11. Women's rights: CEDAW and the WPS National Action Plan⁵⁹

The rights of women are outlined in international treaties and obligations that New Zealand subscribes to as a member of the global community. These include, among others, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW), the Beijing Platform For Action (1995) and UN Security Council Resolution 1325 (2000) and the subsequent resolutions on Women, Peace and Security (WPS).⁶⁰ Realising gender equality and advocating for the human rights of women remain a challenge.

The following arguments have generally been advanced when advocating for the promotion of women's rights and the right to participate in the decision-making process as equal citizens.

The first is about democracy and equality.⁶¹ Women constitute at least half of a nation's population and should be represented proportionally.

The second is one of legitimacy. The under-representation of women can be risky for the legitimacy of the democratic system.

The third is about differing needs and interests. Women are more aware of their own needs and interests and those of their family members, and are better able to press for them.

The fourth is about changing the face of politics. There are indications that an initial effect of more women entering the political scene is the broadening of the scope of politics so that issues such as childcare, family planning and sexuality, which used to be confined to the private sphere, are now seen as political issues (the personal is political).⁶²

The final argument is about the efficient use of human resources. No country can afford not to utilise all its human resources. Since women comprise half of a country's pool of potential talent and ability, their contribution to the national economy through paid and unpaid work must be recognised. When women are excluded or absent from the decision-making process, it impoverishes public service and inhibits the development of a just society. Without the full participation of women in the political and decision-making process, it will be less effective, to the detriment of society as a whole.⁶³

Women are at the forefront of efforts to bring about sustainable peace through inclusiveness, justice, human rights, and human security. In 2015, New Zealand launched its National Action Plan (NAP) for the Women Peace and Security Agenda.⁶⁴ While welcoming the NAP, WILPF Aotearoa had expressed concern over its emphasis on increasing the number of women in the armed forces and in overseas

⁵⁹ See Annex I for further information on women's rights instruments and mechanisms.

⁶⁰ CEDAW is the Convention on the Elimination of all Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

⁶¹ United Nations Office (Vienna), 1992, 'Women in Politics and Decision making in the late 20th century. A United Nations Study', Martinus Nijhoff Publishers: Dordrecht, New York, Geneva, pp. XII-XIII;

⁶² 'The personal is political' was the rallying cry of radical feminists who believed that 'personal' issues such as sexuality, sexual violence, abortion, reproductive rights, etc. are political issues. There is no separation between personal and political issues, and they are political because they are personal.

⁶³ UN Office (Vienna), 1992, p. XIII

⁶⁴ United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 was passed in the UN General Assembly in New York on 31 October 2000. It and subsequent resolutions make up the Women, Peace and Security Agenda.

deployment. WILPF has pointed out that UNSCR 1325 had its roots in a human rights framework and not in a militarised security one.

Nevertheless, New Zealand joins an increasing number of governments that have interpreted the implementation of UNSCR 1325 as a requirement for getting more women into the military. While WILPF supports the promotion of New Zealand women as mediators and negotiators in peace initiatives, it does not support the use of violence as a means of resolving conflicts, nor the participation of women in the armed forces or the deployment of women in combat roles overseas.

It also begs the question whether the militarisation of women's lives is beneficial for women and/or society in general. When women are praised for noteworthy achievements in the military, the question must be asked "whether these are honourable achievements that represent progress for women or a record of women's participation and collusion in criminal, militarist and imperialist activities."⁶⁵

Prioritising national security must not be made at the expense of funding social services that seek to implement women's human rights and human security.

12. Changing the structures of work

The economic structures that frame our lives in Aotearoa are neither just nor equitable. Feminist economists argue that capitalism, as an economic and societal structure, works at keeping power in the hands of the wealthy and the few. Those who own property, inherit wealth, or earn dramatically more than their employees are the ones who benefit most from a capitalist society. Such a society relies on the work of those who tend to have the most precarious work-lives to keep functioning (as we saw during the COVID-19 lockdowns), yet these people have benefitted least from neoliberal capitalism.

A feminist economic system would value the work of the wealthy no more than the work of the poor. It would take into account the unpaid and unvalued household and family care work predominantly undertaken by women. It would increase the minimum wage so that no one has to experience poverty while working. In the face of rising inequality in Aotearoa, some radical measures that could be taken to address this include paying everyone the same hourly rate or creating a pay ratio between executives and the least paid of their organisations of no more than 10:1. Even though this is a large margin, it is better than the current situation in New Zealand, where executives earn up to millions of dollars while those outsourced to clean and service their institutions earn the minimum wage. The Equal Employment Opportunities Commissioner currently spearheads a campaign called 'End Pay Secrecy' which calls for the implementation of a pay transparency regime to close the 'gender and ethnic' pay gap.⁶⁶

If real change is to build a more compassionate and peaceful society, then the economic structures that govern our lives need to be questioned rather than incrementally modified.

Introducing a universal basic income (UBI) and ensuring it is at a decent level for living, while also bringing in progressive taxation, would greatly relieve families and solo parents of financial stress and other effects of living on or near the poverty line. Aotearoa currently does not have a zero-tax band, which disadvantages low-income earners who need to retain more of their income.

⁶⁵ J. Cock, 1997, 'The feminist challenge to militarism', *Agenda*, No 36, p. 29

⁶⁶ NCWNZ Mid-term CEDAW Report, 2020, p. 2

13. Pay equity and equal pay for work of equal value

The economy has relied on women's unpaid labour in such areas as childcare, domestic work, caring for elderly and sick relatives, and taking unpaid subsistence work, which reduces their time for paid work and its associated benefits like social security and pensions. Women often work as volunteers or work part-time. Over time, they accumulate low levels of wealth and do not benefit from tax cuts. Since they are under-represented in the work force, their needs and priorities are not taken into account when drawing up government policies.⁶⁷

Women's unpaid contribution to the economy must be costed out both by the government and the private sector,⁶⁸ and there is a need to recognise equal pay for work of equal value.

14. Addressing the climate crisis⁶⁹

In Budget 2018, the government established the \$100 million Green Investment Fund to invest in high value, low carbon industries and clean technology which will help stimulate further private investment in green industries and businesses. It is an opportunity for government budget and policy makers to integrate climate mitigation and adaptation, and to consider community resilience in all of its work. The need to address the immediate threats cannot be over-emphasised, but it is also necessary to advance a long-term strategy for a better national response to the climate crisis.

The onslaught of COVID-19 should have been an indicator for those developing national security budgets to reset their approach and focus spending on stimulus packages for decarbonisation, health, the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) and the environment. The national security budget should begin to realise the SDGs and the 2015 Paris Agreement in order to avert dangerous climate change. Budgetary allocations should go to climate mitigation, adaptation and community resilience. Discussions should focus on human security and right to a healthy environment, a decarbonised future and people co-designing solutions with their government.

Instead of spending on the military, Aotearoa should prioritise tackling climate change, reducing domestic emissions, and restructuring and transforming the economy to a green economy. Farmers need to be supported to move towards more sustainable low-carbon food production, and investment in public transport, such as railway networks between cities, would reduce transport emissions and be a way of incentivising low-carbon lifestyles. These are much needed actions that tackle the issue at its source. Spending more on transitioning to a low-carbon economy now will save us the billions in the future needed to respond to climate change-induced humanitarian disasters.⁷⁰

The first official report from the Climate Change Commission, released on 31 January 2021, has found the government needs to further reduce emissions to meet its obligations under the Paris Agreement.⁷¹

⁶⁷ Women's Budget Group, 2018, 'Women Count: a casebook for gender-responsive budgeting', p. 5

⁶⁸ Statistics NZ, 18 September 2018, 'Data on Household labour force survey, noted that part-time workers, particularly women and those over 65 years and older, were most likely to do volunteer work', <https://www.stats.govt.nz/news/part-time-workers-most-likely-to-lend-a-hand>

⁶⁹ We acknowledge the contribution of Barbara Bedeschi-Lewando to the Climate Justice section.

⁷⁰ Lucy Stewart, Disarmament and Security Centre.

⁷¹ Radio New Zealand, 31 January 2021, 'Climate Change Commission releases first official report', <https://www.rnz.co.nz/news/political/435526/climate-change-commission-releases-first-official-report>

SECTION IV. CONCLUSION

This Report has highlighted the key principles of a Feminist Budget.

Such a budget is **inclusive**, by responding to the needs of all across gender, race, ethnicity, age, income, religion, health status, dis/ability, language, etc. It celebrates **difference** but does not let difference define those impacted by the intersection between militarisation and racism, sexism, classism and other forms of discrimination. It is **compassionate** by responding to the needs of the most marginalised in society.

It is based on **mutual respect** irrespective of differences, so that all people including women and girls and gender minorities, can have equal access to relevant services, and everyone can grow and contribute to their full potential. It gives **hope** by keeping people out of poverty and allowing them to grow old with dignity in Aotearoa New Zealand. It rejects all forms of inequality and violence and seeks to **contribute to a peaceful and just society**.

Finally, a feminist budget is **bold** – it looks to redress some of the institutionalised and systemic inequalities that disproportionately affect Māori, and can pave the way towards broader conversations around Tiriti-based constitutional arrangements in Aotearoa New Zealand.

Three key findings are highlighted in this report on the role of the military and the impact of militarism in general.

1. Aotearoa New Zealand does not need a military as it is not threatened by military attack; nor should we prepare for war.
2. Well-resourced civilian agencies are better suited to perform the military's current roles, especially in responding to natural and humanitarian disasters, maritime search and rescue missions, border control, and fisheries and resource protection.
3. The military, and the industrial complex that supports it, has been propped up by the unpaid labour of women who are forced to bear the burdens of sustaining their families and communities, as it is typically men who are deployed for combat overseas or on peacekeeping missions.

The following socio-economic and environmental needs have been prioritised when moving the money from the New Zealand military:

- addressing violence against women (domestic violence),
- poverty (including child poverty),
- housing,
- youth and gang violence,
- elder abuse,
- mental health,
- women's rights (CEDAW and the WPS NAP),
- the changing the structures of work (neoliberal ideology of work),
- pay equity and equal pay for work of equal value,
- and addressing the global climate crisis.

The recommendations include the amounts to be allocated towards programmes that constitute the above priorities. For example, on addressing violence against women:

- \$50m is allocated towards building another 10 safe, accessible, and purpose-built women's refuges, and
- \$200m is directed towards preventive programmes to tackle violence against women and children among Māori, Pasifika, ethnic and migrant communities.

This report illustrates the benefits of moving the money from the military towards meeting the socio-economic needs of the people, and the environment in which they live.

This report shows that a Feminist Budget can be a useful tool to gain a better understanding of the tangible and broader benefits of demilitarisation and disarmament.

WOMEN'S RIGHTS INSTRUMENTS AND MECHANISMS

1. CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN (CEDAW)⁷²

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted by the UN General Assembly in 1979, is often referred to as the bill of rights for women. It defines 'discrimination against women' as

"...any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field."⁷³

A convention (or treaty or covenant), is a legally-binding international agreement, between states (bilateral or multilateral) where the countries agree to bind themselves under international law to conform to its provisions, through a process of ratification or accession, following which it becomes a State Party.

2. UNITED NATIONS SECURITY COUNCIL RESOLUTION 1325 ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY (UNSCR 1325 on WPS)⁷⁴

On 31 October 2000, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. The resolution reaffirms the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts, peace negotiations, peace building, peacekeeping, humanitarian response and post-conflict reconstruction. It recognises the importance of women's equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security. Resolution 1325 urges all actors to increase the participation of women and incorporates gender perspectives in all UN peace and security efforts. It also calls on all parties to a conflict to take special measures to protect women and girls from gender-based violence, particularly rape and other forms of sexual abuse, in situations of armed conflict. A further ten resolutions followed UNSCR 1325, and together they make up the Women Peace and Security Agenda.

A Resolution is a formal expression of the opinion or will of UN organs. It is politically-binding, meaning that states have a moral obligation to honour it, although it is not legally binding.⁷⁵

⁷² See, <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/daw/cedaw/states.htm>

⁷³ *ibid*

⁷⁴ <https://www.un.org/womenwatch/osagi/wps/>

⁷⁵ *ibid*

3. NATIONAL ACTION PLAN (NAP) ON UNSCR RESOLUTION 1325 ON WOMEN, PEACE AND SECURITY

Aotearoa New Zealand is one of 89 countries that have developed a National Action Plan (NAP) on UNSCR 1325, which was launched on 15 October 2015. The first NAP from 2015-2019, established a set of strategies and actions to coordinate the implementation of the Women Peace and Security Agenda under four fundamental objectives as identified by the UN Secretary General on: **Prevention, Participation, Protection and Peacebuilding, Relief and Recovery**. The development of the NAP is led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade (MFAT), in coordination with the New Zealand Defence Force, New Zealand Police Force and the Ministry for Women.

The second NAP was due to be launched in 2020, outlining how government agencies plan on supporting the WPS agenda over the next few years.⁷⁶

⁷⁶ Beth Greener, 2020, 'New Zealand and the Women, Peace and Security Agenda' in Dev-Policy blogsite, <https://devpolicy.org/new-zealand-and-the-women-peace-and-security-agenda-20200609-3/>

INDIVIDUALS/ORGANISATIONS INTERVIEWED

Name	Organisation
Alice Meredith	Mo'osoi Charitable Trust
Ang Jury (Dr), CEO	Women's Refuge
Barbara Bedeschi-Lewando	Global Goals Institute
Edwina Hughes	Peace Movement Aotearoa
Janfrie Wakim	Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG)
Lucy Stewart	Disarmament & Security Centre
Kavisha, Mewish Mughal, Shirin, Arisha (4)	Shakti Women's Refuge
Lisa Lawrence, President	National Council of Women NZ
Marian Hobbs	Otago Mental Health Support Trust
Prue Hyman	N/A
WILPF Members	Aotearoa/New Zealand

PARTICIPANT RIGHTS AT INTERVIEW (CONSENT FORM)

Participation details

You may choose to have the interview conducted on a non-attributable basis, which means any information shared will not be attributed to you.

Confidentiality

If the interviewee wishes, the researcher will make all effort to maintain confidentiality.

Adverse statements or data

You have the right to request a transcription of relevant interview data. Upon your advice, any interview data that is considered adverse will be removed from related publications or presentations.

Use of interview data

Material covered in the interview will only be used for the purpose of publication and presentation related to the Feminist budget for which this information is sought.

*Note that there were no issues raised by interviewees on the subject of confidentiality or non-attribution.

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- If we were to redirect funding from the military, where should it be spent instead?
- What programs would you/your organisation prioritise?
- What would this cost?
- What would you/your organisation do with \$1 million/\$100 million?
- If money were no object, where else would you spend these funds?
- What do you see as the key funding areas for a feminist budget?
- What do you see as important functions of the military to be retained?
- Is there anything else you wish to include?

WORKPLAN: METHODOLOGY, DELIVERABLES AND TIMELINES

The table below consolidates details of the research process with expected timelines and key outputs of the “Feminist Budget” research project:

TIMELINE	METHODOLOGY	TASK	DELIVERABLE/ OUTPUT
Week 2: Oct 26-30	1. Internet Research on NZ govt website, NGO (PMA, IPB, SIPRI) website, media website (RNZ, Stuff, etc.	a) Locate and gather information; b) Review and analyse govt budget on military compared to social sectors and relevant documents c) Key questions: -What are the components of the current military budget? -Which components could be moved/redirected? -Where should these be moved to? -What programs should be prioritised instead? -What is the cost of the redirected components?	Oct 30: Project brief & Workplan to WILPF Set up library for key documents and recommended readings
Week 2: Oct 28-30	Information gathering on potential stakeholders	1. Identify & compile list of potential stakeholders, NGOs for interview; 2. Set up distribution list of stakeholder contacts for consultation & validation. 2. Draft template of request for interview to stakeholders;	1. Database of potential stakeholders 2. Database on distribution list of stakeholders for consultation and validation. 3. Draft template on request for interview
Week 3-4 Nov 2--13	2. Literature review What constitutes a Feminist budget?	Based on internet research, recommended readings and relevant documents in Dropbox, draft literature review to be produced.	November 13- Draft Literature Review to WILPF on ‘What constitutes a Feminist budget?’
Week 3-4 Nov 2-13	Contact of stakeholders begin (use of structured or semi-structured questions)	Based on stakeholder response interview process begins	-Database of potential stakeholders -Template on Request for Interview
Week 4-5 Nov 9--20	3. Structured/Semi-structured Interview of stakeholders	1. Set up Interview Schedule of Stakeholders-through zoom, telephone or in person; 2. Develop/Compile key interview questions;	Interview schedule <u>Draft Interview questions</u>

		3. Provide interviewees with simplified breakdown of current military and social sector budget for informed response on what to cut and where to redirect towards.	-What current spending could be moved from the military budget? -Where should this be spent instead? -What should constitute a feminist budget?
Week 6: Nov 23-27	5. Analysis of interview and consultation material using Quantitative and Qualitative description of results	1. Analysis/Coding of Interviewee responses; 2. Highlight main findings and recommendations in draft Executive Summary	Draft Executive Summary highlights main findings and recommendations;
Week 7: Nov 30- Dec 4	6. Draft Feminist Budget	Send draft Feminist Budget to WILPF members & stakeholders for feedback.	<u>Dec 4</u> : Draft Feminist budget to WILPF Project Team, WILPF members and stakeholders <u>Dec 10</u> : Feedback from WILPF members & stakeholders
Week 8: Dec 7-11	7. Finalise Feminist Budget		
Week 9: Dec 14-15	8. 'Towards a Feminist Budget' launched	Proposed approaches for sharing the research findings on the Feminist Budget (WILPF) – online website, Report, social media, etc.	<u>Dec 14</u> : Final docs: 1. Executive Summary 2. Feminist Budget <u>Dec 15</u> Launch of Feminist Budget

4. Project Governance: Monitoring & Accountability

The Research team shall maintain regular (weekly/fortnightly) communication with the WILPF Project Leads/Steering Committee for the purpose of:

- monitoring the project timelines, outputs and budget;
- seeking/offering help where needed or as/when issues arise.

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