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Basic Education and Federalism

Implications and Options for the National Capital Region (NCR)¹

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The draft Bayanihan Federalism charter defines basic education as an *exclusive power* of the federal government, while culture and language development are deemed to be exclusive to the eighteen (18) federated regions.⁴ This potential assignment of powers upends the prevailing notion that the delivery of "quasi-public goods" and "merit goods" are normally shared between federal and regional governments, with the former setting national standards to meet equity objectives and considerations (Manasan 2017, 6).

Governance of Basic Education

This new setup may simply continue the persistently and largely centralized governance of basic education. Compared with other social services such as health, basic education was not as devolved even after the adoption of the Local Government Code of 1991 (Republic Act No. (RA) 7160). It has had some, but limited, decentralization with the implementation of RA 9155 or the Enhanced Basic Education Act of 2013 (Capuno 2009).

The Governance of Basic Education Act of 2001 (RA 9155), which created the Department of Education (DepEd) from what used to be the

Department of Education, Culture and Sports (DECS), espouses the principle of *shared governance* for the national, regional, division, school district, and school levels.⁵ With RA 9155 providing the policy cover, an earnest attempt to decentralize the DepEd was carried out through the School-Based Management (SBM) reform beginning in 2001 (Bautista et al. 2009). More than a decade later, the SBM has generally been associated with better school performance as measured by student scores in the National Achievement Test (NAT) (AusAID and World Bank 2013).

Status and Performance of Basic Education

National basic and functional literacy rates as of 2013 (see **FIGURE 1** on next page) are at 96.5 and 90.3 percent, respectively, while total enrollment (see **TABLE 1** on next page) is estimated to be at 27.3 million learners. The National Capital Region (NCR)'s basic and functional literacy rates are at 99.5 and 95.3 percent, respectively, which are the highest among all Philippine regions (see **FIGURE 1** on next page).

Net enrollment rates (NER) (see FIGURE 2 on next page), completion rates, and NAT scores have

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⁴ "Powers which are given to the exclusion of other political authorities are exclusive powers." (Art. XII, Sec. 3, Bayanihan Federalism Constitution)

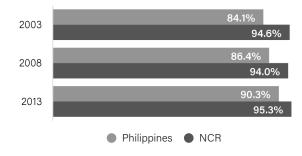
⁵ See particularly Sections 5 and 7.

FIGURE 1 Basic and functional literacy rates, 2003–2013

Basic literacy



Functional literacy



Sources: PSA 2005; PSA 2010; PSA 2015

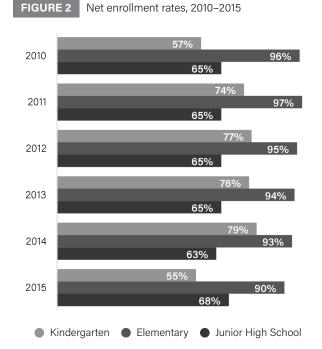
been improving albeit very gradually (see **FIGURE 3** on next page).

There have also been a sizeable and sustained increase in the annual DepEd budget, both nominally and in per capita spending (see **FIGURE 4** on next page and **FIGURE 5** on page 4).

However, education disparities based on income and sex persist (see **TABLE 2**), as the median years of completed education for females and males in the lowest wealth quintile are only 5.6 and 4.5, respectively, which are about seven years lower than those at the richest quintile and nearly four years fewer than the overall population. Females also complete an additional year of education compared to males.

Only 60.3 percent of the poorest quintile are able to attend high school, compared to 89.9 percent of the richest quintile (see **TABLE 3** on page 5). Females also have higher net attendance ratios (NAR) at both the elementary and secondary levels, with a significant difference of 8.1 percentage points for the latter.

In NCR, the total basic education enrollment is at 2.87 million learners (not counting those from the ALS) (see **FIGURE 6** on page 4), with 71.9 percent going to public schools (see **FIGURE 7** on page 4).



Source: DepEd 2016

TABLE 1 Total enrollment (in millions), 2013–2017

Level	2013	2014	2015	2016	2017
Kindergarten	2.3	2.2	2.1	1.8	2.2
Elementary	14.5	14.5	14.4	14.1	13.6
Junior High School	7.2	7.3	7.4	7.6	8.0
Senior High School	_	_	_	1.4	2.8
Alternative Learning System	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.7	_

Sources: DepEd 2016; DepEd 2017

TABLE 2

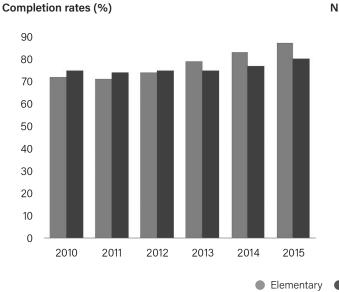
Median years of completed education by wealth quintile and sex, 2017

Weelth guintile	Median years completed				
Wealth quintile -	Female	Male			
Philippines	9.1	8.1			
Lowest	5.6	4.5			
Second	7.0	6.7			
Middle	9.3	8.6			
Fourth	10.3	10.2			
Highest	12.2	11.5			

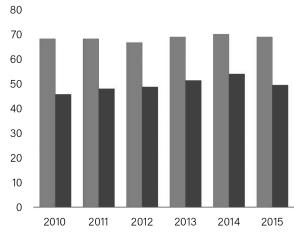
Source: PSA 2018

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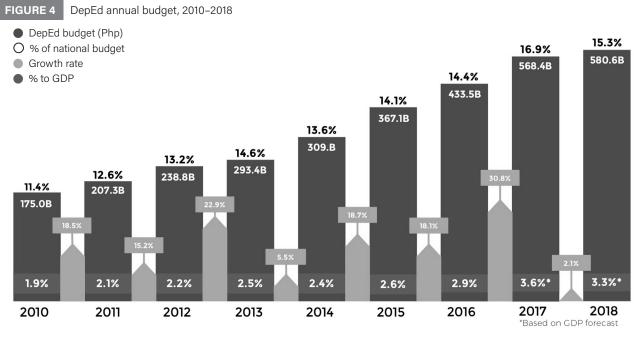


NAT overall score (%)



Elementary Secondary

Source: DepEd 2016



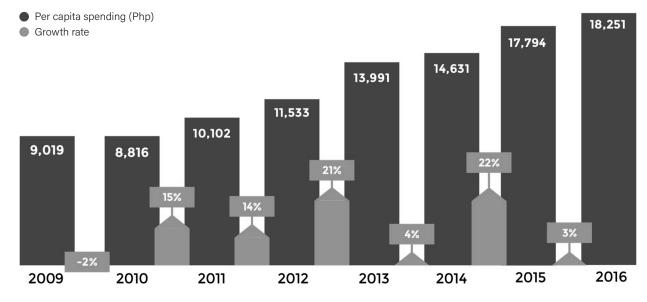
Sources: DepEd 2016; DepEd 2017

Kindergarten and elementary NERs have declined in the last two school years, while high school NERs have been increasing steadily (see FIGURE 8 on page 5). Elementary and secondary education completion rates have also been improving, although elementary NAT scores have gone down in the last three years. High school NAT scores remain flat (see FIGURE 9 on page 5).

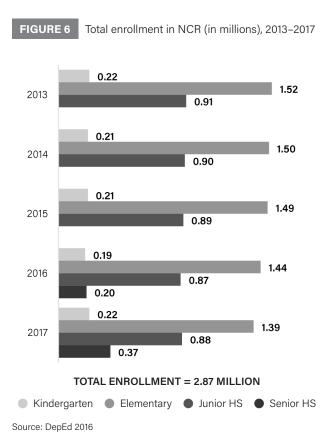
Meanwhile, the DepEd continues to face chronic challenges in basic education access, quality, and governance with the full implementation of the K to 12 Basic Education Program (de Jesus et al. 2017), the planned and ongoing expansion of the ALS (Tomacruz 2018), and the management of its considerable budget (Sta. Romana Cruz 2018).

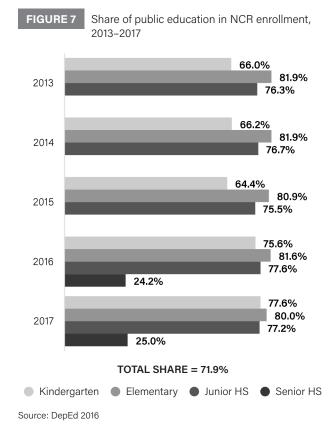
FIGURE 5 Spending

Spending per public school learner, 2010-2018



Sources: DepEd K to 12 Midterm Report presentation to the House of Representatives (2016) and DepEd presentation to the Senate (2016)





Funding for Basic Education in the NCR

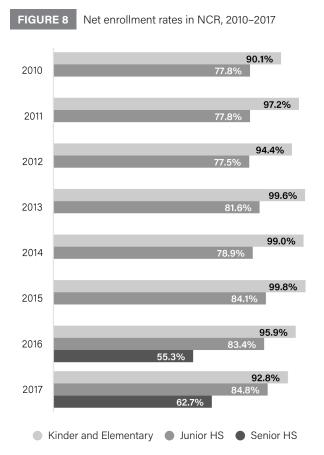
Metro Manila is the most economically developed region in the country and is accounted for 36.4 percent of the country's total gross domestic product (GDP) in 2017. NCR also had the highest per capita gross regional domestic product (GRDP) at Php 244,453, nearly thrice the national average (PSA 2018).

Local government units (LGUs) in NCR enjoy the most resources, with total revenues of around Php 95 billion against total expenditures of Php 56.7 billion in 2016 (see **TABLE 4** on next page). Of that amount, Php 16.9 billion was spent in education under the Special Education Fund (SEF) (Php 9.4 billion) or the Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development funds (Php 7.5 billion).⁶ The use of the latter is not exclusive to basic education.

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Net attendance ratios by wealth quintile and sex, 2017

Wealth quintile	Prin	Primary school			Secondary school		
	Female	Male	Total	Female	Male	Total	
PH	93.5%	92.8%	93.1%	82.5%	74.4%	78.2%	
Lowest	92.4%	91.3%	91.8%	69.0%	52.9%	60.3%	
Second	93.7%	92.3%	93.0%	81.4%	71.7%	76.3%	
Middle	94.2%	93.8%	94.0%	85.0%	79.3%	82.0%	
Fourth	94.0%	94.3%	94.2%	87.1%	83.9%	85.4%	
Highest	93.6%	93.3%	93.4%	92.0%	88.1%	89.9%	

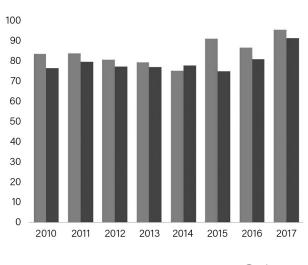


Source: DepEd Planning Service

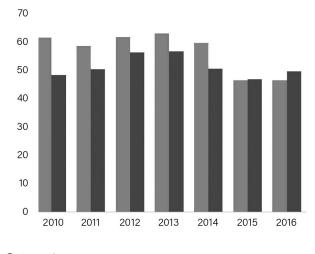
Source: PSA 2018

FIGURE 9 Completion rates and NAT scores in NCR, 2010–2016/2017





NAT overall score (%)



Elementary Secondary

Source: DepEd Planning Service

⁶ Section 235 of RA 7160 states that "[a] province or city, or a municipality within the Metropolitan Manila Area, may levy and collect an annual tax of one percent (1%) on the assessed value of real property which shall be in addition to the basic real property tax. The proceeds thereof shall exclusively accrue to the Special Education Fund (SEF)."

	2013	2014	2015	2016
Total revenues	69,949	78,941	89,621	95,026
Total expenditures	49,038	49,686	50,259	56,740
Total LGU expenditures on education	15,499	16,440	16,161	16,911
Total Special Education Fund	8,136	8,836	9,273	9,429
Education, Culture and Sports / Manpower Development	7,363	7,604	6,888	7,482
% share of education in total expenditures	31.6%	33.1%	32.2%	29.8%

TABLE 4 NCR revenues and expenditures (in million Php), 2013–2016

Sources: Bureau of Local Government Finance, Department of Finance; amounts for share of education from authors' own computations

The city of Manila spent the highest total amount in education in 2016 (see **APPENDIX**). It also had the highest SEF, while Quezon City spent the highest amount on education, culture, and sports. Valenzuela City had the highest share of education in total expenditures at 41.4 percent. Ten LGUs in NCR had at least a quarter of their expenditures devoted to education, with four spending at least a third on education. However, there were six that spent less than a fifth of their expenditures on education.

In terms of the SEF, NCR spent Php 3,496 per public school student in 2016 and at least Php 3,000 each year from 2013 to 2015 (see **TABLE 5**). The SEF per capita varies considerably per DepEd Schools Division Office (SDO). The Makati City SDO had the highest SEF per capita at Php 15,696 in 2016, followed by Pasay (at Php 8,470) and Mandaluyong (at Php 6,278). The Muntinlupa City SDO had the median value of Php 3,926, while the Las Piñas City SDO had the lowest amount at Php 747 per learner, significantly less than the schools division's annual SEF per capita from 2013 to 2015. Every other SDO had at least Php 1,000 per public school student in 2016, except for Caloocan City (at Php 993).

TABLE 5

SEF per capita of DepEd SDOs in NCR (in Php), 2013–2016

2016
3,496
993
747
15,696
1,133
6,278
4,969
1,571
3,926
1,546
2,327
8,470
4,205
2,395
5,793
2,027
4,358
-

Sources: Authors' own computations based on enrollment data from the DepEd Planning Service and SEF data from the DOF Bureau of Local Government Finance

Basic Education in the Bayanihan Constitution

Apart from the assignment of powers between the federal and regional governments, significant changes in the Bayanihan constitution include the following:⁷

- "Complete, quality education" as a "demandable" social and economic right in the Bill of Rights;⁸
- (2) Inclusion of kindergarten and tertiary levels for free public education;⁹
- (3) Inclusion of kindergarten and secondary education for compulsory education;¹⁰

⁷ Art. III, Sec. 26(c) and Art. XVII, Secs. 2, 3, 4.

⁸ "The rights under this article are demandable against the State and non-state actors, and their enforcement shall be consistent with international standards" (Art. III, Sec. 1).

⁹ Only elementary and secondary levels are deemed free in the 1987 Constitution.

¹⁰ Only elementary education is deemed compulsory in the 1987 Constitution.

- (4) Required inclusion of the federal constitution and Philippine history and culture in the curriculum;
- (5) Accreditation as a vehicle to "continually improve education institutions;" and
- (6) Incentives for autonomous education institutions.

According to Mendoza (2018), declaring these social and economic rights to be demandable against the State "makes them enforceable in the courts." It further adds that "Social and Economic Rights are different from the Civil and Political Rights because they require the positive furnishing of resources which courts obviously cannot do" and that the "attempt to enforce these rights by court action is likely to cause frustration because of expectations that the rights are demandable against the State and even non-state actors."

The inclusion of the entire basic education cycle as part of free and compulsory education is unsurprising given similar stipulations in RA 10157 (the Kindergarten Education Act) and RA 10533. However, with education becoming a demandable social and economic right in the new charter, the government will be under greater pressure to ensure that every school-age Filipino is able to access and complete quality education.

Federalism and Basic Education: Two Scenarios

Given the specific provisions of the draft constitution, there are two scenarios that may potentially define basic education governance under a federal system. The first scenario involves the federal government having exclusive power on basic education, while the second scenario envisions basic education governance as shared between the federal government and the federated regions.

Scenario 1: Federal government has exclusive power on basic education

This scenario would largely mean the continuation of the status quo, as all key responsibilities and resources will remain with the national or federal government (see **FIGURE 10**). Basic education governance will continue to adhere to the prescriptions in RA 9155 and RA 7160, particularly the provision for local school boards (LSBs).

With the current basic education structure potentially being carried over to the federal system, it is crucial that the government continues to strengthen and improve SBM (see **FIGURE 11** on next page). This will ensure that even in a substantially centralized system, schools and their personnel with the active engagement of stakeholders and local partners—can continue to be empowered to address

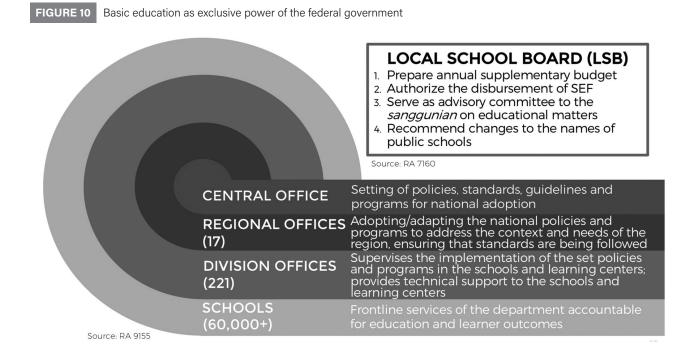


FIGURE 11 DepEd's School-Based Management Framework



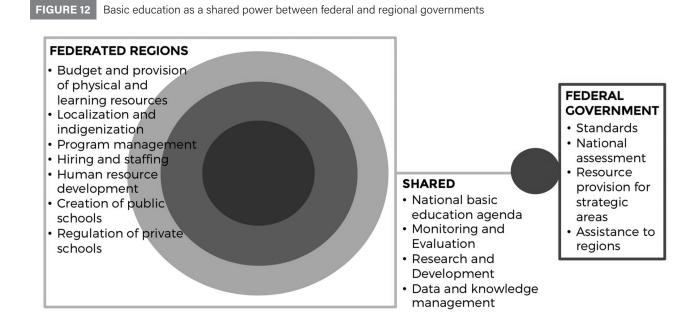
their own gaps and challenges in terms of learning outcomes, leadership and governance, resource management, and accountability and continuous improvement.

One specific area that the government may explore is increasing the pace of financial decentralization of public schools, coupled with a focus on the leadership and management capabilities of school heads and other non-teaching personnel. School-level funds still account for a meager portion of overall basic education spending (AusAID and World Bank 2013). It is equally vital for policymakers to consider how the LSB can become more effective, particularly for the majority of municipalities that do not have a sizeable local revenue base compared to cities and other higher income municipalities.

Scenario 2: Basic education as a shared power of federal and regional governments

Basic education as a shared power is the common arrangement for countries with federal systems. What is more important to determine is the balance of power between federal and regional governments and the distribution of resources and responsibilities between regional and local governments.

There are several ways to distribute power and one possibility is shown in FIGURE 12 (on next page). In this model, the federal government is mandated to set national standards (e.g., curriculum standards, learning environment, personnel qualifications and competencies), handle national and system assessments, provide resources for strategic areas (i.e., both geographic and thematic/sectoral), and give assistance or incentives to the regions, as necessary. In turn, the federated regions will be responsible for budgeting for and provision of physical and learning resources, localization and indigenization of the curriculum and programs, program management, hiring and staffing, human resource development, creation of new public schools or learning centers, and the regulation and development of private institutions. Both federal and regional governments may then share the responsibility over the articulation of a national basic education agenda, monitoring and evaluation (M&E), research and



development (R&D), and data and knowledge management.

Policymakers can determine the most optimal configuration for the country and for the basic education sector, taking into consideration regional and local economic conditions, the overall capacity of implementing units, and the effects of the transition to actors and stakeholders.

Implications of Federalism for NCR's Basic Education Governance

The NCR is and continues to be the most economically developed and resource-rich region in the country. Average family income in NCR is significantly higher than every other region and its labor force profile compares favorably with most regions, even with a 2018 unemployment rate that is higher than all but one region (see **TABLE 6** on next page). NCR also registered the highest median years of completed education and the highest basic and functional literacy rates among all regions.

Notwithstanding these advantages, the region continues to face longstanding and persistent challenges in basic education access, quality, and governance—from school congestion to uneven distribution of resources, and from difficulties in providing for conducive learning environments to challenges in meeting desired learning outcomes. In fact, NAT scores do not seem to be influenced by SEF per capita spending. It is therefore crucial to strengthen the use of SEF towards direct improvement of student learning.

Recommendations

There are several common considerations that must inform the discussions, design, and implementation of possible reforms in basic education. These include the following:

(1) The establishment of regional governments, their powers and functions, and their relation to the federal and local governments are the most crucial elements of any shift from a unitary to a federal system.

While there has been significant and justifiable attention to the creation of a federal government and the federated regions, the role of the LGUs had scant mention, if at all. Davide (2018) warns of an impending "massacre of the LGUs" in his extensive critique of the proposed federalism constitution.

A true and meaningful decentralization can only be possible with empowered and sufficiently-resourced LGUs. Otherwise, the shift to federalism will merely transfer the pronounced asymmetry of power, influence, and resources from the center (or the national

Region	Average family income (in Php)	Working age population (in thousands)	Labor force participation rate	Unemploy- ment rate	Underem- ployment rate	Median years completed (female)	Median years completed (male)
Philippines	267,000	71,319	60.9%	5.3%	16.4%	9.1	8.1
NCR	425,000	9,087	60.3%	6.6%	7.2%	10.7	10.6
CAR	282,000	1,270	61.9%	4.1%	15.2%	10.2	9.1
I	238,000	3,520	61.7%	6.8%	22.1%	9.6	9.0
11	237,000	2,402	63.9%	3.0%	19.5%	8.2	7.3
	299,000	7,889	59.9%	5.8%	11.4%	9.2	8.5
IV-A	312,000	10,096	62.7%	6.6%	13.4%	10.1	9.1
IV-B	222,000	2,093	62.0%	4.7%	20.6%	7.8	6.8
V	187,000	4,113	60.9%	4.9%	29.6%	7.8	6.9
VI	226,000	5,459	61.2%	5.3%	18.6%	8.1	6.9
VII	239,000	5,296	61.3%	5.3%	17.8%	8.0	6.8
VIII	197,000	3,155	61.2%	4.2%	21.4%	7.7	6.6
IX	190,000	2,617	56.3%	4.1%	18.9%	6.9	6.4
X	221,000	3,314	66.3%	4.1%	20.8%	8.6	7.0
XI	247,000	3,505	60.3%	4.3%	15.4%	7.7	8.2
XII	188,000	3,150	61.7%	3.9%	17.0%	7.3	6.6
Caraga	198,000	1,885	64.4%	4.0%	25.4%	8.1	6.7
ARMM	139,000	2,390	46.6%	3.7%	8.4%	5.4	4.2

 TABLE 6
 Family income, labor force data, and years of completed education by region

Sources: Family Income Expenditure Survey 2015, Labor Force Survey 2018 (end of year), National Demographic and Health Survey 2017

government) to the regional capitals (Mendoza and Ocampo 2017).

(2) While costs and benefits of basic education are best internalized at the local level, equity considerations require uniform standards across jurisdictions.

The economic underpinnings that justify the decentralization of education—including lower degree of technical complexity, more interpersonal and less interjurisdictional nature of education externalities, and lower level of information asymmetry—are in fact stronger than other services that have been substantially devolved previously such as health (Capuno 2009). The need for better equity in social services and the drive for inclusive development do necessitate the continued role of the federal government to set quality standards and to enforce these standards whenever necessary.

(3) A "big bang" approach to decentralization rarely works.

Transition mechanisms for the shift to federalism are murky at best. While there are political-economic justifications to fast-tracking the discussions about possible amendments to the 1987 Constitution, considerable time, effort, and resources must be devoted to planning any massive changes to basic education governance.

Our experience in the devolution of health provides a stark reminder of what could go wrong when the country decides to do too much too soon with too little preparation (Capuno 2008). Numerous LGUs and local chief executives continue to struggle with the complexity and challenges of leading, running, and financing the public health system. Policymakers should learn these lessons well.

(4) The new system must help improve equity and not lead to greater inequality and marginalization.

While the country's continued growth has benefited a significant number of households, development continues to be uneven. Basic education is rightfully heralded as a tool to level the playing field, but this is only true if the education system itself does not contribute to or, worse, exacerbate marginalization and inequities. Particular attention should be given to how any changes can benefit groups that have been historically underserved such as persons with disabilities, special needs learners, cultural or ethnic minorities, and lower-income families.

(5) Radical shifts in governance require a strong civil service and continuous human resource development.

As is the case of Nepal (UNESCO Office in Kathmandu 2014) and in countries that rely on local governments to lead and deliver basic education services, civil servants must be properly capacitated to take on additional responsibilities and functions. The government must also continue to invest in its human resource and organizational development assets, namely people, policies and systems, and programs. Any shift of this magnitude will take years—if not decades—for full fruition, and the bureaucracy, more so than the political class and leaders, will be shepherding this process through.

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LGU	Revenues and expenditures	2013	2014	2015	2016
Caloocan	Total Expenditures	2,645	2,212	2,318	2,885
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	639	705	583	552
	Total Special Education Fund	291	295	326	325
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	349	409	257	227
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	24.2%	31.9%	25.1%	19.1%
Las Piñas	Total Expenditures	1,621	1,570	1,566	1,744
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	464	389	416	285
	Total Special Education Fund	212	217	263	102
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	252	173	153	184
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	28.6%	24.8%	26.6%	16.4%
Makati	Total Expenditures	7,570	7,694	7,635	7,445
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	3,027	3,001	2,916	2,596
	Total Special Education Fund	1,474	1,596	1,720	1,703
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	1,553	1,405	1,196	893
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	40.0%	39.0%	38.2%	34.9%
Malabon	Total Expenditures	630	597	989	945
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	176	135	264	237
	Total Special Education Fund	95	78	83	103
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	81	57	181	134
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	27.9%	22.6%	26.7%	25.1%
Mandaluyong	Total Expenditures	2,831	2,685	2,801	2,960
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	670	673	688	833
	Total Special Education Fund	325	357	400	470
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	345	316	287	363
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	23.7%	25.1%	24.6%	28.1%
Manila	Total Expenditures	6,141	6,626	3 688 7 400 5 287 6 24.6% 5 6,992 5 3,273	7,523
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	2,296	2,926	3,273	2,935
	Total Special Education Fund	1,355	1,741	1,952	1,782
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	941	1,185	1,321	1,153
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	37.4%	44.2%	46.8%	39.0%
Marikina	Total Expenditures	1,490	1,635	1,509	1,607
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	370	360	355	395
	Total Special Education Fund	141	140	152	165
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	229	220	204	230
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	24.8%	22.0%	23.5%	24.6%
Muntinlupa	Total Expenditures	1,944	2,163	2,509	2,990
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	547	513	666	784
	Total Special Education Fund	322	308	359	419
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	224	205	307	364
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	28.1%	23.7%	26.6%	26.2%
Navotas	Total Expenditures	420	417	428	420
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	65	95	105	65
	Total Special Education Fund	33	57	72	33
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	33	37	33	33
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	15.6%	22.7%	24.4%	15.6%
Parañaque	Total Expenditures	2,949	2,415	2,030	2,914
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	1,148	842	368	506
	Total Special Education Fund	662	551	183	309
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	486	290	185	197
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	38.9%	34.8%	18.1%	17.4%

APPENDIX Revenues and expenditures of LGUs in NCR (in million Php), 2013–2016

APPENDIX

Revenues and expenditures of LGUs in NCR (in million Php), 2013–2016 (CONTINUED)

LGU	Revenues and expenditures	2013	2014	2015	2016
Pasay	Total Expenditures	2,900	2,831	2,583	3,224
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	1,027	846	814	991
	Total Special Education Fund	597	563	565	634
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	430	283	249	357
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	35.4%	29.9%	31.5%	30.7%
Pasig	Total Expenditures	3,602	4,476	3,198	3,652
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	973	1,426	1,422	1,487
	Total Special Education Fund	624	688	760	732
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	349	738	662	755
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	27.0%	31.9%	44.5%	40.7%
Quezon City	Total Expenditures	8,603	8,539	9,016	9,783
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	2,382	2,711	2,530	2,621
	Total Special Education Fund	1,309	1,282	1,471	1,409
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	1,074	1,429	1,058	1,213
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	27.7%	31.7%	28.1%	26.8%
San Juan	Total Expenditures	957	1,035	1,151	1,250
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	231	243	237	225
	Total Special Education Fund	102	116	107	120
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	128	126	130	105
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	24.1%	23.5%	20.6%	18.0%
Taguig	Total Expenditures	2,948	2,664	1,2821,4711,4291,05831.7%28.1%1,0351,15124323711610712613023.5%20.6%2,6642,863830505483296347209	4,227
Quezon City San Juan	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	978	830	505	1,114
	Total Special Education Fund	304	483	296	368
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	674	347	209	746
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	33.2%	31.1%	17.7%	26.4%
Pateros	Total Expenditures	164	130	131	163
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	17	14	16	20
	Total Special Education Fund	9	11	10	11
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	9	3	7	10
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	10.5%	10.5%	12.5%	12.6%
Valenzuela	Total Expenditures	1,620	1,996	2,540	2,900
	Total LGU Expenditures on Education	488	734	1,002	1,200
	Total Special Education Fund	281	353	552	698
	Education, Culture and Sports/Manpower Development	207	382	451	502
	Share of Education in Total Expenditures	30.1%	36.8%	39.5%	41.4%

Sources: Bureau of Local Government Finance, Department of Finance; amounts for share of education from authors' own computations



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