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## THE Philippine Economy



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# THE PHILIPPINE Economy

## No Longer the East Asian Exception?

#### EDITED BY

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#### Foreword

It gives me great pleasure and honour to provide the introductory message for this rather impressive volume on the Philippine economy. Authored by renowned Filipino scholars and serious observers of the Philippine economy, the volume is arguably the most comprehensive reference work on the economy since at least the global financial crisis in 2008–9 and will likely shape the thinking and practice of Philippine development policy in the years ahead.

This volume had its beginning, albeit accidental, during my stint as Socioeconomic Planning Secretary and, concurrently, Director-General of the National Economic and Development Authority under the administration of President Benigno S. Aquino III. At that time, in early 2014, I got hold of the ADB Report entitled *Asia 2050: Realizing the Asian Century*, and it caught my interest. The report talked about how Asia is in the middle of a historic transformation. To quote the report: "If it continues to follow its recent trajectory, by 2050 its per capita income could rise six-fold in purchasing power parity (PPP) terms to reach Europe's levels today. It would make some 3 billion additional Asians affluent by current standards. By nearly doubling its share of global gross domestic product (GDP) to 52 percent by 2050, Asia would regain the dominant economic position it held some 300 years ago, before the industrial revolution."

It was an exciting prospect for Asia, except for the Philippines. In the Report, the Philippines was a slow- or modest-growth aspiring country, lumped in the same group as Afghanistan, Bangladesh, North Korea, Laos, Myanmar, Nepal, Pakistan, and many of the Pacific Island countries. Even the Report's epic video-production did not make any reference to or show any significant Philippine landmark. That was, of course, understandable, given the country's poor-growth record in the three decades before 2010, which was the report's database for its extrapolation of the future. In contrast, since at least 2010, the country's economic performance has been quite stellar, impressively even earning the title "the rising tiger of Asia", among other accolades bestowed upon the Philippine economy by various global development observers, e.g., the World Bank and HSBC.

Both pride and necessity prodded me and my colleagues at NEDA, including one of the editors of this volume, Emmanuel Esguerra, to help change the narrative on the Philippine economy and society. The conditions were ripe for such a change. We could not allow ourselves to be left behind, to remain a laggard in an otherwise highly dynamic, rapidly growing and prospering region. We needed to reshape our future, to become part of the Asian Century. We needed to have a positive long-term vision for the country.

Meanwhile, even before my stint as NEDA chief, there were already discussions in different fora and media pushing for the creation of a long-term development plan, apart from the medium-term development plan of each administration. Private sector and civil society organizations, even some members of Congress, had been clamouring for a long-term development plan that transcends the fixed six-year term of political administrations.

But then we also considered political realities. We were aware of the fixed six-year term of a president and the tendency of each new administration to abandon even good plans and programmes of its predecessor to signify change and create a new "brand". A long-term plan crafted under one presidency runs the risk of discontinuity under the successor presidency.

Given all these, we thought that the best and the first thing to do was to have a common vision for ourselves over the long term. We need to define our long-term goals as a nation and unite around them such that medium-term plans of each administration will be guided by this set of goals — or our long-term vision — based on the standard of living that Filipinos want to have in twenty-five years or so. While people may differ on short- and medium-term objectives, as well as on approaches or strategies to achieve these goals, we believe it is important and possible to reach a consensus on a long-term vision.

The long-term vision exercise involved several activities intended to make it widely participatory, methodologically robust, and evidencebased. We conducted several public consultations through focus group discussions and a national household survey to ensure that the long-term vision we arrived at would be truly representative of the aspirations of the Filipino people. Moreover, as part of the exercise, we commissioned research and technical studies on various thematic areas that are widely known to be key factors affecting a country's economic development. These include growth and poverty, health, education, demography, innovation, infrastructure, environment, energy, finance, governance, and the global economy. A select set of the technical papers constitutes the chapters in this volume. Finally, we launched a communication plan to generate public awareness on the long-term vision, now dubbed *Ambisyon Natin 2040* — a play of English and Filipino words "The Vision" and "Our Ambition".

It was thus gratifying, to say the least, when the administration of the newly elected President Rodrigo Duterte embraced the longterm vision as the anchor for its socio-economic development agenda. Through Executive Order No. 5, President Duterte adopted the *Ambisyon Natin 2040* as the long-term vision for the Philippines, enjoining all government offices and instrumentalities to develop and implement their plans consistent with the long-term vision. The order resonates in the administration's recently crafted medium-term development blueprint, the *Philippine Development Plan 2017–2022*.

Let me now turn to another possible reason why I was given the honour to provide a foreword to this volume. My previous appointment as Socioeconomic Planning Secretary in the Aquino administration gave me a front-row seat to the country's transformation in recent years, the highs and lows of high-level policymaking, as well as the transition of power from President Aquino to President Duterte. In keeping with the theme of this volume, let me humbly share some of my own observations and reflections on where the Philippines has been, and some ideas on where it might be headed under this new administration.

As I noted earlier, the Philippines has enjoyed a surge of growth and macroeconomic stability in recent years. The country's economic growth rate averaged 6.3 per cent from 2010 to 2016 — the highest seven-year average growth since the late 1970s. This makes the Philippines one of the fastest-growing major emerging economies in the world today. The economy's structure is also changing, with signs of investment spending and resurgence in the industrial sector, though the economy is still very much consumption- and service-oriented. Such stellar economic performance has also been accompanied by strong macroeconomic fundamentals, an unprecedented level of confidence among players in the domestic and international business communities, improved competitiveness rankings, and a much stronger external position owing to the resilience of remittances and income from growth areas like business process outsourcing (BPO) activities and tourism, notwithstanding recent developments in the global political economy (e.g., Brexit, Trump's "America First" populism). These, along with many other positive indicators, have led many to think that the Philippines has, finally, shed its moniker as the "Sick Man of Asia", and is transforming into one of the region's brightest economic hubs.

Such a transformation, of course, has had its fair share of hiccups along the way. One of the major challenges faced by the previous administration — and one that is also likely to be faced by the current one — is how to make such growth more inclusive; i.e., how to translate economic gains into a faster reduction of poverty and inequality in access to opportunities. To be sure, part of the challenge is that, globally, economic growth today has become less able to reduce poverty compared to two or three decades ago. For one, economic growth has become less employment-intensive than before. The widespread growth of information and communication technology (ICT), a labour-saving technology, and globalization has also tended to widen the gap between skilled and unskilled segments of the global workforce.

In the Philippines, attaining inclusivity and poverty reduction has been made even more difficult by a number of natural challenges, such as the onset of major earthquakes in the Visayas and Typhoon Haiyan in 2013 (considered one of the strongest typhoons in recorded history). More importantly, there were also a number of institutional and governmental bottlenecks that weakened the translation of growth to poverty reduction. For instance, food policy experienced several wrinkles that kept basic food prices, particularly rice prices, much higher than what they would have been if international trade on food was less restrictive. A number of industries have also experienced increasing education–skills mismatches, contributing to the persistently high underemployment rate, even among college graduates. The country's low level of physical capital formation was addressed by instituting public–private partnerships and reforms in budget spending, but various implementation and coordination failures prevented many projects from proceeding at a much faster pace.

The election of President Duterte into office offers a golden opportunity to implement reforms towards greater inclusivity, while at the same time continuing and maintaining the previous administration's macroeconomic policies, including fiscal, monetary, and trade policies. For instance, there is now a deep-seated commitment to proceed at a more decisive and quicker pace when it comes to implementing projects and programmes and addressing bottlenecks, especially those on infrastructure. Many tax reforms aimed at improving tax administration and the progressivity of the tax regime are also in the pipeline. Peace and order, especially wars on drugs and crime, have also come to the fore of the development agenda.

But ensuring poverty reduction and greater inclusivity in the future requires nothing less than an acceleration of structural transformation — a shift of employment from low-productivity to high-productivity sectors, not only across agriculture, industry, and services, but also within each of these sectors. Evidence based on country experiences around the world in the past fifty years indicate that at the heart of the system driving poverty reduction is a structural economic transformation guided by efficiency-promoting policies and institutions. That is certainly the case in the country's neighbours — in China, Vietnam, Thailand and Indonesia, where structural transformation was key to their dramatic success in reducing poverty in the past three decades.

One of the key components of the overall strategy to make economic growth more enduring and more inclusive is the Philippine Competition Act, which became effective in August 2015. This legislation seeks to deepen efficiency-enhancing competitive practices so that economic growth becomes more enduring and more inclusive, thereby fostering public welfare both in the short and long run. It aims to create a policy environment that promotes a fair and competitive market — a level playing field — by regulating business practices that unreasonably restrain competition.

We see this legislation as a game-changer for the economy. The law is meant to address the very restrictive economic policies and anti-competitive business practices that have been too costly to the Philippine economy and public welfare. As evident in this volume, the economy had a comparatively poor performance over the last four decades. The highly unequal distribution of opportunities has perpetuated a condition of widespread poverty coexisting with growing affluence and prosperity in certain enclaves of Philippine society. Small and medium enterprises have found it extremely difficult to thrive and prosper in an economic environment where a level playing field is more of an exception than the norm, hindering the growth of employment opportunities. As is also evident in this volume, various anti-competitive business practices have their roots in certain laws, policies, regulations, and administrative issuances. Part of the reform effort has to involve deeply reforming governance to reinforce competitive market outcomes while achieving other societal goals, such as equity and health security.

All in all, the Philippines' reform story is far from complete. Moving forward, crafting and honing the reform agenda will require the collective effort of policymakers, advocates, and academics not only in the Philippines but also colleagues and friends from abroad. This volume plays a crucial role in deepening the understanding and collaboration between Filipino and non-Filipino scholars by way of thoughtful and structured policy research and analysis.

> Arsenio M. Balisacan Chairperson, Philippine Competition Commission Secretary of Socioeconomic Planning and Director General of NEDA, 2012–16

> > Manila, 15 March 2017

#### Preface

It is a pleasure to thank the many people and institutions who contributed generously to this volume, and without whom it would not have seen the light of day.

First and foremost, we would like to express our deep gratitude to our good friend and colleague, Arsenio M. Balisacan, and his staff, for initiating this project during his term as Secretary of Socioeconomic Planning and Director General of the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA) in the Government of the Philippines from 2012 to 2016. As he explains in the Foreword written for this volume, he and his senior colleagues in government oversaw a period of strong economic growth. But they were also conscious of the importance of maintaining the momentum. To this end, they set to work on crafting a forward-looking agenda, *Ambisyon Natin 2040*, which articulated a vision for an inclusive and prosperous Philippines. Some of the works commissioned for this endeavor provided the germ for the analytical papers that fed into this volume.

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) played a crucial supporting role in facilitating work on this project, including a workshop at which draft papers were presented and discussed. We are most grateful to the staff of the Bank's Philippine Country Office, headed by Richard Bolt, for their enthusiastic support and wise counsel.

While thankful to NEDA and the ADB, we do wish to emphasize that the views and assessments in this volume are those of the contributors and editors alone, and should not be attributed to these two supporting institutions. We are most grateful to our contributors for taking time out from their busy schedules to write stimulating papers, and to cheerfully endure the protracted editorial processes leading up to publication.

We thank Mr Ng Kok Kiong, Mr Stephen Logan and the ISEAS publishing team for their interest in our work, and an anonymous referee for very helpful and constructive comments on an earlier draft.

The current period is arguably one of the most significant in Philippine history. The country is frequently in the international news headlines, perhaps more than it would like to be. Behind these headlines is the question of whether the momentum of recent economic growth in the country can be sustained and its dividends enjoyed by more of the population. We hope this volume might be able to make some small contribution to the development policy debates directed at how to ensure continued socio-economic dynamism at this historic juncture in Philippine society.

> The Editors Manila and Canberra September 2017

#### **About the Contributors**

**Arsenio M. Balisacan** is the first Chairman and CEO of the Philippine Competition Commission. Previously, he served as the Socioeconomic Planning Secretary in the Cabinet of President Benigno S. Aquino III and, concurrently, the Director-General of the National Economic and Development Authority (NEDA). Prior to his appointment in NEDA, he was the Dean and Professor of the University of the Philippines (UP) School of Economics and Director-Chief Executive of the Southeast Asian Regional Centre for Graduate Study and Research in Agriculture (SEARCA). Before joining the UP faculty, he was a Research Fellow at the East-West Center in Honolulu and Economist at the World Bank in Washington, D.C. He holds a PhD in Economics from the University of Hawaii and an MS degree in Agricultural Economics from the University of the Philippines Los Baños.

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