philippine human development report

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Preface

The *Philippine Human Development Report* (PHDR), since its inception, has served as a venue in putting to the fore and generating discussion and consensus on human development issues.

The first PHDR published in 1994 introduced the use of the human development index as a yardstick of the progress across regions in the Philippines in terms of life expectancy, literacy and educational attainment, and access to resources or income. The 1994 PHDR proved useful in presenting an array of human development issues and opening avenues for further research.

This year the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) again teams up with the Human Development Network (HDN) to come up with the second PHDR. The 1997 PHDR takes a closer look at women, their well-being, condition and role in today's economy and society.

I am hopeful that the 1997 PHDR focus on gender issues in development will stimulate a stronger call for action to protect women from work hazards and violence and for an environment where women can fully realize their roles as working women, mothers and active members of the society.

The 1997 PHDR defines benchmarks for determining the commitment to human development at the local government level by analyzing social and human priorities and budget allocation patterns.

For all these, I commend the excellent work that the PHDR team has accomplished under the guidance of former Socioeconomic Planning Secretary Solita Collas-Monsod. The PHDR's analysis of issues will certainly aid the government in formulating appropriate policies.

I am confident that the second PHDR will once again make a valuable contribution to carrying forward the work of real human development.

Cielito F. Habito
Secretary of Socioeconomic Planning
and Director-General
National Economic and Development Authority

Foreword/1

The first global *Human Development Report* (HDR) was published by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 1990. It was inspired by an ethical vision embodied in the United Nations Charter — that of a world in which the fundamental rights, dignity and, worth of the human person and the equal rights of men and women are upheld, and where society is determined to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom for all of its members.

We live in a global society which generally ignores the fact that more than one billion or about 20 percent of the world's people continue to live in poverty and where the responsibility for changing this morally unacceptable situation is denied. Mobilizing a universal response, particularly among those who have the power and influence to change this state of affairs, became the challenge for successive annual Human Development Reports. Aware that the attraction of quantifiable indicators had led to a general acceptance of economic growth and material wealth as a measure of development success, the authors turned to complementary social indicators to remind us that growth is only a means and that the ultimate objective is human well-being. Through alternative analytic tools such as the Human Development Index (HDI), the Social Expenditure Priority Ratio, and the Gender-Related Human Development Index (GDI), the Reports highlighted the importance of other factors in securing improvements in the human condition and demonstrated that while growth is important, the manner in which it is achieved and distributed are equally important. By introducing the concept of indicators of human distress and social breakdown such as violence, murder, divorce, drug, and alcohol abuse and applying them to wealthy industrialized countries, it revealed that these countries, although economically advanced, cannot be considered as models of development in terms of the quality of human lives.

The first global HDR had a resounding impact on the development dialogue. By raising fundamental questions concerning both the objectives of development and how it is measured, it opened up not only the debate, but also the minds and eyes of many to a development vision which confronts the reality of poverty and inequality. The seven Reports issued on an annual basis since then have built on the dialogue generated and have refined, expanded and broadened it to examine other aspects. Other development actors are increasingly using the HDI or modifying their own measurements to reflect the issues it has raised.

The Philippines was among the first countries to seize the opportunity of having a similar report — focusing on the country situation from the point of view of human development. The UNDP was very fortunate to find enthusiastic, highly qualified and spirited partners in a group who now call themselves the Human Development Network (HDN) to initiate the preparation of a *Philippine Human Development Report* (PHDR) which was published in 1994. That report had a significant influence on government programmes, including the Social Reform Agenda and the adoption of a minimum basic needs approach to poverty eradication.

UNDP congratulates the Human Development Network in producing this second PHDR. The special focus on Women and Gender in Development calls attention to an area where the Philippines has made important advances and where the country has played an important advocacy role, including at international conferences. The works of the authors in this report provide a rich source of information for policymaking and for development of programmes to address women's issues. We hope that many of their findings and recommendations find their way into legislative and executive action.

UNDP hopes that in the Philippines the state of human development will continue to be considered the point of reference for all development decision-making, that it will be regularly monitored and reported, and most importantly, that what is being monitored will register continuing improvements in the quality of life of the Filipino people.

SARAH L. TIMPSON
Resident Representative
United Nations Development Programme

Foreword/2

With this *Report*, the Human Development Network (HDN) hopes to provide fresh impetus not only to the discussions regarding sustainable human development, but, more importantly, to the efforts toward that end by both government and non-governmental organizations at all levels. Thus, it constitutes another major step towards achieving our twin objectives of stimulating interest in the use of the Human Development Index (HDI) and related tools of analysis at all levels and encouraging every community to formulate strategies for expanding the opportunities to people.

The HDN has come a long way in this regard. We have co-sponsored several forums on current issues — such as globalization — and their possible impact on human development; on the local level, we have given awards to the provinces which have the highest HDI, as well as those which have shown the largest improvements in their HDI; we have conducted seminars and served as resource persons on constructing HDI and using it as a criterion for judging the performance of elected officials and community leaders; we have lobbied both the executive and legislative branches to observe the human expenditure ratio (See Chapter 3) in their budgetary allocations.

It is gratifying to note that while human expenditure ratios have not yet reached their desired level, the Philippine government has committed to achieve its end of the Social Summit's 20:20 pact, which is to allocate at least 20% of the government's budget to basic education, health and water supply. Furthermore, President Fidel Ramos has by Executive Order mandated the National Statistical Coordination Board to gather and publish data on human development indicators at the most disaggregated levels to facilitate monitoring and comparing performance of the local communities across space and over time.

This *Report* tracks the human development performance of the Philippines between 1991 and 1994. It also tracks the human priority expenditures of central and local government, to determine essentially whether they have put their money where their mouth is. These results promise to be of great interest to provincial government executives as well as to the private sector.

Has there been an increase in a province's HDI over time? How does it compare with the other provinces? How does this reflect on the performance of the provincial government? Are local government expenditures on human priorities satisfactory? Has devolution hindered or promoted human priority spending? These are questions to which the *Report* provides some answers.

Sustainable human development has been defined as growth that is pro-poor, pro-women and pro-nature. The special focus of this *Report* is the Filipina. Interestingly, the 1997 World Human Development Report ranks the Philippines 35TH out of 94 countries according to the so-called Gender Empowerment Measure (GEM). That makes the Philippines the top-ranking country in the South East Asia Region. This *Report* provides concrete basis for that ranking. It studies in depth the Filipina, tracking her progress over the years, the kind of discrimination she has had to overcome and still has to overcome (as reflected partly in the GDI), the hazards she faces in the workplace and at home, the pattern of her spending, the use of her time, the value of her unpaid labor, the contribution she makes to the economy and to the polity. The message is clear: women in general — and Filipinas in particular — are the key to sustainable human development.

We fervently hope this message is heard — and acted on.

SOLITA COLLAS-MONSOD
President
Human Development Network

The Research Team

This *Report* is a collaborative work of research teams and individuals who make up the Human Development Network. Solita Collas-Monsod provided the overall leadership in conceptualizing the *Report*. Emmanuel S. de Dios and Salvador O. Orara, S.J., undertook the technical and substantive editing.

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Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
AIM	Asian Institute of Management
AMRs	Annual Medical Reports
ARMM	Autonomous Region for Muslim Mindanao
BLES	Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics
BWC	Bureau of Working Conditions
BWYW	Bureau of Women and Young Workers
CAR	Cordillera Administrative Region
CA	Commission on Appointments
CDF	Countrywide Development Fund
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
DAR	Department of Agrarian Reform
DBM	Department of Budget and Management
DECS	Department of Education, Culture and Sports
DILG	Department of Interior and Local Government
DILG-LGA	Department of Interior and Local Government-Local Government Academy
DOA	Department of Agriculture
DOF	Department of Finance
DOH	Department of Health
DOJ	Department of Justice
DOLE	Department of Labor and Employment
DOST	Department of Science and Technology
DSWD	Department of Social Welfare and Development
DTI	Department of Trade and Industry
ECC	Employees' Compensation Commission
EDR	expenditure decentralization ratio
FAR	financial autonomy ratio
FHH	female-headed household
FIES	Family Income and Expenditure Survey
GAAs	General Appropriations Acts
GDI	gender-related human development index
GDP	gross domestic product
GE	government expenditures
GEM	gender empowerment measure
GNP	gross national product
GOCC	government-owned/-controlled corporation
GSIS	Government Service Insurance System
HD	human development
HDI	human development index
HDR	*Human Development Report*
HH	household
HPDE	human priority development expenditures

HRS	hours worked in the labor market
IALDM	Integrated Approach to Local Development Management
ILO	International Labor Organization
IMR	infant mortality rate
IRA	internal revenue allotment
LFPR	labor force participation rate
LFS	Labor Force Survey
LGC	Local Government Code
LGUs	Local Government Units
LSR	local source revenue
MBN	minimum basic needs
MEDR	modified expenditure decentralization ratio
MHH	male-headed household
NEAT	National Elementary Achievement Test
NCR	National Capital Region
NCRFW	National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women
NGOs	non-governmental organizations
NMYC	National Manpower and Youth Council
NPC	National Police Commission
NSAT	National Secondary Achievement Test
NSO	National Statistics Office
OCWs	overseas contract workers
OSHC	Occupational Safety and Health Center
OSHS	Occupational Safety and Health Standards
PBs	President's Budgets
PGH	Philippine General Hospital
PHDR	priority human development ratio
PLFS	Philippine Labor Flexibility Survey
PNP	Philippine National Police
POEA	Philippine Overseas Employment Agency
PPA	Philippine Ports Authority
PPP	purchasing power parity
PRC	Professional Regulations Commission
R.A.	Republic Act
RDR	revenue decentralization ratio
SEC	Securities and Exchange Commission
SEF	Special Education Fund
SNA	system of national accounts
SRA	Social Reform Agenda
SS	social services
SSS	Social Security System
SUCs	State Universities and Colleges
TFR	total fertility rate
TLVs	threshold limit values
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UP	University of the Philippines
UPPI	University of the Philippines Population Institute

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1 The Changing Status of Women

Progress and Trends

Over the last four decades, the Philippines has undergone an economic, political and social transformation which created opportunities for narrowing the gap between men and women. In particular, there was increased access to educational and work opportunities for women, as well as improvement in overall health trends. These changes have also led to reforms that challenge some traditional biases against women in law and politics, such as in family law.

But the direction of the country's economic and political developments, particularly its pursuit of market-oriented economic growth, also allowed the permeation of prevailing gender norms into the functioning of markets and political institutions, so that the latter have become bearers of gender relations as well. The lack of gender awareness in development policies and in political processes means that women and men must live in an unequal world. They do not necessarily provide equal opportunities for women and men to make choices nor do they affect men and women uniformly. As will be shown in this report, the country still faces considerable challenge towards the achievement of gender equality and shared partnership between women and men as agents and beneficiaries of development. There has undeniably been substantial progress over the last four decades by way of developing women's capabilities through improved overall educational access, health status, and increased labor force participation. Yet women still face barriers in attaining equal opportunities in employment and pay, in meeting their special health needs, particularly during maternity, and in gaining an equal voice with men in key decision-making institutions and structures. While a number of women, by virtue of their economic position and status, may have benefited from economic growth, the majority of women are still marginalized, their capabilities remain largely underdeveloped, and their options severely limited. Poverty is still prevalent and the unaffordable options often means the realm of choices is beyond the reach of the majority who are poor. Social and cultural norms have likewise affected not only the range of choice of jobs or skills but also the division of labor in the household and the extent of political participation.

The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) constructed in 1990, two indicators namely the human development index (HDI) and the gender-related development index (GDI) to serve as measures of (a) a country's performance in three aspects of human development namely, the growth in real income per capita, level of skills and the state of health of its citizens and of (b) the level of gender disparities in these areas. At the aggregative level, there has been a steady improvement of the HDI for the Philippines from 1980 to 1994. Nonetheless, as this vol-

ume illustrates, a disaggregation reveals the extent of unsteady and uneven development

The HDI value for the National Capital Region (NCR) was 0.925 in 1994, which was two and a half times that of the lowest-ranking province, Sulu (0.372). Apart from Cavite, Rizal, and perhaps Batanes, no other province in the country may be ranked as having high levels of human development — which is not to deny that even in these provinces and the NCR large numbers are still seriously deprived. Ten provinces are ranked as having low levels of human development. Such diasaggregations reveal serious disparities requiring policy attention.

The GDI adjusts the three dimensions of the HDI in terms of the disparities between women and men. It can be noted that the GDI is lower than the HDI for all regions at all years.

At the regional level, estimates of GDI show progress in eleven of the thirteen regions, although there is only weak indication of the narrowing of the gap between HDI and GDI for all regions. While this pattern could suggest a movement towards greater gender equality, the uncertainty of progress is highlighted by the fact that there was a reverse trend in four regions in the last four years, and there was growing gender inequality in the NCR. Moreover, ranking the highest GDI value for 1994 which is that of the NCR, puts it below such countries as Ghana, Cameroon and Egypt (numbers 90-92 in the global ranking) [UN 1995a]. In comparison, the GDI of Western Mindanao puts it below every country in the world (Afghanistan with .169 GDI is the lowest in 1992). The relatively low levels of GDI in the regions indicate that much still needs to be done in enhancing women capabilities and empowerment in the Philippines.

A Historical Perspective

The relative condition of men and women in a given society is never static; it is continually subject to changes in political, social and economic structures and institutions. Thus, a brief historical background is necessary for a better understanding of the issues and concerns facing Philippine women today. This section begins by highlighting some key aspects of the condition of women in pre-colonial Philippines, particularly those relating to women's status, economic responsibilities, and public and household decision-making roles. It then looks at the changes in the nature of opportunities and limitations resulting from the Spanish occupation, particularly with the introduction of a colonial economy and the imposition of a Western (Hispanic) culture and the Catholic religion. The far-reaching changes, both positive and negative, which occurred during the period of American occupation are then discussed. Finally, the major trends for different categories of women, rich, poor, urban and rural, in the post-independence period are described.

Contemporary accounts based on observations of traders and other visitors centuries before the arrival of Spaniards in 1521 depicted the women in various parts of the Philippine islands as possessing numerous skills and being held in high social esteem and respect in their tribal communities. Using such sources, MANANZAN [1991] examines the lives of women in pre-colonial times and concludes that these tribal societies placed a high value on the contribution of their progeny, so that the woman, as sole guardian of the perpetuation of the lineage, enjoyed an elevated position. This status has sometimes been taken as a reflection of matriarchal elements in pre-Spanish Filipino society. For instance, before Spanish colonization, it was the woman's prerogative to name her child; she kept her own name; she could freely dispose

of the property that she had brought into her marriage; her female child was valued as much as her male child, and she could become head of the barangay, the basic political unit. Most significantly, in many tribes, women functioned as *babaylans* or native priestesses who presided over such important events as planting, harvesting, marriage ceremonies, naming rituals, and performed rites in the event of illnesses or deaths in the community.

Women were also known for their industry and sagaciousness. According to custom, they took charge of the household chores and raising children; but they also accompanied their husbands in fishing and hunting activities as well. In some places, women worked in the fields and in addition, did needlework, weaving (cloth and baskets) and pottery-making [Infante 1975: 88-90].

The Spanish occupation and the introduction of Christianity from the sixteenth until the end of the nineteenth centuries wrought significant changes in the status and role of women, albeit in ways that are differentiated by economic position. The Spanish missionaries, while acknowledging the *mujera indigena* for her intelligence, strong will and practicality, condemned any behavior and pre-colonial custom which could not be reconciled with the moral prescriptions for women in Spain [Mananzan 1991: 26]. Monogamous marriages became the norm during this colonial period. As in Spain where the husband taught and trained his wife in religious and secular matters, the education of the Filipino woman fell into the hands of the priests and later, the nuns. Educational opportunities became very limited and depended on economic status, the division of economic classes emanating from the feudal system introduced by the colonizers.

Upper class women were taught embroidery and catechism and other related concerns that were deemed adequate preparation for domestic life in the service of their husband, father and the church. She was thus reduced to the status of a perennial dependent: on her parents before marriage and on her husband afterwards. In many cases, religiosity became an important outlet for a woman's energies and thus came to develop a boundless capacity for tolerance, forgiveness and suffering which were projected by the Civil Code as 'ideal' [Guazon 1951; Angeles 1990].

The confinement of women to the home and their general seclusion from economic activities applied mainly to the wives and daughters of the landed class. Their seclusion and lifestyle were in sharp contrast to their peasant counterparts, a distinction adapted from the feudal system in Europe. Women from landless or poor households enjoyed greater freedom of movement and more control over their children. But they also were more subject to starvation, to work as virtual slaves for others as governesses and domestic helpers in the households of landlords and friars and suffering from male abuse [Angeles 1990; Feliciano 1993].

Though deprived of political rights and education, most women took an active part in the economic life of the country. They would usually take the initiative of supplementing the family income by engaging in some form of home-based trade as vendors, seamstresses and embroiderers. Archival sources and several historical studies that document the lives of such women refute therefore the popular notion that Filipino women were weak and "unproductive" during the Spanish period. For instance, the study by Alzona [1934] provided evidence that Filipino women in the lower income classes controlled retail businesses, administered farms, and engaged in business that could be done at home. By the nineteenth century, economic hardships brought a number of women in the urban areas to work as tobacco, cigar and cigarette makers, and abaca weavers [Camagay 1995].

The entry of women into the world of work in the mid-nineteenth century came with the systematic employment of Filipino women in the factory system. This practice became prevalent as the major export industries, tobacco and abaca, expanded during

the Spanish colonial period and as women workers gained the reputation of being more adept and patient in the tasks involved and of being less prone to commit fraud. As a significant component of the colony's labor force, women factory workers were subjected to regular working hours, work regulations, a standard salary, and strict supervision. Women also took on such professions as *maestras* (female teachers) and *matronas* (midwives) by the nineteenth century. Nonetheless, women workers and teachers received lower wages than men and were susceptible victims of sexual harassment and abuse from their male employers, including friars [Angeles 1990: 16].

The Spanish Civil Code and the Code of Commerce introduced by Spain curtailed women's freedom of choice in many aspects of their lives. They were deprived of the right to hold public office, to engage in business without the husband's consent, and to dispose of their paraphernalia or inherited properties. Her main function was to bear children, within the sanctity of marriage. The image of the ideal Filipino woman was one of diffidence, chastity and submissiveness.

The American occupation of the Philippines at the turn of the twentieth century brought about the imposition of new laws and mores that have redefined the so-called ideal image of the Filipino woman, particularly in the urban centers. The American colonial government established the foundation for a widespread educational system as a means of counteracting the armed rebellion against it. Hence, public schools became accessible to girls and women from various social classes. Demand for schooling was great and in order to expand capacity, normal schools for teachers were established almost simultaneously with the primary schools. Women were allowed to enroll for teaching credentials. Teaching became a new occupation for women together with nursing, pharmacy and other professions not previously open to women. Education proved to be the most important instrument of the "benevolent assimilation" program of the Americans.

Economic activity among Filipino women during the American occupation expanded rapidly. Access to the American market stimulated the production of such exports as native cloth, embroidery and hats in which women have provided much of the labor. The expansion of agricultural exports such as copra also increased women's unpaid work as assistants to their husbands in husking and opening the nuts and in copra drying [Alzona 1934]. In the rice and sugar industries, women also helped in the less strenuous phases of the work. According to the 1918 Census, more than 730,000 women were engaged in agricultural occupations.

Education has also raised the social and political awareness of the Filipino women as they became receptive to many political and social issues that were being debated in other parts of the world such as the issue of women's suffrage. As the U.S.-style democratic form of government defined the political structure of the country, women's groups, with members largely from upper and middle income economic background, fought for the right of suffrage since 1906 and finally won in 1937 by a plebiscite where more than 400,000 women voted for the right [Torres 1995]. Since then, women have taken this right seriously, so that more women than men have been voting in every election held in the country from independence until the present [Chapter 8].

At the same time, social norms and cultural values began to take on new forms that brought about long-term, contradictory and diverse effects on women's role and status. While the women's principal concern remained the maintenance of a closely-knit and orderly family, they increased their assertiveness and expressiveness as moving away from the Spanish colonial image of passivity and inarticulateness. This has been largely attributed to the American influence which gave her "independence of character" [Angangco et al. 1980: 63; Torres 1995]. Thus the ideal image of the Filipino woman evolved to one "who is able to fulfill herself through her work while helping augment

family income" and yet remaining "a tolerant wife and a good mother" [Angangco et al. 1980: 75).

The liberal education policy pursued under the American colonial period continued its influence in the post-independence period. Emphasis was given by the Philippine government on educational programs in the '50s and '60s, based on the belief that high literacy is a necessary prerequisite for economic development. Education was perceived by many Filipinos as an important vehicle for upward social mobility, for getting a good job and for long-term economic security. This premium placed on education was further reinforced by succeeding pieces of legislation aimed at maintaining an integrated system of education in the country including the 1973 and 1987 Philippine Constitutions [Feliciano 1993].

With independence (1946) and the ensuing expansion of the bureaucracy, clerical and administrative jobs also became available to women. Teaching, nursing and office work, which are perceived as extensions of their domestic role, remained major occupations for women. Women's entry into the other professional occupations such as law, medicine, and management came later and at a much slower pace.

In 1950, the Civil Code was amended, leading to several laws that finally granted women some rights they were deprived of for centuries. For instance, women now enjoy complete freedom to own, manage and dispose of their inherited property. They may also exercise their profession unless there are serious grounds for objection by their spouses. A wife can administer conjugal property, however, only if she is authorized by her husband [Rojas-Aleta 1977]. In 1973, equality with men in the economic field and equal work opportunities were incorporated in the Labor Code. Women nonetheless receive consistently lower cash earnings relative to men in the same industry and occupational group [Aguilar 1987: 37].

The upheaval, downturn, and consequent restructuring of the economy in the '70s and '80s have affected the majority of the Filipino households so that women as income earners became more visible. Through labor migration — rural to urban, and to other countries — women enter service occupations as chambermaids and domestic helpers. Extreme poverty and difficulty in finding employment have at times led rural women to turn to prostitution. While in the past, women have been linked to traditional women's jobs, i.e. in agriculture or in industries associated with home and family life like textiles, food, clothing or in sales and service jobs, today there are more women entering technological and scientific fields. In the service sector, they are breaking into new areas as well such as insurance, real estate, health and educational activities. The wide range of economic contributions of women in the economy is examined next, along with a discussion of the progress made in the development of their capabilities through education and health services.

Women's Educational Access and Health

Education is one of the most important means for empowering women with the skills, knowledge and self-confidence necessary to participate fully in the development process. Through enhanced capabilities, the creativity and productivity of women and men are increased so that they become effective agents of economic development. It is therefore not surprising that the provision of education remains one of the most essential dimensions of human development. It is also in education where Philippine women made the most progress. Because there are no explicit legal and cultural barriers to women's education in the Philippines, the gap between men and women in their access to education tends to be narrower than in sub-Saharan Af-

rica, the Middle East and South Asia. In 1948, the ratio of female to male population completing every level of schooling was less than unity (See CHAPTER 4). The ratio declined as the level of schooling rose up to College 1-3, then rose at College 4 and higher. But through time their enrollment rate improved so that in 1990, the ratio for the higher schooling levels, i.e., High School 1-3 was 79.7 percent as compared to 66.3 percent in 1948, that for High School 4 was 85.5 percent vs. 61.3 percent, for College 1-3, the ratio was 89.1 percent vs. 67.8 percent and for College 4+, 136 percent vs. 71.4 percent. In other words, 36 percent more women than men completed college despite the fact that fewer of them enrolled in high school. Girls tend to have a higher chance of completing each level, and so proportionately more are promoted to the next higher level. Cumulating their progress through the whole schooling ladder, more girls succeed in completing college.[1]

Census figures from 1970 to 1990 reveal a narrowing of gender literacy differentials over time. Between the two censuses, women's literacy rates jumped by around 12.3 percent nationwide compared to men's 9.7 percent increase. By 1990, literacy rates among Filipinos stood at high 94 percent for men and 93.2 percent for women. This gives the Philippines one of the highest literacy rates among developing countries. [UN 1995b]

The significant progress achieved by the Philippines in increasing girls' access to educational training mirrors similar improvements in other countries during the last three decades. Gender gaps in education and health have narrowed rapidly, although the pace of this progress has been uneven between regions and countries. In adult literacy and school enrolment, the gaps between women and men were halved between 1970 and 1990 in developing countries [UN 1995b]. Women's literacy increased from 54 percent of the male rate in 1970 to 74 percent in 1990. Combined female primary and secondary enrolment increased from 67 percent of the male rate to 86 percent. Also remarkable is the rapid closing of the gap in higher education. In developing countries, female enrollment at the tertiary level was less than half the male rate in 1970, but by 1990 it had reached 70 percent.

Still, it is an unequal world and gender norms continue to permeate the educational patterns and trends in the Philippines. Following the traditional division of labor, the fields of specialization pursued by women and men remain gender-typed as revealed by the data from the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS), the 1990 Census and the Professional Regulations Commission (PRC) study. Women, in line with their traditional teaching and care-giving functions, make up the majority of graduates in Education and Medical Sciences while men hold most of the degrees in Engineering and Law [NCRFW and ADB 1995: 49-51]. Moreover, the data on the number of men and women attending the various training programs offered by the National Manpower and Youth Council (NMYC) similarly indicate gender-typing. In general, more males attended the training programs for executives, managers and supervisors, while more women attend those for clerical personnel and service workers in services and sales.

In addition, their disproportionate share in household work and child-care prevents many women from pursuing higher levels of schooling even if opportunities for these have become available. Among low-income groups, housekeeping is often cited by young and out-of school women (aged 13 to 24) as the main reason for not being in school [NCRFW and ADB 1995: 46].

The general improvement in HDI over the 1980 and 1994 period has also been attributed to the improved health status in the Philippines. Two indicators demonstrate this fact: longer life expectancies enjoyed by Filipinos and reduced infant mortality rates. Between 1980 and 1995, the life expectancy at birth increased considerably from 62 to 66 years. The drop in infant mortality rate (IMR) has been a remarkable 77 percent from the post-war years, from 105.3 infant deaths per 1000 live births in the 1950s to 24.3 in 1990

[NCRFW and ADB 1995]. Given the fact that women have a biological advantage for survival, women live longer (66 years vs. men's 62 years) and exhibit lower mortality rates during childhood and adulthood than men. This is comparable to the mortality rates in Peru and Guatemala, but lower than those of neighboring Southeast Asian countries like Malaysia (73 years for women/69 years for men), Thailand (72 years/67 years) and Singapore (77 years/72 years) [UN 1995b : 86-87].

The expansion of health care services, the increasing availability of modern medicine and improved sanitation and hygiene in the last three decades largely explain these dramatic improvements in health status. Nonetheless, factors related to pregnancy and childbirth continue to be a major cause of death for women of childbearing age, translating into a high 5-6 maternal deaths daily. The incidence of maternal deaths has also been linked to the lack of medical attention during child delivery. According to data from the Department of Health (DOH), anemia remains high among mothers and children, even though its incidence has been decreasing among the population. As of 1993, anemia afflicted almost half of all infants (49.2 percent), 44 percent of pregnant women, and 43 percent of lactating mothers. Adolescent and adult women are also more prone to malnutrition than men.

Findings from the 1993 National Demographic Survey data also indicate that maternal health care is a major determinant of the health of the unborn and newly born babies and infants [NCRFW and ADB 1995]. Babies conceived by and born to women who have received both pre-natal and delivery care are much less likely to die compared to babies born to mothers who have received no form of maternal health care. The greater availability of maternal health services in the urban areas also underlies the lower incidence of very early deaths in the urban areas when compared to rural areas.

The same survey also shows that maternal education is another major determinant of post-neonatal survival. Compared to the survival of those born to non-educated women, the survival of newly born babies of college educated mothers is five times greater; their infants 1.8 times, and their children 8.8 times greater. Other factors that affect the health of infants and young children are the age of mothers and the interval between births.

The decline in the national total fertility rate (TFR) over the past two decades has translated to two births per woman between 1970 and 1990. Based on the 1993 National Demographic Survey, women in the urban areas tend to have fewer births than those in the rural areas (3.5 vs. 4.8 births per woman), owing in part to greater access to family planning and other health services in the urban areas, and to the greater availability of employment and education opportunities in the cities [NCRFW and ADB 1995]. The use of traditional and modern family planning methods among currently married women 15-44 years old has also increased from 15.4 percent in 1968 to 40 percent in 1993.

To some extent, the progress made in education and health status of both women and men reflects the political commitment of governments in the post-independence period to address these basic needs of the population. The institution of public health measures and emphasis in government expenditures in the fifties and sixties to expand primary and secondary education have aided in the significant declines in mortality rates and in the increase in literacy rates of men and women. In the last two decades however, continued improvement in these areas proved more difficult during the period of government cutbacks and economic restructuring. The extent to which this pattern of development may undermine more the gains on women's well-being than on men is an important policy issue that needs to be studied carefully.

Public Sector Expenditures in Health and Education

There are several reasons that the level of human priority development expenditures (HPDE) which cover basic education, primary health, safe water and sanitation and, basic utilities such as gas and electricity, are likely to have more impact on women than on men. One has to do with the unequal division of household tasks. The tasks of taking care of children, the sick and the elderly, preparing meals and general housecleaning are still predominantly carried out by female household members. In addition, the traditional view that women's primary role is that of homemaking while that of men is "breadwinning" continues to have a strong influence in many households. When schooling must be rationed, boys are usually given preference over girls. When school fees are increased as a result of government cutbacks, the tendency is to withdraw girls from school.[2]

Government programs that help improve family health through primary health care, disease prevention and population control relieve women of the psychological and physical stress of pregnancy and of nursing the sick. Availability of tap water, fuel and electric utilities at accessible prices lightens women's home chores and provides women with greater latitude to undertake other activities.

As CHAPTER 3 points out, however, education and primary health care services have still not reached a large proportion of the poor especially in rural areas. Among the poorest 30 percent of the population, 35 percent still use unsanitary sources of water, i.e., shallow wells, springs, rivers and rain, and peddled water. Some 44 percent of the poor have no sanitary toilets. About 7 percent of poor young children (aged 7-12) and 24 percent of those aged 13-16 are not in school.

CHAPTER 3 shows that Philippine HPDE such as on basic education, primary health, family planning, and low-cost water supply, were relatively low during the period of 1985-1993. The HPDE/GNP ratio or priority human development ratio (PHDR) is only 2 percent, less than half of the 5 percent UNDP norm. PHDR is the product of total government expenditures to GNP ratio (GE/GNP), the social services to government expenditures ratio (SS/GE) and the HPDE/SS ratio. The country's GE/GNP ratio is relatively low averaging only 21 percent. The allocation of the budget to social services (SS/GE) is also low, about 20 percent. Even if HPDE/SS is as high as 59 percent, the product of the three ratios comes to only 2.23 percent. An underlying cause of the low PHDR is poor tax effort. Tax revenue is only about 15 percent of GNP. The government foregoes substantial tax revenue by collecting less than 50 percent of potential tax liabilities.

On the other hand, the economy has been heavily burdened by foreign debt services which peaked at 45 percent of total expenditures (GE) in mid-1986 and is still high at about 35 percent in 1993. The government also spends a relatively high proportion of the budget for general expenditures (administration and defense) which have crowded out both social services and infrastructure. In 1994, the Philippines spent 23 percent of GE on social services, which is lower than that spent by most middle-income countries such as Thailand (35.4 percent), Brazil (36.7 percent), Chile (64.9 percent) and Korea (32 percent) but higher than Indonesia (14.4 percent), Kenya (25.7 percent) and Turkey (21.7 percent) [WORLD BANK, 1996].

It is still uncertain how the ongoing decentralization measures will affect the regional and local HPDE level and quality of service provisioning. Local governments differ in their preferences (for various expenditures and taxes), tax base and tax effort. The Local Government Code (LGC) passed by the Congress in 1991 did not focus on these issues. It made general provisions for an increased transfer from 25 percent to 40 percent of internal revenue allotment (IRA) to local governments, increased local tax powers and

devolution of responsibility from the national to local governments over selected services such as agriculture, public works and health. Education remains a national responsibility.

The IRA has been smaller than the corresponding budget for the devolved functions implying passing on financial burden to local governments. Local tax collection has risen as reflected in an increased ratio of local government revenue to general government revenue from 4.4 percent in 1992 to 5.4 percent in 1994. The local governments are able to increase their allocation to social services, especially education. The trend for health is, however, downward which is partly explained by the administrative difficulties experienced for the health sector. In fact there is an on-going debate on whether or not to postpone or amend the devolution of health care services.

The inequality in IRA allocation and the inequality in tax base and collection effort have resulted in very unequal per capita expenditures. In 1994, provincial IRA per capita ranged from P172 to P2,629 and local revenue from P19 to P200. The two revenue sources are found to be uncorrelated and reliance on own revenue varies widely across provinces. The social allocation ratio ranged from 22 percent to 64 percent while the HPDE ratio ranged from 0.8 percent to 41 percent. Compare these to the national social allocation ratio of 20 percent and HPDE ratio of 59 percent. In absolute terms, the per capita social expenditures ranged from P55 to P950 and the HPDE from less than P3.0 to P923. With decentralization, some provinces made greater gains in their social expenditures and HPDE than others. Over the 1991 to 1994 period, the absolute change in real per capita social expenditures across provinces ranged from minus P42 to plus P125. There were more gainers than losers, 57 out of the 66 provinces. All but three provinces with minimal decreases in expenditures increased their per capita budget for education. But 50 percent of the provinces reported a decrease in their health and population per capita real

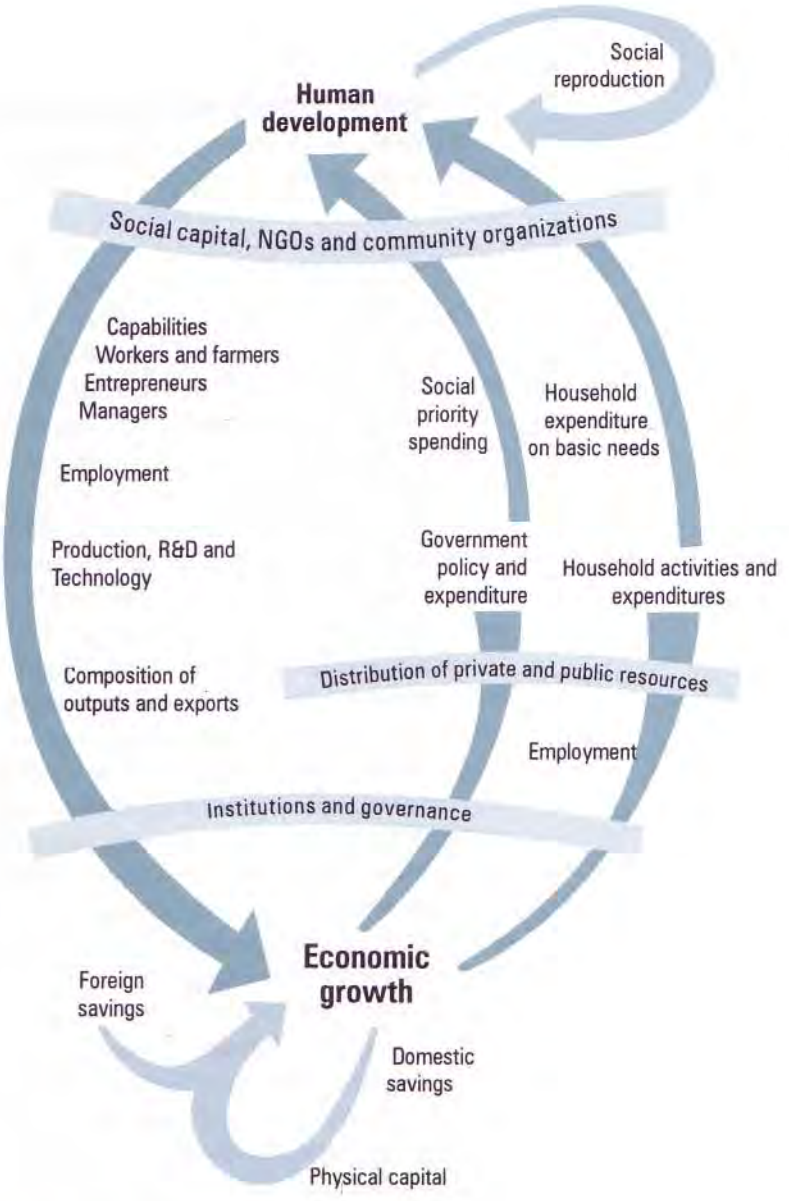

Figure 1.1 From Human Development to Growth and Back [HDR 1996, UNDP]

expenditures. HPDE per capita has increased in 77 percent of the provinces.

The decentralization measures are still evolving. In the future, improvements in the provinces' HPDE would depend on their ability to generate revenue. Local governments are generally weak at tax collection. On the other hand, the IRA could be made more equitable and the IRA level increased through more intensive tax efforts by the national government.

Progress in Women's Economic Opportunities

Gender disparities in building human capabilities through education, health and nutrition are much narrower than the gaping disparities in income-earning and decision-making opportunities. This is illustrated by the mixed achievement in women's participation and conditions in domestic and global markets as well as in women's empowerment both in the household and in the political arena.

Access to paid work is crucial for women to achieve self-reliance and for the well-being of their households. The labor force participation rate among women rose at a rather slow pace from 40 percent in 1956 to 45 percent in 1981 and then 48 percent in 1990, and has remained at this level since then. This is slightly lower than the average women's economic activity rate for Southeast Asia (54 percent in 1990) and sub-Saharan Africa (53 percent) but higher than that of Southern Asia (44 percent) and Latin America (34 percent) [UN 1995b: 110]. In addition, an increasing proportion of overseas workers are also women. The rise in the labor force participation rate of women since after independence has contributed to the increased visibility of women's economic contributions.

Another salient feature of the Philippine labor force is the increasing share of workers with partial and completed secondary education. Between 1976 and 1987, this share increased from 21.9 percent to 29.9 percent [Floro and Schaefer 1996]. Moreover, employed women exhibit higher educational backgrounds, compared to their male counterparts as reflected in the 1988 and 1994 Labor Force Survey (LFS) results.[3] The proportion of employed Filipino women who have completed higher education is 43 percent whereas the comparable figure for employed men is a lower 38 percent. The proportion of employed women who graduated from college is 16.5 percent or more than twice the proportion of employed men who are college graduates (7.2 percent) [NCRFW and ADB 1995]. The rise in the educational level of employed workers is partly due to increased competition for jobs, particularly during the period of high unemployment and underemployment which peaked in 1985-86 at 12.5 percent and 26.9 percent respectively. Rising educational levels are also due to stringent requirements of employers compelling workers to acquire training and education [Esguerra 1995].

Nonetheless, women in the Philippines have persistently suffered a higher rate of unemployment than men, 12.2 percent vs. 8.3 percent in 1956, 8.1 percent vs. 2.5 percent in 1980 and 10.6 percent vs. 8.6 percent in 1990, and 10.7 percent vs. 9.2 percent in 1994. The segmentation of the labor market and the stagnation of the economy from the 1980s on to 1992 likely explain this poor performance as well.

High levels of education and skills are also characteristic of the unemployed in the Philippines. In fact, the share of unemployed with a college education rose from 10 percent in 1980 to 14 percent in 1993 [Esguerra 1995]. Moreover, the highest unemployment levels seem to afflict those who have reached tertiary schooling, which points to the lack of growth in skilled and semi-skilled jobs in the country.[4] This shows that despite the growth in Philippine gross domestic product (GDP) per capita (at an average of 2.1 percent during 1986-92 period), there seems to be a persistent lag between the increase in aggregate output and the increase in employment. Recent studies by Lim [1995] and Esguerra [1995] point to a disturbing trend of so called "jobless growth" in the case of the Philippines and question the sustainability of employment generation during the latest growth period (1993-present). The jobless growth trend is also reflected in the employment patterns as revealed by the 1991 and 1994 LFS results. Although total employment grew on average by 5.1 percent annually, formal sec-

tor employment grew only by 1.8 percent, while the number of informal sector workers grew by much more: 9.6 percent for those that are self-employed, and 6.5 percent for those that are unpaid family workers [NCRFW and ADB 1995b].

Agriculture is still the largest employer of labor, absorbing 52 percent of male and 30 percent of female workers. Over half of rural women were employed in the agricultural sector in 1994 (50.1 percent). Of the female agricultural labor force, about 70 percent are in rice and corn production. They perform most of the farm labor activities such as transplanting, weeding, fertilizing, harvesting and threshing. For this reason, the issue of technological change needs to be examined for its differential effects on men and women. For instance, a study of two Philippine rice villages in the province of Iloilo by RES [1985] shows that female labor use decreased over the period from 1970 to 1980 as a consequence of the smaller requirements of operations in which women participate, i.e. transplanting, harvesting, and threshing. Women's contribution to rice production declined absolutely and relatively. In fact both female family and female hired labor was reduced. Men increased their labor use due to double cropping and the typically male activities of land preparation and fertilizing. [RES 1985 :112]

Increasing landlessness is another concern in the agricultural sector. Several studies (e.g. LIPTON and LONGHURST [1989] and QUISUMBING [1994]) point out that both the number and proportion of rural households in the landless category have dramatically increased in Asia, Africa and Latin America over the last three decades. They are the least powerful and most economically disadvantaged segment of the rural population and comprise the majority of the rural poor.

Another important feature of the rural labor force is the high proportion of workers who are considered unpaid family workers, many of whom are women and children. These refer to those who live in the same household and are usually family members or relatives who help in family enterprises, including farm work, but are not paid for their labor. The 1994 Integrated Survey of Households shows that much more of female labor is classified as unpaid than among men (21.4 percent vs. 11.2 percent among male workers). This hides the actual economic contribution of women to household income [NCRFW and ADB 1995b]. In rural areas, the figures are much higher with 15.1 percent for males and 31.5 percent for females compared with those for the urban areas, 6.3 percent and 11.5 percent respectively.

In the last two decades, there has been a shift in the rural-urban composition of the country's labor force so that by 1994, the rural areas accounted for only 51.6 percent of the total labor force. This urbanization process appears to have favored the labor force participation rates of urban women more than that of urban men. Women workers outside agriculture are distributed in few occupations — 14.1 percent in professional, 9.3 percent in clerical, 36.3 percent in sales and 21.4 percent in services (1994). Only 17.1 percent are in manufacturing, and they are further concentrated in garment, textile, food processing and electronics/semiconductors.

The government remains a large employer of women in white collar occupations — 65 percent of women in the professional category and 35 percent of female clerks (See CHAPTER 4). Privately employed women make up 37 percent of the total, the self-employed 32 percent and the unpaid family workers 21 percent. Women workers dominate the professional, clerical, sales and services occupations where they comprise 64 percent, 56 percent, 69 percent and 57 percent of the respective employed labor. In 1956, men and women were equally represented in professional occupations, but the ratio of women to men in the clerical occupation was only 24 percent. The respective ratios rose to 171.3 percent and 122.7 percent in 1990. Sales appears to have been traditionally a female occupation where the gender ratio was 164 percent in 1956 rising moderately to 189 percent in 1990. Services is also a traditional oc-

cupation for women where the ratio was a high of 174 percent in 1956, falling to 137.4 percent in 1990.

An increasing number of women have found overseas employment, largely in domestic service and entertainment. They comprised 47.2 percent of the registered outflow in 1987 and about 60 percent of registered new hires in 1994. About 10.0 percent of female overseas workers were entertainers and 65.9 percent were domestic helpers. The rest are nurses and other health workers, executives and teachers.

There are, however, worrisome gender-related patterns which show that the opportunities available to women have neither been equally distributed nor availed of at zero cost. Inherited traditions about women's roles still significantly influence their choices as to what jobs are deemed suitable to women. It is therefore no surprise to see a majority of women graduates seeking jobs whose nature are most akin to home-making and care giving. Professional women are largely in the lower-paying rung of the occupation such as teaching and nursing. Women at the very top of the professional rung are disproportionately few as compared to men. CHAPTER 4 reports that in the 1000 largest corporations, women comprise only 8.5 percent of presidents and 15.4 percent of vice presidents and 16.9 percent of all officials listed.[5] Hence, although the participation of women employed in two work categories — as professionals, technicians and managers, and as clerical and service workers — has increased, the concentration of women in the bottom rung of the occupational wage hierarchy has not changed much.

Finding work in "non-traditional" areas becomes especially difficult for female applicants, not only because of occupational segmentation, but also of gender-based discrimination. The cycle of discrimination starts even at the hiring stage where advertisements tacitly express sex-based preferences, as well as preferences for certain age groups, with pleasing physical attributes. A study by STANDING [1992] on recruitment practices and preferences of Philippine industrial establishments reveals such patterns. Based on the 1990 Philippine Labor Flexibility Survey (PLFS), of the 1,311 industrial establishments surveyed, over 56 percent of the sample said they preferred men as production workers, while 12 percent said they preferred women, with a little over 31 percent saying they were indifferent. The same study also reveals that in most industrial firms, except construction, wood products and food processing, a slight majority of firms have only 10 percent or less of their total employment that is in non-regular labor contract. CHAPTER 4 also finds that there are 4,610 cases of violation of contracts including under-payment and non-payment of wages, and bad working conditions, of which 79 percent are experienced by women.

The concentration of women in a few industries and occupations has tended to push down their relative wage rate vis-à-vis men, since the segmentation hinders them from seeking the best jobs or the highest paying ones. Domestic helpers get the lowest wage on average, pay the highest placement fees and face the highest risk, physical and mental. Occupational segregation may also partly explain the higher unemployment rates among women. Employed women in the non-agricultural sectors generally have a higher schooling level than employed men. For prime-age workers (age 31-40) in urban areas, the female-male wage ratio ranges from 0.61 (service) to 0.98 (clerical). The ratio for professional workers is 0.82, for production workers 0.78 and for administrative/executive occupations, 0.74. [CHAPTER 4, TABLE 4.6].

The persistence of gender wage disparities suggests that women who are principal breadwinners have a more difficult task of making ends meet than women in dual-income earning households. CHAPTER 5 shows that around 14 percent of families/households in the Philippines are headed by women; they are concentrated in the more developed regions and in the urban centers. While it is indeed the case that female-headed households have higher levels of income than

their male-headed counterparts, at the bottom 40 percent, the average household incomes of female headed households are much lower than the comparable male-headed families (See CHAPTER 5). Hence the poor female-headed household may actually constitute the poorest of the country's poor.

The Hazards Women Face

Two major types of gender-specific hazard confront women — one is work-related; the other can happen in the confines of the home and/or the community at large. Both types of hazards are discussed in order to draw attention to these concerns that threaten the well-being and safety of women and yet are still largely ignored and often trivialized.

The segregation of women in a few occupations and industries means they face work hazards peculiar to the nature of these industries. CHAPTER 6 discusses four types of work-related hazards — risk of physical injury, ergonomic problems, exposure to poisonous substances, unhealthy working conditions and mental stress. Risk of physical injury is present in jobs where heavy machine tools and equipment are used, e.g., construction, mining, transport, machinery manufacture, foundry. The risk of illness due to poisonous substances, noise, poor lighting, temperature is found in both male and female-dominated jobs such as cement factories, electronics, garment, cable manufactures, chemicals. Another hazard is "poor ergonomics" which means "the use of furniture and equipment that put the human body in unnatural poses, hence, increasing the risk of injury" *[CHAPTER 6]. There are ergonomic problems* found for example in retail selling, where the workers are compelled to stand constantly, in weeding and planting where they must be bent most of the time or even in clerical jobs such as typing or data entry. Finally, there is stress arising from boredom, from unthinking repetitive tasks in automated production, from long work hours or shifting work schedules, and from psychological causes such as sexual harassment.

Generally women do not find employment in industries/occupations that entail risk of physical injuries. They do find employment where any one or more of the other types of risk are present. A compilation of medical claims by women workers in 228 establishments showed a very high proportion of stress-related symptoms such as gastritis/ hyperacidity (46.9 percent) and hypertension (16.8 percent). Almost 13 percent of the complaints were for dermatoses which could be the result of "handling and exposure to irritant and sensitizing chemical compounds" such as fertilizers and pesticides. Semiconductor workers complained of migraine headaches, eye strain, blurred vision, watery eyes, burns and respiratory illnesses; electronics industry employees reported eye defects, cancer, lung disease, liver and kidney problems and textile mill workers had skin irritations, eye problems, impaired hearing, dysmenorrhea and stress.

Women are vulnerable to sexual harassment in any work place. With persistent high unemployment and underemployment rates and prevailing gender norms, unscrupulous employers tend to use their hiring power to extract sexual favors. In 1994, overseas workers filed 14,314 complaints, 83 percent of which were made by women. Of the 3,579 reported cases of maltreatment and physical abuse, including rape and sexual harassment in 1994, 79 percent were by women. In 1995, the Anti-Sexual Harassment Act was signed into law, after persistent lobbying and debates by women's groups and human rights advocates. It provides that work, education *or training related sexual harassment is committed* by an employer, employee, manager, or any person having authority that requests, demands or requires sexual favor from the

other. Given these developments, the Bureau of Women and Young Workers (BWYW) of the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE) has developed an advocacy plan on the elimination of sexual harassment in the workplace.

Outside of sexual harassment, labor legislation to date is not geared to protect women workers from the hazards they face in the workplace; the laws address mainly the more palpable ones, such as hazards of physical injury that are typically observed in male dominated occupations and industries such as construction, mining and transport. Health hazards arising from poisonous substances, extreme temperatures, poor lighting and ventilation, and ergonomic problems are not as tractable. There is only scant information on the hazards existing in new industries like electronics and chemical factories, which are major employers of women. Outside the white collar occupations, women have concentrated in occupations and industries where these hazards exist. The problems are not confined to factory employment since poverty leads to poor working conditions in home-based production as well.

Moreover, there are no clear guidelines for establishing claims for ergonomics and other work-caused illnesses and stresses. The three agencies in charge of worker protection — the Bureau of Workmen's Compensation, the Bureau of Youth and Women Employment and the Employees' Compensation Commission (ECC) are small, poorly funded, and inadequately staffed. Reporting of injuries and work-related illnesses is voluntary. Work environment standards are either inapplicable or poorly enforced. Standards for temperature, lighting, pollution, noise and ergonomics are absent. Providing evidence for work-related illness is a near impossible task.

Important segments of female workers are outside the reach of the protective institutions — those in the informal sector, homeworkers, domestic helpers, and entertainers. Firms in the informal sector are too numerous and scattered to monitor. Homeworkers are not covered by the law. Domestic helpers work in individually separate locations and are more difficult to monitor than informal firms. Some entertainers work in illegal businesses and are likewise difficult to track. The problem with domestic helpers and entertainers who work abroad is even more serious. The government has failed to develop an effective monitoring system for these workers. As a whole, labor protection laws have limited coverage and are weakly enforced.

Gender violence or more specifically, violence against women still stalks the lives of many in the Philippines — rich and poor, rural and urban, young and old. There has been very limited data on this issue to date, but documented evidence reveals that the problem pervades not only the workplace, but also the family and the community at large [UPCWSF 1996]. In addition to work hazards, women workers are more exposed and vulnerable to threats of sexual harassment and assault by their employers who are typically male. Women who work overseas as domestic helpers and entertainers are likewise vulnerable to physical abuse and violation of contracts as shown by cases that have ended in rape and/or murder. These abuses are not readily monitored since many of the overseas workers are employed in isolated or illegal enterprises.

In recent years, the issue of domestic violence has gained attention in many countries including the Philippines. Since it occurs largely in the confines of homes, the problem has been largely hidden and unrecognized. Only in 1985 did the United Nations (UN) make its first resolution on the problem, calling on member states to undertake research and formulate strategies to deal with violence in the home. Recent estimates in the Philippines show that anywhere from one to six out of every 10 women face physical, sexual and psychological assaults in the home [UPCWSF 1996: 3]. A study of 1000 documented cases of family violence between 1994 and 1996 revealed that almost all vic-

tims (98 percent) were women with an average age of 23 years. More than half were not employed; the rest were employed in low-paying jobs as domestic helpers [UPCWSF 1996: 7-8]. The study also found that the most common perpetrator of assaults on women were their male spouses or partners, accounting for more than half of the abuses.

Breaking this cycle of violence is no easy task, yet its severe consequences on its victims and their families and communities require urgent attention from policymakers and researchers. The Philippines, like many countries, has no national policy or legislation on violence against women. Such policy must involve reforms in the Philippine criminal and civil laws so that domestic violence is handled as a singular criminal offence and support given to the victim as well as help for the abuser. Unfortunately, existing laws still place much of the burden of proof for rape on the woman, so that most rapes go unreported. Domestic violence is treated as a "private family matter", one that does not warrant legislative intervention or administrative intrusion. And while some service facilities for victims of violence now exist in the Philippines such as crisis counselling, shelters for battered and sexually abused women, women's desks in police stations, there is an need to expand their geographical outreach and to make the facilities more victim-friendly.

Women's Contributions in Unpaid Work

Although women's economic contributions in the market economy are becoming more visible, much of women's work remains unrecognized and unvalued. The preceding section on women's economic performance highlights the economic activity rates of women, pointing out the distinct and observable trends in employment, unemployment, and type of economic activity. This however, is only one aspect of the wide range of work that women perform. This section first compares men and women's work and time use, noting their relative contributions in paid and unpaid work activities. It then highlights the unpaid work, predominantly done by women such as housework, childcare, and community volunteer work. Using the University of the Philippines Population Institute (UPPI) time use data, CHAPTER 4 shows that the average hours worked were virtually equal for employed men and women, but the differential varies across occupations, with the difference depending on flexibility of work schedule in the various occupations. For example, women worked longer hours in sales and services, 53.3 and 53.6 hours, respectively as against 50.3 and 51.5 hours for men. Women worked very much shorter hours than men in agriculture — 29.1 hours vs. 39.3 hours, likewise in production/manufacturing, 42.0 hours vs. 47.7 for men.

Overall, women in the Philippines and in the rest of Asia contribute 36 percent of all market work hours, with fairly even shares in industry, services and agriculture. In Africa the economic contribution of women reaches as much as 44 percent of all market hours [UNDP 1995: 90].

At the same time, women continued to devote a substantial amount of their time to different kinds of home production activities — from child rearing, to cooking meals, to cleaning and washing clothes. CHAPTER 4 es-

timates the imputed value of these unpaid non-market production activities to be about 40 percent to 60 percent of GNP.[6]

With regard to household tasks, men devoted about two hours to home chores irrespective of the length of their market work, according to the results of the UPPI time use survey. The majority of the women in the sample substituted home chores for market work so that their total working time including travel did not differ significantly from that of their husbands. However, the women who worked full-time still put in about two hours doing home chores, making their total work hours longer than the other workers, including men. Because women chose to work in the informal sector jobs which are close to their homes, they spent relatively little time travelling, 0.39 hours vs 1.04 hours by men in urban areas. In rural areas, the figures are 0.18 hour vs. 0.82 hour. (CHAPTER 4, TABLE 4.9).

The general pattern of women working longer hours than men in the Philippines is reflected elsewhere in the world. A review of 31 countries by the 1995 Human Development Report shows that of the total burden of work, women carry on average 53 percent in developing countries and 51 percent in industrial countries [UN 1995a : 88]. Roughly three-fourths of men's total work time in developing countries is spent in paid activities and one-fourth in unpaid work activities. For women, a greater proportion of their time is spent in unpaid activities which are largely unrecognized and undervalued.

Several studies on women's unpaid work provide valuable information about the estimated contribution of this sector to the GDP and the volume of labor time spent by women (and in some studies, men and children as well) in these activities in the developing countries despite limited data and problems of measurement and valuation [UN 1991, GOLDSCHMIDT-CLERMONT 1987]. An important component of non-market production is subsistence farming and household work. GOLDSCHMIDT-CLERMONT [1987] provides a compilation of 40 studies conducted between 1973 and 1985 which evaluate the economic value of unpaid household work in Africa, Asia, Latin America, and Oceania. Many of these studies are derived from relatively large sample surveys or from anthropological studies with at least 100 observations and which are controlled for seasonal variations. In parts of the Philippines and the developing world where integration to the market economy is limited, the scope of non-market goods and services is vast, ranging from subsistence farming, fuel and water gathering to food preparation and other household chores. The UN estimates of additions to GDP if unpaid housework is included ranges from 11 percent (Philippines) to 35 percent (Pakistan) indicating the relative importance of non-market activities in relation to the market economy [UN 1991].[7] At the household level, calculations of household full income which includes the value of time devoted to home production for several countries show that the imputed value of home production activities represents about 38-60 percent of total household income [GOLDSCHMIDT-CLERMONT 1987].

Non-market activities appear to be overwhelmingly performed by female household members in most developing countries. In the 35 country case studies under review by GOLDSCHMIDT-CLERMONT, their contribution ranges from 2.5 to 14 times that of men. Similar conclusions are reached by MCGUIRE and POPKIN [1990] in their review of time allocation patterns of rural men and women in seven African and Asian countries, with the exception of Ivory Coast.[8] It also seems that in the rural areas, the proportion of total labor time allocated by women to non-market production tends to be high, as much as three times the amount spent in market production [MCGUIRE and POPKIN 1990; UN 1991]. This is particularly true when related activities such as water and firewood gathering and food processing for household consumption are added to domestic activities and when households essentially serve as economic units which provide most of its own subsistence needs.

While there is increasing recognition that non-market household production is a significant economic activity providing the necessary goods and services for social reproduction, there are several methodological issues concerning its documentation and measurement that makes this area of production quantitatively elusive.

Part of the difficulty lies in assessing the value of non-market production. Markets for many non-market goods and services are often distorted or nonexistent, presenting difficulties for estimating their monetary value. The question of what unit of measurement should be used in imputing value is particularly important if household and market processes are to be compared and if economic interactions between the two are to be assessed. Market production is usually measured in monetary units; many studies which measure the extent of household production tend to express them first in labor-time units and then finding some proxy for valuing unpaid labor.

Existing time use surveys have provided useful sets of data on the labor time contributed by household members on both market and non-market activities. Despite considerable progress in the documentation of household time use, several studies including Beneria [1991] and Floro [1992] suggest that the present time use survey methods falls short in presenting an accurate picture. More typically, time-allocation data are gathered through daily record keeping among a limited number of households rather than through interviews in large-scale surveys. Differences in time frames and methods employed in data collection affect the absolute amounts of time women and men devote to activities, and, more critically, the estimations of the sexes' proportional shares of house and market work.

The time use survey method is also sensitive to what subjects consider to be "work" and "non-work". Assisting their husbands in the farm is sometimes perceived to be not "work" at all. The same is true for mending clothes, knitting, giving children a haircut or helping them with their homework, which are sometimes considered "leisure activities". The socialization process of certain tasks to be part of gender-based roles then gets to define the scope of "work" or an engagement in a productive activity.

Despite the serious difficulties, it is urgent to have a systematic documentation of women's unpaid work and to integrate the information generated in policy decision-making and formulation, especially in important social and economic concerns such as the development of children, women's health and gender equality. Unpaid work remains a significant and irreplaceable basis for the reproduction of human resources and therefore has a significant impact on the well-being of the household and society; it also consumes much of the work effort of women both in developing and developed countries.

The inescapable implication is that there is a need for a full recognition of the importance of such economic activities, even though they are unpaid and non-marketed. Now considered largely as women's primary responsibility, the social services for maintaining families and communities need to be recognized as the responsibility of both men and women, as well as of society. For public policy, this implies incentives, investments and other measures to provide quality child care, effective and affordable social services, and so on. It also means taking measures to ensure that all citizens, including men, share more equally in the burden of family life and community service.

Women's Empowerment

Human development is also a process of empowering people so that they can participate in the design and implementation of the key decisions affecting their lives. Development indicators such as HDI and GDI do not completely capture the main elements of empowerment so that they need to be supplemented with additional information. This section focuses on two main arenas of decision-making namely, the political arena and the household unit. It examines the extent to which men and women in the Philippines participate equally in decision-making and as the available evidence demonstrates, the result is somewhat mixed.

Women in decision-making bodies such as government agencies, legislative bodies and other political organizations and institutions, is one measure of power and influence. A recent study by the National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women (NCRFW) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) [1995] shows that the number of women candidates running for public office has been increasing in absolute and relative terms over time. In 1986 the national presidency was occupied by a woman for the first time in Philippine history and in 1992, two women were among the six contenders in the presidential race [NCRFW and ADB 1995: 33-35). Nonetheless, although women constitute slightly more than half of the electorate, the study in CHAPTER 8 shows that only a small proportion of women are found in elective offices at the local as well as national level. The proportion of women in the senate is only 4 out of 24; in the house of representatives, 21 out of 203. Women are slightly better represented at the local and provincial levels. At the local government level, there are only 9 out of 75 governors; and 73 out of 669 provincial board members. There are only 125 out of 1536 municipal mayors; and 3 out of 67 city mayors or 4.7 percent. (CHAPTER 8) Even the women who are elected into positions do not necessarily carry a pro-woman and gender-awareness platform.

Compared to elective positions, there has been more support and acceptance of women entering the government bureaucracy. CHAPTER 4 reports that in the non-elective government positions referred to as civil service jobs, the great majority of women are in the lower and middle level rankings. Women employees climb up faster than male employees from the lowest level to the middle level but very poorly from middle level to high level.[9] For women, the ratio of middle level to lowest level employees is 96.9 percent, but the ratio for high level employees to middle level employees is only 2.4 percent. The corresponding figures for male civil servants are 49.5 percent and 7.5 percent. (CHAPTER 4, TABLE 4.5). For the highest positions — cabinet secretary, undersecretary and assistant secretary — the respective female-male ratios are 15 percent, 33 percent and 36 percent. The trend from 1992-94 to 1995-96 is only slightly upward for most of the important elective and non-elective positions in the government. (CHAPTER 8, TABLE 8.4.0). Such trends are much better than the average representation of women in governmental bodies in developing countries (10 percent) [UNDP 1995: 42].

Women's gains in obtaining the right to vote therefore has not automatically translated into women being elected to key political positions. The political arena is still considered a man's domain. Politics has been regarded as dirty and tough, and like jobs requiring heavy physical input, are considered not suited to women. Thus the under-representation of women in this area is not just a matter of a stage in Philippine development, its level of income, or the education level of its women. It is also bound up with persistent cultural and social norms that restrict women's position and role in public life.

In recent decades, more and more Filipino women have seen expressing their voice in numerous non-governmental organizations, and to a smaller extent in

trade/labor unions. The acknowledged vibrancy of women's organizations in the Philippines attest to women's participation in public life. Their active leadership and membership can be found in special purpose groups, grassroots-based and sector-based organizations, socio-civic and religious groups and so on. Official records from the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC) show that a total of 558 women's organizations and associations were registered between 1990 and mid-1994.

Trends also indicate that the increasing labor force participation among Filipino women has been accompanied by increases in union membership. Data from the DOLE reveal that women represent between 34 percent and 62 percent of public sector union memberships in 1987-93 period, and 41.4 percent in the private sector unions in 1993 [NCRFW and ADB 1995: 41]. Their representation is highest in industries where majority of workers are women such as wholesale and retail trade, community, social and personal services.

The household is another important domain in which key decisions are made. This is perhaps one important area that has been subject to extensive research and numerous debates regarding the status of women. Some studies tend to depict the Filipino wife as the "queen of the household"; she performs a role that has been ascribed to her by centuries of tradition and cultural norms [Sevilla 1995; Torres 1995]. Moreover, it is often noted that women in the Philippines wield power in the family because of their many housekeeping and childbearing responsibilities. It is also the woman who holds the family purse strings so that it is a common perception that she determines daily expenditures for basic items and keeps whatever savings have been accumulated. A number of studies that have examined the household decision-making process itself provide an alternative perspective in assessing the extent of women's participation in household decision-making.

The persistent tradition of woman's dominance in the household may actually lead to response bias on the part of survey respondents. This tendency to respond in the socially desirable or approved way can be discerned, for instance in the Mendez and Jocano [1974] urban study which indicates that the wife mentions that she makes more decisions than the husband even though such decisions are attributed by her to him [Sevilla 1995:45]. Moreover, Bautista's [1977] study indicate that even if Filipino women keep the household money, their husbands have a greater share in deciding where the money goes.

A factor complicating the issue of household dynamics and decision-making is the impact on women's power and role in the home as a result of changes in labor force participation and earnings of women. Overseas employment, for instance, may have wrought profound changes in women's choices and role in the home. The number of Filipinos working abroad has been reported to have reached about four million.[10] In the case of the households of male OCWs (overseas contract workers), wives become virtual heads of their families and have a greater say on the allocation of household income. On the other hand, the OCW-wives leave home management to their husbands. Casual observation suggests that older relatives assist, and possibly monitor, the remaining spouse; also that overseas income is earmarked for specific asset acquisition especially children's or siblings' education. Family roles change with overseas employment, and these changes may be expected to have serious implications on family life, of which consumption is just an aspect. Women who work abroad as overseas contract workers make a larger contribution to family income, possibly increasing their bargaining power in the home. At the same time, they relinquish their role as manager of the home to the husband and whoever shares their home-making responsibility.

This strongly suggests the need for further studies on decision-making in Philippine households, noting the various dimensions and determinants of power and participation

of men and women. It is an important area that merits serious research and attention. The question of who participates in or makes key decisions in the household determines not only the sharing of household work burden between members; it also affects the pattern of resource and expenditures allocation that have significant impact on the well-being of its members, particularly the children.

CHAPTER 5 for example, argues that a woman's stronger bargaining power in family decisions results in the reduction of expenditures for the husband's leisure consumption like alcohol and tobacco and an increase towards children's human capital. A comparison of the allocation of income of male-headed and female-headed households (MHH and FHH for short) using the 1991 Family Income and Expenditures Survey (FIES) supports the argument. Other important differences exist in the consumption and savings behavior of the two groups of households.

For instance, all FHH consumed less food than MHH. FHH consumption of tobacco and alcohol was less than half of MHH; the opposite pattern holds for the other three items. The difference in spending for education and health was quite small for richer households but substantial for the poorest households. Rich FHH spent a lot for personal care and recreation. Worrisome is the relatively large expenditures on gifts/special occasions by all FHH. The poorest FHH spent on this item almost twice the proportion spent by the poorest MHH. It appears that most of what the poorest FHH saved in food and tobacco/alcohol was spent instead on personal care/recreation and gifts/special occasions. The last item absorbed a surprisingly large part of their budget, 8.9 percent as compared to only 3.5 percent for education and health. The evidence supporting women's stronger preference for children's human capital is qualified by the fact that FHH spent so much more for non-basic items, in absolute and relative terms.

In addition, CHAPTER 5 reports that FHH saved more than MHH, 12.4 percent vs. 9.8 percent on average and for each income grouping. (Households were grouped into the highest 30 percent, middle 30 percent and lowest 40 percent.) The MHH in the lowest income group had a negative saving of 0.3 percent while the corresponding FHH had a positive saving of 2.1 percent.

Concluding Remarks

The enhancement of women's capabilities and opportunities to make choices is an important part of human development. The gains achieved by the Philippines in increasing access to education and jobs in certain sectors, rising participation in elections as voters and candidates over the past few decades have been significant. Equally remarkable is the advance of women in less traditional fields of economic endeavor such as in the fields of business, science and technology as well as in positions of influence in government.

Nevertheless, the gender gap remains substantial in economic opportunities, decision-making, and access to resources. In the rural areas, agriculture and fisheries are often considered as male occupations even as women perform a host of functions in the entire process. Many more women than men are in low-paying, low-skilled activities. Discrimination in many jobs persists and occupational segregation channels women into less remunerative and less productive segments of the labor market. Wage remuneration and access to credit and land resources are still unequal. Women's natural health advantage at birth tends to be eroded due to neglect of women's health problems.

There is also the reality of gender-based hazards that women have to face, including sexual harassment and gender violence. Politics remains man's domain, in a society that gives production pre-eminence, and where men are traditionally assumed as

breadwinners and heads of households and organizations. It is not surprising therefore that gender issues remain marginal in most legislative, policymaking and lawmaking bodies. Excluded from most political offices, many women have found voice in non-governmental organizations.

Persistent social and cultural norms and the unequal division of labor in household activities is another constraint to women's empowerment and full participation in the development process. Women are made responsible for most housework and childcare, which goes unmeasured by standard economic and development indicators. These unpaid, non-market activities are largely taken for granted and perceived as "natural functions" that do not merit any policy consideration. Socialization in the family, the education system, the portrayal of women in media, the gender-blindness of government programs and policies and the legal system allow the perpetuation of such views. They merely reinforce the perception of women as "the weaker sex" because their capabilities, whether in the home or in the public sphere, are neither valued nor recognized.

In recent years, there have been deliberate efforts by government, academic and non-governmental institutions and organizations to address these gender disparities. But much remains to be done. A key factor is the low level of awareness and understanding of gender issues in many sectors. This is aggravated by the lack of gender-disaggregated information and data in government agencies and research institutions. While some Philippine agencies have sought to make amends for the invisibility of women in data and information systems, a concerted effort is needed to develop a system of gender-disaggregated data gathering, collection, processing and dissemination at the agency/firm, local, and national levels. Economic policies and programs need to be assessed in terms of their gender responsiveness and gender-based impact. The assumption of gender neutrality is deeply ingrained in the thinking of academics, policy advisers, lawmakers and public officials. As this report has demonstrated and as succeeding chapters will argue, human development cannot be sustained and further advanced without addressing gender inequality.

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Notes

1. Casual comments are that girls are more studious and have less distraction than boys and so could complete their schooling more easily than boys (See CHAPTER 4). HERRIN and RACELIS [1994] found that among the lowest 30% of Philippine families, more boys than girls expressed lack of interest as a reason for not enrolling — for those aged 7-12, 49% of boys were uninterested vs. 39% for girls; for those aged 13-16, the figures are 47% vs. 3%; and for those aged 17-24, 29% vs. 14%. In the University of the Philippines (UP), for instance, 65% of students are girls, even though that it offers many male oriented fields like engineering, agriculture and natural sciences.
2. At the end of World War II when there were fewer schools and family incomes were lower, the enrollment rate for girls was significantly lower than for boys. As more schools were opened, the private cost of schooling declined and more girls were sent to school. Thus, the female-male enrollment ratio has shown a generally upward trend over the last five decades.
3. Labor force participation rate (LFPR) among women is lower than among men because of gender stereotyping and a lower educational level. But the *average* educational attainment of employed women is higher than men, since it is possible only better educated women get employed at all. Girls may still have a higher completion rate since the "voluntary withdrawal" of boys from school may be stronger than the "involuntary (and conditional) withdrawal" of girls from school. The findings of HERRIN and RACELIS [1994] give evidence to the expressed lack of interest of boys in not enrolling at all.
4. This is not the only interpretation possible. The standard interpretation is that those with better schooling *can afford* to be un/underemployed longer.
5. The three top universities have not had a female president but they have had female vice presidents. According to the Asian Institute of Management (AIM) case studies of successful women business executives (and entrepreneurs), the subjects said they had to work doubly hard to reach their second to the top positions. They were silent about any ambition for the presidency since apparently this was not for them even if they believed themselves to be qualified.
6. Two approaches were used in CHAPTER 4 to estimate the value of women's home production. One is based on the simple notion of an efficient or effective time needed to complete the home chores of an average family. The time was valued at the wage rate of maids assumed to be some fraction of the minimum wage rate. The value of home time for the economy is simply equal to the value of home time per family multiplied by the total number of families. The second esti-

mate is based on GRONAU's model [1983] which derives the value of time from a marginal productivity function of home time. The two estimates differ but not too substantially. Whichever approach is used gives a significant value of unaccounted production of home goods or Z-goods. The range of unaccounted value is from about one-third to more than unity. The simple approach (1) gives 60% of GDP, the second approach in (2) which uses the own wage as the opportunity cost of home time leads to about 52% of the earned income of the labor force. Alternatively we have the result of method (3) that results in 33% of earned income of workers. And the fourth, 43% of GNP.

7 These studies tend to be few because of data limitations and inherent problems of measurements. Moreover, these evaluations differ in many respects such as the nature of the sample, the method of data collection, the scope of activities included in the subsistence or unpaid household activities category, the manner of valuation of the output of such activities, etc. Hence, one needs to be cautious in making comparisons across such countries.

8 These countries are: Bangladesh, Indonesia (Java), Nepal, Philippines, Botswana, Ivory Coast and Tanzania.

9 Civil service jobs are regular government jobs classified into three levels — the lowest level are the clerical jobs, middle level positions are supervisory, and high level positions are director to assistant secretary positions. The rate of promotion is indicated by the ratio of the member of employees in one level to the number of employees in a lower level.

10 There is no systematic collection of the stock of OCWs. Newspaper and occasional government statements quote figures of 4.0 to 4.5 million. The Philippine Overseas Employment Agency (POEA) monitors the outflows but not the stock.

2 Human and Gender Development: 1990-1994

Introduction

Growth is not development.[1] Growth is increase in quantity — of output or incomes. Development is improvement in the quality of life. The two also serve different purposes. On the one hand, growth is concerned with the expansion of the material resources available to the population. On the other hand, development (*human* development, more specifically) proceeds from the much broader realization that "the real wealth of a nation is its people — both women and men. And the purpose of development is to create an enabling environment for people to enjoy long, healthy and creative lives." [UNDP 1995: 11] "The purpose of development is to enlarge all human choices, not just income" [UNDP 1995: 11].

A country whose real income grows only modestly cannot be judged to have failed in attaining its development objectives if it performs well in more important aspects such as the greater availability and better delivery of social services (e.g., better education, health, and nutrition), a more equitable distribution of resources, a greater gender equality, or a better-preserved environment. In contrast, a country whose real income has increased rapidly has not necessarily succeeded in development if the gains from economic growth are appropriated by a privileged few, or when the most vulnerable members of the population fare worse in the process of this growth. Rapid growth in real income may also be short-lived, especially when it was generated from the depletion of non-renewable resources. Hence, economic growth is not enough to achieve a higher, sustainable, and equitable level of development.

Nonetheless, economic growth *can* and *must* be regarded as a necessary component of development. Indeed, much of the discontent with the Philippines' past performance has to do with its failure to sustain either growth *or* development. But this is because the relationship between the two is mutually reinforcing: both are needed to effect rapid and sustainable improvements in people's material and social well-being. The connection may be seen in many ways.

First, an initially high level of human development makes available to a country a larger and better stock of productive resources (i.e., human capital). In combination with the existing stock of physical capital and natural resources, human capital can be used to increase output and income. The higher level of income this makes possible is in turn indispensable for achieving a higher level of human development. An increase in income makes more resources available to support improvements in human capital, e.g., in acquiring more education and better health, both by the government and private individuals.

Second, where incomes are rising, it is easier to improve the existing *distribution* of income and wealth, since additional income can be distributed disproportionately to the poor more easily than if redistribution were to be undertaken with fixed or shrinking incomes. Historically, few elites have been willing to devote resources to the marginalized social sectors.

In the latter case, redistribution would entail a change in the status quo where additional resources going to the poor would necessarily be taken from another income group.

Finally, one should not forget that the capabilities people acquire in human development must ultimately be expressed as "functionings", or socially useful and productive activities. Higher incomes are a measure of the degree to which potentials acquired in human development are actually turned into such activities. A regime that allows for increasing output is therefore also important for human development as one expression of human functionings. A failure to provide the economic outlets for human functionings ultimately leads to a deterioration of capabilities, such as when skills are lost with disuse [DE DIOS and MAPALAD 1996].

Precisely in response to the important distinction and relationship between growth and development, the idea of *human development* was advanced by the UNDP in 1990. Within this framework, a human development index (HDI) was conceived to measure how well a country has performed, not only in terms of real income growth, but also in terms of social indicators of people's ability to lead a long and healthy life, to acquire knowledge and skills, and to have access to the resources needed to afford a decent standard of living. Following recent revisions, this index is now constructed by looking at three outcomes of development: the state of health (measured by life expectancy at birth), the level of knowledge and skill (measured by adult literacy and enrollment rates), and the level of real income per capita, adjusted to reflect the priority given to relieving absolute poverty.

The HDI, as constructed, has also been modified to reflect the systematic unfavorable economic and social conditions faced by women. These include the general tendency for women to receive lower pay for the same occupation, to find employment in jobs that are lower-paying, and in some countries, to be subject to discrimination in acquiring higher education and obtaining health services of quality equal to those to which males are entitled. In response to the issues related to gender disparities, the gender-related human development index (GDI) was born.

Beyond this, however, what is lacking is that side of human development which is concerned with how well these capabilities are utilized by people as they engage in productive activities, participate in cultural, social and political affairs, or enjoy leisure. The wider choice that people have over how and where to use their capabilities signifies "empowerment", or a development where people "participate fully in the decisions and processes that shape their lives" [UNDP 1996: 12]. To include this aspect of development (along with the particular interest on gender disparity), the gender empowerment measure (GEM), was constructed, an index that seeks to capture the extent of women's participation in political and civic organizations.[2]

For some time now, the UNDP in various *Human Development Reports* has rated human development in the Philippines and other countries using the HDI. In 1993, the HDI for the Philippines was reported as 0.665, which places the country among those having medium HDI. This is a significant achievement in historical terms, considering the country began with a low HDI of 0.375 in 1960. Estimates of the Philippine HDI for previous periods are 0.418 in 1970, 0.477 in 1980, and 0.533 in 1990.

This is also a notable accomplishment in relation to other developing countries, for which HDI averaged 0.57 in 1992. The Philippines did better than average for a developing country on the four components of HDI: life expectancy was 66.3 years, adult literacy rate 94 percent, enrollment rate 77 percent, and real income per capita is 2,250 purchasing power parity (PPP) dollars [UNDP 1995].[3]

As an indication of overall trends, the encouraging picture painted by the international HDI is undoubtedly justified. It would be wrong, however, to take this as an excuse for complacency. An adequate national average can mask large pockets of want and deprivation and thus be distant from what many people experience. For this reason, it is necessary to examine human development more closely by presenting the concept of the HDI in greater detail and examining ways to supplement the information it provides. In the section that follows, therefore, the HDI is first implemented at the provincial level. In the third section, the concept is then adjusted to a particular social group that is deprived, namely, women. The final section then shows how parallel attempts to document human and social conditions can supplement the information provided by the HDI.

Development Disparities Across Provinces

The *Philippine Human Development Report* of 1994, presented human development indices for regions of the country. The current report extends this by presenting estimates of HDI at the *provincial* level for the first time for the years 1990 and 1994. Two shortcomings arising from the use of a regional classification have made this necessary. An obvious one is that the composition of a region has not always been stable through time and cause breaks in the data. Data for the Cordillera Administrative Region (CAR) and the Autonomous Region for Muslim Mindanao (ARMM), for example, will obviously not be available before the years they came into existence. The same thing may happen when provinces are created, of course, but this affects a smaller proportion of the total number of provinces.

The most important reason for moving beyond a regional presentation, however, is that a "region" is a category that involves no political constituency.[4] It is a mere planning concept — useful in its own sphere, no doubt — but entailing no political responsibility or accountability. If it became known for instance that a region's HDI rose or fell, there would be no politician or office that could either take the blame or the credit. If human development is to make a practical impact, however, success or failure must have political consequences.

This chapter for the first time estimates HDIs at the provincial level for the years 1990 and 1994 and attempts to evaluate the performance of provinces. The complete list of provincial HDIs is given in **Table 2.1**. For this purpose, the international procedure was slightly modified in order to harmonize national and subnational figures, the differences being explained in a technical annex. Using the modified method, the HDI at the national level is estimated to be 0.665 in 1990 and 0.660 in 1994. These figures continue to be comparable to that found using the conventional method (i.e., an HDI of 0.677). What will immediately be noted is that this represents a decline, and the reason is a fall in incomes. 1990 and 1994 are separated by the economic recession of 1991-1992. This fall in incomes affected many provinces in the country and sufficiently outweighed improvements in literacy and life expectancy to cause a small decline in HDI for the period.

Provincial HDIs of 0.8 or better may be considered "high", those in the 0.5-0.79 range classified as "medium", and anything less than 0.5 as "low". Using this rough classification, then, it will be seen (**Table 2.2**) that in 1994, only two of 74 provinces, namely Cavite and Rizal, came under the "high" classifica-

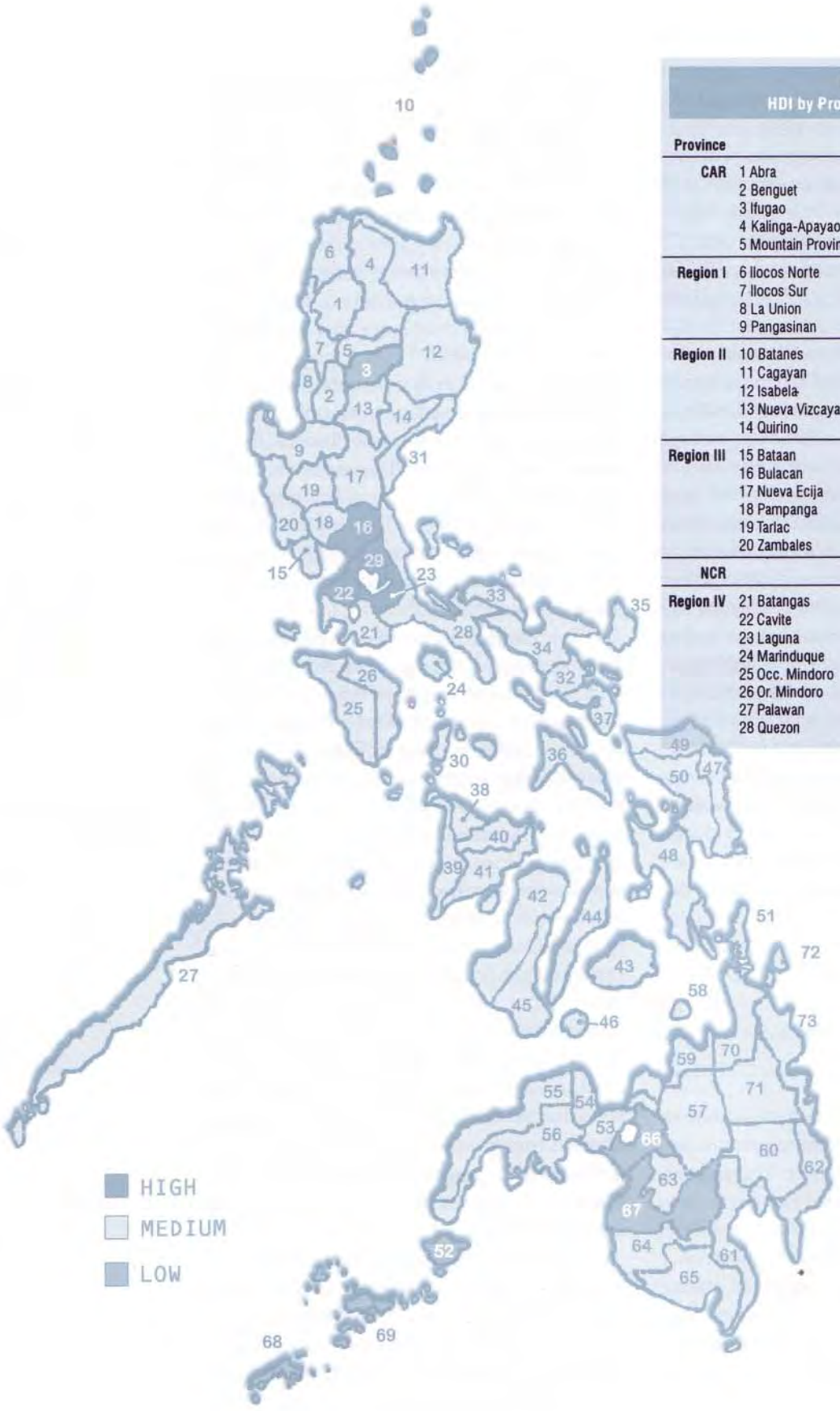


Table 2.1
HDI by Province (1990, 1994)

Province		HDI Over Time 1990	1994
CAR	1 Abra	0.457	0.560
	2 Benguet	0.671	0.672
	3 Ifugao	0.405	0.409
	4 Kalinga-Apayao	0.522	0.555
	5 Mountain Province	0.506	0.541
Region I	6 Ilocos Norte	0.652	0.649
	7 Ilocos Sur	0.622	0.657
	8 La Union	0.668	0.650
	9 Pangasinan	0.585	0.629
Region II	10 Batanes	0.755	0.798
	11 Cagayan	0.592	0.657
	12 Isabela	0.571	0.653
	13 Nueva Vizcaya	0.566	0.637
	14 Quirino	0.510	0.557
Region III	15 Bataan	0.748	0.730
	16 Bulacan	0.790	0.763
	17 Nueva Ecija	0.628	0.657
	18 Pampanga	0.721	0.731
	19 Tarlac	0.598	0.613
	20 Zambales	0.674	0.647
NCR		0.944	0.925
Region IV	21 Batangas	0.663	0.716
	22 Cavite	0.723	0.840
	23 Laguna	0.732	0.774
	24 Marinduque	0.660	0.658
	25 Occ. Mindoro	0.569	0.651
	26 Or. Mindoro	0.580	0.651
	27 Palawan	0.550	0.545
	28 Quezon	0.567	0.627

	29 Rizal	0.823	0.813
	30 Romblon	0.476	0.511
	31 Aurora	0.590	0.600
Region V	32 Albay	0.546	0.612
	33 Camarines Norte	0.522	0.587
	34 Camarines Sur	0.545	0.618
	35 Catanduanes	0.510	0.591
	36 Masbate	0.434	0.488
	37 Sorsogon	0.469	0.544
Region VI	38 Aklan	0.549	0.605
	39 Antique	0.483	0.521
	40 Capiz	0.451	0.525
	41 Iloilo	0.562	0.607
	42 Negros Occ.	0.547	0.577
Region VII	43 Bohol	0.505	0.543
	44 Cebu	0.550	0.584
	45 Negros Oriental	0.501	0.544
	46 Siquijor	0.474	0.539
Region VIII	47 Eastern Samar	0.573	0.580
	48 Leyte	0.519	0.571
	49 Northern Samar	0.462	0.473
	50 Samar (Western)	0.398	0.487
	51 Southern Leyte	0.513	0.592
Region IX	52 Basilan	0.345	0.427
	53 Lanao del Norte	0.464	0.500
	54 Misamis Occ.	0.524	0.593
	55 Zambo del Norte	0.440	0.502
	56 Zambo del Sur	0.502	0.543
Region X	57 Bukidnon	0.518	0.560
	58 Camiguin	0.503	0.530
	59 Misamis Oriental	0.525	0.595
Region XI	60 Davao (del Norte)	0.554	0.613
	61 Davao del Sur	0.532	0.518
	62 Davao Oriental	0.506	0.526
Region XII	63 North Cotabato	0.483	0.547
	64 Sultan Kudarat	0.533	0.563
	65 South Cotabato	0.548	0.586
ARMM	66 Lanao del Sur	0.434	0.445
	67 Maguindanao	0.429	0.447
	68 Sulu	0.320	0.372
	69 Tawi-Tawi	0.360	0.384
Caraga			
	70 Agusan del Norte	0.502	0.559
	71 Agusan del Sur	0.497	0.486
	72 Surigao del Norte	0.547	0.568
	73 Surigao del Sur	0.529	0.607

Table 2.2
Distribution of Provinces by HDI
(number of provinces, 1990, 1994)

HDI Range	1994	1990
.39 or less	2	4
.40 - .49	8	15
.50 - .59	33	39
.60 - .69	22	8
.70 - .79	6	6
.8 or greater	2	1
Total	73	73

tion. (Metro Manila is excluded from this reckoning.) On the other hand, ten provinces showed low HDIs, namely: Ifugao, Masbate, Northern Samar, Western Samar, Basilan, Lanao del Sur, Maguindanao, Sulu, Tawi-tawi, and Agusan del Sur. The rest had medium levels of human development.

It is instructive to highlight four types of provincial performances: "high achievements" refer to the highest HDIs in 1994, while "poor performances" refer to the lowest levels of HDI. When speaking about changes, one the other hand, "most-improved" would be provinces that displayed the largest increases in HDI between 1990 and 1994, while "deteriorating performances" refer to the largest declines in HDIs between 1990 and 1994.

In 1994, of the ten provinces with the highest levels of HDI, only Cavite (0.840) and Rizal (0.813) and possibly Batanes (0.798) might be considered to have exceeded the 0.8 threshold for a HDI that is "high" even in absolute terms, and even these are separated by a considerable gap from Metro Manila, whose HDI is 0.925. Almost all the high-ranking provinces were to be found in Southern Tagalog or in Central Luzon (See TABLE 2.3). HDI levels, therefore, still appear to be broadly associated with proximity to Metro Manila, depicting the historical radiation of economic and social development from the capital region. The consequences of the old story are still apparent: infrastructure is more adequate in provinces adjacent to NCR, health and educational facilities more accessible, and public order and safety are relatively better. No doubt this is a result both of patterns of human settlements and of biases in political economy. This is also evident from the fact that all the high-achieving provinces, without exception, recorded the highest real income per capita, although the rankings according to HDI and those according to real income per capita differ.

The sole exception to this rule is Batanes, which shows high levels of life expectancy and functional literacy.[5] The high achievement of Batanes in these non-income aspects

of human development teaches an unmistakable lesson on the benefits of devoting a large proportion of public spending to human development priorities and the virtues of having a small population. Batanes among all the country's provinces spent the most per head on human priority expenditures per capita in 1993 and 1994, the highest among all provinces. (In CHAPTER 3 of this *Report*).

The showings by Cavite and Laguna among the top league are quite expected. Apart from Metro Manila, it is these provinces which have received large inflows of new investments and are the preferred location for new industries, resulting in rising incomes. At the same time, non-income indicators continue to improve. The appearance of Pampanga may seem paradoxical at first sight, considering the devastation that has attended the province in the wake of the Pinatubo eruption. Part of this is already reflected in the life expectancy statistics, and the slightly lower functional literacy. On the other hand, the large increase in per capita income made up for this. This points partly to the performance of the nondevastated areas of the province, the effects of rehabilitation, as well as the economic resiliency of the Pampangueños themselves.

The strong performance of these provinces in all three aspects of human development contributed to their overall achievement. Life expectancy ranged between 66 and 72.6 years, functional literacy between 79.2 percent and 92.8 percent, and real income between 8,184 pesos and 14,057 pesos per capita.

In contrast, among the ten provinces with the lowest HDI (ranging from 0.4888 for Masbate to 0.372 for Sulu in 1994), one from Luzon, three from the Visayas, and six from Mindanao (of which four were ARMM provinces) (See **TABLE 2.3**), the factors accounting for the poor performance of these provinces vary widely. For Ifugao, the main problem was the relatively low functional literacy (in lower 50 percent), aggravated by its decrease between 1990 and 1994. Functional literacy for Basilan was even lower (48.1 percent) in 1994, although this was already a significant

Table 2.3
Top- and Bottom-Ten Provinces According to HDI (1994)

Top Ten	HDI	Bottom Ten	HDI
Cavite	0.840	Sulu	0.372
Rizal	0.813	Tawi-tawi	0.384
Batanes	0.798	Ifugao	0.409
Laguna	0.774	Basilan	0.427
Bulacan	0.763	Lanao del Sur	0.445
Pampanga	0.731	Maguindanao	0.447
Bataan	0.730	Northern Samar	0.473
Batangas	0.716	Agusan del Sur	0.486
Benguet	0.672	Western Samar	0.487
Marinduque	0.658	Masbate	0.488

Source Table 2.1

improvement over 1990 (when it was 38.1 percent). For the three Visayan provinces, as well as for Masbate and Agusan del Sur, the poor performance could be attributed mainly to low and falling incomes. The experience of ARMM provinces should cause the most concern, however, since they perform poorly in all three components of HDI. Life expectancy is lowest in that region (50 years or so), reflecting the effects of war and loss of security and the lack of health facilities. The poor performance is also due to low functional literacy, with the exception of Maguindanao, where functional literacy increased to 68.7 percent in 1994. Incomes are not only relatively low (in the order of 5,000 pesos per capita), but actually fell between 1990 and 1994 (except in Sulu). The decline in real income per capita in Tawi-Tawi was substantial (23 percent, or from 7,119 pesos in 1990 to 5457 pesos in 1994). The picture for income would no doubt look even worse if income distribution was taken into consideration.

Most-improved performances are shown by those provinces displaying the largest increases in HDI between 1990 and 1994. They are presented in **TABLE 2.4**. One encouraging observation is the fact that three of the ten worst performers registered large increases in HDI. These are Basilan, Western Samar, and Sulu (where the HDIs increased by 24.06 percent, 22.48 percent and 16.54 percent, re-

Table 2.4
Largest Changes in HDI (1990-1994)

Provinces with the Largest improvements	% change	Provinces with the Largest declines	% change
Basilan	22.46	Zambales	-3.99
Western Samar	22.48	Bulacan	-3.46
Abra	22.36	La Union	-2.81
Sulu	16.52	Davao del Sur	-2.54
Capiz	16.48	Bataan	-2.31
Cavite	16.24	Agusan del Sur	-1.23
Sorsogon	16.02	Rizal	-0.85
Catanduanes	16.01	Palawan	-0.85
Southern Leyte	15.27	Ilocos Norte	-0.48
Surigao del Sur	14.83	Marinduque	-0.24

Source Table 2.1

spectively, from their 1990 levels). The achievements of these provinces are real and should be recognized, precisely since they occurred under far from ideal conditions. Basilan is notable for the large increases in its functional literacy and average income. Western Samar's per capita income fell, but this was made up for by large increases in literacy and life expectancy. In the case of Sulu, the largest improvement was in terms of a substantial increase in functional literacy (from 36.3 percent in 1990 to 52.7 percent in 1994). In all ten provinces, without exception, large improvements in HDI came through higher functional literacy. This was helped by increases in average income in Basilan, Surigao del Sur, and Cavite (Abra and Southern Leyte to a lesser extent) experienced increases in average income.

Of 73 provinces, exactly ten experienced actual *declines* in HDI between 1990 and 1994. For some of these, the extent of the decline was in the order of 3-4 percent (e.g., Zambales, 3.99 percent; Bulacan, 3.46 percent). For others, the extent was moderate (e.g., Ilocos Norte, 0.48 percent; Marinduque, 0.24 percent). (See **Table 2.4**) The largest source of the decline in HDI in all ten provinces was falling average incomes, which affected virtually the entire country. It should be noted that this decline also affected Metro Manila, whose HDI fell during the period from 0.944 to 0.925 during the period. The same factor was behind the fall in HDI for the entire country. The loss of incomes, however, was made worse by a fall in functional literacy in a few provinces (e.g., Davao del Sur, Agusan del Sur and, surprisingly, Bulacan).

The picture of human development in the first half of the 1990s continues to show the influence of past historical and political biases: absolute standouts are few and far between, and geographical concentration of development is still evident. Nonetheless significant changes must be noted. The most hopeful among these is the continuing improvements among provinces with the lowest HDIs, and the gradual movement of provinces in the middle echelons.

HDI and Other Measures of Deprivation and Well-being

How closely is human development related to income? Income, of course, is one of the components of the human development index, and affects that measure directly. The fact that other aspects of development may not be reduced to simple income-increases is made vivid by examining whether these other aspects and incomes are closely related.

The two diagrams below (**Figure 2.1** and **Figure 2.2**) show how real per capita income (which is increasing on the horizontal axis) relates with functional literacy and life expectancy across provinces. The message that emerges is that indeed there is some weak relationship between incomes and these other two variables. Still there is enough of a dispersion that suggests that no self-acting principle guarantees that poorer provinces must always have shorter life expectancies than richer provinces, or that richer provinces invariably have higher life expectancies than poorer ones. Statistically, there is a positive relationship between real per capita income on the one hand and literacy and life expect-

Figure 2.1
Life Expectancy and Income (1994)

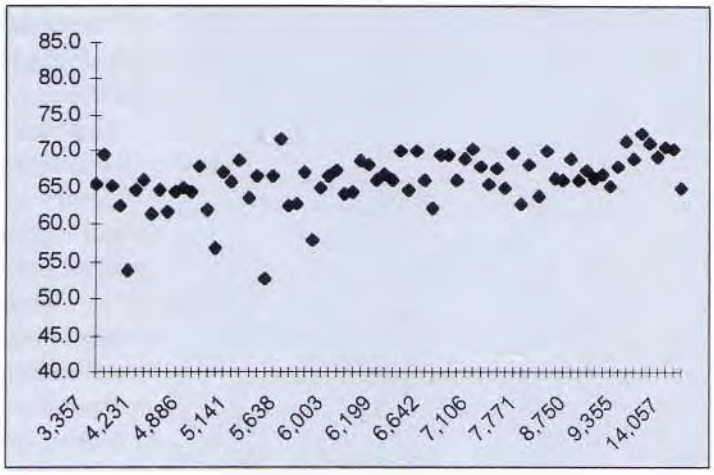
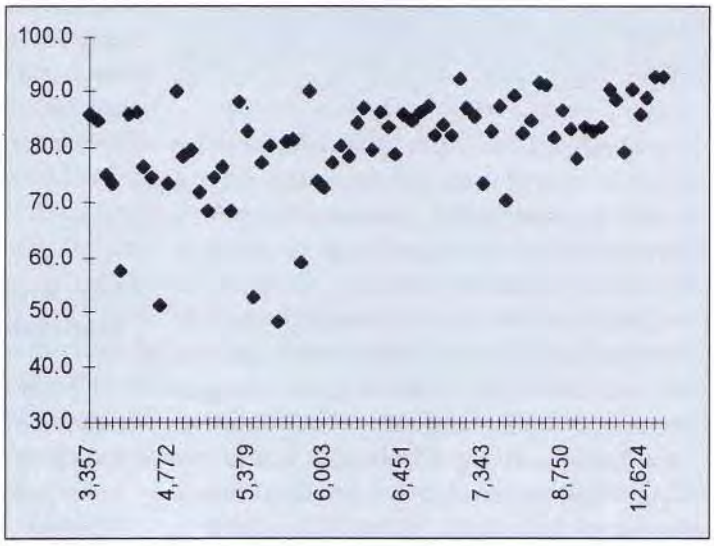


Figure 2.2
Functional Literacy and Income (1994)



ancy on the other. But this relationship is weak and explains only about one-fifth (20.6 percent) of the variation in life expectancy, and even less (18.7 percent) of the differences in functional literacy. The rest of the variation must be attributed to other factors.[6] The discussion in the chapter on governance suggests that higher public spending on human priority areas may be an important reason.

Another way of visualizing this "non-equivalence" is to compute an HDI *without the income component*, including only literacy and life-expectancy, and see how closely this index moves with per capita income. The result is that only 23.8 percent of the variation in such an index is explained by average incomes.

The existence of several systems of social statistics that at times appear to compete for public attention may appear bewildering. Apart from the HDI, two other important official efforts at monitoring human development and progress are the "minimum basic needs approach" (MBN), which has been recommended by the Social Reform Council, and the continuing efforts to improve the measurement of income-poverty.

Official statistics on poverty incidence refer to the percentage of all households whose incomes fail to meet a statutorily defined level that is deemed sufficient to provide food and nonfood subsistence. For the last decade where comparable data are available poverty incidence has declined, beginning with 44.2 percent in 1985, falling to 40.2 percent in 1988, to 39.9 percent in 1991 and 35.5 percent in 1994. A serious shortcoming of poverty statistics at the moment is the

unavailability of reliable data at the *provincial* level. This is because the food and nonfood baskets continue to be defined at the regional levels, which may or may not be relevant to specific provinces. (An alternative being proposed is the definition of a "fixed level of living" [Balisacan 1997] which may eliminate the need to define varying baskets across areas.)

One other shortcoming in existing poverty statistics is the lack of a basis for comparison for periods before 1985. The improvement in the poverty situation is at once easy and difficult to understand.

On the other hand, the "minimum basic needs" approach is primarily a tool for planning and social mobilization. The philosophy underlying MBN is closely related to that on which HDI is based [PCFP 1995]. Eight variables are selected, two of each corresponding to education (basic literacy and cohort survival rate), health (infant mortality and child malnutrition), and shelter (water service and sanitary toilets). Income is also considered by including poverty incidence and a province's contribution to total poverty. These variables are then scaled and weighted equally to arrive at an MBN "score" which, like the HDI, ranges from a low of zero, meaning complete deprivation of basic needs, to a maximum of one, implying a complete fulfillment. (MBN-related statistics are also provided in the Appendix Tables to this volume.) As a tool for social mobilization, the MBN-approach permits a more liberal inclusion of social indicators, as these are perceived by communities. (See **Box 2.1**.) It is unfortunate, however, that the all-provincial MBN index was computed only once (in 1991), which again prevents any comparison through time.

A ranking of provinces according to HDI in 1990, when compared with a similar ranking by MBN in 1991 yields a correlation coefficient[7] of 0.8 (Table 2.5), which is quite significant. It should come as no surprise, on the other hand, that the correlation between HDI and per capita income is strong, since the latter is a part of the former. The message that emerges is that per capita income-differences among provinces are much larger than their differences in health and education, so that the variation in HDI is dominated by this source.

Table 2.5
Relationships Among Measures of Well-being and Deprivation (Pearson correlation coefficients*)

	MBN (1991)	Poverty incidence	Income Per Capita**
HDI (1990)	0.80	–0.589	0.878
HDI (1994)	na	–0.719	0.888
MBN (1991)	–	–0.618	0.236
Nonincome HDI (1994)	–0.073	0.488	
Poverty incidence (1994)		–0.729	

Notes * The Pearson correlation coefficient is a measure of association between any two series of variables, *X* and *Y*, whose value ranges from 0 (no correlation) to 1 (perfect correlation).
** Batanes is excluded from these computations for want of income data.

It cannot be said, however, that health and education differences are *reducible* on this account to income differences, for there is a much weaker correlation (0.488) between the "non-income HDI" and average income. The correlation between non-income HDI and poverty incidence is similarly weak, which is to be expected, since headcount poverty is primarily an average income phenomenon. That is, for a given distribution of income, poverty incidence falls if average income increases (hence the high correlation between per capita incomes and poverty incidence). The lesson that emerges from this, therefore, is the importance in the Philippine context of considering health and education separately from income. As a measure of well-being, therefore, HDI is "intermediate" between a measure based purely on income, and one such as MBN, which places a heavier weight on non-income variables.

As already mentioned, rankings of provinces according to HDI bear a close, though not perfect, resemblance to rankings according to other measures of deprivation. Table 2.6 below shows the twenty-five most deprived provinces according to both the HDI

Box 2.1 The Minimum Basic Needs Approach

The government's official thrust to assess the quality of life is the formulation of a set of indicators based on minimum basic needs (MBN). It is the core strategy in the Social Reform Agenda (SRA), the Ramos administration's key program to address the quality of life of the poor. The MBN approach was formally proclaimed as the core strategy of SRA in 1995 through Proclamation No. 548 of 6 March 1995 and Administrative Order 194 of 30 May 1995, providing for the adoption of the SRA Convergence Policy and Its Operationalization.

MBN is an approach for determining social priorities and monitoring the effectiveness of government programs. Human needs are divided into survival, security, and enabling needs, each of which is further elaborated: food and nutrition, health, water and sanitation and clothing are termed survival needs; security encompasses shelter, peace and order and public safety, and income and employment; enabling needs include basic education and literacy, people's participation and family care/psychosocial needs. From such a framework, 33 indicators at the household level are identified formulated as the minimum requirements to address these ten basic needs.

The central component of the MBN approach is the installation of an information system at the *barangay* level, whose primary purpose is to make the community use the information to determine what measures they can undertake to respond to these problems. This deviates from the traditional mold of having an information system serve merely the management team of government and nongovernment organizations. The structure for gathering information is designed to elicit the participation of community residents, nongovernment organizations and the government. Collection, processing and analysis of information is to be undertaken by the convergent team. Data are to be validated through community assemblies to ensure that information derived is consistent with the real life situation of community members.

The principal aim of the MBN approach, however, is not the passive gathering of information but the mobilization of local communities to help themselves and assert their influence. In analyzing local situations, the MBN approach is the last but the most crucial step — planning common actions and determining priorities, implementation, and monitoring and evaluation to ascertain how much improvement has taken place in the locality. MBN monitoring forms have been formulated by a National Technical Working Group management team for collecting information from households on the 33 indicators and for summarizing information per *barangay* and higher political boundaries (i.e., municipalities and provinces). The Household MBN Form is to be filled up on a yearly basis, normally in the first quarter of the succeeding year for the preceding year.

Local government units may also "localize" the approach, however, that is modify it to suit actual conditions. Among others, LGUs have translated the MBN forms into the local language and included local problems not captured in the MBN form. In San Pedro, Agdao, Davao City, for example, two more indicators were included in the top ten priority problems addressed in this area, tuberculosis and drainage.

Barangays are encouraged to set up a public information system to depict their condition to the community residents for greater transparency. Some of the approaches applied include the preparation of community data boards on MBN accomplishments per area. Spot maps are constructed to facilitate the location of households. Spot maps also contain household data boards demonstrating information on the condition of the household according to selected MBN indicators. Some areas, like Davao and North Cotabato have even applied color-coding schemes to show the magnitude of the problem of families in their localities. Green signifies "no problem"; yellow indicates that some family members are afflicted by the problem (e.g., not all pregnant women had tetanus toxoid). Red indicates failure of a family to meet the MBN, while blue means not applicable. Data boards which have been installed are considered a form of "social pressure" for the community and government to respond to problems in the locality. These inspired local implementors and the community to immediately act on the problems which have been collected and identified in the MBN information system.

The active participants in planning process are the local development councils in provinces, cities, municipalities and *barangay*. They encompass not only the local government unit sectoral implementors, the local chief executive but also nongovernment organizations, with at least one-fourth of the total membership constituted from the latter. Thus, MBN harnesses existing structures. MBN Technical Working Groups may be created at each level to take charge of advocacy, capability-building, technical support for the instituting the MBN approach at lower levels and consolidation/analysis of MBN information.

The information gathered is designed primarily to be used at the local level, e.g., by the local planning council (the barangay development council). It has been advocated, however, that the information should also be transmitted to higher levels to make the latter understand the condition of lower political boundaries. The information derived will also provide higher levels of government rational criteria in apportioning resources for areas which may be needing additional support. At the national level, a National Technical Working Group on MBN provides policy directions, oversees the implementation, and extends technical support on the implementation of the MBN approach.

Nearly all provinces and cities have been mobilized for the MBN approach. As of the end of 1995 97 percent of all city mayors and 95 percent of all provincial governors have been briefed. Trainors have also been trained in almost all provinces (91 percent) and cities (94 percent), although the rate at which technical working groups have been organized is greater for provinces (85 percent) than cities (37 percent). There is inadequate information to show the status of mobilization in municipalities.

It must be remembered, however, that MBN is primarily a local affair, taking place at the barangay level. From this aspect, progress has been much more modest. Only a total of 72 barangays were introduced to MBN and were in the various phases of implementation as of 1995. This total represents only 0.2 percent of 42,380 barangays. Of the 72 barangays introduced to MBN, 62 (86 percent) have reported being able to organize their area-based teams. Sixty (83 percent) have completed and nine are gathering data on MBN indicators. Twenty seven (or 37.5 percent) have incorporated MBN in their local plans and 30 (41.7 percent) have installed data boards. For 1996, the Presidential Commission to Fight Poverty reported an improvement in coverage with 24.6 percent of all barangays reportedly having installed MBN. No detailed information on the extent of localization have been obtained from reports transmitted by local government units, however. It is difficult to ascertain at this point to what extent these localities have already integrated their information in local development plans.

Among the first barangays to commence with the localization of MBN were those mobilized for the Integrated Approach to Local Development Management (IALDM) by non-governmental organization partners of the Department of Interior and Local Government-Local Government Academy (DILG-LGA). In the assessment of the accomplishments of the IALDM/MBN Capability Building Program of the DILG, 56.5 percent of 23 barangays in IALDM areas have achieved this phase by the end of 1995. Six of the 23 even indicated that they have plunged into the phase of responding to their MBN plans. These are barangays in the cities of Cebu, Lapu-Lapu, Cagayan de Oro and Davao; and the provinces of Surigao del Sur and North Cotabato.

Problems and issues have cropped up in MBN implementation. Among these are inability to do the surveys due to financial constraints; varying interpretations of MBN indicators; lack of commitments among local chief executives to the program; and inadequate coordination among provincial, barangay and national actors; and the tendency to view MBN as purely passive monitoring system rather than a component of a participatory process. Of course, there is finally a nagging question whether the approach will be sustained with a change in administration.

While it is premature to conclude how the MBN approach has led to the improvement of quality of life in the community, some initial commentaries drawn from the documentation of MBN implementation in IALDM areas indicate the impact of MBN on local development implementors and the community. On the part of local implementors, MBN facilitated focus on the most important requirements of the community. One of the case writers on IALDM success stories wrote: "the local government has much to gain, for the results gave them the basis for which to spend its limited resources with assurance that what is given is really the need of the majority." This response indicates MBN's contribution to efficient management. Awareness of the condition in the locality has also motivated community members to do something about their problems, to work together as a team, to develop self- reliance and depend on community resources.

The introduction of the MBN approach demonstrates local initiative in determining quality of life of the Filipino people. It is a creative complement and parallel to the Human Development Index (HDI) which is processed from aggregate data from various national agencies. The MBN approach provides an opportunity to community residents to have a role in gathering information and to using this in their own decision-making processes. As a volunteer remarked, *"Dili ni sa gobyerno. Ato ning responsabilidad, kita magtinabangay."* — Victoria A. Bautista

and the MBN developed by the Commission to Fight Poverty. Sixteen of the 25 HD-deprived provinces (64 percent) are also found in the MBN list, while 17 of the list are among those with the highest incidence of poverty. On the other hand, sixteen provinces on the MBN list are also among those with the highest incidence of poverty.

One of the contributions of rating systems such as the HDI is that they permit authorities to determine priorities. This is especially important when resources are limited and there is a need to focus efforts on key sectors or areas. Regrettably, however, the government's selection of the "Club 20" provinces that are to be the focus of its Social Reform Agenda appears to have benefited little from any of these objective criteria. It has been noted [MONSOD 1997] that the Club 20 "includes only six out of the 20 provinces with the highest headcount poverty incidence, only one out of the 20 provinces with the largest number of poor, and only nine out of the 20 provinces with lowest Human Development Index".

Table 2.6
25 Most-Deprived Provinces by 1994 HDI and 1991 MBN Index

	1994 HDI		1991 MBN
* Sulu	0.320	* Sulu	0.2512
Basilan	0.345	* Maguindanao	0.3912
* Tawi-Tawi	0.360	* Masbate	0.4010
Samar (Western)	0.398	* North Cotabato	0.4227
* Ifugao	0.405	* Ifugao	0.4369
* Maguindanao	0.429	Zamboanga del Sur	0.4429
* Masbate	0.434	Basilan	0.4631
* Lanao del Sur	0.434	* Zamboanga del Norte	0.4684
* Zamboanga del Norte	0.440	* Lanao del Sur	0.4799
* Capiz	0.451	Surigao del Sur	0.4829
* Abra	0.457	* Agusan del Sur	0.4960
Northern Samar	0.462	* Tawi-Tawi	0.4980
* Lanao del Norte	0.464	* Kalinga-Apayao	0.5110
* Sorsogon	0.469	* Lanao del Norte	0.5202
Siquijor	*0.474*	*South Cotabato*	*0.5202*
* Romblon	0.476	* Sultan Kudarat	0.5218
* Antique	0.483	* Bukidnon	0.5259
* North Cotabato	0.483	Negros Oriental	0.5259
* Agusan del Sur	0.497	Negros Occidental	0.5266
Negros Oriental	0.501	Samar (Western)	0.5306
Agusan del Norte	0.502	* Capiz	0.5366
Zamboanga del Sur	0.502	* Davao Oriental	0.5400
* Camiguin	0.503	Leyte	0.5500
Bohol	0.505	Northern Samar	0.5508
* Mountain Province	0.506	Misamis Occidental	0.5630
* Davao Oriental	0.506	Nueva Ecija	0.5631

* Among the 25 provinces with the highest poverty incidence in 1991, 1994.

Gender Development

An important aspect of elaborating people's well-being involves identifying specific groups that may be deprived. The GDI improves on HDI by measuring the *comparative* social well-being of male and female citizens of a country. In essence, GDI can be thought of as taking the value of HDI and discounting it in the presence of gender disparities. The greater these disparities, the higher the discount applied to HDI. In the absence of any gender disparity, on the other hand, the HDI would equal the GDI. (The details of obtaining GDI are explained in the TECHNICAL NOTES.)

GDI should ideally be estimated at the level of provinces for the same reasons that HDI was. The incompleteness of data, however, is an obstacle that cannot be surmounted for the moment. Instead, therefore, estimates of GDI for the country's regions for the years 1990 and 1994 are presented in the first and second column of figures in TABLE 2.7. For comparison, the HDIs for the regions for the same years have also been estimated and are presented in the third and fourth columns of figures in the same table.

Between 1990 and 1994, the estimates of GDI ranged from a low of 0.104 (for Region IX in 1994) to 0.467 (for NCR also in 1990). In both years, NCR displayed the best performance (although its GDI in fact *decreased* from 0.467 in 1990 to 0.449 in 1994).

The first thing to be noted is the extremely low values of GDI in *all* regions of the country. Not even the NCR's performance, which was rated highly when pure HDI was considered, can be rated decent.

This owes largely to the greater disparity in incomes between women and men in 1994. It will be recalled that average income in Metro Manila decreased during the same period, owing to the recession of 1991-1992. The intriguing phenomenon requiring further investigation is the extent to which the gap in incomes increases when average incomes fall.

At the other end of the spectrum lies Region IX (Western Mindanao), which performed consistently poorly in terms of GDI and ranked lowest in both years. The other four regions with the lowest GDI in 1994 were Central Mindanao (0.157), Eastern Visayas (0.182), Bicol (0.193), Northern Mindanao (0.195). It is disturbing that Western Mindanao's GDI, in addition to its low absolute value, fell further from 0.119 in 1990 to 0.104 in 1994. The biggest factor influencing that region's GDI performance was the large gap in incomes that existed between males and females. NCR and Western Mindanao were the only two regions that manifested deterioration in GDI; all other regions showed improvements. GDI improvements have occurred owing to a number of factors. *First*, as may be expected, life expectancy increased for all regions for both males and females throughout the period. The smallest gap in life expectancy is found in Region II (Cagayan Valley), averaging 2.8 years, while the largest gap is found in Region IV (Southern Tagalog), averaging 7.4 years.

Second, functional literacy for both males and females has increased for all regions without exception. As for gender disparity in access to knowledge, females in 1994 matched or outdid males in all regions (except in ARMM where functional literacy was 63.2 percent among males and 59.1 percent among females).[8] This is strikingly different from the observation in 1990, where five regions (i.e., NCR, Regions I, II, III, and XII) showed males as having an advantage over females in functional literacy.

Although not explicitly included in the calculation of GDI, other data support the observation of improving educational levels for females relative to males: for example, enrollment ratios tend to be higher for females than for males. One explanation for higher female enrollment rates (which are evident in 1990 and 1994 data) is the greater tendency for males to inherit tangible property (e.g., a piece of land or a family enterprise) than for females. By contrast, females have tended to "inherit" a higher level of education. It remains unclear, however, whether parents themselves encourage their daughters to acquire higher education, or whether daughters look forward and realize that their best prospects are met by developing human skills [QUISUMBING 1994].

The improvement in GDI over time suggests that the status of women has improved in absolute terms, through longer life expectancies, higher literacy, and more earning opportunities. But these trends have affected both women *and* men. To what extent has the lot of women improved relative to that of men?

An answer to such a question may be attempted by considering the trend in the indicator of *gender disparity*, namely the percentage reduction of the GDI from the HDI

Table 2.7
Gender Development Indices (1990, 1994)

	GDI		HDI		GENDER DISPARITY (%)	
	1990	*1994*	*1990*	*1994*	*1990*	*1994*
NCR	0.467	0.449	0.944	0.925	50.5	51.4
I-Ilocos	0.228	0.230	0.592	0.630	61.4	63.5
II-Cagayan Valley	0.182	0.231	0.560	0.640	67.4	63.9
III-Central Luzon	0.266	0.271	0.695	0.709	61.7	61.9
IV-Southern Tagalog	0.257	0.283	0.654	0.714	60.7	60.4
V-Bicol	0.165	0.193	0.488	0.570	66.1	66.0
VI-Western Visayas	0.183	0.207	0.527	0.594	65.3	65.2
VII-Central Visayas	0.184	0.201	0.528	0.580	65.1	65.3
VIII-Eastern Visayas	0.171	0.182	0.473	0.538	63.7	66.2
IX-Western Mindanao	0.119	0.104	0.458	0.524	74.0	80.2
X-Northern Mindanao	0.179	0.195	0.531	0.578	66.4	66.3
XI-Southern Mindanao	0.205	0.239	0.571	0.621	64.2	61.5
XII-Central Mindanao	0.125	0.157	0.479	0.556	73.9	71.8

Note The index of gender disparity is obtained by taking the percentage difference between the HDI and the GDI, i.e., 100 x (HDI – GDI)/HDI.

[UNDP 1995: 79].[9] The indicator of gender disparity is given by the percentage reduction of the GDI from the HDI [UNDP 1995: 79], that is, 100 x (HDI-GDI)/HDI. The higher the value of this indicator, the larger the gap between the GDI and the HDI, and the higher the gender disparity. If men and women were equal in all respects, then HDI would equal GDI, and the value of this indicator would be 0.

The last two columns of TABLE 2.7 report the estimates of this indicator for all regions in 1990 and 1994. Both years reveal large degrees of gender disparity. Even the best performer in both years, NCR, had a GDI that was only half its HDI, while other regions show corresponding figures ranging from 62 percent to 79 percent. Gender disparity was greatest in Western and Central Mindanao, which also ranked lowest in both years. Other regions showed figures ranging from 62 percent to as much as 79 percent. Gender disparity is greatest in Northern and Central Mindanao, whose GDIs were also the lowest in both years, although their ranking switched during the period.

Notwithstanding the country's relatively favorable international position on gender, therefore, it is difficult to conclude that the gap between genders was actually closing in the first half of this decade. Indeed, in four regions, namely NCR, and Regions I, VIII and IX, the gender gap actually increased. This implies that any worsening in conditions in these regions was disproportionately borne by women, or, in the case of improvements, that women obtained a disproportionately small share. In six others (namely Regions III, IV, V, VI, VII and X), the gap basically remained as wide. In these regions, the improvement in women's well-being occurred as no more and no less than a consequence of improvements in average social conditions. Only in Regions XI and XII was there a significant tendency for it to close.

The Next Step: Better Measures and Policy Follow-through

In the past few years, great progress has been made in representing the broadest and most glaring disparities in human development and in focusing attention on the most critical sectors. The point that distinct attention must be paid to *primary* health and *basic* education; that improvements in these areas do not automatically follow upon increasing private incomes, so that government must play a crucial role in ensuring their provision; that average income must rise nonetheless to sustain human development; that equity of access is often more important than the average spending on social services; that locally designed and implemented initiatives, properly supported, are often more responsive and more lasting than those imposed from above — these and many more lessons are learned from the human development paradigm.

Nonetheless, there is a continuing need to find and develop specific indicators that will lead to policies that are more forward-looking and finely tuned, lest achievements in broad indicators become an excuse for complacency. The following areas appear particularly urgent.

EDUCATION. Broad international comparisons place the Philippines holding its own with respect to the typical indicators of learning: basic or even functional literacy, enrollment rates, and average years of schooling are higher than those in other developing countries. These are essentially measures of coverage and access. Other statistics such as the cohort-survival rates or completion rates may give an inkling of whether the current situation is being maintained. The country's completion rate, for example, leaves much to be desired, with 30 percent of children starting elementary school being unable to complete their attendance.

Nor is there any disguising the fact that the *quality* of the performance of grade school and high school pupils in core fields such as language, mathematics, and science has re-

mained at levels far below international standards.

One obvious measure of quality of educational outcomes, for example, is performance in standard tests, and it is surprising this has not been used more extensively. Internationally, the country's performance in standard tests such as those under the International Mathematics and Science Study (in which the country was virtually third-last in math and second-last in science) may also be used. Closer to home, scores on the National Elementary Achievement Test (NEAT) and the National Secondary Achievement Test (NSAT) may be used to rate the performance of schools in different localities and compared with the resources spent on maintaining them. The well-known chasm separating the quality of public and private schools, for example, may actually be measured in this manner (See, e.g., TAN 1997).

HEALTH AND POPULATION. As a summary measure, life expectancy gives a broad picture of health status, but this is a variable which many others feed into, and which changes only gradually. There is a need, therefore, to inquire into more particular sources of poor health and to develop "early warning" indicators for health status. For particular areas, other indicators that may be considered are the share of population with access to safe water and sanitation, and malnutrition among children.

With respect to population and urbanization, the Philippines faces unfavorable trends. Between 1960 and 1992, the population grew at 2.6 percent per year, exceeding the developing countries average of 2.3 percent during the same period. Although this rate is projected to fall to two percent between 1992 and 2000, it remained high and will continue to exert pressure on the country's resources. In urban areas, the population is expected to grow at a higher rate until the end of the century. This will exacerbate the poverty incidence among urban dwellers, raising the urgency of effective poverty alleviation programs.

ENVIRONMENT. Notwithstanding the media attention and political rhetoric focusing on the environment, the spadework that seeks to provide a baseline for setting environment-priorities — by resource, by geographical area, by type of environmental problem — remains surprisingly preliminary. Yet it is clear that rapid population growth, growing urbanization and industrialization, and pockets of poverty will continue to exert ever-growing pressure on the environment. Effective national and local indicators of environment quality need to be developed urgently to sensitize policy-makers and mobilize people.

INCOME INEQUALITY. Regardless of the measure used, it is generally conceded that absolute poverty in the Philippines has decreased over the past decade. As of 1994, 35.5 percent of all families, or 40.2 percent of the total population, were officially considered poor. This remains a high figure, but represents a significant improvement over the incidence of poverty in 1985, which stood at 49.2 percent. From one viewpoint, this should not be surprising: after all, income per person *rose* between the two periods, so that unless income became more severely maldistributed between the two periods, one *ought* to expect poverty to decrease, as it has.

On the other hand, the country's performance in improving income distribution has been less encouraging. In 1994, the poorest 40 percent of the population received only 13.7 percent of total income, a proportion *smaller* than what they received almost a decade ago (**TABLE 2.8**). By contrast, the richest 20 percent of all families in the country receive more than half (52 percent) of all income in 1994 as they have done for over a decade.

In a sense, it may be unfair to argue about the record on inequality, since the government has not seemed to regard it as a key priority to change the existing distribution of income. Instead, the focus implicitly appears to be the elimination of absolute poverty, and to be fair, a significant degree of success seems to have been achieved in the

Table 2.8
Income Shares of the Two Poorest Quintiles and Richest Quintile

Year	Share of the Poorest 40 percent	Share of the Richest 20 percent
1985	14.3	52.1
1988	14.3	51.8
1991	13.2	53.9
1994	13.7	51.9

Source NSCB (various years), *Family Income and Expenditure Surveys.*

latter. In this respect, however, a divergence of opinion may exist between the government and those representing the basic sectors. It has been noted [Monsod 1996], for example, that the goals of the Social Reform Agenda, whose original goal from the viewpoint of the basic sectors was to "address the basic inequities of Filipino society", have become amorphously fused with quite distinct concerns for absolute poverty and "fast-tracking" of growth and development in selected provinces. The difficult debate that seems to have been avoided is whether and to what extent reforms in the ownership of *existing* wealth and incomes are required *before* economic growth and human development can occur. But Philippine society will ultimately have to confront the issue of equity in wealth and incomes. This will happen sooner if economic growth should fail. But even if economic growth should continue as hoped for, and progress against absolute poverty is made, then the people's attention should shift as a matter of course from the absolute poverty that materially incapacitates them, to the relative poverty that disenfranchises them socially.

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Notes

1 To avoid the confusion, growth has sometimes been referred to as economic development', although the latter is still broader in scope than the former. This is probably because of the role of efficiency in increasing the material well-being of the population. Development, as used above, has been clarified as "human or social development", signifying emphasis on the satisfaction of social needs.

2 A possible further stage in improving these measures would be to explicitly incorporate the role of the environment in the sustainability of development.

3 Averages for other developing countries were as follows: life expectancy, 61.5 years; adult literacy rate, 68.3 percent; and enrollment rate, 54 percent.

4 This was not always so. Under the Commonwealth, senators were elected from regional constituencies.

5 Unfortunately, the real income for Batanes could not be computed owing to the absence of official price indices for the province. This is a serious shortcoming, since nominal incomes for the province are likely to be overstated relative to other provinces, owing to high domestic prices.

6 Linear relationships between life expectancy and literacy on the one hand and real per capita income on the other are given by: (1) Life expectancy = 61.537 + 0.000667 Income, and (2) Functional Literacy = 69.382 + 0.0016 Income.

7 The correlation coefficient between two variables X and Y is defined as $S_i(X_i - m_X)(Y_i - m_Y)/n\, s_X s_Y$, where X_i and Y_i are the ith observations of the two variables, n is the number of observations, m_X, m_Y are the averages, and s_X, s_Y are the standard deviations of the two variables.

8 Functional literacy was equal among males and females in Cagayan Valley in 1994.

9 This is given by (HDI-GDI)/HDI.

3 Social and Human Priorities and Budget Allocation Patterns: Yardsticks for Governance

Introduction

The 1991 *Human Development Report* (HDR) [UNDP 1991] set out to assess governance based on whether human development has improved over time and on how much financial support governments devote to HD programs and concerns. To help governments design and monitor the focus of expenditure programs, the UNDP put forward a measure called the *human expenditure ratio*. This ratio says how much of national income (GNP or GDP) is devoted to human priority expenditures such as basic education (elementary to high school), primary health care, basic family planning, and low-cost water supply and sanitation. The HDR noted that the human expenditure ratio may need to be in the vicinity of 5 percent if a country wishes to perform well in terms of HD.

The human expenditure ratio in each country, however, is only the result of several factors, namely: the government's share in GNP (*public expenditure ratio*); the share of social services in government budgets (*social allocation ratio*); and the share of human priority concerns in the social services budget (*social priority ratio*) (**Box 3.1**). Various combinations of values for the public expenditure ratio, the social allocation ratio and the social priority ratio will yield the targeted human expenditure ratio. The report points out however that "a preferred option is to keep the public expenditure ratio moderate (around 25 percent), allocate much of this to the social sectors (more than 40 percent) and focus on the social priority areas (giving them more than 50 percent of total social sector expenditures)".

A consequence of the desirable allocation proposed above is that governments need to allocate around 20 percent of their national budgets to human priority expenditures. It was in this spirit that in 1994 on the eve of the 1995 World Summit for Social Development, the UNDP proposed a "20:20 compact" as a means of obtaining steady and adequate financing for basic human needs. This implies that national governments should also monitor the *human development priority ratio*, i.e., the share of total government expenditure allocated to HD priorities. (See **Box 3.1**) A similar call is put forward for international donors to devote 20 percent of official development assistance to human priority areas.

If the logic is followed, how close or far the country is from these benchmarks should be an important indicator of the government's commitment to HD. It is precisely this which this chapter seeks to document.

Box 3.1 Relationships Among Ratios

The human priority ratio (denoted *H*) is simply the amount of public expenditures on human-priority concerns, measured as a share of total income. This will be higher or lower depending on several factors:

- the importance of government spending in the economy in general (*G*): This is measured by the *public expenditure ratio*, or the share of government spending in GNP.
- the share of social services government spending (*S*): This is measured by the share of social services in the government budget, the *social services ratio*.
- the type of social services provided (*P*): This is measured by the *social priority ratio*, the share of the social services budget that is allocated to human-development concerns.

The human priority ratio is simply the product of the previous three, that is:

$$\frac{\textit{human priority spending}}{\text{GNP}} = \frac{\text{total public spending}}{\text{GNP}} \times \frac{\text{social service budget}}{\textit{total public spending}} \times \frac{\text{human priority spending}}{\textit{social service budget}}$$

$$\textit{human priority ratio } (H) = \textit{public expenditure ratio } (G) \times \textit{social services ratio } (S) \times \textit{social priority ratio } (P)$$

Note how some of the factors "cancel out", leaving only *H*. Suppose we wish to hit the 5 percent human priority ratio indicated by the HDR. One way of attaining this is to have a public expenditure ratio of 25 percent, a social services ratio of 40 percent, and a human priority ratio of 50 percent. That is to say, setting $G = 0.25$, $S = 0.40$ and $P = 0.50$ yields $H = 0.25 \times 0.40 \times 0.50 = 0.05$

An implication of this allocation is that 20 percent of total public spending should be devoted to human priority concerns. To see this, note that the product of the social services ratio *S* and the social priority ratio *P* gives us what is known as the *human development priority ratio*, or the share of human priority expenditure in total public spending. Call this G_H Then,

$$\underset{G_H}{\frac{\textit{human priority spending}}{\text{total public spending}}} = \underset{S}{\frac{\text{social service budget}}{\text{total public spending}}} \times \underset{P}{\frac{\text{human priority spending}}{\text{social service budget}}}$$

If $S = 0.40$ and $P = 0.50$, then $G_H = 0.20$, as called for by the proposed 20:20 compact.

The Overall Record

Social Allocation Ratio

The share of general government expenditure in GNP was fairly stable at 22 percent in the period 1988-1994, except for a slight surge in 1990-1991 when the ratio was 24.3 (FIGURE 3.1). The trend in general government spending is determined mainly by the movement of spending by the national government. In contrast, total LGU expenditures rose continuously in 1987-1994, with marked increases since 1992, when the Local Government Code (LGC) took effect.

The social allocation ratio is the share of government spending set aside for social services. It measures the importance the government gives to the social sector in general. The share of social services in total government spending rose from 16.4 percent in 1987 to 23 percent in 1989. When the fiscal crisis of 1990-1991 occurred, this fell to 18 percent. In the period 1992-1994 it averaged 19.5 percent, a figure well below the norm of 32-35 percent found by the UNDP when it surveyed selected countries in 1988.

The debt burden, which had earlier preempted social spending in the late 1980s, has eased considerably, declining from 10.5 percent to 6.8 percent of GNP between 1987 and 1994. This improvement, however, did not

result in any substantial increase in social spending; (FIGURE 3.2) the latter peaked at 4.5 percent of GNP in 1989-1990. After the recession of 1991, this ratio stood at 4.0 percent in 1992 and reached only 4.3 percent in 1994. General government social spending was P481.71 pesos [1] per Filipino in 1994, a figure less than the peak level of P526.11 in 1990.

General government expenditures on the economic sectors and on defense showed a trend similar to that of social sector spending. In contrast, spending on public administration showed a slight upward trend.

Human Development Spending

The social priority ratio is the proportion of social spending by government that is devoted to human priority concerns. Human priority concerns include basic education, basic health care, and low cost water supply. Basic education in turn includes education from elementary levels to high school, while basic health care includes primary health care, disease control, maternal and child health, reproductive health, including family planning, nutrition supplementation and fortification, and basic curative health services.[2]

The social priority ratio moved with the social expenditure ratio, rising from 50.2 percent in 1987 to 54.2 percent in 1990. It declined further to 49 percent in 1991 before recovering to 52.4 percent by 1994 (FIGURE 3.3). These figures are in the neighborhood of the UNDP norm of 50 percent. It is notable that the share of the education budget that goes to priority concerns is higher than for health, averaging 65 percent in the period 1987-1994. However the social priority ratio for health has also improved, rising from an average of 24 percent for 1987-1991 to 47 percent in 1993-1994.

The "bottom line" measure for government effort in human development is the human priority ratio, the share of human priority concerns in total government spending. This figure equaled 10 percent on average in 1987-1994 (FIGURE 3.4), a level that is only half the UNDP norm of 20 percent and

Figure 3.1 Percent to GNP of General Government Expenditures

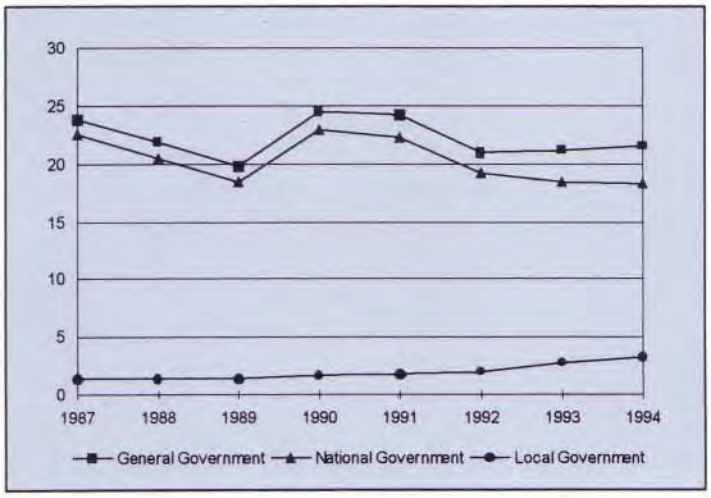


Figure 3.2 Social Ratio and Ratio of Other Government Expenditures (as % of GNP)

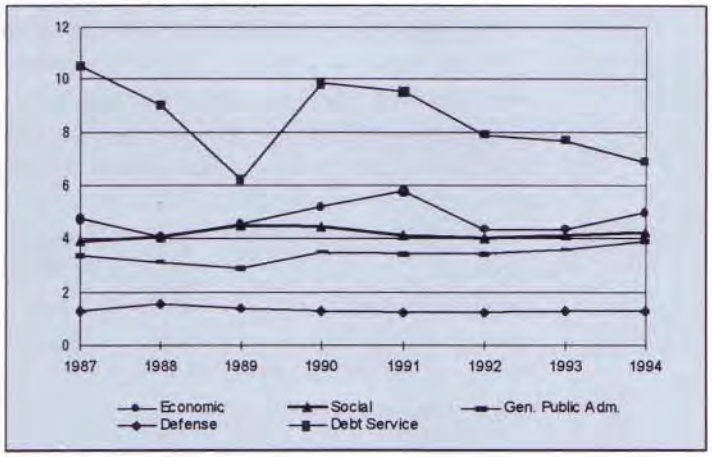


Figure 3.3 Social Priority Ratios

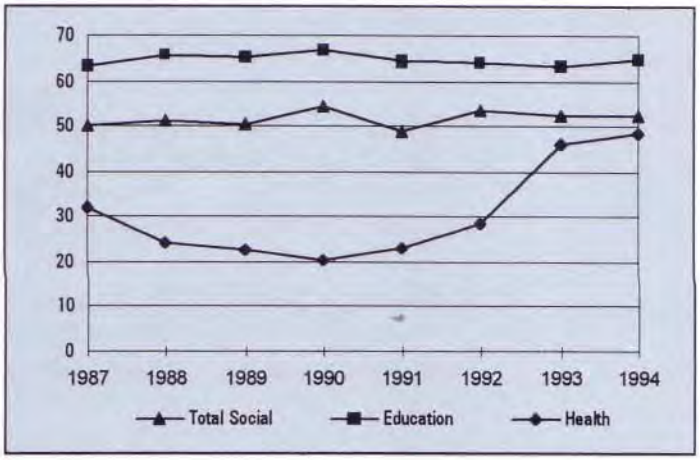
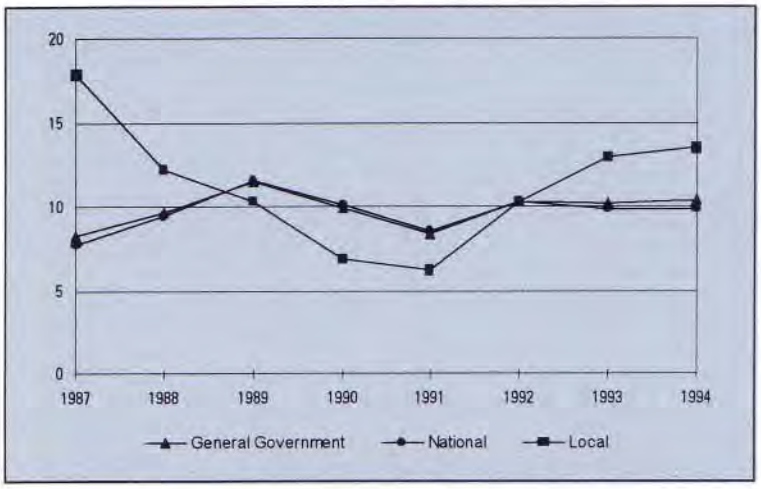


Figure 3.4 Human Priority Ratios by Level of Government



slightly lower than the average for a sample of 25 countries. Notwithstanding the fact that the country meets the target for the social priority ratio, its human priority ratio remains low because the amount it spends on social services in general is on the low side.

Finally, taking inflation into account, per capita human priority expenditures in 1985 prices stood at P252.62 in 1994, which is lower than the peak level of P285.17 reached in 1989. It is important to point out, however, that the 1994 level is somewhat better than the levels before devolution, although it has not recovered from the ill effects of the 1990-1991 fiscal crisis.

Effects of Devolution

The enactment of the LGC of 1991 represented a major shift in governance. It mandated the devolution to local government units (LGUs) of many functions previously discharged by central government agencies. Before devolution, LGUs were limited to levying and collecting local taxes and such activities as regulating local business activities, collecting garbage, and administering public markets, cemeteries, and slaughterhouses. The Code, however, transfers the primary responsibility for delivering social and economic services from the national government to LGUs. These services include agriculture research and extension, social forestry, environment management and pollution control, primary health care, hospital services, social welfare, infrastructure repair and maintenance, water supply and irrigation projects, and land use planning. The devolution has been substantial in terms of functions, personnel, and budgets.

The Code also gives LGUs a larger share in internal revenue taxes (the so-called *internal revenue allotment* or IRA) and in the proceeds from the development and extraction of natural resources. It gives LGUs greater autonomy to mobilize revenue from local sources. Many areas formerly beyond the reach of local taxation may now be the subject of local taxes (e.g., large agriculture, forest concessions, mines, publishing, and banks). The Code also increases the maximum rates for local taxes. On the whole, LGUs are now also better able to allocate their resources according to their perceived priorities. Statutes that limited their ability to do so have been repealed, including mandatory contributions to the Philippine National Police (PNP) and the Department of Health (DOH).

Since the Code was implemented, significant progress has been achieved in devolving national government personnel, assets and functions to LGUs. The IRA, or the LGU share in internal revenue, has more than doubled relative to GNP and in real per capita terms between 1991 and 1994.

But real problems remain. *First*, while the IRA as a whole is enough to cover the cost of the devolved functions, there is an undeniable mismatch at a more detailed level between the financial resources and the expenditure responsibilities transferred to LGUs. The IRA of some LGUs is not enough to finance the functions devolved upon them. As an example, provinces have received less IRA relative to cities and municipalities, con-

sidering the larger health services and facilities devolved.

Second, since the IRA is an unconditional transfer from the national government, the provision of sufficient funding for devolved functions is no guarantee that LGUs will indeed set aside the resources needed to sustain these functions. Devolved functions must henceforth compete with other local spending priorities.

From an HD perspective, therefore, LGU expenditures must be closely monitored to learn whether devolution has strengthened or put at risk those portions of health and social welfare functions that have been devolved.

This section seeks to determine whether local governments, in general, and provincial governments, in particular, allocate their budget resources in accordance with HD priorities in the context of a more decentralized environment. More specifically, this section:

- analyses the expenditure pattern of provincial governments before and after devolution;
- relates provincial government spending on social and human expenditures to the provinces' HD status; and
- investigates the impact of local revenues and IRA shares on the expenditure pattern of provincial governments.

While the LGC itself took effect in 1992, the devolution program was completed only in 1993. As such, it should be borne in mind that 1993 is a transition year during which LGU behavior is still in a state of flux as LGUs adjust to a new environment. Admittedly, this situation limits the conclusions of this study. However, it cannot be denied that a better understanding of the transition and early problems of Code implementation is important in itself if the decentralization thrust is to be sustained.

Degree of Fiscal Decentralization

Revenue-collection in the Philippines has always been highly centralized. Local governments accounted for only 4.9 percent of total general government [3]revenue on the average between 1985 and 1991 (**Table 3.1, column 2**). Short of expectations, the share of LGUs in total general government revenue (also called the *revenue decentralization ratio*, or RDR) rose only slightly after devolution to 5.4 percent in 1992-1994. On the side of spending, however, the picture appears to have improved with the enactment of the Code. The share of local government spending in general government expenditure (*expenditure decentralization ratio*, EDR) was 7 percent in 1985-1991. In the period 1992-1994, after the Code's enactment, LGU spending rose to 12.6 percent of general government spending (**Table 3.1, column 3**) or 2.7 percent of GNP.

Table 3.1
Decentralization Ratios for All LGUs (1985-1993)

	RDR	EDR	MEDR	FAR
1985	5.93	9.12	11.42	51.10
1986	5.50	6.92	9.06	52.90
1987	4.52	5.70	10.04	50.90
1988	4.67	6.21	10.48	49.20
1989	4.85	7.36	10.62	55.90
1990	4.87	6.75	11.21	51.40
1991	4.55	7.70	12.61	44.60
1992	4.35	18.98	14.26	42.14
1993	6.36	12.88	19.97	43.33
1994	5.41	15.09	21.87	34.00
Average				
1985-1991	4.86	7.04	11.00	51.60
1992-1994	5.41	12.56	19.10	38.80
1985-1994	5.12	9.42	14.54	44.20

Notes

RDR = Ratio of LGU revenue from local sources to general government revenue

EDR = Ratio of LGU expenditure to general government expenditure

MEDR = Ratio of LGU expenditure net of debt service to general government expenditure net of debt service

FAR = Ratio of LGU revenue from local sources to LGU expenditure

The gap between LGU spending and LGU revenues was filled by IRA transfers from the national government, which supported the increased levels of LGU spending even if local resource mobilization was basically stagnant.

Excluding debt service from general government expenditure then taking the share of LGU expenditure yields the *modified expenditure decentralization ratio* (MEDR) (TABLE 3.1, COLUMN 4). On this count, fiscal decentralization looks even better, being 11.0 percent in the period 1985-1991 and rising to a high 19.1 percent in 1992-1994 after the implementation of the LGC.

Still another way of measuring the degree of decentralization is the *financial autonomy ratio* (FAR), which is simply the ratio of the revenues LGUs collect to what the amounts they spend. It broadly says how much of what LGUs spend can be financed from their own revenue efforts. FAR declined from 51.6 percent in 1985-1991 to 38.8 percent in 1992-1994 (TABLE 3.1, COLUMN 5).

On this measure, one might conclude that decentralization seems indeed to have declined with the implementation of the Code, since a good deal of the higher LGU spending was supported by the higher IRA from the national government mandated by the Code. Such an inference is misleading, however. For although LGUs do not fully control the collection of internal revenue taxes and there is some uncertainty regarding the size of their annual IRA, LGUs do exercise considerable autonomy in deciding how to spend it.[4] Moreover, while the IRA is a transfer from the national government to LGUs, it is not clear that it should be viewed as a grant but rather as the rightful share of local governments in national taxes.

The financial autonomy ratio differs across levels of local governments. TABLE 3.2 shows that cities enjoy the highest degree of financial autonomy. In 1985-1991, their FAR was highest at 66 percent compared to 48 percent and 34 percent for municipalities and provinces, respectively. With the implementation of the Code, the FAR of all levels of local government declined. Nevertheless, cities continued to post higher FARs than municipalities and provinces. In 1992-1994, the FAR was 49.7 percent for cities, 38.7 percent for municipalities, and 23.6 percent for provinces.

Table 3.2
Financial Autonomy Ratio of Different Levels of Local Governments (1985-1993)

	PROVINCES	MUNICIPALITIES	CITIES
1985	31.79	55.19	64.23
1986	31.49	57.01	67.13
1987	30.73	53.45	65.03
1988	32.31	44.65	68.61
1989	48.71	48.89	72.39
1990	36.02	48.63	68.45
1991	28.24	43.07	61.55
1992	29.72	41.98	50.98
1993	24.04	48.88	51.09
1994	20.51	28.90	48.29
Average			
1985-1991	34.32	48.33	66.41
1992-1994	23.59	38.74	49.70
1985-1994	28.65	42.75	56.65

The financial autonomy ratios for individual provincial governments exhibit the same rising trend,[5] but with a wide dispersion (APPENDIX TABLE 5). The FAR of provincial governments in 1991 ranged from a low of 0.4 percent (Lanao del Sur) to a high of 72.1 percent (Bulacan). In 1994, the FAR ranged from 1.2 percent (Maguindanao) to 44.2 percent (Bataan).

LGU Income

Total LGU receipts averaged 1.7 percent of GNP in the period 1985-1991 (FIGURE 3.5), divided almost equally between revenue from local and external sources. Comparing 1992-1994 with the earlier period 1985-1991, however, the share of external receipts, largely IRA, rose from 52 percent to 64 percent (FIGURE 3.6). As a proportion of GNP, income from external sources increased noticeably from 0.9 percent to 1.5 percent of GNP, and LGU income from local sources

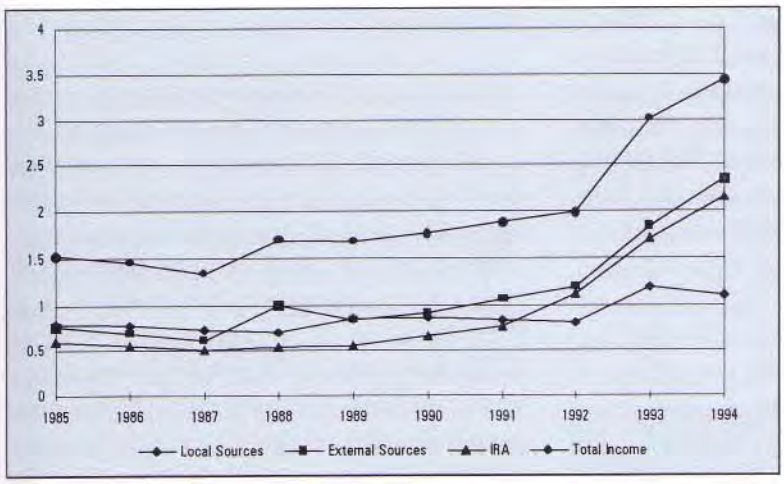


Figure 3.5 Revenue Structure of All Local Governments (ratio to GNP in percent, 1985-1994)

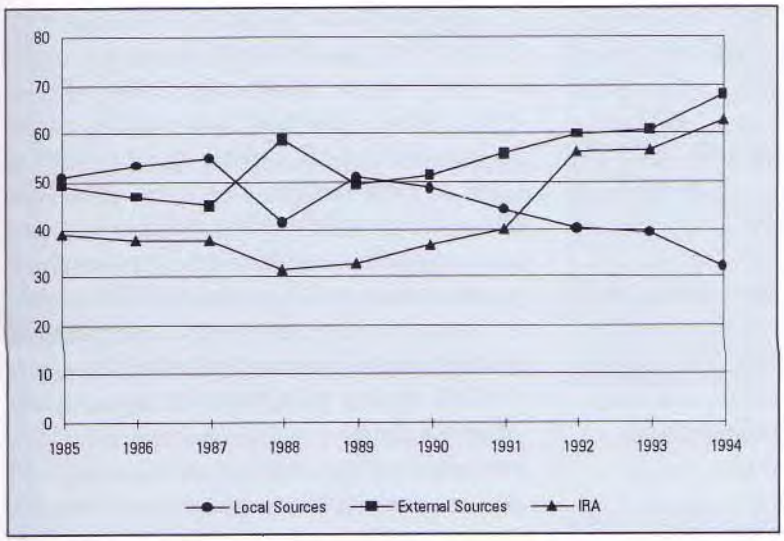


Figure 3.6 Revenue Structure of All Local Governments (1985-1994 percent of total LGU income)

inched up from 0.8 percent to 1.0 percent of GNP between the two periods.

Before devolution, provinces were most dependent on non-local sources of income, which comprised 65.1 percent of their total income in 1985-1991 (FIGURE 3.6). This is to be compared with 54.2 percent for municipalities and 38.6 percent for cities. After the LGC's implementation, the contribution of income from external sources rose even more for all LGUs. In the post-devolution period, 1992-1994, external sources constituted 75.5 percent of total income for provinces, 56.8 percent for municipalities and 54.5 percent for cities.

As expected, the contribution of IRA to total receipts of individual provincial governments expanded markedly between 1991 and 1994. IRA per person in the provinces almost tripled on the average between 1991 and 1994. Locally sourced revenue increased only minimally, on the other hand (APPENDIX TABLES 6 AND 7).

The size and composition of total LGU income also differ widely across provincial governments (APPENDIX TABLE 7). The share of IRA in total LGU incomes varied from a low of 11.5 percent (Cebu) to a high of almost 100 percent (Sulu) in 1991 and from 44.4 percent (Rizal) to 98.0 (Abra) in 1994 (APPENDIX TABLE 7). Per capita revenue from local

sources was as low as P1.06 in Sulu to P176.28 in Rizal in 1991; in 1994 it ranged from the lowest P2.37 per head in Maguindanao to P198.77 in Misamis Oriental. On the other hand, per capita IRA varied from P38.09 (Laguna) to P314.79 (Batanes) in 1991 and from P7,109.98 (Rizal) to P2,628.92 (Batanes) in 1994 (Appendix Table 6).

Figure 3.7 Patterns of Local Government Spending (All LGUs, 1985-1994, as percent of GNP)

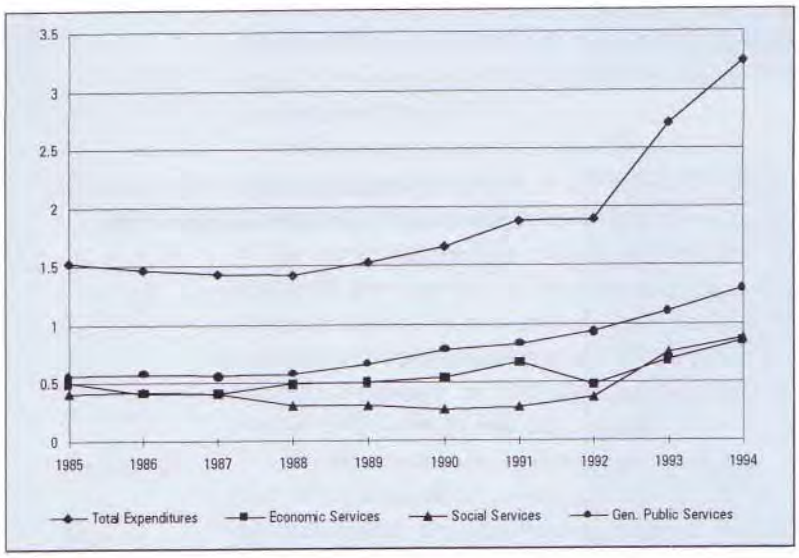
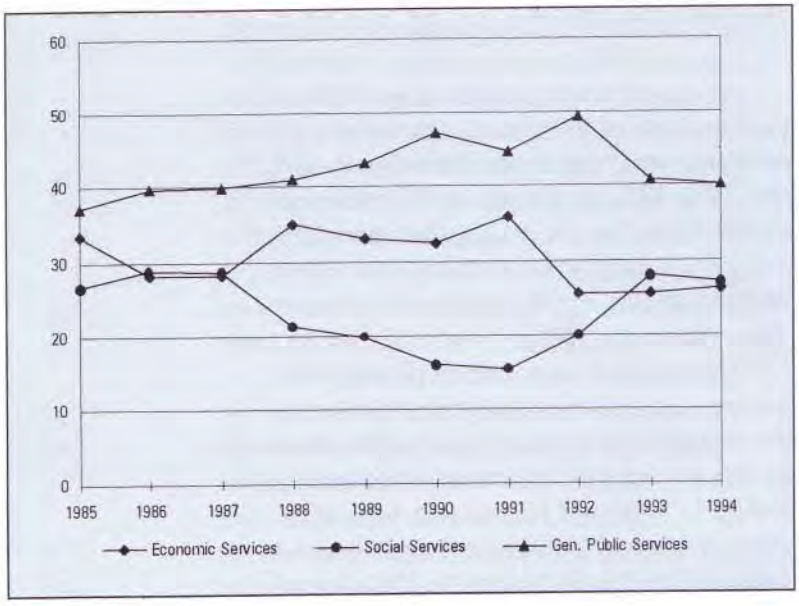


Figure 3.8 Sectoral Distribution of Local Government Expenditures (1985-1994, Percent of all LGU Budgets)



LGU Expenditures

LGUs spent the equivalent of 1.6 percent of GNP on average in 1985-1991 (Figure 3.7). In this period, 42.8 percent of total LGU expenditure was spent on general public services, 32.9 percent on economic services and 20.5 percent on social services (Figure 3.8). Municipal governments spent the bulk of their budgets on general public services, while most provincial spending went to economic services. Spending by cities was more evenly distributed. In this period, the social allocation ratio of provincial spending was highest at 21.1 percent while that of municipalities was lowest at 14.7 percent.

The mandated transfer to LGUs of former national functions caused a major change in the size and composition of LGU expenditure. Total LGU spending rose from 1.9 percent of GNP in 1991 to 3.3 percent of GNP in 1994 (Figure 3.7). Most of this increase in spending went to social services and general public services, both of whose budgets increased by 0.5 percent of GNP between 1991 and 1994. In contrast, LGU spending on economic services rose by only 0.2 percent of GNP during that period. Consequently, while the share of social services in total LGU budgets rose by 11.6 percentage points to 27 percent, the share of economic services and general public services fell by 10.3 percentage points and 3.7 percentage points to 25.5 and 40.8 percent, respectively, between 1991 and 1994 (Figure 3.8).

The budget share of social sectors increased relative to the economic sectors and general public service on all levels of local government. Since provinces absorbed the bulk of devolved social service functions, it was their social allocation ratio that expanded the most (by 18.4 percentage points from its 1991 level to 36.3 percent in 1994). The social allocation ratio among municipalities also rose substantially (by 12.5 percentage points to 21.8 percent by 1994). The increase for cities was markedly smaller (by 5.0 percentage points to 26.2 percent).

The higher LGU spending on social services between 1991 and 1994 went mostly to health, education, housing and community development, and social welfare, in that order. This is largely because the cost of devolved health functions accounted for more than half of the total cost of all devolved functions. At the same time, the cost of devolved social welfare functions, although not as large, was also significant. In many ways, therefore, higher LGU spending on health and social welfare was less a product of conscious policy choices by LGUs and more a reflection of inherited obligations. Meanwhile, higher LGU expenditures on education and housing do reflect the higher priority that local officials assign to these sectors in the more decentralized regime, since the direct impact of the devolution program on these sectors was not substantial.

In the post-devolution period, per capita spending on all the social sectors by provincial governments rose dramatically, from P8.95 in 1991 to P91.70 in 1994. The biggest growth was in health expenditures, a sixteenfold increase. More closely, per capita spending on HD *priorities* increased sevenfold from P4.11 to P28.21 (**Appendix Table 8**).

Similarly, the average social allocation ratio for provincial governments increased from 9.3 percent in 1991 to 34.9 percent in 1994, while their HD priority ratio increased from 4.3 percent to 10.7 percent over the same period (**Appendix Table 9**). Notwithstanding these improvements, however, the average social allocation ratio of provincial governments is still some 6 percentage points below the UNDP target of 40 percent, while the average HD priority ratio of provincial governments is just about half of the figure of 20 percent indicated by the UNDP.

The top and bottom 10 provinces with respect to their per capita social service expenditures and per capita human priority expenditures in 1991 and 1993 are presented in **Table 3.3**. On the other hand, the top and bottom 10 provinces with respect to their social allocation ratios and their HD priority ratios are shown in **Table 3.4**.

To appreciate these figures, it is helpful to think of the HD priority *ratio* as a measure of *effort* on the part of local governments, in light of their capacities, while the per capita spending *levels* may be understood as measures of the *adequacy of effort* in meeting absolute needs. A province with a small budget may devote a large portion of it to HD; in this sense it may exert admirable effort. Even such efforts, however, may fall short of what is needed and yield only a low level of spending per capita, simply because a large portion of a small cake is still small.

A comparison of the lists of the top-ranking provinces in terms of per capita human priority spending between 1991 and 1994 shows large shifts. In the pre-devolution year 1991, a number of high-ranking provinces came from the country's more developed and industrialized areas, e.g., Tarlac, Laguna, Pampanga, Rizal. By 1994, however, these provinces had disappeared from the list and one sees instead the emergence of much smaller provinces such as Batanes, Catanduanes, Siquijor, and Ifugao. This reflects the larger amounts of resources that have been made available under the Code to these smaller provinces, as well as the efforts these provinces have made to use them for HD priorities.

If one seeks to measure sheer effort at HD among provinces, then a comparison should be made using the HD priority ratio. One sees (**Table 3.4**) that in this case there was a similar concentration of high-ranking provinces in Central and Southern Luzon prior to devolution. It is also notable, however, that there is a large overlap between the high-ranking provinces appearing on the lists for levels and ratios of HD spending in 1994: Batanes, Batangas, Catanduanes, Siquijor, Ifugao, Ilocos Sur, Quezon, and Lanao del Norte. The high level of HD spending per capita in Batanes is particularly noteworthy. On the other hand, notwithstanding the relatively large share of their budgets devoted to human priority expenditures by North Cotabato and Pangasinan, these were still inadequate to place them in the top ten

Table 3.3
Top and Bottom 10 Provinces with Respect to Per Capita Total Social Service Expenditures and Per Capita Human Priority Expenditures

1994

Top 10		Bottom 10	
Per Capita Total Social Expenditures			
Batanes	950.27	Maguindanao	3.15
Kalinga Apayao	330.04	Sulu	3.69
Bataan	264.53	Davao del Norte	35.16
Quirino	257.35	Sarangani	42.12
Surigao del Norte	230.77	North Cotabato	45.91
Abra	205.93	Camarines Norte	48.58
Mountain Province	199.73	Bukidnon	49.87
Camiguin	186.43	Cebu	53.98
Siquijor	181.58	Sultan Kudarat	54.81
Biliran	179.72	Pampanga	54.85
Per Capita Human Priority Expenditures			
Batanes	923.67	Aurora	0.42
Catanduanes	166.29	Mountain Prov.	0.76
Siquijor	166.22	Misamis Occ.	2.05
Ifugao	154.60	Ilocos Norte	2.33
Batangas	101.23	Capiz	2.38
Ilocos Sur	90.28	Western Samar	2.40
Lanao del Norte	78.49	Biliran	2.45
Kalinga Apayao	74.01	Aklan	2.58
Agusan del Sur	71.10	Camarines Norte	2.61
Quezon	70.29	Abra	2.75

1993

Top 10		Bottom 10	
Per Capita Total Social Expenditures			
Batanes	745.95	Tawi-Tawi	1.15
Bataan	271.74	Maguindanao	2.64
Camiguin	213.51	Sulu	6.25
Catanduanes	179.25	North Cotabato	26.23
Isabela	175.23	Abra	26.45
Kalinga Apayao	174.01	Pangasinan	28.16
Quirino	172.37	Davao del Norte	31.59
Misamis Occidental	159.81	Bukidnon	33.53
Lanao del Norte	150.79	Sarangani	37.38
Mountain Province	146.17	Sultan Kudarat	38.04
Per Capita Human Priority Expenditures			
Batanes	619.72	Maguindanao	0.78
Catanduanes	135.85	Mountain Province	1.02
Lanao del Norte	117.44	Tawi-Tawi	1.15
Siquijor	101.06	Ifugao	1.19
Isabela	98.09	Oriental Mindoro	1.63
Aurora	88.32	Zamboanga del Norte	1.80
Guimaras	68.66	Romblon	2.07
Kalinga Apayao	64.28	Tarlac	2.43
Southern Leyte	61.21	Abra	2.56
Aklan	57.45	Bataan	2.62

Table 3.4
Top and Bottom 10 Provinces with Respect to Social Allocation Ratio and Human Development Priority Ratio

1994

Top 10		Bottom 10	
Social Allocation Ratio			
Bataan	63.79	Maguindanao	1.57
Kalinga Apayao	58.86	Sulu	1.98
Isabela	58.06	Davao del Norte	14.12
Batangas	56.66	Sarangani	16.12
Iloilo	54.95	Camarines Norte	16.95
Pangasinan	50.19	Misamis Oriental	19.99
Laguna	48.41	Palawan	20.44
Romblon	45.68	Basilan	21.51
Quezon	44.11	Aurora	22.00
Camarines Sur	43.40	Biliran	22.29
Human Development Priority Ratio			
Batangas	40.68	Aurora	0.07
Catanduanes	39.65	Mountain Province	0.11
Quezon	34.93	Biliran	0.30
Pangasinan	32.25	Misamis Occidental	0.45
Ifugao	32.13	Camiguin	0.45
Batanes	31.92	Abra	0.57
Ilocos Sur	30.65	Western Samar	0.70
Siquijor	26.61	Palawan	0.76
Lanao del Norte	25.12	Ilocos Norte	0.77
North Cotabato	21.63	Aklan	0.79

1993

Top 10		Bottom 10	
Social Allocation Ratio			
Bataan	69.39	Tawi-Tawi	0.53
Isabela	66.12	Maguindanao	1.40
Iloilo	54.53	Sulu	3.89
Nueva Ecija	50.51	Abra	9.11
Misamis Occidental	48.77	North Cotabato	15.38
Ilocos Sur	48.59	Pangasinan	19.36
Catanduanes	48.13	Misamis Oriental	20.74
Capiz	47.76	Bohol	21.99
Romblon	47.42	Davao del Norte	22.30
Batangas	47.18	Lanao del Norte	22.49
Human Development Priority Ratio			
Isabela	37.01	Mountain Province	0.24
Catanduanes	36.48	Ifugao	0.32
Southern Leyte	29.90	Maguindanao	0.42
Aklan	28.05	Tawi-Tawi	0.53
Batanes	28.01	Camiguin	0.56
Siquijor	25.98	Bataan	0.67
Aurora	23.92	Zambo. del Norte	0.75
Davao Oriental	22.80	Palawan	0.86
Negros Oriental	20.90	Abra	0.88
Guimaras	20.20	Oriental Mindoro	0.96

1991

Top 10		Bottom 10	
Per Capita Total Social Expenditures			
Bataan	48.21	Abra	0.05
Rizal	36.76	Lanao del Norte	0.68
Tarlac	23.21	Biliran	0.75
Bulacan	20.20	Siquijor	0.89
Batanes	18.66	North Cotabato	1.22
Batangas	17.95	Agusan del Norte	1.30
Negros Oriental	17.57	Oriental Mindoro	1.75
Nueva Ecija	14.94	Maguindanao	1.77
Laguna	14.65	Sultan Kudarat	1.78
Quirino	11.77	Misamis Occidental	1.90
Per Capita Human Priority Expenditures			
Tarlac	13.74	Sorsogon	0.04
Laguna	12.05	Northern Samar	0.04
La Union	8.85	Abra	0.05
Pampanga	8.61	Siquijor	0.06
Quezon	8.53	Biliran	0.07
Cagayan	7.78	Romblon	0.48
Benguet	7.59	Guimaras	0.55
Ilocos Norte	6.88	North Cotabato	0.75
Rizal	6.80	Agusan del Norte	0.89
Leyte	6.34	Mountain Province	1.24

1991

Top 10		Bottom 10	
Social Allocation Ratio			
Bulacan	39.51	Abra	0.07
Bataan	33.90	Siquijor	0.62
Nueva Ecija	22.82	Biliran	0.87
Batangas	22.06	Lanao del Norte	1.04
Iloilo	21.44	Agusan del Norte	1.57
Negros Oriental	20.43	Palawan	1.81
Tarlac	19.39	Misamis Occidental	1.82
Quirino	16.65	North Cotabato	1.82
Pampanga	15.66	Oriental Mindoro	1.83
Quezon	15.07	Camiguin	1.95
Human Development Priority Ratio			
Pampanga	14.20	Northern Samar	0.04
Quezon	12.06	Siquijor	0.04
Laguna	11.63	Abra	0.07
Tarlac	11.48	Sorsogon	0.08
La Union	11.00	Biliran	0.09
Cagayan	10.17	Romblon	0.60
Iloilo	8.35	Guimaras	0.70
Leyte	8.06	Palawan	0.74
Bukidnon	7.79	Mountain Province	0.85
Zamboanga del Sur	7.64	Cebu	0.93

list in HD spending, suggesting a need to augment the size of provincial budgets.

Has Devolution Led to Greater Attention to Human Development Priorities?

This is the all-important question, and the answer must be carefully qualified. Local government spending on social services obviously increased following the implementation of the devolution program. But this is partly explained by the mere transfer of responsibilities to LGUs from the departments of health and social welfare, whose budgets were substantially reduced. It is not obvious therefore whether the larger LGU outlays on social services in 1993 and 1994 maintained or augmented the level of devolved social services enjoyed by local communities. To assess whether indeed LGUs have increased spending on social services, the analysis must consider the cost of devolved functions.

What would the LGU expenditure level in 1993/1994 have been if LGUs continued to spend what they actually did in 1991 and, in addition, maintained the level of spending by national agencies on devolved functions? Table **3.5** estimates what is needed to maintain general government expenditures at their 1991 levels in real per capita terms (i.e., after adjusting for inflation and population growth).[6] It is this that is compared with actual levels of LGU expenditures in 1993.

The result shows that actual LGU spending in 1993 and 1994 was more than enough to maintain the spending level of 1991, even after taking inflation and population growth into account. In particular, actual LGU spending on general public services and on social services greatly exceeded 1991 levels. Spending on economic services, however, did not even keep up with prices, let alone population growth.

Focus within the social sector itself differed. On education, LGUs in 1994 spent three and a half times what was needed cope with both inflation and population growth.

Table 3.5
Local Government Expenditure Before and After Devolution (in million pesos)

	1993 (ACTUAL) Total	Provinces	Municipalities	Cities	1993 (LEVELS THAT WOULD HAVE PRESERVED 1991 LEVELS IN REAL TERMS) Total	Provinces	Municipalities	Cities
GRAND TOTAL NET OF DEBT SERVICE	40361.3	10167.0	17450.3	12744.0	33664.6	11033.2	13931.3	8700.1
Total Economic Services	10411.5	2827.5	3755.1	3829.0	11085.3	3959.7	4049.6	3076.0
Total Social Services	11394.0	3865.6	4121.7	3406.7	9340.5	4065.0	3284.2	1991.3
Education	2917.9	521.0	1331.8	1065.1	971.1	125.6	405.9	439.6
Health	5233.0	2488.9	1746.5	997.6	5488.7	2845.3	1810.1	833.3
Social Welfare, Labor & Other Soc. Serv	871.6	112.2	482.5	277.0	1563.2	186.3	899.8	477.1
Housing and Community Development	2371.5	743.5	560.9	1067.1	1317.5	907.8	168.4	241.3
General Public Services	16630.9	3143.2	8908.2	4579.4	12306.0	2727.3	6178.3	3400.4
Public Administration	16327.5	3103.0	8804.9	4419.7	12198.2	2725.6	6150.8	3321.8
Peace and Order	303.4	40.3	103.3	159.8	107.8	1.8	27.5	78.6
Others	1924.9	330.8	665.2	928.9	932.8	281.2	419.2	232.5

	1994 (ACTUAL) Total	Provinces	Municipalities	Cities	1994 (LEVELS THAT WOULD HAVE PRESERVED 1991 LEVELS IN REAL TERMS) Total	Provinces	Municipalities	Cities
GRAND TOTAL NET OF DEBT SERVICE	55620.4	13782.7	21555.2	20282.5	37041.3	12139.9	15328.6	9572.7
Total Economic Services	14830.0	3872.8	4816.8	6140.4	12197.2	4356.9	4455.8	3384.5
Total Social Services	15206.1	5055.1	4720.2	5430.9	10277.4	4472.8	3613.6	2191.0
Education	4005.2	703.0	1355.2	1947.0	1068.5	138.2	446.6	483.6
Health	6534.8	3046.9	1980.3	1507.5	6039.3	3130.7	1991.7	916.9
Social Welfare, Labor & Other Soc. Serv	1255.0	230.2	607.4	417.3	1720.0	205.0	990.1	524.9
Housing and Community Development	3411.2	1075.0	777.2	1559.0	1449.7	998.9	185.3	265.5
General Public Services	22579.2	4153.7	11070.1	7355.4	13540.3	3000.9	6798.0	3741.5
Public Administration	22220.7	4100.7	10983.3	7136.7	13421.7	2998.9	6767.8	3655.0
Peace and Order	358.5	53.0	86.8	218.6	118.6	2.0	30.2	86.5
Others	3005.1	701.1	948.1	1355.8	1026.4	309.4	461.3	255.8

Provinces, municipalities, and cities all gave education high priority (TABLE 3.5). Total LGU spending on housing and community development in 1994 was more than two times the amount required to preserve the 1991 level in real per capita terms. Housing and community development expenditures of cities and municipalities exhibited significant growth in real per capita terms. However, housing and community development expenditure of provincial governments in the aggregate in 1993 was slightly less than the amount needed maintain 1991 levels.

In contrast, actual 1994 expenditures on social welfare by all types of LGUs fell short of 1991 levels and did not even keep up with inflation. The 1994 spending level of all LGUs on health was also below the amount needed to sustain previous levels, except for cities. In general, therefore, one must conclude that LGUs have underspent on health and social welfare relative to levels prevailing before devolution.

The same analysis as in TABLE 3.5 may be made using data on individual provinces. The results indicate that in 1993, 32 provincial governments (out of 62 provincial governments with complete data) allocated less to the social sectors in the aggregate than was needed to maintain their 1991 expenditure level in real terms (TABLE 3.6). Similarly, 47 (27) provincial governments did not allocate enough resources to health (social welfare) to preserve the level of real spending in 1991 expenditure. In contrast, only three provincial governments reduced their 1993 education budgets in real terms relative to 1991. The difficult situation immediately after

1993 (LEVELS THAT WOULD HAVE PRESERVED 1991 LEVELS IN REAL PER CAPITA TERMS)			
Total	Provinces	Municipalities	Cities
35231.0	11546.6	14579.5	9104.9
11601.1	4144.0	4238.0	3219.1
9775.1	4254.2	3437.0	2083.9
1016.2	131.5	424.8	460.0
5744.1	2977.7	1894.3	872.1
1635.9	195.0	941.7	499.3
1378.8	950.1	176.2	252.6
12878.6	2854.2	6465.7	3558.6
12765.7	2852.4	6437.0	3476.4
112.8	1.9	28.7	82.2
976.2	294.2	438.7	243.3

1994 (LEVELS THAT WOULD HAVE PRESERVED 1991 LEVELS IN REAL PER CAPITA TERMS)			
Total	Provinces	Municipalities	Cities
39656.4	12997.0	16410.8	10248.6
13058.3	4664.5	4770.4	3623.4
11003.0	4788.5	3868.8	2345.7
1143.9	148.0	478.1	517.8
6465.6	3351.7	2132.3	981.7
1841.4	219.4	1060.0	562.0
1552.0	1069.4	198.4	284.3
14496.2	3212.8	7277.9	4005.6
14369.2	3210.7	7245.5	3913.0
127.0	2.1	32.3	92.6
1098.9	331.2	493.8	273.8

devolution is also seen in data for 15 of 19 priority provinces under the Social Reform Agenda (SRA). Adjusting for the cost of devolved functions, ten of these SRA provinces spent less on total social services, health, and social welfare in 1993 relative to 1991.

By 1994, however, the situation had improved. For instance, only in 16 provinces (of 68 for which data are complete) did total social sector spending fall below real per capita levels of 1991. Similarly only 32 provinces failed to devote sufficient resources to health to maintain 1991 real per capita levels. For social welfare spending, the corresponding number of provinces that have fallen behind was 25. As for the SRA provinces, only five (out of the 15 with complete data) continued to suffer effective reductions in real social spending per head. Seven SRA provinces showed reduced health spending per head, and six showed lower social welfare spending.

It will seem a puzzle and a source of concern why some provincial governments have allocated less to certain types of social services, such as health or social welfare services and more to others. LGUs as a whole have, after all, received more than sufficient amounts to continue providing the social services devolved from national agencies. There have been specific cases, of course, where the devolution formula was unmistakably deficient, so that IRAs were insufficient even to cover the cost of devolved functions. Yet this cannot have been the main reason for LGU underspending, for even provincial governments with sufficiently large social services budgets chose to allocate these differently, spending more, say, in the direction of education. What this suggests is that after devolution, many LGUs have essentially chosen to discontinue the pattern of budget allocation previously implemented by national agencies, most likely because these do not accord with their own priorities.

There are two possibilities: *First*, the devolved functions themselves may be deemed unresponsive or unimportant to actual local needs. For provinces in particular, a large part of devolved health services consists of huge outlays for tertiary hospitals which are nonetheless ill-equipped and unresponsive to community needs. It cannot be surprising, therefore, that LGUs should choose to discontinue their support to such social services. On the other hand, neither can one can rule out the *second* possibility that local government priorities themselves may be misplaced or badly informed, placing expedient showcase-projects ahead of continuing programs with long-term effects.

Both effects are probably at work. It has been noted that even after devolution, the proportion of provincial budgets allocated to HD priorities was still only half the recommended ratio, clearly indicating the need for a further re-examination of priorities. But perhaps the most important and reassuring

Table 3.6
Difference Between 1993 and 1991 Per Capita Real Expenditure Levels and Real Per Capita Net Resource Transfer

Region/Province (1993)	Actual 1993 Expenditures Less 1991 Expenditures Adjusted for Inflation, Cost of Devolved Function and Population Growth					Net Resource Transfers
	Education	*Health & Population*	*Social Welfare*	*Total Social Expenditures*		*Human Priority*
I. ILOCOS REGION						
Ilocos Norte	1.88	(3.43)	(0.82)	(4.70)	(0.36)	10.32
Ilocos Sur	4.55	(1.09)	(0.64)	2.30	0.38	(22.19)
La Union	7.45	52.70	(0.20)	62.14	9.86	(13.51)
Pangasinan	7.25	(42.69)	0.37	(32.13)	8.55	5.19
CORDILLERA ADMINISTRATIVE REGION (CAR)						
Abra	0.79	(77.56)	4.90	(71.86)	2.50	13.97
Benguet	11.99	7.02	0.19	18.37	8.36	(0.35)
Ifugao	0.47	(19.12)	(0.09)	(18.74)	(3.21)	(58.66)
Kalinga Apayao	1.52	(12.36)	(1.27)	(12.11)	60.01	(42.90)
Mountain Province	0.00	(89.19)	2.24	(88.32)	(0.41)	(57.55)
II. CAGAYAN VALLEY						
Batanes	6.22	(71.96)	(13.74)	(100.97)	na	(294.07)
Cagayan	0.82	(6.53)	0.22	(6.99)	4.95	33.70
Isabela	92.52	(12.53)	9.59	105.81	91.82	(138.00)
Nueva Viscaya	5.27	(45.10)	1.36	(37.29)	4.84	(56.21)
Quirino	11.99	(21.37)	4.13	(5.82)	16.65	3.26
III. CENTRAL LUZON						
Bataan	23.96	(20.42)	(0.43)	92.94	(2.70)	(75.16)
Bulacan	8.76	(16.18)	3.79	(10.13)	29.57	(13.05)
Nueva Ecija	(0.48)	5.30	12.51	16.86	(0.35)	56.50
Pampanga	6.00	(7.49)	(0.52)	(0.58)	(1.76)	(2.73)
Tarlac	(1.23)	(3.03)	2.59	(2.16)	(13.39)	3.15
Zambales	3.80	(9.97)	(0.39)	(6.56)	2.16	(24.08)
IV. SOUTHERN TAGALOG						
Aurora	na	na	na	na	na	67.68
Batangas	16.50	(5.02)	(0.25)	19.06	15.84	22.86
Cavite	3.94	(11.01)	3.17	(3.72)	3.23	(3.88)
Laguna	18.98	(6.18)	1.44	14.47	9.31	(6.81)
Marinduque	5.12	(6.81)	7.30	5.60	1.73	(6.94)
Occidental Mindoro	2.41	0.99	(0.08)	3.33	na	13.82
Oriental Mindoro	3.13	5.39	(0.24)	8.06	1.63	17.57
Palawan	11.15	(6.40)	1.00	5.90	1.25	78.24
Quezon	5.99	(11.47)	(0.15)	(4.77)	(3.32)	(10.01)
Rizal	(6.37)	(0.53)	1.28	(10.91)	10.66	15.24
Romblon	1.52	(36.33)	(0.39)	(36.88)	1.52	(57.47)
V. BICOL REGION						
Albay	1.94	(10.73)	(3.50)	(11.64)	2.88	(11.91)
Camarines Norte	3.48	(14.91)	1.34	(9.55)	33.44	4.79
Camarines Sur	na	na	na	na	na	(4.12)
Catanduanes	na	na	na	na	na	(111.79)
Masbate	na	na	na	na	na	na
Sorsogon	na	na	na	na	na	na
VI. WESTERN VISAYAS						
Aklan	5.38	(12.58)	(0.17)	3.31	52.79	(26.20)
Antique	1.50	(10.90)	(0.26)	(11.86)	10.21	(22.04)
Capiz	1.67	(16.34)	5.21	12.74	0.12	(9.60)
Guimaras	5.40	51.21	1.33	57.28	68.03	58.13
Iloilo	8.13	12.24	(0.11)	19.81	15.20	(7.00)
Negros Occidental	3.06	(9.99)	3.27	(4.94)	7.58	28.68

VII. CENTRAL VISAYAS						
Bohol	2.82	(4.67)	(0.78)	(1.83)	(0.29)	4.81
Cebu	1.30	(13.54)	(0.26)	(10.18)	3.42	3.97
Negros Oriental	9.00	(10.52)	(0.02)	(12.54)	42.04	(3.08)
Siquijor	1.41	(60.48)	(0.26)	(59.25)	100.99	(67.01)
VIII. EASTERN VISAYAS						
Biliran	2.40	(16.02)	(0.67)	(14.91)	3.50	(4.79)
Eastern Samar	1.33	(33.23)	(0.05)	(31.94)	6.65	(45.12)
Leyte	7.88	(13.34)	0.40	(6.68)	7.53	(24.71)
Southern Leyte	1.10	(22.60)	(0.05)	(21.82)	59.14	(37.80)
Northern Samar	1.56	(16.53)	0.38	(14.81)	8.71	(37.85)
Western Samar	na	na	na	na	na	na
IX. WESTERN MINDANAO						
Basilan	na	na	na	na	na	na
Zamboanga del Norte	2.33	(12.10)	(0.12)	(10.55)	1.80	2.39
Zamboanga del Sur	1.11	(11.79)	1.76	(5.83)	(1.55)	11.20
X. NORTHERN MINDANAO						
Agusan del Norte	2.62	(45.95)	6.18	(36.69)	2.58	(53.62)
Agusan del Sur	14.13	(7.12)	(0.05)	6.79	2.07	34.88
Bukidnon	4.06	(6.99)	(0.17)	(3.56)	(0.50)	28.06
Camiguin	4.11	(3.37)	(0.73)	8.54	0.88	(24.66)
Misamis Occidental	3.75	(24.53)	(0.72)	(21.58)	2.87	(29.47)
Misamis Oriental	14.04	(5.02)	0.01	3.95	10.16	(8.93)
Surigao del Norte	1.75	(65.40)	(0.44)	(64.77)	3.39	(81.36)
XI. SOUTHERN MINDANAO						
Davao del Norte	2.13	3.11	0.69	5.43	5.23	35.73
Davao del Sur	4.69	11.86	1.95	18.39	21.27	23.80
Davao Oriental	5.24	0.56	1.68	9.54	43.60	28.29
South Cotabato	9.84	(17.59)	0.75	(6.99)	6.68	(52.53)
Surigao del Sur	na	na	na	na	na	111.51
Sarangani	na	na	na	na	na	na
XII. CENTRAL MINDANAO						
Lanao del Norte	0.21	41.64	6.71	58.53	na	(33.79)
North Cotabato	1.38	(2.38)	(0.19)	(1.15)	20.97	57.39
Sultan Kudarat	1.88	(3.21)	0.30	(1.03)	7.93	27.75
AUTONOMOUS REGION FOR MUSLIM MINDANAO (ARMM)						
Sulu	2.02	1.09	(1.79)	1.32	3.01	61.98
Tawi-Tawi	na	na	na	na	na	88.44
Lanao del Sur	na	na	na	na	na	na
Maguindanao	0.37	0.23	0.00	0.60	(1.26)	61.30

finding is that human development priority spending per capita, i.e., spending on the most vital human priorities, has *risen* in the majority of provinces after devolution. This fact overshadows all other problems and possible reservations regarding devolution and strengthens the belief in its efficacy.

Aside from LGUs' own priorities, the outcomes at the local level are also influenced by national initiatives. Among the least examined and most controversial are the Countrywide Development Fund (CDF) and Congressional Initiatives Allocation (CIA) on the part of the legislature. It should cause some concern that these, too, respond to distorted priorities (See **Box 3.2**).

What Determines Social and Human Priority Expenditures Among Provinces?

Offhand, one would expect that the level of spending on social and HD priorities among provincial governments should reflect either means or needs. Provinces that can afford it may be expected to devote more

Box 3.2 Congress and the Budget

Congress makes a mark on the national budget in two ways. *First*, while the Philippine Constitution prohibits Congress from augmenting the total outlay proposed by the President, members of Congress are allowed to realign expenditures. Congress may therefore introduce new expenditure items or increase the allocation to specific agencies and programs by reducing the budget for others. *Second*, the way senators and representatives spend their Countrywide Development Fund (CDF) may also influence the social allocation and social priority ratios.

To determine whether the social sectors, in general, and human priorities in particular, are favored in congressional realignments the President's Budgets (PBs) and the General Appropriations Acts (GAAs) of 1994 and 1995 are compared. The results show that Congress consistently increased the national government's budgetary allocation to the social sectors. However, such increments were not as large as those allotted to economic sectors.

In 1994 and 1995, Congressional initiatives augmented the allocation proposed in the PB for the social service sectors. The appropriation for the social sectors under the 1994 GAA was P0.9 billion (or 1 percent) higher than that proposed in the 1994 President's Budget. In 1995 it was P2.1 billion or 3 percent more. Among the social service sectors, education captured the biggest increment in nominal peso terms in both years. Congress increased the education budget by P1.2 billion (or 3 percent) in 1994 and by P1.1 billion (or 2 percent) in 1995. In 1994 the largest increase in proportional terms however was in health (7 percent), while in 1995 it was social welfare (11 percent).

It should be emphasized, however, that the increment in the budget allocation for the economic service sectors as a result of Congressional realignment was significantly larger than that for the social service sectors. Thus, Congress increased the combined budgets of the economic sectors by P2.8 billion (or 6 percent) in 1994 and by P10.6 billion (or 22 percent) in 1995 compared to the appropriation levels proposed in the President's Budget. Massive supplements were received by the transportation and communication sector and by the agrarian reform sector in 1994 and 1995. The agriculture, the power and the water sectors also secured substantial increases in their respective budgets in 1995. At the same time, Congress cut the aggregate public administration budget by 6 percent in 1994 but increased it by 2 percent in 1995.

Consequently, the social allocation ratio (i.e., the share of the social service sectors in the government budget net of debt service) increased only slightly (from 25.8 percent to 26.5 percent) in 1994 as a result of Congressional initiatives. Compare this with the robust rise in the budget share of the economic sectors from 19.3 percent to 20.7 percent. Moreover, in 1995 the social allocation ratio suffered a marginal decline, from 26.0 percent to 25.9 percent, because of budget realignments at the legislature. In contrast, the economic service sectors received another boost when its budget share rose from 17.2 percent in the PB to 20.2 percent in the GAA.

At the same time, a closer examination at the distribution of the budgets of the Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS), the State Universities and Colleges (SUCS) and the Department of Health (DOH) reveals that Congressional initiatives have not been kind to human development priorities like basic education and basic health services. While Congress legislated increases (relative to the proposed allocation in the PB) in the combined budgets of the DECS and the SUCS in 1994 and 1995, the increases in the appropriations on tertiary education are larger than those on basic education. The budget for tertiary education rose by 9 percent and 8 percent in 1994 and 1995, respectively, compared to 2 percent and less than 1 percent increase in basic education. Consequently, the share of basic education in the combined DECS/SUCS budget declined while that of tertiary education increased in those years.

Similarly, there has been some reallocation away from preventive health care in favor of curative health care in the DOH budget in 1994 and 1995 as a result of Congressional budget realignment. While the appropriation for preventive care in the GAA rose by 3 percent relative to its PB level in 1994, that for curative care went up by 16 percent. Consequently, in that year there was a decline in the budget share of preventive care from 45.5 percent to 43.5 percent as a result of Congressional realignment. In

contrast, the budget share of curative care jumped from 41.6 percent to 44.5 percent. A similar picture is observed for 1995 but the bias in favor of curative care was not as marked.

Finally, it is notable that in 1995 Congress increased total national government expenditures net of debt service by 3 percent relative to the proposed appropriations level in the President's Budget. This came about as Congress went through the motion of reducing the debt service component of President's expenditure program and subsequently re-allocating the "savings" thus generated to other programs. However, Presidential Decree 1177 which remains in force to date provides that debt service is automatically appropriated. Thus, Congressional cuts on debt service are illusory and the higher non-debt service expenditures provided in the GAA imply that Congress has effectively increased the national government budget in the aggregate relative to the President's Budget.

It should be stressed that this practice tends to increase the general uncertainty in the amount of budget resources that will be released by the Department of Budget and Management (DBM) to specific agencies/programs in the course of the budget year notwithstanding the existence of a legislated appropriation cover. It has been pointed out that the DBM paces the release of allotment advises as well as notice of cash allocation in accordance with the relative availability of cash in the national treasury. To the extent that increases in the non-debt service portion of the budget increases the overall size of the budget relative to the amount of revenue that is forthcoming, the need to ration cash releases is intensified.

Over and above the Congressional budget insertions, it has been the practice since 1990 to allot each representative P12 million and each Senator P18 million from the CDF. Each legislator is given the discretion to choose the sector and the geographic area where his CDF share will be spent. These "pork barrel" funds, as the CDF has come to be known, are allocated by members of Congress to projects of their choice. An analysis of the sectoral distribution of CDF releases reveals that the CDF was heavily biased in favor of the economic service sectors in 1993 and 1994. In those years, 56-57 percent of the CDF was channeled to economic services compared to the 17-27 percent share of social services. In both years, the CDF was more heavily skewed in favor of economic services than the overall national budget. In 1993, for instance, the share of economic services in the CDF was 56 percent, which was significantly higher than its 28 percent share in the national budget.

resources to various types of social spending per capita. Hence, one would expect higher social spending to correspond with higher LGU incomes, whether this higher income takes the form of local revenue sources or the IRA. Second, one might expect social spending levels to vary with need. Provinces that rank lower in terms of social and HD indicators should, other things being equal, be willing to spend more of their limited budgets on social services. These conjectures were tested statistically (See **Appendix**, this chapter) with the results being more complex than expected:

- **The Importance of IRA**. Social spending by provincial governments rises with IRA. That is, higher per capita IRA tends to be associated with higher per capita spending on social services. IRA favorably affects total social service spending, human priority spending, and health spending. In contrast, no relationship is observed between the amount of local revenue collected and social spending, human priority spending, or health spending. This and the previous result suggests that many provincial governments rely on IRA rather than on locally generated revenue in financing local programs. LGUs that collect more revenues from local sources tend to spend more of it on education. This may be attributed to the existence of the Special Education Fund (SEF), an additional levy on real property earmarked for the education sector.

- **Winners and Losers**. Provinces that suffered negative net resource transfers from devolution behaved differently from those that gained. Net gainers

spend less of their IRA on the social sectors than net losers.[7] This indicates that provincial governments adjust their spending to compensate for the net transfers they receive. Likewise net losers spend a bigger share of their IRA on the social sectors, in an attempt to reach their "target" expenditure level because their IRA share is small relative to their expenditure requirements. Despite these adjustments, provinces that suffered negative net transfers could not maintain their 1991 social sector spending in real terms in 1993. This suggests the need to revisit the IRA allocation formula since the formula appears to have a negative impact on the way provincial governments allocate their resources on social and HD priorities. Net gainers tend to spend more on general public services and economic services than net losers.

- **Budgets in Relation to Needs**. The budgets allocated by provinces to the social sectors (i.e., total social services, education, health, and HD priorities) do *not* conform with objective indicators of need (i.e., HD status) or distributional goals. Provinces with higher human development indices spent more on all the social sectors and on human priority needs than those with lower HDI. Provinces with higher functional literacy spend more on education, and those with higher life expectancy spent more on health.

This last finding is particularly worrisome. Provinces that are already doing well in terms of human development also tend to spend more on it, while those that do poorly spend less. There is undoubtedly a circularity involved. Provinces that have a high level of human development spend more on it, both because they are able to and because they want to. And by virtue of this fact, they will continue to perform well. The opposite is the case for lower-ranking provinces, which are in danger of being sucked into a vicious circle of low HD spending, low HD outcomes, and a low political will to do anything about it.

Concluding Remarks

The mandated transfer to LGUs of functions previously discharged by national government agencies has caused major changes in the size and composition of LGU budgets. Aggregate LGU expenditure rose from 1.9 percent of GNP in 1991 to 2.7 percent in 1993, the first year devolution was implemented. Most of the increment in LGU spending went to social services, partly as a result of the transfer of a big number of the DOH and Department of Social Work and Development (DSWD) personnel and assets to LGUs. Consequently, while the budget share of the social service sector expanded those of the economic service sectors and general public services contracted.

Higher LGU expenditures on certain social services in 1993 were more than sufficient to support the cost of devolved functions such that there is a real augmentation of the given services at the local community level. But this has not been true for all types of social services. Compared to their 1991 levels, actual LGU expenditures on education and housing and community development after devolution were greater than the amount needed to cover inflation, population growth, and the cost of devolved functions. In contrast, after making adjustments for the cost of devolved functions, LGU expenditures on health were below the levels needed to sustain the 1991 level in real terms. LGU social welfare expenditures declined even in nominal terms.

Of 62 provincial governments with complete data, 32 allocated less to the social sectors in the aggregate than was needed to maintain their 1991 real expenditure levels (after subtracting the cost of devolved functions). Similarly, 47 provincial governments failed to increase resources enough to main-

tain the pre-devolution real value of health spending. The corresponding figure for social welfare is 27 provinces. In contrast, only 3 provinces reduced their 1993 education budgets in real terms relative to 1991.

Higher per capita IRA tends to be associated with higher per capita spending on social sectors. This was true for total social service expenditure, human priority expenditure, and health expenditure. On the other hand, the relationship between the latter set of variables and local source revenue was not statistically significant. This may be indicative of the tendency of many provincial governments to rely on the IRA rather than on locally generated revenue in financing local programs.

In contrast, the opposite is true in the case of education expenditure. That is, the positive relationship between per capita education expenditure and per capita locally sourced revenue is found to be statistically significant while that between the former and per capita IRA is not. This may be attributed to the existence of the SEF. The SEF is an additional levy on real property earmarked for the education sector.

The analysis also reveals that the propensity to spend on the social sectors out of the IRA was higher among provinces that suffered negative net resource transfers than those which had positive net transfers. This result suggests that provincial governments do adjust their spending behavior to compensate for the net transfers they received. However, despite these adjustments the net losers were not able to maintain their 1991 social sector spending in real terms. This is indicative of the need to revisit the IRA allocation formula since it appears to have a negative impact on the way provincial governments allocate their resources on social and HD priorities.

If one assumes that the national agency budgets (which formed the basis for estimates of the cost of devolved function) in the various sectors before devolution represent the appropriate spending levels, then one could say that LGUs "underspent" on health and social welfare in the decentralized regime. However, one can also argue that the very essence of decentralization lies in giving LGUs the freedom to make their own spending decisions based on their assessment of what their constituents need. If the latter premise holds, then the 1994 actual LGU expenditure levels represent the optimal levels from the LGU perspective. It is not a simple matter to establish which of these alternative viewpoints is relevant. It is likely that both of them are applicable. If LGUs are given expenditure responsibilities with significant spillover effects (i.e., responsibilities whose benefits are not exclusively enjoyed by their constituents like public health services) then it is expected that LGUs will underprovide for these services without additional financial support from the central government, perhaps in the form of matching grants. If the benefits are confined to definite areas, then cost sharing among the LGUs that benefit from the service, rather than matching grants from the central government, may be the more appropriate arrangement. Abstracting from spillovers, LGUs should be allowed to decide on the quantity and quality of *local* public goods and services that they will finance without interference from the center. The only qualification to this is the need to ensure that LGUs have sufficient fiscal resources to finance their expenditure responsibilities. In this regard, there is a need to review IRA allocation formula with the end in view of developing a system that will equalize net fiscal capacities (i.e., revenue potential less expenditure need) of LGUs.

Finally, there is large scope for improving the budget allocation of provincial governments on the social sectors (i.e., total social services, education, health, and HD priorities) to conform with objective indicators of need (i.e., HD status) and/or distributional goals. Governments of provinces which registered higher human development index spent more on all the social sectors combined on a per capita basis than those with lower HDI. The converse of this is that poorer provinces where human priority spending is

needed are precisely those where such spending is lacking.

Setting aside for the moment the important problem of redressing the inequities of the existing IRA allocation formula, it cannot be denied that the provincial governments' allocations to the social sectors and for human priority expenditures reflect priority setting at the local level. The proportion of provincial budgets allocated to the social service sectors did rise from 9.3 percent on the average in 1991 to 34 percent in 1994; the human development priority ratio for provinces did increase from 4.3 percent to 10.3 percent in 1994. Such developments augur well for the ultimate effects of devolution on human development. At the same time, this performance falls short of what is necessary. In particular, the average human development priority ratio is only half of the 20 percent ratio recommended by the HD framework. Together with the perverse relationship between HDI and social sector expenditures, this indicates the wide scope improving budget allocation for the social sector at the provincial government level.

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Notes

1 In prices of 1985.
2 For present purposes, DOH programs falling under field health and community health services were deemed to comprise basic curative health services.
3 General government is comprised of the central or national government and local government units or LGUs.
4 The Code mandates that the aggregate IRA share of LGUs may be reduced below 40 percent of the internal revenue collections in three years prior to the current year (but in no case should it be less than 30 percent) if the fiscal deficit is at a critical level.
5 It is not possible to measure the revenue decentralization ratio or the expenditure decentralization ratio at a more disaggregated level because data on the geographical distribution of central government revenue/expenditure are not available.
6 In arriving at these estimates, it is assumed that the national government maintains its spending level at the 1991 level (net of the cost of devolved functions) in nominal, real and real per capita terms, respectively. Inflation is computed based on the GNP implicit price index and population growth rate is assumed to be 2.3 percent.
7 This relationship is statistically significant for total social service expenditures, human priority expenditures and health expenditures but not for education expenditures.

Appendix 3.1 What Determines Social Spending by Provinces?

To study the determinants of social expenditure of provincial governments, the aggregate level as well as the various components of social sector outlays of these LGUs in per capita — (i) education expenditures, (ii) health expenditures, and (iii) human development priority expenditure — are regressed against the following variables:

LGU Income. LGU expenditure will be directly limited by LGU income, especially since there is only limited or no possibility of borrowing. Two major components of LGU income were considered as explanatory variables, namely, IRA and regular income from local sources. The share of IRA and of local sources of revenue were also used.

Net Resource Transfer as a Result of the LGC. While the increase in the IRA as a result of the 1991 Local Government Code is sufficient to cover the cost of devolved functions in the aggregate, it cannot be denied that there is a mismatch at the LGU level between the financial resources and the expenditure responsibilities that were transferred to LGUs. Thus, the increase in the IRA share of some LGUs is not enough to finance the functions devolved to them.[8] In 1993, the net resource transfer (i.e., 1993 IRA less 1992 IRA less cost of devolved functions adjusted for inflation) to LGUs as a result of Code implementation is negative in 27 out of the 65 provinces for which data is available. It is worth noting that 19 out of the 32 provinces whose total social service outlays declined in real terms in 1993 (relative to 1991) suffered negative resource transfers. Also, 7 out of the 12 priority provinces for which there is data posted negative resource transfers in 1993. All of these 7 provinces reduced their total social sector spending in real terms in 1993 relative to 1991. A variable, D1, (which takes on the value of 1 when the net resource transfer to the province is positive and 0, otherwise) is considered as one of the explanatory variables in the regression analysis that was done for this paper. This variable was included in order to verify whether the budget allocation behavior of the net gainers from the devolution program differ significantly from that of the net losers.

Human Development Index. The analysis also tested whether the lagged composite human development index, HDI, and its various components (like the infant mortality rate, the malnutrition rate, the illiteracy rate and the cohort survival rate) influence the budget allocation of provincial governments in the social sectors in the current year. This is an attempt to determine whether provincial governments' spending on the social sectors is responsive to objective indicators of need.

The results of the regression analysis show that the per capita total social sector expenditure of provincial governments is positively related with their per capita IRA (Table 3.7). That is, higher per capita IRA tends to be associated with higher per capita social service expenditures. This relationship was found to be statistically significant in the case of total social service expenditure, human priority expenditure, and health expenditure.

On the other hand, the relationship between per capita local source revenue, on the one hand, and per capita total social sector expenditures, per capita human priority expenditures and per capita health expenditure, on the other, was not statistically significant. This may be indicative of the tendency of many provincial governments to rely on the IRA rather than on locally generated revenue in financing local programs.

The opposite is true for education expenditure. Thus, the positive relationship between per capita education expenditure and per capita local source revenue is statistically significant while that between per capita education expenditure and per capita IRA is not. This may be attributed to the existence of the SEF. The SEF is an additional levy on real property earmarked for the education sector.

At the same time, it is also interesting to note that the net gainers' tendency to spend on general public services and on economic services is higher than that of the net losers.

8 The increment in the IRA is defined as the difference between the 1993 IRA and the 1992 IRA share.

Table 3.7
Determinants of 1994 Per Capita Provincial Government Expenditure in Social Sectors

DEPENDENT VARIABLE	INDEPENDENT VARIABLES							R^2 ADJUSTED	DW	WHITE CHI-SQUARE
	Constant	Per Capita IRA	D1* Per Capita IRA	Per Capita Local Source Revenue	HDI	Life Expectancy Rate	Functional Literacy			
Total Social Service Expenditure [a]	-91.936 (-3.721)**	0.402 (11.414)**	-0.061 (-1.756)*	0.240 (1.077)	148.947 (2.950)**			0.901	2.310	15.620*
Human Priority Expenditure [a]	-152.648 (-3.393)**	0.274 (3.738)**	0.039 (0.641)	0.268 (1.603)	150.030 (1.957)*			0.807	2.128	34.110*
Health Expenditure [a]	-199.155 (-3.317)**	0.446 (20.725)**	-0.095 (-5.090)**	0.114 (1.441)	 (2.783)**	2.549		0.963	2.466	9.620
Education Expenditure [b]	-10.976 (-2.045)	-0.569 (-2.341)*	0.100 (2.389)*	0.602 (3.704)**	3.135 (2.541)**	0.330	1.860	11.520		

[a] linear specification
[b] double logarithmic specification
* statistically significant at 5%
** statistically significant at 1%

Notes Expenditures are expressed in per capita terms. Numbers in parenthesis refer to t-values. When the White chi-square is significant, the t-values are derived from White chi-square heteroskedasticity-consistent covariance matrix.

Finally, TABLE 3.7 shows that the budget allocation of provincial governments on the social sectors (i.e., total social services, education, health, and human development priorities) moves positively into indicators of human development. There is a statistically significant positive relationship between 1994 per capita total social service expenditures of provincial governments and 1991 human development index. That is, governments of provinces which registered higher a human development index spent more on all the social sectors combined on a per capita basis than those with lower HDI.

The same is true of human priority spending and of health and education expenditures. Provinces that already rank high on indicators of human development tend to spend more on it. Undoubtedly some "virtuous cycle" is at work. Spending for human development raise people's well-being and motivates further investment in people — both because the positive experience makes it desirable to do so. Hence one may just as easily interpret the results as capturing the positive effects of social spending on human development. That is, except for the fact that the HD variables used precede the spending variables. On the other hand, HD status does not vary greatly over the period being considered.

The worrisome aspect of these results, however, is that provinces with low HD status are also those that spend the least to change it, for lack of both the means and the motive. How to break such a tight circular causation remains a challenge.

4 Economic Development and the Well-Being of Women[1]

Introduction

This chapter consists of two parts. The first is a review of the progress achieved by Filipino women in education, health and employment since the country's independence in 1946; the second is an analysis and valuation of the time allocated by women in home-making. The study focuses on achievements rather than problems. The choice of focus is largely an organizational matter.

In this century, especially after attaining national independence, Filipino women have achieved a lot in building their capabilities so that they have taken advantage of and enjoyed the opportunities that developments in the economic and political arena have created. Their achievements, however, have not been obtained at zero cost. The very changes that enhanced women's well-being also gave rise to sex-specific problems. The study views the changes in women's capabilities and the emerging new challenges as twin outcomes of the nation's historical development.

The paper then looks into the growing contribution of women in the nation's socio-economic life as they assume a more varied and increasing amount of labor market work. Market work is defined as work that produces marketed output such as farming, fish drying and employment for wage. This is distinguished from home production like childcare, laundry and cooking. These have market value but are not included in the estimate of gross national product (GNP) which is based on the conventional system of national accounts (SNA).

Alternative approaches to accounting and estimating the market value of their work at home is made using the labor force surveys and the special survey on time use undertaken by the University of the Philippines Population Institute (UPPI). The received approaches are based on the time inputed in home tasks reported in surveys. The reported time is then multiplied by a shadow price. Some researchers assume this to equal the wage of a hired housekeeper, while others, the opportunity wage of the individual doing the housework. (Hawrylyshyn 1975). Obviously either assumption oversimplifies the measurement problem. We will discuss some conceptual problems related to the allocation of time for home activities and its valuation. The paper suggests a simple alternative approach based on the notion of effective time or the time that would normally be needed to complete home tasks efficiently. This avoids the problem of overemployment and underemployment in home production. The paper contains, in successive order, a discussion of conceptual issues especially the cultural roots of gender biases in the labor market, a brief history of the opening of opportunities to Filipino women from the turn of the century, empirical analyses of the achievements made by women in education and in the labor market, and estimates of the value of their work at home.

Culture, Preferences and Discrimination

It is best to start the review with a description of the culture which has molded the habits and values that relate to the role and well-being of women. By and large, the Filipino culture is protective of women. It defines the woman's role to be essentially that of home-maker; it specifies her virtues; and it assigns her guardianship to men. As a future home-maker, a girl is taught housework, to prudently manage money, to be a nurturing parent, to be the family's social host, and to guard her sexual integrity before and after marriage.

The man is to be the head of the family and its main source of livelihood; he is to be its protector. Even in the early stages of economic development, men found work outside the home and acquired the habit of declining from home-working and instead socialized with other male workers. The habit gave them greater mobility and allowed them to have a separate consumption pattern from his family. He developed drinking and gambling habits. Even if the women are held in great respect for their home-making role, they were subordinate to men. The traditions have set boundaries on women's future achievements. These determine the speed at which the women can respond to opportunities in the labor market, politics and other social activities.

Women's traditional role in home-making has extended to the labor market but concentrating on occupations that are not too different from their home tasks. These jobs are, generally, physically lighter and stationary but require patience and meticulous care; or they involve nurturing responsibilities. Consequently, women have tended to work in teaching, nursing, clerical and accounting jobs, retail sales, garments and handicraft, and more recently, semiconductor assembly and other fine assembly work. Their entry into the less traditional occupations such as medicine, law and management would come later and at a much slower rate. While the female-dominated occupations are physically lighter and safer, they pay less. Their choice appears to have been restricted to occupations that conflict less with their home-making responsibilities and/or to those that preserve their traditional image of supporting rather than leading men. Jobs that offer a flexible working schedule and are closer to home, attract women with young children. On the other hand, evidence shows that gender discrimination is practiced in managerial and administrative positions, perhaps, in order to preserve male dominance in the labor market.

Women's home-making role has not only impinged on job choice but also on their job success. When an employed woman has to be absent from work more frequently than her husband because she, not her husband, has to attend to the health and educational needs of her children, she establishes a poor working record. Child-bearing may interrupt her employment and so lessen her on-the-job training. [Mincer 1974; Mincer and Hain 1980]. The legal provisions for maternity leave add to the cost of her employment.

Women have struggled with gender-related work hazards. Men are taking time to adjust to the presence of women outside the home. There is a high incidence of violence against women in industrial cities. The rapid pace of urbanization has resulted in growth of slum housing which is extremely overcrowded, lacks sanitary facilities and is, on the whole, demeaning. This atmosphere is definitely not conducive to peaceable and decent behavior, possibly leading to the rise in criminality in large cities. Women are often victims of much urban violence.

The restrictions on the labor market choices of women have led to some segmentation in the labor market and gender-based wage differentials. As women concentrate in selected occupations, their labor supply to these occupations increases at a higher rate than in other occupations thus leading to lower equilibrium wage rates. The converse holds for the essentially male occupations. Men are freer to move across occupations implying greater competition in the male labor market and smaller differentials in their

wage rates and the rate of return to their human capital.

Women's poorer labor market performance relative to men's is rooted in their traditional cultural role. Their long history of home-making activities has developed a comparative advantage in home-like jobs. Their home responsibilities also make them prefer jobs that are less disruptive of home chores. Even if they, in fact, are free to choose to work in the market and choose an occupation, the parameters of their choice are strongly influenced by traditions. Discrimination is just one possible cause of differential in career success.

Traditions, however, are not fixed. They interact with opportunities. When women decide to acquire more education and find employment outside the home, their relative position in the home changes. The opportunity cost of having a child increases. Consequently, the relative importance of her home-making role declines. Women become more mobile and competitive with men. The modern world has moved towards this direction and questions regarding the social cost of these changes have arisen, especially when they occur at a rapid rate.

Their progress in the demand side of the labor market depends on the kind of jobs that become available to women. Contemporary economic growth has been accompanied by job creation in selected occupations, some suited to women like electronics processing, automated manufactures, and health care and leisure services. A general tightening of the labor market, even in an essentially male-dominated labor market creates job openings for women. As male workers move to better jobs, they vacate the old ones; thus, making some or all available to women. Firms likely become less discriminating against women when facing a labor shortage.

The achievements of Filipino women can be assessed from an historical perspective and in the context of inherited traditions. Gender-based biases exist most everywhere but they differ in degree across cultures. Some cultures have a matriarchal inheritance system, while others practice physical mutilation of girls. It is more meaningful to study the rate of progress being made rather than the existing biases. Moreover, women's achievements are likely to differ across areas of interest and socio-economic classes. In the Philippines, progress has been more rapid in building women's capabilities through education than in generating employment opportunities and political participation. Women's access to jobs vary across occupations and their progress in the labor market tends to be circumscribed by tradition. This is discussed in greater detail below.

Progress in Women's Education and Employment

American colonization and the post-independence political and economic development experience brought about rapid changes in the woman's social role. The colonial government established the foundation for a popularly-based educational system as a means of counteracting the armed rebellion against it. From the beginning, public schools admitted girls. Demand for schooling was great and in order to expand capacity, normal schools (for teachers) were established almost simultaneously with primary schools. Aside from education, Filipino women were given the right of suffrage once elections of local officials were instituted (ca. 1937). During the Spanish colonial period, a very limited number of Filipinos could study, largely the very affluent who could go to Europe or were allowed to enroll in the Spanish institutions.

While the intention was political, i.e., to pacify the armed resistance to American rule, the measure nevertheless laid the foundation for a mass-based and market-oriented educational system. Totally new jobs in teaching and nursing were opened for women. With independence (1946) and the expansion of the bureaucracy, clerical and administrative jobs

became available to them. Women were encouraged to pursue higher education so that they could qualify for prestigious and higher-paying white-collar jobs. Gradually, the more ambitious, possibly brighter women, ventured into the higher occupations such as medicine and law which, historically, were the preserve of men. A later development is the entry of women into the management of large corporations and entrepreneurship. Their progress in the various occupations differed depending largely on culture-based barriers.

Economic development also resulted in the improvement of family health, sanitary facilities, utilities and transport, all of which reduced the homemaking burden of women. Piped water, electricity and gas fuel freed them from the heavy task of fetching water and gathering firewood. The task of child-rearing was lightened by decreasing family size and improvements in children's health resulting from increasing income and access to sanitary water and health facilities. Unfortunately, not all women benefited fully from the fruits of development. There remain serious distributional problems. The poor in rural areas continue to suffer from under-development while the affluent families in the cities enjoy most of the fruits of economic development — schools, hospitals, modern utilities and widely varied commodity markets.

Table 4.1
Distribution of Highest Grade Completed by Persons 20 years and older, by Sex, and by Urban-Rural Location (1948, 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990)

	1948	1960	1970**	1980	1990
A. Male Highest Grade Completed					
Elem 1-4	26.2	29.5	30.2	22.9	16.6
5-7	12.5	22.4	25.2	27.6	25.8
HS 1-3	8.3	8.1	8.6	11.2	13.3
4	3.1	6.5	8.0	12.1	16.6
Coll 1-3	2.8	3.8	4.3	7.6	13.8
4 or more with degree	0.7	3.7	6.1	9.0	8.6
No Grade*	46.3	25.9	17.6	9.3	5.2
B. Female Highest Grade completed					
Elem 1-4	26.1	29.8	30.8	21.9	15.0
5-6	10.1	21.5	25.9	30.2	28.1
HS 1-3	5.5	6.1	6.7	9.8	10.6
4	1.9	4.3	6.0	9.1	14.2
Coll 1-3	1.9	3.1	2.9	6.5	12.3
4 or more with degree 0.5	3.0	5.9	10.7	11.7	
No Grade	53.9	32.2	22.8	11.8	8.0
C. Ratio of Female to Male: Percentage Completing Each Schooling Level					
Elem 1-4	99.6	110.0	102.0	95.6	90.4
5-6	80.8	96.0	102.8	109.4	108.9
HS 1-3	66.3	75.3	77.9	87.5	79.7
4	61.3	66.2	62.5	75.2	85.5
Coll 1-3	67.8	81.6	67.4	85.5	89.1
4 or more with degree	71.4	81.1	96.7	118.9	136.0
No grade	116.4	124.3	129.5	126.9	153.8

Note *Includes those who did not state their schooling
**Persons 25 years and over

Trends in Women's Education and Employment

Data on education are provided beginning 1948. The educational attainment of the population increased through the years but quite rapidly between 1948 to 1980. Among the men aged 20 and over, the proportion with zero schooling dropped at a fairly rapid rate from 46.3 percent in 1948, 25.9 percent in 1960, 17.6 percent in 1970, 9.3 percent in 1980 and 5.2 percent in 1990; the proportion for the women dropped as fast from 53.9 percent to 8.0 percent for the whole period. An increasing proportion of the children who enrolled in the first four grades continued on to higher levels explaining the decline in adults having only

1-4 years of schooling from 26.2 percent to 16.6 percent for men over the 1948-1990 period and for women from 26.1 percent to 15.0 percent. The proportions attaining high school and college education more than doubled for all. (TABLE 4.1)

In the beginning when access was quite limited, men were favored as compared to women as reflected in the much higher proportion of girls who had no schooling in 1948 — 53.9 percent vs. 46.3 percent. But once access increased with the expansion of the public school system and the establishment of more private schools, the women competed quite successfully with the boys. Women's school attendance rate and the female-male ratio of the percentage completing each successively higher level of schooling improved tremendously from 1948 to 1990. Between these years, the ratio for elementary grades 5-6 rose from 80.8 percent to 108.9 percent, for high school years 4, from 61.3 percent to 85.5 percent and for college years 4 or more from 71.4 percent to 136.0 percent.

By 1970, more girls than boys aged 6-10 were attending school — 69.2 percent vs. 66.3 percent. In the age group, 11-13, the rates were 47.7 percent for girls vs. 41.4 percent for boys; the corresponding rates for the age group 14-16 are 33.6 percent vs. 31.0 percent; for ages 17-18, 19.9 percent vs. 16.6 percent. Of the college age group 19-22, the figures are 16.1 percent vs. 15.0 percent. All in favor of women. (TABLE 4.2)

In 1990, the difference in attendance rate is generally wider, especially among the high school and college age groups. At every schooling stage, men lagged behind women, i.e., there were relatively more women at higher grades in each stage. The difference in the rate of progression slightly intensified through 1990 which explains why a much higher proportion of women than men completed college. This fact also explains why women have increasingly dominated the professional and clerical occupations which generally require a college background.

Table 4.2
Percentage Enrolled of School Aged Population by Level and Age Group (1970 1990)

	1970		1990	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Elementary				
E1-4: E 6-10/P6-10	65.1	67.7	71.6	73.5
E5-7: E6-10 /P6-10	1.2	1.5	2.4	3.0
E1-4: E/P6-10	95.1	94.0	100.5	96.8
E5-7: E11-13/P11-13	36.1	41.3	44.0	48.7
E1-4: E11-13/P11-13	5.3	6.4	11.6	14.7
E5-7 E/P11-13	55.3	60.2	69.9	72.9
High School				
H1-3: E6-10/P14-16	27.9	29.2	42.8	48.3
H4C1-3: E14-16/P14-16	3.1	4.4	4.6	11.6
H1-3: E/P14-16	47.5	45.7	76.5	81.1
H4: E17-18/P17-18	9.0	9.2	14.2	15.4
H1-3: E17-18/P17-18	7.1	10.7	15.7	20.4
H4: E/P17-18	20.7	20.5	43.6	45.0
College				
C1-3: E19-21/P19-21	10.0	8.9	17.2	18.9
C4-5: E19-21/P19-21	2.1	3.4	1.0	2.2
C1-3: E/P19-21	23.0	25.5	43.5	46.8
C4: E22/P22	2.9	3.8	1.9	1.9
C4 E/P22	19.8	25.9	22.0	30.9

Labor Market Performance

The labor force participation rate (LFPR) of women has an upward trend, albeit gradual, moving up from 40.8 percent in 1956 (the first labor force survey) to 46.8 in 1990, then to 47.5 percent in 1994. The corresponding figures for men are 72.4 percent, 81.4 percent and 82.1 percent. Women have had a higher unemployment rate than men, in 1994, 10.7 percent versus 9.2 percent. The employed women have concentrated on selected occupations — Professional/technical 9.9 percent; Clerical 65 percent; Sales 25.4 percent; and Services 15.0 percent. These occupations consist largely of ostensibly lighter work in offices, retail trade, domestic help and recreation. Agricultural remains an important occupation for both men and women. In 1996, it absorbed 43.9 percent of all workers, 29.8 percent female and 52.0 percent

Table 4.3
Manpower, Labor Force, Employment and Unemployment
Level and Annual Growth Rate (1971-1994)

	1965 Oct.	1971 Nov.	1976 3r Qt	1981 3rd Qt	1986 3rd Qt	1990 Oct.	1991 Oct.	1992 July	1994 July	
A. 1 Manpower, All (15 yrs. & over)	**16124**	**21068**	**24837**	**29847**	**34612**	**37999**	**39114**	**39974**	**42367**	
2 Male		7955	10268	12241	14839	17101	18897		19780	21021
3 Female		8170	10800	12595	15008	17511	19102		20197	21346
4 Labor Force	10764	13241	15018	18422	22067	24525	25246	26122	27398	
5 Male		7156	8872	9964	11660	13576	15446	16401	17249	
6 Female		3608	4369	5054	6763	8490	9079	9721	10149	
7 Employed		10101	12543	14238	17452	20595	22532	22979	23898	24725
8 Male		6805	8436	9630	11249	12905	14347	15155	15664	
9 Female		3296	4107	4608	6203	7690	8185	8743	9061	
10 Unemployed	663	698	780	970	1472	1993	2267	2224	2673	
11 Male	351	409	334	411	671	1099	1246	1585		
12 Female	312	289	446	560	800	893	978	1088		
Experienced	228	363								
Unexperienced	435	335								
B. 1 LFPR, All (4/1)	**0.67**	**0.63**	**0.60**	**0.62**	**0.64**	**0.65**	**0.65**	**0.65**	**0.65**	
2 Male (5/2) 0.90	0.86	0.81	0.79	0.79	0.82		0.83	0.82		
3 Female (6/3)	0.44	0.40	0.40	0.45	0.48	0.48	0.48	0.48		
4 Unemployment Rate, All	0.06	0.05	0.05	0.05	0.07	0.08	0.09	0.09	0.10	
5 Male (11/5)	0.05	0.05	0.03	0.04	0.05	0.07		0.08	0.09	
6 Female (12/6)	0.09	0.07	0.09	0.08	0.09	0.10	0.10	0.11		

C. Annual Growth Rate	**1971-76**	**1976-81**	**1981-86**	**1986-90**	**1990-91**	**1991-92**	**1992-94**
Manpower	3.3	3.7	3.0	2.4	2.9	2.2	2.8
Labor force	2.6	4.2	3.7	2.7	2.9	3.5	2.4
Employed	2.6	4.2	3.4	2.3	2.0	3.0	1.7

Source Labor Force Survey, corresponding years, National Statistics Office.

male. Men have dominated Administrative, Production and Agriculture occupations. In the Production sector, men prevail in the heavier jobs found in transport, energy, utilities, construction and machinery industries. While women also work in factories, they are found largely in garment, electronics assembly and food processing. In agriculture, the UPPI survey shows women assigned to weeding and planting, seldom plowing. The Administrative/executive occupation absorbed a rather small proportion of women, only 1.2 percent. (TABLES 4.3 AND 4.4)

Economic development appears to have intensified the concentration of women in the "traditionally" female occupations. The ratio of female to total workers rose from 49.5 percent in 1956 to 63.1 percent in 1990 for the Professional/technical occupation, from 19.4 percent to 54.8 percent for Clerical, from 62.0 percent to 65.0 percent for Sales. The ratio for Services remained relatively high though falling from 63.5 percent to 57.9 percent. Production had as much as 43.7 percent women in 1956 but only 20.0 percent in 1990. Agriculture has had a fairly constant ratio of about 25 percent. As much as 80 percent of the

Table 4.4
Employed Persons by Occupation Group (in percent)

YEAR	1956	1960	1965	1971	1974	1980	1985	1990
MALE								
Total	4,946	5,721	6,805	8,463	9,386	10,827	12,519	14,347
Prof/Tech	2.2	2.0	2.4	3.4	3.2	3.8	3.0	3.6
Adm/Exec	3.2	2.6	2.8	1.6	1.3	1.1	1.2	1.3
Clerical	2.5	2.9	3.7	3.3	3.0	3.7	3.1	3.1
Sales	3.5	3.0	3.9	6.7	6.1	5.4	6.7	7.3
Agri	68.2	70.1	65.3	59.0	64.0	59.0	57.0	52.3
Prod'n	16.1	16.0	14.9	20.7	18.1	22.2	23.5	25.8
Services	4.0	3.4	2.2	5.1	4.1	4.8	5.4	6.1
Not Defined	0.3	0.4	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.01	0.03	0.3
FEMALE								
Total	2,756	2,818	3,296	4,080	4,242	5,606	7,282	8,185
Prof/Tech	3.9	4.5	6.4	10	12.1	11.4	10.9	10.8
Adm/Exec	7.1	6.3	7.3	0.9	2.8	0.71	0.56	0.89
Clerical	1.1	1.5	2.9	4.2	9.6	6.2	6.0	6.6
Sales	10.3	9.8	12.5	20.8	18.9	19.5	23.6	24.2
Agri	41.8	42.5	37.4	31.6	10.5	35.9	33.6	31.0
Prod'n	22.4	21.8	16.6	14.7	26.9	13.5	12.0	11.3
Services	12.5	13.0	16.2	17.4	18.9	12.9	13.2	14.7
Not Defined	0.9	0.7	0.7	0.3	0.4		0.01	0.5
RATIO OF FEMALE TO TOTAL								
Total	7,702	8,539	10,101	12,543	13,628	16,433	19,801	22,532
Prof/Tech	1	1	2	3	4	4	4	4
Adm/Exec	3	2	2	-	1	-	-	-
Clerical	-	-	1	1	3	2	2	2
Sales	4	3	4	7	6	4		9
Agri	15	14	12	10	3	12	12	11
Prod'n	8	7	5	5	8	5		4
Services	4	4	5	6	6	4	5	5
Not Defined	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

women in Professional/technical jobs were in teaching, nursing and accounting work while 50 percent of the women in Production jobs were in textile/garment and electronics. Filipino women increasingly encroached into overseas employment but again mainly in traditional occupations such as domestic service, nursing and entertainment. Women now comprise 60 percent of departing overseas workers as compared to 47 percent in 1980.

Discrimination appears to exist in the higher level management/administrative jobs. Top management positions in large businesses and the higher political offices are still predominantly male. There is no female president of any large financial institution or industrial conglomerate. But a small number of women have risen to the next highest positions such as vice-president, comptrollers/treasurers and corporate secretaries. The following gives the gender breakdown of principal officials among the largest (in revenue terms) corporations in the country in 1994-1995 [PHILIPPINE BUSINESS PROFILES AND PERSPECTIVES, INC. & CENTER FOR RESEARCH AND

Table 4.5
Distribution of Government Employees by Position and Sex (1991, 1994, 1995)

		1991	1994	1995
A.	**Percentage Female** (%)			
	National Gov't.	57.4	64.8	59.0
	GOCCs*	36.1	36.4	37.4
	Local Gov't	40.1	46.8	49.0
	Total	51.5	61.4	54.2
B.	**Male**			
	First Level	242,732	194,957	287,206
	Second Level	204,484	180,796	207,943
	Teachers	—	59,834	65,884
	Other	—	120,962	142,059
	Third Level	3,921	10,846	10,715
C.	**Female**			
	First Level	166,279	140,413	170,351
	Second Level	443,601	436,948	487,031
	Teachers	—	287,851	322,012
	Other	—	149,097	165,019
	Third Level	1,706	5,086	3,887
D.	**Ratio, Male (%)**			
	Second other/First		66.9	49.5
	Third/Second other		9.0	7.5
	Third/First		5.6	3.7
E.	**Ratio, Female (%)**			
	Second other/First		106.2	96.9
	Third/Second other		3.4	2.4
	Third/First		3.6	2.3

Note First level is for clerical, second level for supervisory/professional/technical, and third level for division chiefs, directors and higher up to assistant secretary.
*Government Owned/Controlled Corporations

COMMUNICATIONS, *Philippine Business Profiles Top 7000 Corporations, 1994-1995.*]:

Total #. of officials listed[2]	1194
Male	992 or 83.1%
Female	202 or 16.9%
Female presidents	37/435 corp. or 8.5%
Female vice presidents	67/435 corp. or 15.4%

While women rule the professional and technical jobs in private business, the figures show that a rather small proportion get to the very top positions or only 16.9 percent. Only 8.5 percent of corporate presidents and only 15.4 percent of vice presidents are women. Women preside over the smaller corporations engaged in finance, communications and advertising industries.

The Asian Institute of Management (AIM) undertook case studies of women executives and entrepreneurs in Asia (1985, 1992). For the Philippines, AIM included three female top executives, one who rose to the rank of Senior Vice President for the largest food conglomerate; another, Vice President for the fifth largest commercial bank; and the third, Senior Vice President of the ninth largest commercial bank.

The pattern of discrimination also holds in government agencies. CHAPTER 8 shows the female/total ratio for Department Secretaries at 3/30, Senators at 4/24, Congressmen/women at 21/203, Governors at 9/75 and Vice-Governors at 12/75.

Government positions are categorized into three levels: Level one for the clerical occupations, level two for professional/technical/supervisory, and level three for top administrative positions like division chiefs, bureau directors and assistant secretary of a department. Career success is indicated here by the ratio of level 2 to level 1, level 3 to level 2, and level 3 to level 1 (TABLE 4.5). Public school teachers are classified as level 2 but they are excluded from the computation since they have their own hierarchy and are quite separate from the rest of government service.

In 1994, the level 2/level 1 ratio for male was 66.9 percent as against 106.2 percent for female. But level 3/level 2 ratio for male was 9.0 percent and 3.4 percent for female; and level 3/level 1 ratio was 5.6 percent for male and 3.6 percent for female. The figures indicate that women in non-teaching service progress more rapidly than men up to the middle or level 2 positions. Promotion to the top positions or level 3 is definitely more difficult for women. All the ratios fell from 1994 to 1995 implying a slowdown in promotion for both men and women. Women seem to have suffered more than men from the slack as shown by the faster drop in their level 3/level 2 ratio from 3.4 percent to 2.4 percent. For the men, the ratio fell from 9.0 percent tc

7.5 percent. In absolute terms, there were only 3,887 women compared to 10,715 men in level 3 positions in 1995.

Earnings of Women as Compared to Men

Data on the relative hourly earnings and estimates of the rate of return to the education of men and women are obtained from the Third Quarter 1992 Labor Force Survey (LFS). Hourly earnings are computed as mean earnings divided by mean hours worked for the employed in the various occupations. To obtain the rate of return to education, a Mincer-type earnings function was fitted to the individual observations after correcting for self-selection bias that, arguably, is likely to be especially strong for female workers. Earnings are observed not for the whole population but only for about half of the working age women who decided to work. As explained in a previous section of this report, some factors such as demographic characteristics and market environment tend to exert a stronger influence on the labor force participation rate of women rather than men. Proxies are used to capture demographic characteristics and the environment as are available in the LFS. The following model is applied separately to individual observations of married women and male heads of households. (cf. APPENDIX 4.1)

First, there is the data on the relative wage rate (earnings/hours worked) for male heads and wives in the various occupations and in urban and rural location. The wage rate is higher in urban than rural areas, in white collar (administrative, professional and clerical) more than blue collar jobs in either locations; and for male more than female workers. But the wage differential varies across occupations (TABLE 4.6). The female-male ratio is lower in blue collar jobs than in white collar jobs.

In the professional/technical occupation where the female workers concentrate on the relatively low-wage teaching and nursing jobs, the ratio goes from .68 for the youngest age group to .82 in the middle age group,

Table 4.6
Ratio of the Mean of Earnings Per Hour of Females to Males by Location, Occupation and Age Range (1992)

	20-24	25-30	31-40	41-50	51-65
Urban					
Prof/Tech	0.68	0.69	0.82	0.77	0.70
Adm/Exec	-	0.85	0.74	0.95	0.93
Clerical	1.05	0.82	0.98	0.90	0.99
Sales	0.80	0.72	0.67	0.51	1.02
Service	0.53	0.61	0.61	0.59	0.74
Agri	0.59	0.84	0.70	0.64	0.67
Prodn	0.87	0.96	0.78	0.79	0.54
Rural					
Prof/Tech	-	1.14	0.83	1.20	0.80
Clerical	0.78	1.22	1.26	1.06	0.79
Sales	0.50	0.57	0.47	0.58	0.24
Service	0.86	0.75	0.68	0.56	0.78
Agri	0.69	0.59	0.64	0.65	0.59
Prod'n	0.89	0.74	0.55	0.55	0.42

Source Labor Force Survey, 3rd Quarter 1992.

then down to .70 in the 51-65 age group. Apparently, there is also some bumping off to lower wage sub-categories in sales and services where the ratio is generally low. The clerical occupation which is a predominantly female occupation, reveals a higher ratio. In the predominantly male administrative/executive occupation, women earn more. However, the result may not be very reliable as there are very few female observations in this occupation. Moreover, there must be a strong self-selection bias in women who rise to top positions. They are probably brighter and more motivated. The AIM study found that these successful women come from better off families. The younger employees in the production sector have a higher female-male earnings ratio, possibly reflecting the relatively higher wage rates received by female employees in the developed export-oriented electronics and garment industries.

A comparison of this sort is insightful but not precise hence, the need to estimate a wage function which focuses on the rate of return to schooling (See regression results in TABLE 4.7). The regression shows an opposing impact of the parameter estimates on the rela-

Table 4.7
Determinants of Wages

Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error	T-statistics
HUSBAND'S WAGES			
Dependent variable: ln Wage			
R-squared = .158479			
Adjusted R-squared = .157977			
F-statistic (zero slopes) = 315.877			
C	1.77831	.038648	46.0124
YEDUC	.051296	.196315E-02	26.1296
E	.017525	.215514E-02	8.13190
E2	-.258670E-03	.352320E-04	-7.34192
OCC1	.261493	.029767	8.78478
OCC2	.408414	.039538	10.3297
OCC3	.033239	.030792	1.07948
OCC4	-.025995	.021270	-1.22215
OCC5	-.106495	.023449	-4.54155
OCC6	-.177946	.013521	-13.1609
RMILL	.523028	.079260	6.59888
WIFE'S WAGES			
Dependent variable:ln Wage			
R-squared = .271551			
Adjusted R-squared = .270449			
F-statistic (zero slopes) = 246.444			
C	.976672	.221800	4.40338
YEDUC	.070154	.359417E-02	16.5187
E	.014394	.372216E-02	3.86722
E2	-.130630E-03	.598830E-04	-2.18142
OCC1	.452664	.040647	11.1366
OCC2	.672902	.085695	7.85232
OCC3	.350967	.047937	7.32146
OCC4	-.042907	.029365	-1.46115
OCC5	.069044	.036538	1.88965
OCC6	-.157964	.034920	-4.52358
RMILL	.193917	.175725	1.10353

cf. Appendix 4.1

tive earnings of men and women. The constant is positive for men but negative for women, meaning a higher wage level for men, everything else being equal. This can be due in part to discrimination. Another reason is the greater recognition of work hazards in essentially male jobs such as construction, transport and mining. The coefficient for experience is larger for men than women which would be consistent with a larger on-the-job training acquired by men. Employers prefer to invest more on the job training of male workers for the reasons argued above, i.e., women, because of their home-making role, tend to be more frequently absent and have interrupted tenure.

A surprising result is that the coefficient of education is higher for women than men, 0.1075 vs. 0.0664 which implies a higher rate of return to women's investment in education. This fairly large difference in rate of return may explain women's higher educational attainment. Another shift variable, location, favors women more than men as shown by the location coefficient of .404 for women and .162 for men. The selection bias as reflected in the Mills ratio is positive and significant for women but not for men since the majority of men work.

Women in foreign employment or OCWs (overseas contract workers) also go into lower paying occupations and destinations. Maids most everywhere are paid relatively low in comparison with low-ranked male occupations. TABLE 4.8 shows that maids in Singapore and Saudi Arabia receive the lowest wage of all OCWs or only about $200 to $250 per month. The maids in Hong Kong and Europe get more but they comprise a smaller proportion of the total. Entertainers and nurses have comparable average earnings with male workers. TAN [1993] observed that among OCWs, maids gain the least from foreign employment since they generally receive the lowest wage but pay the highest placement fees and face the greatest risk of violence and violation of employment contracts. Unfortunately, the market for migrant labor is monopsonistic and labor exporting countries like the Philippines are mainly wage takers. The importing countries decide on the number and wage rate of migrant labor and take into account the rather low wage rate and high unemployment rate in exporting countries.

Table 4.8
Monthly Dollar Wages, and Placement and Personal Expenses of Newly Hired Overseas Workers by Occupation, Destination and Agency Type

	Wage U.S. $ Per Month	Placement Expenses	Personal Expenses Per worker	Total Cost
A. By Agency Type				
Private employment agencies	477	9,838	896	10,734
Construction contractor	344	3,429	592	4,021
Government	648	4,413	1,763	6,176
Manning agencies	521	2,788	1,088	3,873
Service contractors	342	10,533	1,024	11,557
Direct hire	419	5,159	741	5,900
B. By Occupation				
Entertainer	450	9,604	214	9,818
Skilled worker	431	7,603	891	8,494
Professional	893	9,788	1,587	11,375
Office staff	417	6,075	100	6,175
Domestic helper	205	9,990	775	10,865
Seaman	503	2,717	1,006	2,723
Laborer	261	10,550	653	11,203
C. By Destination				
Japan	485	8,047	433	8,480
Saudi Arabia/Middle East	392	8,299	905	9,204
Europe/America	954	5,877	1,453	7,330
Hong kong/Singapore	242	11,911	1,092	13,003
Worldwide	383	2,066	800	2,866
Trust territories	550	4,005	0	4,005
Far East	327	5,039	0	5,039
Average	460	7,844	919	8,763
Average for Land-Based Workers	453	8,615	906	9,521

Source Alcestis Abrera-Mangahas, 1988 "What Workers Pay for Overseas Jobs," Social Weather Station Bulletin, Series 1988, No. 7, Metro Manila.

Time Allocation

Twenty-four hours of a day can be allocated into three types of activities — personal care and leisure, labor market work and home production. These activities are seen to be substitutes of each other though there are at least two constraints on their rate of substitution — one is the minimum number of hours for personal care required to maintain health; and the other, the fixed working schedules in market jobs. Assuming that personal care and leisure take up 10 hours of a day, 14 hours becomes the effective time constraint for all three types of activities.

Most wage jobs found largely in the formal sector, an 8-hour per day schedule is conventional, with a five-day week schedule for white-collar occupations and a six-day week schedule for blue collar occupations. If we add travel time of 1-2 hours to market work time, only about 4 hours would be left to full-time workers for home chores and extra personal uses. In the informal sector where the work schedule is more flexible, the worker can make a smoother substitution between market work and the other two activities, thus, allowing more time to home chores. Obviously, those not in the labor force and the unemployed have 14 hours available for home chores and additional personal care. This is not to say that the women not in the labor force are full-time housewives because there are leisure and personal care activities that compete with home production.

Borrowing largely from BECKER [1965], it can be argued that the time devoted by a married woman to each activity depends on the following: The number and age of children, family resources, the woman's own productivity in each of the activities and her own wage, her husband's wage and home productivity, and the market prices of market goods. The higher the woman's wage, which is seen as the opportunity cost of her time for home chores, the less she is likely to devote to the latter activities, or the more she will decide to work in the market. Family resources consisting of her husband's income, initial wealth and her own earnings would tend to increase the time allocated for personal care and leisure, assuming these to be a normal good. On the other hand, more family resources mean a higher standard of living, i.e., a larger and better furnished home, more varied food consumption, more clothes, all of which would require larger time inputs for home chores.

The wife's time can, however, be substituted by other family members' time or by hired help and, for some chores, by appliances. The rate of substitution between wife's time and other people's time, and between her time and appliances differs across home chores. A mother's time for child care is less substitutable for other people's time as compared to her time for laundry or cleaning house. Besides, child care has a more inflexible schedule. For this reason, the presence of children tends to increase the home time for mothers.

The underdevelopment of the home environment is an important explanatory variable. At the most extreme stage of underdevelopment and poverty, home-making is a heavy and time-consuming task. Fuel and water have to be produced by the household. There would be a higher incidence of illness in the family requiring greater caring time by the mother. Accessing any social service like schooling and health care consumes more time considering the poor state of transportation and communication. An equally poor housewife in a developed environment would be spared much of these heavy tasks. For the affluent housewife who possesses modern home appliances some house chores may even be pleasurable and ought to be regarded as a leisure activity rather than work.

The extended family system, the prevalence of unemployment and the presence of a large informal sector help married women increase their market employment. Here, it is customary for grandmothers, aunts and other relatives to share resources as well as home chores. The informal organization of enterprise, defined as small and family managed/operated, still exists. Many informal enterprises are located in the home or close to it. Additionally, unemployment has lowered the cost of hired help and has increased the substitutability of market work for house chores.

In brief, the time allocated to home chores and to market work by a woman depends on: (1) demographic variables, particularly children's ages, (2) flexibility of work schedule, (3) her own market wage, (4) family resources including her husband's labor income, (5) degree of development of her environment, and (6) presence of relatives who can share in home chores. The variables — presence of children, flexibility of work schedule, family resources and degree of underdevelopment — are expected to exert a positive impact on home time. The presence of relatives and older children will tend to have the opposite effect. The effects on market time would be the opposite of that on home time.

UPPI Time Use Survey

The UPPI survey sample consists mainly of middle and lower income households in two Metro-Manila suburbs, Marikina and Pasig, and two provincial villages, one a fishing village in Mindoro and the other an agricultural one in La Union. The sample covers five occupations — Professional/technical, Sales, Services, Production and Agriculture. The sample can be further categorized into workers in the formal and informal sectors.

Table 4.9
Mean Number of Hours Allocated Daily by Type of Activity and by Method of Data Collection

Type of Activity	Urban (in hours)				Rural (in hours)			
	Recall method		Diary method		Recall method		Diary method	
	H	W	H	W	H	W	H	W
Market work	6.45	3.22	5.82	2.77	6.45	2.52	6.39	2.29
Travel time	1.04	0.39	0.50	0.26	0.82	0.18	0.40	0.12
Home production	2.15	6.13	2.73	7.72	1.97	7.25	2.45	7.88
Housekeeping	1.12	3.79	1.70	5.06	1.10	4.45	1.43	5.13
Child care	1.03	2.34	1.03	2.66	0.87	2.80	1.02	2.75
Leisure	14.35	14.26	14.95	13.25	14.76	14.05	14.76	13.71
Total	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00	24.00
N of cases	200	200	51	51	200	200	49	49

Source University of the Philippines, Population Institute (UPPI), Time Use Survey

The recall method is applied to the whole sample and the diary method on a subsample.[3] **Table 4.9** shows the time inputs to market work by husband (*H*) and wife (*W*) in urban and rural areas by recall and diary methods.

Based on the recall method, the total time allocated by husbands to production (market work and home-making) including travel time differs only slightly from that of wives. In urban areas, husbands' total productive time is 9.64 hours per day as compared to wives' 9.74 hours, while in rural areas, the comparable figures are 9.24 and 9.95 hours, respectively. Both husbands and wives had ample time for personal care, slightly more than 14 hours. Husbands allot more time to labor market work than wives. Rural wives allocate more time for home chores than urban wives perhaps because of the extra time needed for obtaining water and other utilities.

To be noted is the much smaller travel time of wives who have chosen to work close to their homes and children — in urban areas .39 hour and in rural areas .18 hour. The comparable figures for husbands are 1.04 and .82 hour. Very likely, the jobs that are close to the wives' homes are informal in nature, e.g., handicrafts, vending, embroidery, small scale farming and livestock raising.

Husbands devote some time to their homes but the amount of home time varies only within a fairly narrow range. The more educated the husband, the more time he gives to both child care and housework. Those with elementary education devoted .9 hour to homechores as compared to 2.2 and 2.5 hours by those with high school and college education, respectively. Professional husbands spent the longest home time, 3.56 hours as compared to 2.3 for production workers and 2.0 for agricultural workers. The husbands are quite selective in what house chores to undertake like baby-sitting, repairs and fetching water. Apparently, Filipino men do not wash dishes or scrub the floor. Children exert an opposing impact on the amount of time allocated to labor market work. Both husband and wife increase their home time as the number of children increase. Wives still allot more time to the care of young children, especially those below age 5. The extra time is taken from labor market work as this declines with the presence of young children.

It appears that those who are on flexible schedule made the substitution between labor market work and home chores within the constraint of about 10 active hours. Generally, home time decreases as labor market time increases but the total of the two exceeds 10 hours. Those on fixed full-time schedules give up some of their personal/leisure time

so that they can still perform some critical home chores. Their total productive time is longer than those on flexible labor market work schedules.

Labor Force Survey Hours Worked

The LFS gives hours worked by the employed from which can be inferred the time left for home chores and personal care and leisure. Those not in the labor force and the openly unemployed who comprise almost 60 percent of the working age population have all of 24 hours available for these two activities.

The average hours worked in the labor market (HRS) varies across occupation and by class of worker, i.e., whether employed as wage workers or self-employed, paid or unpaid family worker. Full-time work is highest among those employed by private and government sectors, especially in the Professional, Administrative and Clerical occupations since these are largely on fixed time (full-time) schedules. It is lowest for agriculture where there is a greater underemployment rate and lower marginal productivity. (TABLE 4.10)

Married women generally work shorter hours than male heads and single women except for those in the Professional and Clerical occupations which are mostly on fixed time schedules. In the Professional/technical occupation, more women than men work full-time. In urban areas, 91.8 percent of married women, 92.7 percent single women and 87.7 percent of male heads work full time, while in the rural areas, the corresponding figures are 90.5 percent, 87.5 percent and 90.5 percent. An even higher percentage, 96.6 percent, of married women in Clerical occupations work full time in urban areas. But, as for occupations which include employment with more flexible schedules or more informal organizations, married women supply less HRS. In fact, in all occupations other than the above, mar-

Table 4.10
Percent Distribution by Number of Hours Worked Per Week, by Occupation (1992)

MALE	> 40	30-39	20-29	10-20	< 10
Urban					
Prof/Tech	87.7	5.8	4.6	1.3	0.5
Adm/Exec	91.1	4.2	2.9	1.8	-
Clerical	95.5	3.6	0.4	0.4	-
Sales	74.9	15.0	8.7	1.4	-
Service	88.4	6.5	4.2	0.7	0.2
Agri	52.0	28.1	16.4	3.1	0.4
Prod'n	90.1	6.3	2.9	0.6	0.1
Rural					
Agri	45.7	32.8	17.3	3.8	0.4
Prodn	87.6	7.8	3.2	0.8	0.5
Sales	66.4	17.4	11.4	3.5	1.3
Service	89.2	3.0	4.6	1.4	1.8
WIVES					
Urban					
Prof/Tech	91.8	3.8	3.1	1.0	0.3
Adm/Exec	77.8	8.5	9.8	3.9	-
Clerical	96.6	1.6	1.8	-	-
Sales	71.2	14.0	12.4	2.2	0.2
Service	64.4	15.5	16.5	3.0	0.6
Prodn	67.3	15.8	14.0	1.9	1.0
Agri	30.6	20.5	25.3	20.0	3.6
Rural					
Sales	66.5	16.7	14.2	2.4	0.1
Service	56.1	19.5	19.7	3.8	0.9
Agri	28.0	21.1	30.0	17.7	3.1
Prodn	36.0	32.6	23.5	7.4	0.5
SINGLE WOMEN					
Urban					
Prof/Tech	92.7	3.3	2.3	1.2	0.5
Adm/Exec	95.8	4.2	-	-	-
Clerical	95.5	3.1	0.7	0.7	-
Sales	76.0	9.7	9.2	4.5	0.5
Service	92.1	4.0	3.4	0.5	0.1
Prodn	88.5	5.0	4.6	2.0	-
Agri	38.0	14.4	23.8	19.2	4.1
Rural					
Sales	72.7	8.9	12.5	5.7	0.3
Service	37.8	4.0	6.6	0.9	0.7
Agri	27.9	21.6	28.5	20.2	1.8
Prodn	67.3	14.0	14.0	4.7	-

Source Labor Force Survey, 1992

Table 4.11
Determinants of Hours Worked (HRS)

Variable	Estimated Coefficient	Standard Error	T-statistics
HUSBAND			
Dependent variable: HRS			
R-squared = .200725			
Adjusted R-squared = .200249			
F-statistic (zero slopes)= 421.228			
C	606.346	7.72252	78.5166
AGE	-.279265	.215172	-1.29787
OCC1	-34.1945	7.26056	-4.70962
OCC2	23.7526	10.0830	2.35571
OCC3	-.856450E-02	7.71992	-.110940E-02
OCC4	70.6918	5.44453	12.9840
OCC5	59.0245	5.98702	9.85875
OCC6	-130.418	3.27969	-39.7654
WR11	-1.58200	.057693	-27.4209
FMINC	.232494E-02	.115481E-03	20.1326
RMILL	-231.771	25.5479	-9.07198
WIFE			
Dependent variable: HRS			
R-squared = .258553			
Adjusted R-squared= .257431			
F-statistic (zero slopes)= 230.535			
C	1556.26	111.897	13.9079
AGE	-6.41965	.746021	-8.60518
OCC1	65.2007	10.0752	6.47137
OCC2	78.7429	24.9348	3.15795
OCC3	78.6724	13.0989	6.00603
OCC4	195.7087	8.59813	22.7617
OCC5	-3.15134	10.6989	-.294549
OCC6	-145.471	10.2938	-14.1318
WR11	-1.92393	.147189	-13.0712
FOINC	.289249E-02	.258438E-03	11.1922
RMILL	-874.226	89.2552	-9.79468

cf. Appendix 3.1

ried women supply less HRS. The pattern is very clear in agriculture where only 28 percent of married women work full-time as compared to 45.7 percent for male heads.

Allocation of Time Functions

From the LFS data, a supply of time for labor market work is tested, and from the UPPI, both supply of time for the market and home activities are tested.

As in the wage function, a supply of HRS for labor market work is estimated by OLS regression separately for married women and male heads using individual observations and correcting for self selection bias. [cf. **Appendix 4.2**].

For the married women all the coefficients are significant but some of the signs are not as expected (**Table 4.11**). Age has a negative but rather weak effect on HRS; own wage has a negative small effect; and family income other than own has a small positive effect. Being in occupations 1-4 increases HRS but being in occupation 6 (Agriculture) decreases HRS. Being in Production has no significant effect. The Mills ratio is significant but has a negative effect on HRS. The regression for male heads gives no significant effect for age and occupation 3 (Clerical). For both married women and male heads, the occupation variable proves to be the most important determinant of HRS. The occupation variable is a proxy that conceals the influence of other variables like flexibility of work schedule and productivity. For instance, Agriculture exerts a fairly large negative effect on HRS partly because of flexibility and partly because of relatively low productivity.

The study includes all the important variables that directly (not by proxy) influence the time spent for home chores. Cabegin's work shows that few of the explanatory variables are significant. Note the negative effect of wife's education but a positive effect of her own wage. It means that she responds positively to her labor market opportunity but her education raises her productivity at home and so leads her to devote more time to it. This is consistent with the home time function given above where the wife's education exerts a significantly positive influence on her home time. The presence of Help exerts a large push to her working in the labor market. The presence of children exerts no significant effect on home time. [cf. **Appendix 4.3**].

Economic Valuation of Women's Time

First, the development context in the valuation of time is presented considering that the nature of home production in a modern and affluent environment differs from an underdeveloped milieu. *Second* is the notion of effective time input to home production. Work intensity or efficiency is likely to differ depending on the supply of time in the home. There can be invisible unemployment for some wives and overemployment for others. A third point is the meaningfulness of delineating leisure activities from home production activities. In an underdeveloped situation, many house chores are burdensome. In modern affluent settings, they can be pleasurable. But, while the burden of home chores is heavier in the former, they are lesser in number.

Introducing Parkinson's law of work filling up available time, an unemployed housewife with limited housework — her house is small and sparsely furnished; the meals are meager and unvaried; and the laundry light - may take her time doing her tasks. She could report, 8 or even 10 hours of home time. A more affluent but unemployed housewife with more housework may report as much home time. Yet, another woman who is working full time and unassisted by relatives or maids can complete the same task for a fraction of the time devoted by the previous two women. Appliances facilitate her housework and raise her home productivity. On one hand, there is the equivalent of underemployment in the home, while on the other, the emergence of the career woman. Complicating the situation is the extended family system where home tasks are shared by older children and relatives. That brings up the notion of the value of home time of a housewife in her specific circumstance.

Consider, then, the notion of effective time for completing the housework of particular household categories. The categories can be measured according to the quality and size of shelter, family size, number of young children and consumption level. It would not matter who does the housework, whether the housewife or her relatives. The effective time will be valued at an assumed market price, like the minimum wage or a fraction of it. The work of maids in larger and more affluent households can be ignored since their wage bill is presumably included in the estimation of GDP.

The Estimation of the Value of Time for Home Production

Three approaches are used to estimate the value of time allocated to home production: Market Price of Effective Time, Market Opportunity Approach, and the Gronau Model.

(1) **Market Price of Effective Time**. Take the average number of hours devoted by wives and husbands to home production and multiply this by the minimum wage and the number of households in the country. For home time (*HT*), apply the UPPI time use daily survey averages of 5.5 hours for wives and 2.6 hours for husbands. The National Statistics Office (NSO) reports 11.9754 million households in 1990, the last census year; and the minimum wage was P97/hour.

(2a) **The Market Opportunity Approach**. The average wage = earnings per hour from the labor force survey [LFS 1992, Appendix-Table A.1] for six broad occupations — professional, clerical, sales, service, agriculture and production — as their respective values of home time. The LFS gives only market time (*MT*) or hours worked. Based on the UPPI survey of total productive time of 10 hours, assume the residual from *MT* to be the home time, i.e., $HT = 10 - MT$ for each occupation.

The value of $HT = HT \times W \times N \times 365$ days

aggregated for all workers, N is the number of workers in each occupation.

(2b) Cabegin used the UPPI time use survey to estimate an earnings function and the expected wage as the value of home time. The arguments used in the function are age,

education, number of children 2 years or younger, number of children 3-6 years old and number of children 7-24 years old, urban/rural, and sex. The estimating function was corrected for self-selection bias and applied to both working and not working samples.

(3) The third approach is an application of the Gronau model also using the UPPI data. The model begins with the utility maximization function with normal goods (or Z-goods) and leisure, as arguments, and assumes the function to be twice differentiable and subject to the 24 hours time constraint. In equilibrium, the marginal productivity of labor in home production is equal to the marginal utility of normal goods divided by the marginal utility of labor. The production of Z-goods depends on market goods and *HT*. From the optimizing model is obtained the equilibrium condition where the marginal productivity of *HT* is equal to the expected wage rate.

Given in TABLE **4.12** are the results of the three approaches. (cf. APPENDIX **4.1,4.2,4.3**)

The simple method, (1) gives the value of HT as a proportion of GNP at 31.3 percent when *HT* is valued at the minimum daily wage of P97 prevailing in 1990. If the reader does not agree at this valuation and chooses, a 50 percent of the minimum wage, then the ratio drops accordingly, i.e. by 50 percent. This estimate is, expectedly, below the other three estimates which use disaggregated wage rates since there are home workers with actual or expected earnings higher than the minimum wage. In (2a) using the average wage rate in each occupation, the value of *HT* as a proportion of earned income is 83.3 percent. Note that the denominator is earned income of the sample. This is a higher estimate than CABEGIN's work which uses individual rather than grouped data. Her denominator is total family income which is likely to be relatively higher than earned income. The GRONAU model takes account of change in the marginal productivity of *HT* as its level changes results in a slightly higher value of *HT*, 42.8 percent. Individuals with higher wage rates tend to allocate less time to home production which implies shorter *HT* and higher productivity.

Table 4.12
Value of Home Time of Wives and Husbands as a Proportion of GNP and Earnings (1990, 1992)

		Wives	Husbands	Total
1	Value of HT/GNP 1990			
	[HH x $\widetilde{w}$ x HT]/GNP			
	(a) 100% min wage			
		21.3	**10.0**	**31.3**
	(b) 50% min wage			
		10.6	**5.0**	**15.6**
2a	Value of HT of Employed/Earnings (LFS)			
		152.7	**68.0**	**83.3**
2b	Cabegin (UPPI survey)			
			39.0	
3	Cabegin, Gronau model estimate			
				42.8

The choice of methodology will depend on data availability. Detailed information on time allocation that is required for the more accurate estimation such as what is done in the GRONAU model is usually obtained from special and fairly small surveys from which generalizations cannot be made. Labor force surveys are national in scope but lack detailed information. Lack of detailed information should, however, not prevent us from arriving at some benchmark figure as given in (1). Its simplicity allows it to be adjusted in any way deemed reasonable. It is not unlike the poverty standard, people can see clearly how the line is defined and make whatever adjustments as are justifiable.

The valuations are based on market wage either of a hired home worker or of the foregone wage of husbands and wives. They do not attempt to capture the social value of parenting and nurturing of families. ELSON has started to argue about the reproductive value of women's home activities but she still has to specify the social value of these activities that are at the very heart of human survival and happiness. Mothers and fathers bring children to life, they feed them, play with and educate them in the rudiments of communi-

cation, social relations and the world or work. Taken in an idealistic situation, these activities are pleasurable to the parents and are investments in the children. How is good parenting to be valued. Definitely, valuing home time by any of the above methods is almost petty except that it is a start for recognizing its importance. So, it is highly recommended that ELSON's idea of women's reproductive work be studied and developed.

Concluding Remarks

Culture has bounded women's choicespace in the labor market, and crowds them in fewer occupations. The protective stance over women, while welcome in a way, has barred them from jobs that entail heavy physical exertions and risk. Their supportive role in the home has carried over to the labor market so that they are not readily accepted in top leadership positions in public office and private management. Their traditional role in the family has also oriented them to home-like jobs for these are the tasks in which they have acquired informal training and for which information about their skills have spread. All these have tended to segment the market by gender and to squeeze women into selected occupations. One consequence is relatively lower average earnings. This problem is exacerbated by discrimination in top positions and their being shunted to the less desirable occupations such as domestic service and low level entertainment. However, women have compensated for this disadvantage by achieving a higher level of schooling. They progress faster in the education ladder and exhibit a higher completion rate especially at the college level. As women fight for greater equality, their progress in education will likely be matched with their progress in the labor market.

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Notes

1 Research associates contributed substantially to the paper. FE LISONDRA did most of the data processing and estimation, EMILY CHRISTI CABEGIN applied the GRONAU model to the time use data, ROSELLE DIME gave very able research assistance and Professor MICHAEL ALBA advised on adjustments of the GRONAU model. As usual, Mrs. GLORIA LAMBINO helped produce a clean draft.

2 Of the 7,000 corporations reporting their revenue, only 435 gave a report on their officials. The reporting appears selective so we cannot generalize.

3 The recall method is likely to be less accurate than the diary method. Possibly recall would focus on activities that are perceived to be relatively important, e.g. market work more than home production, in the latter case, cooking and laundry more than playing with a child. In fact the recall method gives a shorter home time and a longer market time than the diary method. The diary method generates longer productive time for wives than the recall method in urban areas the figures are 9.0 vs. 10.75, in rural areas, 9.24 and 10.29. In the recall method both husbands and wives somewhat overestimate their market time and underestimate their home time. The larger home time recorded by wives may, however, be discounted for possible underemployment. But we use the recall method to obtain comparable results with the LFS data.

Technical Note 4.1

Gronau posits the following function for f_H:

$$f_H = a_0 - a_1HT + a_2Y$$

(where Y are demographic and human capital variables, among others)

$$\ln W = a_0 - a_1HT + a_2Y$$

$$H = (a_0 - \ln W + a_2Y)/a_1$$

An estimate of the H function provides an estimate of the value of HT

$$H = a_0 - a_1 \ln W + a_2Y$$

$$(1/a_1 = \text{est } (a_1)$$

$$a_0/a_1 = \text{est } (a_0)$$

$$a_2/a_1 = \text{est } (a_2)$$

The model derives the value of home time as

$$\text{Value of HT} = \exp (a_0 + a_2Y)1/a_1 [-\exp(-a_1 H)]$$

Technical Note 4.2

Estimates of value of hometime using the Gronau model are obtained from Cabegin [1996]. Method of estimation is Ordinary Least Squares. The model as detailed in Gronau [1980] assumes a specific formulation of the marginal production function from which you derive a household production function. The value of home production is given by

$$Z = \exp (a_0 + a_2Y)[1-\exp(-a_1H)/a_1$$

Y represents a vector of explanatory variables determining marginal productivity at home
H is home time

To arrive at estimates of the parameters, OLS estimation that adjusts for self selection bias was used. Self selection bias was corrected by including as regressor of the home production function, the inverse of the Mills's ratio. The Mill's ratio is derived from a profit estimation of Labor Force Participation using demographic and socio-economic information. After doing OLS the resulting parameters are used to estimate Z. This process is applied by Cabegin and complete results are shown in her paper. The data used is the data generated by UPPI in their time-use survey of 400 households. Her results for the value of home production are reported in Appendix 4.1 and also cited in the text.

Appendix 4.1 Earnings of Women as Compared to Men — A Mincer-type Earnings Function

LFPR = fl (FOINC, AGE, LOC)
LNW = f2 (YEDUC, YEDUC2, LOC, RMILL)
HRS = f3 (Age, OCC, ,FMINC, RMILL)
where
LFPR = labor force participation rate with value 0,1
FOINC = family income less own earned income
Age = age in years
LOC = urban, rural location with value 0,1
YEDUC = years of schooling attained, YEDUC2 (years of schooling squared)
OCC = broad occupation such as administrative/executive, professional/technical, clerical, sales, production, agriculture and services.
LNW = log wage rate or earnings per hour
WRll = wage rate or earnings per hour
HRS = number of hours worked per quarter
RMILL = Mills ratio

Appendix 4.2 Allocation of Time Functions

HRS = a + b1 AGE + b2 Occ + b3 WR11 + b4 FMINC + b5 RMIL + e
HRS = hours worked for the market
OCC = 7 occupational groupings
FOIN = family income other than own earning
WR11 = own wage rate equal to total earnings/total HRS
RMILL = Mills ratio

Appendix 4.3 Results of Cabegin's Work

MT = -2086.81 + 31.374Aw - 50.561edw + 32.753edh + 21.56CH (-3.66) (2.119) (-1.996) (1.693) (0.479)
+3.299CH2 + 566.941HELP - .00164INC + 743.118W (.0243) (4.570) (0.897) (4.074)

5 Household Expenditure Patterns Among Male- and Female-Headed Households

Introduction

When applied to families, the saying "He who makes the money makes the rules" underlies the commonplace belief that family members who earn and contribute income to the household also influence the manner in which these resources are used or expended. This is particularly true of family or household heads whose headship is closely intertwined with their income-earning roles. Culturally and legally, household headship is typically bestowed on who is considered the major breadwinner of families and who in Philippine society and elsewhere, is also the oldest male member of a household.

The view that males are the major breadwinners of families and hence also the major decision-makers has been increasingly questioned in recent years in view of the increased involvement of women in visible economic activities, and of other changes in the theories or paradigms underlying the analysis of families or households. The observed increases in women's labor force participation rates have made it evident that more families today are sustained by the cash earnings of both men and women. Even in households where women are not engaged in cash-earning activities, it is now acknowledged that they, too, contribute to the economic maintenance of families through the various activities they do at home i.e., through housework, childcare and home management. In turn, the wage and non-wage contributions of women to household income provide them with some, though perhaps varying, authority over the disposition and use of family income.

Current views and perspectives on the household family expenditure patterns thus result from the negotiations or bargaining processes that occur between husbands and wives over the use of household income and resources[1]. Underlying the bargaining position of husbands and wives, moreover, are their perceived or relative contributions to household income. Often, their contributions are measured in terms of their wage rates which are used as the basis for ascribing decision-making power within households. This perspective on the household suggests that the gender-identity of household income earners influences the intrahousehold allocation of incomes owing to differences in the earnings and nature of the economic contributions of husbands and wives or of male and female members of the household.

There are, in addition, other reasons for expecting that the gender identity of household earners would influence family expenditure patterns. For one, the culturally prescribed gender roles of women and men partly condition their propensity to spend money or to use resources in various ways. Women, for instance, are known to exhibit a greater propensity to use income for purchases necessary to meet the basic needs of children and the household, whereas men have been noted to spend a greater proportion of their income on such items as alcohol

and cigarettes and on their own personal hobbies and past-times.[2] Gender roles ascribe men and women authority over certain decision-making areas involving the use of household resources. Many societies for example, leave the task of managing food budgets and daily household operational expenses to women, while men are deemed the key decision-makers over larger expenditure items as those bearing on the purchase of properties or other family investments.[3]

In brief then, there are reasons for expecting that the gender identity of household income earners influences the share of income allocated for various types of expenditures, and that increasing women's income would tend to benefit households more in view of women's propensity to use resources in a manner regarded as socially desirable. This is in contrast to the somewhat narrow view that increasing household incomes, without regard for the gender-identity of earners automatically improves the welfare of families and households. Because most income-earning activities tend to end up in the person of male household heads, this view perpetuates the notion that families are led by a benevolent husband-father whose decisions over the intrahousehold allocation of income redound to the interest of all members of the household.[4]

This paper aims to examine some related propositions arising from the noted relationship between the gender-identity of household income earners and the intrahousehold allocation of income. This is done by examining the family expenditure patterns of male and female-headed households using data from the 1988 and 1991 Family Income and Expenditure Surveys (FIES). Obviously, noting the importance of the gender-identity of earners in intrahousehold resource allocation requires much more detailed information not only on family income and expenditures but on the dynamics of how households arrive at decisions over family expenditures. Such data are not available from the FIES nor from most household surveys, although these offer possibilities for empirically validating related propositions on the topic.

The Present Study

To test existing models which view the gender-identity of income earners as a determinant of the intrahousehold allocation of resources, it would be ideal to have household-level data disaggregated by the employment status and wage rates of husbands and wives (or of the male and female members of families). Such data would allow comparison of household expenditure patterns in families where the husbands earn and the wives are not engaged in wage employment as against those where the wives' wages are lower than their husbands', or equal to theirs, or exceed their husbands' earnings. Existing large-scale surveys however, do not provide this kind of disaggregation, and do not have the appropriate richness to test existing paradigms on the intrahousehold distribution and allocation of income.

Nonetheless, findings from other studies reveal a close connection between various measures of women's status and family welfare. Demographic studies for example, reveal that women's own education and market employment contribute to family welfare via their negative impact on child mortality and fertility within households.[5] Using the market employment of wives to note women's household income contribution, several studies on household decision-making in the Philippines likewise show that women's market employment increases their participation in household decision-making and particularly over economic matters.[6] Still other studies indicate that women's market employment and/or own wages are positively associated with improvements in food budgets and quality — suggesting that additions to female incomes, more than to male incomes, tend to improve the nutritional intake of children and families.[7]

The FIES are conducted nationwide among a 10 percent sample of the total Philippine household population. The FIES contain relatively detailed data on family income and its sources and on total family expenditures and specific household disbursements. The surveys, however, do not provide sufficient data on household income earners from the way these are currently processed and stored. Information on the gender-identity of income earners can only be determined for the household head but not for other family income contributors whose gender and relationship to the household head are not coded as separate variables in the FIES data files. At best, the information readily available from the FIES are (1) the gender and employment status of the household head, and (2) the total number of income earners in the household.

Classifying thus the households in the FIES into those headed by men and women, this paper proceeds to compare the household expenditure patterns of these two groups by noting differences in the proportions of household income that they devote to various uses. As noted earlier, this comparison does not capture the kind of "bargaining" or "negotiation" that occur in household decisions over money and expenditures. Bargaining processes are more likely to prevail in male-headed families, where a high over 90 percent of male heads are currently married and who, therefore, share decision-making authority with female spouses. In these households, it would not be unusual for both spouses to discuss, deliberate on and negotiate how family income is to be used or spent. The assumption here therefore, is that family expenditure patterns in male-headed families result from the negotiations of husbands and wives over these matters, with husbands probably emerging as the more dominant decision-makers of households.

On the other hand, considering that the majority of female household heads are widows, separated women or whose husbands are otherwise absent, no similar bargaining processes are likely to prevail in their households. Except in the few cases where the female heads are currently married and who perhaps continue to consult their husbands in household decision-making, female-headed households would tend to exhibit a unitary authority structure where female heads make and simply carry out their own decisions. One can think of the resulting family expenditure patterns in female-headed families as approximating a "pure case", or one which reflects how women, if they had their own way, would spend money or use the resources of a household.

A comparison, therefore, of the expenditure patterns of male- and female-led households would provide us some indication of the impact of gender on family spending preferences and patterns. Following earlier propositions, the general expectation is that female-headed families are more likely to use a higher proportion of income to meet basic family needs (i.e., food, shelter, the needs of children, etc.) than male-headed households. Relatedly, male-headed families are posited to devote a higher proportion of income to purchases such as cigarettes and alcohol which are generally considered as non-essential to household operations and support.

Background Characteristics of Male- and Female-Headed Households from the 1988 and 1991 FIES

The 1988 and 1991 FIES show that around 86 percent of families/households [8] in the Philippines are headed by men, while some 14 percent are headed by women. TABLE 5.1 presents selected background data on male and female-headed families that are useful for understanding the broader context of household expenditure patterns.

Briefly, TABLE 5.1 shows the regional distribution of male-headed families to essentially follow the regions' shares of the country's total population, whereas the NCR and some of the more developed regions

Table 5.1
Percent Distribution of Male- and Female-Headed Households by Region and Rural-Urban Residence (FIES 1988,1991)

	1988			1991		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
A. REGION						
NCR	12.69	19.52	13.63	12.76	19.62	13.73
I	5.88	6.27	5.93	5.61	5.56	5.61
II	4.28	3.41	4.16	4.20	3.40	4.09
III	9.47	12.30	9.86	9.56	12.54	9.98
IV	12.13	12.60	12.19	13.31	14.62	13.49
V	7.21	5.74	7.01	6.90	6.73	6.88
VI	8.92	10.12	9.08	8.88	9.26	8.93
VII	7.74	8.73	7.88	7.43	8.29	7.55
VIII	5.90	4.29	5.68	5.65	4.78	5.52
IX	5.34	3.73	5.12	4.29	2.24	4.00
X	6.14	3.34	5.76	6.09	3.51	5.72
XI	7.31	5.10	7.00	7.40	4.08	6.9
XII	4.93	3.11	4.68	3.19	2.31	3.07
CAR	2.08	1.72	2.03	1.87	2.11	1.90
ARMM				2.87	0.96	2.60
Total	(909327)	(144069)	(1053396)	(1027837)	(169709)	(1197546)
B. RURAL-URBAN RESIDENCE						
Urban	36.27	47.71	37.83	48.21	57.95	49.59
Rural	63.73	52.29	62.17	51.79	42.05	50.41
Total	(909325)	(144068)	(1053393)	(1027837)	(169707)	(1197544)

(Central Luzon and Central Visayas) exhibit proportionately higher shares (8 percent to 19 percent) of the country's female -headed families. Because of the higher concentration of female-headed families in the more developed regions, an expectedly higher proportion of them are also found in urban areas. Between 1988 and 1991, female headship has become more of an urban phenomenon as the proportion of female-headed families living in urban areas increased from 47.7 percent to 57.9 percent. In contrast, as of 1991, a 51.8 percent majority of male-headed families continue to reside in rural places.

In terms of marital status, a high 94 percent of male family heads are married, leaving only minimal proportions who are widowed, divorced/separated, or never-married. A three-fifths majority of female heads however are widowed, while another 10 percent are single women, and 5 percent to 6 percent are divorced or separated. A considerable 23 percent to 24 percent of female heads are currently married, but who are likely to have become the *de facto* heads of their families owing to the temporary (or prolonged) absence, disability or unemployment of their husbands.

Differences in the educational attainment of male and female heads reflect the gender educational differentials noted in the Philippines as a whole. Male advantage in education is shown at lower educational levels: there are fewer male heads (5 percent) than female heads (10 percent) who have never gone to school, and there are more male- than female-heads completing various grades up to high school. The female educational advantage is noted after high school since more females proceed to higher schooling and eventually graduate from college.[9] The proportion of female heads graduating from college is higher (12.16 percent) than among male heads (7 percent to 8 percent).

There are, in addition, variations in the size and composition of female- and male-headed households. (See TABLE 5.2) Although the majority (around 80 percent) of Filipino households consist of single nuclear families, there are proportionately more extended families among the ranks of female-headed households (31 percent to 35 percent) than among their male-headed counterparts (16 percent to 17 percent). Moreover, households headed by women are generally smaller in size with between four to five related members, while those headed by men typically consist of five to six members.

Differences in the composition and size of families headed by men and women are clearly related to the differences in the marital status of men and women heads. As wid-

Table 5.2
Selected Background Characteristics of Male and Female Household Heads and their Families (FIES 1988, 1991)

	1988			1991		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
A. MARITAL STATUS						
Single	1.78	10.64	2.99	1.97	9.82	3.08
Married	94.33	23.91	84.70	93.96	23.05	83.91
Widowed	3.31	60.04	11.07	3.50	60.75	11.61
Divorced/Separated	0.57	5.30	1.21	0.53	6.16	1.33
Unknown	0.01	0.10	0.03	0.04	0.22	0.07
Total	(909324)	(144068)	(1053392)	(1027838)	(169707)	(1197545)
B. AVERAGE AGE	**44.77**	**52.31**	**45.80**	**45.29**	**53.50**	**46.46**
C. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT						
No grade	5.14	10.44	5.86	4.98	8.63	5.50
Grade 1-5	27.10	28.57	27.30	25.60	28.18	25.96
Elem Grad	24.55	20.04	23.94	24.26	22.75	24.05
1st-3rd HS	11.05	8.60	10.72	11.42	8.30	10.98
HS Grad	15.78	11.84	15.24	17.14	12.61	16.50
College/Undergrad	8.75	8.17	8.67	8.76	7.36	8.57
College/Post Grad	7.63	12.33	8.28	7.84	12.16	8.45
Total	(909325)	(144069)	(1053394)	(1027837)	(169709)	(1197546)
D. AVERAGE HH SIZE	**5.48**	**4.20**	**5.30**	**5.45**	**4.17**	**5.27**
E. HH COMPOSITION						
Nuclear	83.62	67.92	81.47	82.42	64.95	79.95
Extended	16.02	31.07	18.08	17.58	35.05	20.05
Nonrelated	0.36	1.01	0.45			
Total	(909325)	(144068)	(1053393)	(1027836)	(169708)	(1197544)

ows, female heads would seek the company of other relatives and live in extended households. They would also have smaller families because of the absence of a spouse, or because at this stage in their lives, some of their children may have already left to establish their own households. The average age of women households heads is 52.3 years, or around seven years more than the average age of male family heads.

Household Income-Earners and Income Sources and Levels

Available data on income-earners from the FIES are limited to the number of household members who are gainfully employed, while the gender identity of income earners can only be determined for the household head based on his or her employment status at the time of the survey period. These data are presented in Table 5.3.

Table 5.3 shows that around 50 percent of male-headed families and 45 percent of those headed by women have only one income-earner. Households with multiple income-earners are more prevalent among male-headed families (45 percent to 47 per-

Table 5.3
Total Number of Employed Members in Male- and Female-Headed Households and Employment Status of Male and Female Household Heads (FIES 1988, 1991)

	1988			1991		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
A. NO. OF HH MEMBERS WORKING						
0	4.75	18.50	6.63	2.51	18.60	4.79
1	50.40	45.09	49.68	50.58	44.71	49.75
2	30.62	23.40	29.63	31.44	23.01	30.25
3 & over	14.23	13.01	14.06	15.47	2.26	15.22
Total	**(909326)**	**(144068)**	**(1053394)**	**(1027837)**	**(169707)**	**(1197544)**
B. AVERAGE NO. OF HH MEMBERS WORKING						
	1.63	**1.37**	**1.59**	**1.69**	**1.38**	**1.65**
C. EMPLOYMENT STATUS						
Currently Working	92.09	62.96	88.11	91.08	56.85	86.23
Not Working	7.91	37.04	11.89	8.92	43.15	13.77
Total	**(909325)**	**(144068)**	**(1053393)**	**(1027836)**	**(169707)**	**(1197543)**

cent) than among female-headed ones (25 percent to 26 percent). Consequently, the proportion of households with no income-earners are higher among female-led households (18 percent to 19 percent) when compared to male-headed families (2 percent to 5 percent).

Following known differences in the employment of the sexes, male heads exhibit higher employment rates of around 92 percent than their female counterparts, a lower 57 percent to 63 percent of whom are currently employed. The instances where the household head is the only family income-earner cannot be ascertained from the FIES, although data from the 1990 Census indicate that 53 percent of male heads are the sole income-earners of their families. Among female heads, the comparable proportion is a lower 33 percent.[10]

While fewer women heads are employed and more of their households have no income-earners, they are shown to be less dependent on wage income than male-headed households. In general, female-headed households realize higher incomes from non-wage sources as net shares from crops, remittances, rentals and pensions, when compared to male-headed families (See **Table 5.4A**). In contrast, male-headed families derive higher incomes from wage work and entrepreneurial activities.

Considering all sources of income, female-headed households emerge generally richer than their male-led counterparts. In 1988, the average family income of women-headed households was 10.3 percent higher than the average P39,843.91 income of male-headed families. In 1991, the lead of women-headed households grew to 12.8 percent when their average family income reached P72,244.33 as against the male heads' average P64,020.72

Consistent with their higher incomes , both the 1988 and 1991 FIES further reveal a higher concentration of female-headed households in the country's top income tercile when compared to those headed by men. (See **Table 5.4B** to **E**) As many as 37 percent of women-headed households belong to the top (or richest) 30 percent of the country's families as against a lower 29 percent of male-headed families. There are, therefore, comparatively fewer women-headed families in the middle income tercile: 25 percent as against 31 percent of male-led families. Likewise, the bottom 40 percent of the income range, which also approximates the incidence of Filipino families living be-

Table 5.4
Average Incomes Derived from Specific and All Sources by Male- and Female-Headed Households and the Distribution of Male- and Female-Headed Families by Income Classes (FIES 1988, 1991)

		1988 Male	Female	Total	1991 Male	Female	Total
A.	**AVERAGE INCOME FROM**						
	Wages	17,923.44	14,726.14	17,486.16	27,967.27	22,226.90	27,153.79
	Entrepreneurship	12,705.92	7,916.70	12,050.92	20,899.24	13,730.47	19,883.33
	Other Sources (i.e. net share of crops, assistance from abroad, etc.)	9,214.55	21,322.82	10,870.54	15,154.22	36,286.97	18,149.00
	Remittances	1,823.65	10,735.77	3,042.52	3,447.41	17,700.50	5,467.26
	Rentals	329.08	557.76	360.36	602.14	1171.19	682.79
	Pensions	444.97	903.35	507.66	850.34	1641.17	962.41
B.	**AVERAGE TOTAL HH INCOME**						
	From All Sources	39,843.91	43,965.66	40,407.62	64,020.72	72,244.33	65,186.11
C.	**% OF FAMILIES IN TOP 30%**	28.93	36.73	28.76	37.46		
	Average Total HH Income	85,245.87	86,157.00	141,754.02	142,302.71		
D.	**% OF FAMILIES IN MIDDLE 30%**	30.88	24.47	30.90	24.59		
	Average Total HH Income	30,053.05	30,378.60	46,582.12	47,484.26		
E.	**% OF FAMILIES IN BOTTOM 40%**	40.19	38.80	40.34	37.95		
	Average Total HH Income	14,677.05	12,593.50	21,945.06	19,131.67		

low the poverty threshold in 1991, accounts for a lower 38 percent of women-headed households and a little over 40 percent of male headed families.

Although female-headed families appear generally better off than their male-headed counterparts, data on the average household incomes within each of the three income classes show the average income of female-headed families to be higher than those of male-headed ones only at the two highest income terciles. At the bottom 40 percent, the average household incomes of female-headed families are around P2,000 less than the average P14,677.50 and P21,945.06 household incomes of male-headed families in 1988 and 1991, respectively. The data thus suggest a clearer division of female-headed families into a richer and a poorer group, and that the poorer ones may actually constitute the poorest of the country's poor families. Not only are the average incomes of the families of poor women heads lower than those of their male counterparts, but there are also significantly more widowed and separated women among their ranks (79 percent to 82 percent) as well as of those who have never gone to school or who have reached only a few years of schooling (63 percent).

Average Total Household Incomes, Expenditures and Savings by Income Classes

The total household expenditures of Filipino families averaged around P32,521.41 in 1988 and P51,935.67 in 1991, representing around 90 percent of total household incomes during both years. In absolute peso terms, female-headed households in the top two income terciles spent more on all household disbursements that their male-headed counterparts. But owing to their higher incomes,

Table 5.5
Average Total Household Expenditures and Savings and Proportions of Income Devoted to Household Expenditures and Savings by Male- and Female-Headed Households and by Income Classes (FIES 1988, 1991)

	1988			1991		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
A. AVERAGE TOTAL HH Expenditures						
P	32,160.68	34,798.20	32,521.41	51,183.03	56,494.06	51,935.67
%	90.75	88.69	90.46	90.20	87.56	89.82
Top 30%						
P	62,666.52	64,360.58	62,950.18	104,677.63	105,674.26	104,854.00
%	78.93	78.37	78.84	79.66	78.13	79.39
Second 30%						
P	26,664.42	26,355.35	26,629.95	40,345.60	40,674.24	40,383.77
%	89.02	87.06	88.80	86.86	86.03	86.77
Bottom 40%						
P	14,419.28	12,137.12	14,116.50	21,336.13	18,197.87	20,914.17
%	100.58	99.50	100.43	100.27	97.87	99.94
B. AVERAGE HH Savings						
P	7,683.23	9,167.46	7,886.22	12,837.70	15,750.27	13,250.45
%	9.25	11.31	9.54	9.80	12.44	10.18
Top 30%						
P	22,579.35	21,796.35	21,796.42	37,076.39	36,628.45	36,997.12
%	21.07	21.63	21.16	20.34	21.87	20.61
Second 30%						
P	3,388.63	4,023.24	3,459.42	6,236.52	6,810.02	6,303.17
%	10.98	12.94	11.20	13.14	13.97	13.23
Bottom 40%						
P	257.76	456.38	284.11	608.34	933.80	652.62
%	-0.58	0.50	-0.43	-0.27	2.13	0.06

total household expenditure accounted for a lower proportion of the income of these female-headed families (See TABLE 5.5). Among the bottom 40 percent, the total expenditures of poor female-headed families is lower in absolute peso terms than those of male-headed families. Expectedly, their total expenditures account for higher proportions of their incomes although these remain within their current incomes (99.50 percent in 1988 and 97.97 percent in 1991). In contrast, the total household expenditures of male-headed families at the bottom of 40 percent exceed their total incomes in 1988 (100.58 percent) and in 1991 (100.27 percent).

Consequently, female-headed families are shown to consistently exhibit positive savings ratios than male-headed families. The household savings of women-headed families at the highest income tercile comprise between 11 percent to 12 percent of their incomes as against 9 percent to 10 percent of the incomes of the richest male-headed families. At the middle income tercile, the comparable figures are 13 percent to 14 percent for female-headed households and 11 percent to 13 percent for male-headed ones. Among the poorest families, household savings still constitute a positive 0.50 percent to 2.13 percent of incomes in female-households but a

negative 0.27 percent to 0.50 percent among male-headed families.

Household Expenditure Patterns

Data on household expenditures in the FIES are available for 10 different categories of food and for 17 other major types of household expenses including those spent on household utilities and maintenance, clothing , education, medical, transportation and recreational needs, the personal effects and care of members and the social obligations of families. Data on the proportions of total household incomes spent on these by male- and female-headed households in the various income classes are shown in TABLES **5.6** to **5.11**.

Food

Turning first to food expenditures, one notes that these account for the single highest proportion of household expenditures, claiming 53 percent and 51 percent respectively of the total incomes of Filipino families in 1988 and 1991. Among women-headed families, however, food claims a noticeably lower 47 percent to 48 percent of total income when compared to its 52 percent to 53 percent share in male-headed families. At the two highest income terciles, the proportionately lower share of food in female-supported families may be attributed to the generally higher income levels of these families over male-headed households. Indeed, TABLE **5.6** shows that the proportion of income devoted to food across all households increases at lower income classes, constituting a lower 36 percent to 37 percent of total income among the richest tercile, and reaching a high 64 percent to 65 percent among the poorest 40 percent of families. But even at the bottom 40 percent or at the lowest income class where female-headed families are generally poorer than male-headed families, the former are still shown to devote a lower proportion of their income to food. In turn, the consistently lower food expenditures of female-headed families may be related to the fact that, being in charge of stretching household budgets, women are more conscious of the value of money and hence, tend to be more prudent or frugal in spending this. Additionally, however, it should be noted that the higher proportion of income spent by the male-headed families on food may owe likewise to their generally larger family sizes vis-à-vis the families of women heads.

Regardless of income class, the proportion of income devoted to specific food items are consistently lower among families headed by women than those headed by men. This is true for food expenditures devoted to cereals (rice, bread, flour, noodles); roots and tubers (potato, cassava, gabi); fruits and vegetables; dairy products (milk, eggs); fish and marine products; coffee, cocoa and tea; non-alcoholic drinks (softdrinks, juices); and food not elsewhere classifiable (sugar, cooking oil, salt, spices, etc.).

An exception to the foregoing pattern are the proportions of income spent on meat and meat products, purchases of which tend to be higher among female- than male-headed households, despite the generally higher income levels of the former. Unlike other kinds of food, the demand for meat increases at higher income classes, consuming 6 percent of the total income of the richest 30 percent families, a lower 5 percent among middle-income ones, and 4 percent to 5 percent among the poorest 40 percent families. Since meat is generally considered a protein-rich food, the consistently greater meat expenditures of female-headed families at all income levels likely reflect women's propensity to buy food commonly regarded as more nutritious.

Another difference in food consumption patterns is the tendency of female-headed households to allocate a greater proportion of their income to food or meals eaten outside the home i.e., at school, work or in restaurants, when compared to the families of male heads. Again, this may owe to the higher incomes of women-headed households, although it may also be the case that due to

Table 5.6
Proportion of HH Income Spent on Various Foods and on all Foods by Male- and Female- Headed Households (FIES 1988, 1991)

		1988			1991		
		Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
ALL	TOTAL FOOD	53.37	48.34	52.68	52.11	46.59	51.32
	Food Consumed at Home	51.30	46.08	50.58	49.89	44.12	49.07
	Cereal and Cereal Prep	20.35	16.76	19.86	19.43	15.74	18.91
	Roots and Tubers	1.25	1.01	1.22	1.21	0.95	1.17
	Fruits and Vegetables	4.88	4.78	4.87	4.78	4.50	4.74
	Meat and Meat Prep	5.15	5.40	5.19	5.41	5.52	5.43
	Dairy Products and Eggs	3.02	3.00	3.01	3.05	2.99	3.04
	Fish and Marine Products	8.86	7.43	8.67	8.56	7.20	8.37
	Coffee, Cocoa, and Tea	1.59	1.57	1.59	1.43	1.33	1.41
	Non-Alcoholic Beverages	1.00	1.03	1.00	1.04	1.05	1.04
	Food Not Elsewhere Classified	5.19	5.10	5.18	4.97	4.86	4.95
	Food Consumed Outside the Home	2.08	2.26	2.10	2.22	2.47	2.25
TOP 30%	TOTAL FOOD	37.81	35.21	37.38	36.57	33.70	36.06
	Food Consumed at Home	34.40	31.92	33.98	32.66	29.94	32.18
	Cereal and Cereal Prep	9.97	8.31	9.69	8.93	7.59	8.70
	Roots and Tubers	0.61	0.56	0.60	0.55	0.52	0.54
	Fruits and Vegetables	3.57	3.41	3.54	3.37	3.17	3.34
	Meat and Meat Prep	5.97	6.32	6.03	6.36	6.34	6.36
	Dairy Products and Egg	3.13	3.12	3.13	3.04	2.99	3.03
	Fish and Marine Products	5.06	4.32	4.94	4.87	4.09	4.73
	Coffee, Cocoa, and Tea	1.41	1.37	1.40	1.08	1.00	1.07
	Non-Alcoholic Beverage	1.15	1.12	1.14	1.20	1.20	1.20
	Food Not Elsewhere Classified	3.53	3.40	3.51	3.24	3.02	3.20
	Food Consumed Outside the Home	3.42	3.29	3.39	3.91	3.76	3.88
SECOND 30%	TOTAL FOOD	52.19	46.71	51.58	49.89	46.17	49.45
	Food Consumed at Home	49.98	44.08	49.32	47.49	43.39	47.01
	Cereal and Cereal Prep	18.65	15.41	18.29	17.36	14.41	17.02
	Roots and Tubers	1.08	0.79	1.04	0.96	0.73	0.93
	Fruits and Vegetables	4.81	4.40	4.76	4.52	4.35	4.50
	Meat and Meat Prep	5.26	5.25	5.26	5.58	5.94	5.62
	Dairy Products and Egg	3.36	3.07	3.32	3.30	3.23	3.29
	Fish and Marine Products	8.57	7.20	8.41	8.15	7.06	8.03
	Coffee, Cocoa, and Tea	1.77	1.78	1.77	1.53	1.45	1.52
	Non-Alcoholic Beverage	1.16	1.13	1.15	1.16	1.19	1.16
	Food Not Elsewhere Classified	5.34	5.05	5.31	4.92	5.02	4.93
	Food Consumed Outside the Home	2.21	2.63	2.26	2.40	2.78	2.44
BOTTOM 40%	TOTAL FOOD	65.48	61.79	64.99	64.89	59.58	64.17
	Food Consumed at Home	64.48	60.73	63.98	64.01	58.59	63.28
	Cereal and Cereal Prep	29.14	25.60	28.67	28.50	24.65	27.98
	Roots and Tubers	1.84	1.59	1.81	1.87	1.50	1.82
	Fruits and Vegetables	5.88	6.32	5.94	5.98	5.90	5.97
	Meat and Meat Prep	4.48	4.62	4.50	4.61	4.44	4.58
	Dairy Products and Egg	2.67	2.84	2.70	2.86	2.83	2.86
	Fish and Marine Products	11.83	10.51	11.65	11.51	10.34	11.36
	Coffee, Cocoa, and Tea	1.59	1.61	1.59	1.59	1.56	1.59
	Non-Alcoholic Beverage	0.77	0.89	0.79	0.84	0.81	0.84
	Food Not Elsewhere Classified	6.27	6.75	6.34	6.24	6.57	6.28
	Food Consumed Outside the Home	1.01	1.06	1.01	0.88	0.99	0.89

Table 5.7
Proportion of HH Income Spent on Alcohol and Tobacco by Male- and Female-Headed Households (FIES 1988, 1991)

	1988			1991		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
ALL						
Alcohol	1.24	0.57	1.15	1.18	0.56	1.09
Tobacco	2.34	1.25	2.19	2.02	0.96	1.87
TOP 30%						
Alcohol	0.92	0.43	0.83	0.85	0.41	0.77
Tobacco	1.68	0.83	1.54	1.30	0.63	1.19
SECOND 30%						
Alcohol	1.26	0.68	1.20	1.13	0.50	1.06
Tobacco	2.55	1.42	2.43	2.12	1.10	2.00
BOTTOM 40%						
Alcohol	1.45	0.64	1.34	1.44	0.74	1.35
Tobacco	2.65	1.54	2.51	2.45	1.19	2.28

work commitments outside the home, female heads may find it more expedient to have family members take their meals outside of the home more frequently than male-headed families.

Tobacco and Alcohol

Table 5.7 next shows the proportions of income spent by households on tobacco and alcohol. The findings here are in keeping with expectations that male-led families use up more resources on items which are generally regarded as non-essential household goods. Among male-headed households and regardless again of income class, the proportions of income spent on tobacco and alcohol are around twice as much as those spent by female-headed families on similar expenditures. For alcohol, the comparable figures are 1 percent of income for all male-headed families, and 0.57 percent for female headed families. Likewise, male headed families use up over 2 percent of household income on tobacco and cigarettes, while female-headed families use up a lower 1 percent of theirs.

Household Utilities and Facilities

There are further indications that female-managed households are better or more comfortably equipped and maintained than those headed by males. Nearly across all income classes, female-headed households, spend higher proportions of their income on fuel, light and water. The households of female heads are also better supplied with laundry and housecleaning materials, and are prone to spend more in carpentry, painting, plumbing and repair jobs to maintain their houses. Finally, female-headed families devote more of their income for the purchase of kitchen appliances, audio-visual equipment, furniture and other household durables. Male-headed households, on the other hand, use up slightly more of their incomes on non-durable purchases as utensils, household accessories and linen (See Table 5.8).

In general, the tendency of female heads to keep their houses more comfortable and better maintained is in keeping with other data showing a higher rate of house and homelot ownership among female- than male-headed households. In 1991, 66.6 percent of female-headed families as against 62.2 percent of male-headed ones owned their houses and homelots. Sixty-four of the

Table 5.8
Proportion of HH Income Spent on Household Utilities and Other Necessities by Male- and Female-Headed Households (FIES 1988, 1991)

	1988			1991		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
All						
Fuel, Light and Water	5.13	5.44	5.17	5.40	5.65	5.43
HH Operations	2.06	2.21	2.08	2.31	2.29	2.31
HH Maintenance	0.93	1.02	0.94	0.88	1.18	0.92
Non-durable furnishings	0.31	0.29	0.30	0.29	0.28	0.29
Durable furnishings	0.96	0.99	0.96	1.12	1.07	1.12
Top 30%						
Fuel, Light and Water	3.88	4.12	3.92	4.51	4.77	4.55
HH Operations	1.91	2.23	1.96	2.07	2.03	2.06
HH Maintenance	0.97	1.04	0.98	0.95	0.83	0.93
Non-durable furnishings	0.31	0.31	0.31	0.27	0.29	0.28
Durable furnishings	1.90	1.56	1.84	2.11	1.87	2.07
Second 30%						
Fuel, Light and Water	4.74	4.93	4.76	5.05	5.34	5.08
HH Operations	1.83	1.93	1.84	2.04	2.06	2.04
HH Maintenance	0.98	1.06	0.99	0.89	1.12	0.91
Non-durable furnishings	0.34	0.28	0.33	0.32	0.33	0.32
Durable furnishings	1.04	1.27	1.06	1.06	1.18	1.07
Bottom 40%						
Fuel, Light and Water	6.34	7.00	6.43	6.30	6.73	6.35
HH Operations	2.35	2.36	2.35	2.70	2.71	2.70
HH Maintenance	0.86	0.98	0.87	0.82	1.57	0.92
Non-durable furnishings	0.28	0.27	0.28	0.29	0.24	0.28
Durable furnishings	0.22	0.26	0.23	0.47	0.21	0.44

former, moreover, lived in houses built of strong materials and 69 percent had electricity in their own homes as opposed to 52.4 percent and 58 percent respectively among male-headed families.[11] Likely underlying the care and attention that women heads give to their domiciles is the premium that women as homemakers and domestic managers place on ensuring the shelter needs of their families.

Clothing, Education and Medical Needs

Expenditure patterns on clothing, education and medical items also differ between male- and female-headed families. Male-headed ones spend somewhat higher proportions of their incomes on the clothing and footwear of members (3.4 percent to 3.8 percent) than female-headed households (3.1 percent to 3.6 percent). But consistent with the greater concern attributed to women over the educational and health needs of children and family members, female-headed families devote a greater proportion of their incomes to educational expenditures (2.13 percent to 2.24 percent) and to medical care and services (1.52 percent to 1.68 percent) than families headed by men. Among the latter, education consumes 1.8 percent to 1.9 percent of incomes, while medical care ac-

Table 5.9
Proportion of HH Income Spent on Clothing, Education and Health Needs by Male- and Female-Headed Household (FIES 1988, 1991)

	1988			1991		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
ALL						
Clothing	3.76	3.60	3.74	3.40	3.11	3.36
Education	1.76	2.13	1.81	1.91	2.24	1.96
Medicine	1.36	1.52	1.39	1.38	1.68	1.42
TOP 30%						
Clothing	3.50	3.41	3.49	3.07	2.81	3.03
Education	2.79	2.85	2.80	2.92	2.98	2.93
Medicine	1.37	1.61	1.41	1.47	1.62	1.50
SECOND 30%						
Clothing	3.99	3.68	3.96	3.50	3.43	3.49
Education	1.70	2.10	1.75	1.97	2.05	1.97
Medicine	1.31	1.32	1.31	1.34	1.44	1.35
BOTTOM 40%						
Clothing	3.77	3.73	3.76	3.54	3.20	3.50
Education	1.06	1.47	1.11	1.16	1.62	1.22
Medicine	1.40	1.56	1.42	1.35	1.90	1.42

counts for 1.4 percent. The higher expenditures of female- over male-headed families on these items hold true across all income classes (See TABLE 5.9).

Expenditures on Transportation/ Communications, Personal Care/ Effects and Recreation

With regard to expenditures on transportation/communications (fares, postage, telephone) and on personal care (toiletries, beauty parlor and barbershop services) and recreation (recreational goods and tickets to movies, cockfights and races), women-headed households are shown to consistently spend more of their incomes than male-headed families only on personal care and effects. These items and services consume around 3 percent of the income of female-headed families as against 2 percent among male headed families. Differences in the transportation/communications and recreation expenses between the two types of households, however, are less consistent. Female-headed households tend to spend more on transportation and communication than their male-headed counterparts only at the middle income tercile and at the bottom 40 percent. As for recreational expenses, female-headed households used up a higher proportion of their incomes on these than male-headed families in 1988 (0.32 percent vs. 0.28 percent respectively), but not in 1991 (See TABLE 5.10).

Other Types of Household Expenditures

Finally, it is interesting to note relatively systematic differences in the expenses of male- and female-headed families on still other types of household expenditures. TABLE 5.11 reveals that when compared to male-headed families, those headed by women devote a higher proportion of income for special occasions of the family — spending more on food, refreshments and services for such affairs or gatherings. They also tend to be

Table 5.10
Proportion of HH Income Spent on Transport/Communications, Personal Care/Effects and Recreation by Male- and Female-Headed Households (FIES 1988,1991)

	1988			1991		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
ALL						
Transportation/Communication	3.07	3.38	3.11	3.42	3.52	3.44
Personal Care/Effects	2.76	3.11	2.81	2.78	2.98	2.81
Recreation	0.28	0.32	0.28	0.25	0.25	0.25
TOP 30%						
Transportation/Communication	3.85	3.89	3.86	4.48	4.28	4.45
Personal Care/Effects	2.67	3.12	2.74	2.81	2.97	2.84
Recreation	0.37	0.41	0.38	0.35	0.31	0.34
SECOND 30%						
Transportation/Communication	2.95	3.33	2.99	3.29	3.40	3.31
Personal Care/Effects	2.91	3.36	2.96	2.87	3.29	2.92
Recreation	0.29	0.31	0.29	0.26	0.26	0.26
BOTTOM 40%						
Transportation/Communication	2.60	2.94	2.65	2.76	2.85	2.77
Personal Care/Effects	2.72	2.94	2.75	2.69	2.78	2.70
Recreation	0.21	0.23	0.21	0.18	0.18	0.18

more generous with gifts or with their assistance to non-relatives and their donations to churches and to other charitable institutions. One notes that both of these findings are consistent with female gender attributions, i.e., women being more concerned about maintaining family unity and harmony and being more helpful and responsive to the needy.

TABLE **5.11** further shows that women-headed families tend to allocate more of their incomes (4.8 percent to 7.1 percent) for the purchase/amortization of real property, the payment of loans and bank deposits, which is quite contrary to the popular perception that men are more skilled in investment decisions but devote less of their incomes (4.3 percent to 4.5 percent) on expenses like these. The higher investment -related allocations in female-headed families may again be attributable in part to their higher incomes overall (leaving them with more funds to manage or invest). Alternatively, however, this could also owe to women's greater concern for their and their families' longer-term economic security, and particularly among female household heads who cannot expect to depend on others for their care and sustenance.

Lastly, TABLE **5.11** shows that at the two lower income classes but not at the highest income tercile, women-headed households paid more taxes (income taxes, real property, vehicle, and direct taxes) representing 0.20 percent and 0.23 percent of their incomes respectively in 1988 and 1991. In contrast, male-headed families spent a lower 0.15 percent to 0.17 percent of their incomes on taxes. At the highest income tercile, however, male-headed families spent a higher 0.85 percent to 1.3 percent equivalent of their incomes on taxes than the 0.66 percent to 1.02 percent spent by female-headed households. The reasons for these are not clear, although it is possible that given men's predilection for owning cars, especially among the richest classes, car registration fees may account for the higher taxes paid by upper-class male-headed households when compared to their female-headed counterparts.

Table 5.11
Proportion of HH Income Spent on Gifts, Special Occasions, Other Disbursements and Taxes by Male- and Female-Headed Households (FIES 1988, 1991)

	1988			1991		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
ALL						
Gifts	0.71	0.85	0.73	0.75	0.69	0.74
Special Occasions	1.71	1.98	1.75	1.77	2.08	1.81
Disbursements	4.27	4.81	4.34	4.48	7.07	4.84
Taxes	0.38	0.40	0.38	0.54	0.59	0.55
TOP 30%						
Gifts	0.74	0.94	0.78	0.73	0.77	0.74
Special Occasions	1.99	2.43	2.06	2.10	2.22	2.12
Disbursements	7.55	8.46	7.70	7.95	8.76	8.10
Taxes	0.85	0.66	0.82	1.27	1.02	1.23
SECOND 30%						
Gifts	0.79	0.90	0.80	0.73	0.74	0.73
Special Occasions	1.81	2.19	1.86	1.84	2.12	1.87
Disbursements	3.60	4.28	3.67	3.99	5.59	4.17
Taxes	0.23	0.32	0.24	0.35	0.47	0.36
BOTTOM 40%						
Gifts	0.62	0.74	0.64	0.78	0.58	0.75
Special Occasions	1.43	1.40	1.42	1.49	1.92	1.55
Disbursements	2.43	1.69	2.33	2.37	6.36	2.91
Taxes	0.15	0.20	0.15	0.17	0.23	0.18

Summary

Findings from the foregoing comparison of family expenditure patterns between male- and female-headed households are generally supportive of propositions regarding gender differences in spending patterns. Although the data coverage of existing household surveys does not allow for a direct examination of the impact of the relative contributions of men and women to family welfare, there is sufficient evidence to show that, in general, women are more prudent than men in using household income to meet the food, shelter, educational, medical and basic operational needs of their households. Female heads of households also tend to be more concerned about the longer-term material security of their families, as shown by the higher incidence of house and homelot ownership and the higher savings propensity of female- than male-headed families.

Expenditure patterns in female-headed households further suggest that women's incomes redound not only to the benefit of households but that of larger communities. Compared to male-headed households, female-headed ones are more generous in sharing their income with needy groups and contribute proportionately more to the payment of various forms of taxes. It would seem that all these findings provide ample reason for promoting programs and policies aimed at expanding women's employment opportunities and improving their own incomes and earnings.

Concluding Remarks

While current findings suggest a close association between women's earnings and indicators of family welfare, these do not fully address the issue surrounding women's control over household resources or even their own incomes in existing marriages or conjugal relationships. It should be noted that the hierarchical positions of men and women and the dominance of men in marriages and families are deeply rooted in cultural gender-role prescriptions. Improving the earnings of women may help erode the material basis of men's dominance, although this cannot be expected to totally dissolve hierarchical gender structures within families. In Philippine society, not a few cases have been reported by women's groups of families where husbands continue to control the hard-earned incomes of wives, using or squandering these for their own benefit. Neither is it altogether unlikely that some women may be squandering the incomes of their husbands. Such cases point to the need of other consciousness-raising programs to help men and women transcend their own "internal control dramas" over household resources and work out more humane and egalitarian relationships.

Notes

1 In both sociology and economics, current paradigms have moved away from the traditional and static conception of the family as constituting "natural units" or "organic wholes" characterized by an overriding common interest that sustains family harmony. In sociology, current models call attention to the importance of changing roles and norms bearing on intra-familial relationships. Members are seen to develop/ have their own individual preferences and interests and who then negotiate these within the context of family life (See J. Bruce, C.B. Lloyd and A. Leonard, *Families in Focus: New Perspectives on Mothers, Fathers and Children*, The Population Council: New York, 1995 and Laszlo Cseh-Szombathy, "Modelling the Interrelation between Macro-society and the Family" in Changing Family Patterns, *International Social Science Journal*. Vol. 126, November 1990). Likewise in economics, existing views see the family operating as a collective entity where decisions are the result of bargaining /negotiations among members, rather than simply exhibiting a single welfare/utility function (See John Hoddinott and Lawrence Haddod, "Does Female Income Share Influence Household Expenditures? Evidence from Cote d'Ivoire" in the *Oxford Bulletin of Economics and Statistics*, Vol. 57, No. 1, February 1995).

2 Reported by Hoddinott and Haddad (above) based on studies of African households.

3 Emma Porio, Frank Lynch, and Mary Hollnsteiner, "The Filipino family, community and nation, IPC Papers No. 12, Quezon City: Institute of Philippine Culture, Ateneo de Manila University, 1978.

4 This view of the family essentially derives from traditional models which see members as subsuming their interests to a common family good.

5 The negative impact of women's education and market employment on child mortality and fertility is shown in most analyses of mortality and fertility differentials including those appearing in the latest 1993 National Demographic Survey Report, NSO.

6 See Cynthia Banzon-Bautista, "Women in Marriage" in *Stereotype, Status and Satisfaction: The Filipina among Filipinos*. Quezon City: Social Research Laboratory, University of the Philippines, Department of Sociology. 1977; and Fely David, "The Roles of Husbands and Wives in Household Decision-making," *The Philippine Sociological Review*, Vol. 42, 1994.

7 Marito Garcia, "Impact of Female Sources of Income on Food Demand Among Rural Households in the Philippines," in *Quarterly Journal of International Agriculture*, Vol. 30, No. 2, April-June 1991.

8 The term "families" and "households" are used interchangeably in this paper. The overwhelming majority of Filipino households have a family core of related members

9 The low proportion of men proceeding to and graduating from college owes in part to the fact that they drop out sooner from school to enter the labor force.

10 From 1990 Census figures as reported in *Filipino Women: Issues and Trends*, The National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women and the Asian Development Bank, Manila 1995

11 From an analysis of the 1991 Family and Income Expenditure Surveys, in *Filipino Women: Issues and Trends*, The National Commission on the Role of Filipino Women and the Asian Development Bank, Manila 1995.

6 Hazards in a Woman's Workplace

Introduction

We face risks to health and well-being in various forms. There are natural catastrophes. There are man-made disasters. The normative ideal requires a minimization of risks and an increase in social welfare. The workplace, where many spend at least a third of their time presents an enormous challenge. Occupational safety and health has become a complex field of study over the past three decades involving medical doctors, chemists, and psychologists. Areas of concern range from carcinogenic substances to health insurance.

Over the same period, women have been increasing their labor force participation. Many view women as the prime movers behind leading export industries such as garments and electronics. These industries hire women because of certain characteristics which make them better workers compared to men. Systematically steering women into certain industries and occupations makes women susceptible to particular types of injuries and illnesses, especially when these are specific to the industry or occupation.

This chapter is organized as follows. The first part outlines the incidence of labor segregation and occupational segmentation in the Philippines. The second section contains a broad description of the different types of work hazards that a worker may face, especially in those industries and occupations where women are found. The final section reviews the extent to which existing laws and regulations protect women from the works hazards identified in section two. This section will include an assessment of the existing support mechanisms. Some policy implications will be discussed in the concluding section.

Why Are Some Industries Dominated by Women?

The structural shift of the economy from agriculture to industry has been used as an indicator of economic development. Along with this shift is an increase in the labor force participation of women leading to what some have termed as the increasing feminization of the labor force. Many agree that increased global orientation of trade through export- oriented policies have contributed greatly to this phenomenon. Initial data has shown that within the manufacturing sector and especially in export processing zones, the electronics and garments industries are dominated by women. Not only are the women dominant in particular industries but they are concentrated in particular occupations as well.

The Labor Force Survey (LFS) conducted every quarter by the National Statistics Office (NSO) provides us with employment data by industry and by occupation. From here on, data from the October 1994 survey will be referred to. FIGURE 6.1 shows the proportion of females employed by major indus-

Figure 6.1
Proportion of Females Employed by Major Industry Group (October 1994, in percent)

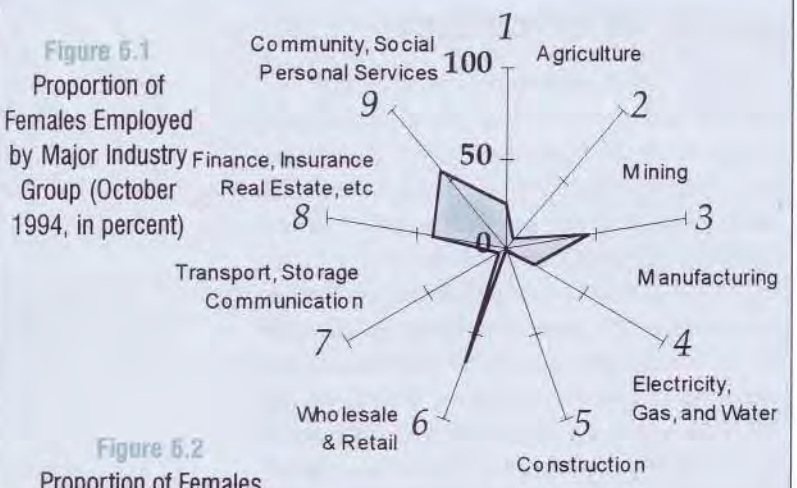
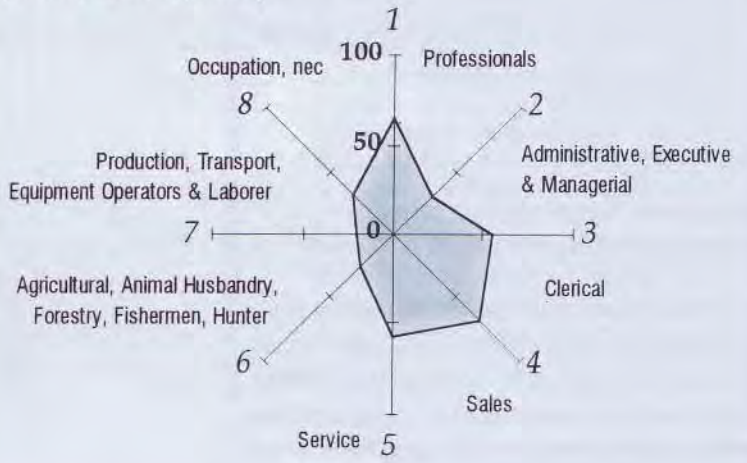


Figure 6.2
Proportion of Females Employed by Major Occupation Group (October 1994, in percent)



try group while FIGURE 6.2 shows the proportion of females employed by major occupation group. From these charts we can see that women comprise the majority of those employed in wholesale and retail trade (66.3 percent) and in community, social and personal services (56.3 percent). They are a significant workforce in manufacturing (46.1 percent) and finance, insurance, real estate, and business services (40.1 percent). By occupation, a greater number of women are found in sales (68.9 percent), professional, technical and related workers (65.2 percent), service (57.2 percent) and clerical and related works (55.1 percent).

A more detailed picture of labor segregation in the manufacturing industry is described below:

- One million women are employed as production and related workers, transport, equipment operators and laborers in the manufacturing industry. Around 593,000 women (59.3 percent of women employed as production workers) are employed as production workers by the textile, wearing apparel and leather industry alone.
- Women comprise the bulk of workers employed as tailors, dressmakers, sewers, and upholsterers (81.0 percent) and as spinners, weavers, knitters, dyers and related workers (79.3 percent).
- Women also comprise a significant proportion of those employed as tobacco preparers and tobacco product makers (75.0 percent), electrical fitters and related electrical and electronic workers (54.8 percent), and paper and paperboard products (54.5 percent).

As for women in wholesale and retail trade and in community, social, and personal services:

- Women in the trade industry, are mostly retail sales workers (91.7 percent of total employed). These women, however, are working proprietors (54.5 percent of women) rather than saleswomen, shop assistants and related workers (28.4 percent of women).

- Looking at data from the 1988 Census of Establishments, women were mostly found in retail trade of dry goods, textile and wearing apparel (73.5 percent of those employed in the industry), medical supplies and equipment (70.3 percent), and books, office and school supplies (68.2 percent). This reflects basically the same industries where women are found in manufacturing. These are

the same industries that are extensions of women's work in the home.

As the industry implies, most of the women in community, social and personal services work mostly as helpers and related housekeeping services or as launderers, dry-cleaners and pressers.

Problems besetting the women workers are often ill addressed. The more serious concerns include wage differentials between male and female workers, discrimination in hiring and promotion, and sexual harassment in the workplace. One important aspect of work that has not been given ample study and research is the area of occupational safety and health. Are work areas safe? Do women work in places where their long-term health is endangered? Often, hazards are equated to work-related injuries. But, factors such as work relationships and decision latitude can affect the mental state and cause psychological stress and psychosomatic illnesses like peptic ulcers and chronic headaches. This paper shall attempt to show that women workers are more prone to certain types of occupational illnesses because the social order dictates the types of occupations that women can occupy.

Work Hazards

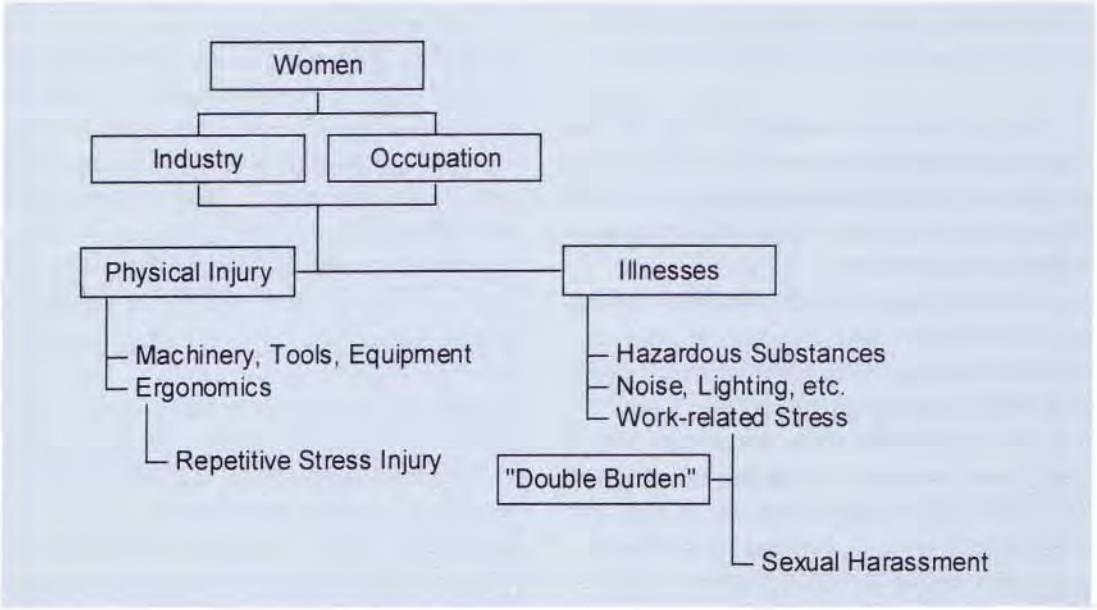
Government and employers do not provide Filipino workers adequate protection against work hazards. Shortcomings can be found among all the agents involved. Employers rarely comply with the legislation and use work arrangements and systems that increase the risks to safety and health. Government is ineffective in enforcing the legislation. Workers themselves have little concern about working conditions and concentrate on earning income. Labor organizations are not known to benchmark occupational safety and health issues in work agreements. Given this environment, women's safety and health are compromised even more.

Labor segregation shows that women will not be found in industries and occupations requiring a lot of physical strength and the use of *men's* machines. From the LFS, almost a hundred percent of metal processors, tanners and pelt dressers, stone cutters and carvers, broadcasting stations and sound equipment operators, cinema projectionists, plumbers, welders, sheet-metal and structural metal preparers and erectors, bricklayers, carpenters, and other construction workers, and transport equipment operators are men. JOEKES [1995] has already pointed out that cultural norms on gender identity are unlikely to allow women to carry out work that requires heavy lifting or involves dangerous tasks.[1] At the same time data on physical injuries and work accidents are readily available simply because they are observable. Sometimes, these are the only data available. Relying on this data set and attempting to get a disaggregation by sex, it is possible to conclude that women do not encounter hazardous situations. If they do, they acquire minor injuries, usually of a temporary nature. But, are women really working in safer environments?

A much larger and more difficult area of study is work-related illness. Unfortunately, linking the work environment to the illness is a much less precise process and a complicated one because of delayed effects. The data required to establish the link can be voluminous and complex. Nevertheless, the diagram (FIGURE 6.3) illustrates the framework being applied. Occupational safety and health risks are determined by the features of the industry and occupation. What are the raw materials being used — ammonia, chlorine, lead? Do the processes involve radiation, heat, and noise? Women's work exposes them to substances and working conditions that pose increased risks more to health than to safety.

Hazards have been divided into two major categories: injuries and illnesses. Injuries not only cover those caused by tools, machinery, and equipment such as cuts and burns but also those caused by poor ergonomics including repetitive stress injury. Work-related illnesses on the other hand are subdivided

Figure 6.3
Framework for Work Hazards in a Woman's Workplace



according to the main agent involved. These could be toxic substances, work environment (which includes light, noise, excessive temperatures), and psychological stress. Women are more likely to experience work-related illnesses rather than permanent physical disabilities. As far as the industries are concerned, women workers in electronics would face greater risks from hazardous substances while garments workers would face problems of dust from clothing materials, poor ventilation, and lighting.

For further illustration, a portion of the table used by Poitrast and Zenz [1994] is reproduced in **Table 6.1**. Poitrast and Zenz listed seventeen occupations. **Table 6.1** only shows those occupations that are more likely to be engaged in by women.

Data Description and Limitations

Data on injuries are mostly from the Bureau of Working Conditions (BWC) and the Bureau of Labor and Employment Statistics (BLES) of the Department of Labor and Employment (DOLE). Employers are required to submit a copy of the Employer's Work Accident/Illness Report for every accident or illness in the establishment to the BWC. Since submission is voluntary, compliance has not been very high, approximately 25 percent over the past years. The BWC processes only the injuries and accidents and publishes the tabulations in an annual publication, *Occupational Injuries and Work Accidents*. Unfortunately, the publication does not segregate the injuries by sex. Analysis of the tables will have to done by industry and by occupation, whenever possible.

A second data source is the Occupational Injuries and Illnesses Survey conducted annually by BLES. This data set would give us a less biased data set but again they do not segregate by sex.

These data sets cover mostly workers in formal establishments. There are two sources of data on homeworkers that had short sections on injuries and illnesses. The Bureau of Women and Young Workers (BWYW) organized two studies on homeworkers. The first study entitled "Terms and Conditions of Work of Rural Women Homeworkers" covered nine regions[2]. A total of 585 female homeworkers were interviewed and a series of focused group discussions were conducted. The second study entitled "Study on the Living and Working Conditions of Homeworkers" was a follow-up report to the first. The follow-up report included men and young workers as well as other homework activities not covered

Table 6.1
Examples of Possible Exposures Related to Various Occupations

OCCUPATION	POTENTIAL EXPOSURE
Cleaning Personnel	
• Launderers	Contaminated clothing, detergents, enzymes, soaps, heat, humidity
• Dry Cleaners	Contaminated clothing, heat, perchlorethylene, Stoddard solvent, naphta, benzene, trichlorethylene, and others
• Clerical Personnel	Carbon tetrachloride and various other cleaners, physical stresses, poor illumination, ergonomic deficiencies
• Domestic Workers (homes, hotels, motels, office buildings)	Alkalines, bleaches, detergents, heat, cold (physiologic factors), shift work, at times hard work, and various solvents in cleaning agents
• Flight Attendants	Sleep dysfunction fatigue, physical and emotional stress; respiratory irritation
• Hairdressers and Cosmetologists	Acetone, aerosol propellants (freons); benzyl alcohol, ethyl alcohol, hair dyes, hair spray resins (polyvinylpyrrolidone), halogenated hydrocarbons, and other solvents of a wide variety
Hospital/Health Personnel	
• Nurses, aides, orderlies, physicians, students, patients	Alcohol, anesthetic gases, ethylene oxide, infectious diseases (bacterial and viral), puncture wounds, and x-ray radiation
• Dental hygienists	Anesthetic gases, infectious diseases (bacterial and viral), mercury, puncture wounds, ultrasonic noise, vibration, and x-ray radiation
• Laboratory Workers — clinical and research/animal care	Infectious diseases (bacterial and viral), puncture wounds, wide variety of toxic chemicals, including carcinogens, mutagens and teratogens; and x-ray radiation. Many workers are subject to shift rotation.

Source Poitrast and Zenz 1994: 828.

by the first study. The results of the second study were not released since the figures did not vary significantly from the first. The total number of respondents was 363 coming from five regions.[3] The final data source is the Survey on Homeworkers which was a joint collaboration of the International Labor Organization (ILO), DOLE-BLES and the NSO.[4] The survey had two questions related to this study. One was exposure to pollutants and the other was illnesses and accidents experienced that could be attributed to homework.

As with the data on accidents, incidence of work-related illnesses are not segregated by sex. There are two sources for work-related illness data. Sickness claims from the Employees' Compensation Commission (ECC) and the Social Security System (SSS) were tabulated by Cucueco [1995]. A second source is a compilation of the annual medical reports (AMR) submitted by establishments to the BWC. As with the work accident reports above, these reports are voluntarily submitted by the establishments to the BWC. The firms tally the complaints made by their employees by disease and by sex. An additional problem with the dataset is that some reports were accomplished by "unqualified" personnel who have little or no knowledge of occupational health or medicine in general. In the *1994 Directory of Accredited Safety Practitioners and Consultants* published by the BWC, only one of the 48 listed in the directory had any medical background — medical technology. The rest were engineers. Given the way data is presented, it remains difficult to establish whether the disease contracted was due to the occupation or industrial environment or to outside factors.

It must be emphasized that there is a gap between the actual number of injury accidents and reported complaints. The data available on illnesses is not adequate enough to allow us to trace the source of the illnesses to specific agents. In fact, there may be a serious bias in the type of illness that are reported. Biases in the responses may also be traced to gender differences. One aspect of employers' preference to hire women for their docility may be that women complain (to manage-

ment) less than men. Hence, the evidence provided by these complaints are suggestive but not conclusive.

Injuries

This section is divided into a discussion on the sources of physical injuries. Most physical injuries are caused by tools, machinery and equipment. Injuries may be the result of improper use of the equipment and the wrong design of these themselves. The latter will be discussed under the section of ergonomics.

Tools, Machinery, Equipment

Injuries result mostly from the improper use and the lack of safety devices in the use of tools and machines. Accidents are met due to hazardous arrangement of the work area and to defects in handtools and machinery. The workers are also improperly dressed for work, that is, they are not wearing gloves, goggles or shoes. Other contributing factors to the accidents are lack of knowledge and skills in the use of tools and in the work process, improper attitudes towards safety and poor supervision and training.

Disabilities are classified according to extent of injury. **Table 6.2** shows that workers in female-dominated industries tend to experience temporary total disability as opposed to permanent and fatal disability for men.

Fifty-four percent of all work accidents that occurred in 1992 happened to production-related workers. **Table 6.3** shows the percentage distribution of work accidents by production-related workers in manufacturing. The occupation sub-groups selected correspond to occupations that women are most likely to be occupying. Work accidents for these occupations make up a small percentage of total work accidents. In the paper and paper products industry, for example, although women comprise a little more than half of employment, only two of 279 work accidents reported between 1991 and 1993 concern women.

The wearing apparel industry reports more accidents. High speed sewing lends itself to cuts and being struck by parts of the sewing machine. This is aggravated by production quotas and pay schemes tied to output. The average work experience of those who reported the accidents is 2.3 years, showing that they are still fairly new on the job (when compared to say 5 to 10 years for experienced sewers).

Two statistics are produced from the Occupational Injuries Survey: frequency rate of disability and severity rate. Frequency rate

Table 6.2
Disabling Occupational Injuries in Establishments Employing 10 or More Workers in Selected Industries and Extent of Disability, Philippines

Industry	Total Disabling	Fatal	Permanent Total	Permanent Partial	Temporary Total
All Industries	***73,020***	***350***	***50***	***1,190***	***71,430***
Mining and Quarrying	520	40	a/	80	390
Manufacturing	45,130	40	10	860	44,400
Wearing Apparel	2,780	0	0	30	2,750
Wood and Cork Products	1,760	0	0	50	1,710
Electrical Machinery	2,280	a/	0	10	2,260
Community, Social & Personal Services	5,800	40	20	30	5,710

a/ less than 5 cases.
Source BWC-DOLE, 1993 Occupational Injuries and Work Accidents

Table 6.3
Percent Distribution of Work Accidents of Production-related Workers in Manufacturing by Selected Occupation Sub-groups (Philippines, 1992-1993)

Occupation	1991	1992	1993
All Occupations	*61.32*	*48.55*	*49.11*
Production-related	37.45	37.95	33.46
Electrical/electronic assemblers	0.03	0.02	0.05
Patternmakers & cutters	0.78	0.07	0.19
Sewers & embroiderers	0.18	0.80	0.36
Spinners & winders	0.57	0.37	0.13
Tailors, dressmakers, nec	0.21	0.18	0.74
Textile-related workers, nec	1.82	0.80	0.54
Weavers & related workers	0.13	0.23	0.28

Source DOLE, Occupational Injuries & Work Accidents, various issues

is defined as the number of disabling injuries per 1,000,000 employee-hours of exposure. The severity rate is the number of workdays lost due to disabling per 1,000,000 employee-hours of exposure.[5] Wearing apparel has a relatively low frequency rate compared to manufacturing, but its severity rate is very high. This means that injuries in apparel industry result in longer workdays lost even though they occur less frequently.

Among homeworkers, the most common accidents are wounds caused by cutting tools and pointed objects. The handicrafts industry reports the highest number of accidents. (See TABLE 6.4) In terms of awareness of hazardous substances, homeworkers readily pointed to the knives and other sharp, pointed instruments as potentially hazardous. A few, however, recognize the dangers of chemicals, e.g., dyes and varnishes, and dusts. (See TABLE 6.5)

The follow-up study on homeworkers confirms the reported accidents and illnesses although interviewers did not observe any physical disability. The latter may be explained by the temporary nature of the disability or the absence of outward physical marks of injury or illness. As with the other homeworkers survey, respondents to the ILO-BLES-NSO collaboration report cuts, wounds, and burns (26.2 percent) as the most common injury due to tools, machinery and equipment. (See TABLE 6.6)

Ergonomics

Poor ergonomics means the use of furniture and equipment that put the human body into unnatural poses, hence, increasing the risk of injury. Part of the problem may be caused or aggravated by poor posture. Repetitive stress injury is experienced when a worker goes through repetitive motions or maintains a stationary position straining affected body parts.

The only indication there is of poor ergonomics as a problem are complaints by

Table 6.4
Common Illnesses/Accidents Met by Homeworkers by Industry

	Share (%)	Garments	Handicrafts	Furniture
No. of respondents	100.0	171	361	14
Common Illnesses	63.4	107	250	14
Waist, buttocks and back ache/pain	35.6	41	158	9
Poor eyesight/eyestrain	10.1	27	32	
Numbness of hands, feet, leg & hips	5.5	10	22	
Headache	3.4	8	8	4
Common Accidents	7.5	2	40	2
Wounds caused by cutting tools	5.3		29	2
Pierced by nail, hook, needle, etc.	1.9	2	9	

Source BWYW-DOLE

Table 6.5
Materials, Tools and Equipment that Homeworkers Consider Hazardous

Material	Number of Respondents to the Question	Share in each industry (%)
Total	***165***	***28.2***
• *Garments (RTW Sewers only)*	123	28.4
Fibers of textile/fabrics	14	11.4
Chemicals applied to the fabrics	5	4.1
Stamper	3	2.4
Textile dye	2	1.6
Smell of combustible substance (i.e., gas[6])	4	3.2
Scissors	1	0.8
Needle	5	4.1
Blade	1	0.8
• *Handicrafts*	369	26.4
Bleaching substance	3	0.8
Nail	2	0.5
Dust	1	0.3
Paint	3	0.8
Bolo/knife/scythe	42	11.4
Thorn of pandan leaves/ 'tikiw'/bamboo/red dye from roots of a plant	31	8.4
Smell of rugby	11	3.0
Sandpaper used to polish finished items	1	0.3
Varnish	1	0.3
Sulfur powder[7]	1	0.3
Needle	1	0.3
• *Furniture*	14	92.8
Dust	12	85.7
Bolo/knife	1	7.1

Source BWYW-DOLE

homeworkers of "cramps in the back, neck, leg, arm, hand and other muscular or bodily pains."[8] Eighty-nine percent of homeworkers in the ILO-BLES-NSO survey report experiencing body aches and pains. In a BWC special report, back strain, leg pains, varicose veins, excessive fatigue, and muscle cramps are reported by women factory workers more than workers in other establishments.[9] In manufacturing, excessive physical work and prolonged standing comprise the bulk of ergonomical hazards. In wholesale and retail trade, prolonged standing takes up 100 percent of ergonomical hazards while the parallel for financing, insurance, real estate and business services is low back pain. (See TABLE 6.7)

Illnesses

In the 5TH Safety and Health Congress held on November 1995, DR. CUCUECO presented tabulations on ECC and SSS sickness claims from 1989 to 1993. (See TABLE 6.8) Infectious diseases comprise a significant proportion of sickness claims from the ECC and SSS, 16.06 percent and 32.12 percent, respectively. Most of the sickness claims against the SSS are made by males (89.2 percent in 1993).

Table 6.6
Illnesses/Accidents Experienced from Homework in Five Regions (Philippines, 1993)

	Total	NCR	Central Luzon	Southern Tagalog	Bicol	Central Visayas
Total Homeworkers	***1,199,089***	***193,515***	***254,219***	***261,304***	***108,893***	***381,158***
Illnesses/Accidents						
Body aches/pains	88.6	89.7	80.2	89.0	94.6	93.6
Eye strain/eyesight impairment	40.3	38.0	39.0	53.9	29.9	36.5
Hearing impairment	1.2	1.0	1.5	1.0	1.0	1.1
Respiratory illnesses	5.4	14.9	2.1	8.9	6.9	2.0
Cuts/wounds/burns	26.2	28.6	8.5	33.8	23.0	38.3
Poisoning	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.1
Dizziness/anemia	14.6	14.1	17.3	11.8	22.0	11.3
Allergic reactions	5.9	12.3	3.1	6.7	5.4	5.9
Others	3.5	7.6	3.8	3.4	3.8	1.5
Interviewer's observation of physical disability						
Yes	2.4	1.6	2.3	3.4	2.2	2.2
No	97.4	98.4	97.5	96.6	97.8	97.4
Not reported	0.2	0.0	0.2	0.0	0.0	0.4

Source ILO-BLES-NSO

Table 6.7
Distribution of Ergonomical Hazards by Industry (1992)

Industry	Total Physical Work	Excessive Standing	Prolonged Pain	Lowback Work Position	Unfavorable Monotonous Work	Static	Others
Total	***5,366***	***2,272***	***2,246***	***477***	***68***	***130***	***173***
Manufacturing	3,843	43.35	42.54	8.61	0.10	2.00	3.41
Community, Social & Personal Services	60	10.00	20.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	70.00
Wholesale & Retail Trade	17	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Financing, Insurance, etc.	98	0.00	0.00	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Transportation Storage, etc.	20	0.00	50.00	0.00	50.00	0.00	0.00
Construction	1,328	0.00	43.07	0.00	4.07	4.07	0.00

Source BWC-DOLE

Therefore, the table does not tell us much about women's diseases. Overall, there are differences in the distribution of sickness claims. The differences may stem from the nature of the two institutions. The ECC processes work-related claims while the SSS covers a broader range of health concerns.

A special report produced by the BWC looks at diseases and illnesses experienced by women workers. The basis of the tabulations comes from a 5-year compilation of medical reports covering the period 1986 to 1990. These reports include 26,296 women workers from 228 establishments. The most common disease reported by women is gastritis/hyperacidity (46.9 percent), followed by hypertension (16.8 percent) and dermatoses (12.7 percent). Gastritis/hyperacidity is an overwhelming complaint among women workers in the community, social and personal services (80.4 percent) and construction (70.8 percent). Hypertension is significant in electricity, gas and water (26.6 percent) and manufacturing (22.3 percent) while dermatoses is significant in agriculture (28.7 percent) and transportation, communication and storage (28.0 percent). Gastritis/hyperacidity and hypertension may be indications that women face highly stressful situations. Dermatitis, on the other hand, results from "handling and exposure to irritant and sensitizing chemical compounds."[10] The chemical compounds are likely to be the fertilizers and pesticides used.

Table 6.8
Distribution of Diseases Based on ECC and SSS Claims (1989-1993)

Disease Category	ECC Number	%	SSS Number	%
Total	***1,326***	***100.00***	***2,431***	***100.00***
Disorder of the Cardiovascular System	264	19.90	232	9.54
Infectious Diseases	213	16.06	781	32.12
Oncology	186	14.02	20	0.82
Disorder of the Gastrointestinal System	148	11.16	100	4.11
Disorder of the Kidney & Urinary Tract	107	8.06	27	1.11
Endocrinology & Metabolism	83	6.26	15	0.61
Disorder of the Respiratory System	80	6.03	125	5.14
Connective Tissues & Joints	68	5.12	221	9.09
Neurologic Disorders	49	3.69	40	1.64
Eyes	45	3.39	582	23.94
Ear, Nose, Throat	23	1.73	39	1.60
Psychiatry	17	1.28	6	0.24
Hematology	15	1.13	8	0.32
Others	12	0.90	47	1.93
Reproductive	6	0.45	22	0.90
Skin	5	0.37	132	5.42
Disorder of the Immune System	4	0.30	0	0
Breast	1	0.07	0	0
Chemicals			34	1.39

Source Cucueco 1995

The report also includes a listing of complaints for selected occupations. **Table 6.9** reproduces the list. For these occupations, eye problems are common.

Table 6.9
Workers' Complaints in Selected Occupations

Type of Worker	Complaint
Bank employees	eye fatigue, increased blood pressure & body weight index, abnormal dietary habits and menstrual status
Textile mill workers	skin irritations, eye problems, impaired hearing, dysmenorrhea, stress
Factory workers	back strain, leg pains, varicose veins, excessive fatigue, muscle cramps, stomach spasms
Plantation workers	skin rashes, respiratory ailments
Semi-conductor workers	migraine headache, eye strain, blurred vision, watery eyes, burns, respiratory illnesses
Electronics industry employees	eye defects, cancer, lung disease, liver and kidney problems

Source BWC

In order to get new data, a tally of the AMRs was done for industries that could be considered female-dominated. Data for six industries were collated during the period between 1992 to 1994: wearing apparel (27.4 percent comprising women); tobacco and tobacco products (5.6 percent); paper and paper board products (0.5 percent); electronics (51.8 percent); wholesale and retail trade (4.0 percent); and community, social and personal services (10.7 percent). All in all the reports cover 109,989 complaints, 72.2 percent of which are by women. This data cannot be conclusive since it is a very limited sample. A clear trend can only be established as soon as all the data are processed by the BWC. For this paper's purposes, looking at female-dominated industries could perhaps give some indication or validation of the previous BWC special report.

Most of the complaints are registered by workers from the electronics industry with 56,955 followed by wearing apparel with 30,192 and community, social, and personal services with 11,758. From these complaints, the most common for both males and females across all industries are diseases of the mouth-ear-nose-throat, diseases of the head, and diseases of the gastrointestinal system. By disease, the most common complaint is rhinitis/colds, diarrhea, and tension headache. These complaints differ greatly from the BWC special report although gastritis/hyperacidity and hypertension are in the top twenty complaints at 8TH and 15TH, respectively. Dermatoses ranks 22ND. Unfortunately, these results do not increase our confidence in the initial results.

There is little variation between males and females across industries. In **TABLE 6.10**, each disease category is analyzed. For diseases of the eyes, for example, the most common complaint from males comes from the community, social and personal services. The complaints are mostly conjunctivitis. Among females, the greatest number of complaints comes from wearing apparel with error of refraction being the most common. This could point to problems with lighting or work that deals with details such as embroidery. For diseases of the skin, males working in the electronics industry complain of infections such as folliculitis abscess while females report allergies. POITRAST and ZENZ [1994] say that electronics assemblers are probably exposed to the following substances: antimony, epoxy resins, lead [11], methyl ethyl ketone, methylene chloride, tin, and trichloroethylene. To this list, LIN [1986] adds xylene, acetone, solder flux, sulphuric acid, and hydrochloric acid.[12] Skin diseases may be one way in which the workers react to these substances. Further study by medical personnel is required to establish the connection.

Diarrhea, as a common gastrointestinal complaint in the electronics industry, may reflect eating habits. These workers, under time constraint, tend to eat at *carinderias* [13] where food sanitation may not measure up to health standards. Caffeine consumption may also be related to gastrointestinal problems for those who are engaged in shiftwork.[14]

Toxic Substances

There are many physical forms that hazardous substances could take. They can be solids, dusts, fumes, liquids, vapors, mists, and gases [15]. Chemical risk from these substances depend on several factors: type of toxic effect; strength of toxic effect; frequency

Table 6.10
Most Common Complaints by Disease Category by Sex (1991 to 1993)

Disease Category	MALE Industry	Illness	FEMALE Industry	Illness
Eyes	Comm., Social & Personal Service	Bacterial/Viral Conjunctivitis	Wearing Apparel	Error of Refraction
Gastrointestinal	Electronics	Diarrhea	Electronics	Diarrhea
Genito-Urinary	Wearing Apparel	Urinary Tract Infection	Wearing Apparel	Urinary Tract Infection
Head	Electronics	Tension Migraine	Electronics	Tension Migraine
Heart & Blood	Comm., Social & Personal Services	Hypertension	Wearing Apparel	Hypertension
Hot Temperature	Tobacco & Tobacco Prod.	Heat Strokes	Tobacco & Tobacco Prod.	Heat Strokes/ Dehydration
Infectious	Wearing Apparel	Influenza	Wearing Apparel	Influenza
Lymphatic & Circulatory	Electronics	Anemia	Wearing Apparel	Anemia
Mouth & ENT	Electronics	Rhinitis/Cold	Electronics	Rhinitis/Cold/Meniere's Syndrome/Vertigo/ Tonsillopharyngitis
Noise & Vibration	Tobacco & Tobacco Prod.	Fatigue	Tobacco & Tobacco Prod.	Fatigue
Occupational Accidents & Injuries	Wearing Apparel	Cuts, lacerations/ Contussions, bruises, hematoma	Wearing Apparel	Cuts, lacerations/ Contussions, bruises, hematoma
Radiation	Tobacco & Tobacco Prod.	Keratitis/Burns		
Reproductive	Wearing Apparel	Hernia, inguinal	Electronics	Dysmenorrhea hyperemesis gravidarum
Respiratory	Comm., Social & Personal Services	Bronchitis	Wearing Apparel	Other respiratory bronchitis/ bronchial asthma
Skin	Electronics	Infection as folliculitis abscess	Electronics	Allergy

Source BWC

of exposure; concentration of exposure; duration of exposure; routes taken; and, dose actually taken.[16] Most of the chemical hazards are reported by the manufacturing industry, accounting for 84.0 percent of the reported hazards in the 1992 AMR. Most of the hazards are in the form of dust (56.0 percent) and gas (19.6 percent).

The only data available in the Philippines is exposure to the different physical forms of chemicals. What these chemicals are have not been established. Homeworkers in the ILO-BLES-NSO survey report exposure to dust (12.7 percent) especially those working in garments manufacturing, hand weaving, wood cork manufacturing and furniture. Female homeworkers are exposed to dust in hand weaving and garments manufacturing. (See **Table 6.11**) Sewers and stitchers, according to Poitrast and Zenz [1994], may be exposed to asbestos, cotton and synthetic fiber dusts, flame retardants, formaldehyde, and organic solvents.

The least documentation is found in the electronics industry. They have very low compliance in the submission of work accidents and illness reports. None have responded to our inquiries for interview and one large multinational outrightly refused saying that the data kept by the safety committee is confidential. Only one written source can be cited. As part of a case study

Table 6.11
Homeworkers' Exposure to Odor, Fumes and Dust by Sex and Industry (%)

	ODOR			FUMES			DUST		
Activity	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female
% exposed	9.2	7.7	9.6	2.6	2.6	2.6	12.7	15.5	12.0
Agriculture	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Food Mfg.	1,199	-	100.0	1,199	-	100.0	1,199	-	100.0
Grain Milling	1,199	-	100.0	-	-	-	1,199	-	100.0
Hand Weaving	9,593	12.5	87.5	3,597	33.3	66.7	26,380	9.1	90.9
Garments Mfg.	26,380	45.4	95.4	9,593	12.5	87.5	47,964	7.5	92.5
Leather products	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,199	100.0	-
Footwear Mfg.	14,389	33.3	66.7	4,796	25.0	75.0	5,995	20.0	80.0
Wood Cork	29,977	20.0	80.0	5,995	40.0	60.0	25,181	52.4	47.6
Furniture Mfg.	3,597	100.0	-	1,199	100.0	-	7,195	83.3	26.7
Paper products	1,199	-	100.0	-	-	-	1,199	-	100.0
Chemicals Mfg.	4,796	25.0	75.0	-	-	-	1,199	100.0	-
Non-metallic	1,199	-	100.0	-	-	-	1,199	-	100.0
Basic Metal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Fabricated Metal	1,199	-	100.0	-	-	-	1,199	-	1,199
Jewelry Mfg.	2,398	-	100.0	-	-	-	4,796	25.0	75.0
Toys/Doll Mfg.	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,199	-	100.0
Stationery/ Office supply	1,199	100.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Other Mfg.	7,195	16.7	83.3	1,199	-	100.0	16,787	57.1	42.9
Services	4,796	25.0	75.0	2,398	-	100.0	5,995	20.0	80.0
Not reported	-	-	-	-	-	-	1,199	-	100.0

Source BWYW-DOLE

on levels of lead in selected workers, CASTRO measured lead in blood (Pb-B) and delta-aminolevulinic acid in urine (ALA-U) in four factories. One of the factories manufactures semiconductors. Of 214 workers in the semiconductors firm under study, 91.1 percent are female with an average age of 22 years and exposure duration of about 1 year and 9 months. The semiconductor company has been in operation for only 2 years at the time of the study. CASTRO asked the workers for symptoms experienced while working for the semiconductor company. The most common complaints are easy to tire, irritability, and muscle pains. Unfortunately, the sources of these complaints have not been traced since the emphasis of the study was lead content comparisons across four firms from four different industries.[17]

LIN [1986] studied women's health in the semiconductor industry in Singapore and Malaysia. Although, the study is rather dated, it may still be used to illustrate how toxic substances can affect women's health. Skin diseases may already be one way in which electronics workers react to substances enumerated earlier. Certain solvents may also be related to menstrual irregularities, miscarriages, and premature births. Women who complained of unpleasant odors and poor ventilation have reported sore throats, runny noses, and chest tightness.[18] At present, there is no documentation of the epidemiology of these complaints in the Philippine electronics industry.

Physical Working Environment

In the BWYW study, "Terms and Conditions of Work of Rural Women Homeworkers," homeworkers normally work longer than eight hours a day. Payment on a piece-rate basis serves as an incentive to work more. The houses are tight and cramped, lack ventilation, and have poor lighting. Lighting

is particularly crucial in the rural areas not yet reached by electricity. In such cases, homeworkers rely on gas lamps (22.7 percent of respondents) especially when there are "rush" job orders. Although 77.8 percent of respondents reported having access to electricity, some workers use bulbs which may not be bright enough. Brightness is important when working on intricate patterns. From the various tables above, eye strain is a very common complaint. It is not clear, however, whether these defects are due to poor lighting alone or poor lighting combined with exposure to dust and fumes.

In formal establishments, noise is the most important physical hazard identified in the 1992 AMRs, comprising the majority of hazards in almost all industries. (See **Table 6.12**) Contrapose this with women's complaints of eye problems. It may be possible that noise is more of a male problem. It would certainly be true for the miners, construction workers, public transportation drivers, and even factory workers who use heavy equipment.

Temperature is overwhelmingly important in construction (94.8 percent). Excessive heat, especially under the midday sun, could result in heatstroke and dehydration. On the other hand, cold temperatures becomes hazardous to the communication industry, where equipment are already kept in cold rooms to prevent overheating. One large telecommunications company has had to provide its operators with woolen clothing to counter illnesses due to the cold experienced by their workers. Extreme temperatures are also reported as hazards by the wholesale and retail trade industry.

The BWYW conducted a Welfare Facilities Study covering 2,589 establishments. The firms were inspected for compliance with the occupational safety and standards particularly on the provision of welfare facilities for employers. The type of facility that should be offered by a company depends on employee size. Seats, separate toilets and separate lavatories are the facilities most commonly provided for by the firms. Although some firms provide clinic and medical facilities, the workers prefer to patronize only those that have full-time medical personnel. It will not be surprising to find firms who hire medical personnel on a part-time basis such that when workers need them they would not be there. This is particularly problematic for workers on the second or third shift of work. Medical personnel are usually present during the first shift or the day shift. The respondents also believe that special welfare facilities should be provided for women (377 vs. 117) mostly for privacy and protection.

Table 6.12
Distribution of Physical Hazards by Industry (1992)

Industry	Total	Noise	Temperature	Pressure	Illumination	Radiation	Others
Total	***5,485***	***2,702***	***2,320***	***60***	***4***	***186***	***213***
Manufacturing	76.13	61.54	28.59	0.060	0.00	4.19	5.08
Community, Social & Personal Services	0.75	60.98	24.39	0.00	0.00	14.63	0.00
Wholesale & Retail Trade	0.42	56.52	43.48	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00
Transportation Storage, etc.	1.02	51.79	46.43	1.79	0.00	0.00	0.00
Construction	20.75	1.58	94.82	2.99	0.35	0.18	0.09
Mining & Quarrying	0.20	63.64	9.09	0.00	0.00	27.27	0.00
Agriculture	0.73	100.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00	0.00

Source BWC

Psychological Stress

According to SHINFUKU [1991], some of the symptoms of the psychological consequences of stress include irritability, lack of concentration, monotony and boredom, poor work performance, fatigue, and the burn-out syndrome. Behavioral consequences would include tobacco abuse, alcohol abuse, drug abuse including psychotropic drug, absenteeism, acting out or violence. Chronic health consequences includes insomnia, headache, chronic pains, peptic ulcer, hypertension, cardiovascular diseases, strokes, neurosis, depression, suicide.[19] Again, data relating these symptoms to work is not available in the Philippines. Stress is recognized only to the extent that it is the result of increased work loads. It will be shown that the nature of work, and not just work load, contributes to stress in the workplace.

This paper underscores three sources of psychological stress that are important to women workers. The three sources are: work organization; sexual harassment; and the "double burden".

Work Organization

The question that is yet unanswered is to what extent stress-related illness can be attributed to the individual and to the environment. Advocates of the former as the primary factor often refer to literature on the Type A personality and their susceptibility to heart diseases. The result has been a proliferation of treatment methods geared towards the individual ranging from relaxation therapies and self-awareness therapies to "humor" therapies.[20]

KARASEK and THEORELL believe that these approaches avoid the complications of labor-management negotiations involving changes in work conditions should the environment be the more important factor contributing to stress-related illnesses. They go to the extent of saying that hypertension and smoking which is linked to heart disease and lung cancer may be alleviated if there is a reduction in work stress. Both are especially interested in the literature on psychosomatic illnesses that promotes the integration of work environment studies with the research on psychological and physiological responses to environmental stimuli.[21]

For KARASEK and THEORELL, the more important source of stress in the work environment is *control* "over how one meets the job's demands and how one uses one's skills" to meet the demands rather than the more popularly recognized factor of increased work loads. And since control factors depend on work organization, KARASEK and THEORELL claim that job redesign can solve these problems.

KARASEK and THEORELL then expand their model to incorporate social support at work and the participatory work process. They define social support at work as "overall levels of helpful social interaction available on the job from both co-workers and supervisors." Social support can serve as a shield against work stress and encourages the development of a person's coping mechanisms. It also facilitates knowledge acquisition that could enhance skills. Lastly, social support provides an affirmation of a person's identity by recognizing his contribution to the group's goals which is important in maintaining self-esteem. (Details can be found in **Box 6.1**.)

Combining these models with the distribution of workers by occupation, KARASEK and THEORELL argue that certain occupations are predisposed to stress. Stress is borne out of frustration when a worker has little control over the work involved and receives little or no social support.

Perhaps the only indication of exposure to stress that exists is the overwhelming number of women who have complained of gastritis/hyperacidity. The ECC rulings argue that conditions of work can increase the risk of disease particularly when the worker has a heavy work load and is exposed to excessive fatigue. The rulings are based on rejected cases of the SSS and the Government Service Insurance System (GSIS). Both institutions claim that certain ailments, such as cardiovascular and pulmonary diseases, are not occupational illnesses. These rulings on appellants were reversed by the ECC when

substantial evidence was presented to show how work contributed illness. Of interest are the teachers (most of whom are female) who suffered from pulmonary tuberculosis, cerebro-vascular accident, and peptic ulcers. (See Box 6.1) But these rulings still conform to the popular notion that heavy work load leads to stress-related illnesses.

In LIN [1986], electronics workers have complained of stress and fatigue due to shift work, fast pace of work, and pressure from management. Wages are sometimes based on output targets and production quotas. This system may explain sleeping problems, gastrointestinal and psychological complaints.[22] Work organization is now shifting towards deregulated, flexible work systems. When this system is combined with the repetition and monotony of some types of work, both lead to long working hours, intensification of work and to greater stress.

Sexual Harassment

Perhaps sexual harassment should fall under failure in the social support system within the working environment. But it is a major issue in itself so a separate section seems necessary. Although it is not part of the paper, sexual harassment in the workplace needs to be mentioned at least in terms of the negative psychosocial pressure it places on the workplace.

Harassers may be supervisors, co-workers, and even clients. The workplace is a conducive setting for harassment because there are definite lines of authority. The circumstances are aggravated by the reality that women's work are low-paying, low status jobs.[23]

Sexual harassment breeds feelings of guilt, shame, and anger, among others. These are obviously unproductive. Victims experience psychological stress with some having physical symptoms. Some quit their jobs. Clearly, job performance is affected.[24]

Before Republic Act (R.A.) 7877 on sexual harassment enacted in February 1995, there were no specific laws on sexual harassment in the Philippines. Legal action could be un-

Box 6.1 Teachers and Stress

The following is a profile of female teachers whose beneficiaries were provided with death benefits since the nature of their work increased risk of contracting disease. These profiles were lifted from the ECC Digest Vol. 1.

Elementary Grade Teacher for 26 years
Cause: moderately advanced active pulmonary tuberculosis with cavitation and acute pyelitis. *Comment from Ruling*: "predisposing factors in the teaching profession as brain work, which readily produces fatigue; preparation of lesson plans resulting in deprivation of normal rest and sleep; involvement in numerous extracurricular activities resulting into physical as well as mental stress; and too much speaking which makes teachers prone to diseases of the lungs, such as TB."

Clerk of 28 years
Cause: myocardial infarction and pulmonary tuberculosis. *Comment from Ruling*: "...work which unduly exposed her to untold fatigue and excessive physical exertion...., close confinement, not to mention strained posture which must have taxed her body. ..., she was exposed to stress and strain, primarily due to her long and irregular working hours."

Elementary Grade Teacher for 14 years
Cause: endotoxemia, typhoid fever, and pulmonary tuberculosis of the left lung. *Comment from Ruling*: "we may add stressful situations to which teachers are exposed, as they are involved with a great number of people and the whole community and they must deal with problems like the chronic scarcity of books and other materials or the leak in the roof of the building, and the like."

Teacher
Cause: cerebro-vascular accident, cerebral hemorrhage and hypertensive cerebro-vascular disease. *Comment from Ruling*: "..., we are persuaded that the nature and the conditions of employment of a teacher are conducive to the contraction of ailments of the brain or of the heart."

Classroom Teacher for 30 years
Cause: hypertensive ischemic heart disease with angina pertoris. *Comment from Ruling*: "appellant..., having satisfactorily shown that she has complied with the first of the above-mentioned criteria." The criterion mentioned states, thus, "If the heart disease was known to have been present during employment there must be proof that an acute exacerbation was clearly precipitated by the unusual strain by reason of the nature of his work..."

Classroom Teacher for 17 years
Cause: cerebro-vascular accident, vertebro-basilar, carotid occlusion. *Comment from Ruling*: "There is no doubt that the working conditions attendant to appellant's employment, which subjected her to stressful activities, directly contributed to the development of her ailment disabling her from work."

Elementary Grade Teacher
Cause: peptic ulcer. *Comment from Ruling*: engaged in activities "thus subjecting her to stresses, physical and emotional, that were conducive to the development of peptic ulcer."

dertaken only as offenses under the Revised Penal Code or the Civil Service Law.[25] This shortcoming makes documentation more difficult since sexual harassment has only been recently made a legal offense. There is no reliable data on the extent of sexual harassment in the workplace in the Philippines. Most are anecdotal and unsystematic.[26]

> Citing other various sources, BWYW study disclosed that: (1) there is a high incidence of sexual harassment in export processing zones where male supervisors reportedly demand sexual favors from subordinates, mostly young and single women workers, in return for employment stability, promotion or better working conditions; (2) a special form of sexual harassment is a company policy which requires female employees to wear suggestive uniforms/costumes (this practice is quite prevalent in the entertainment and hotel/restaurant industries where women are obliged to wear dresses that are usually revealing); (3) female bank employees are often asked to work overtime by male executives who have sexual designs for them; (4) workers in the entertainment industry, particularly the newcomers, are prone to sexual advances from their co-stars, directors, producers and managers; (5) female hotel employees are often physically victimized by foreign guests, with management condoning the practice in view of the "guest is always right" philosophy; (6) women applicants are sought sexual favors by male bureaucrats processing their papers in return for public teaching posts in the provinces; and (7) even female local officials are not spared from harassment, noting that their male colleagues seem to treat them as second-class legislators who refuse to sign bills they sponsored if they do not go out on dates with them.

According to Feliciano [1993], the Civil Service Commission (CSC) has "decided on a number of cases involving sexual harassment in the workplace." (No actual figures were given.) Unfortunately, these decisions have been judged lenient by women's groups since punishment usually involves only a few months suspension.

The "Double Burden"

A full circle is completed as the discussion turns to the double burden. Poitrast and Zenz [1994] point to other studies that show that "a balance of demands and resources is especially important between the work and home environments." The studies they cite indicate that women's sources of stress are more varied and dispersed compared to men's [27]. The homeworkers' study illustrates this problem of the "double burden". Homework is done together with or in between household tasks thus increasing overall work load. Many women choose to do homework in order to fulfill both roles of mother and provider. And even though a woman chooses to work in a factory, it is her work that becomes dispensable when there is a family crisis. A separation of work and family is certainly not possible. What may be desirable is a sharing of responsibilities in both spheres of life so that loses in opportunities are not missed out by both men and women. However, the current set of expectations governs women's lives and sets limits on it.

Rules and Regulations

Major legislation on occupational safety and health is ensconced in Presidential Decree 442, otherwise known at the Labor Code of the Philippines, which was enacted in 1974. The Labor Code incorporated the following four laws on occupational safety and health enacted since the Commonwealth period.

1 Commonwealth Act No. 104, the Industrial Safety Law passed in 1936
2 Republic Act 1054, the Free Emergency Medical and Dental Treatment Law approved in 1954

3 Republic Act 184, the Electrical Engineering Law passed in 1946
4 Republic Act 226, the Mechanical Engineering Law

The Labor Code is the basis for the formulation of the implementing standards, i.e., the Occupational Safety and Health Standards (OSHS). Exceptions of certain industries are specified by the Standards. Those exempted from the standards are transportation (except their base of operations) and mines. In 1978, the Law on Occupational Safety and Health Standards was passed. Amendments to this law were instituted in 1989.[28] Related laws implemented by other government agencies are listed in **Box 6.2.**

Under the DOLE, the Bureau of Working Conditions (BWC) is primarily responsible for policy planning and programming of the safety and standards laws. The BWC prepares the OSHS which it implements through its inspection programs. The BWC also has training and research functions. The bulk of the research, however, is undertaken by the Occupational Safety and Health Center (OSHC), an attached agency of the DOLE.

In a 1982 Memorandum of Agreement, occupational safety and health standards would be jointly implemented by the Bureau of Working Conditions and the Department of Health's Non-Communicable Disease Control Service, which has an Occupational Health Division. The DOLE would be responsible for safety issues while Department of Health (DOH) would take care of health and sanitation matters. Before the devolution of national government functions, DOLE's labor inspectors, who worked at the regional level, were assisted by the health inspectors at the provincial and municipal levels. But with the devolution, both agencies now have to coordinate with the Department of Interior and Local Government (DILG).

Another DOLE attached agency is the Employees' Compensation Commission (ECC). It complements the Social Security System (SSS) and the Government Service Insurance System (GSIS) in administering employee insurance. In addition to its insurance functions, the ECC also assists in settling disputes arising from claims against the SSS and GSIS. It has a listing of "recognized" occupational diseases upon which claims are based on. Together with the OSHC, the ECC updates this list according to developments in occupational health research.

The administrative organization at present remains rather complex. Research and training are overlapping functions across all agencies involved. Despite the concerted efforts by these agencies data remains inadequate. Monitoring is shared by two government institutions whose priorities lie outside of occupational safety and health.

In an economy with limited resources, coming up with the proper set of regulations is no easy task. Monitoring and implementation is even more difficult if the current administrative set-up is an indication. Work accidents have received the focus of attention because of its observability and the ease with which one can prepare for it. Yet safety awareness, in government, business, or among workers, remains a longstanding goal for many safety practitioners. The standards, laws, rules and regulations exist but implementation is insubstantial. One reason is that the DOLE "has not been authorized to exact fines from the erring establishments and sanctions for minor violations are still nonexistent."[29] In addition, DOLE has only 260 labor inspectors tasked to monitor some 350,000 firms. Thus, the need to work with the DOH. The inspectors are inadequately equipped with the necessary field instruments limiting their effectivity during inspection rounds. Moreover, issues of bribery have been raised on various occasions.

The private sector has tried to supplement these efforts through their own safety organizations but membership constitutes mostly large corporations who have the budget to implement safety programs. For many small-scale businesses safety measures only add to the cost of production and the returns are neither tangible nor immediate.

It is also important to return to the so-

Box 6.2 Laws Related to Occupational Health and Safety

The following summarizes other laws with occupational safety and health provisions that are being implemented by government agencies other than the Department of Labor and Employment. The main source is an ILO/ARPLA paper titled *Profile on Occupational Safety and Health in the Philippines* published in 1991.

Presidential Decree No. 463: The General Resources Development Act
Date enacted: May 17, 1974. The decree deals with the administration, disposition, development and exploitation of mineral lands. Of specific relevance is Chapter XII, "Mines Personnel, Inspection and Safety."

Republic Act 3814: Creation of the Bureau of Dental Health Services in the Department of Health
Date enacted: 1966. The Act amended R.A. 1054 which covered DOLE's function of ensuring employer-provided medical and dental services. The DOH and DOLE signed a Memorandum of Agreement that defined jurisdictional areas in the face of the new law.

Presidential Decree No. 856: Code of Sanitation of the Philippines
Date enacted: promulgated on December 23, 1975. The decree consolidated and updated sanitation laws. The DOH and DOLE, once again, signed a Memorandum of Agreement defining jurisdiction.

Presidential Decree No. 1096: National Building Code of the Philippines
Date: promulgated February 19, 1977. This is enforced by the Department of Public Works and Highways. The DOLE retains its functions under the Labor Code with respect to building safety particularly on Rule 1160 (Boilers), Rule 1170 (Unfired Pressure Vessels), Rule 1210 (Electrical Safety), and Rule 1220 (Elevators and Related Equipment).

Presidential Decree No. 1144: Creating the Fertilizer and Pesticides Authority
Date: signed May 30, 1977. The Fertilizer and Pesticides Authority has been hoping to sign a Memorandum of Agreement with the DOLE aimed at strengthening the National Pesticide Safety Program.

Section 6-A (II) of the Revised Charter of the Philippine Ports Authority, Dockwork Safety and Health Standards
A Memorandum of Agreement was entered between the DOLE and PPA regarding jurisdiction. The agreement centers around safety and health standards to be adopted as part of the occupational health and safety standards with the PPA being responsible for the dockwork safety and health standards.

Republic Act No. 2067: Science Act of 1958
Date: 1958. The Act vested the Philippine Atomic Energy Commission with the responsibility over the use of radioactive materials. A new law, Republic Act 6969, signed on October 26, 1990, known as the Toxic Substances and Hazardous and Nuclear Wastes Control Act of 1990, covers the use and movement of hazardous and nuclear wastes in the country. The Department of Environment and Natural Resources is the implementing agency.

cial concept of safety and danger. Since danger is associated closely with masculinity, rules and laws that deal with safety usually attempt to address these types of dangers. For example, laws supplementing the OSHS that specifically identify its target groups such as Chapter XII: "Mines Personnel, Inspection and Safety" of the General Resources Development Act (P.D. 463)[30] protect workers in mining, which happens to be a male-dominated industry. Another example is the Dockwork Safety and Health Standards[31] that have a bearing on shipping companies or agents, hauling and trucking firms, stevedoring contractors and those providing maritime and ancillary services within the area of the Philippine Ports Authority (PPA). More likely than not, the workers involved will be males. In effect, the rules and laws on safety and health while extremely important[32] invariably protect the male workers.

Changes to the OSHS began in 1989 after an assessment conducted by the BWC with funding from the ILO-Manila. Three important changes to the Law on Occupational Safety and Standards, albeit minor, may be noted. The title of Rule 1040 was changed from *Safety Committee* to *Health and Safety Committee* pointing to much broader considerations. Another title change involving Rule 1960 was done, from *Medical and Dental Ser-*

vices to *Occupational Health Services*, to "emphasize the preventive as well as the curative aspects of occupational medicine." Lastly, Rule 1070 allowed for the creation of a Technical Committee within DOLE tasked with "reviewing and updating threshold limit values (TLVs), permissible noise exposure levels, and other technical standards for eventual implementation in establishments." This rule also calls for a periodic evaluation of the working environment by "competent" medical and safety personnel. The evaluation requires the scientific measurement of toxic substances and physical agents such as noise, ventilation, and temperature. As far as the government is concerned, strict implementation of the OSHS remains a desired goal.

While the above-mentioned laws are extremely important for overall worker safety and health, a more conscious effort on providing for the safety and health needs of working women must be undertaken. Women's safety becomes neglected because of the assumption that their jobs do not expose them to risks. It must be recognized that dangers do not come in a singular form but are as diverse as the multitude of equipment, production processes and raw materials used in the production world. An unenlightened view of safety and health compromises working women's safety and health.

Concluding Remarks

Throughout the study, identifying hazards faced by women workers has been arduous. In the first place, data on occupational safety and health, in general, is sparse or incomplete. A chronicle of the less obvious dangers is not available.

The following characteristics of the Philippine labor market contribute to the risks to safety and health hazards of women workers:

- The incidence and nature of occupational segregation show that women tend to be found in low-paid and low productivity jobs, which are usually seen as extensions of domestic chores and requiring certain "feminine traits and skills."

- Another is the increasing shift away from a large centralized workplace towards more decentralized and flexible work arrangements such as subcontracting and homeworking. These types of jobs are also dominated by women. Not only are they low-paying jobs but they offer little in terms of non-wage benefits, job security and especially protection against work hazards. The work arrangement also allows women to combine work with housework, thus, increasing work intensity and stress.
- A third characteristic is the rapid growth of the service sector, a large part of which is informal. It is possible that the women proprietors in the wholesale and retail trade industry form part of this informal sector. By definition, the informal sector is not monitored and regulated so that it may be most susceptible to work hazards.

- Lastly, the inability of government to respond to unemployment problems has led to the increase in the number of overseas contract workers. In recent times, women have increasingly become dominant in this segment of the labor force. The reluctance of many receiving countries to provide protection to these workers also increases the risk of exposure to work hazards. The Contemplacion and Balabagan cases highlight women as "victims" of non-protection.

This paper concludes with the following statements which should be subjected to further scientific and medical study:

- Men may face a higher risk to physical disability than women. There may be a greater risk to permanent total or partial disability for men while women may face

greater risk in temporary partial disability.

- Women face risks to health through possibly toxic substances more than physical hazards.
- Women's occupations may tend to have negative effects on eyesight while men's occupations tend to expose them to noise.
- Women may face a greater number of stress sources than men mainly because of sexual harassment in the workplace and the "double burden."

Safety consciousness is the key to occupational safety and health in the Philippines. At very low levels of income, the choice to seek a safer working environment is simply disregarded. The primary consideration for the worker is to bring food to the table. Hence, risks pertaining to health and safety which are usually undocumented, unquantified, and, in some cases, scientifically hidden to the human eye do not immediately factor into the need for income.

A more responsive statistical system is also needed. While data and researches from other countries are useful for national policy, nothing can replace first hand data to determine the *applicable* set of policies on occupational safety and health in the Philippines. For example:

- Company doctors and other health personnel hired by private firms should be encouraged to undertake research on occupational health. This responsibility should be laid on the shoulders of the Philippine College of Occupational Medicine since their members are those immediately in contact with employees.

- The DOLE may want to explore a rider on the NSO's Labor Force Survey and the Survey of Establishments as a source of data. This may require additional training for the enumerators to enable them to recognize a firm's non-compliance of safety and health standards.

- Labor unions and other worker organizations may also want form a watchdog network that will check compliance and advocate for stricter enforcement of rules. The labor unions remain an important force in sexual harassment cases within the workplace especially when the legal environment is inadequate.

Although the ECC exists to provide additional support to employees, its use has not yet been maximized. The existing institutions are unable to handle delayed effects cases. In addition, some experts have questioned the adequacy of compensation made available to those who are able to make claims on the ECC.

An important lesson from KARASEK and THEORELL cannot be glossed over. Psychosocial stress in the workplace cannot be addressed by simply looking for and attempting to correct individual quirks. Changes in work organization can save companies and individuals costs of "therapy" sessions, a booming industry in some developed countries. Understandably, changes in work organization are difficult to do and quite painful for many, especially to those who belong to traditional schools of management.

We have ideas on the hazards that women face at work. Unfortunately, the details are not clear enough. The lack of clarity in statistics, rules and administration makes it easy to dismiss hazards in women's work. Work hazards compound the story of neglect faced by working women. What is unique about the hazards faced by women is that they are easily overlooked and more difficult to quantify. Consequently, worker productivity and quality of life, in general, become problem areas that effectively limit the extent of human development achievable by women and society.

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Notes

1 There is no clear physiological basis for these restrictions. In addition, the idea of "dangerous" work is very nearly associated with "masculinity". JOEKES [1995], p. 13. POITRAST and ZENZ [1994] point out that most of the physiologic differences between men and women do not have any differential effect on work-related health outcomes. In some cases, the differential effects are minor or inconsequential. There are a few cases, however, that should be noted.

2 The nine regions are: Region I (La Union and Pangasinan); Region II (Isabela); Region III (Bataan, Bulacan, Nueva Ecija, Pampanga and Tarlac); Region IV (Batangas, Cavite, Laguna, Quezon and Rizal); Region V (Albay and Camarines Sur); Region VI (Negros Occidental); Region VII (Cebu, Negros Oriental and Siquijor); Region IX (Basilan and Zamboanga del Sur); and Region XI (Davao del Sur and South Cotabato).

3 The five regions are: NCR; Region IV (Batangas); CAR; Region XII; and, Region VIII.

4 The survey covered five regions: NCR, Region III, Region IV, Region V, and Region VII where the bulk of homeworkers were found during the listing operation executed during Phase I of the project. The total number of respondents were 1,199,089, of which 278,736 were male and 920,353 were females.

5 1,000,000 employee-hours of exposure is equivalent to 500 workers working 2,000 hours per year.

6 Gas is used to rub off the print on flour bags.

7 Sulfur powder is used to bleach the fans.

8 BWYW, "Terms and Conditions of Work of Rural Women Homeworkers," DOLE: Manila, 1994.

9 BWC, "An Analysis of Diseases/Illnesses of Women Workers Diagnosed and Treated in the Emergency Medical Clinics of Establishments," Manila: BWC-DOLE, 1990, p. 7.

10 Ibid., p. 5.

11 Only lead is considered by the ECC as a poisonous substance.

12 Since LIN's study is rather dated, some of these substances may not be used anymore due to technological developments in the industry.

13 Small food stalls. These food stalls also provide the cheapest source of food cooked outside the home.

14 LIN [1986], p. 37.

15 The ill effects could depend on the physical form even though they are of the same substance. The effects could also depend on the route of exposure, i.e., whether the substance was inhaled, ingested, or came into contact with the skin. Ill effects could be cancer, minimum cerebral dysfunction, heart disease, fetal damage or birth defects, among others.
16 *Health and Safety in Small Industry: A Practical Guide for Managers*, Michigan: Lewis Publishers Inc., 1989, pp. 64-65.
17 CASTRO, FELICIDAD T., "The Biological Levels of Lead in Selected Workers," *Report of Proceedings: 2nd National Safety and Health Congress*, 19-20 September 1991, Diliman, Quezon City, Philippines: JICA and OSHC, 199. pp. 57-63.
18 LIN [1986], p. 36.
19 "Presentation of Scope of Psychosocial Factors and Problems at the Workplace" by DR. NAOTAKA SHINFUKU, pp. 13-16.
20 KARASEK and THEORELL [1990], p.7.
21 Ibid., p. 8
22 LIN [1986], p. 37-38.
23 BWYW, "Sexual Harassment at the Workplace," Manila: DOLE, 1991, mimeographed, p.13.
24 Ibid., p. 18.
25 MYRNA S. FELICIANO, "Sexual Harassment in the Workplace within the Philippine Context," a paper presented before the Institute on Labor Law, UP Law Center on 21 July 1993, p. 13.
26 CARMELA I. TORRES, "Sexual Harassment at Work: Cases, Issues and Recommendations," Philippine Labor Review, Vol. 16, No. 2 (July-December 1992), p. 33.
27 POITRAST and ZENZ [1994], p.835.
28 ILO/ARPLA, *Profile on Occupational Safety and Health in the Philippines*, Bangkok: ILO/ARPLA, 1991. p. 1-3.
29 ILO/ARPLA, [1991], p. 18.
30 Promulgated on May 17, 1974
31 Promulgated pursuant to Section 6-A (II) of the Revised Charter of the Philippine Ports Authority.
32 Readers need only to be reminded of the Ozone Disco fire in Quezon City to underscore this importance.

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7 Breaking the Silence: The Realities of Family Violence in the Philippines

Introduction

The efforts of the United Nations and the women's movements from all over the world to enhance women's participation in development, and to promote their human rights have generated a wealth of theoretical and empirical studies on women and gender issues. The United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) particularly helped focus attention on one of the most serious and pervasive problems of women: the problem of gender violence. In 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) was held to mobilize State Parties to take appropriate action to address the issue. This paved the way for the passage by the UN General Assembly of the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women in December 1993.

The Declaration, in its preamble, underscores that violence against women is "a manifestation of historically unequal power-relations between men and women, which have led to domination over and discrimination against women by men." It recognizes that violence against women "in the family and society is pervasive", "that it is an obstacle to the achievement of equality, development and peace", and "it both violates and impairs or nullifies the enjoyment by women of human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Violence is generally defined as an act committed with the deliberate or perceived intention of hurting another person [Gelles and Strauss in Schuler, 1992]. Gender assault, on the other hand, is a specific form of violence committed against a person because of the person's being female or male. Since women are more often the victims, the term gender violence is used interchangeably in the literature with the phrase "violence against women." The use of the term gender violence underscores the cultural and structural manifestations and causes of the problem [Schuler 1992].

Article 2 of the UN Declaration on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women defines violence against women "to encompass, but not be limited to"

(a) *Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring in the family*, including battering, sexual abuse, marital rape, female genital mutilation and other traditional practices harmful to women, non-spousal violence and violence related to exploitation;
(b) *Physical, sexual and psychological violence occurring within the general community*, including rape, sexual abuse, sexual harassment and intimidation at work, in educational institutions and elsewhere, trafficking in women, and forced prostitution; and
(c) *Physical, sexual and psychological violence perpetrated or condoned by the State*, wherever it occurs.

The family is generally regarded as a basic social institution that must be cherished,

preserved and protected. The Family Code of the Philippines declares that no custom, practice or agreement destructive of the family shall be recognized or given effect. The premise, of course, is that the family is a haven where spouses and children expect to get protection and security, a safe place of nurturing and growth. It certainly should be the last place where one gets abused physically, sexually, economically and emotionally.

Family or intra-family abuse is a specific form of violence where the victim and perpetrator are related to each other by blood or affinity. They may or may not live in the same place or belong to the same household. It must be noted here that this definition follows the legal definition of the family as provided for in the Family Code:

(a) Relations between husband and wife;
(b) Relations between parents and their children;
(c) Relations among other descendants and ascendants (e.g., grandparents and grandchildren); and,
(d) Relations among brothers and sisters.

Filipino households usually include a nuclear or extended family and non-relatives, either working for the family as domestic helper or staying in the house as permanent guests. The Family Code, however, does not specify whether non-blood relations are also considered as family members. The family may also be defined as "the ideology of relatedness that explains who should live together, share income and perform certain tasks," while the household is the organization of family members "empirically found to be living together" [FERREE 1993]. Viewing the family as an ideology that sets the standards of social and sexual relations, feminist scholars underscore the social nature of the family and not the biological (natural) connectedness of family members. They claim that when the family is assumed to be a natural or universal unit, people tend to overestimate its importance over other social institutions and marginalize those who do not have one or prefer to develop other forms of social and sexual relation [ANDERSEN 1993].

But the principle that the family is all important as upheld in the Family Code has been misused and distorted to justify an endemic Filipino culture or tradition of keeping the family intact at all costs, purportedly for the sake of the children. A restrictive culture maintains that whatever occurs in a marriage — even if it takes on a violent, criminal nature — is a private matter between husband and wife. It is a culture that tolerates violence against children and considers it within a parent's right to enforce discipline; a culture of silence that is justified by another misused value — honor. The shame of the family outweighs the abuse and violence being committed against a member, who, studies show, is most likely a woman or child, defenseless and innocent.

The feminist perspective has broadened the definition of family violence and used the term domestic violence to encompass not only family members but also the persons who live in the same household. It also sees domestic violence as inflicted on women by men in a culture that is patriarchal. In this context, the male is recognized as the supreme authority in the family: he has absolute control not only of his life (which he may conduct as he pleases) but that of his wife and children who are considered his property.

It is understandable that since domestic violence occurs in the confines of homes, it remains largely hidden and unrecognized as a problem. Only in 1985 did the United Nations make its first resolution on the problem, calling on member states to undertake research and formulate strategies to combat violence in the home. In December 1995, the UN General Assembly passed the Declaration on the Elimination of Violence Against Women.

Worldwide, the estimates of violence vary. In the United States, injuries from domestic violence outnumber those in vehicular accidents, muggings and rapes. More than three million children witness acts of domes-

tic violence every year. The figures show a vicious cycle of social deterioration often unleashed by domestic violence. More than half of abused women who are mothers beat their children. The children of abused mothers are six times more likely to attempt suicide and 50 percent more likely to abuse drugs or alcohol. Canadian estimates range from a low ratio of one in eight women to a high of one in four women being assaulted at home. Sri Lanka, India, Pakistan, and Papua New Guinea reveal a much higher incidence: namely, six out of ten women in these countries suffer physical battering and seven out of ten are emotionally abused. In the Philippines, recent estimates range from a low ratio of one in 10 women to a high of six in 10 women being assaulted at home.

Objectives of the Study

To formulate a plan of action and suggest policies that can address the problem of intra-family and household violence in a most comprehensive and integrated manner, the study was designed to achieve the following objectives:

- identify, describe and analyze intra-family and household violence in all its possible types and dimensions;
- determine the factors that contribute to this kind of violence, the situations that predispose persons to experience and commit it;
- describe and analyze the cycle or progression of events that lead to the commission of violence;
- assess the psychological, social and other effects on the victim, particularly on children and women; and,
- assess the strengths and weaknesses of existing laws, policies, mechanisms and programs that are directly and indirectly related to family violence.

Expected Outputs

The project consists of three phases:

(1) The recently concluded first phase which has two components, yielded " A Review of Conceptual Frameworks and Studies on Intra-Family and Household Vio- ence" for Component A. It provides information on the nature, forms, extent and prevalence of domestic violence in the Philippines; the characteristics of the victims as well as the perpetrators; the sociological and psychological factors that contribute to these violations. In addition, the theoretical perspectives and explanations of family violence are reviewed and examined.

Component B involves the collection and analysis of existing data sets from hospitals, women's crisis centers and shelters, government agencies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and academic research institutions. Further empirical evidence is provided on the medical, legal, social and policy dimensions of the problem. Its specific outputs include:

A Review of Philippine Laws Related to Family Violence

Analysis of 1,000 Reported and Documented Cases from Selected Government Agencies and Shelters

Focus on Child Abuse

Selected Case Studies of Family Violence

Intervention Strategies for Victims of Family Violence

(2) Phase II takes a closer look at the socio-psychological and cultural dimensions and roots of family violence through in-depth analysis of selected cases of abusers; and,

(3) Phase III is devoted to policy and program development.

Methodology

A multi-disciplinary approach to the study of intra-family violence was employed. The research team was composed of social scientists, a medical doctor, a lawyer and a clinical psychologist.

For its data collection, records, documents, client profiles, and case analyses from the following illustrative sources were collected and analyzed from hospitals, NGO shelters and government agencies, e.g., the Child Protection Unit of the Philippine General Hospital (PGH), the Morning Glory Shelter for sexually exploited and abused women and children, Philippine National Police (PNP) Central Police District-Criminal Investigation Command, Camp Karingal and five shelters for women and children of the DSWD in Metro Manila, Cebu City, Davao City and Cagayan de Oro City.

Study Findings

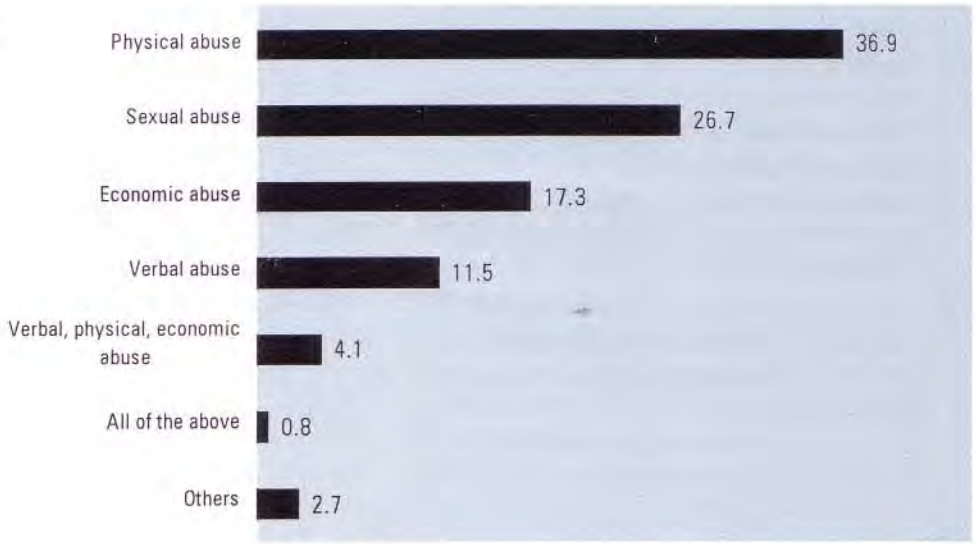
A total of 1,000 documented cases of family violence obtained from the files of both government and non-governmental organizations — including shelters and transition houses, a government hospital's pioneering child protection unit, and private clinics — covering the period from 1994 to the first quarter of 1996 was analyzed. The study found many forms and dimensions of family violence. Some of the significant findings of the study indicate that:

(1) Family violence consists of several forms of abuses — physical, verbal, economic, emotional and sexual. Physical assault accompanied by verbal and economic abuse of women or children — the common victims in the study — occurred most frequently (36.9 percent or one out of three cases), with sexual abuse an alarmingly close second (26.7 percent or one out of four), and economic abuse, third (17.3 percent). (Also touched upon, but which could still be further explored, are other variants of child abuse, such as parents forcing children to beg in the streets or selling them as prostitutes.)

These abuses occur in various combinations. Physical assault is often accompanied by verbal and economic abuse. A typical case would be an unemployed husband who batters his wife and children after a verbal altercation (a bitter quarrel). Another would be a husband who, in the course of a strained, violent marriage, abandons his pregnant wife and their children without providing support (See FIGURE 7.1).

(2) Victims experience violence repeatedly at varying periods of time, in the hands

Figure 7.1
Forms of Abuse

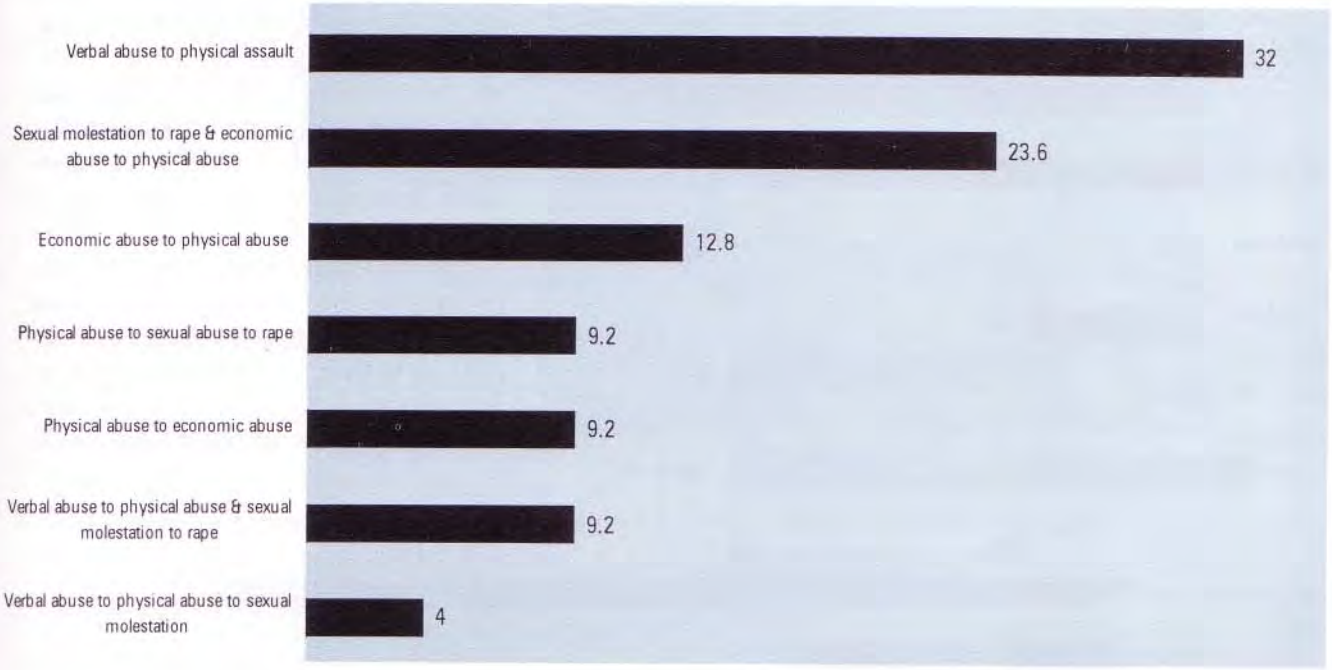


of the same or different household members, from the male spouse or father (the most frequent abuser) to the mother, siblings, in-laws and employers (in the case of domestic helpers).

One form of violence leads to another. Typical progressions are : (a) verbal abuse leading to physical abuse (30 percent or one out of three) and (b) sexual molestation leading to rape (23 percent or one out of four). In some cases, rape was also preceded by verbal abuse, physical assault and sexual molestation. Rarely is one abuse exclusive of another (See FIGURE 7.2).

(3) Almost all victims (98 percent) are women. The average age of the victims is 23 years. Three out of ten are young adult females (18-24 years old); a slightly higher number (43 percent or four out of 10) are adults (25-49 years old). The youngest victim is an infant less than two years old (See FIGURE 7.3). Most victims are educated, with almost half reaching high school, one-third reaching elemen-

Figure 7.2 Progression of Abuse



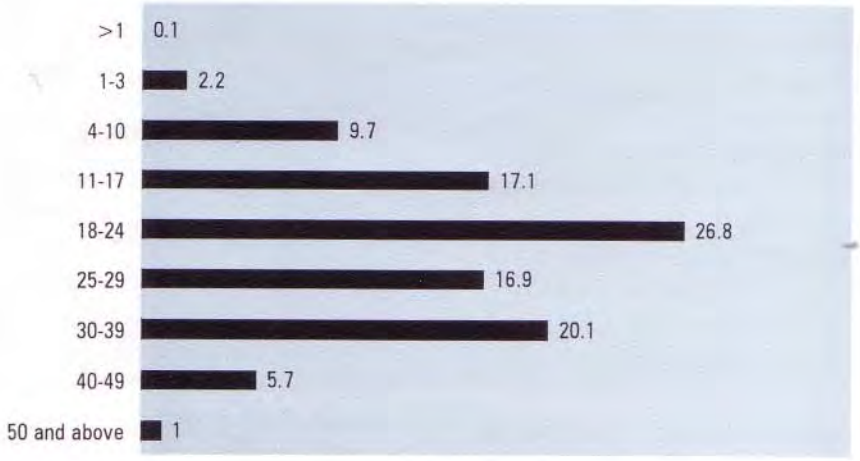


Figure 7.3
Age of Victim

tary school, and 13.1 percent, college (See FIGURE 7.4). Despite this, more than half are not gainfully employed; the rest are employed in low-paying jobs as domestic helpers (See FIGURE 7.5).

Minors (aged 0-17) comprise a third of the total victims of child abuse. More than half of the cases of domestic violence against children and minors involve some form of sexual abuse. Incest constitutes 33 percent of cases against children. Only 17 percent of the cases involve physical abuse (See FIGURE 7.6). The average age of the victims is 11 years old. One out of four victims is not even old enough to be in school; these young children slightly outnumber high-school age victims (21 percent) (See FIGURE 7.7).

(4) The most common perpetrator of assaults on women are their male spouses or partners, who account for more than half of the abuses (See TABLE 7.1). His average age of 35 years is 12 years older than that of his victim's (23 years). Generally, he is a bit more educated than his victim; only 5 percent have not gone to school (See FIGURE 7.8). Almost eight out of 10 are employed, although working in low-paying jobs: manual laborers (16 percent), farmers or fishermen (15.9 percent), production workers (2.9 percent) and service workers (26.9 percent)). In short, the abuser wields power and authority in the family.

The child molester or abuser is significantly older than his victim. Four out of 10 men who victimized children and minors are in their 30s or 40s. The abusers' average age is 36 years, 25 years older than their victims, whose average age is

Figure 7.4 Educational Attainment of Victim

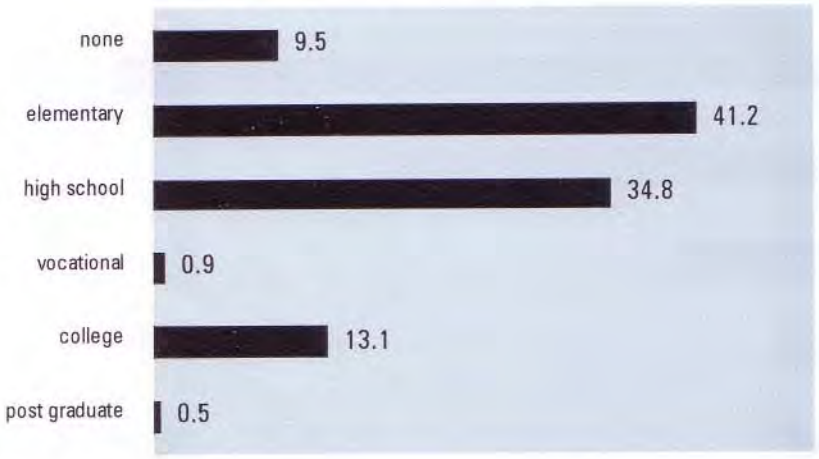


Figure 7.5 Employment of Victim

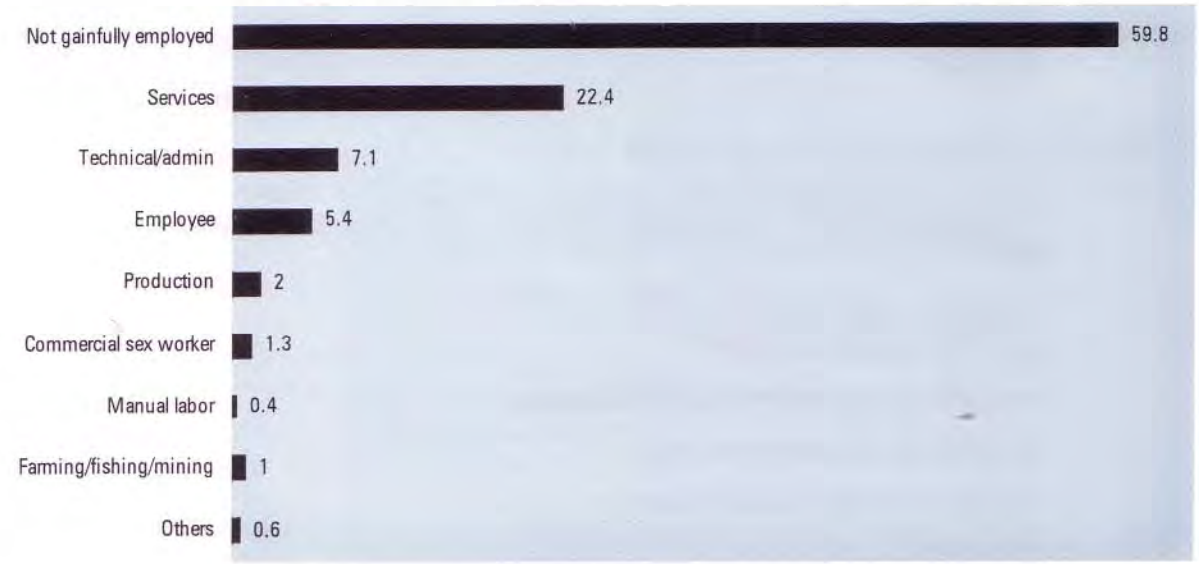
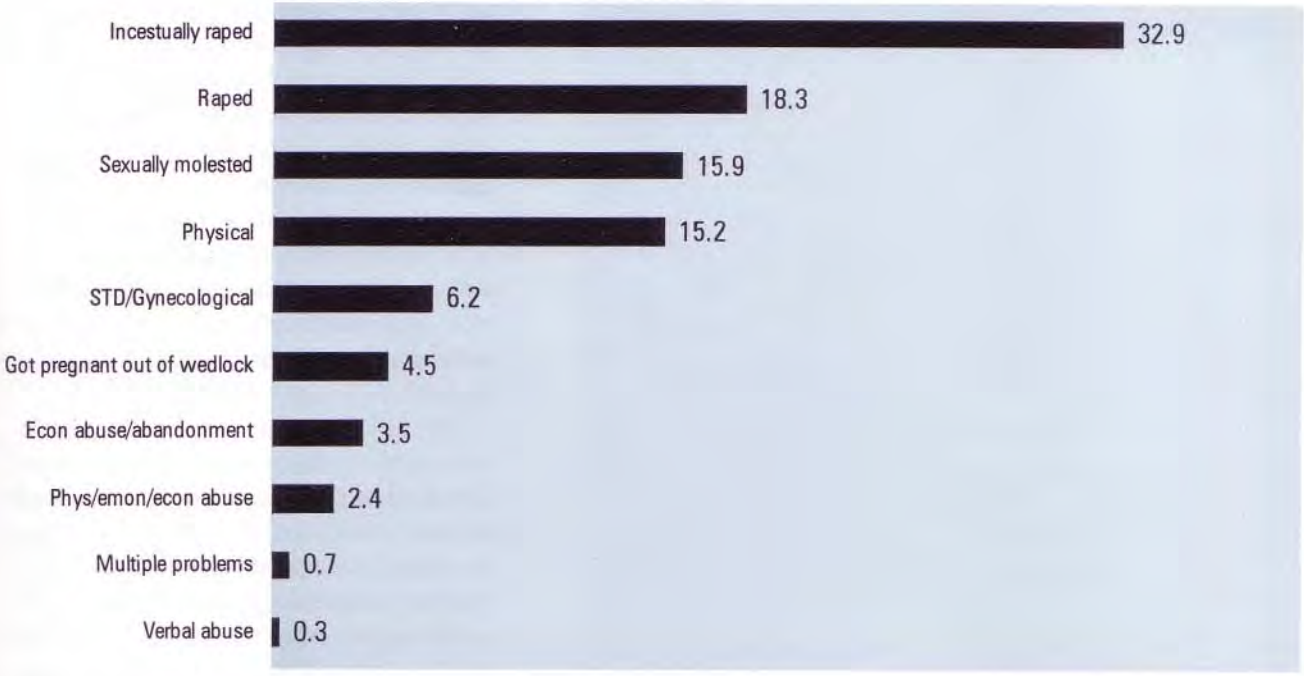


Figure 7.6 Forms of Violence Against Minors



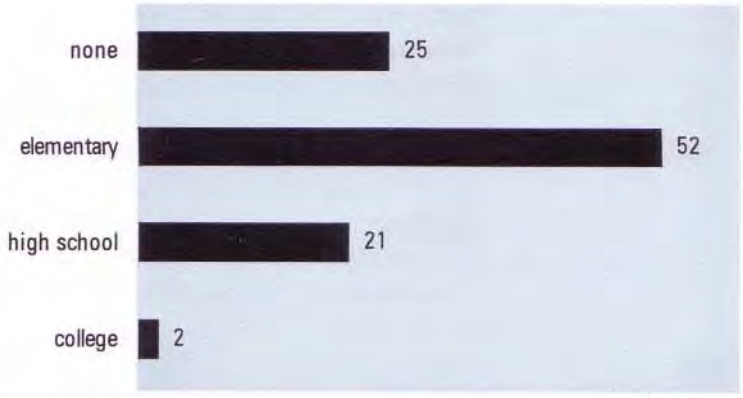
11 years. Child abusers are slightly less educated and more likely to be unemployed than perpetrators of violence; almost one-third do not have a regular job.

The most frequent abusers of female children are their fathers (29 percent), followed by their uncles (16 percent) (See TABLE 7.2). A number of incest victims have been made pregnant by their fathers.

(5) Most child abuses take place at home while the victim is alone. One out of three cases involve absentee parents. This underscores the need for supervised child care (as most of the perpetrators are male relatives) when parents go out to work (See FIGURE 7.9). Physical assault of wives are also often witnessed by children. More than half of the sexual abuses occurred at night, one-third during the day. Separate sleeping quarters or the presence of other family members appeared to be no guarantee against sexual abuse.

Economic conditions and relationships prevailing in the victim's family, such as strained relationships among

Figure 7.7 Educational Attainment of Minors



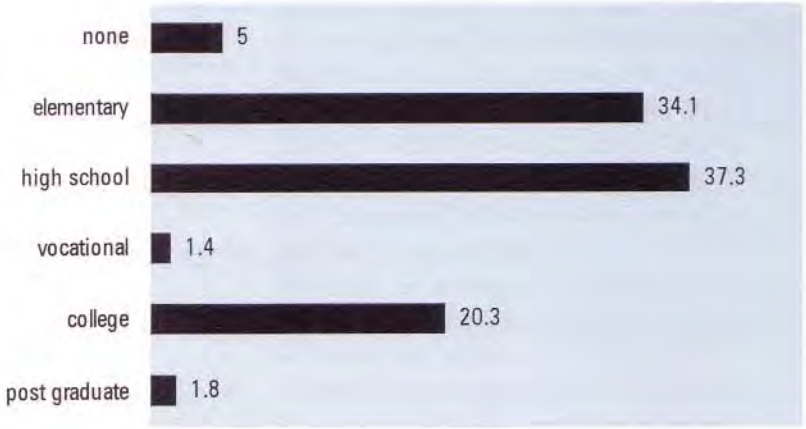
family members (26.3 percent), extreme poverty (22.1 percent) and history of abuse (28.4 percent) seem to contribute to the likelihood of violence being committed in the household (See FIGURE 7.10). In one case, a husband kicked and punched his wife in the abdomen; she was two months pregnant and his reason for the assault was that he could not afford to feed another child.

Influence of alcohol or drugs on the abusers is a major aggravating factor in domestic violence, cited in one out of

Table 7.1 The Perpetrators (%)	
husband/partner	52.0
father	12.1
employer	8.1
uncle	5.4
stepfather	3.7
male neighbor	2.5
brother	2.0
cousin	2.0
in-laws	1.8
housemate	1.2
grandparent	1.1
mother	1.1
wife	0.7
sister	0.6
foster parent	0.5
stepsister	0.3
adoptive family	0.2
others	4.7

four cases. This should draw attention to the forces that drive men to such vices. Pornographic material (magazines, videotapes, etc.), a potential aggravating factor in child molestation, accounts for a smaller number of cases (0.8 percent). Its effect, due to its availability to young and old, could however, be explored in future studies (See FIGURE 7.9).

Figure 7.8 Educational Attainment of Abuser



(6) Majority of the victims put up a fight but were overpowered by their predominantly male, older and stronger aggressors. Four out of 10 rape victims were raped five times or more before they finally sought help, for fear of reprisal from their assailants. Five out of 10 battered wives cited fear for the life and safety of their children as the reason for not reporting the abuse to the authorities . Fear was found to be a more powerful disincentive in children (seven out of 10).

All the cases that involved a significant delay in the reporting of the abuse involved multiple episodes of abuse with almost always a relative within the household as perpetrator. Reasons cited for the delay in reporting of the abuse were fear of what the abuser might do to the victim or his/her family or ignorance on how to go about reporting the case to the proper authorities/agencies. Twenty percent of cases of sexual abuse involved only single episodes of abuse that were almost immediately reported with the time lag not exceeding one week.

Fear for their lives is not the only factor in the delay. A sizable number of victims (13 percent) indicated they were afraid of losing economic support from their husbands once they report the abuse. Many battered wives suffer from a lack of self-esteem and marketable skills. Their dependence on their husbands for economic and emotional security keep them locked in an abusive situation – until it reaches crisis-level (e.g., there is an imminent threat to the victims' lives) (See FIGURE 7.11).

Lack of sexual awareness is another reason cited by nearly two out of 10 of the young victims of sexual abuse — they had no idea that they were being violated. This tragedy is compounded by the fact that the abuse is being inflicted by figures they look up to and depend upon for protection. Once these children

or adolescents report sexual abuses, they are often believed and assisted in seeking intervention from legal, medical and other pertinent professionals.

Other abuses were uncovered in schools by teachers who notice signs of distress — in some cases, pregnancy — in child victims, and in hospitals in the course of diagnosing complaints, injuries or ailments disguised as "accidental." Other prepubescent children displayed sexual knowledge way beyond their years when interviewed in shelters or hospitals.

(7) Eventually, victims were able to find help from agencies, often in the form of medical care, police protection, legal assistance as well as provisions for temporary shelter and food. In four out of 10 cases, family members, especially relatives of battered wives and mothers of child abuse victims, offered moral support and helped the victims seek help.

Table 7.2
Abuser of Minors (%)

father	28.9
uncle	16.1
stepfather	12.8
male neighbor	9.5
employer	6.6
cousin	3.7
grandparent	3.3
housemate	3.3
brother	2.9
mother	2.6
husband/male partner	1.8
in-laws	1.5
sister	0.7
foster parent	0.4
adoptive family	0.4
female partner	0.4
others	5.1

Figure 7.9 Aggravating Circumstances

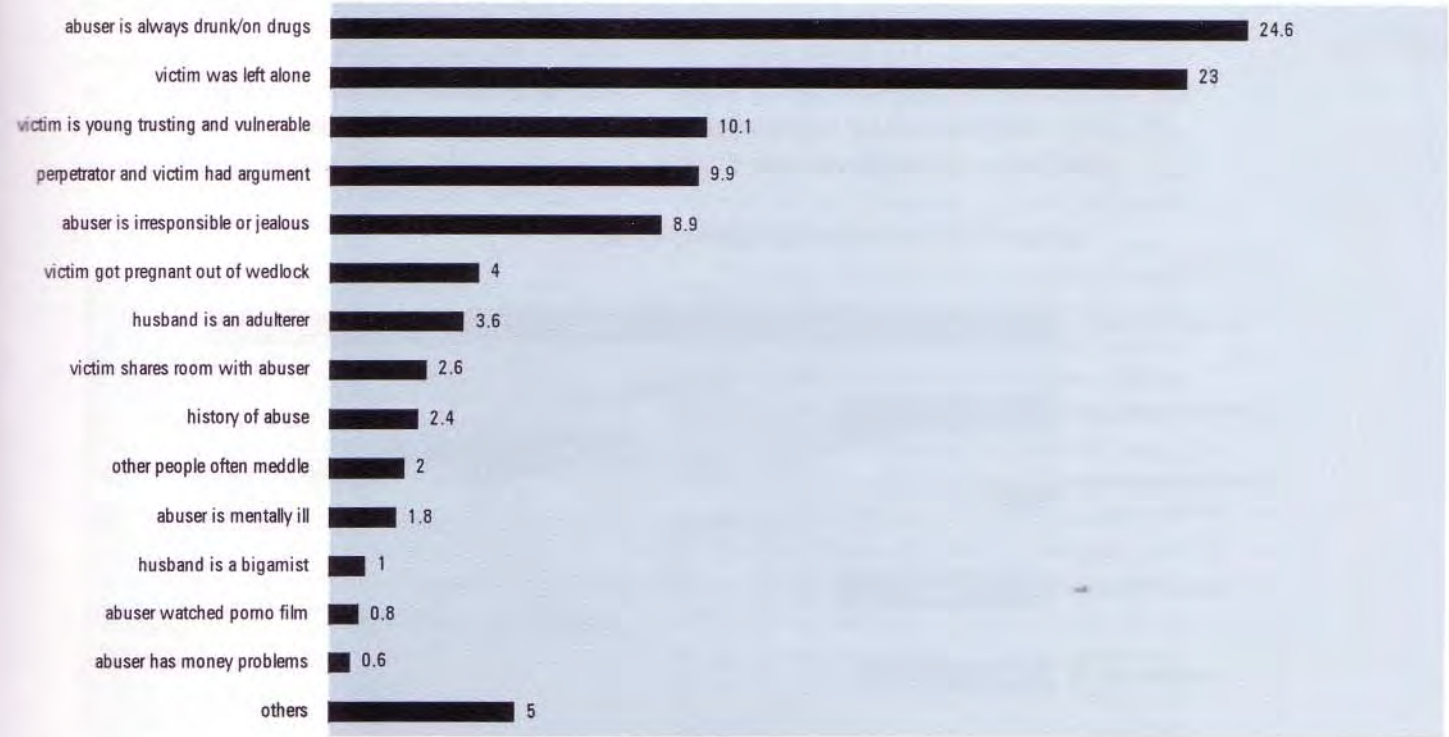
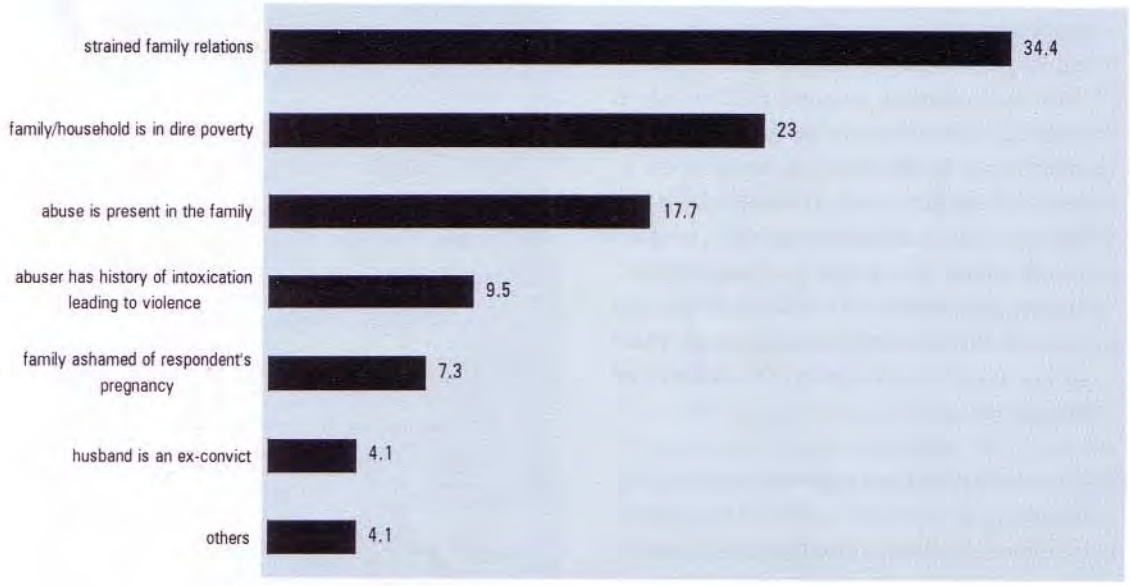


Figure 7.10 Family Background



Other victims were given counseling, value formation, skills training and other services that could prepare them for whatever options they may decide to pursue in the future. Presently, as many cases showed, prospects are limited to living with ascendants (parents, grandparents) who would accept them.

(8) Emotional trauma is the commonly cited consequence of the abuses: one-third of the victimized wives were institutionalized, the other third separated from their spouses. Nearly four out of 10 victims of child abuse had to be institutionalized as a result of the incident. The effect on both victim and family is devastating (FIGURE 7.12).

The true extent of psychological damage inflicted on the victims has not been established and should be the subject of a future follow-up to the study. But coun-

Figure 7.11 Reason for Not Reporting Abuse

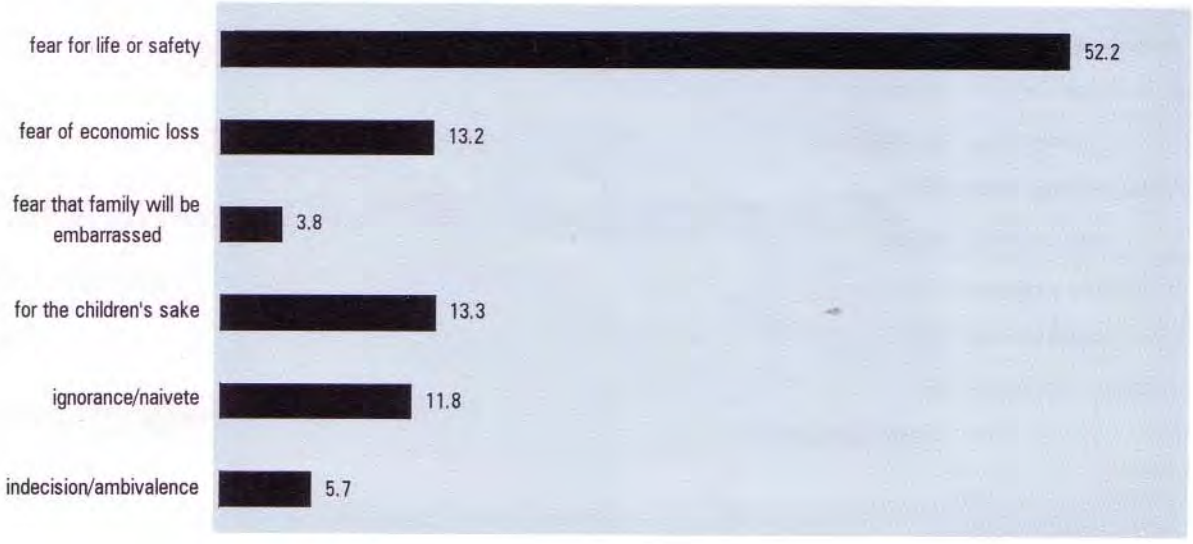
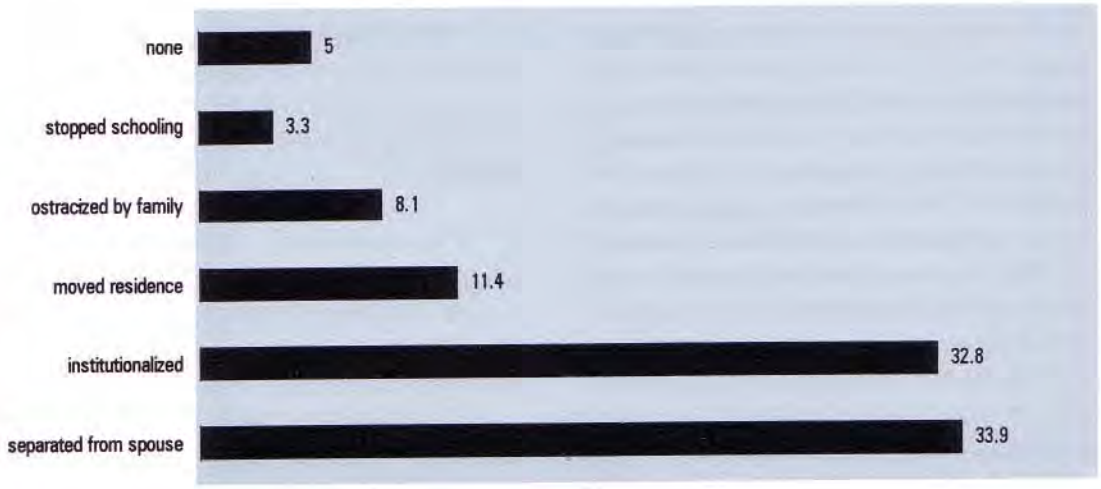


Figure 7.12 Effects of Abuse



selors and therapists described some of these effects as stunted emotional growth, childishness, low self-esteem, inability to make simple decisions, depression, and helplessness in the face of everyday problems.

Still unmanifested are deeper traumatic effects — especially in rape victims, four out of 10 of whom were raped five or more times before reporting their case to the authorities. One can only imagine their feelings of fear, shame, guilt, self-blame or rage against self that could extend to their family, especially their parents and society in general.

A Research and Policy Framework

There are compelling reasons for treating domestic violence as a problem requiring a legal solution. Recent reports, including this study, suggest alarming increases in various forms of gender-based violence in the family. While there is now some acknowledgment of the problem and the need to take action, existing laws are unable to deal with it effectively.

Breaking the cycle of violence requires policies and intervention strategies that are informed and enlightened by research and analyses, not only of incidence or prevalence but also of the causes and consequences of abuse.

At present, there are several models or schools of thought on the causes of domestic violence. The traditional analysis maintains that both abuser and victim suffer from a poor self image. It suggests that the victim is a masochist who feels she deserves the abuse and unconsciously seeks it. This view is contested by feminist thought that portrays the woman as the perennial victim of a pervasive and endemic patriarchal culture — always at the receiving end of unequal power relations between man and woman.

The more comprehensive nested Ecological System Model takes into account various factors — ontogenetic level (predispositions, personal history and childhood experiences that contribute to family violence), microsystem (the family), exosystem (work groups, neighborhood, friendship and support groups), macrosystem (cultural values and belief systems) — that come into play in a domestic violence situation. From the therapist's point of view, low self-esteem, specifically, in an abuser's using the advantage of his power and authority over his children, and a history of domestic violence, coupled with the multiple stresses of poverty, work, child-rearing and strained family relations, are influential deter-

minants, both to the victim and perpetrator of abuse.

Perhaps, of greater concern, is the consequence of abuse in the home: to what extent is the unseen damage inflicted on the victim's life — as well as to his/her descendants and society in general? Studies show that the victim of abuse has a high probability of becoming an abuser himself/herself.

New intervention strategies both for victims and their abusers need to be pilot-tested and their effectiveness assessed systematically. A significant method in crisis intervention emerged from the study. One is the protocol used by the Child Protection Unit of the PGH, whose files were part of the study. The Child Protection Unit's informal setup yet effective documentation and diagnosis of domestic violence cases — a number of which were disguised in complaints and referrals as "accidental" cases — is a model of a hospital-based support system.

One factor however emerged from the findings, which is the need to ensure the safety, security and privacy of the victim. Hospital units or police stations handling domestic violence cases, should be adequately equipped and insulated from the rest of the public to preserve privacy and make the victim feel safe.

The valuable role of the pediatrician in the detection of signs of abuse has also emerged in the study. Pediatrics as a sub-discipline is more holistic and pediatricians function not only as clinicians but as *de facto* child psychologists and family counselors. More than any medical practitioner, a pediatrician is respected by the whole family and she or he guards the confidentiality of information regarding the cases she/he handles. Her/his training, insights, and positive reputation and influence will prove beneficial in combating domestic violence in any level — communities, hospitals, shelter, counseling centers, policy-making bodies.

Policy Approaches

A two-pronged approach to policy is crucial to the success of any strategy to make domestic violence a crime. As suggested by the *UN 1993 Resource Manual in Domestic Violence,*

(1) policies must reflect the singular nature of domestic crime and must provide support to the victim and help for the abuser; and
(2) policies must take into account the cultural, economic and political realities in our country.

Judicial and Other Reforms

The strategy will necessarily involve reforms in the judiciary and in the Philippine criminal and civil laws. It should have the following objectives:

(1) To make the five pillars of the criminal justice system (police, prosecution service, courts, correction-rehabilitation service, community) responsive to the problems of domestic or intra-family violence.

The biggest stumbling block is cultural, especially in cases of sexual abuse. For the predominantly male police force, the prevailing attitude is: the victim, if she really wanted to save her chastity, should have fought off her attacker. But as the study has shown, all victims from puberty onwards have resisted their attackers to no avail.

Although the National Police has formed several Women's Desks to handle domestic violence cases, police responding to complaints outside the station remain largely insensitive or untrained to take statements from victims. The noisy and bustling atmosphere of police stations also discourages complainants from reporting cases or filing a com-

plaint, thus keeping them locked effectively in abusive situations. In other countries such as Australia, police have set up a separate facility for interviewing sexual assault and child abuse victims in a place far from the police station and equipped with computers and recorders to document interviews.

(2) To systematize collection of data on domestic violence through the provision of a uniform intake system of reporting.

The problem of getting accurate statistics has caused a large variance in the general knowledge about the extent of domestic violence. For instance, one study said one out of 10 women were being assaulted in the home while another reported four out of 10. These other studies noted that a huge number of cases contained sketchy or undeveloped information that could otherwise have been useful in forming a clearer picture of the domestic violence situation.

Moreover, a uniform system for interviewing victims of domestic violence wherever they may run to for help — a government agency or NGO shelter, a hospital or police station — will eliminate repeated interviews which unnecessarily aggravate the victims' emotional state and further overburden the bureaucracy. In court cases, these data and information are invaluable — barring other factors like confidentiality.

(3) To provide continuous training of representatives of the pillars of the criminal justice system in the handling of domestic violence.

So far, only the women's desk personnel in police stations have been trained in the handling of domestic violence situations. The sensitivity and responsiveness to the plight of victims of domestic abuse is alien in much of the prosecution and correction services. Even the courts jeopardize the privacy of victims by bowing to pressures from the press and publicity-seeking officials.

Community leaders, like parish priests, the laity, barangay leaders and officers of home owners associations, should also be trained to aid and protect victims of family violence in their neighborhoods. A council against family violence could be formed, to report the incident to authorities and ensure immediate needs like first-aid, food and shelter, until proper help arrives or is located.

(4) To provide for public education on the evils and harmful effects of domestic violence so as to change traditional attitudes and opinions on this social problem.

At present, the publicity surrounding sensational cases remains the sole source of information. Domestic violence incidents, fortunately, still elicit public outrage. Unfortunately, the deeper issues are not closely examined and seriously addressed in schools, the media, government agencies, and even Churches Women's groups have taken the effective route of making domestic violence a political issue through lobbying in Congress and protest actions that generate publicity. Such approach will fall short, however, unless followed through by a long-term program in which family, community and the government are active participants.

Omnibus Law

In order to implement the above objectives, an omnibus law or program is needed for the prevention of domestic violence, treatment of its victims and rehabilitation of its perpetrators. This law should recognize domestic violence as a singular criminal offense or set of offenses and consolidate provisions in various bills pending in Congress.

At present, there are three bills pending in Congress, which partly address domestic violence:

- House Bill 949, "An Act to Provide a Comprehensive Program Against Wife Cruelty Increasing Penalties for Offenders Thereof;"
- Unnumbered Senate Bill sponsored by Sen Miriam Defensor-Santiago: "An Act Defining Domestic Violence Providing Penalties Thereof and Providing for Protection Orders;"
- Senate Bill 408, sponsored by Sen Ernesto Maceda: "An Act Punishing Wife Beating and Providing Penalties Thereof,"

However, these bills have to be examined, consolidated and amended in order to come up with a holistic, interdisciplinary approach to the problem of domestic violence, one that will involve the five pillars of the justice system. Such an approach is required because intra-family violence is a complex problem whose solution requires the combined and coordinated efforts of professionals from different sectors.

Local Governments

Local legislation is needed to improve the criminal justice system, especially in facilitating intervention in crisis situations. The police hold the key to an effective response to domestic violence. Research has shown that "specific police actions, such as the arrest and charging of perpetrators, have a strong impact on offenders in domestic violence cases, reducing the rate of recidivism" [*UN 1993 Resource Manual in Domestic Violence*].

Strategies, formulated by local legislators in coordination with the Department of Interior and Local Government and the National Police Commission (NPC), the overseers of the National Police, are needed to improve police handling of domestic violence. These include the need to have clear legal powers of entry, arrest and release to respond appropriately to domestic violence. A familiar occurrence is when police fail to arrest an abusive husband, who demands an arrest warrant and threatens to charge them with trespassing if they do not leave. Other police policy guidelines are needed in defining domestic violence, the conduct expected of police handling such cases, procedures in protecting victims, and police responsibility in linking them to appropriate support services [*UN 1993 Resource Manual in Domestic Violence*].

Starting at the municipal level, local government units can introduce policies or enact ordinances which incorporate the social realities in their villages (or *barangays*, which have no legislative powers). Such policies must be explained to the *barangay* leaders who will lead in the implementation at the community level.

The present *barangay* justice system has proved inadequate to handle domestic violence. Its mandate is to mediate and settle conflicts peacefully — not protect the victim and punish the offender. This attitude has reinforced the feminist view of gender bias, of "preserving family unity and harmony at all costs and for the sake of children." In one case, an abusive husband continued to beat his wife even after making repeated written pledges to the *barangay* chief who mediated between the two. The family violence council based in the neighborhood or parish is one such idea that should be considered by local government policymakers.

Moreover, experience in other countries shows that "it is essential to provide everyone in the criminal justice system with basic and uniform information on policies and procedures for handling domestic violence". This is especially needed in the community, which houses both victim and perpetrator but is the least informed on how to address the situation and why.

Support Services

Support services are urgently needed for victims of violence. While some service facilities now exist (e.g., crisis counseling, shelters for battered and sexually abused women, women's desks in police stations) to respond to the problem, there is a need to expand their geographical reach and make the facilities more victim-friendly.

As mentioned, the valuable role of the pediatrician, with her/his training, insights and influence in the family, should be considered. So should an innovative hospital service like the PGH-Child Protection Unit.

Social workers who participated in the study reported that most shelters are overcrowded. Battered wives bring their children to the shelters with them. Even money for the trip to the victims' home in the provinces become the shelter's concern.

The stress on the counselors was also glimpsed in the study. Some have experienced threats to their lives by the perpetrators of violence, who resent the counselors aiding their victims.

Along with the growing realization of the need to focus attention on the prevention, early detection and intervention in domestic violence, there is likewise a need to identify the forms of support for abusers (e.g., counseling, rehabilitation, medical care) and appropriate ways to carry them out.

Recommendations

In sum, the project would like to give priority to the following areas of concern and action:

(1) Research, Documentation and Detection of Cases

A standard intake form should be devised for various government agencies involved in the prevention and eradication of all forms of violence and exploitation, as well as in the promotion of women's welfare and protection of children and minors. These include agencies such as the Department of Social Work and Development (DSWD), the Department of Justice (DOJ), and the Department of Health (DOH), especially government hospitals where victims are brought for medical treatment. These forms should include vital information on both victims and abusers.

Sensitive indicators should be developed to detect abuse and provide information needed for medico-legal purposes and research/documentation for policy and action. This will also prevent repeated interviewing of suspected cases of abuse, particularly in the case of children and minors.

A systematic and integrated documentation of violence is needed; key agencies identified can collaborate with the National Statistics Office (NSO) and educational centers to consolidate available data and information.

Apart from information on the demographic profile of the abusers, little is known about them — their personality characteristics, personal histories and the reasons for their assaultive behavior. There are many theories and explanations for wife/child assault from psychiatry, psychology, sociobiology, sociology and feminism that need to be studied/tested in the context of Philippine culture.

- The multi-factor, multi-level theory of family violence can be used as a guide to identify critical factors that need to be studied for policy and action purposes. The explanatory power of different factors such as family ideology, patriarchy, power and powerlessness, child discipline practices, other belief-systems and values that promote and perpetuate family violence need to be studied more fully, using selected quasi-experimental designs and case studies with comparative samples.

- A study on perpetrators of family violence and an in-depth study of the con-

sequences of child abuse are sorely needed. In addition, the family must be taken as a unit of analysis to study in more depth the interaction of different forces that perpetuate violence. There is also a need to expand the data sets to include victims from the middle and upper socioeconomic groups.

- Research must also be built into existing programs: e.g., shelter/transition houses, hospital and child protection units, police women's desks, counseling, support and advocacy programs for victims of violence as well as treatment and rehabilitation programs for abusers. Research will help in assessing the effectiveness of interventions and determining alternative courses of actions.

These are problem areas that need more focused, innovative and gender sensitive research methodologies.

(2) Support Service

One of the critical areas in addressing the problem of intra-family and domestic violence is the identification and creation of appropriate forms and mechanisms of providing sustained support service for victims and their immediate family members. While certain service facilities now exist (e.g. crisis counseling, shelters for battered and sexually abused women, women's desks in police stations) to respond to the problem, there is a need to expand their reach and make the facilities more victim-friendly. With the growing realization of the need to focus attention on prevention, early detection and intervention, there is likewise a need to identify the forms of support for abusers (e.g., counseling, rehabilitation, medical care) and appropriate ways to carry them out.

Some of the possible intervention strategies include:

- establishment of community-based counseling service to victims and perpetrators of violence, integration of counseling service into existing facilities of government agencies and private organizations (e.g., counseling for family planning clients, for prisoners, for applicants of marriage license) for students, etc.;
- skills enhancement courses or activities for actual and potential victims to be integrated in existing programs of schools and government as well as private agencies. These may include training to develop assertiveness and self-confidence, family conflict management, and others;
- skills enhancement of health and medical workers to diagnose and intervene in cases of violence;
- treatment and rehabilitation of abusers; and,
- long-term counseling/therapy for abused children and children who come from violent homes.

(3) Advocacy and Education

The long-term solution to the problem of violence lies in enhancing public awareness and consciousness of the negative effects of force and assaultive conduct, not only on individuals, but on the family and society as a whole. This can be done by integrating into existing school curricula values and learning processes that promote respect for individual rights and use of non-abusive and non-violent conduct specially to resolve conflicts. Other institutions that actively serve as socialization agents (e.g., media, Churches, family planning agencies), may also be called upon to integrate such values and practices in their existing programs.

Medical, legal and other caregivers must undergo training to adequately respond to the victim's needs and rights.

Raising public awareness of issues related to family, specifically, women and child health and welfare, also requires continuous engagement in campaigns, lobbying for legislative reforms, exchange of information materials among groups and networking. Women's alliances and human rights groups

may take the lead in organizing public fora and campaigns against violence.

(4) Criminal Justice System

The criminal justice system must respond to family violence as a serious problem. This requires a consolidated approach to the problem by the five pillars of the justice system — the police, the prosecutors, courts, corrections and the community.

Legislation is urgently needed as well as community response and action to ensure that laws are enforced. A family violence council at the community level is recommended to effect this.

An omnibus family violence law or legislative program must consider a number of factors such as the creation of a unified family court with criminal jurisdiction over adults for crimes committed against family and household members, setting up emergency protection services on a 24-hour basis and training personnel to handle family violence cases.

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