and economically?" (229). As novel and as pathbreaking as *The New Noir* is, Clergé ends with even more provocative questions. The cohesiveness of diasporic Blackness, the stability of the suburban form, and the vagaries of White reactions to non-White neighbors are all unknowns—not to mention the all-important X factor of Latinx residential patterns—but *The New Noir* takes a bold first step in launching this new field of research.

The Patchwork City: Class, Space, and Politics in Metro Manila, by Marco Garrido. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2019. ISBN: 9780226643144; 288 pp. $30 paper.

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Until the mid-1990s, many urban sociologists assumed that mixed income living would necessarily lead to upward social mobility for the urban poor. But what if living in close proximity not only fails to ameliorate interclass tensions, but actually exacerbates them? This is the novel contention of Marco Garrido's lucidly argued new book *The Patchwork City: Class, Space, and Politics in Metro Manila*. When shantytowns and middle-class enclaves are contiguous in urban space, residents withdraw into their respective territories and develop a fortified sense of class antagonism. This is what Garrido terms "boundary imposition": residents in elite enclaves experience a sense of siege by virtue of their proximity to lumpen slum dwellers, with all of the moralizing connotations these words call to mind; and residents in what he calls "slums" acquire a sense of discrimination vis-à-vis their middle class neighbors, who effectively expel them from the domain of civil society.

More broadly, this is a book about how urban sociology can speak to political sociology. Garrido begins with a puzzle. In 2001, President Joseph Estrada became the first Asian leader to be impeached after many tens of thousands took to the streets demanding his ouster. In response, Estrada's base in Manila convened a substantially larger march that lasted for a full week, but to no effect. The former march, remembered as Edsa II, was largely composed of Manila's middle classes, the bulk of whom live in gated communities that proliferated in the city over the course of the 1990s. The latter march, Edsa III, was predominantly made up of the city's urban poor, most of whom reside in massive informal settlements punctuating the landscape of elite enclaves. Hence the title of Garrido's book: the patchwork city.

This might seem like a standard narrative of urban class struggle, but there is a catch: Garrido points out that Estrada not only worked against the material interests of the poor, but most public opinion leaders working in these settlements strongly opposed him. Plus, he had just recently been ousted, imprisoned, and convicted of plunder, with his widely disseminated mug shot displayed prominently on the first page of the text. How then should we understand the intensity with which shack residents supported Estrada? And

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what does this tell us more broadly about the wave of populists currently overtaking executive branches on nearly every continent?

His answer deploys Rancière's concept of dissensus, which he understands as a problem of communicative action. "Dissensus is not a matter of different parties misconstruing each other's meaning," Garrido writes. "It has to do with them not being able to comprehend what the other is talking about. The object of dissensus is constructed in different and incommensurable ways" (4). The middle class viewed Estrada as a crooked opportunist who willfully manipulated an irrational urban poor. From an elite vantage point, this is a politics of the *masa*, the Tagalog word for "masses" that "connotes a vulgarity and backwardness associated with a lack of means, refinement, and 'proper' knowledge" (25–26).

But Garrido's project is to demonstrate that far from irrational, the urban poor are actors in their own right. He goes to great pains to show that there is a rational logic to the masses' support for Estrada, which he elaborates over the course of the book. Two distinct political worldviews come into conflict and are ultimately irreconcilable. Both are only "rational" from the perspective of each associated class. Far from passive dupes blindly tailing the middle class, Garrido's urban poor actively organized the mass mobilizations of Edsa III as a means of publicly articulating their class grievances. In Estrada's denunciation by urban elites, impoverished residents recognized their own humiliation. In a sense, they actively enlisted Estrada, rather than vice versa, as a means of challenging middle-class elitism.

This argument is carefully advanced over the course of the book's two parts. After laying out his argument in an introduction and two initial chapters, Garrido spends Part One explaining how the changing spatial makeup of Manila has facilitated class conflict. Shantytowns grew more than 40-fold over the postwar period, and in response middle class residents retreated to gated communities in the 1980s and 1990s. Instead of adopting the standard idiom of the dual city, however, Garrido argues that we should understand the patchwork city as characterized by what he terms "interspersion," emphasizing proximity rather than mutual exclusivity. Enclave residents feel under siege, imposing spatial boundaries on slum residents. They demand mobility controls on slum residents, whom they understand to be a "different kind of people" (107) defined by a sense of moral backwardness. Meanwhile, this stigma is experienced by slum residents as shame. If enclave residents experience proximity as a source of insecurity, the urban poor experience it as a source of discrimination.

Part Two of the book explains how this relational account of class formation translates into political dissensus. The middle class perceives itself to be "besieged not just territorially but electorally" by the mushrooming slum population (140). They represent the *masa* as selling their vote, whereas their own economic security allows them to act "rationally." But in a companion chapter, Garrido demonstrates that the poor yearn for a "sense of equality" (194), what he calls a "politics of recognition." Populist performance is insufficient to explain slum dwellers' support, as they rejected a whole slew of prior populists. It is this politics of recognition, a measured "taking [of] political positions based on their experience of class relations" (135), that explains why they supported Estrada but not, say, Arroyo. Of all of the concepts advanced in the book, the politics of recognition is the least developed, presented as "socially transformative" (195) and as the *sine qua non* of respectful engagement (239), despite numerous literatures contending otherwise: that recognition often comes at the expense of material redistribution (e.g., Fraser 2003), or

else that rather than helping people transcend poverty, it can lock them into a potentially repressive fixed identity (e.g., Coulthard 2014).

Ultimately, though, it was Estrada's ability to make slum residents feel recognized that catalyzed Edsa III. In the book's final substantive chapter, Garrido narrates the mobilization through both "truths at stake" (198), elite and subaltern alike. Riffing on Rancière, when the part who have no part force their way onto the discursive terrain of politics, they make themselves visible to both their erstwhile class enemies and to themselves, as well as rendering visible the class struggles at the heart of Filipino politics more generally.

Garrido ends the book accounting for a very different sort of populism: Duterte's recent rise on the backs of middle-class support. At the 11th hour, Duterte was able to cobble together a bloc that brought the urban poor into an alliance with the middle classes. Garrido explains Duterte's rise with reference to middle-class ambivalence toward democracy, as opposed to the case of Estrada, whose presidency was "possible because it empowered the urban poor electorally" (234). These actually read as quite comparable cases in which civil society recoils at the growth of mass politics. What then explains why the urban poor were marked as enemies during Edsa II and III but as temporary allies in the 2016 election?

This is a minor qualm, as it comprises fewer than six pages in an otherwise clearly argued book. It remains an essential read for scholars of urban politics, Southern cities, and contemporary populism, and it nicely complements the recent revival of scholarship on political articulation. Garrido's clear writing and careful organization will also make this book of interest to ethnographers, development scholars, and indeed, to sociologists of all stripes.

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