The patchwork city: Class, space, and politics in Metro Manila
By MARCO Z. GARRIDO
Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2019. Pp. x + 274. Glossary,
Appendix, Index.
doi:10.1017/S002246342100028X

This is a book about class interactions, namely between the urban poor and the middle and upper-middle classes in Metro Manila. However, the author, Marco Z. Garrido, claims that the book's findings are equally pertinent to cities in the Global South, or other developing countries.

Garrido's definition of class is based on identities shaped by social interactions, not only interactions between worker and employer, but also interactions arising from almost daily living experiences in society generally and between the residents of slums and middle-upper class 'enclaves'. Garrido focuses on four slums, or 'squatters', and enclaves, mostly 'villages', throughout Metro Manila. Slums and enclaves which are physically near one another but for which there are boundary markers, such as gates, for the higher-class areas, are called examples of 'interspersion'.

The study is ethnographic, consisting of many interviews with residents of slums and enclaves, and with government and nongovernmental representatives. It is also informed by close observations, official demographic and spatial data, and articles in the *Philippine Daily Enquirer*. In addition, the author participated in cross-country campaign trips with former president Joseph Estrada before the presidential election in 2010.

The book is divided into two major parts. The first section documents a rapid increase in the slum population of Manila since the end of the Second World War. For example, between 1946 and 2020, the slum population of Metro Manila increased from 2 per cent to 48 per cent, a remarkable figure. Much of this increase resulted from rural to urban migration, and a combination of a relative lack of jobs elsewhere and housing for the poor in the city. Several attempts were made to develop the slums and create new housing arrangements for the poor, but the slums only became more indelible as part of the Manila landscape. Furthermore, slums have become more visible to the public, and many have been stigmatised as 'squatter' areas, which allows for a greater division between slum residents and others in the city. At the same time, the Philippine economy, especially in Metro Manila, changed from an agricultural-based one to one largely based on services, including professional, technical, and managerial occupations. This alteration of the job structure has contributed to a large increase in the middle and upper-middle class population in the city. Increased capital from investments and overseas remittances have also contributed to the growth of the middle class and funds for developing their housing arrangements, again, often in the form of 'villages'.

As the economy provided more 'precarious work', supplied by the urban poor, their living arrangements solidified into more permanent slums, from which out-migration became less promising. At the same time, opportunities and expectations for future advancement among the middle class began to rise. Thus, class identities

and social divisions became clearer, to both the urban poor and the middle class. Haphazard and unplanned housing developments, especially in the slums, have contributed to the interspersion of the urban poor and the middle class. Since the slums are often stigmatised and associated with dangerous people, those living in enclaves have established physical barriers between themselves and the poor, as a form of protection, as well as a visible sign of social differentiation between residents of these vastly different housing developments.

The second section attempts to link the economic and housing developments with local and national politics, especially in the capital. Garrido focuses attention in this section on the popularity of Estrada (Erap) and his ouster as president in 2001, and replacement by Gloria Arroyo. The ouster of Estrada is referred to as Edsa 2. The street protests following his removal as president and subsequent arrest are called Edsa 3. Garrido maintains that the middle and upper-middle class residents of the enclaves supported Estrada's removal as president, because they felt he was corrupt and 'vulgar'. The urban poor, however, supported his retention and then reinstatement as president.

This section of the book represents an important contribution of the study. That is, what are the consequences of the economic, social, and housing developments which have occurred in Manila since the end of the Second World War? The author chose to focus on politics, with an in-depth examination of a former president. Estrada was a former movie icon whose roles often portrayed a protective stance towards the poor and oppressed. In addition, he was a charismatic figure and had the ability to make the poor really feel he was on their side. The discussion of the events surrounding Edsa 2 and 3 is obviously informed by interviews and observations. However, the focus on a particular chain of events in one year, including a popular charismatic former president, makes it difficult to assess the general connection between the well-documented socioeconomic changes and politics in the Philippines and in Manila. While Garrido briefly addresses the election of Rodrigo Duterte, another populist figure, there is no detailed discussion of the brand of populism Duterte represents, particularly in reference to the socioeconomic situation addressed in the discussion of Estrada.

Overall, this is a good book, one which addresses an important topic. The connections between economic, social, and housing changes and later political events are reasonable, but not clearly convincing. This study represents an excellent start in this quest, but, as the author suggests, more needs to be done.

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