



The politics of urban-rural relations: land use conversion in the Philippines

Philip F. Kelly

SUMMARY: *By examining the process of land use conversion in Manila's extended metropolitan region, this paper suggests that rural-urban relations must be seen as intensely political. The conversion of rice land into industrial, residential and recreational uses represents a political process in two senses: first, policy choices are made relating to the use of land that reflect a particular set of developmental priorities; and second, the facilitation of conversion involves the use of political power relations to circumvent certain regulations. These points are made at three different, but interconnected, levels: at the national level of policy formulation; at the local level of policy implementation and regulation; and at the personal level of everyday power relations in rural areas. The paper draws upon fieldwork in the rapidly urbanizing province of Cavite to the south of Metropolitan Manila.*

Philip Kelly recently completed a Ph.D in Geography at the University of British Columbia in Canada. He is now lecturer in Southeast Asian Studies at the National University of Singapore. His current research examines the economic and political dimensions of globalization in Southeast Asia, focusing on the labour process in sites of foreign direct investment in the Philippines, Indonesia and Malaysia.

Address: Southeast Asian Studies Programme, National University of Singapore, 10 Kent Ridge Crescent, Singapore. 119260; fax: (65) 777-6606; e-mail: seapfk@nus.edu.sg

I. INTRODUCTION

URBAN-RURAL RELATIONS have conventionally been understood in terms of social and economic interactions and linkages between two distinct modes of production and reproduction.¹² These relationships might be in the form of household livelihood strategies that straddle the two sectors;¹³ flows of commodities, capital and migrants; or, more recently, in new forms of "urbanization" that embody elements of both the urban and the rural.¹⁴ While each of these approaches provides useful insights, they essentially overlook the politics of rural-urban relations both in terms of the policy choices that are made relating to the use of land and with regard to the political processes (broadly conceived) that facilitate land conversion.

This paper examines some of the developmental priorities and political processes involved in land conversion in the Philippines, and the region around Manila in particular (see Maps 1 and 2). It is in the agricultural provinces of Manila's extended metropolitan region that some of the country's most productive farmlands also form the core region of an industrializing and glo-

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