

THE SPATIAL PATTERN OF PHILIPPINE MANUFACTURING

By

Casimiro V. Miranda, Jr.*

Background

There has been a move in recent years to disperse industrial activity in the Philippines. This move has been prompted perhaps largely by equity considerations. It is hoped that industrial dispersion, particularly of manufacturing industries, will distribute the benefits of industrial development more or less uniformly over the different regions of the country. The increase in output and employment that a sizeable manufacturing activity would generate would have as its immediate beneficiary the people in the (depressed) region where the plant will be located.

Of course, besides equity considerations, the motivations behind such a move would include easing up the pressure of congestion on the country's only industrial center, namely, Metropolitan Manila, and slowing down, if not reversing, the pattern of rural-urban migration. If industrial dispersion takes into account sectoral-spatial linkages (as depicted by a regional input-output table), it may be an approach to the strengthening of rural-urban relations by emphasizing the role of lower-order centers especially in lagging regions. It is known that the Philippines is one of the developing countries in Southeast Asia that are faced with a considerable urban slum problem, a reflection of the inability of the industrial centers' formal sector to absorb the migrants from the country's less industrialized small cities and towns, and rural areas. This is at least one reason that has contributed to the appearance of the phenomenon of "informal sector" in developing countries. Thus, a policy of industrial dispersion is expected to have as one of its important by-products the slowing down of the proliferation of the country's migrants towards its only growth center by enhancing sectoral-spatial interdependence.

*Associate Professor of Economics, University of the Philippines. This paper was presented in the Colloquium on Rural-Urban Relations and Development Planning in Asia, sponsored by the United Nations Centre for Regional Development on 7-18 November 1977 in Nagoya, Japan.

Laudable as these objectives are, decentralization of industrial activity must be carried out with caution. The impact of industrial dispersion on the rate of capital formation, employment, income distribution, regional interdependence, and rural-urban relations and industrial-agricultural linkages need to be investigated among others, along with the question of which manufacturing industry or industries and which size firms should be the target of such a policy. The latter problem comes in because of sectoral-spatial (urban industrial-rural agricultural) interdependence which an industrial dispersion policy must aim to enhance rather than distort or dilute. To this end it is necessary that the policy have a sound theoretical and empirical basis. In this regard, the relevant questions are:

1. What is the existing location pattern of industrial activity in the country?

This question assumes relevance in a policy of industrial dispersion because if industrial activity is more or less uniformly distributed over space already, the existence of progressive and lagging regions must seek explanation from other sources. Thus, quite naturally, the next question is:

2. Is there any relationship between the prevailing spatial pattern of industrial activity and the presence of progressive and depressed areas in the country?

In the context of these questions, first of all one must look into the locational motivation of industrial firms and its consequent industrial location pattern within the framework of a market economy; and, as a sub-issue, examine which industry or industries and which size firms are largely responsible in generating the existing spatial arrangement of industrial activity. Then, a relationship should be struck between the existing pattern of industrial location and some developmental dimensions, e.g. regional productivity, regional per capita income, regional income distribution, etc. Finally, the implications of industrial dispersion — if by some criteria the spatial pattern of industrial activity calls for this — for regional growth and development and its impact on the developmental dimensions and objectives mentioned above may then be investigated.

Objective and Scope of the Study

This study is addressed primarily to the first and second considerations above, but some implications for regional development

explored by way of suggesting these as avenues for policy and for future research. Specifically, the study aims to examine empirically the regional location pattern of Philippine manufacturing and its relationship with the differences in the industry's regional productivity, one of the key developmental indices. By linking differences in regional productivity with the regional pattern of manufacturing, we are thus provided with a basis for the policy of industrial dispersion. While not being rigorously linked with the empirical findings, some factors will be shown to have a bearing on the regional pattern of Philippine manufacturing by way of their effect on its major determinants. The regional pattern of Philippine government expenditure on social overhead capital particularly its infrastructure component, and the regional distribution of the more skilled members of the labor force are examples of such factors.

In this study, "regions" refer to the eleven regional groupings of the country's provincial and urban areas (shown by the map). A more economically based regional reclassification is not attempted due to the enormity of the task. Besides, we are concerned here with the location pattern of manufacturing which is quite independent of whatever noneconomic considerations are involved behind the country's regional delineation.

The Theoretical Framework

We conceive a locational decision-making process of industrial firms in which profits exercise the *major* locational pull. "Noneconomic" factors play but a passive role.

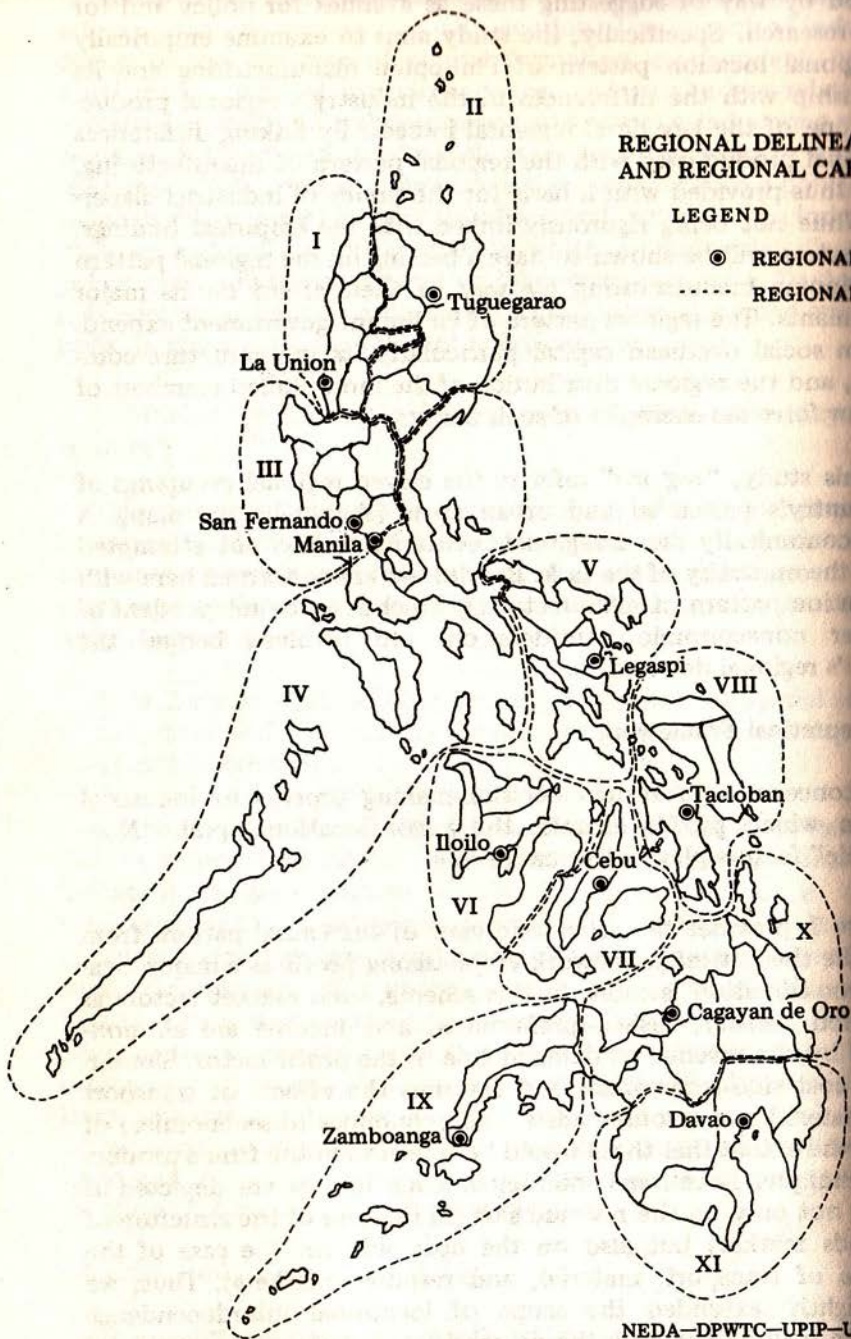
Figure 1 provides the schematic view of the causal pattern from which the theoretical framework emphasizing profit as a major locational consideration is built. In this scheme, such market factors as population density, tastes, preferences, and income are all *summarized* by the revenue or demand side of the profit factor. Similarly, the cost side summarizes and captures the effects of transport costs, material and resource costs, and economies (diseconomies) of scale to the extent that these would be reflected in the firm's production technique. Locational interdependence factors are depicted as acting not only on the revenue side (in the case of the structure of the goods market) but also on the cost side (in the case of the structure of transport, material, and resource markets). Thus, we have slightly extended the scope of locational interdependence factors to include not only the demand side but also the cost side of the profit factor. As shown by the scheme, the *combined* effects of

**REGIONAL DELINEATION
AND REGIONAL CAPITAL**

LEGEND

● REGIONAL CAPITAL

----- REGIONAL BOUNDARY



NEDA-DPWTG-UPIP-UNIP
NATIONAL PHYSICAL PLANNING
MARCH, 1973

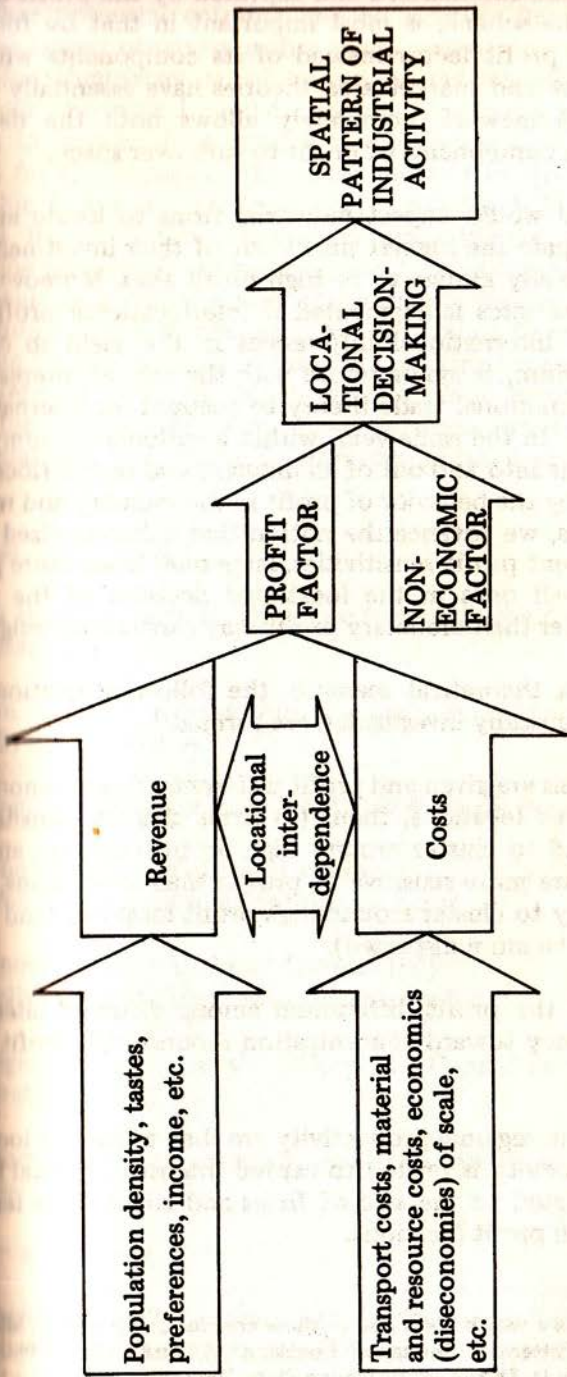


Figure 1

Schematic Diagram of the Causal Pattern

revenue and cost are summarized and captured by the profit factor. This feature of the scheme is most important in that by focusing attention on the profit factor instead of its components which are what the least-cost and market area theories have essentially done, our theoretical framework completely allows both the demand (revenue) and cost components of profit to vary over space.

Intuitively, one would expect industrial firms to locate at sites where they anticipate the highest profit out of their investment. If these sites are already known to be high profit sites. Moreover, the attraction of these sites is augmented if interlocational profit differentials are large. International differences in the yield to capital, which, in equilibrium, is synonymous with the rate of interest, have been held by international trade theory to account for international capital movement. In the same vein, within a national economy, the movement of firms into and out of an industry and region (location) is brought about by the behavior of profit in the industry and region. In addition to this, we advance the notion that different sized firms would have different profit sensitivities, large ones being more profit sensitive than small ones in the locational decision of the latter. Other considerations other than monetary profit may carry some weight.

With this for a theoretical scenario, the following relationships which may be empirically investigated are formed:¹

1. If profit levels are given and profit differentials exist among different geographic locations, then: (a) firms that are sensitive to profits would tend to cluster around high profit locations; and (b) since large firms are more sensitive to profits than small firms, they will be more likely to cluster around high profit locations (and small firms will tend to be more dispersed).

2. The greater the profit differential among different sites, the greater the tendency toward concentration around high profit locations.

3. Differences in regional productivity are then related to location as follows: Productivity is related to capital intensity. Capital intensity is in turn related to the size of firms and larger firms tend to cluster around high profit locations.

¹The formal theory which gives rise to these conclusions is in C.V. Mirasol Jr., "The Regional Pattern of Industrial Location: A Study of the Philippine Space Economy," (Ph.D. Dissertation, Wayne State University, 1977).

Whether potential entrants and all existing firms would in fact receive the largest observed profits at the various sites where they have committed themselves is, of course, an entirely different question which our theoretical model and empirical investigation will not attempt to answer. In general, the theoretical framework does not account for the impact of the entry and exit of firms at the various geographic points on interlocational profit levels in an industry or, on that matter, on interlocational-interindustrial profit behavior. Considering as these problems are, they involve temporal changes and movements and hence would appropriately belong to the province of locational dynamic analysis. Our theoretical framework purports to explain through a locational decision-making process no more than the pattern of industrial location at a point in time, although it is useful for comparative static analysis when interlocational profit differentials and industrial concentration are seen at different points in time.

Empirical Methodology

With the above relationships, we formulate the following testable hypotheses.

From the first relationship, we have the following hypotheses (3) is a "sub-issue."

1. Regional Concentration Level = F(Regional Profit Level)

2. Concentration = G(Size of Firms)

Thus, from the second relationship, we have:

3. Concentration = H(Profit Differential)

And finally, from the third relationship, we have:

4. Regional Productivity = J(Regional Capital per Man; Regional Concentration Level)

The corresponding regression models to test these hypotheses are as follows:

$$1. H = a + bP + e$$

The regression will be done for the "sub-issue" for lack of sufficient observations and since available data would suffice to show the expected positive relationship between C and G in the "sub-issue,"

$$2. C = G(S)$$

For the second relationship, the model is:

$$3(a) C^* = a^* + b^*P^* + e^*$$

the logarithmic form of which is:

$$3(b) \text{Log } C^* = \text{Log } A^* + b^* \text{Log } P^* + e^*$$

For the third relationship, we use an equation relating regional productivity as measured by regional output per man and, regional capital per man and regional concentration level, i.e.:

$$4(a) (Q/L) = a_1 + b_1 Z + e_1$$

Where $Z = (K/L) (N/M)$

The logarithmic form of 4(a) is:

$$4(b) \text{Log } (Q/L) = \text{Log } A_1 + B_1 \text{Log } Z + e_1$$

Notations:

- N** : Regional Concentration Level, i.e., the regional distribution of firms in the industry
- M** : The country's total number of manufacturing establishments
- P** : Regional Profit Level
- C** : Concentration as measured by "Gini ratios"
- S** : Size of Firms as measured by employment or fixed assets
- C*** : Concentration as measured by the coefficient of variation of the regional distribution of firms in an industry
- P*** : Profit Differential as measured by the coefficient of variation of regional output per man (proxy for profit)
- Q/L** : Regional Productivity as measured by regional output per man

Error term

Regression models 4(a) and 4(b) are intended to capture the role distinguished from *influence* — of the spatial pattern of distribution of firms in regional productivity. Here the regional capital-labor is *interacting* with the pattern of geographic distribution of firms to determine regional productivity. In other words, the capital-labor that goes into the regression equation as an independent variable reflects the role of the pattern of regional distribution of the firms. For if the regional level of concentration were treated separately from capital-intensity, it would appear as though it has an influence on productivity independently of factor proportion. Thus, to account for the desired reflection of the role of geographic space on regional capital per man, the relative regional distribution of firms is used as the weighting factor for capital per man. This capital per man is calculated by the proportion of the number of establishments in the region to the country's total number of establishments is then employed as the independent variable in the regression model 4(a) or in logarithmic form, 4(b).

We expect a positive relationship between the dependent and independent variables in all of the above models to accord with the theoretical relationships advanced.

Requirement of the Study

Due to the absence of time-series data — the ideal data for investigating the second conclusion — we resort to a cross-sectional approach which is quite appropriate for a static model. Moreover, the cross-sectional approach avoids problems arising from intertemporal price level changes which would affect the measurement of profits, particularly among various locations (regions).

The data required for investigating the first theoretical conclusion are regional profit and concentration levels, and the regional distribution of firms of different sizes as measured by employment or fixed capital. A positive relationship between regional profit and concentration levels, and between the measure of relative concentration (concentration) and the size of firms would constitute empirical evidence in support of the theoretical prediction and its "sub-issue."

There are certain empirical problems that may hamper straightforward comparison of relative profit levels and the levels of con-

centration, whether the study employs time-series or cross-sectional data, there is the possible lack of significant positive relationship between profits and concentration levels because of the long-run adjustment process in the industry. In other words, as firms enter an industry and locate at the site that shows the highest level of concentration, profits at that site would tend to be depressed. This happens despite a large and even rising profit differential at other locations. What the data might then show is a relatively low level at the location(s) where industrial concentration level is high.

There is a second problem of whether or not the empirical study should include only small and medium size firms with more localized markets, excluding very large firms whose market covers the whole nation — or even the world (as in the case of large firms in the export industries). These large firms that cater to the national and/or the world markets would tend to seek the least-cost location over a national or global range, a perspective irrelevant to small and medium size firms that cater to localized markets. For large firms, the more relevant profit differential is not “national profit differential” but “global profit differential” in the industry; that is, the appropriate profit differential for very large firms would be the country profit differential. These firms would tend to distort relative profit levels vis-a-vis the industrial concentration picture in the nation because while they may be making huge profits, they may, however, be located at the site where the least concentration exists. Classification of firms according to size and extent of market coverage, however, require measurement of the export component of a firm's total output, the data for which are not available.

All data that this study can make use of are available for the census year 1967.² A publication³ showing the plant address, name, and some of the country's top manufacturing firms, their net income and total assets, and their industrial classification, is available for the same year. This makes possible identification of the firms, their net incomes, etc., by region. The largest profits observed in each region are used rather than each region's average, for the following reasons: (a) to correct the problem arising from long-run adjustment

² The basic data used in this study were obtained from the National Economic and Development Authority and the National Census and Statistics Office. The results of the 1972 census are still being processed and are not yet available at least for the most part, as of the time of this study.

³ “The 1,000 Top Philippine Corporations,” *Business Day*, (Quezon City, Philippines: Enterprise Publications, Inc., 1968).

industry as discussed above; (b) to avoid the downward bias injected into the average by undervaluation of profits; (c) to avoid the downward bias injected into the average by small firms that earn low profits; and (d) to accord with the reasonable presumption that firms base their locational decision on the large profits being earned at the various locations rather than on the low profits of unsuccessful firms.

Of the 1,000 top Philippine corporations covered by *Business Day*, only 373 are manufacturing firms of which only a few reported their incomes. Hence, not enough observations for each industry are available for a meaningful regression. The rate of profit should, of course, be the ratio of net income (defined as gross sales minus total costs) to fixed assets. Data on fixed assets by region and by industry are not available. Although not an ideal measure, the ratio of net income to total assets as reported by the manufacturing corporations covered had to be used.

Turning to our investigation of the second theoretical relationship, the required cross-sectional data would ideally be relative profit levels by region and by the 2-digit level component industries of manufacturing. Again, these data are not available, but output per man by region and by the 2-digit level component industries of manufacturing are available. These data on output per man will be used as proxies for regional profit levels. This choice is a reasonable one since we are here concerned with locational analysis, the presence of agglomeration economies⁴ which may vary positively with concentration would give rise to the positive relationship between profits and output per man.

For the last theoretical conclusion, the study is limited to eleven observations only for capital per man. Data on capital per man by region and by the 2-digit level component industries of manufacturing are not available but only for manufacturing as a whole, by region.

The Regional Pattern of Industrial Activity

Regional Concentration and Profit Levels

To begin with, Table 1 shows the regional location pattern of large and small manufacturing establishments by industry group. Region

⁴Yngve Aberg, "Regional Productivity Differences in Swedish Manufacturing," *Regional and Urban Economics*, III:2 (1973), pp. 131-155.

ISIC Code	Industry Group	Region											TOTAL
		I	II	III	IV	V	VI	VII	VIII	IX	X	XI	
		Ilocos	Cagayan	Central Luzon	Southern Tagalog	Bicol	Western Visayas	Central Visayas	Eastern Visayas	Western Mindanao	Northern Mindanao	Southern Mindanao	
20	Food, manufactured	51	38	89	454	70	129	119	34	16	57	55	1,112
21	Beverages	6	4	6	26	2	9	11	4	1	2	4	75
22	Tobacco	4	4	2	28	3	-	-	-	-	-	-	41
23	Textiles	2	-	12	86	13	1	-	-	-	-	2	119
24	Footwear, other wearing apparel	4	3	45	349	10	24	35	7	6	12	9	504
25	Wood and cork	12	30	39	107	27	10	14	8	14	47	47	355
26	Furniture and fixtures	4	-	13	101	1	1	19	1	1	2	7	152
27	Paper, paper products	-	-	5	65	-	1	4	-	1	-	-	76
28	Printing	6	3	3	170	2	14	18	2	2	3	8	229
29	Leather, leather products	2	-	11	9	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	23
30	Rubber products	-	-	3	26	1	1	3	-	1	1	3	39
31	Chemicals, chemical products	4	1	14	141	1	6	16	-	1	6	2	192
32	Products of petroleum and coal	-	-	1	9	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	10
33	Non-metallic substances	6	2	22	106	3	19	17	-	1	6	1	183
34	Basic metals	1	-	5	49	1	4	3	-	1	1	1	66
35	Metal products	2	1	25	179	-	3	15	-	-	1	7	232
36	Machinery, except electrical	1	-	10	88	-	17	5	-	-	5	4	130
37	Electrical machinery, appliances	1	-	4	91	-	-	4	-	-	-	-	100
38	Transport equipment	7	1	14	181	3	6	19	1	-	3	3	249
39	Miscellaneous	-	-	9	102	4	2	8	-	2	-	1	128
	Total Large Establishments	112	87	232	2,367	141	249	314	55	48	145	165	4,015
	Percent of National Total	2.8	2.2	8.3	59.0	3.5	6.2	7.8	1.3	1.2	3.6	4.1	100.0
	Total Small Establishments	3,885	1,487	4,327	12,936	2,336	4,613	3,192	1,497	1,222	2,180	3,313	41,018
	Percent of National Total	9.5	3.6	10.6	31.5	5.8	11.2	7.8	3.6	3.0	5.3	8.1	100.0
	TOTAL SMALL AND LARGE ESTABLISHMENTS	3,997	1,574	4,659	15,303	2,507	4,862	3,506	1,552	1,270	2,325	3,478	45,033
	Percent of National Total	8.9	3.5	10.3	34.0	5.6	10.8	7.8	3.4	2.8	5.2	7.7	100.0

Sources: Republic of the Philippines, National Economic and Development Authority, Manila; National Census and Statistics Office, Manila

Note: Small establishments are those employing less than 10 persons; large establishments are those employing at least 10 persons as defined by the National Census and Statistics Office.

IV, Southern Tagalog, where Metropolitan Manila is geographically located, is seen to account for more than half the number of the country's large manufacturing establishments, and for about one-third the number of the country's small establishments. In this region, the heaviest concentration of large manufacturing establishments occurred in all industries in 1967 (except Leather and Leather products). Other regions that exhibited relatively higher industrial agglomeration than the rest of the country's regions are Regions I, III (which is geographically adjacent to Region IV), VI, VII, and XI for small establishments; Regions III, VI, and VII for large establishments.

In the absence of data on profits for Table 1, the published data for the top 1,000 Philippine corporations (ranked according to sales volume) are used in looking into the relationship between regional concentration and profit levels. The data obtained are shown in Table 2. A positive relationship between the number of firms (concentration level) and relative profit levels is indicated for each industry. This is shown more clearly in Figure 2 for industries with at least two pairs of regional observations.

Taking all industries together, the (OLS) regression of the number of establishments (N) on regional profit level (P) is:

$$N = -0.59 + 0.71 P$$

$$(0.08)$$

$$R^2 = 0.644$$

With respect to the relationship between concentration and the size of firms in the "sub-issue", Table 1 already suggests that small establishments are relatively more dispersed than large establishments. While the coefficient of variation of the regional totals for small establishments is 83.6 per cent, that for large establishments is 118.3 per cent. Furthermore, the proportion of each region's number of large establishments in the country's total is relatively smaller than that of small establishments indicating that as the size of firms increases, agglomeration tends to occur at fewer locations. While there are eight regions with at least 5.0 per cent of the country's total number of small establishments, there are only four regions with at least the same share in the country's total number of large establishments.

TABLE 2

Number of Large Manufacturing Establishments (N) Among the Philippines' Top 1,000 Corporations, and Highest Net Income to Total Assets Ratio (r), By Region, By Industry Group, 1967

ISIC Code	Industry	Region										
		I Ilocos	II Cagayan	III Central Luzon	IV Southern Tagalog	V Bicol	VI Western Visayas	VII Central Visayas	VIII Eastern Visayas	IX Western Mindanao	X Northern Mindanao	XI Business
20	Food, manufactured			8.3	30.8		28.7	10.7			1.7	
	r (percent)			5	38		11	6			1	
	N											
21	Beverages				38.1			14.5				
	r				9			2				
	N		1									
22	Tobacco products				19.2							
	r				16							
	N											
23	Textiles			3.4	35.4				2			
	r			4	30							
	N											
24	Footwear, other wearing apparel				14.5							
	r				6							
	N											
25	Wood and cork products		3.3	2.8	49.2	18.8	4.2	15.5		9.1	8.7	8.4
	r		2	2	19	2	1	2		1	3	6
	N	1										
26	Furniture and fixtures											
	r											
	N				1							
27	Paper and paper products			0.1	9.7			0.5			9.7	
	r			1	14			1			2	
	N											
28	Printing and publishing											
	r (percent)											
	N				1							
29	Leather and leather products					0.2						
	r					2						
	N											
30	Rubber products				18.9	0.5					1.5	
	r				13	1		1			1	
	N											
31	Chemicals, chemical products			1.7	66.9			3.5				
	r			1	64			2				
	N											
32	Products of petroleum and coal			4.6	9.8							
	r			1	3							
	N											
33	Non-metallic substances				10.6		6.4					
	r				16		1					
	N			1								
34	Basic metals			1.2	15.7			0.2				
	r			3	33			1				
	N											
35	Metal products				4							
	r											
	N											
36	Machinery, except electrical											
	r											
	N											
37	Electrical machinery, appliances				18.9							
	r (percent)				11							
	N											
38	Transport equipment			5.5	9.9				1			
	r			1	10							
	N											
39	Miscellaneous											
	Total Number of Establishments	1	3	21	290	3	13	18	1	3	10	9

Source of basic data: "Top 1,000 Corporations," *Business Day*, (Quezon City: Enterprise Publications, Inc., 1967)

Note: The 1,000 top corporations were obtained (by *Business Day*) from a ranking of the firms according to sales volume during the year. The manufacturing establishments out of the 1,000 corporations, had a sales volume of at least P1 M, total asset size of at least P500,000, and employment size of at least 10 (according to the employment size code shown) in 1967. The total of 372 shown in this table does not include manufacturing firms belonging to the different industry groups since their addresses were not shown; also, many did not report their net income to total assets but only their sales volume.

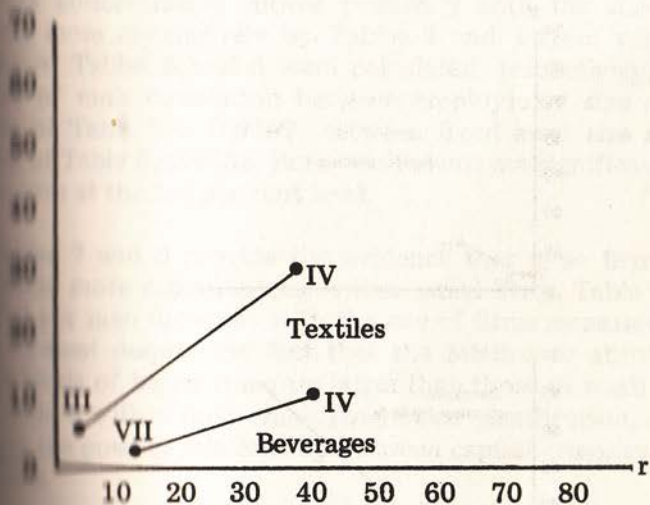
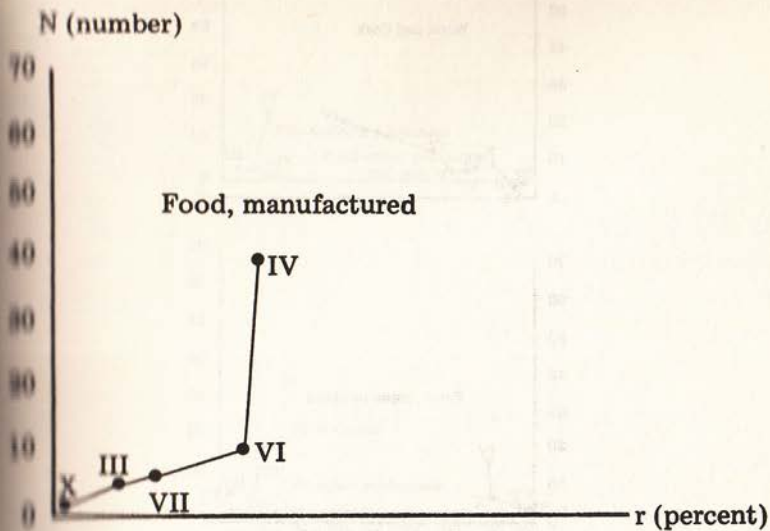


Figure 2 (1 of 4)

Scatter Diagrams for Industries with at least Two Pairs of Regional Observations in Table 12

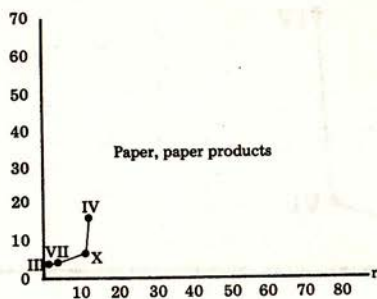
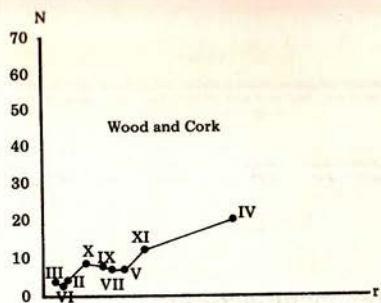


Figure 2 (2 of 4)

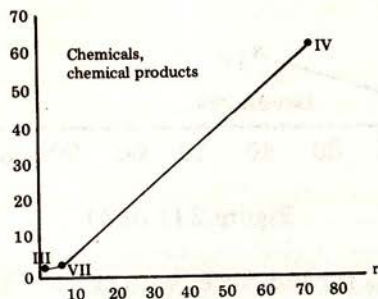
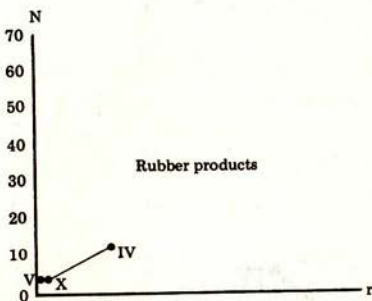


Figure 2 (3 of 4)

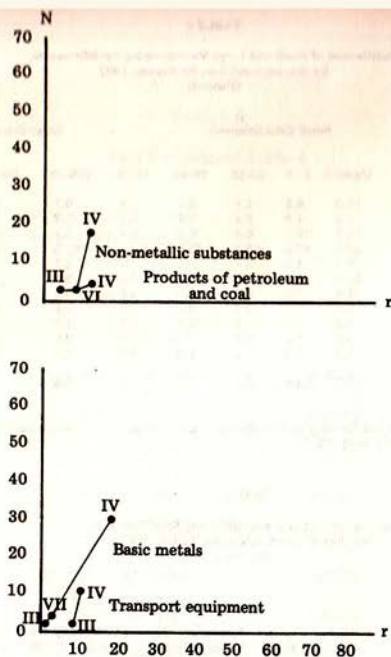


Figure 2 (4 of 4)

That concentration moves positively with the size of firms is shown more conclusively by Tables 3 and 4 from which the Gini coefficients of Tables 5 and 6 were calculated, respectively. The coefficients of rank correlation between employment size and the Gini coefficients of Table 5 is 0.9167; between fixed asset size and the Gini coefficients of Table 6, 0.9333. Both coefficients are significantly different from zero at the 1.0 per cent level.

Tables 7 and 8 provide the evidence that large firms are indeed more capital-intensive than small firms. Table 7 shows that output per man increases with the size of firms measured in terms of employment despite the fact that the relative or absolute employment levels of bigger firms are larger than those of small firms. Finally, Table 8 with a finer employment size classification, depicts more clearly the positive relationship between capital-intensity and the size of firms.

Concentration and Interregional Profit Differentials

The objective of this part of the study is to explain the effect of interregional profit spread upon concentration. Since this is to be done with the use of cross-sectional data, the nineteen 2-digit level

TABLE 3

Distribution of Small and Large Manufacturing Establishments,
By Employment Size, By Region, 1967
(Percent)

Region	Small Establishments					Large Establishments			1,000 & over
	Under 5	5-9	10-19	20-49	50-99	100-199	200-499	500-999	
I - ILOCOS	10.0	6.2	4.1	2.4	1.1	0.7	2.5	—	—
II - CAGAYAN VALLEY	3.9	1.9	2.4	1.7	3.0	1.7	2.1	—	—
III - CENTRAL LUZON	10.3	12.1	8.4	8.2	9.1	9.4	6.0	5.2	10.1
IV - SOUTHERN TAGALOG	30.5	37.5	50.8	63.0	68.5	67.2	65.7	67.4	67.1
V - BICOL	6.0	4.4	5.1	3.4	0.7	2.1	1.7	—	—
VI - WESTERN VISAYAS	11.6	9.4	9.0	5.2	2.6	2.8	1.3	6.3	7.1
VII - CENTRAL VISAYAS	7.6	8.6	8.9	8.2	5.6	6.3	7.2	2.1	6.7
VIII - EASTERN VISAYAS	3.7	3.1	2.2	0.4	0.7	1.1	2.1	—	—
IX - WESTERN MINDANAO	2.9	3.6	1.4	1.1	0.7	1.4	1.7	1.1	—
X - NORTHERN MINDANAO	5.2	6.2	3.6	3.1	4.0	2.8	4.2	7.4	4.3
XI - SOUTHERN MINDANAO	8.3	7.0	4.1	3.3	4.0	4.5	5.5	10.5	8.9
Total by Employment Size	77.7	13.4	3.9	2.5	1.0	0.6	0.5	0.2+	0.8

Sources of basic data: National Economic and Development Authority, Manila; Bureau of the Census and Statistics, Manila, *Economic Census of the Philippines, 1967*, Vols. III, IX

TABLE 4

Distribution of Large Manufacturing Establishments,
By Size of Fixed Assets, By Region, 1967
(Percent)

Region	SIZE OF FIXED ASSETS								1,000 and over
	Under P1,000	1,000- 4,999	5,000- 9,999	10,000- 24,999	25,000- 49,999	50,000- 99,999	100,000- 499,999	500,000- 999,999	
I - ILOCOS	3.8	3.2	6.1	2.2	4.6	5.2	1.2	1.4	0.8
II - CAGAYAN VALLEY	5.2	1.9	2.3	1.6	3.4	2.3	2.1	1.4	0.8
III - CENTRAL LUZON	9.0	6.6	6.1	7.5	7.6	11.0	9.2	8.3	7.1
IV - SOUTHERN TAGALOG	43.3	46.2	49.2	64.3	68.4	67.0	61.4	68.3	70.1
V - BICOL	4.6	7.4	8.3	2.9	4.4	2.3	2.8	1.7	0.8
VI - WESTERN VISAYAS	9.8	9.8	7.2	5.3	6.9	4.0	6.0	3.4	4.3
VII - CENTRAL VISAYAS	11.0	13.2	9.1	7.8	7.8	7.3	6.8	6.6	4.4
VIII - EASTERN VISAYAS	2.6	2.9	3.0	1.3	0.5	0.8	1.0	1.0	0.8
IX - WESTERN MINDANAO	1.7	1.6	1.9	1.8	0.7	0.8	1.0	1.0	0.8
X - NORTHERN MINDANAO	5.2	4.0	3.8	2.0	1.1	3.5	4.2	2.1	0.8
XI - SOUTHERN MINDANAO	3.8	2.9	3.0	3.3	4.6	5.8	4.3	4.8	8.8
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Sources of basic data: National Economic and Development Authority, Manila; Bureau of the Census and Statistics, Manila, *Economic Census of the Philippines, 1967*, Vol. III.

TABLE 5

Gini Ratios from Table 3

Employment Size	Gini Ratio
Small Establishments	
Under 5	0.2014
5 - 9	0.2812
10 - 19	0.4086
20 - 49	0.5336
Large Establishments	
50 - 99	0.5890
100 - 199	0.5734
200 - 499	0.5514
500 - 999	0.6358
1,000 and over	0.6192

TABLE 6

Gini Ratios from Table 4

Size of Fixed Assets, Large Manufacturing Establishments (Pesos)	Gini Ratio
Under P1,000	0.3412
1,000 - 4,999	0.4055
5,000 - 9,999	0.3806
10,000 - 24,999	0.5290
25,000 - 49,999	0.4892
50,000 - 99,999	0.4910
100,000 - 499,999	0.5436
500,000 - 999,999	0.5814
1,000,000 and over	0.6072

TABLE 7

Manufacturing Establishments With 5 Or More Workers, 1956-1969

Establishments With 5-19 Workers				Establishments With 20 Or More Workers				Total	
Number of Establish- ments (Percent)	Employ- ment (Percent)	Output per man (P1,000 per man)	Capital per man	Number of Establish- ments (Percent)	Employ- ment (Percent)	Output per man (P1,000 per man)	Capital per man	Number of Establish- ments (Percent)	Employment (Percent)
74.9	26.7	6.39	1.90	26.1	73.3	13.22	5.56	100.0	100.0
74.0	22.7	6.04	1.86	28.0	77.3	13.85	5.77	100.0	100.0
74.4	21.9	6.84	2.15	26.6	78.1	15.46	6.39	100.0	100.0
74.6	22.2	6.60	2.33	25.2	77.8	16.92	6.38	100.0	100.0
74.9	20.0	7.78	1.86	26.1	80.0	17.82	7.22	100.0	100.0
74.8	17.2	6.14	2.50	25.7	82.8	22.15	9.06	100.0	100.0
74.9	16.7	7.42	2.33	25.1	83.3	25.33	9.96	100.0	100.0
75.7	15.9	9.21	3.18	27.3	84.1	26.15	10.66	100.0	100.0
75.6	15.5	8.88	4.22	27.2	84.5	25.67	11.67	100.0	100.0
74.8	15.7	9.59	3.90	25.8	84.3	27.95	13.61	100.0	100.0
75.8	17.5	10.51	6.26	23.7	82.5	32.46	14.18	100.0	100.0
75.8	17.4	10.34	4.95	20.7	82.6	33.95	15.15	100.0	100.0
74.4	19.1	7.98	3.12	25.6	80.9	22.58	9.63	100.0	100.0

1. Gross Value of Output/Employment

2. Book Value of Fixed Assets, Dec. 31/Employment

3. Figures were not calculated because the data used by the UP-BCS and IDE for these two years were for all (i.e. total number of) establishments with 5-19 workers were obtained by deducting the figures for establishments with 20 or more workers from the corresponding figures for establishments with 5 or more workers.

4. Data from UP-BCS and Institute of Developing Economies, *Manufacturing Statistics of the Philippines, 1956-1970*, Series No. 1 (Tokyo: Asian Economic Press, 1974)

TABLE 8

Capital Per Man and Value Added Per Man
in Manufacturing, By Employment Size, 1970
(P1000 per man)

Employment Size	Value Added per man	Capital per man
5 - 19	2.84	4.44
20 - 49	5.83	8.95
50 - 99	8.68	10.52
100 - 199	12.67	15.31
200 +	13.77	18.20
All	12.46	

Note: Capital per man = Book Value of Fixed
Capital/ Employment

Source: International Labor Office, *Sharing
in Development: A Programme of
Employment, Equity and Growth
for the Philippines*, (Geneva: ILO,
1974), p. 144

component industries of large manufacturing establishments provide the observations for interregional profit differentials. The measure we employ is the coefficient of variation of the industries' regional output per man shown in Table 9. Similarly, for our measure of regional concentration, the dependent variable, we use the coefficient of variation of the industries' regional distribution of large manufacturing establishments shown in Table 1. Table 10 shows the coefficient of variation calculated from Tables 1 and 9 for each of the nine component industries of manufacturing. A significant positive relationship between industrial concentration, C^* , and profit differentials across regions, P^* , would indicate empirical evidence of the second theoretical relationship that the greater the profit spread across regions, the greater the tendency toward clustering.

Output Per Man, Large Manufacturing Establishments
By Region, By Industry Group, 1967
(P1000 per man, Current prices)

ISIC Code	Industry Group	Region											Industry Total
		I Ilocos	II Cagayan	II Central Luzon	IV Southern Tagalog	V Bicol	VI Western Visayas	VII Central Visayas	VIII Eastern Visayas	IX Western Mindanao	X Northern Mindanao	XI Southern Mindanao	
20	Food, manufactured	33.95	46.96	42.03	55.13	34.33	40.74	45.81	31.53	21.49	24.52	32.47	44.50
21	Beverages	31.58	27.49	35.08	53.03	30.47	32.28	37.77	33.31	22.52	38.28	41.54	46.48
22	Tobacco	32.67	4.56	46.44	49.26	15.76	—	—	—	—	—	—	45.50
23	Textiles	9.38	—	15.79	17.28	6.87	9.61	14.45	—	—	—	5.67	16.65
24	Footwear, other wearing apparel	6.98	3.41	6.78	9.89	6.00	5.39	6.08	1.70	3.01	2.67	2.09	9.57
25	Wood and cork products	15.86	11.98	32.33	16.46	19.49	9.01	12.98	5.95	15.26	15.30	16.69	15.74
26	Furniture and fixtures	8.61	—	5.87	10.54	7.44	11.46	8.66	7.20	5.41	9.22	6.61	9.69
27	Paper, paper products	—	—	34.17	47.17	—	8.16	40.30	—	3.35	—	—	44.74
28	Printing	11.50	8.74	11.79	18.72	6.34	5.30	9.04	—	5.18	5.84	7.19	17.40
29	Leather, leather products	14.10	—	23.93	20.04	—	—	5.67	—	—	—	—	24.88
30	Rubber products	—	—	15.88	35.73	4.47	10.29	18.57	—	6.16	13.00	29.08	33.00
31	Chemicals, chemical products	19.20	23.93	37.45	84.97	24.20	26.84	27.94	—	17.13	16.18	20.55	33.45
32	Products of petroleum and coal	—	—	807.81	530.32	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	620.37
33	Non-metallic substances	16.20	4.67	22.03	39.35	11.33	10.58	19.07	—	4.90	9.14	4.88	30.69
34	Basic metals	7.09	—	23.22	56.55	7.06	15.91	9.39	—	3.24	26.28	4.40	47.67
35	Metal products	17.21	10.15	18.58	22.80	—	5.87	23.74	—	—	—	15.42	22.40
36	Machinery, except electrical	—	—	15.04	18.58	—	14.25	5.08	—	5.23	7.23	6.51	16.96
37	Electrical machinery, appliances	2.13	—	28.18	40.26	7.84	—	13.41	—	—	—	—	38.30
38	Transport equipment	9.97	6.64	8.84	54.54	5.85	7.73	14.70	5.30	4.68	5.61	8.35	41.73
39	Miscellaneous	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Manufacturing Output per Man	24.69	21.55	32.19	33.60	20.22	32.57	27.48	21.25	13.53	18.75	19.03	30.55
	Capital per man	11.32	9.02	24.10	21.55	8.35	12.96	16.24	13.44	6.57	12.68	14.26	19.35
	Number of Large Establishments	112	87	332	2,367	141	249	314	55	48	145	165	4,015

TABLE 10

Coefficients of Variation From Tables 1 and 9
(Per Cent)

ISIC Code	Regional Industry Number of Large Establishments	Regional Output per Man
20	115.15	25.33
21	98.42	21.92
22	121.07	58.20
23	167.92	37.20
24	216.16	45.62
25	84.92	41.23
26	191.83	21.98
27	164.15	66.09
28	680.87	44.26
29	75.18	48.53
30	164.71	61.36
31	224.81	27.34
32	80.00	16.39
33	164.92	71.51
34	201.94	93.79
35	179.76	36.85
36	154.82	49.70
37	152.50	76.04
38	210.29	114.08

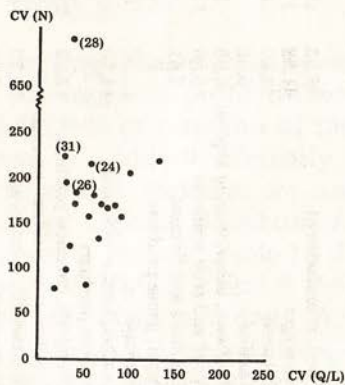


Figure 3

Scatter Diagram for Table 12

The scatter diagram for Table 10, shown in Figure 3, definitely indicates positive relationship between concentration and inter-regional profit differentials. The significance of the coefficient of the regression line would, however, be adversely affected by four untypical observations (those for Footwear and Other Wearing Apparel (24), Furniture and Fixtures (26), Printing (28), and Chemicals and Chemical Products (31)). While these industries have very low profit spread, their measures of concentration are very high, particularly for Printing (28). With the exception of Chemicals and Chemical Products (31), a capital-intensive industry, the three industries are known to be highly labor-intensive with a fairly uniform labor-intensity. As shown in Table 1, however, these industries are considerably concentrated in Region IV, which is unusual by virtue of these industries' high labor-intensity.

With respect to Chemical and Chemical Products, it is not unusual for this industry to exhibit high concentration. Virtually all large capital-intensive drug and chemical manufacturing firms are known to be located in Region IV's Metropolitan Manila area. The few firms located in other regions are small and are perhaps largely marketing through distribution outlets, performing no major manufacturing activity. Consequently, the accuracy of this industry's regional output per person and the very low coefficient of variation that it yields are doubtful.

For these reasons, these four industries are not included in the regression. With these four observations set aside, we then have seven observations to which a regression line is fitted. The regression results are shown below:

$$(1) C^* = 78.96 + 1.1627 P^*$$

$$(0.3114)$$

$$R^2 = 0.5175$$

$$(2) \text{Log } C^* = 1.42 + 0.4210 \text{Log } P^*$$

$$(0.1284)$$

$$R^2 = 0.4527$$

Both forms show highly significant positive coefficients (at 1.0 per cent level). The simple linear form, however, has a much better fit

than the logarithmic form. In any case, the highly significant positive coefficients indicate strong empirical support for our second theoretical relationship.

Productivity Differential in Manufacturing Across Regions

We now attempt an empirical explanation of the productivity differential in the manufacturing industry across regions as resulting from the non-uniform spatial distribution of firms of different sizes or capital intensities.

It is not denied that other factors among which and, in particular, industrial concentration which has direct relevance in location analysis, would influence productivity. Insofar as certain forms of economies (diseconomies) of scale may be present in agglomeration clustering would have something to do with productivity. Thus, with identical production functions, firms in different locations would exhibit different productivities as measured by output per man, with firms experiencing agglomeration economies having relatively high productivity. To the extent that agglomeration economies do confer advantages on certain locations, the role of these forces in the explanation of productivity differential in an industry, across regions, is, however, captured by profits through their effects on costs as depicted by the scheme in Figure 1. That is, the locational influence of agglomeration economies are registered indirectly through profits insofar as they constitute cost-depressant or profit-enhancing factors. The role of agglomeration economies in interregional productivity differential is therefore to enhance the productivity of regions by enhancing their profit levels which, by virtue of the relationship between profits and capital, would serve to attract relatively more of the capital-intensive (large) firms. In the final analysis, therefore, quite apart from the reinforcement of productivity differential by the economies of clustering, the explanation of productivity differential across regions must be sought in differences in factor proportions across regions in the industry. Interregional factor-proportion differential, in turn, would find explanation in the non-uniform distribution of "large" and "small" firms, that is, firms of different capital-intensities, over space. In other words, productivity differential in the manufacturing industry across regions, would ultimately be the result of the non-uniform spatial distribution of firms of different sizes. Our empirical task, therefore, is to see whether available data would support this. We wish to find a relationship — which we expect to be positive — between regional productivity, capital intensity, and concentration levels of the country's manufacturing establishments.

In the absence of data on output per man and capital per man for small establishments (those employing less than 10 workers), we use the data for large establishments (those employing at least 10 workers) shown in Table 9. With the eleven observations provided by Table 9, the (OLS) regressions of capital per man weighted by the proportion of the number of establishments in the region to the country's total number of establishments (Z), on regional output, per man (Q/L), are:

$$(1) \quad (Q/L) = 22.31 + 1.03 Z$$

$$(0.48)$$

$$R^2 = 0.333$$

$$(2) \quad \text{Log } (Q/L) = 1.41 + 0.17 \text{ Log } Z$$

$$(0.04)$$

$$R^2 = 0.650$$

Both the simple linear form (1) and the logarithmic form (2) show highly significant positive coefficients, the logarithmic form giving a better result.

Development Policy Implications

The major conclusion from the findings bearing significantly on regional development policy is that agglomeration in manufacturing industries is very marked in the Philippines, more so for large firms than small ones. Our empirical investigations show that all indicators (number of establishments, profit levels, employment size, fixed cost size of large manufacturing establishments) point to Region IV as the primary focus of industrial concentration. The high labor productivity that this region exhibits is apparently due to its high capital-labor ratio which, in turn, is attributable to the concentration of large capital-intensive firms in the region.

While profit differentials are a significant determinant of the agglomeration tendency that is observed, the study does not delve into the causes of these differentials. The high profit and productivity in manufacturing exhibited by the cluster points (particularly Region IV), however, indicates several factors. On the demand side, the high-income population of Region IV's Metropolitan Manila area,

with tastes and preferences for industrial consumer goods is a strong locational inducement. On the supply (cost) side, apart from supercapital-intensity in firms located at this agglomeration point, high labor productivity is clearly associated with access to external economies at the agglomeration point. A list of significant external economies with positive production effects would include: (1) the presence of a sophisticated water and land transport network and transport facilities, (2) an assured supply of skilled labor which tends to follow the location of large capital-intensive firms, (3) availability of adequate energy and power supply, (4) availability of large and sophisticated financial institutions, (5) availability of a sophisticated communications system and facilities. In short, economic infrastructure and the ready availability of skilled labor are significant cost-reducing factors on the supply side, factors which are barely present in lagging regions.

These profit-enhancing sources of external economies in the region are inextricably related with the regional pattern of public expenditures on social overhead capital, particularly its infrastructure component, that favors the region of agglomeration. The particular focal point of the country's industrial activity is Metropolitan Manila and Rizal in Region IV. Taken as a single geographic area, Metropolitan Manila and Rizal alone account for 19.6 per cent and 64.3 per cent of the country's totals for small and large manufacturing plants respectively, while Region IV as a whole has 31.5 per cent and 59.0 per cent of these totals, respectively. In terms of employment, Table 11 shows Region IV to account for 31.6 per cent and 64.3 per cent of the country's totals for small and large manufacturing establishments, respectively. Moreover, as shown in Table 11, all but one component industries of manufacturing (Wood and Cork and Leather and Leather Products) in this region have the highest share of the country's totals for the respective component industries.

That the profit-enhancing sources of external economies in Region IV is due to the concentration in it of public expenditures on social overhead capital, particularly its infrastructure component, is apparent from Table 12. Table 12 shows that a disproportionately large share of government expenditures on infrastructure is directed to Region IV in recent periods (irrigation is not relevant to the Metropolitan Manila and Rizal area). Table 13 shows Region IV to have the largest net positive migration, an important factor in providing an assured labor supply. It is significant to observe from Table 14 that literacy in this region is the highest in the country, suggesting that at least the education component of the non-

ISIC Code	Industry Group	Region											Industry Total
		I Ilocos	II Cagayan	III Central Luzon	IV Southern Tagalog	V Bicol	VI Western Visayas	VII Central Visayas	VIII Eastern Visayas	IX Western Mindanao	X Northern Mindanao	XI Southern Mindanao	
20	Food, manufactured	1.4	3.9	7.4	40.2	1.6	21.1	6.4	1.0	0.3	13.0	3.7	18.8
21	Beverages	4.9	1.9	4.9	64.1	2.0	4.8	6.5	3.5	0.7	1.6	5.1	5.0
22	Tobacco	0.5	8.0	1.4	89.9	0.2	—	—	—	—	—	—	5.3
23	Textiles	1.0	—	7.7	86.8	0.8	0.7	0.6	—	—	—	2.4	10.2
24	Footwear, other wearing apparel	0.1	0.2	3.2	92.5	0.6	0.8	1.3	0.2	0.2	0.5	0.4	11.2
25	Wood and cork products	1.2	8.4	3.2	17.5	2.0	4.4	2.3	1.7	3.8	27.3	28.2	14.1
26	Furniture and fixtures	1.4	—	4.9	70.5	0.1	2.8	11.7	0.2	5.7	0.6	2.1	1.6
27	Paper, paper products	—	—	11.1	78.4	—	0.5	9.7	—	0.3	—	—	1.7
28	Printing	1.0	0.5	1.4	87.4	0.6	2.1	4.3	—	0.4	0.3	2.0	2.7
29	Leather, leather products	1.8	—	65.0	32.1	—	—	1.1	—	—	—	—	0.3
30	Rubber products	—	—	3.8	84.2	0.3	0.1	2.4	—	3.5	0.3	5.4	1.7
31	Chemicals, chemical products	0.4	0.2	6.3	78.1	0.9	1.9	8.0	—	0.4	3.6	0.2	6.0
32	Products of petroleum and coal	—	—	17.6	82.4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	0.3
33	Non-metallic substances	2.1	0.1	28.8	55.3	0.2	2.1	9.7	—	0.1	1.4	0.2	5.6
34	Basic metals	0.2	—	7.0	77.6	6.3	1.5	1.6	—	0.6	4.9	0.3	1.4
35	Metal products	0.3	0.1	6.1	88.0	—	0.4	3.9	—	—	1.2	1.5	4.9
36	Machinery, except electrical	—	—	14.2	72.9	—	7.1	2.5	—	0.4	1.4	1.5	2.3
37	Electrical machinery, appliances	0.2	—	2.2	92.1	4.5	—	1.0	—	—	—	—	2.3
38	Transport equipment	0.5	0.1	10.5	70.8	0.4	4.1	10.7	0.1	0.2	0.3	2.3	3.7
39	Miscellaneous	—	—	10.3	84.5	1.1	2.0	2.0	—	—	—	0.1	1.7
Total, By Region		1.1	2.5	7.1	64.3	1.2	5.6	4.3	0.6	0.9	6.8	5.6	100.0
Large Establishments		8.6	3.1	11.1	31.6	5.2	10.8	8.2	3.8	3.5	5.8	8.3	100.0
Small Establishments		2.9	2.6	8.1	56.5	2.1	6.9	5.2	1.4	1.5	6.6	6.2	100.0

Sources of basic data: National Economic and Development Authority, Manila

Note: Figures include revisions by the National Census and Statistics Office, Manila, in July 1975.

Employment includes unpaid owners and family workers, production and related workers, other workers and employees.

structure component of social overhead capital is also tilted toward Region IV. At the opposite extreme, data referred to in this study show that Region IX, Western Mindanao, has the lowest values for development indicators (output per man, capital per man in manufacturing, number of large establishments, share in government total expenditures on infrastructure, etc.).

This study enables us to identify progressive and lagging regions in the industrialization process, and it offers a spatial perspective on national development. What emerges from the preceding discussion is the need for re-orientation of industrial promotion policy in the country to accelerate and integrate regional growth and development within the framework of a market economy, and this will necessarily involve scrutiny of many specific policies. A few direct and obvious policy implications of the discussions in this section are:

- (1) The regional pattern of government expenditures on social overhead capital should be designed to favor lagging regions.

TABLE 12

Distribution of Government Expenditures on Infrastructure,
By Major Category, By Region
(Percent)

Region	River Control and Drainage (1964-72)	National and Muni- cipal Seaports (1966-72)	National and Communal Irrigation (1965-72)	Highways and Bridges (1967-72)	Total (By Region)
I. Ilocos	7.1	4.5	1.5	5.0	18.1
II. Cagayan	1.8	0.1	3.0	7.0	11.9
III. Central Luzon	33.1	3.3	80.5	11.9	128.8
IV. Southern Tagalog	20.1	38.7	2.1	19.4	80.3
V. Bicol	6.1	12.5	1.3	8.6	28.5
VI. Western Visayas	7.1	2.3	4.3	6.7	20.4
VII. Central Visayas	5.3	11.2	0.1	5.8	22.4
VIII. Eastern Visayas	4.9	6.0	1.7	8.9	21.5
IX. Western Visayas	1.0	4.8	0.9	4.1	10.8
X. Northern Mindanao	8.0	11.8	0.8	11.9	32.5
XI. Southern Mindanao	5.6	4.9	3.8	10.6	24.9
Total (By Category)	1.9	11.9	28.2	57.9	100.0

Source: International Labor Office (ILO), *Sharing in Development: A Program of Employment, Equity and Growth for the Philippines*, (Geneva: ILO, 1974), p. 196 (Table 37).

TABLE 13

Inter-regional Migration & Population Growth, By Region
1960-70
(thousands)

Region	Natural Growth	Net Migration	Net Change
I. Ilocos	787.4	-161.2	626.2
II. Cagayan	394.6	32.3	426.9
III. Central Luzon	956.7	190.4	1,147.1
IV. Southern Tagalog	1,918.7	904.2	2,822.9
V. Iloilo	904.9	-300.8	604.1
VI. Western Visayas	965.7	-425.6	540.1
VII. Central Visayas	749.7	-239.8	509.9
VIII. Eastern Visayas	698.4	-358.0	340.4
IX. Western Mindanao	522.6	-4.3	518.3
X. Northern Mindanao	817.7	44.2	861.9
XI. Southern Mindanao	837.3	318.6	1,155.9

Note: Regions I and II both include the provinces of Ifugao and Kalinga-Apayao.

Figures for net migration are for both sexes.

Source: National Economic and Development Authority, Manila, *Statistical Yearbook of the Philippines, 1975*, p. 57.

... economic linkages and complementarities between these regions and the growth points.

(1) Selection of a small number of potential growth centers as key nodes for industrial leadership and interaction with the agricultural

(2) Complementing this dispersion emphasis should be a policy aimed at guiding the pattern of interregional migration. Many alternative policies have been proposed to influence migration into patterns more consistent with balanced regional development and the

TABLE 14

Literacy of Population 10 Years Old and Over, Both Sexes
By Region, 1960 and 1970
(Percent)

Region	1960	1970
I. Ilocos	71.5	83.1
II. Cagayan	71.6	78.8
III. Central Luzon	80.9	90.3
IV. Southern Tagalog	84.0	92.2
V. Bicol	75.7	86.4
VI. Western Visayas	70.0	82.1
VII. Central Visayas	62.8	77.8
VIII. Eastern Visayas	65.3	77.6
IX. Western Mindanao	47.9	65.4
X. Northern Mindanao	73.4	79.9
XI. Southern Mindanao	59.3	75.5

Note: Region I includes the provinces of Ifugao and Kalinga-Apayao for 1960 only.

Source: National Economic and Development Authority, Manila, *Statistical Yearbook of the Philippines, 1975*, p. 57.

avoidance of urban unemployment.⁵ Policy tools such as local incentive wage payments aimed at decreasing interlocational differential, or outright elimination of interregional minimum differential, and many others might be explored when a balanced regional development program is adopted.

Policies specifically aimed at private locational decisions to the market in bringing about industrial dispersion may be appropriate once a regional expenditure program has been adopted. Examples are:

⁵ Pan A. Yotopoulos and Jeffrey B. Bugent, *Economics of Development: Empirical Investigations*, (New York: Harper & Row Co., 1976), Chapter 1, 223-235.

(4) To the extent that profit differential across locations affects locational decisions, tax rate differential (or, conversely, subsidy rate differential) that varies positively with locational profits to decrease interlocational profit differential may be desirable;

(5) Monetary policy may be useful in employing concessionary interest rates on loans to firms contemplating new locations.

While these policies largely impinge on the industrial sector, the agricultural sector should not be neglected. The autarchic feature of regional economies may be gradually overcome if public policy is effective in promoting urban industrial-rural agricultural linkages. Industrial development in the regions where the key growth centers are geographically located should stress linkages to agriculture both in supplying intermediate goods to industry and modern inputs to agriculture. This focus will maximize the positive feedback on the agricultural sector.

To sum up, the high concentration of Philippine industry at one major growth point calls for public policy to assist the market in greater industrial diversification and linkages to agriculture. In the context of regional development within a national development program, emphasis on greater interregional connectivity is needed in the Philippines for two reasons:

(1) To overcome the continuing autarchic feature of the Philippines' regional economies and to enhance industrial-spatial complementarities; and

(2) To raise the productivity and income levels of lagging regions.