

Republic of the Philippines

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(This country profile is available online at www.unisa.edu.au/genderbudgets)

1 Background

Socio-economic indicators				
Population in 2008	90.5 million			
Projected population change 2008–50	66%			
Percent urban (% of total population) 2008	63%			
GDP per capita (PPP \$US) 2005	\$5,137			
Human Development Index 2005 Human Development Index 2005	0.771			
Human Development Index 2005 Human Development Index rank 2005	90th of 177			
Proportion (percent) of population below the Poverty Line (\$1 PPP a day) 2004	13.6%			

Sources: UNDP (2007) *Human Development Report* 2007/08; Population Reference Bureau, (2008) World Population Data Sheet. Asian Development Bank (2008) *Key Indicators for Asia and the Pacific* 2008. (See Explanatory Notes for details).

The Philippines encompasses more than 7,000 islands throughout the Indian Ocean and neighbours Indonesia, Malaysia, Palau, China and Vietnam. It is the 12th most populous country in the world with a population that is expected to increase by two thirds over the next 40 years (see table). While more than a hundred ethnic groups comprise the population, the majority of Filipinos are of Malay descent with English and Filipino being the two official languages. The Philippines is also experiencing a rapid urbanisation process with more than 75% of the population expected to be located in urban centres by 2030 (Philippines Government 2009; World Bank 2009). More than 80% of the population is Roman Catholic, a legacy of its Spanish colonial history (Philippines Government 2009).

The Philippines was colonised by the Spanish in the 16th century. It gained independence in 1898 but soon became a US territory after the Spanish-American War in 1899. After many years of revolution and the invasion by Japan during WW2, the Philippines ultimately gained its independence from the United States on July 4, 1946 (Philippines Government 2009). The fledgling democracy stalled under the presidency of Ferdinand Marcos (1965 - 1986) when a state of martial law was introduced in 1972 along with restricted democratic institutions, civil liberties and respect for human rights (Clifton 2006). Under President Marcos, corruption and cronyism contributed to a serious decline in economic growth and development (US Department of State 2008). In 1986 Marcos was forced to flee the Philippines in the face of a peaceful civilian-military uprising that installed Corazon Aquino as president (1986-1992). Under Aquino's presidency, progress was made in revitalising democratic institutions and civil liberties. Yet commentators have noted that since the fall of Marcos, genuine democracy in the Philippines has failed to take root with issues of corruption and nepotism continuing to plague subsequent presidencies (Clifton 2006). Former President Gloria Macapagal-Arroyo (2004 - 2010) faced charges of impeachment in 2005 and 2008 and survived two military coups and several popular protests. Similarly, President Joseph Estrada, elected in 1998, was subject to corruption allegations and put on trial for impeachment in 2000. In May 2010 Mr Benigno Aquino III, son of the former President Mrs Cory Aquino and the pro-democracy hero Mr Benigno "Ninoy" Aquino, was elected President. His campaign slogan linked corruption with poverty - "When no one's corrupt, no one will be poor" (BBC News 2010).

Political unrest has characterised the Philippines south since independence, killing large numbers of people, displacing them and disrupting access to basic services (Margallo 2005). While an agreement with the Filipino Muslim separatist movement, the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF) was negotiated in 1996 allowing for an Autonomous Region in Muslim Mindanao, unrest has continued, led by a splinter group - the Moro Islamic Liberation Front

(MILF). Since 2009 the government and the MILF have engaged in informal peace talks but other splinter groups of the MNLF with links with Jemaah Islamiyah (JI), have complicated peace efforts (Australia DFAT 2010; Economist 2008).

The World Bank reports that since the 1950s the Philippines has gone from one of the richest countries in Asia (following Japan) to one of the poorest (World Bank 2009: 2). A Medium-Term Development Plan to promote industrialisation was developed under the presidency of the exmilitary general, Fidel V. Ramos (1992 - 1998). By 2000 the Philippines had attained the status of a newly-industrialising country (Go-Zurbano 2000). During 2000-08 the country achieved an economic growth rate average of 5.1% driven by private consumption, the services sector and underpinned by growing overseas remittances (World Bank 2009, OECD 2008). In 2005 GDP per capita was estimated at US \$5,137 (see table). The global economic downturn reduced economic growth to 0.9% in 2009 (World Bank 2009: 2; Australia DFAT 2010). In 2010 economic growth of 5-7% was expected with a jump in electronic goods exports and remittances (the latter now accounting for more than 10% of the economy). The growing mining and quarrying sectors make the Philippines the fifth most mineralised country in the world. Agriculture remains an important sector accounting for 14% of the GDP and 35% of employment but this sector has suffered significantly with natural disasters causing significant human and economic costs with more than 10 million people affected (Australia DFAT 2010).

Despite stronger economic growth, the Philippines has greater income inequality and higher levels of unemployment than other ASEAN countries (World Bank 2009: 2). The Asian Development Bank reported in 2004 that the Philippines has one of the highest levels of income inequality in Asia, with the income shares of the richest and poorest 20% of the population equal to 55% and 4%, respectively of the gross national income (ADB 2004: vii). On the HDI the Philippines is ranked 90th of 177 countries with an index of 0.771(see table). Currently, it appears likely to fail to meet several Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), especially those related to poverty, education and maternal health (National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) 2010: 6).

With 13.6% of its population living on less than \$1 a day (see table), poverty remains a serious issue. According to the World Bank (2008: 3: 2009:6) poverty incidence had reduced from 50% in the mid 1980s to 30% in 2003 but then rose to 32.9% by 2006. Since then food and fuel price increases in 2008, global financial and economic crisis and natural disasters all have contributed to further aggravate poverty (NEDA 2010). Poverty, together with health, violence and child labor problems, all contribute to poor performance against the MDG target of universal primary education. Progress in reducing child mortality has been achieved, with infant mortality rate declining from 57 deaths per 1,000 live births in 1990 to 25 in 2008 and the under-five mortality rate had declined from 80 in 1990 to 34 in 2008. While the national HIV prevalence rate remains below 1%, in 2010 up to 5 new cases of HIV infection were being reported per day. Further, the proportion of those living as informal settlers in urban centres has increase from 1991 to 2006 and is expected to rise further due to the impact of climate change and the global financial crisis (NEDA 2010).

2 Gender equality

Gender equality indicators	
Gender Development Index (GDI) value 2005	0.768
Gender Development Index (GDI) rank 2005	77 th of 157
Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) value 2007/08	0.59
Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM) rank 2007/08	45 th of 93
Gender Gap Index (GGI) value 2007	0.7629
Gender Gap Index (GGI) rank 2007	6 th of 128
Seats in parliament held by women (% of total) 2007	22.5%
Population sex ratio (males per 100 females) 2005	101.44
Maternal mortality ratio (per 100,000 live births) 2005	110
Adult literacy rate, female (aged 15 and older) 1995 - 2005	93.6%
Adult literacy rate, male (aged 15 and older) 1995 - 2005	91.6%
Gross secondary enrolment: Ratio of female rate to male rate 2005	1.12
Gross secondary enrolment: Female ratio (% of the female secondary school age population) 2005	90%
Share of women in wage employment in the non-agricultural sector (% of total employment in the sector) 2006	41.9%
Ratification of CEDAW (year)	1981

Sources: UNDP (2007) *Human Development Report* 2007/08; World Economic Forum (2007) *The Global Gender Gap Report*; UN Statistics Division (2008) Millennium Development Goal Indicators; United Nations Population Division (2008) World Population Prospects. (See Explanatory Notes for details).

The Philippines Constitution (1987) recognises the fundamental equality of women and men and women's role in nation-building (ADB 2002: 40). Section 14 of Article II has been strategically used by the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) - the national government women's machinery established in 1976 - for the inclusion of gender issues in the government's development planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation (ADB 2002: 40). In mid-2009 President Gloria Macapagal Arroyo signed a bill of rights for women, the Magna Carta of Women (Act No. 9710). Drawing on the CEDAW framework, this law seeks to eliminate discrimination against women through a range of provisions. These include affirmative action, mandatory human rights, gender sensitivity training for public servants, the revision and amendment of laws and policies for their gender-sensitivity and increases in the number of women in third level positions in government (UNIFEM 2009a).

The Philippines is regarded as having achieved important progress on gender equality due to the relatively strong women's machinery that has existed for more than 30 years (Philippines Government 2005, Schlezig 2005). Some of these achievements have been at the institutional level, including the following policy initiatives:

- The Philippines Development Plan for Women (1987) followed by the 'Women in Development and Nation Building Act' enacted in 1992 institutionalising gender mainstreaming in the development process (Felix 2006).
- The Philippines Plan for Gender-Responsive Development (1995 2025) a strategic plan that translated international commitments on gender equality into policies, strategies, programs and projects. Its goals include: women's empowerment and gender equality (Philippines Government 2004).

- A Framework Plan for Women which provides a cut in the timeframe of the Philippines Plan for Gender-Responsive Development including more targeted, achievable and results-focused programs and projects. Its objectives cover economic empowerment, protection and fulfilment of women's human rights and gender-responsive governance.
- The Gender Mainstreaming Strategy implementing the Philippines Development Plan for Women, the Plan for Gender-Responsive Development and the Framework Plan for Women. This strategy requires the integration of gender principles and concepts in the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of policies and programs. Identified as key elements for a successful implementation of the gender mainstreaming strategy are: (a) sex-disaggregated data and statistics; (b) skills and opportunities to undertake gender analysis; (c) effective monitoring and evaluation of systems and tools; (d) national, sub-national and local structures with clearly-defined roles for leadership and support or gender mainstreaming; (e) effective communication, networks and linkages; (f) a skilled human resource base; (g) civil society participation; and (h) a Gender and Development (GAD) budget (Philippines Government 2004: 41).
- The Gender and Development (GAD) budget policy introduced in 1995 following the recognition that implementation of the Philippines Development Plan for Women 'was held back by lack of budget' (Philippines Government 2004: 41). In that year a condition of the General Appropriations Acts (GAA) required agencies to dedicate a minimum of 5% of the budget to GAD initiatives to ensure that goals and objectives of the Philippines Plan for Gender-Responsive Development were translated into agency plans and targets (Philippines Government 2004: 40).

Progress for women and girls is also visible in terms of development outcomes. In the 2007 Gender Gap Index the Philippines ranked 6th out of 128 nations (see table). The Philippines Government in its CEDAW Report has highlighted that girls tend to stay longer in school and engage in higher education in a greater number. More boys start school – recorded in 2000-2001 as 51.0% among boys against 49.0% among girls - although slightly more girls continue to secondary school (51.3% against 48.7%) (Philippines Government 2004: 82). The female literacy rate is higher at 93.6% than that of men at 91.6% (see table) with females recording higher literacy rates than males in 12 out of the 17 regions (NEDA 2010). With regards to political rights, the Philippines was one of the first republics to grant suffrage to women in Asia (ADB 2004: ix). Since 1986, the Philippines has elected two female presidents. In 2007 22% of parliamentary seats were held by women (see table) and at the local level in 2004 there were five men for every woman elected (Munez 2005: 152).

Various challenges continue to hamper progress around gender equality in employment and the health sectors. In 2009 women represented 38.7% of those employed (NEDA 2010). Women's employment is strong in the service sectors and garment and electronics industries, a result of the 1990s open trade policy. However, women are often employed as home-based workers with no protection and benefits (ADB 2004: viii). A survey in 2009 highlighted the gender segmented labour market with women comprising 36.6% of laborers and unskilled workers (30% for men), 13.5% service workers and shop and market sales workers (8.3% for men), 8.7% clerks (3.3% for men) and 8.0% as professionals (2.3% for men) (NEDA 2010). Women make up a larger proportion of the total government bureaucracy- 53% in 2004 (Schlezig 2005: 74) although the Government's 2004 CEDAW Report noted that women comprised a mere third of career executive positions (Philippines Government 2004: 75). The NGO Shadow CEDAW report (Women's Legal Bureau Inc. 2006) observed that serious challenges around female employment were exacerbated by problematic policies. It (2006:7) argued that the export-oriented and market driven structural adjustment policies of the government made large numbers of poor, marginalised women, along with other vulnerable groups, 'collateral damage'. Many hard won anti-discriminatory laws and regulations are at risk of being amended or totally repealed under World Trade Organisation disciplines. Furthermore, the liberalisation of the Philippine mining,

agriculture and fisheries sectors, which utilise women and indigenous people, will impact through increased labour migration (Women's Legal Bureau Inc. 2006: 8). In 2001 Filipino women made up 73% of the country's migrant workers, deployed mostly as domestic workers, entertainers and caregivers. The NGOs Shadow Report noted an estimated 400,000 - 500,000 Filipino women (aged 15-20) were working in prostitution in 1998 which is described as a multimillion dollar business and the fourth largest contributor to Gross National Product (Women's Legal Bureau Inc. 2006: 3).

The Philippines Government will fail to meet the MDG on the reduction of maternal mortality – estimated in 2005 at 110 per 100,000 live births (see table) - unless significant investments are directed at improving maternal health (NEDA 2010). Significantly constraining the Government's position is the entrenched opposition to family planning by religious groups and the Catholic Church, coupled with poverty, malnutrition and a poor accessibility to health facilities (ADB 2002). In 2004 the ADB (2004: viii) described violence against women as 'widespread'. While the Anti-Violence against Women and Children law was passed in 2004, its implementation has been made difficult due to 'little understanding of the law' and even less understanding on gender-based violence (Women's Legal Bureau Inc. 2006: 3).

In part, the achievements recorded in advancing gender equality have been attributed by the ADB (2004: 45) to the 'critical collaboration of non-government organisations (NGOs), community-based organisations, and government'. The ADB (2004) argues that international agreements, such as the CEDAW, the Beijing Platform for Action and the Beijing + 5 Outcome Document, provided a platform for this engagement. The Government's CEDAW Report also notes the role of civil society and women's organisations, in partnership with the government, in lobbying the lower and upper houses for the approval of key pieces of legislation – such as antirape, trafficking, anti-rape (Philippines Government 2004). These organisations have also partnered with the government to provide services to women. This included programs to create employment alternatives for women engaged in prostitution, slavery or sexual exploitation (Philippines Government 2004: 21).

Donors have been active in supporting efforts to improve gender equality outcomes in the Philippines. In 2004 the Philippines National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA), in partnership with the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) and the Official Development Assistance – Gender and Development Network, developed guidelines for project design, implementation and evaluation titled 'Harmonized Gender and Development Guidelines for Project Development, Implementation, Monitoring and Evaluation'. These guidelines, supported by UNDP and the ADB, aimed to provide donor organisations and government departments with a common tool for gender mainstreaming (NEDA, NCRFW and ODA GDN 2007: v). This was the government's response to, often overlapping, demands to fill out the Gender and Development (GAD) checklists developed by the diverse donor agencies with which they engaged (NEDA, NCRFW and ODA GDN 2007: 1).

3 Budgetary context

Budgetary indicators		
Central Government tax revenue (% of GDP) 2007		Not available
Central Government total expenditure (% of C	GDP) 2007	Not available
General Government public expenditure on e (% of GDP) 2002–05	ducation	2.7%
General Government public expenditure on education (% of total expenditure) 2002-05		16.4%
General Government public expenditure on h (% of GDP) 2004	ealth	1.4%
General Government public expenditure on h (% of total government expenditure) 2005	ealth	5.5%
Central Government military expenditure (% o	of GDP) 2005	0.9%
Central Government public expenditure on de (% of total outlays) 2004	efence	Not available
General Government total debt service (% of	GDP) 2005	10%
Open Budget Index: Overall Score	48%. Government provides the public with some information on the central government's budget and financial activities during the course of the budget year.	

Sources: UNDP (2007) Human Development Report 2007/08; UNESCAP (2008) Statistical Yearbook for Asia and the Pacific; IMF (2007) Government Finance Statistics; Open Budget Initiative (2008). (See Explanatory Notes for details).

Since the restoration of democracy, major reforms have been initiated in the Philippines in governance and financial management. Schiavo-Campo (2007: 273) points out that the national legislature has been accorded power to change expenditure and revenue without the consent of the executive (similar to the US model), making parliament central to the public financial management objectives of fiscal discipline and expenditure allocation. The OECD (2008: 44-4) and the World Bank (2009 2-10) report a raft of reforms aimed at building institutional capacity and improving public service provision, including anti-corruption activities, taxation compliance, bureaucratic reforms to public procurement, fiduciary processes, budget transparency and local government oversight, and the engagement of civil society groups and communities in advocacy and in project implementation and monitoring.

The current blueprint for the government's economic and social development policy is set out by the Medium-Term Philippine Development Plan (MTPDP) for 2004-10 – which since 1986 has been the main tool for government expenditure planning. While the MTPDP 2004-10 establishes broad goals and preliminary targets it does not detail a costing framework. As a result, one commentator has argued that 'it is only loosely linked to the annual budget process' (OECD 2008: 44-2). The government has committed to several reforms outlined under a multi-year Public Expenditure Management Improvement Programme (PEMIP) to support the implementation of the MTPDP. This PEMIP has adopted a medium-term expenditure framework (MTEF) which aims to strengthen the link between planning and budgeting (OECD 2008), although budgeting is reported by the World Bank as still being largely conducted in an incremental fashion (World Bank 2009).

Since independence, the Philippines has increasing moved towards decentralisation with various legislative initiatives (Decentralisation Act 1967, 1973 Constitution) ensuring the

autonomy of local governments (Clifton 2006; Chakraborty 2006; World Bank 2009). However, martial rule impeded decentralisation developments. A shift occurred with the re-emergence of democracy and the enactment of the Local Government Code in 1991 (Chakroborty 2006). This institutionalised the process of devolving major fiscal responsibilities for health, agricultural extension, forest and watershed management, rural infrastructure and some welfare programs to local government units, in order to improve local service delivery, and to reduce perceptions of political alienation outside the capital Manila through increased local autonomy (World Bank 1995). However, Mountfield and Wong (2005) observe that the integrity of local budgeting has been distorted by poor revenue estimates provided by the central Department of Budget and Management during the budget formulation process.

Corruption remains a systemic problem. Transparency International classified the Philippines in the bottom one-third of countries in their Corruption Perception Index ranking 134th of 177 countries and in the Asia Pacific region ranking 25th of 33 countries (Transparency International 2010). The 2008 Open Budget Index attributed 48% to the Philippines Government observing that it provides the public with some information on the central government's budget and financial activities during the course of the budget year (see table). Some measures have been adopted to combat corruption including the establishment of a Procurement Transparency Group, involving civil society as observers. This group aims to monitor and evaluate government procurement activities and is engaged in the evaluation of 43 public sector projects. A Government Procurement Policy Board has also been established by the government to oversee public procurement (OECD 2008). Community participation however is limited. While budget hearings are officially open to all interested parties, local governments often do not circulate the budget document or expenditure statements. At the local level, commentators have observed the prevalence of patronage politics, with consequent implications for poor provision of public services (World Bank 2009). However the OECD (2008) observed that since the introduction of public finance accounting systems at various levels of government in 2002 transparency has improved significantly.

The World Bank (2009: 10) summarises the main challenges for the Philippines as the need to: strengthen public institutions, while making them more accountable and transparent; build the demand and political support for reforms; expand civil society's role in this process. In the MTPDP 2004-10 the government attributed the limited effectiveness of the government bureaucracy to the pernicious influence of vested interests and a system of patronage.

Civil society has been pivotal in supporting and demanding governance reforms (World Bank 2009: 10). According to the ADB (2007: 3), the vibrant and mature role played by civil society in the Philippines is the result of the role played by these organisations in the independence and pro-democracy movements, and the support provided by the government administration since the collapse of the Marcos regime (ADB 2007: 3). Examples of the role of civil society include the protests against the Marcos regime and the fall of two presidents due to claims of corruption (Transparency International 2006). As described by Transparency International (2006: 16), civil society organisations have been engaged in 'vigilance' activities regarding procurement, candidate selection and monitoring of institutions with the aim of increasing public sector transparency and accountability. Transparency International (2006: 31) has described civil society as having a well-rooted 'anti-corruption ideology' and the local media as being 'Asia's liveliest'.

4 Gender responsive budgeting

The initial implementation in 1995 of gender responsive budgeting (GRB) in the Philippines has been influential in the Asia-Pacific region. The Philippines requirement of allocating a minimum of 5% of the total budget for gender and development purposes has been described as the most institutionalised initiative outside that of Australia. The accumulated expertise has made the Philippines experience an important resource for other initiatives in the region, including GRB training.

The foundations of gender responsive budgeting in the Philippines can be found in the 1991 Women in Development and Nation Building Act (RA 7192), the passage of which was secured by women politicians, women's bureaucracy and the women's movement working together (Reys 2002:140). This Act provided for equal access to resources and training and mandated that 5% of Official Development Assistance funds be set aside for projects and programmes for gender and development concerns (Ortega 2001; Honculada 2006:97). Drawing on the Australian experience, in 1994 the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women, the Department of Budget and Management and the National Economic and Development Authority issued a Joint Memorandum Circular 94-1, which called for the integration of Gender and Development (GAD) into the plans and budgets of ministries. The joint memorandum circular provided the policy framework and procedures for agencies to incorporate gender concerns into planning and budgeting endeavours within the national government (Budlender 2002).

The GAD budget, as it became known in the Philippines, was introduced in 1995 and legislatively underpinned by the *General Appropriations Act*, making it one of the few countries in the region to have a law integrating gender into the budget. Centred within the government, the GAD budget policy is led by the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women and mandates that each government agency allocate at least 5% of their budget for programmes and projects that promote gender equality and women's empowerment (Albano 2009). In 1998 local governments were likewise required to allocate 5% of their total budgets for the promotion of GAD. Since then, all agencies have been required to formulate GAD plans and submit these to the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women for approval. This Commission's Management Committee members now sit in on the technical budget hearings conducted by the Department for Budget Management. They also sit in on Congress meetings where agency officials defend their budgets (Budlender 2002). Flor and Lizares-Si (2002: 98) observe that:

the 5 per cent was meant to provide national agencies and Local Government Units (LGUs) with a budget for programmes that would enhance the agency's capability for gender-sensitive planning and budgeting. The ultimate objective was to mainstream GAD in the remaining 95 per cent of the budget.

Budlender (2002) further observes that the GAD budget was seen as a strategic way of ensuring funding for the Philippine Development Plan for Women, and without it implementation of the Plan would have been largely dependent on donor funding. By 2000 41% of all government agencies complied with the GAD budget provision (Philippines Government 2004).

While achievements have been uneven, Honculada (2006: 2) observed that the GAD budget can be viewed as successful to the extent that it has become a focus for women's organisations, assisted in creating allies within the national and local governments and has made available allocations for women and gender equality initiatives such as women's centres, livelihood projects and gender-consciousness raising activities. Briones and Valdez (2002: 5) argued that at the time of its approval in 1994 , the GAD budget was considered milestone legislation and contributed to the regional and international profile of the Philippines as it 'was passed at a time

when other developing countries were still grappling with basic GAD issues'. In 2004 the Philippines Government, in its CEDAW Report, summarised achievements following eight years of implementation of GAD planning and budgeting. This report argued that the Philippines approach:

- became the basis for women to lobby and negotiate with government for GAD programs, projects and activities, and adequate resource allocation;
- mainstreamed gender issues and concerns in government's resource allocation system;
- focused attention on GAD as a government agenda;
- forced agencies and local government units to look at the gender dimension and impact of their programs, projects and activities;
- clarified the roles of oversight agencies in gender mainstreaming;
- strengthened the NCRFW as the authority on women's concerns since it provides policy direction
 and technical assistance on the process, monitors implementation, and recommends measures to
 further improve it and make it responsive to women's needs; and
- served as a model for other marginalised sectors (...) on how to negotiate with government for resources to carry out specific programs for specific sectors (Philippines Government 2004: 42).

Still, GAD has encountered serious problems with regards to implementation – many of which have been well documented in the literature (Budlender, Buenaobra, Rood and Sol Sadorra 2001; Budlender 2002). Firstly, there has been a lack of appreciation and understanding of gender. Mariano-Diego (2008) has observed that obstacles to successful implementation of the GAD budget included an insufficient appreciation of gender issues, misconceptions that gender issues are only relevant to women and that agencies comply and focus on the quota but miss the intention of the policy. Secondly, Budlender and Buenaobra (2001) identified a lack of technical capability to integrate GAD. They noted that GAD budgeting is largely separate from the general planning and budgeting cycles of government agencies and that this has been due partly to a lack of technical skills and political will. Thirdly, GAD has not been monitored effectively.

A UNIFEM-funded assessment of the GAD budget policy undertaken by the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women reveals low policy compliance among national government agencies and an even poorer record among local government units and other government entities (Honculada 2006). Fourthly, and most problematic, there is a lack of common understanding of the GAD policy. Budlender (2002) observes that the Commission's monitoring of the GAD budget revealed that in the early years a large portion of the GAD allocations was spent initially on women-specific projects responding to practical needs followed by funding for establishing institutional mechanisms for GAD. The least amounts were spent on mainstreaming. In addition, while the number of agencies observing the GAD budget requirements has increased over the years, many of the over three hundred national agencies still do not report and even more do not reach the 5% minimum. In fact some of the allocations have been described by commentators as 'bizarre' - such as the ballroom dancing lessons for female officials (Flor and Lizares-Si 2002; Budlender 2002: 154). Albano (2009) describes the heart of the problem as being the government's lack of political will to enforce the GAD budget policy it passed. Moreover no single government agency has the responsibility of enforcing the GAD policy and law relating to the Women and Development and Nation Building Act. The NCRFW has only monitoring and advisory functions.

Responding to these challenges, the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women has sought to assist agencies to promote awareness-raising about the GAD budget and more effective implementation. These have included soft methods, such as the development of a question and answer book, and more direct responses, including a directive that takes a harder

line in stipulating unacceptable allocations, which reportedly met with some resistance (Budlender 2002). Although the Commission provides technical assistance to agencies in devising their GAD plans and budgets and remains a stronger organisation than the gender machinery in many other countries, Budlender (2002: 154) has noted that 'it is far from large enough to service all the hundreds of central agencies, let alone the local government units'.

Recently, the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women and gender activists attempting to avoid the marginalisation of gender with the budgeting process began to discuss gender issues on the remaining 95% of the budget (Budlender 2006). Briones and Valdez (2002: 7) observed that National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women believed that the public finance management reforms the government (see above) was introducing provided a good opportunity 'to introduce 100% gender-responsive budgeting'. The UNIFEM supported project, *Institutionalizing a Results-Oriented, Gender-Responsive Government Planning and Budgeting in the Philippines,* aimed at mainstreaming gender throughout the budgetary processes, reflected similar objectives (Briones and Valdez 2002: 1).

The extension of GAD budgeting to local governments in 1998 and fiscal decentralisation reforms in the Philippines (see budgetary context above) have extended gender responsive budgeting at the sub-national levels of government. Chakroborty (2006) reports on initiatives in Sorsogon and Hilongos in 2004 that highlight the sectoral nature of GRB at the local government level. Health has been the focus in Sorogon and Hilongos has implemented an agricultural sector initiative. However, Chakroborty (2006) argues that these local initiatives (which came from the Department of the Interior and Local Government, NCRFW and supported by UNIFEM) successfully moved GRB away from the 5% quota-based form to a results-orientated form. Nevertheless problems of financial flexibility, a paucity of gender disaggregated data and a lack of women in key decision-making committees reduce the progress of GRB at the local level.

The experience of the Barangay-Bayan Governance Consortium (BBGC), reported by Jennifer Albano (2009), illustrates how decentralisation opens up a space for women and their supporters to actively negotiate and claim the release of the lawful use of the 5% GAD budget. In the case of the Catigbian, Bohol municipality, a woman councilor developed a comprehensive strategy with the assistance of BBGC partners to successfully increase the GAD budget to 5% (Albano 2009). This echoes Budlender and Buenaobra's (2001: 13) earlier research finding that 'local government officials who have the political will can initiate and strengthen the task of mainstreaming GAD and women's participation in local governance'. Nevertheless, taking gender responsive budgeting at the local level beyond the GAD 5% will remain a challenge without fundamental reforms in governance and the system of intergovernmental fiscal transfers.

Women's NGOs have been central in keeping 'GAD policy alive' (Reys 2002:145). Women activists comment on the quality of programmes funded by GAD and whether the money is actually used. The NGO Development Through Active Women Networking Foundation (DAWN) engaged early in GAD budgeting advocacy at the local government level. NGOs have also challenged the existing approach to debt repayments (Flor and Lizares-Si 2002). In the 2006 NGO Shadow Report, the Women's Legal Bureau (2006: 8) argued that the 'Philippines stands out from other borrowers for its Automatic Appropriations Law – a policy of automatically allotting revenues for debt service, before deciding on other public expenditures'. It noted that in 2006 32% of the budget had been prioritised to repay debt. NGOs demanded that laws and administrative orders that authorise the automatic appropriation from the budget of debt service payments are repealed, an upper limit on allocations for interest payments is established and an assessment of outstanding debts is undertaken to outline a strategy for repayment (Women's Legal Bureau Inc. 2006).

Civil society has engaged in the development of gender sensitive data through the Community Based Poverty Monitoring System (CBMS). This is a means of improving evidence-based and gender-responsive planning and budgeting in the context of decentralised administration structures. This pilot initiative was supported by UNIFEM and the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) and focused on the Escalante City in the Philippines where priority areas of concern for boys and girls, and men and women were identified. The data documented gender disparities and assisted the City in identifying what development interventions were needed to address them (UNIFEM 2009b).

Donors have played an important role in providing technical assistance. The Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA) funded some of the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women work in gender responsive budgeting through their broader assistance packages to the department. The Asia Foundation supported an action-research exercise in three local governments and a background paper exploring the context for gender responsive budgets at the local level in the early 200Os. With Debbie Budlender as advisor to the project, significant capacity was built among NGOs in undertaking GRB research and analysis (Flor and Lizares-Si, 2002). In 2006 UNIFEM coordinated an advocacy-oriented project based on an analysis of budgets from a gender perspective. It sought to advocate increased resources for basic gender priorities relating to hunger reduction and agriculture and maternal and women's health, by generating information that can feed into the planning and budgeting process of the Local Government Units. It also sought to assist the local government budgeting processes to be gender responsive and performance-oriented and to assess the gender impacts of local government policies, budgets and expenditures, as well as those of the devolved line agency programs on maternal health and agriculture. Further, UNIFEM has over time been supporting initiatives to transform the current GAD budget approach into a broader GRB approach (email communication with donor community 18/12/2008).

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Links to electronic resources for the Philippines

Department of Finance http://www.dof.gov.ph/

National commission http://www.ncrfw.gov.ph/

ADB http://www.adb.org/Philippines/

World Bank www.worldbank.org.ph

UNDP http://www.undp.org.ph/

Millennium Development Goals http://www.mdgmonitor.org/factsheets_00.cfm?c=PHL