

philippine studies

Ateneo de Manila University · Loyola Heights, Quezon City · 1108 Philippines

Urban Usurpation, by McAndrew

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Philippine Studies vol. 45, no. 2 (1997): 293–294

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Fri June 27 13:30:20 2008

cal alliances that connected the poorer peasants, the richer peasants, and the nonpeasants such as lawyers, labor activists, and politicians.

Fr. Connolly's account demonstrates the low regard of Filipino leaders for land reform as an objective for its own sake, rather than as an instrument for political advantage. Indeed, even Manuel L. Quezon used it as a weapon against his personal enemy, the then Archbishop of Manila. Fr. Connolly also documents in painstaking, and at times bewildering, detail the inconsistent support that land reform received from the government. Thus, the long-term fate of the four estates did not greatly deviate from the pan-Philippine trend towards concentrating land ownership in the hands of the few and keeping it out of the hands of the toiling masses.

After reading this book, the reader is likely to ask questions of cross-regional comparison. Unfortunately, the author does not draw any explicit comparisons with agrarian development in other parts of the Philippines: for instance, how did peasant resistance articulate itself in newly opened plantation lands such as that on Negros Island, where agricultural laborers had no traditional ties to the soil they tilled?

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Urban Usurpation: From Friar Estates to Industrial Estates in a Philippine Hinterland. By John McAndrew. Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1994.

In 1995, the Philippines was hit by a severe rice shortage, prompting the government to import rice from Thailand, Vietnam and India. While the shortfall on rice production was blamed by agriculture officials on a long drought, it now appears that rice, just like timber, would become a significant Philippine import commodity in the years to come in the light of state failure to lay down a coherent land-use policy that is sensitive to the requirements of food and environmental security. In this well-written book, John McAndrew offers us a structuralist lens in viewing the sociopolitical and historical processes that accompanied the rapid conversion of farm lands into non-agricultural uses in Cavite.

Employing a political-economy approach, McAndrew situates the changes in land use and land-tenure patterns within the vortex of social conflicts and global transformations. In this regard, he traces the emergence of the concept of land as private property in history and simultaneously, through the use of space and time dimensions. He argues that the spatial proximity of Cavite to Manila led to the rise of friar estates engaged in the production of

rice and various cash crops especially, to serve the needs of Manila and the colonial trade regime. While the Spaniards introduced the system of private landownership, British and American merchants facilitated Philippine incorporation into the global trading system in the 1820s. The rise of export agriculture during this period led to the growth of a local class of *principales* and Chinese *mestizos* who assumed the role of economic intermediaries between the friar landlords and the subsistence tillers. The two-tiered pattern of estate owners and subsistence tenants was soon replaced by the three-tiered pattern of estate owners, noncultivating tenants, and sharecroppers.

In this study, McAndrew integrated a macro-level review of the social history of Cavite with a micro-level assessment of the dynamics of the village land-tenure system in the province. Under the American land-redistribution program at the start of this century, Spanish friar lands such as the San Francisco de Malabon Estate and Imus Estate were divided, with large portions transferred to the elite families residing in the town proper and smaller parcels awarded to "better-off" villagers. The case studies in this book focus on two "better-off" Cavite families who were able to acquire farm lands during this period. In telling detail, the author outlines the process by which the land was consolidated, distributed and fragmented across four generations of the two families.

However, social stratification and class conflicts emerging from the unequal distribution of land could have been more strikingly represented if the author had chosen the really large landowning families as case studies. Nevertheless, the decision to study the smaller landowners allowed the author to show how the hunger for land led to the forging of multilevel modes of tenancy and subtenancy arrangements in Cavite. In the case of the village of Buenavista, households in the 1980s earned from agriculture as small landlords, owner-cultivators, amortizing owners, lessees, share tenants, borrowers, workers, and animal husbandpersons. This typifies the different positions of farm people with respect to the process of generating rent, surplus and subsistence from the land.

The weak and ineffectual implementation of land-reform programs from the 1970s up to the 1990s faltered in their attempts to strengthen the land-tenure security of poor tillers. Moreover, they utterly failed to protect the land itself from conversion to non-agricultural uses. While paying lip service to land-reform goals, state promotion of industrial and agribusiness ventures in Cavite, which has been identified as a major component of the CALABARZON (Cavite-Laguna-Batangas-Rizal-Quezon) growth corridor, has facilitated the rapid conversion of farmlands into industrial estates in the province.

McAndrew observes that resistance traditionally coincided with historical efforts to subordinate the local economy, resources and people in Cavite to state and global demands. However, while much is mentioned about the Caviteño's history of resistance during the colonial period, not much is said

regarding the type of resistance waged in the province to block land-conversion activities today. McAndrew, in this regard, did not succeed in fully threshing out the reasons why the Cavite tenants and farm workers, together with their allies, failed to cultivate enough "social capital" to forge strong networks of cooperation and solidarity in defending their claims to land and livelihood.

Finally, a community-centered strategy of sustainable development has been offered in the author's concluding remarks. Adopting most of the ideas laid down in the white paper on alternative development released by Green Forum-Philippines in 1991, McAndrew argues for a development approach that pushes for a decentralized and self-reliant economy constituted by ecological zones of dynamic communities. In paper, such a green agenda is certainly sensitive to food and environmental security issues, but the more interesting question with regard to the present study is how the "promise" of this alternative framework can be realized and strategically applied in Cavite.

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Philippine Localities and Global Perspectives: Essays on Society and Culture. By Raul Pertierra Quezon City: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1995.

Throughout this collection of disparate essays, Raul Pertierra's focus remains on the question of the "production of knowledge," both as carried on by the human objects of social science as well as by social science itself. In the introduction (p. 3), he attributes the Philippines' economic dependency to a "conceptual dependency," one manifestation of which is the Filipino social scientists' uncritical application of sociological models derived from Western historical experience to Filipino realities, which these alien frameworks cannot adequately encompass. This habit of "'self'-misinterpretation" or "'self'-misrepresentation" prevents our social scientists from "enhancing our understanding of civil society." Instead, they only serve "the administrative needs of the Philippine state or the accumulative imperatives of global capitalism" (p. 200). Rejecting the argument that the country's pressing material problems demand scholarship of clearly "practical" relevance alone, Pertierra enjoins Filipino social scientists not to leave the production of critical theory to an intellectually hegemonic West but also deconstruct such Western paradigms and construct ones of a more truly "universal" validity.

The three essays in the first part of the book focus on Zamora, the Ilocos community where Pertierra has been doing fieldwork since 1975. In the first essay, "Political Consciousness vs. Cultural Ideal," he argues that the tendency for ostensibly democratic political institutions in the Philippines to