

*How Much Really Goes to Women?
A Case Study on the GAD Budget
in Angeles City*

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INTRODUCTION

This case study focuses on the budget process of the Angeles City government and how the gender and development (GAD) budget is being utilized. It also looks at the remaining, bigger chunk of the budget and how it affects the lives of women. It further discusses the legislative advocacy of the Angeles City Women's Coordinating Council (ACWCC) as spearheaded by Ing Makababaying Akasyon (IMA) Foundation.

The specific objectives of the study are as follows:

- ◆ to describe the history of the institutionalization of the GAD budget and ordinance in Angeles City;
- ◆ to describe and understand the processes followed in preparing the city budget for Angeles City;
- ◆ to examine the gender perspectives of stakeholders in the formulation and implementation of the GAD agenda; and
- ◆ to analyze allocations and expenditures in Angeles City in terms of GAD and women's concerns.

This paper tackles the following:

- ◆ methodology and background in terms of legislation, policy, and developments in local government;
- ◆ description of Angeles City and its economy;
- ◆ background to the passing of the city's GAD ordinance and comparison of the original and amended versions;
- ◆ roles and perspectives of key players in enacting and implementing the ordinance;
- ◆ process of how the GAD budget was sourced, allocated, and spent in recent years, with a description of experiences of four barangays with

- GAD budgeting;
- ♦ the 95% of the budget, the part that is not specifically allocated for GAD;
- ♦ the views of different stakeholders of the impact of the GAD ordinance and budget; and
- ♦ insights and recommendations on gender mainstreaming.

Methodology

The research design and instruments were prepared by research consultants and discussed in a meeting with representatives of IMA Foundation. Local government executives such as the city mayor, heads of line agencies, and representatives of committees of the city council were chosen as key informants on the basis of their positions and key roles in the city budget process. They were asked to articulate their gender perspectives; describe the line items of the budget; explain the processes followed in preparing the budget for Angeles City, the basis for allocation and expenditure; and identify the city's revenues so as to make recommendations on how best to address GAD concerns through the city's budget.

A focus group discussion was conducted with the core nongovernmental organization (NGO) members of the ACWCC. The discussion provided information on the history of the institutionalization of the GAD budget and ordinance. Participants were asked about their specific roles in the coalition in advocating the women's agenda and others as well as about their gender perspectives.

Case studies on the GAD budget were conducted in four selected barangays to examine how the city GAD budget was being appropriated and spent at the barangay level.

Legislative and policy background

The government's commitment to uplift women in the Philippines began to be felt in the mid-1970s in response to the United Nations Declaration of International Women's Year (1975) and the First Decade for Women (1976-1985). Significant developments for the advancement of women have included the adoption by the national government of the Philippine Development Plan for Women (1987-1992) and its successor, the Philippine Plan for Gender Responsive Development (1995-2025). The latter continues to serve as government's blueprint

for action in comprehensively addressing women's concerns. Other important steps included the passage of the Women in Nation-Building Act or Republic Act (RA) 7192 which "promotes the integration of women as full and equal partners of men in development and nation-building"; the passage of the new Family Code; and incorporation in the Philippine Medium-Term Development Plan of policy statements on GAD.

RA 7192, in particular, provides that a portion of funds received through the official development assistance (ODA) be set aside by government agencies to support activities for women. The implementing rules stated that in 1993, at least 5% of these funds should be allocated in "support of programs/projects that mainstream/include gender concerns in development". It stated further that the percentage should increase from 5% to 10-30% in subsequent years. The act also enjoined all departments to ensure that Filipino women benefit equally and participate directly in their programs and projects. To ensure implementation, RA 7192 further directed the bureaucracy to "review and revise all their regulations, circulars, issuances and procedures to remove gender bias therein."

NGOs and local governance

Local governments, because of their proximity to communities, are often seen as an effective avenue to undertake interventions for the people in general. But it is the NGOs, which are community-based, that provide direct linkage with the grassroots. Thus, within the context of addressing issues of equity for the disadvantaged and increasing direct participation in governance, the role of NGOs is very important. The Local Government Code itself has institutionalized NGO participation in government.

NGOs are involved in practically all spheres of activities: political, economic, and sociocultural. Social development NGOs are often supportive or advocates of women's agenda. Over the last two decades, NGOs have been seen as agents of development from below. Their strengths are their small size, responsiveness to the community, efficient operation, and innovativeness. The nature of NGOs' work has instilled in them a sense of commitment. They continuously acquire knowledge of the conditions and cultures of the poor.

Partnership between local governments and NGOs can have synergistic

impact on local development with great benefits for both women and men in the community. Unfortunately, full realization of the success of such relationships has remained elusive. Further, when it comes to integrating gender in local policies, decisions are still heavily influenced by the gendered attitudes of policymakers. A common perception remains that NGOs and governments are mutually exclusive in their approach to issues and the means to address them.

Thus, for NGOs to have effected the passage of a GAD ordinance at the local level, as the ACWCC did in 1998, is no mean feat. Led by City Councilor Susan Pineda — founder and executive director of IMA, a regional feminist institution based in Angeles City, Pampanga, Philippines — 16 NGOs and peoples' organizations (POs) joined hands with local government agencies and organizations to formulate the Angeles City Women's Agenda. They then pushed for a local GAD ordinance as a mechanism to implement this agenda.

THEN AND NOW:

GLIMPSES OF ANGELES AS A CITY

Angeles City, first a town of Pampanga and then chartered as a city in January 1964 by virtue of RA 3700, mainly evolved from the needs of the former Clark Air Base and some 9,000 troops of the 13th United States (US) Air Force stationed there.

At the time of the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in June 1991 and the pullout of American troops following the rejection of the extension of the Philippine-US 1947 Military Bases Agreement in September 1991, the service sector comprised the bulk of employed persons. This included some 18,000 prostituted women and some 5,000 others in the restaurant and hotel business. The service sector also included nearly 35,000 direct and indirect hire base workers, half of whom were women employed as office and maintenance workers and domestic helpers. The limited manufacturing sector was also attuned to the needs of the Americans for furniture, handicrafts, and souvenir items. A thriving post-exchange (PX) industry — the buying and selling of imported products smuggled out of the base — was likewise largely made up of women who made fortunes striking deals with dependents of American service people. The agricultural sector accounted for less than 2,000 hectares, mostly planted to sugarcane, rice, and

root crops by lowland farmers and Aetas, an indigenous group found in Luzon.

The American-run military facility impeded the development of a self-reliant local economy and thus also of women. To survive the limited productive opportunities in the urban setting, many women were forced to sell their bodies, engage in illegal trading, or suffer from low wages. The twin tragedy of the eruption and the pullout of the Americans debilitated Angeles City and its residents.

Population size and growth

The total population of Angeles City as of latest census conducted by the National Statistics Office in May 1, 2000 is 263,971. Household population is 263,360 with 55,769 total numbers of households and with an average household size of 4.72. Labor force is pegged at 94,000 with 84,000 employed and 10,000 unemployed.

In 1995, Angeles City had a young population in that more than one-third of the population was under 15 years of age. However, there was an unusually large proportion in the age group 15-19 years old. This could be attributed to the immigration of teenagers, mostly females, primarily for work. The dependency ratio was 62%, i.e., for every 100 persons in the working group (15-64 years old), there were 62 dependents (57 persons under 15 years of age and 5 persons, 65 years old and over). The number of males and females was more or less equal. Average daily wages for agriculture, retail, and service sectors were between ₱100 and ₱133.

Employment and economy

In the mid-1990s, some 82% of the 173,000 labor force of Angeles City earned their income as workers in service establishments, 15% was employed in manufacturing, while 2% was engaged in agriculture. One-third of service establishment workers in the city were in the retail or wholesale trade. The proportion of those who worked for private business or farms was higher among men (62%) than among women (47%). Conversely, the proportion of those who worked for private households (domestic services) was higher for women than

for men (14% against 4%). Likewise, the proportion of women (24%) who were self-employed was higher than that of men (21%).

Among the 150,982 persons 15 years old and over, only 14% had trade skills. Some 72% of those with skills were men. The proportion that acquired trade skills through experience or apprenticeship was higher among men (67%) than among women (44%). In contrast, the proportion that acquired trade skills through schooling was higher among women than among men (42% against 24%).

North of the city lies the Clark Special Economic Zone (CSEZ) which is composed of the former Clark Air Base Military Installation and other adjacent areas included in the 1947 military bases agreement. After the creation of the CSEZ in 1993, some 180 industrial, commercial, tourism, and aviation-related projects were approved by the Clark Development Corporation (CDC). As of February 2000, some 22,303 workers were employed inside the zone, with the highest percentage (35%) coming from Angeles City.

CDC figures as of December 1999 revealed that garments accounted for the highest percentage (57%) of employment, followed by electronics (28%), general manufacturing (11%), and furniture (4%). About 67% of the workers in the two largest sectors were women. Women also outnumbered men in commercial projects. Only 47% of all CSEZ workers were regular employees while 31% were contractual and 22% were on probation. Around 74% occupied rank and file positions; 7%, supervisory; and 3%, managers.

Despite the employment provided by the CSEZ, for the period 1991-1997, the Overseas Workers Welfare Administration recorded 13,035 overseas Filipino workers (OFW) from the city, the highest in the whole province. The number of women OFWs (4,871) from Angeles was also the highest in the region.

The central business district is composed of two urban barangays, Sto. Rosario and San Nicolas. These have 65% of the more than 9,000 business establishments and a combined population of 7,637.

The city specializes in the production of woodcraft, furniture and fixtures, textile and garments, leather and footwear. However, despite the pullout of the US military base, the city has not weaned itself from its "sin city" image. Prior to the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo in 1991, there were 160 bars. In 1996, there were 170.

As of December 1999, there were 4,778 registered entertainment workers, of whom only 1,098 went to the social hygiene clinic for a weekly pap smear. In 1998, there were only 2,623 entertainers. The increase in the number of women entertainers might have been in anticipation of the deployment of US military personnel after the approval of the Visiting Forces Agreement in 1998. Sex tourism ads on the Internet aggravate the prostitution and trafficking of women in the city, many of whom are migrants from the Visayas and other far-flung provinces in the country.

Civil society presence

Civil society participation in the metropolis has always been evident, particularly since the eruption of Mt. Pinatubo. NGOs have been at the helm of many rehabilitation efforts. Sociocivic organizations, including women's groups, launched their own initiatives to help disaster victims through food for work programs, relief distribution, medical missions, search and rescue teams with their own communication groups, and livelihood and microcredit programs.

Today there are at least 172 accredited civic and development organizations in the metropolis engaged in various concerns, such as women (capability-building, organizing, microenterprise), differently abled, urban poor, health, cooperatives, street children, and other humanitarian and charitable work. There are twice as many organizations that are not accredited.

Women's voices

The attempt by women's groups to mainstream the women's agenda, particularly that of women in prostitution, Amerasian children, and urban women workers, was evident in the strong lobbying for a base conversion process attuned to these groups' needs and potentials. However, the conversion process undertaken during the administration of Pres. Fidel Ramos failed to integrate prostituted women and Amerasian children. Former base workers, including women, were again relegated to maintenance work as their skills did not match the labor requirement of garments and electronics firms in what is now the CSEZ.

The women's movement in the city had long been involved in the anti-

dictatorship and anti-imperialist struggle. But the post-eruption and post-pullout years saw it also tackling the difficult challenges of community rehabilitation and base conversion — or the rebuilding process. At the national level, the 1990s opened up new challenges for women in local governance and in community development programs. In the city, these translated into the assumption of office by progressive politicians; women engaging in politics; more funds being made available for housing, land distribution, and livelihood for Mt. Pinatubo refugees and the general population; and social services and skills training.

Violence against women is reported daily in print and broadcast media. Statistics of the crisis intervention unit of IMA show the steady increase in numbers of various forms of violence which include wife battering, rape, incest, failure to provide child support, and sexual harassment. The number of incest cases has increased substantially compared to rape. These cases persisted in Angeles City despite the presence of an economic zone in its locality and its being a highly urbanized city with a relatively large tax base.

IMA and ACWCC

Against this grim reality of development failure, women who bore the pain and burden of exploitation, oppression, and subordination challenged the forces that nail them to the backroom of development. Grassroots and professional women came together as pioneers in advancing women's rights and well-being in the city.

In the aftermath of Mt. Pinatubo's eruption in June 1991, organizations were formed or mobilized as the citizens' response to the disaster. One such people's organization was the Kapisanan para sa Kagalingan ng Kababaihan sa Angeles (KKKA), a grassroots organization formed to respond to the needs of women in the city.

In 1993, during the term of Mayor Edgardo Pamintuan, KKKA, together with other women's formations, successfully lobbied for the creation of the Angeles City Center for Women's Affairs and Concerns (ACWAC) under the city mayor's office. This was achieved through Executive Order 17, series of 1994. Over time, however, ACCWAC proved to be an insufficient mechanism. While it showed the potential of the city government to respond and work with women's grassroots

organizations, ACCWAC lacked support and funding. Despite its limitations, KKKA urged ACCWAC to implement the program to promote the welfare of women and to push the women's agenda further. In particular, it prompted ACCWAC to develop a comprehensive women's development program.

Building on preparatory work by a core group established as early as 1995, the women's month preparatory committee sought to give the observance of women's month its due significance, true to its historical roots, and the vision of the women's movement here and abroad. The committee designed the month as a period for surfacing the subjugation and exploitation of women within the context of political, economic, and social dynamics of society.

The year 1996 saw the formation of IMA Foundation. IMA strengthened the above center until it led the formation of ACWCC. IMA positioned itself at the core of the Women's Development and Resource Center (WDRC). This center raised funds mainly from national legislators, but should have also received a regular P2 million annual subsidy from the city local government channeled through IMA which was never materialized. IMA focused on organizing and supporting the organizational development of KKKA through education and training. Further, while the basis of a women's movement in the city was firmly in place through KKKA, IMA also launched small, community-based livelihood enterprises and began developing its other programs on crisis intervention, research, information, advocacy, and linkages. In addition, it held "how to run and win" seminars for women candidates for barangay posts. As a result, 50% of the women trained were elected as barangay officials. IMA's executive director, Susan Pineda, was elected as the lone woman city councilor in 1995.

WOMEN'S AGENDA

The ACWCC saw the need to draw up a comprehensive plan for mainstreaming women in the development activities undertaken by the city, given that they account for half of the population. The aim of the plan was to come up with strategies to address the plight of women, through their active participation, and integrate these strategies in the programs and policies of the local government.

Thus, a series of Women's Summits were held in 1997 and 1998. In March 1997, ACWCC gathered a diverse group of participants to delve into the issue of

prostitution of women and children in Angeles City. The gathering forged a common understanding on the situation and issues of women in the city and an agreement on the interventions necessary to alleviate the plight of prostituted women in particular and women in general.

The Women's Summit I, held on 10 March 1997, marked the framing of the Women's Agenda. This agenda would serve as the blueprint for the joint advocacy work and interventions of the government and NGOs working on women and children's concerns towards the implementation of a development program that is truly representative of their interests and sentiments.

This was followed by the Women's Summit II held on 24 March 1997. This saw the actual drafting of the Angeles City Women's Agenda, the basis for drawing up the comprehensive women's development program for the city. The following year, the Women's Summit III highlighted the significant events that had transpired during the previous summits. More concretely, it "reviewed and assessed the victories and failures of activities conducted; provided the opportunity to learn more about gender planning and the GAD Council; included action planning and renewed the commitment of the ACWCC members for the upliftment of the status of women in society."

Partnership towards the enactment of the GAD ordinance

ACWCC's advocacy then entered the legislative arena. Invoking RA 7192, the government's commitments to the Beijing Platform for Action and other national policies and measures that mandated the automatic appropriation for GAD programs and projects in government agencies, including the local government, ACWCC lobbied hard for the passing of a city ordinance that would enshrine the GAD budget and the creation of a GAD council.

Sponsored by Councilor Susan Pineda, the Angeles City GAD ordinance was passed in 1998 after almost two years of lobby work from women's group. The GAD ordinance was based on the right of local governments to enact local laws that support and strengthen national laws. It sought to implement the joint memorandum from the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) and the Department of Budget and Management (DBM) that local

governments should use a minimum of 5% of their internal revenue allotment (IRA) for gender-related projects. However, the city's GAD ordinance moved beyond the joint memorandum, in that it stated that the GAD fund should be 5% of the general fund rather than only the IRA allocation.

The GAD ordinance of 1998, which pioneered local GAD legislation in the country, was passed by the city council shortly before the elections. Mayor Pamintuan, during whose term the ordinance was promulgated, opted to run for Congress but lost. The leadership of Angeles City meanwhile was passed on to Carmelo Lazatin.

The new mayor, while a former congressional representative, had provided a portion of his countrywide development fund for the construction of WDRC. However, upon his assumption as mayor, the city government immediately terminated the subsidy for WDRC. Mayor Lazatin's administration also approved amendments to the GAD ordinance as discussed below. This amended version, Ordinance No. 90, series of 1999, now forms the basis of the GAD budget of Angeles. Under the mayor's office, an office has also been established, with an officer to oversee the implementation of GAD activities.

GAD ORDINANCE OF ANGELES CITY

Legal basis

The original version of the GAD ordinance in Angeles was entitled "An Ordinance Creating the City and Barangay GAD Council of Angeles City". It was promulgated on 25 March 1998, barely two months before the 11 May elections. It draws its mandate from international agreements to which the Philippines is a signatory. For example, it cites the provisions of the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women for the state to "take all appropriate measures to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental rights on the basis of equality with men."

The ordinance also cites the Philippine Constitution and RA 7192 as two pieces of legislation that espouse equality of women and men before the law. The Local Government Code of 1991 also provides that women's representation and

participation in community development and nation-building shall be encouraged. Two national documents which provide the basis for GAD budgeting are: the RA 8250 (Gender-responsive Projects of the General Appropriations Act of 1997), which enjoins all departments of government to set aside 5% of their appropriation for projects designed to address gender issues and the Local Budget Memorandum of DBM No. 28 which states that a minimum of 5% of the 1998 appropriation shall be set aside for projects that address gender issues in accordance with RA 7192.

Ordinance No. 90 cites the same national and international documents. It also pays tribute to the initiatives and concerted efforts of ACWCC for having formulated a “development framework and plan for the women of Angeles City,” thus resulting in the passage of the GAD ordinance.

Implementing mechanism

Ordinance No. 82 provides for GAD councils at both the barangay and city levels. At the barangay level, the council is composed of two representatives from the barangay council in the form of heads of committees on women and on finance and appropriations. NGOs operating in the barangay also sit in the council and constitute at least one-third of the full GAD council. Other representatives of local agencies can be called upon to assist in the formulation of barangay GAD plans and programs.

At the city level, the GAD council consists of the following members:

- ♦ representatives of local government agencies with women’s programs, who make up at least one-third of the members;
- ♦ representatives of NGOs operating in the city, who constitute another third of the council;
- ♦ the president of the Association of Barangay Captains in Angeles City; and
- ♦ any other official of a local agency who might be called upon to assist in the formulation of GAD plans and programs.

Ordinance No. 82 also stipulates for the representation of ACWCC in the GAD council.

The two councils were co-chaired by local government and civil society representatives. In the barangay GAD council, the chairs are a barangay captain (*punong barangay*) and an elected representative of women NGOs. In the city GAD council, the structure is chaired by an elected president of ACWCC with the city mayor as honorary head.

After the new mayor took over in June 1998, the GAD council envisioned in the first version of the ordinance did not have a chance to be constituted. Instead, in 1999, amendments were enacted by Ordinance No. 90 which replaced the original provisions.

To begin with, the barangay-level GAD councils were abolished. Second, the city GAD council was retained but with changes in its structure. The city mayor now sits as co-chair rather than as honorary chair. The NGO co-chair is an elected representative of women NGOs in Angeles and is not necessarily an ACWCC member. Representatives of four offices under the mayor are mandated to sit in the GAD council: the city social welfare and development officer, the city health officer, the city population officer, and the city planning officer. The chair of the committee on women of the city council is also a member along with representatives of the Pederasyon ng mga Sangguniang Kabataan (youth council), the Association of Barangay Captains, and a government sector chosen by the mayor. Finally, there should be a GAD officer in the council who has to meet certain qualifications and is appointed by the mayor.

Ordinance No. 82 required the creation of an executive committee in both barangay and city-level GAD councils. The barangay chair and the mayor, respectively, were to head the two executive committees, which were to be co-chaired by a representative of a women’s NGO. The ordinance also specifies the formation of functional committees. In Ordinance No. 90, the executive committee was retained and tasked to form functional committees. The committee is now co-chaired by the mayor and the chair of the committee on women.

ACWCC was named as the secretariat of the GAD council in 1998. It was tasked with the provision of technical support, documentation of proceedings, and preparation of reports. In the 1999 version of the GAD ordinance, this responsibility is given to “any non-governmental organization or education/research institution.” The choice of council secretariat has thus been extended to include institutions other than ACWCC.

A GAD secretariat office has also been created under the office of the mayor with an officer responsible for providing administrative and technical support to the GAD council and for supervising and monitoring GAD activities in the city.

Powers and duties of the GAD council

In both versions of the GAD ordinance, the GAD council has the responsibility for ensuring the promotion of welfare of women in the city. Among its duties are the formulation of GAD plans, identification of women's issues, monitoring and evaluation of national and local GAD projects, establishment of consultative mechanisms between government and women, and maintenance of a databank.

In the amended ordinance, the following duties were added: (1) determining gender issues in the city; (2) prioritizing issues so as to draw up targets, strategies, and objectives of the GAD council; (3) estimating needed resources for gender-sensitive and responsive planning and conducting seminars on it.

The GAD council is accountable to the Sanggunian (city council), which must approve or ratify its policies, programs, and projects. Consistent with gender mainstreaming, a provision is included for the integration of GAD plans in the city's comprehensive development plan. Finally, the city's relationship with NCRFW is defined. The city's GAD plans are to be submitted to NCRFW "to help them determine the kind of technical assistance they (the cities) need in implementing GAD plans".

Features of the GAD budget

Both ordinances specify the allocation of a minimum of 5% of the annual general appropriation for GAD activities. This GAD fund is to be spent on gender mainstreaming, setting up GAD focal points and other institutional mechanisms, and for women-specific programs and plans.

In the original ordinance, mandatory budget allocations from the 5% GAD budget were stipulated, namely:

- ♦ 20% for women-directed programs of the city's social welfare and development office;
- ♦ 15% for programs of WDRC;

- ♦ 10% for secretariat and executive committee; and
- ♦ 55% for plans and programs of the city GAD council.

The amended version of the ordinance removes these stipulations. Instead, it now allows for the following expenditures:

- ♦ personnel services, such as salaries of workers directly engaged in GAD programs and activities;
- ♦ operating expenses incurred for managing women's shelter, health project, and training program, among others; and
- ♦ capital outlay for building and equipping women's shelters and training centers.

Instead of including mandatory provisions for budget allocation, the amended ordinance specifies the following priority areas for GAD budget:

- ♦ education and human resources development;
- ♦ health, nutrition, and family planning;
- ♦ social welfare and community development, e.g., day care centers, senior citizens, and persons with disability;
- ♦ labor and employment; and
- ♦ special concerns on women and: migration, prostitution, violence, family, and indigenous cultural communities.

The original version of the GAD ordinance included a penalty clause. Persons "violating, delaying, directly or indirectly instrumental in the non-implementation" of the ordinance were to be fined and/or imprisoned for a maximum of one year. This section was deleted in the amended version of the ordinance, diminishing its forcefulness.

Comparative analysis of the GAD ordinance

The GAD ordinance traces its history to the concerted efforts of civil society groups to formulate an institutional mechanism for enhancing gender equality and women's rights. Thus, it is to be expected that the original version of the

ordinance provides an important role for them in the form of ACWCC. The amended ordinance, while acknowledging the historical role of ACWCC, removes its special role in implementation. Rather, the GAD council is opened to the broader spectrum of women NGOs and POs in Angeles City.

This change, however, allows for a fuller representation of organizations working on gender issues in the city. On the other hand, the amendment appears to be the result of partisan politics. The author of the original version, Susan Pineda had become a member of the minority party. The authors of the amended version are all men and belong to the administration party in Angeles City. The original author and her group have, through the amendment, been dislodged from being key players in the implementation of the GAD ordinance.

Another important change is that the GAD council now has a secretariat office housed in the office of the mayor, while the latter is co-chair of the council. Again, this change diminishes the role of NGOs in the implementation of GAD plans. In addition, the creation of the GAD office eats into the minimum 5% GAD budget because it becomes necessary to fund the structure and operations of the office. In the original version of the ordinance, this expense, which was partly absorbed by ACWCC, could have been better used on gender-directed projects rather than on salaries, equipments and vehicle.

Control over the GAD budget, plans, and programs is now with the office of the mayor. From the point of view of mainstreaming praxis, and disregarding partisan politics, making the mayor directly accountable for the GAD budget is a welcome move. It gives importance and credibility to GAD policies, plans, and projects. In other local and even national government agencies, NCRFW has recommended that a similar status be given to the entity in charge of GAD. This is based on the fact that, in a bureaucracy, orders from top management are more likely to be implemented. The mayor's stamp of approval on GAD activities makes them difficult to ignore.

However, for mainstreaming to be more fully realized, it would have been a better option to lodge the secretariat in the city's planning office or development council. In this way, the confluence between other development plans and GAD agenda would have been facilitated. This location would also have enabled the city to integrate gender issues more easily in its other development interventions.

Critics of the political dynamics in Angeles City also noted that, with the GAD office directly under the office of the mayor, this gives him the last say in the implementation of GAD plans. This has shifted the responsibility for seeing to their implementation from committed women's groups to elected government officials whose vision of GAD still needs to be developed.

The amendments for use of the GAD budget provide greater leeway in allocation, so long as a program could be justified to be GAD-related. Indeed, the absence of a GAD plan necessitates a judgment call for each project implemented through the GAD budget. Though a Women's Comprehensive Agenda has been drafted by the ACWCC with the city government in consultation with civil society and formally adopted by the city council as part of its Medium-term Development Plan, the new administration never even lifted a finger to review or implement it.

Allocations for capital outlay and equipment are also now allowed, a feature that was absent in the original GAD ordinance. Funds for programs of the GAD council are not guaranteed, and it is unclear whether it is to be involved in allocating budgets for salaries, operating expenses, and the like, which are charged to the GAD budget.

Despite these difference and difficulties, the continuing promulgation of a GAD ordinance which institutionalizes a GAD council and a GAD budget in Angeles City is significant. It demonstrates to NGOs that a local government may welcome mechanisms, programs, and plans that advance GAD. The ordinance shows, too, that GAD goals can be mainstreamed with those of the local government even though there may sometimes be hidden political agendas. It is a proof of the wisdom of listening to the agenda for women of civil society, incorporating their interests in local government planning processes, and working with them for the improvement of the situation of disadvantaged people.

ROLES AND VIEWS OF KEY PLAYERS IN THE GAD BUDGET

The planning and implementation of development programs is a complex process that involves a host of organizations and sectors. As described above, women's organizations were the prime movers in promoting a GAD budget in

Angeles City. The vision of a gender-equal society and the commitments to women's concerns of various NGOs and POs stoked the fires that led to the realization of a Women's Agenda for Angeles City. The clear understanding of institutional mechanisms needed to address gender issues lit the way towards the enactment of a GAD ordinance. The efforts of the organizations, however, bore fruit only through the cooperation and informed action of the mayor and the city council. Without the partnership forged between civil society groups and local government in Angeles City, a GAD ordinance would never have been realized.

In the absence of a GAD plan, the new city officials and GAD focal person should have started the efforts for GAD mainstreaming by reviewing the drafted and adopted Women's Agenda of the city government.

An important facet of the story of the GAD budget in Angeles City, therefore, has to do with a thorough understanding of the various players responsible for the non-implementation of the Women's Agenda, the enactment of GAD ordinance, and its continuing implementation.

Member organizations of ACWCC

If there is one single characteristic that has served as the strength of ACWCC as a coalition, it is the diversity of the member organizations. ACWCC is a coalition advocating not mainly gender issues though majority of its members are women's organizations. It includes mixed groups servicing youth and children. It is also multisectoral. ACWCC's members are a combination of POs, NGOs, and middle-level civic organizations embracing different political persuasions and religious backgrounds.

Further, although the majority of the core group members are women's NGOs, these embrace diverse feminist philosophies. For example, they approach the work of empowering prostituted women from significantly different points of view. Some approach the issue with a strong activist stance while others place a premium on religious and spiritual formation and describe their work as "ministering".

These features not only form the perspectives of the coalition but enable it

also to reach a broader range of clients or beneficiaries. For a group that is undertaking advocacy, reaching to the widest audience possible is crucial and places it in a strategic position to influence policies.

The diversity of ACWCC creates a dynamic interaction within the formation. The member organizations bring different skills and experiences to the coalition. Some are more adept at advocacy and lobbying while others have the mass base and numbers and are able to enrich discussions with experiences and perspectives from the grassroots.

As with most coalitions, however, ACWCC has to cope with varying degrees of participation among members. IMA Foundation, serving as secretariat and lead convenor, pours in resources in the form of staff, time, equipment, and technical support. KKKA, a sister-organization, mobilizes and consolidates its members around the issues that the coalition adopts.

Despite the differences in perspectives and contributions, the coalition reached consensus on three major points in 1998:

- ♦ the need to address prostitution in Angeles City as a human rights violation;
- ♦ the need for a comprehensive, long-term, and sustainable gender program for the city; and
- ♦ the need for a commitment to work for equality and elimination of discrimination against women.

The independent and collective efforts of ACWCC members to address the plight of women, the continuing task of probing the roots of women's issues, and the search for relevant solutions led to the formulation of the Angeles City Women's Agenda. This, in turn, formed the basis for the comprehensive women's development program adopted by the city council through Resolution No. 877 of 1997.

Local government and gender advocacy

Angeles became a city in 1964. Under the mayor, the chief executive, are 17 departments and 9 sub-offices, which have responsibility over administrative, financial, and sectoral concerns.

In the task of governance, the mayor is assisted by the Sangguniang Panlungsod (city council). Chaired by the vice-mayor, the city council is made up of 12 councilors. Ten are elected while one sits as the president of the Association of Barangay Captains and another as the chair of the youth council. The council has 33 regular committees to oversee various aspects of governance.

The responsibility for implementation of the GAD ordinance, as discussed above, rests with the GAD council through the GAD secretariat office. Programs and projects are supposedly identified by the council, and documents for fund allocation are prepared by the secretariat. The city council studies the budget proposal and makes recommendations that go to the mayor for approval. There are, thus, three sets of players in implementing the GAD ordinance and its budget: the mayor, the GAD council, and secretariat; the city council; and the local government officials who prepare and disburse the budget. Below is a discussion of their views and plans on GAD and its budget.

Mayor

Gender and women's issues are not new to the mayor. During his incumbency as representative of the first district of Pampanga, he allocated a portion of his countrywide development fund for the construction of WDRC. Mayor Lazatin considers women's issues to revolve around livelihood opportunities, expansion of basic health services, assistance for day care, and improvement of overseas employment opportunities for women. He also wants to link GAD programs with his three E's project: environment, entrepreneurship, and empowerment.

Mayor Lazatin is proud of the centers currently being constructed within the city hall compound, i.e., a child-minding center, a women's crisis center, and a GAD resource center (this one, however, duplicates the function of WDRC). In terms of advancing the situation of migrant women, the mayor singles out his successful efforts at linking up potential overseas workers with a recruitment agency in the United Kingdom, where he believes exploitation is minimal.

The mayor denies that prostitution and white slavery are problems in Angeles City. He believes that his administration's drive to license nightclubs has done away with this problem. NGOs think otherwise, and point out that regulation has resulted in "illegal collections". Mayor Lazatin also notes that the city's ordinance

which requires entertainers to go to the government-run social hygiene clinic for pap smear prevents the spread of sexually transmitted diseases and AIDS. However, as noted above, only a small number of entertainers go to the clinic. Other GAD concerns were instead answered by the GAD officer during the interview.

GAD council and office

The GAD office's accomplishment report for January-October 2000 lists diverse activities: advocacy, health services and health insurance, credit assistance, a mass wedding project, and the Philippine National Police (PNP) awards. At first glance, many of these projects fitted into the priority areas for GAD budget specified by the amended ordinance. The projects were also in line with the mayor's own strategic vision for Angeles City which includes programs on health, education, infrastructure, and other social services. However, the GAD office could not provide hard figures to show the number of women and men who benefited from the different activities. The mass wedding project and the PNP awards suggested that the local government did not have a clear understanding of gender issues.

Two member organizations of ACWCC, Nutrition and Livelihood Resource Center, Inc. (NUTRILINC), and Women's Education, Development, Productivity and Research Organization (WEDPRO), are members of the GAD council. They are outnumbered by three other NGOs sympathetic to the present administration. Although ACWCC members have attended several meetings, they expressed frustration over the lack of planning and consultation in the disbursement of the GAD fund.

The present GAD officer served as congressional staff to several House representatives and later in the office of then Congressperson Lazatin. After her appointment to the position, she has done her best to learn about GAD. She considers her present work with the GAD council to be moving in the right direction and avers that its projects reach out to many women, especially the urban poor. She admits that there is prostitution in Angeles, but that her office is coordinating with other agencies to tackle the problem. However, she also states that the city cannot prevent women from going into prostitution as it is a more

lucrative job compared with others. Her expressed desire to run for public office in the 2001 elections made NGOs wary of her real motives in implementing GAD activities without the benefit of planning.

Councilors

The councilor who is the head of the committee on women is a man. He is one of the authors of the amended GAD ordinance, the chair of the committee on finance, and a trusted aide of the mayor. He admits that some of the revisions to the original GAD ordinance were intended to diminish the role of NGOs in the preparation and implementation of GAD plans and programs. He proposed these changes because he believes elected officials should be held accountable for government funds. He refers to this as “check-and-balance”. He says that ACWCC’s secretariat function was abolished as it represented only one type of NGO and does not speak for others in the city. Nonetheless, he would like the secretariat to work in partnership with NGOs so that it becomes more of a facilitating rather than an implementing mechanism of the GAD ordinance.

The councilor also admits that prostitution is a problem in Angeles City. Among prostituted women, he considers the “freelance sex workers” as more of a problem as they are unmonitored and are not compelled to visit the social hygiene clinic. These are the women, he says, that the NGOs need to assist. He would also like to see more interventions dealing with violence against women such as free legal assistance to victims. He concurs that NGOs have a lot to contribute to the advancement of the status of women although he himself has not worked on these issues before.

The councilor expresses disappointment about the GAD office’s operations while admitting that he gave blanket authority to the GAD officer. He states that, ideally, the GAD office should work closely with NGOs and function as a steering committee, assist in capability-building of organizations, and gather and analyze data on the city’s women for planning purposes. He notes that a GAD assembly or consultation has not materialized and that GAD funds are sometimes used for non-GAD items.

Two councilors representing the minority bloc within the city council agree

that the GAD ordinance is not being implemented in ways that empower women. Because there is no comprehensive GAD plan, the money is not spent appropriately, and is sometimes even diverted to cover costs that should otherwise be funded by the regular budget. Both councilors also deplore the fact that the lone woman councilor in the city was stripped of her position as chair of the committee on women because she is a member of the opposition.

As part of the opposition group in the city council, these councilors are often left out of the budget planning process. Instead, they have acted as fiscalizers or “watchdogs”, using their privilege speeches to ensure that the GAD budget be a separate line item in the city budget proposal and that the GAD ordinance be implemented. They have also used the media and other public fora to air their opinion that the city needs to formulate a development plan and to be transparent in its budgeting and expenditure processes.

Councilor Susan Pineda, author of the original GAD ordinance, avers that programs currently funded by the GAD budget are not directly addressing gender issues. She believes that efforts to institutionalize the GAD council have been derailed because funds have been spent instead on vehicle purchases and for the GAD office’s operational expenses. Regular programs were incorporated in the GAD fund, resulting in token compliance and mere attribution rather than a real reorientation of spending. Councilor Pineda also states that the total budget of Angeles City, not only the GAD budget, should address the interrelationships among women, poverty, and other issues to make the remaining 95% of the city budget more gender responsive.

Planning, budget, and finance officials

The city treasurer, budget officer, and accountant are responsible for ensuring that funds allocated to GAD budget are made available. All three officials in Angeles City know that 5% of the city’s budget should be allocated to GAD fund in compliance with both the memo circular from DBM and the GAD ordinance. However, they admit to being unfamiliar with international and national proclamations on GAD and have only a cursory acquaintance with RA 7192.

Despite their unfamiliarity with GAD, none of the officials think the 5% is a wasted allocation. They concur that spending the GAD fund for health, day care,

livelihood, training, and interventions for violence against women address women's issues in Angeles City. They all think that the 5% allocation is sufficient and that the best way to address gender issues is for the local government to work more closely with NGOs.

Despite these perspectives, the GAD council's programs are not integrated into those of the Development Council of Angeles City (DCAC). Although DCAC is a member of GAD council, it does not take part in planning and preparing GAD-related programs. The DCAC officer, in fact, attends the GAD council meetings only if she has time and to represent DCAC rather than to participate in its deliberations. She states that there is no need to integrate gender in the DCAC plans since there is a separate GAD office in charge of mainstreaming GAD concerns.

HOW THE GAD BUDGET IS SOURCED, ALLOCATED, AND SPENT

City revenues

The bulk of the city's revenue comes from the Bureau of Internal Revenue in the form of IRA. In 1999, IRA accounted for 62% of Angeles City's total budget of ₱317.63 million.

Beyond IRA, the city government's revenues come mainly from real property and local taxes. In 1999, real property taxes contributed close to 10% of the income. Business taxes contributed about 7% and amusement taxes, 2%. Further revenue came from franchise, community, and transfer taxes as well as fees generated from banks, moneylenders, and pawnshops. Among the revenues from 1999 operations, the biggest chunk came from mayor's permits, followed by building permits and garbage fees. Revenues from government economic enterprises constituted 5.3% of the city's income.

Fees paid by women for pap smear examinations amounted to ₱600,000, making up 0.3% of the city's income. The pap smear or gram staining fee collected by the social hygiene clinic is ₱20 and each entertainer is supposed to be tested on a weekly basis. Half of the amount goes to city coffers while the other half goes to the local bar/karaoke association. Annually, the entertainers as well as

food handlers in such establishments are also required to undergo lung x-rays. The city also collects a fee for the issuance or renewal of IDs for women entertainers.

The city receives revenue from the Philippine Amusement and Gaming Corporation (PACGOR), which operates a casino in the city. In 1999, financial contribution from PAGCOR amounted to ₱21 million, or 6.6% of total revenue.

Other sources of revenue include donations from the private sector, financial assistance from the national government, official development assistance, and countrywide development funds from Congress persons. The city government has memoranda of agreement with international organizations such as the Program for Appropriate Technology in Health (PATH) Foundation for provision of emergency contraception; the United States Agency for International Development for ₱1.6 million trust fund for family planning and child survival programs; and the United Nations Children's Fund for provision of medicines.

The city government claims to have sourced funds from the Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). However, CIDA contributed money through a Canadian-based NGO to implement a five-year capability-building project to prostituted women in partnership with the Soroptimists International-Angeles City chapter and WEDPRO. The construction of a drop-in center for women was the counterpart of the city government which was funded by the GAD funds.

The city government has not, to date, incurred any deficit in its budget. Rather, it has maintained a surplus. From 1991 to 1999, revenue has continuously risen, belying the notion that the city was dependent on the US base for its prosperity. In 2000, the budget rose to ₱331 million, an increase of ₱13.5 million over that of 1999.

The city does not have records of how much women contribute in terms of real property, business, and community taxes. It does not have records of what proportion of business taxes comes from entertainment establishments that employ women or of how many mayor's permits are attributable to women.

Budget formulation

The Angeles City government follows the same budget process of other local governments (see Figure 1). The city accountant, together with the city council's

finance committee, city budget officer, and mayor, discuss the projected revenue collection. Each office of the local government specifies its priority projects and submits its budget for the following year to the mayor for approval. Then the budget is presented to the city council for review and approval.

The process of formulating the GAD budget is similar to the preparation of the city budget, but is coordinated by the GAD council. However, as shown in Figure 2, before finalizing the GAD budget, the officer takes the draft to the Commission on Audit (COA) for checking. In 1999, COA rejected some projects. Nevertheless, the 5% GAD budget is always appropriated since the head of the finance committee also chairs the women committee.

Contradictory to the ideal sequence of the process, NGO members of the GAD council stated that they were not consulted nor provided an opportunity to have their say on budget allocations for the previously implemented GAD projects.

For allocations of the GAD budget in 2000, see Table 1. The classification of programs, projects, and activities by priority areas as delineated in the GAD ordinance and budget allocations is given in Table 2.

The biggest proportion (29%) of the 2000 GAD budget was spent on special concerns such as for women's month celebration, anti-drug abuse council, blood bank, assistance to NGOs and POs, and PNP awards. Projects on health and community development follow closely. Here, the largest allocation was for day care workers, followed by maintenance of the GAD office rather than by employment or education programs.

The GAD officer and the mayor perceive all the projects to be directly related to gender concerns. However, ACWCC members object to this perception. They think that items, such as salaries of day care workers, medical assistance to senior

Figure 1. The budget process in Angeles City.

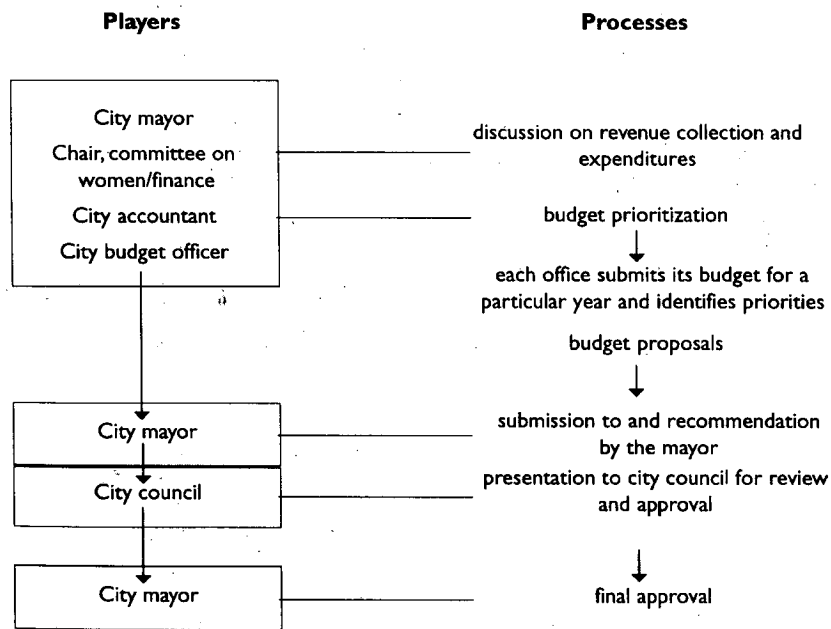


Figure 2. The GAD budget process.

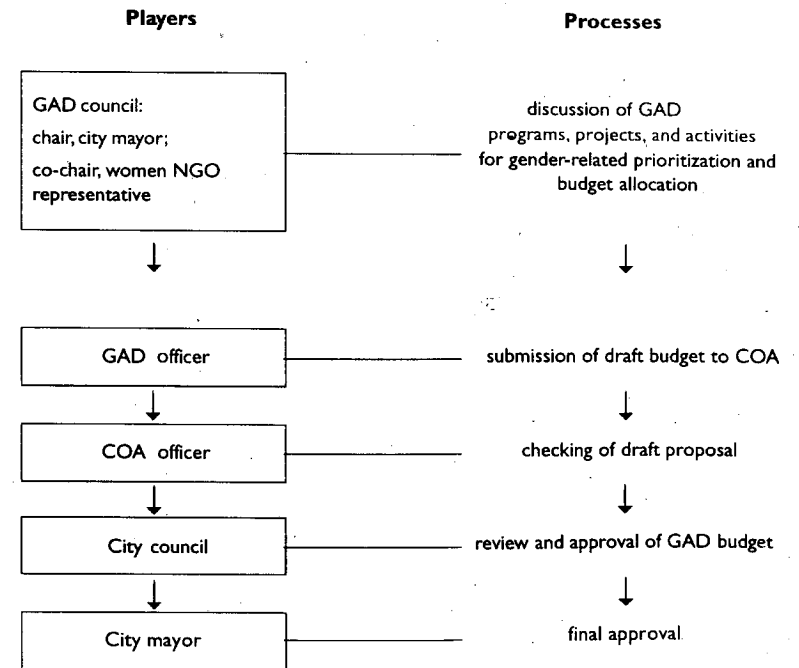


Table 1. GAD budget appropriations (P), 2000.

GAD budget	Budget category		
	Definitely GAD-targeted (direct services/programs in the area)	Maybe GAD-targeted	Certainly not GAD-targeted
Executive budget Mayor's office 1,256,380.00	Honoraria for day care workers	Health affairs monitoring program	AC anti-drug abuse council
Non-office 4,919,111.20	Legal/financial assistance to sexually abused women		Blood bank
	Women's month celebration		
Total 6,175,491.20	Financial assistance to women POs and NGOs GAD office operations		
Supplemental budget I 1,131,413.24	Youth gender sensitivity development program Women-initiated livelihood project	Scholarship program	
Supplemental budget II 2,004,596.15	Women-initiated livelihood project GAD office operations Sapangbato day care center	AC health insurance program Philhealth advocacy program Aetas' gender sensitivity program Senior citizens' medical assistance Purchase of medicines Scholarship program	PNP award

citizens, purchase of medicine, and funding for health insurance should be charged to the executive budget. They say that direct relationship between gender equality goals, on the one hand, and drug abuse or blood bank, on the other hand, is not readily evident. Women-specific projects have not received substantial allocations, compared to those reserved for salaries and office maintenance. They find the GAD budget as mere attribution and superficial in nature because it does not address the distinct and specific needs of women of which the GAD ordinance was really intended for.

Longwe's (1990) well-known framework of women's equality and empowerment uses a classification of welfare, access, participation, conscientization, and control. Using this framework, a large proportion of the budget is seen to enhance women's welfare. Items for allocation include health and nutrition programs, social welfare and community development, and undetermined assistance to sexually abused women. Access to education is supported by the scholarship program, but there are no available data on the number of women and men assisted. The city health officer said that, as of October 2000, a total of 12,000 indigent beneficiaries were able to use Philhealth insurance. How many of them were women could not be ascertained. Livelihood subsidies may enable more women to participate in paid work. The gender sensitivity program for the youth and for the Aetas (indigenous group in Pampanga) is an opportunity to raise their consciousness on gender issues.

Table 2. Programs, projects, and activities, as classified by priority areas delineated in GAD ordinance and budget allocations.

GAD priority areas (and no. of programs, projects, and activities)	Allocation (P)	%
Education and human resources development (3)	979,613.32	11
Health, nutrition, and family planning (5)	1,896,596.15	20
Social welfare and community development (2)	1,775,918.20	19
Labor and employment (3)	581,799.92	6
Special concerns (6)	2,719,193.00	29
GAD office	1,358,976.15	15
Total	9,312,096.74	100

Angeles City executive budget 2000 = 320,000,000
Supposed GAD budget allocation (5%) = 16,000,000

Actual GAD budget allocation (2.9%) = 9,311,500.59
GAD deficit in regular budget (2.1%) = 6,688,499.41

Missing are programs, firstly, that affirm women's right to be perceived as respectable individuals and not commodities for pleasure and, secondly, interventions that seek to change male perceptions of their superior status. These interventions would raise awareness on the meaning of gender equality. Employment schemes that open wider opportunities for women to participate in gainful work other than in entertainment would also be more in line with gender goals. Capability-building programs that empower women to take control over their situation and to be decisionmakers in the workplace and the community (for example, as managers, organizers, labor or community leaders) could also hasten the empowerment process.

But perhaps the harshest criticism that has been leveled against GAD budget is that it was prepared without due consultation with the citizenry. As a consequence, there is no written plan that can be used for allocations of the budget. The GAD officer, the chair of the finance/women committee, and the mayor have been the principal actors in making the allocations.

Despite these observations, Angeles City must still be commended for implementing a GAD budget, as this is not done by the overwhelming majority of local governments in the country. Moreover, the city has increased its allocations under the GAD program within the short span of two years.

Expenditures on allocations

Budget analysis often reveals a difference between allocations and expenditures. This subsection discusses this matter, with focus on the year 1999, when a lump sum of P4 million was allotted to GAD office. The biggest single expenditure was for capital outlay, which ate up 33% of the GAD fund. This was followed by expenditures for GAD office and for a community organizer. In summary, these alone comprise already the 70% of the fund while a measly 30% went to gender-related programs. Among the programs implemented in 1999, grants and scholarships were the biggest line item followed by expenses on discretionary fund. There were also disbursements for training and seminars.

Expenditures against the 1999 GAD fund amounted to only P1.69 million, representing 42% of GAD budget. Thus, a sizable proportion of the funds for gender concerns failed to be translated into programs.

A status report by the GAD office covering the period December 1999-October 2000 showed the expenditure for the GAD program. The Gender Empowerment Fund (GEF) for 25-35 women NGOs and POs had the largest chunk of the budget, at P1.4 million. However, the amount has not yet been released at the time of writing this paper, despite the fact that it was already reflected as released and disbursed.

The Women Health, Empowerment, Affirmation and Life (HEAL) Project registered an expenditure of P500,000. This project assisted women victims of violence and cancer patients. To date, there have been 150 recipients. A P10,000 donation was also given to the mother of a rape victim.

The third largest GAD fund expenditure went to such activities as women's day parade; fora on women's rights, empowerment, and leadership; seminars on women's health, maternal care, and entrepreneurship (Entrepinay Sharing-forum) and gender sensitivity; and a cataract operation.

The rest of the GAD budget was spent on projects such as Konsiyerto Handog sa Kababaihan (a concert for women – P60,000), the Aetas livelihood and gender-sensitivity project (P50,000), and GAD advocacy for youth.

However, contrary to the GAD report, said allocated budgets were not totally expended as reflected in the approved supplemental budgets of the city council. Various GAD funds were reverted back to the general fund of the city, such as the GAD day care center/child-minding center, financial assistance to women NGO, legal assistance program, construction of a rape crisis center, and other gender related programs. Succeeding years of approved supplemental budgets would likewise reveal the unused GAD funds which were reverted back to the general funds. Supplemental budget no. 1 of year 2001 revealed that an amount of P1,391,974.64, excluding others, from GAD funds was not utilized in year 2000. This occurred at a point where the government has not released its pending unpaid financial obligation to ACWCC for services it has sought to be rendered on behalf of the government.

GAD budgeting in the community

Four barangays were visited to determine their experiences with GAD budget. In three barangays, there was a 5% GAD fund created from the IRA because the officials were familiar with the DBM circular and GAD ordinance. The captain in the fourth barangay was not aware of the mandatory allocation for GAD.

The magnitude of the GAD fund in the three complying barangays was as follows: (1) barangay Sta. Teresita – P89,000 (5% of 20% allotment for development); (2) barangay Pulongbulo – P105,101 (5% of IRA); and (3) barangay Lourdes Sur – P56,000 (4.7% of IRA).

The processes of budgeting and interpreting the allocation of GAD budget varied. In one barangay, the GAD fund was interpreted to mean 5% of the 20% allotment for development projects rather than 5% of total IRA. In two barangays, the barangay captain drafted the budget while in another community, the barangay treasurer did that. However, in all cases, the draft budget was presented to the respective barangay council, which often approved it without revisions.

The GAD budget of the three complying barangays is used as “bridge funds” to pay for costs not covered by the regular budgets. Hence, it has been used to pay for allowances or salaries of barangay personnel, who include outreach, development, and day care workers; nutrition scholars; janitors; drivers; messengers; and security guards.

JUDGEMENT ABOUT GENDER RELATIONS

The remaining 95%

Priorities of the city

Appropriations of the Angeles City general budget in 1999 and 2000 were allocated according to the line items of personal services; maintenance and operating expenses; subsidy to national field offices; budgetary aid to component barangays; GAD program; development fund for human and ecological security (HES) initiative; institutional development projects; and other expenditures. The rest was allotted to mandatory provisions, such as 5% for GAD and 20% for development fund.

In 1999 and 2000, 60–65% of the budget went to salaries of city employees. In the present administration of Angeles City, the priority program areas of the mayor are health, education, infrastructure, and provision of other social services. Except for infrastructure, all the other areas of concern are also in the GAD program.

In the executive budget for 1999, the biggest item under non-office appropriations was for PNP, followed by funding for community health service program and calamity assistance. In 2000, the PNP again had the largest budget, followed by the scholarship program and purchase of medicines.

Gender

Gender mainstreaming in local development plans means that concern for gender issues is integrated in all local government’s plans and programs and their corresponding budget allocations. In Angeles City, the perspectives of local officials are divided. Some say that the programs supported by the 5% mandatory allocation for GAD are sufficient. Others observe that aspects of the main budget also benefit women and thus, the city’s budget for them is already more than 5%. NGOs maintain that a comprehensive development plan for women should guide the total budget planning. The plan should benefit men and women equally, particularly in terms of promoting human rights, gender equality, and women’s empowerment.

Taking these different viewpoints into consideration, gender-related allocations under the executive budget of the city were analyzed. The research was hampered by the fact that Angeles City has no comprehensive development plan on which the examination of the available data can be anchored. Presented below are attributes of the possible gender-related impacts of particular line items.

The guideposts in selecting programs, projects, and activities were those incorporated in the GAD ordinance and the goals of the Philippine Plan for Gender Responsive Development (PPGRD). Then, each line item was evaluated in terms of potential impacts on enhancing gender equality and empowerment. In essence, the analyzed programs, projects, and activities included the following:

- ♦ education and human resources development;

- ♦ health, nutrition, and family planning;
- ♦ social welfare and community development;
- ♦ employment and livelihood;
- ♦ gender equality;
- ♦ women's empowerment;
- ♦ sustainable development;
- ♦ peace, social justice, and respect for human rights.

Education and human resources development. The main impact here of the executive budget will be through the city's scholarship programs. In 1999, ₱1.5 million was allotted to this item, and this was doubled in 2000. The number of selected scholars who are women is not known, a figure which would help determine the impacts of the scholarships on women's empowerment through education.

Health, nutrition, and family planning. More than ₱9 million was provided for health concerns in 1999. The biggest allocations were for the barangay health services program and the city's nutrition program. In 2000, the health-related budget decreased to ₱6.8 million, with almost half of the allocations going to the nutrition program and the purchase of medicines.

Some 55% of the city health office's ₱26 million annual budget goes to personnel services, and ₱4 or ₱5 million to medicine, aside from supplies used during calamities. The office has a staff of 140, among whom are 8 doctors, 8 nurses, 36 midwives, sanitation inspectors, and staff of the population office and the social hygiene clinic. The latter plans to change its name to Reproductive Health and Wellness Center and to mainstream its services in line with the provisions of the Anti-AIDS Ordinance which ACWCC also actively advocated for. For 2001, 10% of the 5% GAD fund taken from the general fund should go to the RHWC.

All three major budget items on health and nutrition in the past two years involved the direct participation of women as health providers in the family and as implementers of such programs in communities. Thus, these subsidies enhance access to public services that women need. Salaries and allowances for barangay health and nutrition workers, who are usually women, also provide support. For families in barangays, health and nutrition programs improve welfare.

Social welfare and community development. There were three items in this category which received allocations in 1999: honoraria for day care workers, funds for the subcommittee on the welfare of children and implementation of the Social Reform Agenda, and food packages. The allocation for day care workers was shifted to GAD fund. Their services have clear impacts on women who become free for employment and other activities. These also supplement children's learning, activities for which are often undertaken by women. Thus, these programs enhance the welfare of women and men.

Employment and livelihood. Only two items were earmarked for livelihood programs in 2000 — livelihood assistance to urban poor and subsidy for the Angeles City Credit Union. Depending on the degree to which women have access to these funds, they can have a gender impact in terms of equalizing livelihood opportunities.

Gender equality. There are no specific line items in the executive budget that can be related directly to this goal of PPGRD. However, insofar as access to health, education, and social welfare programs is equal for women and men, some of the allocations mentioned above may have gender impacts. The extent to which this is true can only be ascertained by examining implementation reports that provide disaggregated data.

Women's empowerment. This can take many forms. It can be achieved through providing opportunities for education (e.g., scholarships); for girls to organize themselves so as to develop and express their talents and potentials (e.g., subsidy for Girl Scouts); for consciousness-raising (i.e., gender sensitization). The Angeles City executive budget has responded to the empowerment objectives of GAD in these ways. However, the allocations are considerably less than those for salaries of health and day care workers and for health programs.

Sustainable development. The conservation of the environment is a gender goal. Human choices and capabilities are curtailed by damage to the environment and natural resources. Subsidies for a clean and green program as well as for disaster awareness and information program help raise the consciousness of women and men concerning their environment. If women help implement the program, then they have also been participants in a program for sustainable development. In 1999, the program received an allocation of ₱1 million. Unfortunately, the item disappeared from the 2000 budget.

Peace, social justice, and respect for human rights. Only one item in the main budget can be classified as responding to the GAD goal of peace and social justice, i.e., the People's Law Enforcement Board. None can be categorized as belonging to the category of respect for human rights. These concerns are, however, included in the GAD programs.

GAD-related expenditures on the executive budget

This section describes actual expenditures of the non-GAD parts of the budget in 1999. Allocations for community welfare programs of the city government were well-utilized. More than 90% of allocations for community health services and for honoraria of barangay and day care workers were expended. Additional expenses were incurred for barangay health workers using HES allocation. Similarly, close to 90% of PAGCOR funds for scholarships were spent although only a third of the allocation was disbursed.

Less than half of the funds for the AIDS council, population program, and subcommittee for the welfare of children were expended. No programs were implemented under the employment and livelihood program. Neither was there any disbursement reported under the Social Reform Agenda or the support to food packages in 1999, although these programs were included in the budget. Overall, about 74% of 1999 allocations for programs that could have direct impact on women, using PAGCOR funds, were expended. Only 25% of HES budget for similar items was spent.

In the absence of more information, it is difficult to explain the expenditure patterns of Angeles City. Available documents failed to indicate why there was underspending on some items and whether funds were diverted for other purposes. What was nevertheless clear was that there was plenty of money to spare for projects that could benefit women, both in the GAD fund and in the rest of the executive budget. It appears also that the several reverted GAD funds to the general funds indicate that there is enough financial resources which remained untapped and unutilized. Such funds could have changed the status of women in addressing various gender inequality and development issues.

GAINS AND SETBACKS: PERCEIVED IMPACTS OF THE GAD ORDINANCE AND BUDGET

The viewpoint from barangays

In the final analysis, the value of the GAD ordinance and its budget hinges on the extent to which they improve the situation of the intended beneficiaries in the city. Since many of the items budgeted for in the past two years were for people in the communities, the barangay leaders were asked to indicate how they thought the GAD budget has improved their lives.

In all four barangays visited, there were beneficiaries of GAD fund subsidy for health insurance to indigent individuals. One informant alleged that at least half of the recipients in his barangay were women. As few as 46 to as many as 300 individuals in separate barangays have been beneficiaries of PhilHealth. In one barangay, scholarships have also benefited 20 girls and women who received awards for high school, college, or vocational courses.

From the regular budget of the city, microcredit programs have reached the barangays, or are being planned for implementation by the city social welfare and development office. In Lourdes Sur, 30 women benefited from these programs.

Community-based projects of GAD council have certainly benefited urban poor women in Angeles City especially in terms of access to health insurance. Education scholarships have the potential to empower recipients since skills and knowledge open up opportunities for their productivity. The GAD fund has also been used to subsidize salaries and honoraria of barangay workers, specifically day care and health workers, who are usually women.

What was missing in all these programs, however, was the direct effort to extend benefits and subsidies to the underprivileged on account of gender issues. It would be more clearly a GAD program if an advocacy or information component was included in such programs. For instance, prior to extending PhilHealth benefits, there should have been a gender sensitivity session on the problems arising in terms of access to health care because poor women were not employed in the formal sector. This would have enabled urban poor beneficiaries to understand their situation better. Much of what is needed at the moment,

therefore, relates to raising awareness in the communities and among officials of gender constructs and issues.

Further, the question remains as to why salaries of community workers that would be allocated even without the GAD mandatory budget are charged to it rather than forming part of the regular city budget. If this would be done, money could be freed to use the GAD fund to subsidize other gender-directed projects.

The viewpoint from civil society

ACWCC representatives believe that amendments to the GAD ordinance watered down the gains made by ACWCC and the women's movement in the legislative arena. The amendments placed the practical control of GAD structure, budget, and processes in the hands of the mayor and his appointed officials whose qualifications to occupy the positions are questioned by NGOs. The ACWCC notes, for example, that the chair of the city council's committee on women is a male with no prior experience on women's issues. The lone woman councilor in Angeles City previously held that position. The ACWCC was also booted out from the GAD secretariat. Another formation initiated by the city government and whose membership are government officials and employees, the Angeles City Women's Education and Development, took its place.

ACWCC attempted to win over the new administration by organizing two consecutive fora in 1998 to present the Women's Agenda. The NGOs did not succeed as the local government executives by that time were bent on amending the still unimplemented ordinance.

ACWCC members also claim that the 33-member GAD council, which is composed mostly of governmental organizations, is not gender-responsive and tends to be partisan. There are concerns also that the one-NGO-one-vote policy weakens the NGO voice in the GAD council. The role that ACWCC used to play, as institutionalized by Resolution No. 878, series of 1997, is undermined by the formation of an ad hoc committee where only elected NGOs can sit.

The ACWCC laments the fact that the decisionmaking in resource allocation is centrally vested within the inner circle of city hall. There have been no consultations with NGOs thus far. As a result, only those who are close to the mayor can influence

how the GAD budget will be spent. The perception is that the GAD budget is being utilized to cover programs or activities that should have been charged to the regular government funds. Even when the city government undertakes activities that revolve around women-specific development projects — violence against women, health and medical missions, nutrition, livelihood — the initiatives smack of tokenism.

ACWCC members note that staffing of the GAD secretariat has grown to 33, and that this is eating a big chunk of the GAD budget. Much of the resources have also been spent on capital outlay for vehicles, computers, tables, and other office equipment.

The priority programs being funded through the GAD budget are perceived to be primarily welfare in nature. Subsidies for PhilHealth, medical missions, maternity and child care, and school supplies for indigent children are presently the pet projects being funded by GAD. In the minds of ACWCC members, these are palliative measures that do not question the gender relationships spawning the problems they seek to address. Further, even the GAD budget already approved by the city council was altered without due notice.

Meanwhile, the P1.4 million GAD allocation for NGOs has not yet been given. The amount translates roughly into P50,000 per NGO which they and the POs are banking on to support their projects. Even activities of ACWCC, which used to be funded by the city government, are no longer financially supported.

Yet although the road ahead seems bumpy, the NGOs recognize the gains they and the women's movement, in general, have achieved with GAD legislation. First, at least two of ACWCC's member organizations — NUTRILINC and WEDPRO — are members of GAD council. Second, the legislation has definitely instilled gender consciousness within the local government. Third, despite obstacles in its implementation, at least there is a GAD ordinance that can be further improved through the relentless advocacy of NGOs and grassroots women. Fourth, however "welfarish" the programs being funded by GAD budget are, at least there are services that may be availed of by women and children who need them. Fifth, the legislation has provided an example for other localities to follow and improve upon.

The viewpoint from city hall

Proponents of the GAD program in Angeles City are convinced that they are moving in the right direction. The mayor is certain that programs under the GAD budget have had positive impacts.

The secretary to the mayor notes that the impacts of the GAD budget are monitored through reports of officials of the Sangguniang Kabataan and the Sangguniang Barangay. The creation of the AIDS council, she avers, came from the suggestion of both GOs and NGOs as well as from entertainers and club owners. Pap smear and other health services have been made available to the city's entertainers. These programs directly respond to the needs of the women in the city.

From the standpoint of the GAD officer, the GAD budget has had direct impacts on women in ways that are consistent with the city's priority areas of concern. These impacts are as follows:

- ♦ The HEAL project is being launched to provide health services to women. The GAD office considers violence against women as a health issue; hence, a portion of the fund is allocated to address this issue. For instance, a financial assistance of P10,000 was given to the mother of a rape victim to support and sustain the ensuing legal battle.
- ♦ Education empowers women to have opportunity and equal access to various resources. However, government restrictions limit what classes can be offered. Hence, nonformal education programs on nontraditional trades such as electronics received an allocation of P21,000 from other fund sources. More than half of the participants were women. A functional literacy program for the entertainers is also being proposed.
- ♦ Some P450,000 was allocated from the GAD fund to construct a child-minding center for the children of city hall employees. Day care centers and workers get their appropriations from the GAD budget. The other item, with an appropriation of P400,000, is the Tita Suarez women's crisis and reproductive health center which has recently been completed.
- ♦ The GEF constituted the bulk of GAD fund amounting to P1.4 million. To avail of GEF, organizations are required to submit their project proposals for funding. Because of the need to comply with COA require-

ments, such as registration with the Securities and Exchange Commission, membership profile, and track record, among others, the women's groups have experienced difficulties in gaining access to these funds. As of this writing, no NGO has accessed the fund yet.

Despite these gains, the GAD officer realizes that much still has to be done to make people understand the importance of GAD. Not very many people, especially at the grassroots, are familiar with the GAD ordinance and its programs. More POs still have to be tapped and accredited with the GAD council to address gender issues at the grassroots. Other offices and departments in the city need to be more involved in GAD activities.

The viewpoint from critics

The most important criticism leveled against the GAD ordinance is the fact that the GAD budget is not based on a comprehensive plan. As one critic notes, because there is no comprehensive program on women, "much of these [allocations] are simply scattered or even diverted into other programs like the training of barangay captains. The justification for the diversion of fund allocation is based on a project's relation to gender." For example, the utilization of the GAD budget for health and sanitation expenditures is justified on the basis that women benefit from these. Because of the absence of a plan, compliance with the GAD budget memorandum becomes more of a policy statement and the fund is not used to the optimum. For instance, in 1999, the funds allocated for the institution of the GAD council were diverted. A part of these was used for capital outlay and the bulk went to the operations of the GAD office.

Critics also note that the implementation of the GAD ordinance has been affected by partisan politics. Instead of the secretariat making decisions, consultations with different sectors should have been conducted to identify program beneficiaries properly. A nonpartisan approach would be one where NGOs have a greater say in the GAD council and in the drawing up of a GAD plan for the city. To be nonpartisan would also have meant allowing opposition members in the city council to participate in planning. The critics feel that ACWCC should have been allowed to remain as secretariat given its prior history of

involvement. Existing mechanisms and GAD fund could have been used for programs directly responding to women's concerns.

What do the different viewpoints reveal?

The foregoing discussion illustrates how the interests of different stakeholders influence their opinions concerning the GAD ordinance and its budget. Local officials, both in communities as well as in city hall, look with approval upon the fact that important women's concerns, such as health and education, have been met by the GAD fund. The belief is strong that "all's well with the GAD budget." Moreover, the programs fall in line with the city's main agenda.

Gender advocates among NGOs and opposition members of the city council discount these gains as limited and inadequate to address significant gender issues in Angeles City. They maintain that the GAD budget fails to address a full gender agenda, especially because there was no consultative process to allocate and release funds.

Using the women's equality and empowerment framework, these observations could be considered correct. Welfare programs and efforts to provide women with access to services have certainly been put in place. Efforts to improve the visibility of women in the productive realm have been taken by way of scholarships, livelihood skills programs, and microcredit programs. Some efforts at consciousness-raising have been implemented through gender sensitivity and leadership training. Therefore, programs that improve gender equality through welfare, access, and participation measures have been put in place. Even the issue of prostitution has been addressed, though minimally, through the AIDS program and pap smear examinations. These programs, however, have been existent even prior the assumption to office of the new administration.

Despite these efforts, however, it is not evident that gender perspectives have guided the choice of programs. For instance, an educational strategy with a clear gender perspective would not be confined to providing scholarships. A more proactive measure would have been to retrain teachers on gender constructions in Philippine society so that they could socialize their students towards gender equality. The city needs to give priority to the gender sensitization of its different constituencies. A training program for city hall and barangay officials is also an

important initiative if gender is to be mainstreamed in the work of the different departments and offices.

Expenditures for the city's employment and livelihood programs have been comparatively small. Yet employment can be potentially empowering, as it gives women a measure of economic independence. It thus deserves more attention. Helping women gain access to productive work can also be more gender-responsive, not only in terms of providing jobs but also in influencing companies and offices to institute nondiscriminatory policies. In addition, alternative employments to prostitution need to be more actively developed in the city.

In the absence of the barangay GAD council, the participation of women in community building is restricted to being service providers as health and nutrition workers. Women's voices need to be heard through measures that ensure the participation of women's groups in barangay decisionmaking processes. Day care services are a welcome feature in communities. But training day care providers to encourage gender equality in the classroom and avoid gender stereotypes in dealing with children would be value added to the strategy.

The list of things to do can be extended. But again, these observations point to the critical need for a GAD agenda to be formulated in Angeles City. The agenda can then provide the basis for programs that promote gender equality through consciousness-raising, improving control, and empowerment.

The government has to seriously consider and review the adopted Women's Development Agenda of the city drafted by the ACWCC, the city government itself, and the civil society to commence its work in GAD mainstreaming.

THE ROAD LESS TRAVELED: INSIGHTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS ON GENDER MAINSTREAMING

The Philippines takes pride in the fact that it is one of the few nations in the developing world that has aggressively worked for the mainstreaming of gender at all levels of governance. Over the past decade, it has promulgated and executed laws and policies to define the mandate, logistics, and processes for integrating gender in development plans and programs. Like other social innovations, however, birthing pains have beset gender mainstreaming in governance.

This case study on Angeles City's GAD ordinance is the story of pioneering efforts to mainstream gender in local government. Thus, in the absence of a detailed map or role model, it is to be expected that there are bumps and road blocks, even detours, on the way to realizing gender integration in a city's programs. What this story provides are road signs and landmarks that can guide future travelers, both within the city and in other localities.

The role of civil society

Our story begins as the tale of women in civil society. It is they who took up the challenge of the Philippine and international community to venture into GAD. While there is a mandate for local governments to undertake gender mainstreaming, the process has been painfully slow elsewhere in the country. Always, there has been need for pressure and persuasion — either from national agencies, like NCRFW, or from NGOs like ACWCC — to comply with mandatory provisions. Part of the problem has been that local governments are unfamiliar with GAD, along with much of Philippine society. Angeles City is thus lucky to have among its constituency a group of women committed to improving the lives of women through GAD. Without the women's summits and the agenda that emerged from these, this tale would not be told.

The tactics adopted by the Angeles City NGOs are also worth mentioning. They constituted themselves into a multisectoral assembly to push for a common set of issues led by a gender advocate who is both from an NGO and working for this agenda from within the local government. They relentlessly lobbied with local executives for the GAD ordinance and budget that spelled out their vision and concerns. In other words, instead of trying to influence GAD through their separate efforts in communities and by providing services to smaller groups, ACWCC seized the opportunity to work for women on a broader scale, the city level.

Politics in local governance

By entering the arena of local governance, civil society groups in Angeles City have had to deal with local politics. Politicians have their own visions of

society, as well as of programs and services they want to offer in order to realize these visions. These plans are not always in consonance with those of gender advocates. In fact, since the philosophy of GAD is a relatively new one, its features and goals are often unfamiliar to government officials. There is therefore a knowledge gap between NGOs who have lived and breathed GAD for many years and local government executives whose closest acquaintance with GAD is DBM Memo Circular No. 28. Even if there is acceptance of the mandate for GAD, politicians may wish to implement only those plans which are consistent with their own visions, and especially those that will strengthen support for themselves rather than ones that may alienate important sectors of the constituency.

Government is also hamstrung with accounting and auditing rules that slow down the processes of accessing and providing programs and services. Funds are released only after submitting "basic documents". Certain allocations are disallowed and some staff appointments cannot be granted. Oftentimes, reimbursements take a long time. Thus, a struggle ensues between the culture of bureaucracy and that of civil society which is used to less intricate rules for arriving at decisions and implementing its programs.

But the most critical lesson learned from the Angeles City case study is the impact of partisan politics on gender mainstreaming. Given the present allegiances of stakeholders of the GAD ordinance, the original staunch proponents of the ordinance are now left out of decisionmaking processes. Unfortunately, ACWCC is identified with the opposition party so that its position, too, has been diminished in the GAD council.

Perhaps it is worth considering that advocacy of civil society should also include actively supporting present and future politicians who bear the agenda of new politics and GAD to bring new blood of reforms in governance.

Participatory governance

The GAD ordinance is designed to be an example of how to govern through gender-responsive and consultative processes. It bases gender planning on a partnership between government officials and agents of civil society. It describes how consultative mechanisms can lead to solutions to gender issues. This is unlike other governance approaches that leave decisionmaking to government officials.

However, the consultative process has been delayed and is in danger of being derailed. To date, a GAD plan has not been formulated. This situation makes it difficult to describe the gender impacts of programs. There is no clear direction for GAD and no indicators to describe whether or not, and in what ways, particular programs have advanced gender equality and women's empowerment. Two questions thus arise. One, what administrative mechanism will best translate the partnership between government and NGOs on GAD, so that partisan politics will not play a role in gender mainstreaming? Two, how can consultative processes be assured at all levels of development planning, in ways that promote sustainability of partnership?

One of the suggestions to answer these questions is to come up with implementing rules and regulations (IRR) that will provide for the administrative, consultative, and monitoring mechanism to mainstream gender and avoid the influence of partisan politics. However, critics say that IRR emanate from the mayor through an executive order which might not also be free from partisan politics. Their fear is if an ordinance which is legally binding is not fully implemented, what more with mere IRR.

CAPACITY-BUILDING

To be assured that GAD projects will be supported and implemented by key local officials and personnel, capacity-building through consciousness raising should be prioritized. This is to let them understand the gender dynamics that leads to gender discrimination and stereotypes and the oppression of women in general. This will likewise enable them to participate more actively and effectively in the planning, budgeting, implementing, and monitoring of the GAD fund that will assure that its intended beneficiaries really gained from it.

Gender mainstreaming in the community

Criticisms leveled at the profile of budget and expenditures on GAD mean little to many ordinary citizens in urban poor communities. Many consider it helpful as a bridge fund to cover deficits in the budgets of barangays. Moreover, health care, employment or livelihood programs, and welfare services are always

welcome in communities reeling from the impacts of poverty. Without gender consciousness, urban poor communities will continue to prioritize welfare projects as their main concern. It is unlikely that issues of violence against women, discrimination, and unjust subordination of women will surface. The political-will of the city executive will play a great role in gender mainstreaming. Likewise, the role of civil society is challenged to face anew the advocacy for realizing a local government that is responsive to the needs of its constituency. The challenge to gender advocates, therefore, is to develop programs and approaches that will bring together these overriding concerns: elimination of poverty and of all forms of discrimination against women.

It is quite unfortunate that the debate on gender mainstreaming at the city level did not transcend partisan politics. It did not even uplift the consciousness of key leaders in understanding their crucial role in its successful implementation. In the midst of these debates and partisan politics, the situation of women is deeply aggravated. Every day, women endure the pain and suffering of the impact of political and socioeconomic policies on globalization, poverty, the dire lack of social services, the neglect for social well-being, the combined multiple burden of the home and the workplace. The oppressive structures that nail women into the backroom of underdevelopment cause their prolonged exploitation, subordination, and oppression. These are the issues that GAD seeks to address and eliminate, but the solutions remain elusive.

ACRONYMS

ACCWAC	Angeles City Center for Women's Affairs and Concerns
ACWCC	Angeles City Women's Coordinating Council
CDC	Clark Development Corporation
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency
CSEZ	Clark Special Economic Zone
DBM	Department of Budget and Management
DCAC	Development Council of Angeles City
GAD	gender and development

GEF	Gender and Empowerment Fund
HEAL	Women Health, Empowerment, Affirmation and Life Project
HES	human and ecological security
IMA	Ing Makababaying Aksyon Foundation (Mother, the Pro-Women Action)
IRA	internal revenue allotment
IRR	implementing rules and regulations
KKKA	Kapisanan para sa Kagalingan ng Kababaihan sa Angeles (Organization for the Well-being of Women in Angeles)
NCRFW	National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women
NGO	nongovernmental organization
NUTRILINC	Nutrition and Livelihood Resource Center, Inc.
OFW	overseas Filipino worker
PAGCOR	Philippine Amusement and Gaming Corporation
PNP	Philippine National Police
PO	peoples' organization
PPGRD	Philippine Plan for Gender Responsive Development
RA	Republic Act
US	United States
WDRC	Women's Development and Resource Center
WEDPRO	Women's Education, Development, Productivity and Research Organization

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ING MAKABABAYING AKSYON FOUNDATION, INC.

The Ing Makababaying Aksyon (IMA) Foundation, Inc. is a regional institution for the empowerment of women, children survivors of gender-based violence, and other marginalized community women. It provides services that develop, strengthen, and advocate for self-reliance and self-determination of women's organizations, groups, and individuals to address certain economic, political, and sociocultural structures that cause women's vulnerability to exploitation, oppression, and subordination.

IMA has capability-building programs for community organizing, crisis intervention, education and training, research, information, advocacy, and networking.
