The Habitus without Habitat: the Disconnect Caused by Uprooting during Gentrification in Metro Manila

ISHIOKA Tomonori

Abstract

This paper is an ethnographic study of inhabitants who have been forcibly evicted from their homes and dispersed to resettlement areas as the result of gentrification initiatives that have occurred with some frequency in recent years in the central areas of Metro Manila. Sitio San Roque is an informal settlers' neighborhood located in Quezon City. However, in January 2014, to prepare for the commercial development of the Quezon City's Central Business District, inhabitants living in 250 households located in this neighborhood were forcibly evicted. Residents affected by the evictions were sent to relocation sites several kilometers away from San Roque. This paper constitutes a sociological account of the forced evictions and subsequent events based on participant observation conducted in San Roque and the relocation sites in January and September 2014. In particular, this paper argues that the forced evictions and subsequent move to relocation sites resulted in residents' transplantation from a familiar neighborhood into a markedly different world and explains residents' suffering from "the habitus without habitat." While referencing the works of Pierre Bourdieu, the study theorizes the fact that forced evictions not only deprive residents of their houses but also bring about the forced restructuring of habitus as well as the emergence of class polarization among the residents of informal settler neighborhoods.

Keywords; forced eviction, uprooting, Spatial transplantation

1 The forced eviction of informal settlers: A contemporary "enclosure"

On January 27, 2014, in the North Triangle district of Quezon City in Metro Manila, a large-scale forced eviction of informal settlers[1)] occurred in Sitio San Roque. The day was Monday, and as local inhabitants began their daily commute to work, the eviction squads arrived in force at 6 AM. In addition to approximately 1,000 police officers and state SWAT forces, the ranks of the eviction squads were augmented with hired day laborers. The eviction squads surrounded the periphery of San Roque, an informal settlement in the North Triangle district.

The inhabitants resisted by putting up barricades of scrap lumber and throwing stones and Molotov cocktails. After an initial stalemate, at 9:30 AM, in a display of force, the eviction squads demolished the residences of fifty informal settler households. Thereafter, at around half past noon, evictions began in earnest as informal settler residences were repeatedly and relentlessly demolished while the protesting inhabitants were threatened with rifles and tear gas. Throughout the day, 13 inhabitants

who had resisted the demolition were arrested, and 13 children suffered eye damage due to the tear gas, while many other inhabitants suffered considerable physical injuries from beatings and clashes. The forced evictions persisted for several days thereafter. As of January 2014, San Roque was a large-scale informal settlement with approximately 7,000 households, of which 250 were targeted, representing approximately 1,500 people[2] at the time.

Inhabitants who were subjected to these forced evictions began living in temporary makeshift tents they erected on nearby roadsides using scrap as building materials; however, these tents were also forcibly evicted by February 1, and they were instead sent to relocation sites that had been set up by the government. Uprooted from San Roque, which was their living and labor base for many years, these inhabitants were moved to relocation sites near the mountains, several kilometers away. These forced evictions, which identify people living in a single land by its area and violently expel them, are comparable with the conduct regarding "enclosures" during previous centuries, as Thomas More described in his book *Utopia*, and they may well be described as their contemporary counterpart.

Focusing on the case of the San Roque evictions, this study discusses forced evictions of informal settlers that have become increasingly frequent in Manila[3] in recent years from the perspective of class polarization of the urban poor. Forced evictions plunge the majority of inhabitants into further hardship. Regarding the mechanisms of this impoverishment, local social movements stress the fact that forced evictions effectively strip away life opportunities for work and housing. It has been recognized that the effect of depriving inhabitants of access to work, as well as the fact that the housing in the relocation sites provided as an alternative is often very inferior, leads to impoverishment. In short, this problematizes the inadequate transition of opportunities in forced evictions and the subsequent migration process to relocation sites.

While this is certainly an important point, even so, reflecting on the depth of the impact of the violence of forced evictions would seem to suggest the need for research that takes a different perspective. This paper focuses on changes to the specific bodily practices, or habitus, to reinterpret the framing of the issue of forced eviction from as a shift of experience, not as a shift of opportunity. This study shows that it is the disharmony in the phase of this experiential shift that is itself the core of the affected inhabitants' suffering, and it seeks to apprehend the outlines of the class polarization wherein this phase has been incorporated.

2 The structural transformation of informal settlers: Class polarization of the urban poor

Thus far, a certain number of studies have been conducted on Manila's informal settlers. These researches have featured such topics as the socio-economic conditions that give rise to informal settlers (Nakanishi 1991), slum culture (Jocano 1975), and social movements (Berner 1996), among many others.

An underlying premise shared by these studies is that informal settlers are marked by intrinsic labor practices and forms of living within Manila's urban spaces. Hence, we have apprehended the situation of Manila's urban space in dual formation of the districts inhabited by the city's middle classes and the informal settlements that are eliminated from the latter. A related discussion takes up "the social inequalities" (Shatkin 2004: 2470) between these two communities.

However, the way that these studies have approached intrinsic forms among informal settlers has tended to emphasize the heterogeneity between informal settlers and the middle classes while simultaneously assuming internal homogeneity on the part of the former. Certainly, it is difficult to find social commonalities between middle classes for whom labor, lifestyle, and residence are stable on all fronts and informal settler beset with unemployment and poverty, making the heterogeneity of the two seem self-evident. What is problematic,

however, is that the other aspect of emphasizing their respective differences between the two has been that the diversity of their internal composition has been overlooked.

It is with an interest toward such internal composition that informal settlers' social movements have been discussed by Anna Karaos (1993, 1998). Karaos develops a theory of social movements around the axis of fragmentation in informal settlers communities. Her interest lies in historicizing informal settlers' forms of existence. In a paper that diachronically traces the Manila informal settlers movement, she elucidates that the movement emerged out of strained relationships with state policies (Karaos 1993). In the context of the authoritarian regime of Ferdinand Marcos, which lasted until 1986, informal settlers formed connections that transcended residential areas and economic status and revolted against the regime. The homogeneous definition of informal settlers appeared in the context of relations with this authoritarian regime. After the Marcos administration's decline, social movements have separated and continued to address issues according to the circumstances of each informal settlement, not as the resistance to state power. Therefore, Karaos states that we can no longer contemplate any monolithic definition of informal settlers, nor, as a result of their internal economic disparities, may we assume any homogeneity even within individual informal settlements. This shift from homogeneity to fragmentation is the principle message of Karaos's research, and she argues the necessity of confronting this fragmentation as the path to re-conceptualizing the inherent potential of social movements.

The necessity of grasping the internal structural transformation within informal settlers communities has been clearly developed in Hideo Aoki's studies of Manila's urban bottom (Aoki 2013). Aoki stresses the necessity of understanding contemporary Manila within the framework of a theory of globalization. Despite changing times and circumstances, urban studies in developing countries have repeatedly advanced toward a theory of over-urbanization wherein the excess rural population is sent to cities to live in poverty as a notionally undifferentiated class of the urban poor. Nevertheless, times change, and the relationship of capital to labor is always in flux. The scheme equating the urban poor with informal sector labor has been dismantled, and several multinational corporations (MNCs) have emerged that aggressively seek to engage informal settlers in short-term contracts. There are very few reports indicating any general improvement in informal settlers' standards of living, and Aoki's study suggests that forced evictions and other events are generating situations that are even more severe. Manila's emergence as a global city[4] has been marked by the increased salience of class polarization within informal settlers communities. As a result, in place of the supra-historical concept of the "urban poor", Aoki suggests the "urban bottom" as a concept for grasping dynamics that incorporate pressures falling on or arising from informal settlers. Aoki's studies of the urban bottom could be intended to start a discussion tracing the structural dynamics that have given rise to the phenomenon that Karaos refers to as fragmentation.

What we can derive from these studies by Karaos and Aoki may be summarized in the following two points. First, there is the need for research based on informal settlers' internal diversity, particularly to advance consideration by tracing the factors that generate this diversity from the perspective of class polarization. Second, there is the need to consider the modes of articulation between informal settlers and other social classes without assuming their mutual segregation. Similar to how MNCs regard informal settlers as an important labor force, the two communities do not exist in separate worlds but intersect in quite specific ways.

Forced evictions represent an important case study for exploring these two points. This is because forced evictions simultaneously demonstrate the contiguity of informal settlers communities with the external world while intensifying class polarization among informal settlers. In this study, while tracing these two points in the specific case of San Roque, I further argue that class polarization

has been exacerbated simultaneously by external socioeconomic factors, including notably Manila's emergence as a global city and the internal factor represented by the "uprooting" of experience among inhabitants afflicted by the experience of forced evictions. To anticipate my argument, while forced evictions uproot the habitus of inhabitants affected by forced evictions, I conceive of attempts to preserve this course as further aggravating the hardship on the part of the affected inhabitants. By deriving the internal and external factors contributing to this type of class polarization, this paper attempts to inherently deepen the study of the current urban poor through empirical research.

3 Gentrification and displacement in Manila

Before considering the case of San Roque, it is beneficial to familiarize ourselves with the background behind the eviction of informal settlers in contemporary Manila. The key features of this background may be summarized as the increase in the number of clearances, the occupation of urban space by multinational capital, and the rise of violent forced evictions.

The frequency of evictions of informal settlers has increased sharply since 2000. Only 1,043 households were cleared in 2002; this had increased by a factor of 14 in 2011, wherein 14,744 households were evicted[5]. The strengthening of pressures due to the confiscation of land in Manila acted as the background for this rise in the eviction of informal settlers. After 2000, in the process of Manila's emergence as a global city, property values soared in central urban areas (Shatkin 2004). In this context, business districts like Bonifacio Global City were built, which comprised several MNCs. These districts, wherein skyscrapers, large parklands, and even elementary schools were developed within defined areas, highlighted Manila as an attractive investment destination for multinational capital. Although these business districts were regarded as important areas for Manila's economic growth, with construction arose the problem of securing land. In particular, informal settlements located across Manila came to be regarded as obstacles by the city's planners. For this reason, attempts were made to evict the informal settlers and confiscate sites of a certain scale.

In addition, the phenomenon of capital investments to "return to urban areas" is also associated with the eviction of informal settlers. In the Philippines, since 1990, MNCs that have become active in the Philippines, primarily in the manufacturing industry in the Calabarzon[6] region in Manila's southern suburbs, have promoted the construction of factories and development of residential areas in the suburbs. Spatially viewed, the impact of globalization in the Philippines has been discussed as finding its most representative manifestation in the Calabarzon region (Kelly 2000). Since 2000, however, multinational capital has been increasingly invested in the city rather than in the rural-urban fringes. At this stage, the majority of the responsible firms are now found in the housing and financial sectors rather than in the manufacturing industry. That capital investments are shifting to the city rather than the suburbs has triggered a change in the interests of city planners from Manila's outward spatial expansion to a rediscovery of its internal differentiality. The city's informal settlements have themselves been rediscovered as a "new urban frontier" (Smith 1996). Informal settlers are evicted, and business centers and condominiums are now being constructed in their place. In this context, evictions of informal settlers have emerged as a major political issue in Manila today[7].

However, the eviction of informal settlers is not something that can be accomplished easily. This is due to the passage of the Urban Development and Housing Act in 1992, under which forced evictions are in principle prohibited. Even in cases where the confiscation of land is unavoidable, the government is obliged to obtain a court order before providing inhabitants with formal notification at least 30 days prior to an eviction, and a suitable relocation site must be provided[8]. Thus, even if a private

company should acquire private ownership of a piece of land, the said company would be unable to evict any informal settlers based on that property; however, the company would have to arrange for a relocation site in conjunction with the National Housing Authority and City Hall as well as notify inhabitants at least 30 days prior to their eviction.

Nevertheless, the number of evictions has increased in recent years, and more violent forced evictions are being seen than ever before. The final draft of the Urban Development and Housing Act does not in itself guarantee housing rights to informal settlers. Currently, in response to the pressure to remodel urban space in the course of Manila's emergence as a global city, conflicts have arisen in the interpretation of the Act. Whereas the Act guarantees informal settlers' rights of residence, there is a growing tendency for the Act to be undermined by invoking the principle that the right of private ownership takes precedence. Therefore, without observing the procedures stipulated in the Urban Development and Housing Act, wherein their perspective can only be seen as "raids," these inhabitants are now subjected to violent forced evictions from their own homes.

4 The center of forced evictions

The course of the forced evictions in San Roque

San Roque is an informal settlement located in the barangay of Bagong Pagasa in central Quezon City, which is a part of Metro Manila. A large district bordered on the west by the Epifanio de los Santos Avenue (known as EDSA) and on the east by Agham Road, it is situated along the Metro Rail Transit (MRT) system that spans throughout Manila. The area is registered as state-owned land managed by the National Housing Authority. Informal settlers have been settling on this land since 1970, and the 2009 National Housing Authority Census confirmed the presence of 9,582 households. Joseph Estrada, who held office as President of the Philippines from 1998 to 2001, cultivated a close relationship with the population of this area, and San Roque has been noted as an informal settlement with some measure of political clout. Due partially to its location in central Quezon City, the neighborhood is home to people from diverse walks of life. According to my fieldwork with the inhabitants of the area, they are employed in several types of occupations, from traditional informal settler occupations such as waste collectors and pedicab drivers[9] to employment with multinational companies that have become more prevalent in recent years, such as shopping mall clerks and call center employees and even teachers.

On May 4, 2007, the then President Gloria Arroyo's Presidential Decree No. 670 ordered the development of the North Triangle and East Triangle districts of Quezon City wherein San Roque is also located. An agreement was reached between the National Housing Authority and the Ayala Corporation, one of the Philippines' largest conglomerates[10]. The proposed development of the area began. It was decided that a total of 256 hectares in the East Triangle and North Triangle, including approximately 20 hectares in San Roque, would be expropriated for the construction of a new central business district in Quezon City. Thus, the plan to evict the San Roque informal settlers gained momentum.

The forced eviction in January 2014 described above arose out of this course of events. Prior to such events, forced evictions had already occurred on two separate instances in San Roque, the first on September 23, 2010 and the second on July 1, 2013. The first of these forced evictions saw the intensification of a street occupation resistance movement by local inhabitants, and although the eviction was interrupted at the behest of President Aquino, 120 homes along EDSA still ended up being demolished. In the second instance, inhabitants along Agham Road staged a resistance protest on the street, repelling the eviction squads. Thereafter, in January 2014, approximately 250 households facing Agham Road were forcibly evicted by eviction squads that were considerably better equipped than on the previous two occasions.

The logic of resistance movements

Inhabitants responded with the development of organizational opposition movements to the crisis of the forced evictions. After the occurrence of the first such eviction on September 23, 2010, a "September 23 Movement" was organized among inhabitants in San Roque. The logic of the resistance movement was the right of poor citizens to both housing and work.

> For more than three years in office, we have only witnessed our urban poor brothers being pulled out of our communities by brute force and transferred to far-flung relocation sites where livelihood and employment opportunities are inaccessible[11].

The September 23 Movement criticized the inadequacy of housing and work at relocation sites and appealed to the Philippine government and Quezon City Hall to halt the forced evictions. Hence, in-city relocation to suburbs near San Roque was proposed as an alternative to the off-city relocation that would have seen inhabitants sent to a relocation site several kilometers away from Manila. The inhabitants of San Roque were not free riders who had illegally occupied the city center but were taxpayers and laborers who would support the development of Manila. Additionally, the rewards for Manila's development were not intended exclusively for the wealthy, but something that should also be enjoyed by the inhabitants of San Roque. They appealed that the rationale of their movement was to lead the aspirations of the San Roque inhabitants to the "right to the city[12]." Moreover, forced evictions were also criticized on the ground of the right to adequate housing enshrined in Article 11 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (Social Covenant), adopted by the UN in 1966.

In response, the National Housing Authority and City Hall encouraged local inhabitants to relocate voluntarily. Those who agreed to do so were moved to a relocation site in the municipality of Rodriguez, located in Rizal Province approximately 35 kilometers northeast of Manila, where they were granted ownership of a small bungalow (20 square meters) as well as financial compensation somewhere between 1,000 and 5,000 pesos (approximately 20 to 100 US$; since the average monthly earnings of an informal resident range from 10,000 to 15,000 pesos, compensation of 5,000 pesos corresponds to approximately half a month's income). However, as described below, these bungalows were not provided free of charge, but they had to be purchased. During the crisis of the forced evictions, more than a few inhabitants chose to relocate voluntarily, and although there were 9,582 households in San Roque in 2009, by September 22, 2010, 3,252 households had voluntarily relocated, with the outflow continuing thereafter[13]. However, there were also those who came to San Roque during this time seeking jobs and living opportunities, and the interviews with local inhabitants clarified that there were approximately 7,000 households in the community as of January 2014.

In this way, a polarization has been occurring between the population who have joined residents' associations to resist the evictions and the inhabitants who have voluntarily moved to the relocation site. Amidst such situations, the forced eviction of January 2014 was carried out on those engaged in the resistance movement who had continued to live in San Roque. This forced eviction was one that was characterized by violence. As described above, according to the Urban Development and Housing Act, Philippine law stipulates that inhabitants must be provided with at least 30 days of advance notice prior to any eviction. In the forced eviction that occurred on September 23, 2010, local inhabitants were served notices on July 27 that year, and when the notices expired on September 15, they were provided with an extension period of additional 15 days. In the July 1, 2013 case as well, advance notice was provided on June 15 of the same year. However, the eviction of January 2014 was carried out without any notice at all. While the local inhabitants had previously been served notices, its term of legal validity had expired in November 2013. Hence, from the perspective of the inhabitants, this

Sitio San Roque after the demolition(January 30, 2014, taken by the author)

was regarded as a raid.

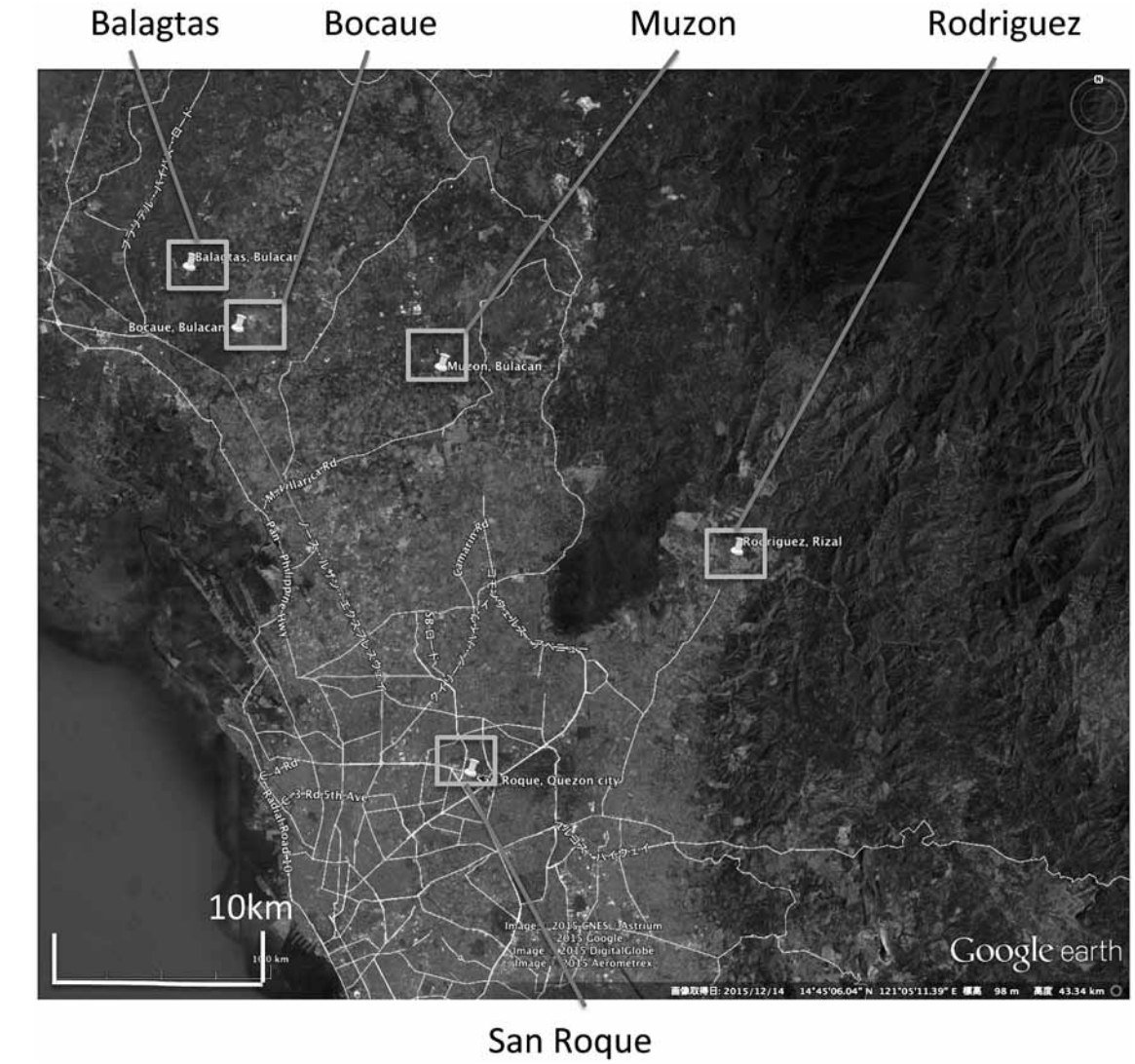
Turmoil in the wake of the forced evictions

Photo 1 shows San Roque on Thursday, January 30, 2014. Four days after the forced eviction had begun; the scene was horrific, almost as though the area had suffered an air strike. Although the local inhabitants had used scrap building materials to temporarily erect their own makeshift evacuation tents near the median strip of the road, these temporary shelters were in danger of being soaked by rains and blown away by the wind. Although inhabitants were somehow able to fulfill their immediate food and water needs through local purchases and NGO support, they were forced to manage daily tasks due to inadequate toilet facilities. Furthermore, cooking was difficult as gas and electricity were not available. Even if the day was tolerable, once it rained in the night, they would be forced to sleep in the cold caused due to the rain, for all that this was Manila. Yet, even as they lived on the street, deprived of their homes, many inhabitants continued working and the children continued to attend school.

The following day, January 31, was a holiday in the Philippines in observance of the Chinese Lunar New Year. Despite the fact that forced evictions were prohibited on holidays under the Urban Development and Housing Act, the forced evictions continued, with cranes brought in to demolish nearby houses. By the fourth day of the evictions, a sense of loss must have permeated the daily lives of the inhabitants. Women fetched water and washed laundry while living in makeshift tents. They dried their clothes on fences that had been erected by the government to signal "No Entry" after the forced evictions (Photo 2). This strongly indicates that, although deprived of their houses,

Laundry clothes on the fence (January 31, 2014, taken by the author)

Figure 1. The locations of the four resettlement sites (Photo©2015 Google)



the lives of the inhabitants were far from over. From this day, officials wearing yellow shirts of the National Housing Authority were suddenly seen in large numbers on the streets talking to the affected families. Explanations were provided regarding the allocated relocation site, and the number of households and household members prior to the evictions were confirmed through interviews with the inhabitants. Once their data were recorded with the National Housing Authority, they were to be granted rights to the relocation site.

On Saturday, February 1, large trucks sent by the National Housing Authority began arriving to transport the inhabitants and their belongings to the relocation site. After experiencing the loss of their homes and having spent subsequent days living on the streets, there were some inhabitants who rejoiced at the prospect of being allocated to the relocation site. However, the overall mood continued to be dominated with anger for being deprived of homes where they had lived for decades. This is also reflected in the passive voice used to describe the inhabitants "being sent" rather than "going" to the relocation site. Moving days for the inhabitants were divided according to their respective neigh-

borhoods, with inhabitants being sent to the relocation site until February 4.

5 From informal settlements to relocation sites: The forcible restructuring of habitus

Dispersal to four relocation sites

The 250 households that had been subjected to forced evictions were sent to four separate relocation sites (Figure 1). Site 1, the largest, was located in Rodriguez in Rizal Province; Site 2 was located in Bocaue, Site 3 in Balagtas, and Site 4 in Muzon, all located in Bulacan Province. All the sites are suburbs located 25 kilometers or more by road from San Roque, with Rodriguez at 25 kilometers, Bocaue at 32 kilometers, Balagtas at 36 kilometers, and Muzon at 34 kilometers away. While houses were unconditionally allocated by the National Housing Authority in the first three of these sites, only households that met certain conditions subject to an audit, including income, were able to move into Site 4 due to better overall residential conditions and the substantial size of the housing that was available.

In each case, housing in the relocation sites was not provided free of charge, but included a purchase obligation on the part of the residents. Households that had been subjected to forced evictions while simultaneously losing their homes in San Roque, were forcefully burdened with debt to purchase housing in the relocation sites. Property values differed in each of the sites, and houses were allocated depending on who had the ability to pay and who did not. This aspect will be elaborated below.

In the following section, this paper attempts to comprehend the essence of the transformation brought about by the move to these relocation sites, focusing on 80 cases of the approximately 250 households that were sent to Rodriguez, where I conducted interviews and participant observations in September 2014. At the time, seven months had passed since the relocation of these 80 households had been complete on February 4, 2014.

The distantiation of labor opportunities

The relocated population did not expect much from their new lives in Rodriguez. Compared with San Roque, where they had spent their days fearful of the danger of eviction, they now had their own homes. Nevertheless, even these expectations were gradually unfulfilled. This is indicated by the fact that of the 80 households that were sent to Rodriguez, 35 ended up selling their homes in the relocation site. After only seven months, 44% of the group had left Rodriguez[14]. A reason for this is that the assigned housing had not been adequately equipped. Arriving from San Roque, the former informal settlers were shocked at the state of the relocation site, with houses that lacked doors, windows, toilets, electricity, or even plumbing. By appealing to the National Housing Authority with demands to furnish their living environment, residents were later able to have doors, windows, and toilets installed. However, they remained without electricity for a month after taking up residence, and during my fieldwork, the water could still be used only between 9 PM and 2 AM in the evening. Waste collection was irregular, occurring only around once every two weeks.

Even so, a more important reason is represented by problems surrounding labor. The environs of the Rodriguez relocation site are at the base of a mountainous area where labor opportunities are scarce, which forces the local population to commute to work in Manila[15]. Therefore, transportation expenses for a single day can amount to 150 pesos (over three US$). Most residents, even in Manila, are employed in occupations earning minimum wage or less (the daily minimum wage in September 2014 was 466 pesos). Since a third of their salary was spent in transportation, these workers risked plunging themselves into further poverty.

For instance, in the case of a family (hereafter referred to as Family A) that moved from San Roque, the husband, who was the head of the household, worked as an engineer at a Konica Mi-

nolta plant in Makati City, Manila. From Monday to Saturday, at 5 AM, he left the house for the nearby tricycle stop[16]. By tricycle, he would travel to the Rodriguez bus top (20 pesos), and from there, he would travel by jeepney[17] to the Commonwealth Market in Quezon City, Manila (20 pesos). There, he would transfer to a jeepney on another route, heading for EDSA (15 pesos). From EDSA, he would travel to the plant by a bus and jeepney transfer (20 pesos). The travel time required for a one-way trip was two hours; three hours should traffic be bad, with a round trip travel cost of 150 pesos. Although he works for a daily wage of 550 pesos, leaving so early and returning home so late because he lives in such a remote location means that he now spends even more on food than when the family lived in San Roque. Although the situation he had gotten into was extremely strenuous both financially and physically, he felt that the lack of labor opportunities around the relocation site meant that he had little choice but to continue this daily struggle.

Family B, too, was faced with the same distress. Because the husband of the family was elderly, his wife supported the family with her earnings. She was responsible for equipment maintenance at a factory in Quezon City, Manila, working night shifts. From Monday to Saturday, she worked from 7 PM to 3 AM. Her transportation costs required that she pay 115 pesos daily. Because the roads were extremely congested when she left for work in the evening, she would leave the house at four in the afternoon, three hours before the start of her shift. As there was almost no traffic when she left work early in the morning, she was able to easily return home, but she still told me that she was facing a difficult situation due to the increased transportation costs and commuting time.

Such increases were a frequent topic in conversations at the relocation site. For this reason, household breadwinners, including those in Family A and Family B, began spending more time working on holidays than they had when they were living in San Roque. Without working on holidays, they would no longer have been able to economically support their families. In addition, as a result of the problems of travel costs and commuting time, there were some families who reorganized their households such that the husbands would live alone in Manila while their wives and children would remain in the relocation sites. The following is the case of a family that had moved to Balagtas, rather than Rodriguez. The husband, who worked as a jeepney driver in Manila, due to the extended working time and travel costs, took to sleeping in his jeepney during the week. He lived by taking simple showers in the market for 10 pesos, eating his meals at food stalls, and sleeping in his jeepney. On weekends, he would return to the relocation site to provide his wife with money to support her living costs. As a result of having been sent to the relocation site after their forced eviction, he was forced into living the lifestyle of what might be called a "weekday homeless person" to secure the necessities of life.

Skills training and habitus

In Rodriguez, various initiatives had been attempted by the local populations to increase labor opportunities in the vicinity of the relocation site. One of these was the creation of a local industry. To secure residents' lives at the relocation site, the National Housing Authority had introduced a skills training program. The aim of this program, which was intended to support the acquisition of skills that would enable participants to secure new occupations, was to bring about the creation of a local industry. However, the realization of this aim has been very uncertain.

After the move from San Roque, five initiatives were launched over the half year between March and September 2014. The first of these initiatives was the manufacturing of slippers. However, this was suspended when working capital could not be secured. The next attempt was at making ropes. This was an attempt to manufacture rope using coconut husks, and it was underway as of September 2014. However, because a bundle of rope that required significant labor to produce could be sold for only 1.25 pesos, it was impossible for workers

to earn more than 100 pesos a day, irrespective of how hard they worked. As such, other initiatives were necessary. Therefore, while soap production was introduced as another new project, this was also soon abandoned due to inadequate startup capital. Next, a project to sell dumplings and hamburgers was planned, but this also ended in failure. Thereafter, a joint purchase of a sewing machine was made to begin the production of dust cloths. Although this project, like the rope making, was underway, the fact that there was only a single sewing machine meant that the residents were not yet able to produce dust cloths in sufficient quantities, and as of September 2014, they were considering purchasing additional machines.

Although the National Housing Authority promoted its support for job creation with the introduction of the skills training program, in truth this was nothing more than talk. "The government says 'We'll give you a house and hold a seminar on starting a business.' Then, they say 'the rest is up to you' and that's it! How are we supposed to be generating jobs when there's such an overwhelming shortage of funds?" (Resident E). "Look around. There's hardly anyone around here. All the relocation sites are like this. Sure there are houses, but there are no people. There's no human activity here." (Resident F). The relocation sites had been denied the conditions that would enable any human activity, including labor.

Another program introduced as a part of the skills training was one that provided guidance on "social graces." Intended for residents in the relocation site, the program undertook to provide instruction on matters of comportment such as ways of speaking, greeting, and presenting a cheerful look. It was said, "From now on, everyone will need to behave gracefully" with impeccable mannerisms and greetings. "They told us 'By creating a new you, you will improve your chances of finding work.'" (Resident G). In previous studies, Manila's informal settlers have come to be characterized as being extremely skilled (Berner 1996). Because these informal residents lived in areas that were not publicly approved, they had to address every aspect of their lives themselves. These are skilled people, even to the point of building their own houses and making their own furniture. However, after being sent to relocation sites in the wake of forced evictions, these people were imposed with "skills training," which raises the question of why such skilled individuals should be subjected to such programs.

The reason is that the "skills" demanded of them in their new situation were dramatically different from those they had used previously in their lives in the informal settlement. Their existing skill sets were primarily oriented to manufacturing and repair. However, in the relocation site, it was not these but the very re-encoding of comportment such as how to speak appropriately and work with a smile that were considered as skills.

This is a crucial issue in problematizing the transition from forced eviction to relocation sites from a sociological perspective. This is the issue of the forcible restructuring of habitus in conjunction with spatial movement. Pierre Bourdieu (1984) distinguishes between "praxis" and "pratique," the former referring to future-oriented projection behavior based on a rational calculation, and the latter referring to a pre-intentional behavior that conforms to perceptual and physical schema acquired through lived practices. If this classification is accepted, the experience of moving to the relocation sites after forced eviction could be said to be a matter relating to the dismantling and re-formation of pratique. Skills and culture that had once been necessary for life in the informal settlement came to be seen as "backward" in the relocation sites. The aim of "training" is thus for the residents to acquire the "skills" appropriate to the relocation site.

The process of the forcible restructuring of habitus is accelerated in specific ways by the transformation of economic and household conditions. Initially, in terms of economic conditions, labor and consumption patterns have been decisively transformed. When living in San Roque, labor opportunities had been acquired through local networks. Connections and information was conveyed on the basis of ties with neighboring inhabitants

and relatives in the community, providing access to labor opportunities in the vicinity of San Roque. In addition, even if the wages thereby acquired were insufficient to support a living, people were able to make ends meet by buying on credit from local shops in the informal settlers community. Economic activities were subsumed within social relationships, which we could describe as a living, breathing "socially-embedded economy." However, the situation at the relocation site was entirely different. With scarce labor opportunities in the local area, even if a new occupation was to be secured in future, this would have to be through individual job-hunting activities rather than through relying on intermediaries within the informal settlers community. Therefore, what was demanded of those who had been sent to the relocation sites was a skills training focused on manners of speaking and greeting. However, the kind of neighborhood relationships that might have enabled buying on credit has not yet been produced. Hence, economic activities at the relocation site existed as a system that was independent of social relations.

The transformation of household conditions also contributed. In the move to the relocation site after the forced evictions, the government assumed the authority to identify who had been "legitimately" re-settled. While I described a sketch of my interview research of households impacted by forced evictions, this was part of a project to identify "legitimate relocatees." As indicated by Aoki, the household composition of Manila's informal settlers is extremely fluid (Aoki 2013: 145). Each household will often include temporary renters, and these surplus household members will provide assistance with various tasks such as childminding, cooking, and washing in order to contribute to the functioning of the household. Informal settlers' households that had been characterized by such fluidity had no choice but to become fixed, at least on paper, in the move to the relocation site. Temporary household members were excluded from the re-housing allowance, and "legitimate relocatees" were defined as the close relations of a nuclear family. At the relocation sites, informal settlers' households, whose vitality had been based precisely on their fluidity, were forced to live with a small, fixed number of people. As I confirmed in the previous section, we also find scattered cases at the relocation sites of men who are forced to live as a "weekday homeless person."

Thus, the relocation sites came to lose the atmosphere of human activity, with those who were forced to take the reins of housework and childcare—usually women—frequently living a life of daily hardship. Since informal settlers' households generally do not use electrical appliances, housework is extremely labor-intensive and must now be accomplished without any reliance on surplus household members. These households are typically impoverished, meaning that women need to find jobs to earn sideline income. While there is demand for skills training for women as well, the prospect of learning new skills and of going out to search for work while simultaneously managing a household is dire.

Here, once more, let us return to the fact that 35 of the 80 households that moved from San Roque to Rodriguez sold off their houses. The fact that these people have had to sell their houses they acquired, in addition to the aforementioned lack of provisions made in the housing environment and the distancing of labor opportunities, might also be said to have been involved in the forcible restructuring of habitus. The habitus that people had embodied in their lives in the informal settlement of San Roque no longer held any currency in the relocation sites. The skills demanded by the labor market and the ways of carrying out the labor of household management had to change. Yet, while patterns of behavior adapted to their new worlds were demanded, such processes were markedly difficult. Even in the time necessary to undergo such adaptation, households would fall deeper into penury, and it seems likely that many would realize the choice of giving up their lives in the relocation sites to return to Manila. Hence, the argument that spatial movement leads to the forcible restructuring of habitus seems to be something that we must confront in any consideration of forced evictions.

Ranking the relocation sites

Considered from the viewpoint of the forcible restructuring of habitus, we could say that it would be ideal for relocation sites to be set up not in remote areas but in the vicinity of the informal settlements where residents lived. Regarding both the aspect of finding labor opportunities and the manner in which housework is accomplished, residents would be able to start their new lives without any major disruption. As described earlier, social movements in Manila advocate "in-city relocation," while opposition movements have been organized against "off-city relocations."

In fact, relocation sites that involve such in-city relocations have also started to appear. For example, one attempt at such in-city relocations is the Bistekville housing projects in Payatas, Quezon City. I will describe this case based on my own participant observation in September 2014. This relocation site was established by Quezon City, and it began resettling informal settlers from January 2012. A total of 233 households out of a capacity of 355 had taken up residence as of September 2014. Hence, there remain a number of spaces that could house new tenants, and the area is located 13 kilometers away from San Roque, which is much closer compared with the relocation site in Rodriguez. However, making this kind of in-city relocation possible involved setting numerous conditions that have to be met that would effectively bar most inhabitants from living here.

Particularly significant conditions are the cost of purchasing expensive homes and holding some proof that one is a "legitimate citizen." To be resettled here, residents must purchase a house for 450,000 pesos (through a 25-year loan)[18]. This represents more than three times the cost of living in Rodriguez, where houses cost 140,000 pesos (also through a 25-year loan). So, as proof of their ability to pay, prospective residents require proof of employment indicating that they (1) "hold a regular job that pays 13,000 pesos or more each month." Furthermore, to prove their identity as "legitimate citizens," they are screened for (2) "having the official right to vote in Quezon City" and (3) "a total of nine types of document relating to marriage and overseas employment." The majority of Manila's informal settlers are unable to satisfy the burden of proof imposed by these three conditions. Nonetheless, even further conditions are imposed on prospective tenants, and families with five or more members are denied residence unless they are able to obtain special dispensation, such as for having a high income. Each unit is mandated to have five or fewer tenants. By setting these excessively high barriers, the majority of informal settlers subjected to forced evictions have no choice but to give up on the prospect of in-city relocation, and as a result, end up being sent to the more remote relocation sites that have easier residence criteria such as those in Rodriquez and Balagtas.

This clarifies that relocation sites exist in a hierarchical relationship. Even those who are subjected to forced evictions will be able to access in-city relocation, if only they are able to meet the requisite economic and household conditions. However, the majority who are unable to meet these conditions are sent to remote areas that are barren of labor opportunities, where their habitus is subjected to forcible restructuring. The poor are being expelled from the city.

6 Spatial transplantation and the experience of uprooting

As seen above, while simultaneously depriving informal settlers of their homes, forced evictions also trigger the dismantling and re-formation of the habitus they have built up over time. This is not an issue of the mere availability of labor opportunities but also an issue relating to the specific bodily pratique involved in the social relations used to acquire such opportunities and the skills employed in work itself.

The point that this is an issue of pratique rather than that of opportunity is also true of their living situation. Informal settlements are self-built and also improved through the relations of mutual aid

that residents have with neighbors. In the pratique built up by the practice of residence, such locations become tailored living spaces, which is precisely how they become unique locations marked with particular histories[19]. Forced evictions strip away this historicized uniqueness and obliterate the culture born out of the practices of living.

If we follow the discussion in Bourdieu's study of Algeria (Bourdieu 1979, Bourdieu and Sayad 1964), forced evictions may be said to be an experience that not only displaces people but also uproots them. By suddenly being forced out of their lived spaces and plunged into a separate world, people do not only lose their homes but also the selves they have created in tandem with their worlds. Now, living in the relocation sites, these people have grown desperate to escape the disharmonies engendered by this experiential shift; for a population struggling with such disharmony, the experience of the forced evictions has not yet ended.

Finally, I would like to describe the fundamental concerns produced by this experience of uprooting that emerges from forced evictions. To understand this concern, we need to pay attention to forced evictions as an attempt to "cut and paste" space itself. As noted earlier, the lives of informal settlers involve mechanisms that enable them to eke out a living under harsh economic conditions by the taking in and sending out of temporary household members in a fluid manner. Accordingly, these households may not be said to be fixed in any rigid sense. The dynamic processes of borrowing and lending articles, joint babysitting, and the sharing of information and social connections to find labor opportunities are crucial here. The lives of informal settlers are made possible through being embedded in the labor environments of other nearby informal households.

However, forced evictions mark out the households subject to removal, which results in breaking up the lives of informal settlers, which would normally be made possible through their mutual embeddedness, into separate households. As described at the outset of this paper, to secure land for gentrification as a part of the process of Manila's emergence as a global city, informal settlers in the city center were subjected to enclosure as a "new urban frontier." Since these enclosures took place as a kind of zoning, the households subject to removal were simply shifted as they were to relocation sites outside the city limits in a "cut and paste" manner. Hence, the population that was sent to the relocation sites lost the spaces that had enabled their lives and labor, and they now had to realize new ways of living and working in isolation from their community. Thus producing the experience of uprooting that alienated them from the customary practices they had developed in the past. The brutality of forced evictions lies in the offhand manner wherein people have dissociated social lives that are embedded in space but transplanted elsewhere.

If we approach the experience of uprooting from the viewpoint of spatial disassembly, we may be able to gain a new insight into the topic with which this paper is chiefly concerned, namely class polarization among informal settlers. As a result of forced evictions, households with economic means are subjected only to in-city relocation, while the vast majority are sent out of Manila through off-city relocations. While in-city relocations also suffer from the brutality of spatial shift, the fact that households remain in the city means that, due to their physical proximity, they will be able to reacquire the resources they had previously in the form of temporary members and labor opportunities. Although eliminated from the spaces that had once enabled their labor and lives, the recreation of their lives in a new space is possible due to their proximity to the urban center.

This same is not true, however, of off-city relocations. The number of supplementary household members who might come to live in a secluded mountain area is extremely limited, and as a result of the lack of local industry, people have no choice but to make the long commute to Manila. Thus, the economic hardship accompanies the distancing of labor opportunities, readjusting the structure of the household, and re-harmonizing of a "backward" pratique necessitates a persistent struggle.

To escape this harsh situation, people are likely to give up the homes they have acquired at the relocation sites and return to Manila to live as renters with other informal settlers or as homeless people. Therefore, despite having been provided with housing in the relocation sites, we can expect that there will be some who will "choose" to live as a homeless in Manila.

Forced evictions escalate class polarization among informal settlers. However, this is not only aggravated by external economic factors but also by the experiences arising from their own acts to cut off the retreat; the population who have been sent to the relocation site, confronting the dismantling of their spaces and alienation from their lives, are making an attempt to "re-escape" to the city without any means in order to survive. To investigate the class polarization of the urban poor, in addition to considering the conventional external factors, it will be necessary to sample the inner logic of those living amidst such hardship so as to analyze anew the patterns by which the two are bonded together.

Notes

1. In this study, the term "informal settler" (squatter) is used to indicate someone who inhabits a property or building to which they have no recognized right of ownership. For a detailed discussion of informal settlers, see Aoki (2013).
2. The above numbers are based on a publication in Bulatlat, which professes to be "journalism for the people." The eviction of all the households in San Roque was prepared as a state-backed plan. Nonetheless, the establishment of a re-housing budget could not be worked out all at once, and it is reported that evictions will continue in a piecemeal fashion in future. On this occasion, in the name of a road expansion project along Agham Road, the houses that fell within the expansion zone of 11.3 meters were removed.
3. Although the official name of the administrative district is Metro Manila (which consists of sixteen cities and one town), I use "Manila" in this study as a shorthand in order to avoid the complexity of description.
4. Aoki defines a "global city" as "a city that has become an organic and integral part (a node) of the global economic structure" (Aoki 2013: 9). In this paper, following Aoki, I refer to the process whereby Manila has come to fulfill an important role as a node in the structural relations of the global economy, and the resulting incorporation of capital, commodities, and labor into those structural relations as Manila's emergence as a global city.
5. See the website of The Urban Poor Associates.
   http://www.urbanpoorassociates.org
6. A reference to the region made up by the five provinces located south of Manila (CAvite, LAguna, BAtangas, Rizal, and QueZON). The name of the region, Calabarzon, takes its name from the combination of letters from the names of each of these provinces.
7. On the "critical perspectives" to the trends of gentrification studies, see Slater (2006). Wacquant amplifies slater's study from the model of "the changing nexus of class and space in the neoliberal city" (Wacquant 2008: 198). On the case study of gentrification in a megacity of Southeast Asia, see Moore (2015).
8. Under the terms of the Urban Development and Housing Act (UDHA), the prohibition against evictions does not apply to informal settlers located on public land, lands targeted for the construction of infrastructure, or hazardous areas (e.g., along railroads or rivers). In addition, in other cases as well, evictions will be conducted as long as their legitimacy is recognized in a court of law.
9. Refers to a bike taxi.
10. This was according to a public–private partnership wherein the ownership and usage rights for publicly owned lands and resources were outsourced to specific private companies. This was regarded by activists in Manila

as a typical example of neoliberal policies in action.

11. The statement of Estrelieta Bagasbas, spokesperson of the Alyansa Kontra Demolisyon, a network of urban poor groups against forcible eviction. Retrieved from https://www.facebook.com/kalipunanng.damayangmahihirap/posts/10204515621004665
12. The historical writings of Henri Lefebvre (e.g., 1968) have been extremely influential in the informal settlers' movement.
13. See the GMA's website. Retrieved from http://www.gmanetwork.com/news/story/201776/news/nation/barricades-block-qc-north-triangle-demolition-14-hurt-in-clashes
14. When I related this fact to Dr. Karaos, a driving force in the study of Manila's informal settlers, she too was surprised that this proportion was so large. This suggests that the move from San Roque to Rodriguez was a failure in policy.
15. As described later, although this aims at the creation of localized industry whose products could be brought to market in Manila, the skills training scheme has failed entirely. The absence of labor opportunities in the surrounding area is also characteristic of the other relocation sites; for example, the area around Balagtas is surrounded by rice paddies, and there is no place for the former informal settlements to find work.
16. A motorcycle with a sidecar.
17. A small passenger bus that is used as a means of transportation by ordinary citizens throughout the Philippines.
18. In the event that the payment cannot be made in 25 years, the total payment would double to 900,000 pesos.
19. Many informal settlers rent the spaces they occupy. Even in such cases, however, those who are not single but accompanied by their families tend to put down roots in the area, and are less likely to move their abodes frequently or easily. However, living situations like those of younger unattached people who are looking for work tend to be more fluid, and they can support frequent moves between rental abodes.

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Correspondence regarding this article may be sent to Ishioka Tomonori, Hokkaido University, ishioka@edu.hokudai.ac.jp