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Gender-Responsive Budgeting through the CBMS Lens

Implementing the Community-Based Monitoring System in a way that facilitates gender-responsive budgeting

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List of Acronyms

AKI	Angelo King Institute
CBMS	Community-based monitoring system
CBO	Community-based organisation
CDC	Community development council
CSPro	Census and Survey Processing System
GAD	Gender and development
GDP	Gross domestic product
GRB	Gender-responsive budgeting
IDRC	International Development Research Centre
IRA	Internal revenue allotment
LGU	Local government unit
LLGRB	Local level gender-responsive budgeting
LLPMS	Local level poverty monitoring system
MDG	Millennium development goal
NGO	Non-governmental organisation
OFW	Overseas foreign workers
PRSP	Poverty reduction strategy paper
UNIFEM	United Nations Development Fund for Women

Background

This paper suggests how the Community-Based Monitoring System (CBMS), developed and implemented in 14 countries over the last ten years with financial support from the Canadian International Development Research Centre (IDRC), can be used to facilitate gender-responsive budgeting (GRB) at the local level. In particular, it looks at how CBMS can be used to support local-level GRB (LLGRB) initiatives of civil society and local government. The ideas in the paper should, however, also assist local government officials in making their budgets more gender-responsive.

The paper results from a series of international workshops that brought together CBMS and GRB practitioners. The first workshop was organised by the United Nations Development Fund for Women (UNIFEM) and the IDRC in New Delhi in November 2004. UNIFEM has been a supporter and promoter of GRB since the mid-1990s. Over recent years it has provided financial and technical support to LLGRB initiatives in a number of countries. IDRC has been the funder and supporter of CBMS development since it began. In more recent years, IDRC has also joined efforts with UNIFEM and the Commonwealth Secretariat in support of GRB initiatives.

The New Delhi workshop was primarily targeted at LLGRB practitioners who had been supported by UNIFEM. Over 70 participants attended the workshop. Included were representatives from Bangladesh, Brazil, India, Mexico, Morocco, Nepal, Pakistan, Peru, Philippines, South Africa, Sri Lanka and Uganda. One of the objectives of the workshop was to examine approaches that could be used or adapted to strengthen LLGRBs. CBMS was among the tools presented and discussed during this session, and generated keen interest among participants.

In response to this interest, the IDRC organised a follow-up meeting in Manila in March 2005. This meeting brought together a far smaller number of participants than the New Delhi workshop in order to allow detailed discussion on methodology, actors involved, policy linkages, and the value added and feasibility of linking GRB and CBMS initiatives. The initiatives represented were from Bangladesh (CBMS), India (GRB), Pakistan (GRB & CBMS), Philippines (GRB & CBMS), and South Africa (GRB). Also present were representatives of IDRC and of the Angelo King Institute (AKI), which houses the CBMS Network Coordinating Team.

The aim of the Manila meeting was to explore in more depth how the two types of initiatives could be used to enhance each other. This paper draws on the discussions and recommendation from the meeting. It is intended to serve both

to share with other CBMS and GRB practitioners what was learnt and developed, and as a first step in developing pilot GRB-facilitating CBMS systems.

The primary audiences for the paper are (i) those who are already implementing CBMS or who plan to implement it, as well as organisations providing support to CBMS implementers, and (ii) GRB practitioners, women's groups and other civil society actors interested in promoting gender equality. For the CBMS readers the paper tries to provide an understanding of what GRB is, and how CBMS can be adapted to facilitate GRB. For the GRB audience the paper seeks to explain how CBMS can be used to enhance GRB initiatives and where and how they can engage with CBMS implementers. In addition to these two audiences, the paper may be of interest to local governments, development practitioners, donor agencies, and all others who are interested in how evidenced-based decision-making can be used to enhance equity in policy-making and budgets.

The paper is divided into five sections:

- Section 1 describes the purpose and form of CBMS.
- Section 2 describes the purpose and form of GRB and, in particular, LLGRB.
- Section 3 suggests how CBMS in its standard form can be used to enhance LLGRB.
- Section 4 suggests how CBMS could be adapted so as to provide added opportunities for LLGRB.
- Section 5 provides a brief conclusion and suggestions for the way forward.

Section 1. Community Based Monitoring System[1]

1.1. Why CBMS?

The CBMS was developed in response to the need for a regular source of up-to-date information at the local level. In particular, it was seen as a way of providing necessary data for development planning and monitoring at this level. The need for such data is especially urgent where, as in many countries, government functions are being decentralised. Advocates of decentralisation often argue that one of its most important benefits is that local-level decision-makers tend to have better knowledge of the local situation than those at higher levels. The advocates also argue that decentralisation provides better opportunities for local people to participate in decision-making around government policies and programmes. Neither of these benefits will be realised automatically. CBMS attempts to enhance the chance of these benefits being

[1] This section draws heavily on CBMS Network Coordinating Team (February 2005).

realised by providing regular, reliable and relevant local data in a form that can be easily understood by local governments, decision makers and other actors.

Decision-making on policies must be based on an understanding of the situation of the people living in a particular local area. It must also be based on an understanding of the strengths and weaknesses of past and current programmes and projects. CBMS attempts to help in both these areas by providing socio-economic information about individuals, households and communities in a particular area, as well as information about the impact on these people, households and communities of government services and other activities. This second aspect constitutes a form of monitoring.

CBMS has been designed to focus very explicitly on poverty. The understanding of poverty implicit in CBMS is based on a conception that extends beyond income to incorporate other basic needs such as health, education, shelter and peace and order. The 'standard' CBMS has a carefully designed and relatively simple set of indicators, as shown in Table 1. However, the questionnaires that form the main data collection instruments for CBMS provide a much wider range of information than this core set. For example, the standard Philippines household profile questionnaire provides for 74 data elements, while the standard Philippine community profile questionnaire provides data on 50 topics.

Table 1 : Basic needs core indicators

A. Health	1. Proportion of households with child deaths
	2. Proportion of female deaths due to pregnancy related causes
B. Nutrition	3. Proportion of children aged 0-5 who are malnourished
C. Shelter	4. Proportion of households living in makeshift housing
	5. Proportion of households who are squatters
D. Water and sanitation	6. Proportion of households without access to safe water supply
	7. Proportion of households without access to sanitary toilet facilities
E. Education and literacy	8. Proportion of children 6-12 years old not in elementary school
	9. Proportion of children 13-16 years old not in secondary school
F. Income	10. Proportion of households whose income is below the poverty threshold
	11. Proportion of households whose income is below the food threshold
	12. Proportion of households who experienced food shortage
G. Employment	13. Proportion of persons who are unemployed
H. Peace and order	14. Proportion of persons who were victims of crime

The first CBMS was developed in the Philippines, and this country remains the one where the system is most advanced and widespread. However, by early 2005 the implementation of CBMS had spread to 13 other countries including Bangladesh, Burkina Faso, Cambodia, Pakistan, Nepal, Vietnam, Senegal, Sri Lanka, Benin, Ghana, India, Lao PDR and Indonesia, confirming the growing demand for local level data and the attractiveness of CBMS in this regard. CBMS is increasingly seen as having the potential to assist in monitoring of poverty reduction strategy papers (PRSPs), millennium development goals (MDGs) and other international, national as well as local development initiatives. As countries make more concerted efforts in their poverty reduction, the usefulness of CBMS to monitor the impact such initiatives and the demand for expanding CBMS to other localities or to scale up the system within the countries where the system is currently in place continues to mount. There is a growing interest to expand the CBMS system to other countries in Asia and Africa as well as in Latin America.

Although the CBMS is currently operational in 14 countries and the core CBMS indicators and processes are similar across these countries, important differences exist across countries as CBMS is being adapted to fit local realities and needs.

This paper draws largely on the CBMS Philippine experience so as to make the recommendations and observations as concrete as possible. Many of the suggestions could, however, be easily adapted for other country contexts.

1.2. Key features

The CBMS is typically implemented at the lowest administrative level (village or barangay level in the case of the Philippines). It is intended, firstly, to inform local decision-makers so that they can design and implement appropriate policies to improve the well-being of residents. It is, however, also intended for use to inform decision-making by provincial/state and national levels of government. This happens when the local government unit (LGU) uses the data generated to inform decision-makers at the higher levels about its own needs and those of the people it serves.

The CBMS tool is intended to fill gaps in the data on different dimensions of poverty provided by national surveys and censuses conducted in most countries. In particular, the CBMS fills gaps related to disaggregation and frequency.

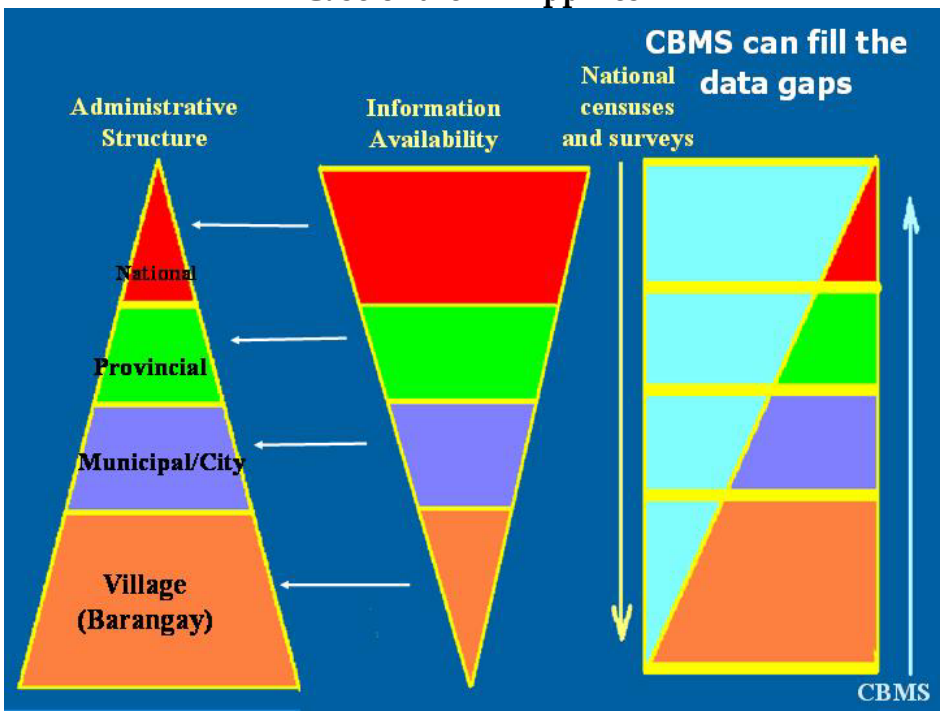
In terms of disaggregation, national surveys – because they are based on a sample – cannot usually provide adequate data in respect of the populations covered by a particular local government. This problem is particularly acute in countries with very large populations, typically found in some parts of Asia. Some local governments may be missed completely by the sampling methodology, while others may have proportions of their populations covered which are too small and unrepresentative to provide reliable estimates. In many developing countries there is also a problem of frequency in relation to surveys in that the governments of these countries do not have the financial and other resources to be able to conduct national surveys on a regular basis. Results also often take some time to be released, with obvious negative implications for their usefulness for policy-making purposes. Finally, analysis of the data usually requires skills that are scarce at local government level, especially in poorer, more rural areas.

In contrast to surveys, the national population census should cover every household and individual. However, the tendency in censuses is increasingly to restrict the number of questions to the minimum to limit the size and expense of the operation. In addition, where income and employment data are collected in population censuses they tend to be of poor quality and under-estimate both income and employment levels substantially. In terms of frequency, the overwhelming majority of countries conduct the national population census on a ten-yearly basis. Even in the few countries that conduct a census every five years,

the results typically take at least a year and often far longer to be available. This is far from ideal for policy-making purposes.

Figure 1 illustrates the mismatch between the relative number of units at each level of the administrative structure (national, provincial, municipal/city and barangay in the Philippines) and the availability of data. It shows how CBMS attempts to overcome this mismatch.

Figure 1: Administrative structure, information availability and CBMS: The Case of the Philippines



CBMS addresses the issue of data disaggregation by being focused on and in the area falling under the jurisdiction of a particular local government. In some countries like Bangladesh, Pakistan and the Philippines this involves a census of all households in the area, thus permitting disaggregation into sub-areas. In other countries, such as Senegal and Vietnam, the CBMS involves a sample survey rather than a census. However, the survey is designed so as to be able to give reliable results in respect of small areas and/or specific community groupings. For example, for the CBMS pilot in Vietnam, the implementers randomly selected households in several selected communes that were representative of different community types by rural/urban, geographic, ethnic and regional characteristics.

In terms of frequency, the aim is to conduct the CBMS on an annual or a two-yearly basis, with results available within 6 to 12 months of the final survey.

Although the availability of disaggregated information is by and large lacking in many of the CBMS implementing countries, some had local-level poverty monitoring systems before experimenting with CBMS. For example, Vietnam has a government-run community-based system for identification of poor households which is the basis for poverty interventions. Like the CBMS, this involves a census of all low-income households by local government officials or representatives of mass organisations, carried out each time a new poverty line is developed. The households to be monitored are identified primarily on the basis of observations of local leaders. The disadvantages of this approach compared to CBMS are:

- information is collected only on household income, rather than on a wider range of factors associated with poverty;
- the data processing procedures are not as strictly defined as in CBMS, and the results are thus less accurate; and
- there is too much allowance for subjectivity in identification of poor households.

In addition to the use of CBMS to provide reliable and timely information to strengthen local planning and decision-making, it can also be used as a tool for advocacy and for promoting accountability. Firstly, one can argue that when an LGU forwards the CBMS-generated data to higher levels of government and other potential sources of assistance (such as donors and the private sector), it is engaging in advocacy on behalf of the people whom it governs. Secondly, and more importantly for this paper, if CBMS is made available beyond local government officials, it can be used in advocacy by groups in civil society.

1.3. Flexibility and adaptation to local needs

The fact that the CBMS is a standardised system brings with it a range of advantages. These include significant economies of scale in that each site that implements CBMS benefits from the development that has been done for other sites. The standardisation is, however, not absolute. Thus in addition to the core questions and indicators, the CBMS can be adapted to accommodate questions which meet the specific needs of a particular locality. The process can also be adapted in various ways.

The flexibility of the system is very evident when comparing implementation across countries. However, even within the 'home' country of the Philippines, there are local differences. For example, in Palawan indicators related to the

environment have been added to the core set, while in Camarines Norte there are indicators related to natural calamities. Mandaue City has indicators on migration and the City of Pasay has information on religious activities and transient dwellers. The need to have slightly different survey questionnaire for rural and urban settings was also highlighted by the CBMS-Senegal team.

Table 2 shows the indicators being used in the Local Level Poverty Monitoring System (LLPMS), which is the CBMS-equivalent in Bangladesh. Comparison of these indicators with those shown in Table 1 above for the standard Philippines model gives an idea of the flexibility within the CBMS approach. Many of the indicators of the LLPMS could be generated from data collected in the standard Philippines questionnaires. Some, however, could not. Those that could not be collected with the standard questionnaire and which have special significance from a gender viewpoint include the indicators on birth attendance by trained personnel and the contraceptive prevalence rate.

Table 2 : Indicators used in Bangladesh's CBMS implementation

Broad Area	**Indicators**
Demography	Household size, total population, total number of households, sex ratio, population of different age groups, and population on the basis of land holding pattern.
Income poverty	Poverty head count ratio, food grain availability of household, agricultural labourer wage rate, and wage rate in the manufacturing sector.
Education & training	Net enrolment rate, dropout rate at various levels, literacy rate, number of graduates, number of people got training.
Health	Infant and child mortality, immunisation coverage, nutritional indicator, birth attendance by trained personnel, maternal mortality, morbidity and treatment pattern.
Family planning	Contraceptive prevalence rate, population growth rate.
Water supply and sanitation	Population with access to safe water, percentage of households use sanitary latrine.
Food assistance programme	Impact in reducing variability of consumption of the poorest household.
Micro credit	Skill formation, employment generation, income, source of credit.
Employment	Unemployment, under employment, movement of real wage rate.
Law and order	Major crime number, rate of conviction.
Housing & disaster management	Housing condition and other relevant indicators.
Crisis coping	Nature and coping strategy of crisis.

Source: Islam, 2005

In Vietnam, the indicators of the Community Based Poverty Monitoring System (CBPMS) are organised into three categories: the community situation, household living standards, and implementation of poverty reduction policies and measures. The community level category includes ethnicity when measuring population. Of special interest for the purposes of this paper, it has a sub-category of 'gender relationship', which has indicators for the number of female leaders in the local administrative apparatus and female members in social organisations. The category on implementation of poverty reduction policies and measures is also of interest for this paper because of the close link between policies and government budgets. The indicators for this category are:

- poverty rate and assessment on reasons of poverty;
- support to the poor in healthcare;
- support to the poor in education;
- support to the poor in improving housing conditions;
- provision of credit to the poor;
- training and agricultural extension; and
- other measures of safety nets (Vu Tuan Anh, forthcoming).

The actors involved in the implementation of CBMS vary from country to country depending on local level capacity to spearhead the work and the level of involvement of local governments in the implementation. In the Philippines, for example, the implementation of CBMS is based in the local government unit (LGU), and existing LGU staff is used as monitors (fieldworkers). While CBMS focuses on local government in all countries, in some countries the initiative is coordinated and/or implemented by other agencies. For example, in Pakistan the Pakistan Institute for Development Economics is the coordinator and implementer, while in Senegal the National Statistics Office plays this role. With respect to those involved in the collection of data (i.e., fieldworkers), in Vietnam the local administrations appointed fieldworkers from among district authorities, commune administration, hamlet/village heads, activists of social organisations and the local intelligentsia (teachers, medical doctors and retired government officers). In Senegal, all the fieldworkers are local people (rather than local government regular staff) chosen by the mayor or president of the community. In Burkina Faso, the local community chooses the fieldworkers based on a set of criteria.

1.4. The process

A typical implementation of CBMS involves the following steps:

- **Evaluation of existing monitoring systems vis-à-vis data needs** – The data needs are identified through consultations with various departments

in the local government and other stakeholders. Existing monitoring systems are also examined to see which of the data requirements can be supplied by the existing systems and where the data gaps lie.

- **Customization of the core CBMS instruments** – The core CBMS indicators are customised to incorporate LGU-specific information requirements. In many instances both the household and community profile questionnaires are revised to include the additional items of information required.
- **Mobilization of resources** – Human, capital and financial resource requirements are outlined. Data collectors and processors are identified from the community. The availability of computers for data encoding and processing is also assessed. The budget for all the activities is prepared. Cost sharing is typically employed, with the different levels of local government providing funds to cover training costs, reproduction of questionnaires and manuals, honoraria (if any) for data collectors and supplies. The CBMS Technical Team provides technical assistance.
- Conduct of **training workshops** – Training workshops are organised for the various aspects of CBMS implementation. These typically include training on: (i) data collection; (ii) data encoding and digitising; (iii) data processing and mapping; and (iv) preparation of socio-economic profile and local development plan. The length of the training workshops ranges from one to two weeks in total.
- **Data collection –** CBMS data is collected through a household and village/community level survey and/or focus group discussions. Data collection is usually organised at one of the lowest administrative levels. For example, in the Philippines, it is collected at the barangay (village) level, in Pakistan at the Union Council level, and in Vietnam at the commune/ward level. Where the CBMS involves a census as in the case of the Philippines, a household questionnaire is administered to every household in the area covered by the local government. In cases where data are collected from a sample rather than from the whole population, a household questionnaire is administered to households included in the sample. In addition, a community questionnaire is administered to local government staff. Existing local personnel (staff of local government, health and community workers, teachers, etc.) are recruited and trained as enumerators and field supervisors.
- **Data processing –** There are two types of data processing at the community level depending on the capacity of human resources and availability of computers. For those without computers and/or low computer literacy, the data gathered are tallied and consolidated manually by trained data processors from the community. The data

aggregates are then sent to higher level of local government for consolidation and analysis. CSPro, SPSS or Excel are often used at this or earlier stage of data processing because of their easy availability. For those communities with computers and adequate computer literacy, computerised processing is done even at the community level. Consolidation is done at the next higher geopolitical level.

- **Validation –** The processed data is presented back to local government officials and community representatives where the results are presented to ensure accuracy of the data. In this forum, the problems of the community and their causes are identified, and possible solutions are discussed by the community members and by government officials.
- **Establishment of database at the local level –** Data banks are established at the local level for planning and monitoring purposes.
- **Use of CBMS-generated information for development planning, program design, and policy impact monitoring –** CBMS data and analysis serve as inputs in the preparation of development plans. These plans, in turn, should inform resource allocation as well as identify target beneficiaries or programmes and projects.
- **Dissemination of findings** – CBMS experiences and related findings are made available to planning bodies, programme implementers and other groups through data boards, computerised databanks, publications, workshops and other fora.

Section 2. Gender Responsive Budgeting

In its broadest sense, a GRB initiative analyses the government budget in terms of its impact on women and men, girls and boys. Ideally, GRB goes beyond the simple male-female split to look at how gender intersects with other factors that influence needs and interests of individuals, such as location, age, ethnicity and class.

GRB is a form of policy analysis, which goes beyond the words of policy documents to check what money is allocated to implement the policy, whether this money is spent as allocated, whom it reaches, and how/whether it changes the gender patterns in the society. What makes it different from other forms of policy analysis is that GRB initiatives view the budget step within policy as crucial. GRB advocates argue that the budget is the most important policy tool of government, because without adequate budget no other policy will be able to be implemented effectively.

The above paragraphs describe GRB as a form of policy analysis. For those in government, GRB can involve more than this in that the analysis can inform new or revised policies and programmes. For those outside government, the analysis informs advocacy.

2.2. What GRB is not

Most GRB initiatives do not propose having separate budgets for women, men, girls or boys. Instead, the aim is to bring gender awareness into all policies and budgets of all agencies. This is in line with the generally accepted international approach of 'gender mainstreaming'. Some GRB initiatives have, however, tended to focus on special allocations for gender or women. In Philippines, for example, it has for many years been official government policy that every government agency, including every LGU, should allocate at least 5% of its budget for gender and development (GAD). The so-called 'GAD budget' was, however, not intended as a stand-alone initiative. It was seen as a way of supporting gender-responsiveness in the remaining 95% of the budget. In other countries, especially at the local level, some GRB initiatives have focused on women's funds, which are often put under the control of women councillors. In this paper, however, we focus on how CBMS can be used to support a mainstreaming approach to GRB.

Just as GRB is not about separate allocations for gender or women, it is also not about always aiming simply at a 50% male: 50% female split in terms of who is reached by government spending. In some cases 50:50 is desirable. In other cases it is not. Male and female people are not the same in many respects, and never will be. The government should be addressing the different needs of male and female people rather than assuming that their needs are identical. For example, women of reproductive age will tend to have greater need of health services than men of the same age. If we find that there is a 50:50 split in beneficiaries of health services, it is likely that there is bias against women.

Many people assume that gender issues, and GRB in particular, are about women. This is not true, although most GRB initiatives will tend to focus more on women and girls than men and boys. This bias is found because overall, when one compares the situation of male and female people, the latter tend to be disadvantaged. This is, however, not always the case. GRB initiatives should be as concerned about male disadvantage as about female disadvantage. One form of male disadvantage, which is increasingly found in countries around the world, relates to education, where the dropout rate for boys – particularly at secondary level – is sometimes higher than that for girls. One of the suggested reasons for this is that poor families tend to want their boy children to go out to

earn before putting pressure on their girl children to do so. This bias is fuelled by the stereotyping of males as breadwinners and by the fact that men and boys tend to earn more than women and girls. This and other biases which disadvantage males need to be acknowledged and addressed by a GRB.

2.3. Unpaid care work

One of the ways in which gender biases manifest themselves is in the differential engagement of men and women, girls and boys in unpaid care work. Unpaid care work is the work involved in caring for children, old people and sick people, housekeeping and similar activities. Economists recognise this work as productive and as producing value. However, the work is not included in calculations of gross domestic product (GDP) and is often ignored by policy makers. The fact that the work does not have money attached to it encourages the tendency to ignore it. Yet if this work is not done efficiently, it will have a negative impact on the health, well-being and productivity of people in the society. If the work requires significant time and energy, it will restrict the amount of paid productive work that can be done and thus the earnings of the people affected.

Because in all countries women do most of this unpaid care work, it is women who are most negatively affected by ignoring unpaid care work. In the Barangay Salvacion gender-oriented CBMS exercise, 34% of female respondents gave household chores as the cause of their being stressed, compared to 1% of male respondents (Reyes et al, 2004: 57). Ignoring unpaid care work thus impacts negatively both on the society as a whole and on female individuals.

Unpaid care work is often especially important when considering local government policies and budgets because several of the functions that are allocated to local government have a direct impact on the burden of unpaid care work. In many countries, for example, local government is responsible for provision of local services such as electricity and water. Where these services are not provided inside or near dwellings, it is usually women and young children who must spend time collecting water and/or fuel. Similarly, local governments are often responsible for providing or supporting childcare services. Where these services are not provided or adequately supported, it is usually women who look after children and are therefore restricted in their income-generating opportunities. In countries where local government is responsible for health services, introduction of strategies such as home-based care, which is increasingly common in countries hard-hit by the HIV/AIDS pandemic, decreases the cost to the local government budget, but increases the time and money costs placed on carers in the home, typically women and girls.

2.4. Diversity of initiatives

The above paragraphs describe general features that are common to most GRB initiatives. However, while the above description of CBMS has shown that initiatives are diverse across countries and even within countries, GRB are even more diverse. The only factor uniting them is that they all look at how government budgets impact on male and female people. Beyond that they differ in terms of motivation, focus, actors, methods, levels and sector of government among others.

In terms of actors, the most basic distinction is between government-led GRB initiatives and initiatives led by civil society. Within the government-led category, we can distinguish further between those led by the bureaucracy or executive arm of government and those led by the elected or legislative arm. (At the local government level, mayors often straddle these two arms.) Within the civil society initiatives, most are led by NGOs. However, the nature of the NGOs again differs widely, and includes women's organisations, research organisations, sector-specific organisations, professional organisations and academic institutions.

Some GRB initiatives focus on the budget as a whole. Many more focus only on selected sectors. The most common sectors for analysis are health and education, as these are sectors with significant gender implications, and which usually account for a significant amount of the budget. Education and health are also relatively easy to analyse from a gender perspective because services are delivered and outcomes achieved in terms of male or female individuals. Many initiatives also focus on agriculture and other economic sectors, in recognition of the need for economic empowerment if gender equality is to be achieved. Some have focused on protective services such as police and the justice system. This latter focus is usually chosen out of concern about gender-based violence. When doing LLGRB, the sectoral focus is obviously determined in large part by the functions allocated to local government in a particular country. In South Africa, for example, where local government functions are fairly narrow, LLGRB focuses mainly on household services.

The potential benefits for government of having a GRB initiative are very similar to those of a CBMS, namely:

- improving efficiency by ensuring expenditure benefits those who need it most;
- improving monitoring by knowing who government services are reaching;
- tracking implementation and reducing corruption;
- improving transparency and accountability; and

- reporting on progress in respect of national and international [gender] commitments.

For civil society groups, the potential benefits of a GRB are:
- increasing their participation in, or influence on, policy making;
- strengthening their advocacy and monitoring activities through improving their knowledge;
- having information to challenge discrimination, inefficiency and corruption;
- having information to propose new and different policies;
- being better able to hold public representatives and government accountable; and
- recognising the needs of the poorest and the powerless.

While every GRB initiative is different, ideally each should cover the five basic steps which should underlie all policy making and implementation, namely (a) situation analysis; (b) policy analysis and design; (c) resource allocation; (d) monitoring of delivery; and (e) evaluation of impact. What the GRB brings in added value, is explicit consideration of gender (and other axes of social disadvantage) at each of the steps.

In practice, most outside-government initiatives focus on post-budget analysis. For example, an NGO may analyse a budget when it is tabled, and do advocacy around it, including presentations before legislators, over the ensuring days, weeks and months. It can later engage in monitoring of where and how the money is spent and whom it reaches. Where governance is open and participatory, there may also be opportunities for civil society actors to get involved in the pre-budget phase, in influencing and designing programmes which are then allocated appropriate budgets.

An inside-government GRB initiative can more easily focus on the pre-budget stage, by using gender analysis when developing policies and the associated budgets. In addition, a thorough inside-government GRB will include a post-budget report at the end of the budget year stating how it has delivered in terms of money spent and what was delivered with this money.

Convincing analysis of any topic requires good information. Similarly, good policy making requires good information. It is common in writing by GRB practitioners to hear complaints about the lack of adequate data to provide adequate understanding of what government budgets are doing to address gender issues. The challenge is particularly great at the local level because of the paucity of locality-specific data. It is here that CBMS can assist.

Section 3. Marrying CBMS and LLGRB

3.1. Introduction

A careful reading of the above descriptions of CBMS and GRB reveals similarities and complementarities between the goals of the two systems. Firstly, one of the primary aims of CBMS is to assist with government targeting of those who are most needy of government assistance. This provides a neat match with one of the primary aims of any budgeting initiative, namely the prioritisation that is required in any situation when the available resources cannot meet all needs. GRB adds the 'twist' that this prioritisation should include gender as a central determinant.

Secondly, the CBMS was seen from the start as a tool to inform evidence-based policy making. In Puerto Princesa, for example, the local government undertook to build health centres in three areas where the CBMS indicated these were lacking. In Oring-Oring locality of South Palawan the barangay captain agreed to build a feeder road to enable producers to get their produce to market and ensured that 50 homes were provided with electricity connections after CBMS indicated the existence of these needs. In another barangay in the Philippines, a CBMS survey resulted in a shift of emphasis from infrastructure products to provision of social services such as child feeding (CBMS Network Updates Special Issue, December 2004: 3). The CBMS Coordinating Team is currently analysing the extent to which the system has resulted in changes in budgets in the LGUs in which it has been implemented.

GRB is also centrally concerned with policy making. In many countries gender activists have put much effort into developing gender policies, action plans, and similar documents. GRB emerged out of the realisation that unless these policies and plans have adequate accompanying budgets, they are not worth the paper they are written on.

There are, of course, also some important differences between CBMS and GRB.

Firstly, there is a difference in terms of flexibility of scope and effort. Both CBMS and GRB involve significant effort if they are to be worthwhile. Neither exercise should thus be embarked on lightly. GRB does, however, have more flexibility than CBMS in terms of the amount and duration of effort and the number of activities that must be done. With CBMS, it is pointless to do only two or three of the steps of the process because the benefit is gained only if the full process is completed. It will therefore usually be easier to build GRB-facilitating aspects into a CBMS than to incorporate CBMS into a GRB initiative if CBMS does not already exist in a country. This consideration informs the focus of this paper.

Secondly, there is a difference in terms of focus. CBMS is primarily seen as a tool for addressing poverty as one of the most fundamental aspects of disadvantage and ill-being. As discussed above, poverty is conceived as extending beyond income. Nevertheless, not all forms of social problems can be defined as poverty. In particular, while there are many overlaps between gender and poverty concerns, not all gender problems derive from poverty. Further, it is not only when gender disadvantages promote poverty that we need to act to address them. Gender equality is a goal in its own right. For example, while there is not always a direct link between gender-based violence and poverty, or between political participation and poverty, the eradication of gender violence and equal participation of women in decision-making are key gender issues in most countries. This last point is elaborated further in the next section.

Thirdly, there are differences in terms of the extent to which the initiatives are 'political'. Ultimately, all policy-related work is political and thus both CBMS and GRB are political. GRB initiatives are, however, often more overtly political than CBMS, which is seen more as a technical tool. GRB involves choices, and also involves a vision of what we want society to look like. This vision, in turn, is likely to generate debate in that not everyone will share the same vision. There is usually limited debate about how to address biological differences related to sex. However, even here, there will often be big debates around areas such as contraception and abortion. In relation to the socially determined differences which make up gender, there will be even more debates. Policy makers need to understand the gender patterns in the society, and this is an area in which CBMS can be of help by providing sex-disaggregated data on the situation of local women, men, girls and boys. Policy makers then need to decide how to respond to the gender patterns. On the one hand they can address the needs, such as for childcare, that arise from the patterns. On the other hand, they can aim to change the patterns, for example through providing scholarships for girls studying in non-traditional areas. Whether or not an LGU decides to do this depends in large part on whether the policy makers consider it a problem that women tend to be confined to certain areas of work.

GRB work requires a combination of technical knowledge with advocacy. Where GRB work is done by civil society, it should also include organising activities. The CBMS will assist primarily with the technical knowledge aspect of GRB. It will provide the facts and figures that can be used in advocacy. Some process aspects could also assist with the advocacy element. CBMS is, however, not expected to address all the advocacy and organising aspects of GRB. Those responsible for GRB will need to look elsewhere for that.

Fourthly, there might be differences in terms of what CBMS and GRB mean in their focus on participation. On the one hand, as noted above in the discussion of

GRB, one of the benefits for civil society organisations of embarking on these initiatives is enhanced participation in decision-making, particularly for women who might otherwise be excluded. On the other hand, CBMS prides itself on its participatory nature. At the most basic, the system involves the participation of local actors. In the Philippines these actors are mainly government officials and community members. In other countries there is explicit provision for participation by some non-government actors. From a GRB perspective, this participation needs to include local citizens if decision-making is to be inclusive and if it is to reflect the needs and interests of individuals from different groups.

The five steps of GRB are a useful starting point in thinking about how CBMS can assist with GRB. The first column of Table 3 describes each step. The second column gives the formal budget-speak term for this step. The third column shows what type of data is needed. To anyone with knowledge of CBMS, it will be clear that CBMS can assist in at least four of the five steps (all but the third).

Table 3 : Data requirements of the five steps of GRB

Step	Budget term	Data required
Describe the situation of women and men, girls and boys (and different sub-groups) in the sector	Situation or needs analysis	Situation description
Check whether policy is gender-responsive i.e. whether it addresses the situation you described	Policy review – 'activities'	Past performance
Check that adequate budget is allocated to implement the gender-responsive policy	Resource allocation – 'inputs'	Budget figures
Check whether the expenditure is spent as planned	Monitoring – 'outputs'	Targets & delivery indicators
Examine the impact of the policy and expenditure i.e. whether it has promoted gender equity as intended	Evaluation – 'outcomes' or 'impact'	Targets & situation description

If one examines the core CBMS indicators used in the Philippines, they all reflect either the first step (the situation to be addressed) or the fifth step (the outcomes or impact of government intervention). However, other data generated by the two standard questionnaires will help with the fourth step (output or delivery) or even the fifth step (outcomes or impact).

The first standard CBMS questionnaire captures community profile. The questionnaire is addressed to local government officials (to the barangay captain

or secretary in the case of Philippines). It typically asks for physical and demographic characteristics of the area, including population, number of households, number of registered voters, number and location of a range of educational, health and service facilities, public transportation, credit institutions, roads, water supply, waste disposal, electricity and peace and order services.

The second questionnaire provides the household profile, and it is typically administered to one person in every household in the community where CBMS involves a census or to one person in each of the sample households where CBMS does not involve a census. The topics covered range from characteristics (sex, age, tribe, education, economic engagement) of all members, water and sanitation, housing, assets, sources of income, nutrition, crime, calamities and access to government and other programmes. Questions explicitly related to outputs and outcomes are also included in most household questionnaires to assess the household's access to social programmes and the effect of the programmes on the household. Other questions that could be used to measure output include those about attendance at school, water and sanitation, and electricity.

3.2. Using the standard CBMS for LLGRB

At the Manila workshop of March 2005, CBMS practitioners were eager to be given a standard minimum set of indicators that would make the CBMS more useful for GRB purposes. The GRB practitioners were doubtful whether this was possible, given the wide diversity in GRB initiatives as well as the wide diversity in the situation of women and men, girls and boys in different localities and thus the differences in key gender issues. In addition, there are significant differences in the functions of local government between different countries. To be useful for LLGRB purposes, the indicators need to relate to functions for which local government is responsible and in respect of which they have control over the budget.

This section takes the first steps in exploring the possibility of such a standard minimum set. It suggests how the standard CBMS implementation in the Philippines could be adapted so as to make it more facilitative of GRB. It accepts the standard instruments as they are, but proposes some modifications in the CBMS process as well as modification in outputs. At least some of these suggestions could be added to existing CBMS initiatives.

As noted above, the standard CBMS data already provide valuable input for GRBs. They allow for a sex-disaggregated analysis of the situation of local people

in terms of aspects such as education and economic activity. They also provide for a situation analysis of accessibility of services such as sanitation, nutrition and health, which are of particular importance to women and girls because of both their biology and their traditional roles and responsibilities. However, the potential of the existing instrument to support LLGRB work can be further enhanced. To do this entails some modifications in the process and output.

3.2.1. Validation

Active involvement of key local actors and citizens groups in the CBMS validation process would enhance broad-based participation in budget processes and in allocation decisions. Where the current CBMS validation process is focused primarily on local government officials, this could be expanded to include other civil society groups. The Philippines local budgeting system for instance provides explicitly for civil society participation in budget making. At the local level, this happens through the community development council (CDC). The CDC is meant to include representatives from different 'sectors', including the women sector, alongside barangay captains, the municipal/city mayor and the Congress representative. The sector representatives are elected by and from NGOs accredited by the LGU.

A major drawback is that the regulations require that the CDC only be involved in respect of the investment plan and associated budget. They are not included in discussion of the recurrent budget. They also have no say over whether and which private organisations receive subsidies or grants to perform functions which government would otherwise perform. All of these are important areas of decision-making in that the salaried staff covered by the recurrent budget and the private organisations deliver key programmes that could address poverty and gender concerns.

The CDC provides a ready-made body that could be included in the validation exercise. To promote GRB, the LGU could ensure that the women's sector was sufficiently represented, and perhaps invite additional representatives beyond the CDC members.

CDC members are likely to represent the more vocal among the community, and probably not the poorest. If the LGU is interested in hearing the voices of the poor, it could organise special focus group-like sessions for those who are not office-bearers in organisations. Separate sessions should be held for women and men to ensure that both groups feel free to speak openly where this in needed.

Other countries might not have a CDC. Many, however, have similar institutions, which could, with similar adaptations, be made more women- and poor-friendly. Where such institutions do not exist in the formal framework, local government,

or even a local NGO, can constitute such an assembly and conduct a validation exercise with them.

The sub-section on dissemination below contains some further considerations for modifying the format of the presentations of data that might be necessary to ensure full and meaningful participation by women, and particularly poor and less educated women.

3.2.2. Analysis

As noted earlier, while the five steps involved in GRB exercises are commonly found in policy and budget analysis, GRB adds the gender element. This element, in turn, brings with it certain requirements in respect of data. At the most basic, it requires that data be disaggregated by sex wherever possible. This is relatively simple in respect of some government services. For example, it is easy to disaggregate data reflecting both the situation in respect of health and education and access to services because these services relate to individuals. It is, however, not a simple matter to provide disaggregated data for services, such as water, refuse and electricity, that are delivered to households. This is an important point when doing LLGRB because these are usually among the key services for which local government is responsible.

Some analysts use the concept of household head to disaggregate data, and distinguish between the situation and access to services of households headed by women and men. The standard CBMS system could be used to deliver data disaggregated along these lines because the household schedule distinguishes a household head. This approach can, however, be problematic. The first problem is the lack of a standard definition of what constitutes a household head. In some cases it will be determined by age, in other by gender, and in yet others by earning capacity. Different households even within a single barangay are likely to use different definitions. The result is that the CBMS can provide tabulations that compare apples and giraffes with mangos and elephants and thus the use of household head may not be meaningful from a data analysis/disaggregation point of view.

A second problem with using the sex of the household head to compare households is that, if one is concerned about the overall relative disadvantage of women, there are likely to be more women in male-headed households than in female-headed households. In addition, the women in male-headed households could well be more disadvantaged than those in female-headed households in respect of aspects such as lack of decision-making power and vulnerability to domestic violence.

A third problem with using the household head is that it implicitly assumes homogeneity among female-headed households. The vulnerability and poverty of a female-headed household will, however, tend to differ markedly between those which are female-headed as a result of widowhood and those which are female-headed because a young professional woman has decided to 'go it alone'.

Analysis in terms of household head should therefore not generally be used as the primary way of presenting CBMS data in a gender-sensitive way. Instead, a range of other possibilities can be explored.

Firstly, there are many questions which are already asked in the CBMS questionnaires in a way that can provide sex-disaggregated tabulations. If one takes the Philippine questionnaire for the barangay profile as an example, these include questions concerning population, registered voters, and reported cases for a range of different crimes. Similarly, in the household questionnaire, the information on the characteristics of household members (including age, tribe, education, economic activity, and nutritional status for young children), incidence of crime, and number and cause of deaths in past 12 months allow for dissagregation by sex. Thus, the standard tabulations can be sex-disaggregated in respect of the above.

Beyond simple sex-disaggregation, the standard questionnaires also provide further possibilities in terms of issues that are likely to be important in terms of gender roles and relations. In the Philippine barangay profile questionnaire, for example, the following aspects would usually be considered as particularly important from a gender perspective:

- existence and location of maternal and child clinics;
- existence and location of barangay health centres (both because women, on average, need health services more than men and because women are more likely than men to accompany family members to health services);
- family planning centres;
- day care centres;
- public transport (because men tend to dominate the use of private transport);
- markets (because women might (a) be more engaged in petty production of goods that need to be sold on a market and (b) bear more responsibility for daily provisioning of the household);
- availability of credit institutions (because of the difficulties women encounter in most societies in obtaining small-scale credit);
- electricity and water services (in situations where women and children bear the main responsibility for fuel and water collection);
- reported cases of rape and domestic violence;

- number/proportion of deaths resulting from complications of pregnancy or childbirth.

3.3.3. Dissemination

In most societies there are differences in the levels of literacy among adult women and men. Even where female enrolments and achievements for younger people are equal to, or overtake, male enrolments and achievements, past discrimination often means that inequalities remain at older ages. Similarly, while literacy levels may be equal between women and men among some groups, there may be particular tribes, castes or other groupings among which women are at a disadvantage in this respect. In societies where differences in levels of literacy exist, women might have greater difficulties than men in engaging with the result of the CBMS. A gender-sensitive CBMS will therefore need to find ways of disseminating data in different formats that make it accessible to as wide a range of local people as possible. This is particularly important if one hopes – as described above – to have full participation of women in validation and subsequent processes.

There are some useful examples of innovative dissemination approaches within the CBMS experience. For example, in Burkina Faso, the analysis of the CBMS survey is depicted in pictures and posted in the community notice board where it is accessible to the population at large. Similar innovative approaches could be adopted to enhance accessibility of the CBMS data elsewhere.

Section 4. Enhancing the CBMS to Facilitate LLGRB

The suggestions noted above require no modification to the standard instruments and could therefore be implemented in a CBMS initiative that is already underway. They only entail some modification in the way the information is disaggregated, analysed and disseminated, and in the actors involved in the validation process. This section suggests more substantial modifications that can mostly only be implemented if agreed upon very early in the CBMS process.

The first set of modifications relate to increased disaggregation within the questionnaire. As noted above, some questions already allow for disaggregation by sex in reporting. Additional disaggregation of the data can further facilitate LLGRB work. These include gender-disaggregated information on local government staff, sources of income, and access to programmes, among others. If the data can be obtained from administrative records, then they will not need to be collected by the CBMS. These data can simply be included in the databank.

The final selection of the items would need to be based on priorities identified by GRB practitioners and civil society groups in each community.

The main objective of government budget should be to impact on the lives of ordinary women and men. Government staff is usually an elite in comparison to the general population. Nevertheless, a significant proportion of any government budget is usually spent on staffing, with staff thus emerging as the most direct beneficiaries of local government budgets. From a LLGRB perspective, we need to monitor whether it is men or women who predominate among these direct beneficiaries. In addition, examination of staff patterns will reveal whether the local government is entrenching gender stereotypes or attempting to modify them. If, for example, the majority of day care workers, health workers and nutrition scholars are women while the majority of community leaders are men, gender stereotypes are being entrenched. In the community profile questionnaire therefore, it would be useful to know the number of men and women occupying each of the different types of local government posts rather than only the total. This type of data can be obtained from the records of the local government and need not be collected through the CBMS data collection instruments.

Similarly, gender disaggregated information about income is important, among others, because those who bring income into a household are likely to have increased decision-making and other powers. For this reason, in the household questionnaire, it is important from a gender perspective to know, for each of the sources of income, whether it is male or female members who are generating this income. Given the importance of overseas foreign workers in some countries in which CBMS is implemented (Philippines and Sri Lanka, among others), it might also be useful to add further questions about remittances. Similarly, capturing illness and associated use of health services (and the kind of health services used) or other programmes is essential to reveal gender differences in access to, and the use of, health and other social services. The same can be said about the data on food adequacy. Collecting such data at the aggregate household level assumes that all household members eat the same number of meals. This is not necessarily true, especially if some members are away from the dwelling during the day. Further disaggregation of this would reveal if there are gender disparities in food consumption within the household. Lastly, as noted some of the CBMS questionnaires already collect data on incidence of crime. Where this is only limited to unravelling cases of rape, it needs to be broadened to capture other forms of gender-based violence.

We have earlier noted unpaid care work as a key aspect of gender inequality. From a GRB perspective, ideally the CBMS should also include a few simple, stylised questions about allocation of, and time spent on, unpaid household duties. In addition, attention is needed as to whether the questions on economic

activities are picking up on all activities. For example, the report on the Barangay Salvacion experiment (Philippines) noted that some female respondents who were doing jobs such as helping on a farm of making sawalis did not consider themselves to be working because the work was unpaid.

Finally, if CBMS is to facilitate GRB work, it might need to include some indicators that are not directly related to poverty where these issues are highlighted as important issues from a gender equality perspective. The most obvious of these is probably gender-based violence. Beyond this indicator, to be most helpful to GRB a CBMS might need to add further indicators that reflect the particular gender concerns in a particular country or locality so that LLGRB actors can use these to advocate for better programmes and adequate allocations, as well as monitor how well existing programmes are working. The relevant concerns and indicators will depend both on the nature of gender patterns in a particular place, and the functions and (financial) responsibilities of local government in a particular country.

The above are some preliminary ideas on enhancing the use of CBMS to facilitate LLGRBs. Any serious attempt to make the CBMS more useful for LLGRB would need to engage local actors – and in particular, local gender activists – to get further input on what other key gender issues need to be covered. These ideas would then need to be taken to a CDC or similar body expanded as described above for their input and ideas.

These ideas then need to be tested against various measures. Firstly, they need to be tested against the main LGU functions. As seen from the process description above, the results of the CBMS are sent up to higher levels of government and meant to inform services at those levels as well. For LLGRB purposes, however, the focus is primarily on the local level budget. We therefore need to test (a) that all the relevant main responsibilities of local government are covered, and (b) that the gender elements do not focus too heavily on issues for which local government bears no responsibility.

Secondly, the ideas in respect of gender can be tested against various gender policies and instruments. At the international level it could be tested against the Beijing Platform for Action and/or Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women to see if any aspects, which relate to local government responsibilities and are important in the locality have been omitted. More locally, the ideas can be tested against a country's gender policy or, in Philippines, against the LGU's gender and development plan.

In terms of process, all the modifications discussed in the previous section would apply here. An additional idea is to administer the household questionnaire to

two people – a male and a female adult – in each household to see to what extent their answers differ (as is being done in the case of Pakistan). This approach was adopted in the Barangay Salvacion experiment referred to above and did reveal some differences in responses. Such differences in perception can themselves be the subject of discussion during validation and later planning exercises.

Lastly, the suggested modifications in the questionnaire as well as in the validation/dissemination processes need to be seen in the context of maintaining the relative simplicity and manageability of the CBMS work at the local level. Creating a thorough, yet complicated data gathering and analysis system will undermine the very basis of the CBMS structure – i.e., locally managed, simple and periodic assessment of poverty and well-being. This paper suggests that it is possible to use existing or slightly modified CBMS to facilitate GRBs without overburdening the system.

Section 5. Conclusion and Way Forward

As our analysis above shows, there are possibilities for, and indeed benefits from, linking LLGRB and CBMS. The CBMS can facilitate local level gender responsive budgeting and, conversely, the CBMS links with civil society groups and proactive involvement in budgetary analysis and advocacy can be enhanced through this process. While this paper has outlined some preliminary suggestions, the ways this can be done, details regarding the additional indicators to be included in the data collection instruments, the modifications in the data processing, analysis and/or dissemination stages that may be required, and the mechanisms that would strengthen civil society involvement in the whole CBMS process need to be further spelled out in each context where the combined LLGRB-CMBS is to be implemented. These modifications then need to be piloted to examine the feasibility of integrating the two systems given the local capacity and existing institutional arrangements.

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