THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF DISPLACEMENT: GENTRIFICATION IN THE POINT PRECINCT, DURBAN.

by

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In honour, and loving memory of my father, Michael Patrick Fitzgerald.

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ABBREVIATIONS

1. Arkians – Individuals who previously resided at the Ark homeless shelter

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ABSTRACT

In South Africa, gentrification has a huge impact on the makeup of city spaces where it has been used as a redevelopment tool in order to restore and enhance these spaces. However, socio-economic turmoil is created when development benefits mainly the elite minority whilst marginalising the poor majority, which occurs in many instances of gentrification. In the worst cases, gentrification creates a trickle-up affect whereby the benefits of such a process are felt predominantly by the urban elite. This is evident in this study, where gentrification at the Point Precinct in Durban led to the marginalisation of residents of the Ark, a Christian-run homeless shelter that was forced to shut down as its residents no longer fitted in with the image-conscious ideals of the redeveloping area. These residents were displaced and ultimately relocated to a severely under-developed area known as Welbedacht approximately 30km away. This study aimed to explore the negative socio-economic impacts of displacement as a result of this gentrification and found that these impacts are vast, severe and long-lasting, including the social implications of isolation and exclusion coupled with the economic loss of living along the periphery. The implications of displacement are severe primarily due to the following reasons: the community's displacement from the core to the urban periphery, the lack of social justice in the area, and the high levels of social exclusion. Furthermore, the implications of the gentrification process itself has resulted in a cycle of impoverishment in which Welbedacht has become entrenched. Due to the neo-liberal policies favoured by developers and policy makers, the urban poor are pushed out of the core and into the periphery with little support from local government, thereby resulting in the further marginalisation of a vulnerable community. Developers and policy makers should therefore strive for development that is equitable for all parties. Furthermore, facilities such as homeless shelters which provide countless services to the urban poor should not be shut down, but rather local government should strive to either redevelop such facilities or relocate them to an area that offers the same characteristics for the continued successful socio-economic development of the urban poor.

Key Terms: Gentrification, Displacement, Redevelopment, Socio-Economic Impacts, Point Precinct, Durban, Welbedacht, Right to the City, Marginalisation, Social Exclusion, Social Justice, Peripherlisation, isolation, vulnerability.

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

1.1. INTRODUCTION

In an ever-modernising and capitalist society, gentrification is often seen as the solution to urban decay and blight within the city centre (Egbu *et al*, date unknown; Zuk, 2015). The phenomenon that is gentrification was first introduced when sociologist Ruth Glass coined the term in 1964 (Glass, 1964). Although a process of revitalisation, the phenomenon has devastating repercussions in terms of displacement and marginalisation for the urban poor, which occurs as a by-product of the transformation of urban space from one that was once poverty-stricken and decrepit, to one that has been rejuvenated (Lees *et al,* 2008). As a result, gentrification as a policy for urban redevelopment has endured a great deal of controversy (Niedt, 2006; Mailler, 2014; Massey, 2015). This is owing to the wide range of both positive and negative implications that the process generates. Whilst it is argued that gentrification is essential for the growth of an area as it brings both social – through social mix polices – and economic benefits (Byrne, 2002), others, however, argue that the process brings with it an array of negative socio-economic implications primarily as a result of the displacement it causes (Lees, Slater & Wyle 2008; Aka, 2010; Sheppard, 2012). Unfortunately, the negative socio-economic implications that this process creates are not felt equally amongst a community, but rather, the inequalities produced are felt most severely amongst the poorer members of society, as these individuals are side-lined and consequently marginalised from the urban core and thereby have their right to the city eroded.

It is these vulnerable and marginalised individuals who are the victims of gentrification. The uneven distribution of wealth that accompanies this process is responsible for the creation of two worlds: the inner city where affluence, power and privilege are given to a select few, and the periphery which becomes the site of marginalisation for the underprivileged (Gordon, 2015). This urban restructuring which occurs as a result of gentrification has been termed 'creative destruction' (Harvey, 2008) on account of the havoc that is wreaked whilst absorbing surplus profits provided by the gentrification process. It is this creative destruction that is responsible for the marginalisation of the urban poor. As a result, inequality persists on a

larger scale as the underprivileged become marginalised from the city, economic opportunities, social networks and political power (Gordon, 2015).

The displacement and marginalisation of the urban poor is occurring on a global scale as a result of the rapid pace at which gentrification is revitalising urban spaces (Gordon, 2015). This phenomenon is known to occur in areas where potential economic benefits can be acquired. In an ever-modernising society, redevelopment becomes a means of dispersing, whilst simultaneously increasing, excessive capital (Harvey 2008). Furthermore, the areas that receive this capital are typically characterised as regions that have become rundown and are poorly maintained, with residents who are of a poor economic standing. Areas prone to displacement and marginalisation as a result of gentrification are typically middle-class residential areas (Pacione, 2005). Furthermore, the marginalisation of these vulnerable communities can only occur when a sufficient rent gap exists; that is, the variation between the present valuations of property in a given area versus the potential value the same property could offer once in a rejuvenated state (Pacione, 2005).

This study sought to investigate this process of marginalisation and creative destruction in the Point Precinct in Durban, eThekwini, South Africa, where the potential benefits acquirable from a redeveloped area, coupled with the development from the 2010 Fifa World Cup, prompted the regeneration of the area. These actions resulted in the displacement and marginalisation of the vulnerable who resided there.

The Point in Durban is a precinct that marks the entrance to the busiest port in Africa. Typical of most harbour precincts, the area had succumbed to urban and social decay (Transnet National Ports Authority, 2014). In 2004, it was announced that the 2010 Fifa World Cup would be hosted in South Africa, bringing with it the potential for economic growth for the development of the country. Furthermore, the eThekwini Municipality conducted an economic impact study and marked the area for government-driven redevelopment for the Ushaka Marine World entertainment zone (eThekwini Municipality, 2012). It was this that triggered the gentrification, through incoming economic development, resulting in the restoration and re-development of the Point whereby buildings were renovated, new businesses emerged and an upmarket residential area was once again evident in the Precinct. It was at this point that existing residents began to be pushed out of the area. The exclusionary forces of excessive capital, in this case because of the 2010 Fifa World Cup, caused individuals

to lose their right to the city as a result of marginalisation and displacement (Harvey, 2008). This is not only a local problem, as the right to the city is being lost on a global scale as neo-liberal forces continue to expel individuals from the city as a result of gentrification. The need for capital to expand and increase in order to 'survive' has seen the emergence of phenomena such as gentrification as a means to invest excess capital, which has subsequently resulted in countless individuals losing their right to the city as they are expelled from valuable and viable locations within inner cities to areas located along the periphery (Harvey, 2008).

1.2. PARTICIPANTS AND THE RELOCATION STUDY AREA

Although gentrification can rejuvenate and restore an urban landscape and concurrently create economic growth, it must be recognised as a process that has the potential to also destroy the social fabric of a city, create greater inequality, marginalise the urban poor and reinforce poverty (Sheppard, 2014). This was evident in the Point Precinct where gentrification has resulted in increased levels of inequality and marginalisation of an already vulnerable community. The Point Precinct was previously home to a Christian-run homeless shelter known as the Ark which housed many destitute individuals. The Ark was located in central Durban, a pivotal location for its residents as it was close to all services (emergency services), amenities (schools and clinics) and ample employment opportunities. Furthermore, the Ark provided its residence with all the wants and needs necessary for an improved quality of life. These included in-house church and clinic facilities, education, rehabilitation programmes, a crèche, food, clothing and toiletries. However, when gentrification of the area commenced, the Ark was shut down as these residents no longer fitted in with the ideals and image-conscious view of a gentrifying area. The residents were subsequently displaced and marginalised from the Ark as well as the city and ultimately relocated to an area known as Welbedacht, found on the city's southern periphery 30km from the Point.

1.3. ADDRESSING THE SEVERITY OF THIS GENTRIFICATION

With the hosting of mega sporting events, such as the 2010 Fifa World Cup, comes a great deal of economic development for a region. However, the hosting of these mega-events is based mainly on economic impacts, with little attention being given to social impacts (Bass *et al,* 2010 & Gunter, 2014). Moreover, as found with the hosting of mega-events in Rio de Janeiro, the 2016 Olympic Games has resulted in the displacement and marginalisation of

thousands of individuals (de Almeida *et al,* 2016). The building of urban structures and sports facilities has resulted in the violent and at times illegal displacement of a multitude of individuals (de Almeida *et al,* 2016), when socially unjust policies that privilege the wealthy and marginalise the poor are enacted (Gordon, 2015). Furthermore, hosting mega-events such as the Olympic Games or the Fifa World Cup has the ability to create world branded cities (de Almeida *et al,* 2016); however, in doing so, a large proportion of the underprivileged population in these areas is forced to endure forceful displacement. In order to develop a city perceived globally as safe, open and accessible, often with the emergence of new entertainment zones comes with it the displacement and subsequent marginalisation of the urban poor. This is becoming increasingly problematic as the marginalisation of those displaced simply becomes a by-product of gentrification, with poor mitigation strategies aimed at relieving the poor of the subsequent burden they are forced to endure. Furthermore, whilst the gentrification process has the backing power and authority that accompanies a capitalistic society, those who are negatively affected by the impacts of such a process are forced to endure the social and economic inequalities which accompany marginalisation (Hermann *et al,* 2002). This occurs when the bourgeois occupy the newly developed urban core whilst the already vulnerable members of society are marginalised from the core as a result of their displacement to the periphery (Gordon, 2015). Their right to the city is lost when the urban fabric of a society that once existed is torn and subsequently redesigned with upscale buildings, boutiques and luxurious apartments made for the affluent minority (Harvey, 2012).

Gentrification hence has a number of social and economic costs such as the costs of displacement and marginalisation from the urban core. Nevertheless, the fact remains that gentrification will continue to occur despite the negative impacts that it produces (Aka, 2010). This is because the negative impacts of this process often equate to huge economic gains for the urban elite. In addition, gentrification is a very powerful process as it has the ability to change the social and economic structure of the area being gentrified (Byrne, 2002). More research is therefore required in this field of study so that we can fully understand and thereby attempt to eliminate the negative side effects of this economically powerful and socially vulnerable process. Furthermore, the marginalising effect of gentrification is known to tear the social fabric of a city and disrupt the current patterns within a particular

environment, creating greater inequality through marginalisation and displacement of vulnerable communities. Although gentrification has also been seen as an opportunistic process where the intended goal is to produce rejuvenated urban areas and create an environment for various races, ethnicities, cultures and lifestyles (Newman *et al,* 2006), the various economic classes are often not considered within this process of change and this is where the problems fundamentally lie and arise.

1.4. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Aim:

To explore the role of gentrification in the displacement and marginalisation of vulnerable communities.

Objectives:

To explore the social and economic impacts of gentrification-related displacement.

To examine the strategies (housing, financial aid) that have been put in place for the former residents of the Ark.

To examine how marginalisation has stagnated the development of this relocated community.

To examine the condition of the residents who were displaced and ultimately relocated to Welbedacht.

1.5. OVERVIEW OF THE CHAPTERS

This thesis is divided into four further chapters. Chapter 2 presents the method of data capture and analysis and uses Henri Lefebvre's argument of 'The Right to the City' as the theoretical framework to represent the research study.

Chapter 3 presents a literature review that will identify and explore major themes within the process of gentrification where displacement, marginalisation and social justice all emerge as consequences of a gentrified community.

Chapter 4 presents the research findings and analysis. The research findings are used to explore the various ways in which gentrification has affected this marginalised community.

Chapter 5 is the concluding chapter and states what the main findings were and represents the key themes and patterns which emerged throughout this research study.

CHAPTER 2: METHODOLOGY

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Due to the nature of the study, it is essential that a detailed and comprehensive methodology be adopted in order to best understand and portray the impacts experienced as a result of displacement, hence a qualitative research methodology was implemented. This chapter presents the qualitative research design, explains the researcher's role and the data collection method, represents the research site and uses Henri Lefebvre's 'Right to the City' (1996) argument as a theoretical framework upon which this study is based.

2.2. A QUALITATIVE RESEARCH DESIGN

A qualitative research methodology has a range of core elements that are used to describe the process adopted in a qualitative research study (Merriam, 2002). This methodology is one that provides an in-depth analysis of the social world due to the researcher's ability to obtain knowledge from the social, cultural and historical experiences provided by the participants. Furthermore, data collection reinforces this in-depth and detailed experience due to the method in which data is collected, that is, face-to-face contact with participants. In so doing, the contact between the researcher and participants allows for an interactive and developmental experience whereby research is information-rich, detailed and extensive and will therefore allow for emergent issues to be explored. This then avails the possibility to develop explanations and identify emerging patterns (Moriarty, 2011), which is why a qualitative approach was employed.

A fundamental aspect of a qualitative research methodology, and which makes it so suited for this particular study, is the ability of the researcher to position herself as close to the participants as possible, thereby allowing the researcher to gain access to them as well as their personal experiences. As such, the researcher was able to identify key themes which emerged. These themes were largely related to displacement, marginalisation and inequality as a result of the gentrification which took place in the Point Precinct. A qualitative research methodology is used when a detailed understanding of processes and events is required. A qualitative research methodology was thus adopted in Welbedacht where the participants collectively shared their experiences. It was used as a means to create an open dialogue

between the researcher and the participants in an effort to fully comprehend the experiences of these individuals. This methodology is one that incorporates methods, understanding and aims in order to best comprehend a specific social phenomenon (Patton *et al*, 2002), such as the experiences and attitudes of individuals who have been affected by gentrification. Therefore, qualitative research methodology was chosen as it is best suited for research where the research questions require the understanding of processes, events and relationships of a phenomenon within a cultural or social context, as it is able to provide factual descriptions of personal experiences provided by participants in their natural environment (Ebrahim *et al,* 1995). In so doing, the researcher was able to gain information-rich and detailed data from the participants.

Finding displaced persons has been a problem in the past, particularly when those displaced are underprivileged, hence little knowledge has been provided on the effects of displacement (Newman *et al,* 2006). For this and the aforementioned reasons, a qualitative research method was used as it allowed for insight into situations and problems concerning displacement of which there is currently limited knowledge. This was achieved by gaining access to the Arkians through UNISA's Bright Site Project, a UNISA initiative that encourages researchers to learn whilst engaging in community development. A meeting was held with operations manager, Barbara McLean who then introduced the researcher to a work colleague who knew of the researcher's interest in the Ark and provided the researcher with the contact details of an individual who would later be used as a guide. It was this individual who enabled the researcher to make contact with the Arkians. A connection was then established between the researcher and the community leader, who subsequently made the necessary introductions between the researcher and the Arkians. A selection criteria was then developed by the researcher in order to establish which individuals would be used for the study. The criteria was based on: age, diversity, willingness to participate, length of time spent at the Ark, availability of personal time, the ability to provide detailed accounts of the events which took place as well as a detailed account of their current living standards both before and after relocation. Once these individuals were identified a qualitative research method was applied by making use of a focus group. This focus group was a successful tool as it allowed for the divulgence of personal and shared experiences which enriched the study. This form of research has been used in social science due to its ability to identify, describe and

document the experiences of people (Moriarty, 2011). In addition, it is a holistic approach that was used to seek a deeper truth and identify the complexities that exist as a result of displacement (Taylor *et al*, 1997). Qualitative methodology is, therefore, the best approach in this research study as it will be used to understand how the community or individuals perceived the issues of gentrification, displacement and their subsequent relocation.

2.3. THE RESEARCHER'S ROLE

The role of the researcher is pivotal as the researcher will play a key position in data collection. Furthermore, the duties of the researcher will include data collection, data analysis as well as the ability to be adaptive and responsive within the research environment so as to obtain clear understanding of the events that have taken place. In addition, the researcher's role is advantageous in that there are several elements, if adhered to correctly, which can enrich the study. These include the interpretation of verbal and nonverbal communication, and processing information instantly so as to clarify and explore unusual or unexpected responses (Merriam, 2002). However, although qualitative data collection is the best method for this study, there are limitations to this method; a primary limitation being a direct result of the human element due to the bias that could impact the study (Merriam, 2009). Nevertheless, there are ways to counter such bias. Rather than attempting to eliminate this bias and subjectivities, the researcher should identify and monitor them so as to ensure they don't shape the outcome of the data (Merriam, 2009). Furthermore, bracketing is an element that must be implemented when conducting and analysing research. Bracketing can be defined as setting aside preconceived assumptions surrounding the research in order not to taint the data provided (Fischer, 2009).

2.4. SAMPLING AND RESEARCH SITE

The population for this study was the approximately 50 people who were relocated from the Ark and given houses upon relocation to Welbedacht. From this population, a sample following the aforementioned criteria was used to select individuals for participation in the study. Selection criteria are established in order to identify which individuals would be most suited for the study in terms of data accuracy and data sufficiency. The researcher therefore needed to ensure that the sample population was one that provided detailed and honest descriptions of the events which have taken place as well as the changing state of their quality

of life since their marginalisation to the periphery. The focus group required 8–12 individuals to participate in the group for approximately 5 hours. The size of the sample was directly proportionate to the amount of data provided, while 5 hours would provide sufficient time to collect the data. The focus group was facilitated by the researcher who recorded and then transcribed the interview sessions in order to code the data. Field notes were taken by a research assistant, which included both verbal and non-verbal communication that took place in the group. Data collection occurred in the research location where the former residents of the Ark now reside. The data obtained was analysed and interpreted by means of coding. Coding is a data analysis process which is used to produce information that is structured by categories and can then be utilised to identify patterns (Laudel *et al*, 2013). Coding was employed by the researcher as an analysis tool by which the research was transcribed. This was done in order to identify emerging patterns, themes, trends and common ideas embedded within the collected data. In so doing, the data revealed various patterns and themes which represented the negative socio-economic impacts of displacement.

2.4.1 The Research Site

Data collection for this study was conducted at the relocation site in Welbedacht, Chatsworth. The map below (figure 2.4.1) represents two significant locations: the Point Precinct in Durban Central where the former members of the Ark resided, as well as Welbedacht which represents their current location. The location in Welbedacht where the residents were relocated to is isolated and situated roughly 30 minutes away from their previous residence.
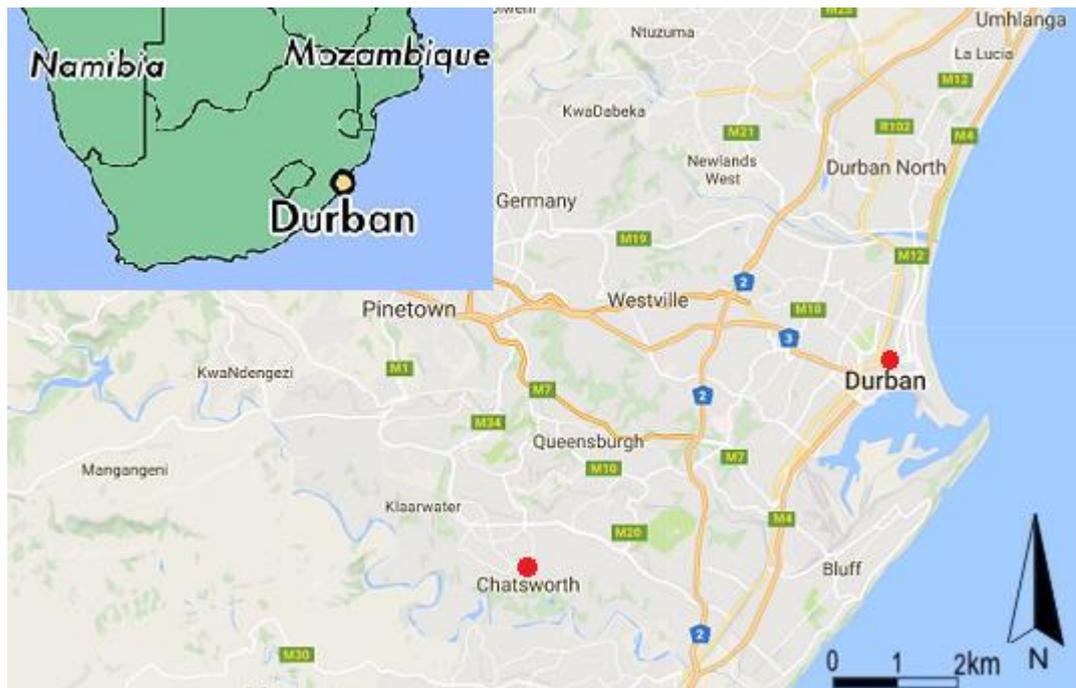
Figure 2.4.1: The research location (Welbedacht) and the former location of the Ark residence

2.5. DATA COLLECTION

Focus groups were used as a means of data collection for this study. A focus group is an event in which in-depth interviews are held with a group of participants where the objective is to uncover thoughts, feelings and responses between group participants regarding a specific event that took place. Moreover, a focus group is a group of individuals who are preselected by the researcher and used to discuss and comment on a specific event or topic whereby their own account of the experience is given in order to enrich the study (Powell *et al*, 1996). Additionally, Freitas *et al* (1998) state that there are several advantages to using a focus group. These include the following:

- This means of data collection allows for an appropriate amount of detailed data to be collected during a relatively short period of time.
- It allows for the exploration of topics and the creation of a hypothesis.
- It enables researchers to collect data, based on the research topic, from participants.
- Face-to-face contact.
- Low costs compared to other methods.
- It's a speedy process based on the evidence provided.

A focus group is best suited for research studies where the objective is to obtain information regarding how people think, reflect, feel or respond towards a specific topic or event. It is suitable for this particular study as this process is known to create open dialogues in which numerous individuals can reflect on their experience. Several perspectives and personal accounts or insights into the experience are provided in the focus group and thus create a truer reflection of the experience (Gibbs, 1997). Focus groups were therefore utilised as they are able to provide the best account on the socio-economic and psychological impacts felt by the previous residents of the Ark. This method of data collection creates environmental conditions suitable for the spontaneous expressions of individuals participating in the study. Thus, a focus group is the ideal method of choice when attempting to uncover the socio-economic impacts of gentrification. Here, data collection is used when the research study is dependent on a hypothesis based on the perceptions of the participants (Freitas *et al,* 1998). This method of data collection was hence used as an exploratory tool which allowed the researcher to create a free and safe environment where participants could express the full reality of their past and present circumstances as well as the events that took place during this time.

2.6. THE RIGHT TO THE CITY AS A THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

A great deal of writings have been published on both the theoretical and historical perspectives of the right to the city (Harvey, 2008; Marcuse, 2009; Brenner *et al*, 2011; Harvey, 2012). This bottom-up concept was used to represent a city where all inhabitants, rich or poor, have the right to occupy, use and produce the city (Harvey, 2008). The rapid urbanisation that occurred during this time resulted in the civil rights movement backing the demand that people, not capital, should have control over how the city is designed, moulded and managed (Harvey, 2008). It is argued that the freedom to make and remake our cities is one of the most precious yet also the most neglected of our basic human rights (Harvey, 2008). Instead, once revitalised, the city is seen as a product of space made accessible only for the elite minority whilst the poor majority are marginalised and displaced to the periphery.

This concept was then reintroduced where it was used to a) describe how the production of excess capital is disposed of by recreating cities through processes such as gentrification (Harvey, 2008), and b) describe how the emergence of urban struggles against gentrification, displacement and marginalisation have called on the need for concepts such as right to the

city and social justice to be enacted within the urban core (Fisher *et al,* 2013) Furthermore, the process of gentrification reinforces the survival of capitalism by replenishing both the city and capital itself through urban transformation. As such, capital is allowed to grow and as a result becomes the driving force behind political and class struggles (Harvey, 2008). The consequences of the global economy and surplus absorption of capital have created booming economic states (Harvey, 2008). However, this booming economic status is not without its downfalls because, although gentrification gains grounds by redeveloping cities, these newly developed cities produced as a result of surplus capital have in turn resulted in the displacement and marginalisation of the urban poor, thereby creating greater inequality, a lack of social justice and no right to the city for the urban poor. This thesis uses the right to the city as a theoretical framework which demonstrates how the ability to gain access to the city has been removed from the urban poor and reserved for the elite minority, ultimately resulting in the displacement and marginalisation of the urban poor. It shows how the process of gentrification, as a result of surplus capital, is used by the elite for the elite.

The right to the city is a moral claim whereby citizens are given equal access to space, services, information and transparency from government (Marcuse, 2009). At its core, the right to the city is a concept that embodies equality by asserting that there be democratic control over the city, with equal rights to access, occupy and use the space (Purcell, 2002). However, this study sets out the notion that processes such as gentrification, which are designed and implemented for the elite, don't allow for such equality and are instead violating the right to the city. Likewise, the city is designed, occupied and used by the urban elite with the social, economic and political exclusion of the urban poor. The focus of this study is on the socio-economic impacts of displacement and marginalisation as a result of gentrification and thus the concept of the right to the city is used to explore the implications of displacement and the marginalisation of the urban poor.

2.7. CONCLUSION

This chapter put forward the research methodology that was used to collect and analyse the data gathered for the study. A qualitative research methodology was employed to obtain data from the individuals who participated in the focus group. Two hours of data were captured and transcribed allowing for the emergence of pivotal themes within the research study. Such themes will be discussed in the following chapter. Furthermore, the chapter revealed the

relationship that exits between the right to the city and gentrification, and how this relationship, through affluence, power and privilege, produces a city devoid of equality in capitalistic society. Finally, the research topic and its underpinnings were discussed. The following chapter will present research relating to gentrification, marginalisation and displacement of the urban poor.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW

3.1. INTRODUCTION

Gentrification is a complex phenomenon that has and will continue to produce impacts for future generations, creating new urban forms and changing social structures within society (Arkaraprasertkul, 2016). It has become notorious as a process that brings about redevelopment and economic change at the expense of the urban poor (Aka 2010; Sheppard, 2012; Kotze *et al,* 2014). In an ever-changing gentrification-produced society, key elements have shown the following: that rifts are created within communities as a result of a torn social fabric and increased inequality (Vandergrift, 2006), there is deepening polarisation of social groups and ethnic minorities (Ahrens, 2015), a dispersed and fragmented city is created (Zuk *et al,* 2015) as well as a widening of spatial imbalances between employment opportunities and residences (Bourne, 1993). Furthermore, this process has emerged as one entrenched in inequality with the capacity to provide the right to the city to only a select elite. Entwined to this is the inability of the vulnerable urban poor to retain their right to the city. Thus, a city emerges where capital accumulation is prioritised over the individual's right to the city, and where the urban poor are pushed out and marginalised from the core to the urban periphery (Gordon, 2015). This is occurring at both regional and local scales where gentrification has become synonymous with displacement (Vandergrift, 2006). Furthermore, not only are the urban poor displaced but they are also marginalised within the urban periphery whilst the elite occupy the urban core (Gordon, 2015). These processes of displacement and marginalisation are enabled through the rent gap; this theory concerns changing potential and actual ground rent values which enable the displacement and marginalisation of the urban poor (Smith, 1987). Moreover, the displacement and marginalisation of vulnerable communities has severe implications where poverty, segregation and social exclusion plague the under-developed periphery whilst the core, and its elite inhabitants, continue to prosper.

3.2. THE RIGHT TO THE CITY AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: DEVELOPMENT AND MARGINALISATION

The 21st century has marked a time where human rights are advocated, and where the ideals of such a notion have moved to centre stage both ethically and politically (Harvey, 2008). This is because the ideals of a better world, where everyone has equal rights and opportunities is being promoted. Gentrification, although a process of revitalisation and upliftment for some,

has been known to threaten the ideals that encompass human rights, hence concepts such as 'the right to the city' and 'social justice' have emerged. This forces questions such as: 'Who does the city actually belong to?' And, 'What rights do individuals have?' (Harvey, 2008).

The right to the city is an ideal encompassing much more than physical resources that urban areas can offer. Rather, this notion encompasses ideals that humans desire at their very core; that is, the right to change and uplift ourselves (out of poverty, class and racial disparities etc.) by uplifting the city. Policy holders, private marketers and public developers should strive not only for a city that can provide urban resources, but also for a fair, free and just city in which all citizens, despite class disparities, are given equal opportunities and therefore equal rights to the city. However, the gentrification and redevelopment that occurs in the city is often responsible for violation of equal rights to the city. Likewise, it is less likely that there will be individual equal rights to the city due to the fact that it is a select urban elite who reshape and gentrify the city, and therefore control the rights to its access (Harvey, 2008; McFarlane, 2005; Murray 2008).

Marginalisation as a result of gentrification is an ongoing process (Gordon, 2015). Therefore, there has to be an understanding of whether or not this constant level of development and urbanisation, as well as the pace and scale at which it is occurring, is helping or hindering the urban residents (Harvey, 2008). The freedom and ability of a community to collectively redevelop the city is one of the most notoriously neglected human rights (Harvey, 2008). Therefore, the phenomenon that is gentrification is a process in which the control and distribution of surplus resources (which enable redevelopment) are disseminated by a select few and are appreciated by a selected class level (Harvey, 2008).

Urban areas are often divided and conflict-prone zones (Rodgers *et al,* 2013). In the preceding decades neoliberal policy has shifted control of the city to the power of the wealthy urban elites (Murray, 2008). Unfortunately, in these regions we see that the rights of private property owners, and the subsequent profits they acquire, exceed any other rights, including equal rights to the city (Murray, 2008). Gentrification, although a powerfully positive process with the ability to enhance capital surpluses and the city's physical vitality, has the ability to strip the city from the poorer members of a society and thereby marginalising and displacing the urban poor (Harvey, 2008).

The right to the city, and the right to stay put within the city, go hand in hand. There is no purpose in having equal rights within and to the city when processes such as gentrification simply dispute and abuse those rights. The right to the city implies that an area of democratic space be created. However, in an ever-changing urban environment this is often not the case. Processes such as urbanisation, residentialisation and gentrification are making it increasingly difficult for all individuals to play an equal and fair role within urban societies. The law states that we are all equal, yet this is simply not the case. Instead, law merely reinforces the unjust and unequal roles that exist in society today (Mitchell, 2003). Unjust social relations are reinforced and a bourgeois social sphere is created in which the elite continue to profit off privately owned and operated property within a gentrifying community (Mitchell, 2003).

In order to create a more equal society, developers should strive for development that is equitable (Kennedy *et al,* 2001). Government and policy makers should likewise strive for development that is equitable and which creates and maintains economically and socially diverse communities that are stable over the long term and have minimal social and economic costs on lower income residents (Kennedy *et al*, 2001). In an ideal world equitable development should be facilitated in urban areas whether gentrification pressures exist or not (Kennedy *et al*, 2001). Unfortunately, the very foundation of gentrification is inscribed with injustice in conjunction with insurmountable rates of displacement and thus equitable development is difficult to achieve (Wallace, 2015).

Social justice embodies the ideals of an equal urban society for all. The concept arose alongside the struggles surrounding the industrial revolution as well as the views of the way in which societies are organised (United Nations, 2006). The concept of social justice is one that understands that in a society which encourages development, personal and professional growth as well as the collective welfare of a society, inequality is inevitable. However, the concept maintains that the disparities in the levels of inequality should remain within acceptable limits so that it is possible to diffuse the high levels of inequality that currently exist. However, in a modern context, social justice is rarely achieved and the level of inequality is seen as both unjust and alarming (United Nations, 2006; Desmond, 2012; Hwang *et al,* 2012).

Social justice, as well as economic justice, should be sought out as a fundamental target within a gentrifying area, thereby reducing marginalisation by including the urban poor in the decision-making process. As it stands, gentrification is a process of socio-economic injustice on account of the displacement, marginalisation and community upheaval it causes (Slater, 2006). The ideal would be for these concepts (right to the city, social and economic justice) to embody the status quo of any society. A step towards unifying the social and economic struggles in a society is to adopt 'the right to the city' as both a slogan and political ideal for creating a fair and just urban space for all who wish to inhabit it. In so doing, the democratisation of that 'right' could create a social movement in which the poorer and lower class members of society will be empowered to take back their city. New modes of gentrification that enable the lower-working class to stay put need to be encouraged (Harvey, 2008).

3.3. GENTRIFICATION ON A GLOBAL SCALE

Gentrification is a global phenomenon that is occurring at a rapid pace across various scales. It is a process that has journeyed from the Global North to the Global South, ravaging poorer communities and revitalising urban cores (Lees, 2012); a phenomenon that has enabled capitalist activities, such urban renewal projects, which in turn are leading to increased private investment in the Global South. Gentrification is thus observed as a neo-liberal process (Recoquillon, 2014) because the process itself embodies all the entities that encompass neo-liberalism. These entities include the deregulation and privatisation of the public sector, market openness, competition, and little opposition from government (Brenner *et al,* 2002).

The term 'super-gentrification' describes the global impact that gentrification has had and will continue to have on vulnerable urban cores (Lees *et al,* 2006). Due to the fact that gentrification is now a global phenomenon, the manifestations of the process are evident across various spatial and temporal scales (Butler, 2005). This process was once simply a sporadic, quaint and local anomaly that has now transformed into an urban strategy that has ravaged communities on a global scale and has dominated liberal urban policy (Smith, 2002). As the process of gentrification becomes increasingly generalised in the Global North it becomes increasingly intensified. Gentrifiers have realised the substantial profits gained from

the phenomenon and thus it has become increasingly worthwhile for them to invest in property that falls within highly valued locations. This type of investment is driven by the incentives acquired from the global financial world (Lees *et al,* 2006).

Gentrification can now be seen as another form of westernisation where global flows and processes are used to construct identities in particular localities, specifically those in the South, where Western ideals and ways of life are adopted through the process (Lees *et al,* 2006). Furthermore, areas in the Global North are experiencing dramatic changes, for example across the urban interiors of America (Maciag, 2015). Nearly 20% of neighbourhoods in the region that offered potential incentives have experienced gentrification compared to 9% in the 1990s. Selective areas, such as Portland have experienced intense levels of gentrification, where 58% of the region was gentrified; likewise, these high rates of gentrification have occurred in Seattle, New York and Minneapolis (Maciag, 2015).

During the last two decades we have seen the rapid extent at which gentrification has spread across the Global South (Smith, 2013; Walker, 2008; Slater, 2011; Lees, 2012; Betancur, 2014 & López-Morales, 2015), where regions across various scales in the Southern hemisphere have experienced the rampage that is gentrification. State-led gentrification processes are now revitalising and changing the identities and physical structures of cities, which fall under the context of 'Global South', in prominent regions including China, India, Latin America and South Africa, to name a few (Lees, 2012).

Although gentrification processes have been adopted in the Global South, there are many aspects to this which differ from the Global North (Lees, 2012). The pace and rate at which gentrification is occurring is extensive and is targeting regions that are most vulnerable to gentrification. However, not all communities respond to the process of gentrification in the same way and acts of resistance take place in many regions in the Global South towards gentrification (Visser *et al,* 2008; Gaffney, 2015; López-Morales, 2015 & Rodríguez *et al* 2016).

In the Global South, gentrification as an urban growth strategy has taken hold of vulnerable communities and is playing out in diverse ways (Aka, 2010). Within the Global South gentrification is propelled by the simultaneous development of both new and old regions. Urban cores are being shaped and reshaped through the outsourcing of private capital by urban elite developers within individual cities (Lees *et al, 2008*). Simultaneously though,

selected areas in the Global South experience a change of the urban fabric as a result of transnational investors and political support. As such, a class transformation occurs that redefines and relocates the indigenous populations as being that of an underserving poor (Lees *et al, 2008*).

Large-scale redevelopment is transforming the social fabric that once existed within societies. Further evidence of evolving societies is emergence of gated communities (Butler, 2005). The growth in scale and diversity of gated communities in the Global South is one of the clearest manifestations of gentrification (Butler, 2005). This in turn is forcing gentrification researchers to take a critical approach when conducting research on this phenomenon (Butler, 2005).

Gentrification in the Global South has been seen as an accumulation of dispossession where the process itself provides a useful lens of how, where and when injustices have occurred as a result of a capital/neoliberal-driven redevelopment. Furthermore, this 'lens' can be used to illustrate the effects of the polarising nature of gentrification. Nevertheless, despite its polarising nature, gentrification in the Global South is seen as a useful tool in determining how Northern and Southern redevelopments differ from one another and how such differentiations can be used to mitigate the negative impacts of gentrification (Lopez-Morales, 2015). Furthermore, the following section reveals how the phenomenon has begun to take shape in urban cores within South Africa.

3.4. FROM GLOBAL TO LOCAL: GENTRIFICATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

Just as the process of gentrification has ravaged and simultaneously revitalised communities in the Global North and Global South, it has now made its way into the bounds of South Africa, redeveloping urban communities, and stripping away the identity of a community that once existed (Garside, 1993). The country has experienced sprouts of gentrification across various spatial and temporal scales; that is, gentrification has occurred in different times and places across the nation, bringing with it revitalisation and devastation, and therefore both positive and negative impacts (Garside, 1993; Kotze *et al,* 2013).

South Africa is no stranger to this phenomenon as the process of gentrification has been echoed throughout various urban cores across the nation. Urban regeneration in South Africa can be traced back to the 1990s where it has been implemented (Garside 1993; Roefs *et al,* 2003; Silverman *et al*, 2008; Kotze *et al,* 2013). The need for such a process in South Africa

has been driven by a range of decentralisation processes, namely: capital disinvestment, the provision of high-order services in suburban areas, and 'white-flight' from urban cities since the late 1980s. The combined effect of these circumstances is the primary cause for the urban decay that Central Business Districts (CBDs) within South Africa have succumbed to and been defined by (Visser, 2002).

Urban renewal programmes have been experienced in South Africa and the world alike, with gentrification being the most controversial form of urban renewal. However, gentrification is still gaining momentum in South Africa (Mosselson, 2016). Although in the past the occurrence of this phenomenon has been limited in the country, the process is starting to emerge and take force across the nation. Recent developments in South Africa, such as the emergence of City Improvement Districts (CIDs), for example, have prompted the re-development of inner cities, most forcefully seen in Johannesburg and Cape Town and now Durban as well (Reitzema, 2015; Bond, 2011). Such CIDs as well as a range of inner-city development initiatives have presented opportunities for gentrification to take flight in South Africa (Reitzema, 2015). As a result, the emergence of renewed and gentrified cities across the urban core of South Africa's landscape is evident. Gentrification forces will thus drive the process to take force across the entire nation, where areas that are vulnerable to gentrification (or can benefit from gentrification) exist (Monare, 2014).

Furthermore, as much as South Africa has moved on from its abusive past, there are still elements from the apartheid South Africa that are affecting the post-apartheid nation (Nattrass, 2014). By this, it is meant that South Africa hasn't fully escaped the impacts of her violent history as there are still aspects, such as the relocation policies that were inflicted, which influence her present and future.

In South Africa, townships that consist of both semi-developed and developed regions most often lie on the outskirts of the urban cores and suburban areas. Furthermore, there is a diversity of individuals who reside in these regions primarily due to the close proximity of these townships to the city. The relationship between urban cores and townships needs to be consistent and highly functional as the township relies on the core for employment opportunities and the core relies on the township for labour (Lester *et al,* 2009). Townships were previously characterised by racial segregation, exclusion and an extremely marginalised level of services and economic opportunities during the apartheid period. However, since the

dawn of a democratic state we have observed increasing efforts to provide these regions with the same services and amenities that existed in the former 'white' areas (Sibiya, 2012). Moreover, the development that has occurred in these regions post 1994 has encouraged an integration between the 'urban' and the 'township', thereby allowing for a more functional urban-township relationship (Lester *et al,* 2009). As a result we have seen an emergence of a 'black middle-class' (Visser et al, 2008; Sibiya, 2012), where areas such as Soweto have experienced urban regeneration in an attempt to improve the former status quo of the region. However, although the township of Soweto, for example, has experienced urban regeneration, there is no evidence that links gentrification to the area (Sibiya, 2012). This suggests that, due to the relatively new status of gentrification in South Africa, the process has yet to take shape within the confines of South African townships.

Therefore, it is imperative to note that while elements of gentrification are evident within the confines of South African townships, such modes of development are as a result of the Land Regulation Programme and are thus not products of gentrification (Sibiya, 2012). The Land Regularisation Programme has been developed with the aim of reshaping the township from a residential area to a mixed use development in order to encourage the development of economic nodes within the township (Planact, 2007). Although the process of gentrification itself isn't evident in the township as yet, there are still links to gentrification that are being experienced. This can be seen, for example, in the restoration of Vilakazi Street (Sibiya, 2012). This street is home to two Nobel Peace Prize winners – former President Nelson Mandela and Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and therefore economic development and renewal were encouraged as a result of the subsequent tourist attraction that has formed. Further evidence with links to gentrification is the attempt to rehabilitate and upgrade backyard shacks, yet without much success to date (Planact, 2007). Likewise, Soweto has experienced a number of urban renewal projects in the form of infrastructure and community facilities. These include: the tarring of all Soweto roads; the Baralink Development (transport node and hospital upgrade); the restoration of the Orlando Stadium and Soccer City; as well as upgrading the township's worn water and electricity infrastructure (Sibiya, 2012). The Land Regularisation Programme along with the urban renewal that Soweto has experienced has contributed to the range of in-migration the township has received. Likewise, there has also been a significant flow of out-migration of original residents. However, the out-migration of residents

has not been a direct result of urban renewal, land regularisation, in-migration of residents or property increases. Therefore, displacement of original residents has not occurred, and thus based on the definition of gentrification being applied in this study, Soweto is not experiencing gentrification, but rather, urban renewal and the development of economic nodes as a result of Land Regularisation (Sibiya, 2012; Planact, 2007). Thus, although elements of gentrification are evident in Soweto through rehabilitation programmes and the development of economic nodes, there is no evidence to support the occurrence of gentrification (and all it encompasses- eviction, property increases, rental increases, tax increases, vacancy and displacement) in the township. It must be noted, however, that although this phenomenon is not occurring within the confines of South African townships, its occurrence within the urban cores is creating deep-rooted and renewed feelings of social exclusion as citizens lose their right to the city (Huchzermeyer, 2013).

The South African government's decision to implement apartheid meant that, amongst other injustices, people of colour were denied their right to the city (Huchzermeyer, 2013). The decision to abolish apartheid in 1994 meant that citizens of all races would be allowed equal opportunities and thus their right to the city was restored. However, in an ever-modernising society, where development is pivotal in order for capital to survive, the urban struggles which accompany gentrification have reinvigorated inequality as affordable living areas within the urban cores become gentrified (Huchzermeyer, 2013). This is made worse by the general lack of understanding by government on what should be done for the poor in order to secure their right not only to the city but of their right to equality (Parnell *et al,* 2010). Furthermore, the inability of a vast majority of South Africans to attain their right to the city on account of gentrification has severe socio-economic implications (Parnell *et al,* 2010). Deep-rooted feelings of social exclusion and marginalisation which accompanied apartheid have been brought to the surface as a product of gentrification. Johannesburg, for example, is ranked the world's most unequal city (UN-Habitat, 2010; Huchzermeyer, 2013) on account of the planned segregations that accompanied the development of commercial property (Huchzermeyer, 2013). This is made worse when areas within the city, Parkhurst for example (Kotze *et al,* 2014), which once offered affordable housing undergo gentrification, thus creating greater inequality whilst simultaneously stripping residents of their right to the city.

In measuring the transformation of geographical space within the South African context it is evident that many nodes of economic development were formed as a result of decentralisation. The decentralisation of tertiary activities in cities across South Africa can be traced as far back as the 1960s when new areas such as Sandton and Randburg (on the northern periphery of Johannesburg) were created. These new urban areas then aggressively competed for both retail and office space in central Johannesburg. This in turn led to the development of an urban core with the simultaneous development of decentralised nodes on the periphery. Such patterns were not only detectible in Johannesburg but in Cape Town, Pretoria and Durban as well (Monare *et al*, 2014). However, in later stages of development, these regions began to experience disinvestment in the CBDs which resulted in the decline and decay of these areas (as previously stated). This in turn has prompted the need for a process such as gentrification to enable the redevelopment of the decaying cores.

As a result of these decaying cores, gentrification emerged across various regions in South Africa as a tool for revitalising and uplifting these regions. Although the literature base for gentrification in South Africa is currently small, the literature that is available suggests that the process is beginning to take root across the nation (Reitzema, 2015). Thus, urban transformations are occurring on both local and global scales, where cores are re-developed and transformed from areas of decay to regions of revitilisation.

3.5. URBAN TRANSFORMATION: GENTRIFICATION

The full extent of gentrification is vast as it continues to ravage through both the Global North and South. As a result there are many contradictions that have emerged regarding the gentrification process because the full extent of its strengths and weaknesses have not yet been identified. The reason for this is simple: neighbourhood change occurs on different scales, at varying degrees of economic development, and at different eras of social development across the world. The impacts and extent of gentrification have been exaggerated by literature published in the 1970s and 1980s (Smith, 1979; Palen, 1984; Smith *et al*, 1986; Ley, 1986; Sumka, 1987; Bourne, 1993). Similarly, Bourne (1993) stated that the gentrification process would lose momentum and become obsolete in the 1990s. However, the reality is that gentrification has now become a global phenomenon that is implementing change in the Global South (Walker, 2008, López-Morales, 2015).

It is argued that gentrification-led displacement is in fact an illusion (Goworowska, 2008). The reasoning behind this argument is that gentrifying neighbourhoods are not taken away from the poorer or lower-class members of a society, rather, the neighbourhood is simply regenerated (Goworowska, 2008). However, the reality is that displacement is a by-product of gentrification, whether it is an intended outcome or not (Clark, 2011), because although the process of gentrification primarily involves the redevelopment of a dilapidated area, it still brings with it the negative implications of displacement. Therefore, gentrification, either directly or indirectly, is responsible for the displacement of the lower-income residents of a newly gentrified area (Zuk et al, 2015). The transformation of urban space is nevertheless encouraged by government despite its negative repercussions. The changing economic status of such spaces coupled with their ability to continually produce capital is the reason for this encouragement. The world we live in is devoid of empathy for the poorer working class where the rights of private property and profit rate outplay any other notion of human rights (Harvey, 2008). As a result, the underprivileged members of a transforming society lose their right to the city as it is these individuals who are marginalised from political power and thus suffer the most from this process (Harvey, 2008). The accumulation of surplus profit enables the process of gentrification which in turn marginalises and displaces the poor from the city to the periphery.

Moreover, it has been perceived that the process is artificially induced and controllable when in actual fact there have been instances where governments have used power and resources to force the gentrification process into effect (Duany, 2001). As mentioned above, this occurs primarily as a result of surplus capital where rapid transformations, by means of gentrification, are used for absorbing surplus capital in order for capital itself to continue to grow and expand (Harvey, 2008). The reality is that governments have a great deal of influence and capital that enable them to encourage processes of revitalisation in dilapidated cities. These types of induced or forced gentrification have often been known to fail (Lees, 2014; Uitermark et al 2007; Islam, 2009).

There have been instances in the Global North where spontaneous gentrification has not only occurred swiftly but successfully as well (Duany, 2001). In many instances gentrification is welcomed as it is seen as an opportunity to uplift and revitalise a dilapidated urban area (Byrne, 2002; Cameron et al, 2005; Cortright et al, 2014). This is because urban problems are

not caused by poverty, but rather by the concentration of poverty (Cortright *et al,* 2014), and gentrification then becomes a means to disperse poverty (Duany, 2001). However, the reality is that although gentrification may disperse poverty, it doesn't eradicate it, and thus the vicious cycle of displacement, marginalisation and increased poverty continues to flourish. Gentrification may have the means to improve the economic viability of a region, however, it doesn't improve the status quo of the residents who reside/resided in the newly gentrified area, nor the total poverty level of a city (Zuk *et al*, 2015). Thus, their ability to continue to reside in the area is stripped away and instead the residents become unable to compete within the current status quo that the newly gentrified area demands and are thereby forced to relocate or are displaced.

Furthermore, gentrification is not only linked to urban residential areas but has been seen to occur in non-residential areas as well (Smith *et al*, 2007; Slater, 2011). This process of transformation can be linked to a number of non-residential redevelopment projects. Such areas that are not only linked to gentrification but play an integral part in the redevelopment of a city include, for example, urban waterfronts for recreational and other uses, the rise of hotels and conventional complexes, as well as the emergence of modern restaurants and retail districts (Smith, 2013). Gentrification therefore not only plays a role in the redevelopment of residential areas, but in the urban landscape as a whole.

There have been many instances of positive urban renewal through the provision of equitable development (Rose, 2002), where development without displacement takes place. Urban renewal projects that incorporate affordable housing, rehabilitating dilapidated buildings, and training local residents to successfully own cooperative businesses have all resulted in successful rejuvenation. This has prompted new areas of political development such as the 'Displacement Free Zone Campaign' as well as local and national incentives to encourage landlords to keep their tenants (Rose, 2002). However, gentrification without displacement is rarely seen on account of the poor being marginalised from the politics of this process (Harvey, 2008). As such, politics often plays an integral role in unsuccessful gentrification policies where accumulation by dispossession results in the destruction of communities and the displacement of residents (Harvey, 2008). This is because politics often fall prey to the inequities and inequalities that rule a capitalistic market, hence the power of the wealthy often claims the newly gentrified city for themselves, creating an ever-increasing rate of

displacement (Flores *et al*, 2014). Indeed, policies that favour the expansion of capital are responsible for the marginalisation of entire communities. Gentrification is evidence of this as the right to the city is lost when state-led gentrification displaces and marginalises a sizable proportion of the urban poor (Gordon, 2015).

Although gentrification has the ability to create an inner city that is increasingly sustainable and more habitable, it is this process that often creates increased imbalances between rich and poor, black and white, including home owners and home renters alike (Aka, 2010). The gentrification process needs to strive for the creation of policies that generate solutions at all levels so that its benefits are felt by all (Kennedy *et al,* 2001). In the past there have been many instances where gentrification has created increased marginalisation where citizens have been disregarded by society (Marcuse, 1985; Vandergrift, 2006; Flores, 2014; Sheppard, 2014). However, neighbourhood development has the ability to empower local communities by encouraging and supporting their ability to compete in high-pressure technology and housing markets (Flores *et al*, 2014). It is for this reason that gentrification should strive for the creation of policies that favour the urban poor. The city should be one that is accessible to all, where neighbourhood development creates equal opportunities for all, thereby allowing for the social and economic growth for all who reside in or have access to the city, not just the affluent minority. There is a lot of power behind the term 'gentrification' as it has the ability to transform urban space, however, there are precursors such as the rent-gap divide that need to be sufficient in order for gentrification to occur.

3.6. ENABLING MARGINALISATION: THE RENT GAP THEORY

To add to the complexity of gentrification is the notion that an array of factors exist which enable the process of gentrification. For the purpose of this research these factors will be termed 'development forces which enable gentrification and enforce marginalisation of vulnerable communities' and will be discussed in more detail further down. This section, though, will pay special attention to the relationship between the *Rent-Gap Theory* and gentrification, and how this theory enables the marginalisation of the poor. Gentrification, and the subsequent redevelopment and revitalisation, is a means by which the rent-gap can be closed (Smith, 1987). Additionally, the rent-gap theory offers the most sophisticated and theoretically developed explanation for gentrification (Clark, 1988), hence playing a significant role in understanding this phenomenon.

In 1979 rent-gap theory was conceptualised and used to describe the characteristics that exist within a housing market. The rent gap was utilised to differentiate the potential ground rent values versus the actual ground rent capitalised under its current use. Here, potential ground rent is used to define the potential capital that could be derived from an environment once it is at its highest and best use. There are primarily two factors that are responsible for the emergence of the rent gap. Firstly, capital depreciation in a region reduces the ability to capitalise on ground rent. And secondly, the continued expansion and urban development that occurs raises the potential ground rent level in the inner city. In other words, the depreciation and devaluation of urban inner cities produces the necessary economic conditions that favour the revitalisation of a city and thus leads to gentrification as a rational market response. This process was termed the rent gap and was defined as follows:

"The rent gap is the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use. In the case of filtering, the rent gap is produced primarily by capital depreciation (which diminishes the proportion of the ground rent able to be capitalized) and also by continued urban development and expansion (which has historically raised the potential ground rent level in the inner city)." (Smith, 1979, p545).

Furthermore, it is only when a significant gap exists (between potential and actual ground rent values) that redevelopment can occur (Smith, 1979). This is because as the rent gap widens, the declining property becomes increasingly attractive to developers who then buy the property with the intention to redevelop it (Clark, 1988). As neighbourhood decline increases so does the rent gap. Therefore, gentrification can only occur when the gap is significantly wide so that developers can purchase shells cheaply, pay for the reconstructions and rehabilitation costs, pay for the interest rates that accompany mortgage and construction loans, and once the rehabilitation is complete, the developer is then able to sell the end product for a price that produces a return for the developer. Once the rent gap is wide enough gentrification may then be initiated by key actors in the land and housing market (for the purpose of this research these actors will be defined as 'gentrification forces' and will be discussed further in the following section). This then results in an environment in which a large proportion of the city is capitalised, ultimately resulting in a recycled and revitalised urban core. The city then begins a new cycle of rejuvenation, offering a wide variety of uses and services (Smith, 1979). The filling of the rent gaps by redevelopment is seen as a way of rejuvenating a core by providing increased and economically effective land utilisation and

satisfying the existing demand (Clark, 1988). As such, when a sufficient rent gap occurs it enables gentrification (Smith, 1987; Slater, 2015), thus producing ripple effects that ultimately lead to the marginalisation of the poor. So it is that emerging rent gaps have the potential to displace and marginalise the urban poor.

The global rate at which rapid urbanisation and development is occurring is resulting in a lack of space for development to continue, especially at its current pace (Brenner *et al,* 2012). As a result, planetary urbanisation is occurring. This means that places which weren't previously considered part of the urban core – highway and railway networks, offshore financial centres, and natural landscapes such as jungles, tundra and deserts, are becoming increasingly considered 'urban' and hence increasingly part of what is termed the 'urban fabric' (Brenner *et al,* 2012). Traditional entities such as 'urban cores' and 'suburban fringe' are becoming reinvented as political-economic spaces can no longer be treated as singular or uniform, but rather, as a changing topography in which planetary urbanisation – that is, urbanisation of previously excluded landscapes, begins to emerge on a global scale (Brenner *et al,* 2012). With the rise of planetary urbanisation comes the emergence of planetary rent gaps. Planetary rent gaps are induced by forces such as global financiers, developers, states and local populations, which then work together to produce conditions for accumulation in a very uneven manner (Slater, 2015). The rent gap plays a pivotal role in gentrification and the rise of uneven development, thus it is essential that the rent gap be brought to the forefront so that a deeper understanding of the production of space and geography, as well as the accumulation and circulation of capital, can be gained (Harvey, 2010).

The rent-gap theory plays a central role in the rehabilitation and transformation of the built environment. This theory is vital if we are to understand the phenomenon that is gentrification, because the rent gap establishes imperative preconditions to enable the take-off of redevelopment and to signify the start of the gentrification process. The notion that this theory not only exists in reality but is also a vital force in urban change is supported by Neoclassical Economics and Marxian Political Economy (Clark, 1988). However, although the rent gap plays a central role in the emergence of gentrification in a region, Smith later stated that there are several other key factors that enable the gentrification process. He states that the existence of the rent gap is only a partial explanation for gentrification and that class

relations, the state, planning agents, and the interest and actions of the actors involved all play a role in enabling this process (Smith, 1987).

Furthermore, there are two opposing arguments against gentrification, namely: consumption side and production side. In consumption side gentrification, neighbourhood change is accounted for in two moves: in and out. Here, residents move in and out of a region based on cultural factors, where culture plays a prominent role in determining residential location. In production side, the role of the State as well as financial institutions encourage the emergence of gentrification. However, in the production side theory of gentrification, redevelopment can only occur when the rent gap exists (Pacione, 2005). Furthermore, although consumer preference and demand are primary factors in determining the final form of revitalised areas, Smith (1979) states that a broader theory of gentrification, one which takes into account production and consumption rates, will reveal that the needs of production – in particular, the need to produce copious amounts of profit, will outweigh consumer preference. Gentrification then manifests itself in a city in such a way that it consumes a city's identity and the identity of those who lived there.

Furthermore, given the correctness of the rent-gap theory it would be expected that revitalisation would start in areas where the rent gap was the greatest, thereby allowing for the highest returns available (Smith, 1979). In other words, gentrification would commence in the city centre where areas of declining values had run their course. Additionally, areas that have high recycling potential would be sought out by developers in the hopes of revitalising a city and gaining increased profits (Smith, 1979). The increased profits and revitalisation that accompany gentrification have made this a powerful term amongst developers, policy makers and government alike.

3.7. DEFINING THE POWER BEHIND THE TERM 'GENTRIFICATION'

A sufficient rent gap has existed in various urban cores across the globe, which has made way for and enabled gentrification in both the Global North and South. Over the last 50 years the gentrification process has encountered various waves of research based on the following: defining the process (Glass, 1964), explanations for why gentrification occurs (Smith, 1979), and the positive and negative impacts of the process (Atkinson, 2002). The beginning stages of this phenomenon focused on simply defining the term gentrification (Goworowska, 2008).

Ruth Glass was the first person to define the process of gentrification and in fact coined the term 'gentrification'. Once coined, gentrification became a simple yet powerful term that represented class inequalities and social injustices brought about by urban land markets (Slater, 2011). Moreover, Glass observed that:

"One by one, many of the working class quarters have been invaded by the middle class – upper and lower ... Once this process of 'gentrification' starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed" (Glass, 1964, p18).

There is still much debate as to how the phenomenon should be defined (Smith *et al,* 1986; Sassen 1991; Davidson *et al,* 2005; Lees *et al,* 2008; Shaw, 2008; Slater, 2011; Mathema, 2013; Sheppard, 2014). This process of gentrification has been defined and redefined and this continual alternating state is a result of the transformations in political and economic structures (Smith *et al,* 2001). During the 1980s, gentrification programmes were resisted in several areas where governments could be seen to help aid in this resistance towards the phenomenon. This process was only encouraged when the private market had proven it viable for regeneration. However, that changing landscape of political and economic entities has seen a shift from government resistance towards aiding in the gentrification process. Local government, state level agencies and federal administrators are now aiding and facilitating this phenomenon (Hackworth *et al,* 2001).

Gentrification is a unique and ever-changing process. The gentrification witnessed currently is fundamentally different to gentrification of the 1970s, 1980s and even the early 1990s (Hackworth *et al,* 2001). The process has evolved and transformed over several decades to become what it is today, as in a process that enables urban transformations as a result of surplus capital absorption (Harvey, 2008). This changing structure in the nature and extent of gentrification has taken place in three waves. The first wave occurred during 1968–1978 and Hackworth *et al* (2001) describe gentrification here as being primarily sporadic and state-led, and it occurred intermittently between the north-eastern cities of the USA, Western Europe and Australia. These spouts of redevelopment were largely funded by the public sector (Hamnett, 1973; Williams, 1976; Smith 1979), as local and national governments strived to counteract private-market economic decline whilst simultaneously rejuvenating the inner cities of deteriorating neighbourhoods (Hackworth *et al,* 2001). The second wave took place

from the late 1970s to the late 1980s, and during this wave 'expansion' and 'resistance' were two prominent features within the gentrification process. This phase of gentrification saw the process taking shape whereby gentrification was integrated into a wide-ranging set of cultural and economic processes at both national and global scales. However, this process wasn't wholly accepted by all. Gentrification was challenged due to the homelessness, eviction and increasing vulnerability of poorer residents that it inflicted upon these populations (Hackworth *et al,* 2001). The third wave of gentrification occurred during 1988–1999 and saw a recessional pause and then a subsequent expansion. During the recession which took place in the 1990s, gentrification came to a halt across several locations. This had severe implications for the process where some even argued that de-gentrification was occurring (Bagli 1991; Bourne 1993). However, in hindsight the recession was seen as a transition period between the second and third wave of gentrification, which made conditions favourable for reinvestment and thus the subsequent expansion of gentrification (Hackworth *et al,* 2001).

Furthermore, the evolution of the term can be attributed to the economic and political restructuring that has occurred over the last 60 years (Smith *et al,* 2001). Gentrification is a 'back to the city movement' of capital, not people (Smith, 1979). It has been described as such due to the fact that the limited space and availability of property in the city makes the suburbs a preferred living destination (Smith, 1979). Furthermore, Smith (1979) argues that there has been little evidence of a 'back to the city movement' of suburbanites. This rising cost of newly constructed housing has encouraged the back to the city movement of capital as the restoration of inner cities has become a more viable option (Smith, 1979). Capital is seen to return to the city when old but structurally sound properties are purchased and rehabilitated (Smith, 1979). However, although capital is flowing back to the city there have to be certain pre-conditions that exist before the take-off of gentrification can occur. One such precondition is that a significant rent gap should exist prior to gentrification taking place (Smith, 1979).

With this complicated phenomenon come numerous definitions and explanations of what the process essentially involves. Some definitions fail to include vital aspects that the process entails. The simplest explanation of gentrification would be that it is a process of social-spatial change where residential property is rehabilitated by affluent incomers, which ultimately results in the displacement of former residents who are now unable to afford the cost of

housing in a newly regenerated area (Pacione, 2005). There has been much debate and dispute on whether gentrification helps or harms local communities (Atkinson, 2002; Atkinson, 2004; Slater, 2011; Daga, 2015). Furthermore, debates centred on gentrification also look at factors such as why gentrification occurs in certain areas and not others, as well as conditions that enable gentrification (Brown-Saracino, 2013).

Enhancing the cities' vitality and viability is done through the process of residentialisation and excludes the notion of gentrification (Bromley *et al,* 2005). The process of residentialisation is accomplished when increased housing, and therefore increased residents, are acquired in the city centre. The primary target here is that housing replaces all land uses, hence there is the notion that this will create a greater indigenous demand of facilities and thus create a diverse and vibrant inner city (Bromley *et al,* 2005). In order for successful regeneration to occur gentrification needs to be avoided and tenure diversification kept at the forefront of regeneration projects (Bromley et al, 2005). 'Gentrification' is only part of a larger process of revitalisation and plays a small role in the greater scheme of what is actually a revitalisation of inner city cores and recentralisation of urban activities (Smith, 1982).

Furthermore, there are two primary explanations of gentrification, namely: production-oriented gentrification (Smith, 1979) and consumption-orientated (Ley, 1986) gentrification. These explanations for gentrification are polar opposites as production-led gentrification is based on economic factors that drive gentrification, whilst consumption-led gentrification is focused on the cultural driving forces of gentrification (Goworowska, 2008). This clear distinction has left researchers choosing between gentrification that is: production or consumption; economic or cultural; supply or demand; or structure or agency (Slater, 2010).

The inability to properly define the phenomenon of gentrification has resulted in the inability to find common ground on the processes of and forces which contribute to gentrification (Shaw, 2008). The lack of unity in what the process is and how to best define it has caused dispute in various other facets, including what gentrification frameworks to apply, how to better understand the process, and how to explain the concept of gentrification (Goworowska, 2008). Gentrification incorporates both production and consumption whilst redeveloping an area; this is simply because there is no structure without agency just as there is no supply without demand. One aspect alone cannot define such a complex phenomenon.

Whilst researchers argue over the production (economic) and consumption (cultural) aspects which *both* enable the gentrification process, time is being diverted from the gap in research literature that concerns the true effects of gentrification on people and places. It is the impacts on people and places that should be at the forefront of gentrification research (Hosford, 2009), not the definition and explanation of the process. Therefore, although a powerful process for economic development, the negative impacts of this phenomenon need to be addressed.

3.8. GENTRIFICATION AS A DESTRUCTIVE TOOL FOR REDEVELOPMENT

It is evident that gentrification is a powerful and controversial process (Niedt, 2006; Bernt *et al,* 2009; Mailler, 2014; Massey, 2015). This is because even though the process offers an array of positive impacts for the built environment, these positive impacts are regularly outweighed by the negative effects brought about by the phenomenon. Gentrification is a contradictory process with its ebb and flow of positive and negative impacts. For example, it can exhibit contradictory outcomes where social control and crime can either be curbed or enhanced. On the one hand, gentrification invites affluent members of society into a neighbourhood and it is these individuals who often demand and enforce safety and social control within their environments. However, the heterogeneity that accompanies gentrification has been linked to social disorganisation and crime through the violation of social norms (Chaskin, 2013).

The problem with gentrification is that nearly every positive outcome it provides has a subsequent negative effect. It's a process that sends ripple effects throughout a community, whereby local residents only experience the negative impacts of this phenomenon. The controversy surrounding this process has caused social and political concern since the term was coined in 1964 (Sheppard, 2014). It is for this and many other reasons that the term 'gentrification' has become a dirty word among politicians and developers (Smith, 1996; Smith, 2002). However, although gentrification has become a dirty word, the influence of neoliberal urban policies such as 'social mix' greatly encourages the occurrence of gentrification in central city neighbourhoods (Slater, 2006). Whilst many view the process as beneficial for combating the 'white flight' that occurred across innumerable city centres, countless others view the process as one that desecrates an authentic and vibrant ethnic neighbourhood and turns it into a generic and bland urban locality (Sheppard, 2014).

With the urban renewal that occurs in a newly gentrified area comes the subsequent impacts of *displacement.* Regions undergoing gentrification come to experience displacement as a result of the following: rent or price increases, including increased tax, building demolition, the clearance of land, abandoned buildings and increased investment that makes housing unaffordable to those who once could afford to reside in a particular neighbourhood (Wright *et al*, 1995). It is important to investigate the role of non-government organisations, private developers and local governments in order to confront and resist the negative implications of gentrification such as displacement, the marginalisation of the urban poor, and the transformation of urban cores – which were once diverse – to areas that have become socially and culturally homogenised (Lees, 2012). Displacement and its subsequent social, economic, psychological and cultural negative impacts will be discussed in more detail below.

The negative impacts associated with gentrification extend beyond socio-economic impacts of displacement, relocation, marginalisation and exclusion and in fact affects the heritage of a city (Donaldson *et al*, 2013). The result of this is an area that has lost its heritage and indigenous community and emerges instead as a newly gentrified neighbourhood suited for the urban elite (Donaldson *et al*, 2013). Gentrification continues to threaten the diversity and creativity which drives the economic activity, innovation and socio-economic growth that take place prior to gentrification (Lees *et al,* 2008). The increased levels of gentrification have therefore been responsible for the lack of *social diversity* in the region.

Social mixing, which is a positive aspect of gentrification, has brought with it a negative side effect. As such, the increased level of social mixing has not been harmonious, but rather, has resulted in increased levels of *conflict* (Lees *et al,* 2008). Added to this is the power of property in these regions, because with the ownership of property comes power, control and the right to exclude those less fortunate, thus adding to the increased levels of conflict in a newly gentrified area. An ethnic minority then starts to form and community resentment and conflict continue to build. Furthermore, this then enables the emergence of a class conflict between the urban elite and poverty-stricken members of a community. All the above factors are thought to result in residents who are now strangers in their own environments and who have endured struggle, loss, bitterness, hostility and racism through gentrification (Lees *et al,* 2008). Furthermore, conflict within communities manifests in popular protests and aggressive campaigns that disrupt and disturb local unity (Lees *et al,* 2008).

Although gentrification has the ability to increase property values, this brings with it the subsequent negative impact of *homelessness.* Aspects adding to the incidents of homelessness (as a result of gentrification) include: increased rental prices, personal catastrophes as a result of displacement, and of course evictions. Furthermore, incidents of homelessness are not isolated events, but rather, the high rates of homelessness occur as a result of a newly formulated capitalist driven society where the goal is to serve the needs of the urban elite at the expense of the urban poor (Lees *et al,* 2008). Furthermore, in the Global South, gentrification adopts a downward raiding theory, a process whereby indigenous, low-to middle-class people are no longer able to afford the rate of rising land costs in established regions of a city and are therefore forced to purchase property in informal settlements (Lemanski, 2014). This is generally occurring across South Africa and across the Global South (Lemanski, 2014).

Changes to local service provision is an additional element which contributes to the changes that gentrification brings about in a community. This occurs primarily because gentrifiers represent a facet of society that takes more than it can give. This is evident in amenity forums, local businesses and resident associations who wish to lobby capital around services that suit their own agenda (Atkinson, 2002).

With a changing and gentrifying city another factor that emerges is increased levels of *crime*. Furthermore, studies have shown that not only do the incidents of crime increase but that new types and categories of crimes emerge as well. While many argue that the incidence of crime in these areas will diffuse as a result of the displacement of criminal and social problems, others argue that crime levels will increase due to the influx of wealthy individuals and the prevalence of wealthy households which act as a target for criminals in adjacent areas (Atkinson, 2002).

Other negative impacts associated with gentrification include: loss of affordable housing, commercial and industrial displacement, increased housing demand and the subsequent pressure on housing in surrounding areas, and population loss to gentrified areas (Lees *et al,* 2008). Although the negative repercussions associated with gentrification cannot be completely eliminated, they can however certainly be reduced. Developers, financiers and politicians should seek to encourage low-income development without restricting the open market (Ugenyi *et al*, 2011).

3.9. GENTRIFICATION AND DISPLACEMENT

The process of gentrification has become synonymous with displacement. With this comes a dramatic shift in the demographics of a city when the region in question, which houses the poorer members of society, transforms into one that is only suited for the more affluent members of society. The process has become politically and policy relevant as it often occurs at the cost of displacement (Vandergrift, 2006). Many lower-income residents are displaced because gentrifies are oblivious or ignorant to the negative implications of gentrification. As a result the original residents of an area are replaced by a wealthy and elite minority. Because of the controversial impacts that gentrification produces, such as that of displacement, it has become widely debated as to whether the process is a saviour or destroyer of the city. Furthermore, those who favour gentrification view displacement as an inevitable factor of city revitalisation. Displacement due to gentrification is seen to be better than city decline, reduced tax base and decaying neighbourhoods. However, those who reject the notion of gentrification view the process as one that threatens the local neighbourhood populations as well as the historic and social preservation of a city (Vandergrift, 2006). The current era represents one in which human rights are centre stage. The notions of social justice and the right to the city are therefore at the forefront of literature based on gentrification. However, the rights of private property and profit rates nevertheless trump all other rights in this regard. It must be noted though that social justice and the right to the city go far beyond the liberal aspects of simply accessing the city and its resources. Rather, it extends to include the freedom to make and remake our city and ourselves. It is, therefore, the right to collectively change ourselves by changing our city (Harvey, 2010).

On a global scale, much like our national scale, the displacement of lower-income households to the margins of large cities is becoming increasingly prominent (Atkinson *et al*, 2011). Gentrification induced displacement is defined as the forced movement of current residents from their present residential area due to the following factors: an increase in the cost of property and tax, reduction in the amount of affordable property, conflict between new and existing residents, loss of social ties and the hike in rental contracts. Displacement has subsequently become a widely debated topic not only because it displaces the poor, but also because it highlights the class struggle which exists and embodies the universal struggle for identity (Vandergrift, 2006).

Displacement of former residents from a newly gentrified area is a social consequence of both public clearance and rehabilitation programmes. The dismissal and displacement of poorer families illustrates their week social standing not only in society but in the housing market as well. Ironically, whereas these residents were once placed in the inner city as a result of poverty and their low social standing, they are now being placed on the outskirts for the very same reasons (Pacione, 2005). Furthermore, Pacione (2005) states that gentrification induced displacement can occur in four ways:

1. Lower-income residents are evicted from buildings which are scheduled to be revitalised for new, upscale tenants.
2. Property taxes are sharply escalated leading to the involuntary departure of elderly and low-income families due to their inability to meet the demanding costs.
3. The newly married children of existing residents are unable to afford housing within the area they have traditionally known as 'home'.
4. The tear within the social fabric of a community – that is, the loss in friends, or supportive social, economic or religious institutions, causes the reluctant migration of individuals and families.

Furthermore, property abandonment and gentrification go hand in hand as they both form part of a unified process in the cycle of neighbourhood change. Although gentrification does create social and economic conflicts, it is nevertheless still responsible for the rejuvenation of an area (Pacione, 2005). However, in a bigger context, this process also sees the breakdown of social ties. In a previously united community, residents' resistance to change becomes neutered by the 'divide and rule' actions that are inflicted upon the community. Such actions may include intimidation, bribery or forced eviction (Wallace, 2015). Displacement has been known to occur as a result of development forces, which include aspects such as land clearance, building demolition, and a severe hike in taxes and rent (Wright *et al*, 1995).

The impacts of gentrification induced displacement are wide-ranging and affect several aspects of the genetic make-up of a society. For the purposes of this study the following will be discussed: social impacts, psychological/health impacts and economic impacts of displacement.

The urban structure is made efficient by attracting the middle-class and displacing the poor and working class to the periphery (Smith, 1996; Lees *et al*, 2013). The real victims of

displacement are almost always low-income individuals, the elderly and female-headed households. When living in a certain community one develops social ties, bonds and relationships with the people and the area. Displacement, as a result of gentrification, often comes with a loss of social relationships which were there to help mould and shape a community, as well as offer a network of social support at local level (Lees *et al*, 2013). Areas that are favoured for gentrification often regenerate at the expense of social needs, which may include community ties, social relationships and psychological attachments to an area (Slater, 2010). Therefore, it is essential to note that residents should be considered when enacting gentrification in any given area.

Furthermore, the social cost of displacement in turn creates psychological issues as well (Atkinson, 2002; Keene *et al,* 2011; Phillips *et al,* 2014; Brown, 2014). Gentrification and displacement are hence public health concerns (Phillips *et al,* 2011). Those displaced often suffer severe psychological impacts as they are displaced from their homes and have to leave behind family and friendship networks. Losing community and social networks in addition to the relocation of children from one school to another, has had damaging effects on those who were once tied to a community prior to gentrification (Nyden *et al*, 2006) The Centre for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC, 2009) states that displacement as a result of gentrification can have serious implications for the physical and psychological health of those affected. These impacts are felt most heavily among women, children, the elderly and ethnic minorities. They continue to state that individuals who experienced displacement typically have shorter life expectancy, increased cancer rates, increased birth defects, and higher rates of asthma, diabetes and cardiovascular disease (CDC, 2009). Moreover, displaced residents experience limited availability or access to affordable and healthy housing, healthy food choices, limited transportation choices, quality schools and social networks. Additionally, these displaced persons also suffer due to augmented stress levels and injuries, increases in violence and crime levels, and an overall lack of social and environmental justice (CDC, 2009).

In addition, gentrification does not eradicate poverty, but rather, the poverty is simply displaced and/or dispersed to the periphery of a region along with the displaced persons (Zuk *et al,* 2015). There are three primary factors that occur as a result of displacement:

1. An immense amount of pressure is placed on low-income renters to pay higher rents. When they cannot afford to do so they are displaced to lower-cost areas, either in the form of private renting or, for many of them, becoming homeless.

2. Once low-income residents have been displaced to other locations, accessibility to employment opportunities is reduced for parents whilst simultaneously reducing education opportunities for children. The ability to obtain employment is then threatened and the lack of school facilities threatens the children's future economic viability.

3. The changing economic and demographic characteristics of service infrastructures in a newly gentrified community no longer contain the economic structure that formerly supported lower-income families.

It is not only those who are immediately displaced who are affected, but also those who once could afford to move to these previously dilapidated areas (such as in the case of the Point Precinct) and now no longer can (Newman *et al*, 2006). Furthermore, it must be noted that displacement has further repercussion such as marginalisation and exclusion, and therefore is a devastating by-product of gentrification.

3.10. DISPLACEMENT, MARGINALISATION, SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND POVERTY

The impacts of displacement do not simply end once residents have been displaced, as the social, economic and political marginalisation and exclusion from the city have devastating impacts for those thereby affected. Capitalism, competition and the accumulation of profit through private ownership as a means of production is the reason for uneven development in urban areas (Smith, 1982). Marginalisation and inequality are the manifestations of accumulation for profit, and politics are controlled by a private, elite minority (Ugenyi, 2011). Thus gentrification is a state in which societies experience social and economic inequities, and the privileged, elite minority maintain these inequities by controlling the less affluent majority (Jaret, 1983). Furthermore, it must be noted that displacement, marginalisation and social exclusion are not only products of gentrification but are interrelated processes which together create increased poverty and inequality. For example, the displacement of people from their societies is considered social exclusion. This is made worse when vulnerable residents of an area are excluded as a result of gentrification, which subsequently results in

failure to attain affordable housing, thereby marginalising the urban poor and reinforcing poverty (Gordon, 2015).

The process of gentrification highlights the production of capitalism and uneven development within a socio-economic context allowing for a better understanding of the phenomenon. Once capital is established as the dominant mode of production, the different forms of capital accumulation largely become moulders and shapers of urban life and urbanisation as a whole (Jaret, 1983). Gentrification is a process whereby cities are recapitalised (often referred to by the more pleasing 'revitalised'). The urban elite reinvest in existing infrastructure, accumulate return on investment and 'push out' marginalised and vulnerable communities, the beneficiaries of which are the bourgeoisie. However, although this process is beneficial to an elite minority, it is the majority of the poor who suffer drastic inequalities as a consequence (Biro, 2007). When the physical area develops and changes and improves aesthetically it brings with it economic change and growth. Nevertheless, it is the social aspect that is called into question as one group of society benefits from gentrification while the other, less affluent members suffer due to the inequality and the lack of finances to keep up with the area's revitalisation. A major negative impact associated with gentrification is the displacement of residents who previously resided in the newly gentrified areas (Vandergrift, 2006). Displacement due to gentrification can be described as development forces causing residents to relocate from their current property (Wright *et al*, 1995). Such forces may include increased tax, building demolition, the clearance of land, abandoned buildings and increased investment that makes housing unaffordable to those who once could afford to reside in a particular neighbourhood (Wright *et al*, 1995). Furthermore, social exclusion as a by-product of gentrification occurs as a result of a societies' inability to keep a diversity of people within the city (Power *et al,* 2007). As a result, these vulnerable communities are pushed out of the core and are displaced to the periphery where aspirations are weak, opportunities are scarce and individuals are excluded from the mainstream as they no longer fit in with the ideals of a newly gentrified area (Power *et al,* 2007).

As with social exclusion, gentrification-related displacement has severe implications for the urban poor as they are not only displaced from the core but are simultaneously marginalised from the social, economic and political benefits that are available in the city (Gordon, 2015). It's important to note that displacement isn't just the removal of the urban poor from the

core to the periphery, but rather, the marginalisation that accompanies displacement further enhances the urban divide that exists between the wealthy and the poor by elevating the rich and marginalising the poor, thereby creating a greater gap in the attainability of equality.

Gentrification is about how affluence, power and privilege can redevelop and gentrify an area, thereby forcing out and marginalising the existing inhabitants and leading to a deeper entrenchment into poverty, displacement and social exclusion. Although there might be a need for redevelopment and revitalisation through gentrification, this process encompasses severe socio-economic implications and it is these implications that enable the marginalisation of vulnerable communities.

3.11. DEVELOPMENTAL FORCES THAT ENABLE GENTRIFICATION AND ENFORCE MARGINALISATION OF VULNERABLE COMMUNITIES

The marginalisation of vulnerable communities on account of gentrification can only occur when a sufficient rent gap exists, meaning the variation between the present valuations of property in a given area versus the potential value the same property could offer once in a rejuvenated state (Pacione, 2005). Areas prone to marginalisation are potentially middle-class residential areas (Pacione, 2005). Gentrification is occurring on a global scale and leaves thousands of people displaced worldwide. Even though statistics are difficult to obtain, annual increases in property assessments have resulted in the displacement of many residents on fixed incomes due to the escalation in property taxes and rental (Reid *et al,* 2003). This section will focus on the forces that enable and encourage gentrification.

In order to manage a transitional community and mitigate the negative impacts of gentrification, leaders need to identify and understand the forces that enable the process. However, the forces underlying this phenomenon have yet to be fully uncovered. "Different layers and meanings still clothe the specificity of gentrification, and mask the particular confluence of societal forces and contradictions which account for its existence" (Smith, 2013, p35). This process of socio-spatial change is attributed to a range of social and economic forces that enable gentrification through encouraging the redevelopment of dilapidated regions by enforcing change. Furthermore, the social, political and economic forces that are reshaping the urban landscape are simultaneously reshaping the social fabric within gentrifying societies (Smith, 2004).

Forces enabling gentrification-related marginalisation can be divided into four categories, namely: demographic change, housing market dynamics, urban amenity values and the economic base (Ley, 1986; Badyina *et al,* 2005).

There are a number of factors that influence demographic change. Firstly, there is a general reduction in the household size, which is primarily the result of an environment that offers greater opportunities, and an increase in the amount of women entering the labour force. Secondly, more people are remaining unmarried, thus adding to the increasing number of small households. These smaller households then place increasing demands and pressures on central neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the burden of commuting costs have encouraged the relocation of residents to regions that are more central to both their residence and workplace. These factors all encourage the regeneration of inner cities (Ley, 1986) and are thus seen as forces that enable the marginalisation of the poor.

The housing markets plays a prominent role as a force enabling gentrification and hence marginalisation through two alternatives, namely supply and demand. From a demand perspective, the rising cost of suburban households and continued inflation have left families with no choice but to relocate. Thus, they have two options: smaller and cheaper city apartments, or renovated row housing in the city centre. From a supply perspective, Ley uses Neil Smith's rent-gap theory to identify regions which are ripe for redevelopment. Furthermore, high-status renters and young families are being drawn to the city centre on account of the sustained prices of inner-city dwellings and an expanding housing market (Ley, 1986; Redfern; 1997; Hans *et al*, 2003; Badyina, 2005).

A third contributing force towards gentrification is the distinct set of values associated with an urban lifestyle. To an extent, younger people choose the amenities of the city over a suburban lifestyle. These people are often two wage earners and many have disposable incomes. Furthermore, the increased amenities offered in cities, such as recreational and cultural activities, increased and improved employment opportunities as well as higher wages, all play a monumental role in enabling and encouraging gentrification through a back to the city move of people. These consumption patterns then begin to attract investment. This allows for a city with greater density and social diversity, which in turn makes it attractive to gentrifiers (Ley, 1986).

A fourth major contributing force towards gentrification is the post-industrial economic base (McIntyre, 2008). In other words, a city encompasses a metropolitan economy, aimed at providing advanced services for a 'white collar' employment structure. A shift in the metropolitan economy from a secondary to a tertiary and quaternary economic base leads to an influx of white collar employees, who then become the gentry who redevelop the inner city. Furthermore, reinvestment is prominent in cities that are associated with a service-dominated economic base (Ley, 1986).

Additionally, too little attention has been paid to the forces that enable gentrification (Smith, 2013). These forces have been neglected and put into two simple categories, namely: cultural and economic. From a cultural perspective, it is said that young professional individuals have changed their lifestyles. These changes have resulted in the significant decrease of desirability for suburban homes. Therefore, young, unmarried or divorced individuals have traded in their parents' dream of quiet suburban living for a new dream which is defined by an urban lifestyle. Patterns of consumption then begin to dictate patterns of production, inner-city gentrification being an example of these consumption patterns. From an economic perspective, the rising cost of newly constructed suburban houses as well as the commuting distance to and from the city centre is resulting in the increasing demand for city centre housing as this is seen to be more economically viable (Smith, 2013). Old properties are then purchased and restored for a lower cost than a new house. This is enabling gentrification to take place across various cities of different spatial and temporal scales (Smith, 2013).

Overall, there are few studies available which focus on the forces that enable such a phenomenal process. Instead, too much attention is paid towards the socio-economic impacts, cultures of immigrants, the role of the government, and the creation and destruction of communities (Smith, 2013). These forces enabling gentrification then target and revitalise vulnerable communities, ultimately leading to the displacement and marginalisation of the urban poor.

3.12. CHARACTERISTICS OF AN AREA VULNERABLE TO GENTRIFICATION

The forces that enable the revitalisation process are simultaneously responsible for identifying communities vulnerable to gentrification. The changing socio-economic and political structures of city neighbourhoods are a result of the relationship between supply and demand that is necessitated by the public, as well as a result of the changing social, economic, and political status quo of a region. Additionally, inner city neighbourhoods do not follow a predetermined course of growth or decline. The growth or decline of a city is dependent on a wide range of factors that are themselves in a constant state of flux, some of which include the following: employment opportunities, economic status, access to the city, level of crime, and availability of services and amenities etc. It must be noted, however, that a city experiencing declining growth may reverse its direction at any point owing to economic reinvestment in the region, and simultaneously begin a period of revitalisation (Pacione, 2005).

Areas vulnerable to gentrification are identifiable by a range of characteristic traits. Revitalisation primarily occurs in regions characterised by low-income households and people of colour. These regions are typified by high levels of concentrated poverty where individuals hope that the revitalisation which occurs within the region will improve their quality of life. These low-income households are generally headed by either a single female or a single elderly person (Kennedy *et al*, 2001). Additionally, these low-income residents are further vulnerable to gentrification as they lack the knowledge and understanding to recognise the phenomenon in its wake, and because they lack the unity to stand firm against the phenomenon. The declining inner city of vulnerable low-income households is typically surrounded by neighbourhoods that are low-income or shifting to low-income occupancy (Pacione, 2005). These residents are vulnerable to an adverse range of economic and political decisions that will severely impacts their quality of living for an extended period of time (Aka, 2010).

Furthermore, these regions are typically characterised by high crime and drug levels as well as vandalism, hence gentrifications is seen as a way to reduce these negative factors. The high crime rates in these regions vulnerable to gentrification are typically associated with high levels of poverty (Kennedy *et al*, 2001). It's a vicious cycle whereby increased poverty leads to increased criminal activity, and drug use comes into play as a means to escape these

destitute living conditions. As a result the inner city becomes crime-ridden and is dominated by drug use, vagrants and street hawkers (Visser *et al,* 2008). Gentrification is therefore seen as a means to reduce the crime, poverty and blight within the inner city, thereby improving the quality of life of residents in the city centre. However, it is often these residents who don't experience an improved quality of life as they are displaced from the newly gentrified region (Kennedy *et al,* 2001).

Buildings in areas vulnerable to gentrification are typically extremely old, with poor designs and no historical value or significance, making it easier for developers to demolish (or rejuvenate) and rebuild the inner city. A vast proportion of these buildings house more residents than they should, leading to the over-crowding of small spaces. These regions typically have low-owner occupancy rates, absentee owners, and high vacancy rates, all of which lead to building decline in the inner city. Thus, buildings within a city vulnerable to gentrification are typically old, derelict and either vacant or over-crowded (Pacione, 2005).

Furthermore, in a city prone to experience gentrification, a significant proportion of buildings in the inner city are abandoned, for which there are a wide range of contributing factors. 'White flight', the out-migration of white people from the inner city to the suburbs, is a major occurrence in these regions. The physical deterioration of a building and the lack of housing demand in neighbourhoods encourages abandonment. The reduced paying capability of low-income tenants as well as the increase in municipal real-estate taxes has resulted in the inability of residents to pay rent and therefore increases the amount of abandoned buildings. Furthermore, the withdrawal of investment from a region as a result of redlining by banks will exacerbate the amount of abandoned buildings within the inner city (Pacione, 2005). Disinvestment by landlords is then accompanied by disinvestment of financial institutions, adding to the deterioration of the region (Smith, 2013). And lastly, the introduction of stringent rent controls has reduced the ability of landlords to repair and maintain buildings, which then leads to abandonment (Pacione, 2005).

Although these regions typically show a strong sense of community cohesion with a range of social networks, individual community members are typically disempowered and thus there are very few or no strong community organisations to stand firm against the negative impacts of gentrification (Pacione, 2005). Hence, with little fight put up by the locals, developers have few obstacles standing in their way when attempting to gentrify the inner city. Even though

strong social networks and connections are formed within a community, the lack of empowerment and knowledge within the region allows for a city centre that is weak at the hands of politics, developers and gentrification. Additionally, fuelling the high rates of disempowerment are the lack of institutions (educational, for example) and desirable amenities (entertainment, for instance). The supply of resources available for the advantage of residents is severely lacking in the underprivileged areas of society.

Moreover, these regions are characterised by heavy traffic, especially large trucks, on residential streets (Kennedy *et al,* 2001). A major characteristic of an area ripe for gentrification are the major traffic flows and increased congestion in the inner city (Kennedy *et al,* 2001). Frustrations increase with the extended commuting time associated with high levels of congestion. This adds to the declining city and thus to the decline of the quality of life for residents who reside in this congested region (Kennedy *et al,* 2001).

Therefore, an area prone to gentrification is typically inner city where severe capital depreciation has occurred. The physical and economically deterioration of the environment is primarily owing to the operation of the land and housing market. Furthermore, the neglect in the city centre combined with disinvestment initiates a long period of decline and deterioration as a result of reduced capital investment in the region (Smith, 2013). This then enables a city to become entrenched in the characteristics ripe for reinvestment and thus gentrification. Therefore, to sum it up, the characteristics of a city centre vulnerable to gentrification include: low-income households; a city entrenched in a vicious cycle of crime, vandalism, poverty and drugs; a city surrounded by local income neighbourhoods; old and derelict buildings with no historical significance; a rapidly dwindling inner city population as well as low-owner occupancy; few robust community organisations; high vacancy rates and abandoned buildings; and heavy vehicles and congestion on residential streets (Pacione, 2005). Areas vulnerable to gentrification will have two sets of individuals, namely those who stand to gain from the process and those who are excluded from the benefits of a newly gentrified area.

3.13. GENTRIFICATION AND THE BENEFICIARIES

The increased property tax revenue and the attraction of higher-income residents (along with their spending power) to these newly gentrified regions enables local government to gain from the gentrification process (Pacione, 2005); for example, through the introduction of well-educated residents who uplift the city by paying taxes and who pay for goods and services and support the political processes (Lees *et al,* 2008). However, such gains may be reduced when these wealthy residents start demanding costly services such as cobble stone streets, for instance (Pacione, 2005). More capital is being invested in search of increased rents, interest and future gain (Slater, 2015). It is thus imperative to uncover who is encouraging gentrification and who is benefiting from it (Slater, 2015). Moreover, the relationship of gentrification to social justice and ethical public policy is pivotal for governmental policy making (Marcuse, 2015). Consequently, a public policy that tackles social injustices related to gentrification is essential (Marcuse, 2015).

The initial home and property owners benefit from the rising property values that accrue in a newly gentrified area. These rising property values are capitalised on through either increased rentals or selling of the asset (Pacione, 2005). However, the secondary effect of this is the driving out of low-income families by the wealthier elite. Therefore, the poor, the homeless and any class of individuals who may threaten the value of property in this region are displaced or subsequently relocate to the periphery of a region (Lees *et al,* 2008).

New and incoming owners also gain from gentrification as they have the advantage of purchasing property at low prices with the simultaneous advantage of higher potential capital once the region has been revitalised. Owners are then able to capitalise on their cheap purchase through renting or selling the property at a significantly higher value than the original price. However, these individuals also run the risk of no gain accruing from the property (as is) and must then have the added expense of property improvement (renovations). With that, later arrivals assume less risk but gain less from the rising property values (Pacione, 2005).

'Speculators' is the term given by Pacione (2005) to individuals who are able to comprehend and foresee that there are great profits to be made. These individuals are essential to the gentrification process as they have the ability to uncover areas which have great potential for

greater rents, interests and future gains, thereby adding to the local economy of the gentrifying area. The role of the speculator is to purchase properties prior to re-investment, hold onto them without doing any improvements, and then sell them at the most opportune time, at a higher price as the market improves (Pacione, 2005).

Lastly, it is said that populations may generally gain from gentrification as a result of a higher tax base and lower crime rates within the revitalised area. Regions are more inhabitable and receive a new lease on life whilst simultaneously offering the same affect to a select few who are able to afford the cost of a higher standard of living. Furthermore, these rejuvenated areas now offer increased resources, services, facilities and amenities for the residents of this region to enjoy (Pacione, 2005).

3.14. CONCLUSION

Displacement, relocation and the ongoing process of gentrification on a global scale is the very reason why more research needs to be conducted on ways in which the negative impacts associated with gentrification can be reduced. Gentrification is related to geography due to the various impacts it inflicts on the social, economic, cultural and political aspects that geographers study. The process of gentrification is both chaotic and complex due to the way in which the process has unravelled. The very essence of what gentrification is can be visually observed through the transformations it produces. However, the underlying factors that produce gentrification are clothed by a confluence of societal forces (Smith *et al*, 2013). Likewise, Bourne (1993) states that gentrification has become more commonly known as a process that creates social change through the emergence of a contemporary city. Thus the societal forces that accompany gentrification are responsible for changing the societal structure within an environment.

Literature centred on the process of gentrification, more commonly known as redevelopment, focuses primarily on the contemporary concerns or effects of the process (Smith, 1979; Atkinson 2002; Slater 2006). When attempting to comprehend this dynamic process it is essential to focus on the structural forces of advanced capitalism which is ultimately the driving force behind the gentrification process (Smith *et al*, 2013). Aspects that dominated the research of gentrification included: socio-economic and cultural effects, displacement, the role of government in redevelopment, benefits obtained by the city, and

lastly, the destruction of local communities (Smith, 1979). From a cultural perspective, the growing rates of consumption, coupled with high divorce rates and younger home buyers, are resulting in an increased trend towards urban living. This can be seen in the developed nations, especially in the United States of America, where gentrification has affected a number of regions including Denver, Austin, New York, Philadelphia, San Diego, Baltimore and Boston (Edsall, 2015) The shift towards modern living from traditional living – that is, the shift from an old to a contemporary lifestyle, is resulting in increased demand for urban dwelling as opposed to the previously favoured suburban way of life (Smith, 1979). From an economic standpoint, rejuvenation of the inner city is seen to be more economically viable due to the benefits of proximity to employment and recreational facilities. Thus, previous literature surrounding this topic has stated that gentrification is a 'back to the city movement' (Smith, 1979). Both the cultural and economic 'push factors' that favour gentrification fuels and motivates some to attain an economically advanced and more modern lifestyle, whilst at the same time disempowers and destabilises the current in-situ local community. Furthermore, there are a number of push and pull factors that favour the gentrification process (Berumen, 2012). These factors represent an array of actions where push factors emerge from external forces such as the economic pressures of surrounding areas, and pull factors stem from local governments and private developers who wish to take advantage of a city's resources such as location and affordable land (Berumen, 2012).

Those who relocate into the newly gentrified area are said to be affluent young professionals who are well educated and have obtained a Bachelor's Degree (Lloyd, 2013). The process of gentrification is one that has a casual disregard for the current status quo of a city, thus disposing of the urban poor and allowing for the relocation of young professionals to the newly gentrified urban core. Unfortunately, most of those who enforce the process (private developers or government) typically neglect the history, culture and nature of the city which exists prior to gentrification (Wallace, 2015). Likewise, the problems and conflicts around gentrification cannot lead to a solution for the phenomenon but instead create greater miscalculated negative implications (Rose, 2002). Gentrification is a contradictory process with its ebb and flow of positive and negative impacts. It can, for example, produce contradictory outcomes where social control and crime can either be curbed or enhanced. On the one hand, gentrification invites affluent members of society into a neighbourhood and it

is these individuals who demand and enforce safety and social control within their environments. On the other hand, the heterogeneity that accompanies gentrification has been linked to social disorganisation and crime through the violation of social norms (Chaskin, 2013).

Gentrification and its subsequent negative effects is a global phenomenon. From the aforementioned data it is evident that this process is displacing and marginalising vulnerable communities across various spatial and temporal scales. Moreover, the lack of social justice, increased social exclusion and the inability of residents to retain their right to the city has resulted in the universal emergence of cores suited only for the wealthy whilst the poorer members of society are pushed out to the periphery.

Neoliberal urban policy, which emerged as a dominant policy regime in the 1990s, is one that encouraged a relationship between public and private investors in order to regenerate urban centres (Freeman, 2011). This policy is powerful in that it has the potential to uplift depressed inner-city centres, often at the expense of those indigenous to the area (Freeman, 2011). Residents of a gentrifying area are often forced to endure the ongoing 'before and after' phases of the transformation, especially in cities where fiscal calamities are inevitable and the process is prolonged. In addition, gentrification isn't a quick-fix process; rather, it often involves long instances of limbo and disruption (Wallace, 2015). Furthermore, not only are residents displaced due to a hike in rental prices, but also due to the stereotypical views that accompany gentrification. In a smaller redevelopment context, there is still an opportunity for residents to fight back and resist the calls for change by employing acts of community cohesion and public support. McLean, operations manager at the Bright Site Initiative in the Point Precinct, explains how the former residents of the Ark had experienced deep feelings of isolation and vulnerability at the initial stage of their relocation to Welbedacht, Chatsworth in 2004 (McLean, 2013).

When looking at gentrification on a global scale we are able to assess that what is occurring in the Point Road area is not an isolated event. Research on gentrification in cities in Australia, which include Melbourne and Sydney, explains that households that were most vulnerable to displacement included private renters who held low-income employment (Atkinson *et al*. 2011). Due to the nature of gentrification, as in its ability to create a class shift in a rejuvenated city, it has become a polluted word for developers and politicians (Smith, 2002). Furthermore,

the process has become known as one in which 'renewal' exploits the identity, affiliation and belonging that residents previously had for their community (Wallace, 2015). The increased taxation and rent hike that is associated with the gentrification process has resulted in the unwarranted and sometimes illegal treatment of tenants (Biro, 2007). As a consequence of the data presented above, we are aware that there are still major gaps which exist in the literature centred on gentrification. First, the inability of researchers to locate those displaced by gentrification means that there is limited research on the socio-economic impacts felts by those displaced. This research aims to address that by locating and interviewing those displaced. Second, it is unknown what occurs in the case where a homeless shelter exists in a gentrifying area. Are all homeless shelters shut down in a newly gentrified area? Or are they relocated?

CHAPTER 4: DISPLACEMENT, MARGINALISATION AND THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IMPACTS OF GENTRIFICATION ON A MARGINAL COMMUNITY

4.1. INTRODUCTION

With the implementation of neoliberal policies by many governments came a change in the role these governments played in the reshaping of urban environments – i.e. from a government that opposed gentrification by regulating the housing market to a government with a reduced role, thus enabling private developers to facilitate this process of redevelopment (Gordon, 2015). The centre of the city is characterised by a core that is socially, economically, politically and spatially diverse (Martiniello, 2002). However, the process of gentrification has disrupted this diversity by displacing the urban poor to the periphery. As such, the city lost its diverse nature as the bourgeois began to occupy the urban core and the poor were marginalised and pushed out to the edges (Gordon, 2015). The displacement, marginalisation and relocation of the urban poor came as a direct result of the gentrification which took place in the Point Precinct. When a city is socially diverse it enables a core that is socially just as the diverse makeup of the city allows for all residents, no matter their race or financial status, to have access to the city as well its opportunities, services, facilities and amenities, thereby affording all residents the basic right of access and equality within the city. However, with government backing policies for urban change and redevelopment came with it increased inequality within the Point Precinct, as polices favoured for economic gain saw to it that the wealthy obtained the right to the city whilst the urban poor became increasingly excluded from both social and economic benefits, which are accompanied with access to the city. This right, however, has been taken from the poor and given to the wealthy, resulting in the downfall of an entire community. As a result, the urban poor have been pushed out of the core and into the periphery where facilities and non-existent opportunities are bleak and services are unreliable. The wide range of socio-economic implications as a result of gentrification-related displacement and marginalisation will be discussed in this chapter where four key themes have emerged, namely: social justice, the urban periphery, social exclusion and gentrification.

4.2. SOCIAL JUSTICE AND ACCESS TO THE CITY

The concept of social justice is used to demonstrate justice within a society in terms of the following: (a) the benefits and burdens of a society are dispersed equally using a set of principles; (b) procedures that govern political and developmental decision-making are done with the preservation of basic rights, liberties and entitlements of individuals and groups in mind; and lastly (c), human beings are treated with dignity and respect by authorities, social actors and fellow citizens (Jost *et al,* 2010). Therefore, the concept is seen to embody the equal distribution of wealth, emancipation from class struggles, compulsory and equal education as well as employment to each (Prakash, 2015). However, social justice is non-existent in this society. Poverty is vast, employment/economic opportunities are non-existent, education facilities are severely lacking, and individuals continue to be treated shorn of respect or dignity. Moreover, the lack of social justice coupled with false promises of help and hope has led to severe implications for this society and has simultaneously created a community devoid of empathy.

Social justice is a term laden with the preservation of human dignity. However, dignity cannot be sustained when individuals are forced to endure poor living conditions. The severe lack of social justice in terms of poor services (which will be discussed in more detail in the following section), lack of education facilities, non-existent employment opportunities as well as discrimination from authority (hospitals and police) and surrounding community members has all resulted in a community of individuals who have lost their dignity and subsequently their identity. This has thus led to increased substance abuse and has reinforced the emergence of the cycle of impoverishment that is evident throughout this chapter. The loss that has been experienced by these individuals is relentless and participant 4 points to the severity of their loss.

Participant 4: "…we have lost our dignity, we have lost everything. We need our houses back, we need our children's education and then they must give us opportunities for employment so we can support our small kids. We don't need donations; that can come as a bonus."

"…And we need our dignity back, they don't have to discriminate against us at the hospitals and the schools. At the end of the day we are humans; though we are coming from the street we are humans."

The participants have attributed a loss of dignity to the loss of housing, education and employment opportunities that were once available in the Ark. These individuals have been stripped of their dignity largely as a result of the aforementioned factors coupled with the complete lack of respect they have received in the area they have been relocated to. Furthermore, the large disparity in living conditions between the Ark and Welbedacht must be pointed out. The Ark was used as a facility which promoted social justice through the equal allocation of sustenance, education for children, and employment opportunities. Furthermore, this shelter was able to meet the needs of the people through protection and community coping strategies that enabled the recovery of sustainable livelihoods. Furthermore, the facility restored dignity to those who had lost it as a result of substance abuse and homelessness. The following statements reiterate the restorative role the Ark played in attempting to restore the lives of these individuals.

Participant 8 talks about the restoration of dignity at the Ark: "What we went for at the Ark was a place to stay 'cause we were abandoned by our families. We ended up on the street and the Ark came to bring us in, they gave us a dignity from being homeless to someone who has a place to stay. They did a lot for us."

Participant 3 adds: "…I loved my four years at the Ark, I thoroughly enjoyed it. I found God at the Ark, my life came intact. I was sent to the rehab for a little bit because I had a bit of a drinking problem. So the Ark actually was a big impact in my life. It was a good stepping stone so that we were prepared to live in the outside world."

It seems the Ark couldn't prepare the residents for the harsh realities that they were to endure in Welbedacht. These harsh realities, as in a lack of social justice, would ultimately strip them of their dignity. Here, it has become known to surrounding community members, local authorities as well as the local school that these individuals previously resided at a homeless shelter. Therefore, the extent of the loss of dignity experienced by these individuals has been further enabled by the discrimination that has been inflicted upon this community. Furthermore, the rejection from the Point Precinct coupled with 12 years of rejection at the onset of their relocation has resulted in lasting impacts, and as a consequence there is a large cry by the participants for the restoration of their dignity.

Participant 4 states: "But most of all what we need, we need our dignity and we need our life back."

Social justice in this case means that developers should have strived to achieve development that incorporated both people- and place-based strategies (Kennedy *et al,* 2001). In enacting this form of equitable development as a social justice tool, low-income communities, such as the Ark homeless shelter, would have gained an equity stake in the revitalisation of their community, thereby enabling these residents to become agents of change within this redevelopment process (Kennedy *et al,* 2001). In so doing, these residents would play an inclusive role in the redevelopment of their city whilst retaining their right to the city. Likewise, developers who are responsible for displacement as a result of gentrification should strive for the relocation of residents to areas where those displaced can live in security, with dignity and with the opportunity for improvement. However, all three of these elements are non-existent in Welbedacht. The area itself is a high crime zone, dignity has been stripped away from individuals and there is a complete lack of opportunity for improvement. Employment opportunities coupled with education facilities are two elements that are essential for the restoration of dignity. The ability to provide for one's family as a result of the attainment of steady employment coupled with the attainment of future prospects through the provision of education will go a long way to restore the dignity of this underprivileged community, as is evident in the statement provided by participant 4.

Participant 4: "We need jobs…we need our dignity back, we need education for our kids. We don't need donations and everything like money and anything that is expensive."

This community is not asking for handouts. Instead, they would simply like to be given an equal opportunity for improvement. The provision of employment and education will play a monumental role not only in the upliftment of this community but in the restoration of their dignity as well.

Furthermore, with the loss of dignity many participants felt that they had experienced a loss of identity. In general, gentrification typically results in the eradication of identities through the stripping of existing social networks (Lees, 2008). It destroys local communities by scrubbing them of their local culture (Gordon, 2015). This in turn has led not only to a loss of dignity but also a loss of identity, which is further reinforced by the loss of unity that was once experienced in the Ark. Moreover, the social networks, friendships and family bonds that were lost upon relocation have added to the identity loss which is present today. Participant 6 points out the isolation within the community.

Participant 6: "There's every man for themselves in this place. We used to be a family but ever since we came here everyone has just separated. But in the Ark we were like one family."

In the Ark, these individuals perceived that they knew who they were and what their struggles entailed. However, with the displacement and subsequent relocation they slowly began to lose the growth they had accomplished in the Ark. They began to lose their sense of self as time went on, which has subsequently resulted in a loss of identity. They live in the past in the sense that they still refer to themselves as "The Arkians". This has been reinforced by the local community. On two separate occasions, for example, the researcher got lost when attempting to locate the relocated residents. On both occasions it was unmistakeably evident that the researcher was an outsider, which thus led to surrounding community members posing the question, "You want to go to Point?" Thus, not only have these residents lost their sense of self-identity but they are also still living in the past, so much so that the surrounding community members have come to know them as "The Arkians" and their community as "The Point".

The loss of dignity coupled with the loss of identity has potentially reinvigorated old habits that the Ark attempted to eradicate. Substance abuse has therefore become predominant among the community members. A loss of self-worth and a lack of leadership, encouragement and motivation, previously provided by the Ark, has led to the re-emergence of old habits and has thus reinforced the patterns of substance abuse in the area. This in turn is strengthening the cycle of impoverishment in Welbedacht. The lack of social justice has resulted in the loss of dignity and loss of identity experienced by these individuals and has been further perpetuated by the false promises of help and hope which the community has endured. Thus, if displacement is inevitable, developers should implement strategies that are aimed at building the resilience of affected communities, such as the Arkians, by recognising their loss of assets and resources within their previous (gentrifying) environment and restoring their dignity through economic security (Kennedy *et al,* 2001). In this way, developers will recognise the need for dignity within a community, which is a vital tool for self-improvement.

Gentrification traditionally involves community members who are set against council members and developers on account of the false promises that this process permits (Lees, 2014). However, the case of the Arkians is unique in that they are now pitted against not only council members and developers but against surrounding community members as well. This

has occurred on account of the false promises of help put forward by council members as well as the false promises of hope from community members themselves.

It is clear that the Arkians' lives are entrenched in poverty. Unfortunately, their vulnerability on account of this poverty is so immense that it is almost tangible. This has made them highly susceptible to the false promises of hope inflicted on them by surrounding community members. The desperation for social justice and improved living conditions has made them naïve to the predators amongst society. This has resulted in surrounding community members taking advantage of them, further stripping them of their dignity. The surrounding community of Chatsworth is predominantly an Indian community who are aware of the desperation and vulnerability of the Arkians. Unfortunately, this has led some of the community members to take advantage of this hopelessness and defencelessness by providing these Arkians with false promises of hope. One such instance involved the Chatsworth community members informing them that they are donation seekers. They requested to take photographs of the Arkians and informed them they had to sign for the donations. They then proceeded to go abroad with the photographs, informing the locals that they were seeking donations for the Arkians who were previously homeless and who have now been relocated to an area where they have become destitute and impoverished. These unsuspecting locals proceeded to give these individuals donations which the Chatsworth community then kept for themselves. Participant 4 elaborates:

"…they come with big cameras and big cars and then they take photos… not to offend, not to discriminate, some of the Indian families from Chatsworth they took advantage. They come to us, they give us food, they take photos… they come here and they say that they're giving us donations… And then after that, I find out that all those photos they going for donations overseas, they said that everything they get from those donors they bring to us, but it doesn't come to us."

Participant 4 continues to state that, "They said they're empowering us and they giving us this and this and this and this, they make us sign, they take photos, and then they go there [overseas] and then at the end of the day they are rich."

Participant 2 adds that, "We're tired of these people using us to improve their lifestyles. We're tired of it."

The lack of social justice in Welbedacht has left this community in a disadvantaged state. This high level of destitution enabled surrounding community members to take advantage of

these individuals. They then perceived that they could potentially use these individuals to improve their financial status. Furthermore, the displacement and ultimate relocation on account of the gentrification which occurred in the Point Precinct may have caused a chain of ripple effects that are still evident today. The manner in which the surrounding community members perceived to take advantage of the Arkians has potentially aided to the loss of dignity experienced by these individuals. This was further perpetuated when a prestigious Umhlanga-based family offered to do a pro-bono operation for one of the Arkian children. The Arkians believe that this family wanted the prestige that accompanied doing something for the underprivileged and so they offered to provide an operation for the child. The participants point to the events that followed:

Participant 4 states that, "This white family they came from Umhlanga, they said they gonna help her, and then they just operate on the child. They took the small boy, they operate the small boy and the small boy is now paralysed and sitting on a wheelchair and now she had to buy the nappies, she had to do everything for herself now… They promise her many promises and then they don't fulfil because they just want to put those things in the paper."

Participant 5 states, "There's no [special needs] school for him and you must know to take him every day for her and him how much the taxi is and they don't want to transport [the disabled]."

Participant 2 adds, "They tell you 'we don't take wheelchairs in our taxi' they tell you that."

Upon asking the participants how the child is transported, they replied unanimously and stated that, "It's very, very hard and very expensive". To which participant 4 added:

"It's very expensive 'cause in a taxi if you have a wheelchair you have to pay a seat for a wheelchair, she has to pay a seat for herself and for her son. She has to pay for three people every day. There is no facility for the disabled children also."

This is a physical, mental and emotional life-altering incident that will have repercussions for both the mother and her son for the rest of their lives. This is made worse in that there is no facility or school for disabled children in the area. Furthermore, the scarce opportunity for transport is worsened as the taxi drivers refuse to take the wheelchair on board. This is further perpetuating the cycle of impoverishment through elements of disempowerment and discrimination, and this then increases poverty through the unlikelihood of the child advancing in a society where education facilities don't exist and transport to education facilities outside of Welbedacht is highly problematic. Likewise, coupled with the false

promises of help that have been mentioned, the Arkians have also endured false promises of hope; that is, hope for the future and future prospects as well as hope for an improved society where elements of social justice would emerge. This is evident in the false promises of hope to improve the severe lack of social justice, as in access to facilities, employment opportunities and the opportunity for future improvement, which continue to be broken.

In a just society, developers and policy makers should strive for development that is fair, uncompromising in equality and which creates diminutive discord within a changing urban space (Kennedy *et al*, 2001). In addition, social justice should be upheld in new communities where the displaced are obligated to relocate to. Social justice should be achieved by expanding choice and opportunities for all whilst recognising the necessity to promote the needs of the disadvantaged and underprivileged members of society through integration and economic opportunities (Marcuse, 2015). In Welbedacht, however, false promises of social justice in the form of a society with improved living conditions as a result of the provision of services and facilities continue to plague this society. The hopelessness as a result of broken promises is almost tangible amongst the participants as they discuss how council members continue to break their promises of economic opportunities and service provision in the area. The inability of public officials and council members to restore hope for a better society in Welbedacht is evident in the following statements:

Participant 4: "Because they don't give us jobs, they promise us that they putting us in this place and then that there's a lot of companies, factories that they looking for us… But now they don't take us. You go, you look for a job and then they say 'no, no, no'."

Participant 2: "About a year ago, our councillor for this area came to us and had a big meeting here in this place and she made a promise that because the asbestos is so unhealthy – it's been causing a lot of people to have sicknesses they've never had in the past, she said they were going to tile our rooves. It was over a year ago now and they also promised that they were going to put sinks in our houses you know, so we can wash our dishes."

Participant 6: "Mr Reddy from the Housing Department has promised us everything and he never did anything for us. So we're all broke, we're all down, down, down. He promised parks for the children, we were promised a church, schools and they promised a clinic. They promise everything and then they just let us down."

Many promises have been made to this community in an effort to improve the society in which these inhabitants reside. Simultaneously, however, it is evident that little effort has been made to improve the area's living conditions and level of development. These residents

were relocated some 12 years ago and during all this time nothing has been done to improve their quality of life. Furthermore, the statements show evidence of hopelessness amongst the community members as a result of these broken promises. As a result, these residents are forced to endure poor living conditions under the false pretence that one day their situation may change. Upon the commencement of the focus group the researcher was posed with the question:

Participant 2: "So what will you be able to do for us?"

To which the researcher responded: "Unfortunately, I'm just a student doing a research project for university. But my aim is for this article I'm writing to be published so that I can create awareness about what is happening here. I'm not here to give you something or to make false promises; I'm just here to create awareness about what's happening to you."

Participant 2 then responded: "Thank you, at least you're honest. Honestly, at least you are honest, the others weren't."

Participant 4 then added: "At least you are honest because most of the people they come here, they talk to us like this and then they take the news article to sell to the newspaper and then they get that money and then they vanish."

The above statements indicate the level of falsities the community has endured over the years. They spoke of these officials with frustration in their voices. They have become a forgotten society where publications use them for a news article, making false promises to them, and then once again they become disregarded amongst society. The loss of dignity, loss of identity, false promises of help and false promises of hope, coupled with the cycle of impoverishment, has created a community devoid of empathy and sympathy and instead entrenched in apathy. As such, this community has become numb to their surroundings. Participant 6 talks about their current living conditions:

"Ay we are living the terrible life, I don't even like to talk about it… We used to be a family but ever since we came here everyone has just separated… there's every man for themselves in this place."

It is evident that they were forced into survival mode and have thus shut off from society as a means to survive. They went from being a family in the Ark to adopting an "every man for themselves" mentality in Welbedacht. The severe lack of social justice in this region can be largely attributed to their locality, namely the urban periphery. They went from being in a prime location in the core of Durban to a location on the urban periphery devoid of services,

amenities and facilities. As a result, there is a vast level of social injustice within the relocation area.

4.3. PUSHED OUT TO THE PERIPHERY

Gentrification is a process that moves through a dilapidated area of the city displacing the lower income residence of the area. There is a dominant tendency present in the gentrification process whereby the redevelopment of urban cores results in the relocation of residents to the urban periphery (Kennedy *et al,* 2001). Furthermore, not only are they displaced from a prime position where services, amenities and facilities are at their full disposal, but in many cases they are also forced to relocate to the urban periphery where services, facilities and amenities are dismal at best, they are isolated from society, and there is a severe lack of community development. The Ark was previously located in a central position that aided the growth of the Arkians through all the services, amenities and facilities available to them coupled with the use of transport and the availability of employment.

Welbedacht is an area located beyond the urban periphery, with a complete lack of all aforementioned factors responsible for the assistance in the development of a community. Furthermore, it is well known that poor residents located in the urban periphery are subjected to inadequate infrastructure and services (Faiz, 2011). To set the scene, one has to drive through Chatsworth, then through Welbedacht, which in itself is a very impoverished community, then roughly 5-10km before reaching the Arkians. Upon arrival, one must travel to the bottom of a valley where a long row of poorly constructed houses represents the relocated area. At the top of the valley, and roughly 15km west is Chatsworth, with a township known as Umlazi being located across the bridge from the Arkian community.

The current level of service provision in Welbedacht is poor. This is ailing the development of the community whilst simultaneously enhancing the aforementioned cycle of impoverishment. Likewise, the poor services of this particular urban periphery are resulting in increased substance abuse and increased apathy as residents feel as if they are a forgotten society in which there is no escape from these poor living conditions. Furthermore, the houses provided to the Arkians were intended as a means to recover what was lost, in terms of accommodation at the Ark, yet this research study has ascertained that the Arkians have lost far more than what they have gained in this regard.

Upon arriving in Welbedacht, the Arkians were faced with a severe lack of services in their newly relocated area and were forced to reside in a community that had been fenced off from the surrounding area, thereby creating deep-seated anxiety as they were fearful of the neighbouring community members. Furthermore, upon subsequently removing the fence community members began to experience the wrath of surrounding residents who would begin to take claim to their (the Arkians') houses. Moreover, they were forced to endure severe living conditions where they had no provision of water, electricity or transport for two years. Participant 4 speaks of this:

"…some of us didn't stand for the abuse we are getting here, there was no transport, there was no water, there was no electricity…two years of that. While we were still here there was a lot of abuse and everything because the first days we were here there was no electricity, there was no water. We had to see for ourselves. And then after that when we were here, some of the people we don't know from nowhere, they came and then they take our houses."

The provision of efficient and reliable service delivery initiatives has the ability to improve the quality of lives within this region. Furthermore, these services should include both physical infrastructure and social initiatives that will enable an improved standard of living within this community (Fox *et al*, 1995). Likewise, public service delivery should include public activities, benefits or satisfactions that the community is allowed to enjoy (Fox *et al*, 1995), including both tangible and non-tangible services (Fox *et al*, 1995). The periphery is characterised as having a hidden nature – that is to say, there are a variety of implications that arise when living in this region (Gordon, 2015). This hidden nature means that government-led relocation, such as that of the Arkians, is less likely to be opposed (Gordon, 2015). However, the implications that exist in the periphery coupled with the inability of government to retain this community within the city on account of affordable land values along the periphery (Gordon, 2015) has resulted in the downfall of this community. This is owing to the fact that the provision of water and sanitation, health, housing, waste removal, transport and electricity are either largely problematic or non-existent. As such, the Arkians are forced to endure a living environment in which poor conditions coupled with extremely poor service delivery is the cost of their displacement to the periphery and their loss of their right to the city. The manner in which these topics are discussed is expressed with such revulsion by the participants and thus the severity of the poor service provision in this periphery must be acknowledged. The provision of water and sanitation is a basic human right (Solón, 2010), one

which is still not being properly adhered to in Welbedacht and which is taken for granted in core areas. Residents are faced with unjust charges in water bills and when they cannot pay these ridiculous amounts, their water metres are simply taken out the ground. They then have to find the means (finance and transport) to go to the eThekwini Municipality and explain to them that the charges are impossible in which case the municipality then grants them water. It's a problem that is still occurring today. Please take note of the following accounts:

Participant 4: "And then what they promised us in these houses, they told us that we not going to pay water and that we are going to pay a certain percentage of electricity of which now when they mix us with other people they cut your water if you don't pay. If I would show you my water bill it was R37 000."

Participant 9: "Mine is R18 000."

Participant 3: "You can go clear it. Mine was R17 000. I went to the Water Department, they clean you out and put you on a clean slate but you have to pay if you use more than 300L a day you have to pay in the difference. So the bill goes up again and they just cut your water."

Participant 1: "I live alone and I don't know how come my water bill is R16 000."

Participant 4 states: "Even now you can go there in Mavis' house and open the tap you'll see she doesn't have the water. We have to buy our water, we have to go to Umlazi [across the bridge]."

Participant 6 goes on to state that: "Because where can a woman stay without water? There's children and babies here that also need water. But when we phone for the water truck they tell us they're going to come and they don't come. They give people on the top water…they stop it from coming down here to us. So we are women who need baths, we got children [who need baths]. Now we must go to Umlazi to get water."
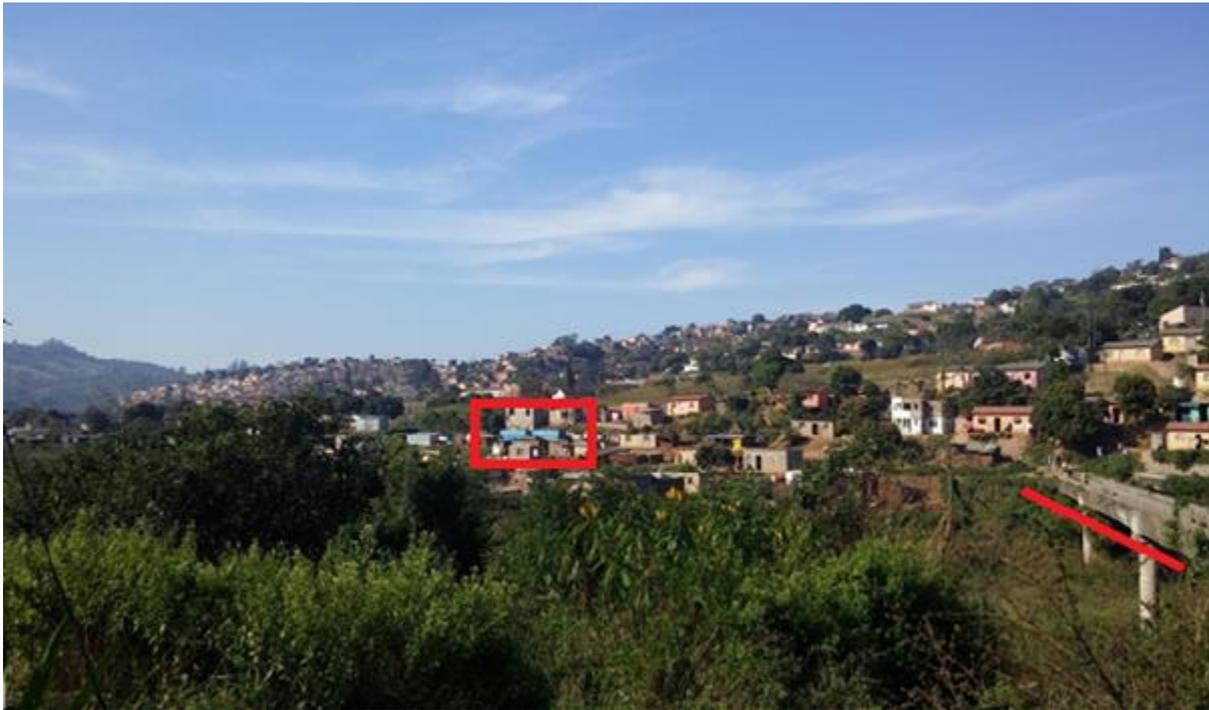
Figure 4.3.1: The red rectangle represents the location for water collection whilst the red line indicates the bridge that is crossed in order to collect water.

Figure 4.3.1 above represents both the location for water collection as well as the bridge that allows the residents to cross over into the next township (Umlazi) in order to gain access to water. The provision of water has been problematic for the last 12 years; that is, ever since they arrived in Welbedacht. The urban periphery in this context continues to emulate what it's renowned for, namely that lower-class families are forced to endure poor living conditions on account of their locality. Furthermore, once the water has been cut residents of Welbedacht have no choice but to walk across the bridge to the Umlazi Township and purchase water from residents there. They then have to carry the heavy buckets back home. The inability of water to be provided coupled with the fact that the surrounding communities stop the truck from delivering water to this community is aiding the high levels of discrimination that these individuals are forced to endure.

Waste management is another problem in the urban periphery which exudes social inequality on account of locality. The community of Welbedacht continually experience poor service provision and waste management is no exception. Municipal services are dismal at best and refuse is collected sporadically if at all. The residents are then forced to develop ways of disposing of the refuse themselves. The result is an area that is highly polluted which then

begins to affect the health of the residents as well as the natural environment. The severe lack of waste management in this region has resulted in a community angered by the lack of governance in their area, further perpetuating the lack of social justice in the area. The periphery then becomes a dumping ground for not only waste but human corpses as well, which has subsequently resulted in the infestation of vermin. Participant 4 states:

"I used my phone to call the DSW to call, they came, they take photos, they say they going to sort it out and they didn't sort it out...they sort nothing out. There are rats, cockroaches everything."

Likewise, as stated previously, criminals discard corpses amongst the refuse because there is just so much of it that the corpse can become lost amongst the waste. This speaks volumes not only for the level of criminality in the area but also reinforces the poor service delivery and complete lack of social justice within the urban periphery.

Figure 4.3.2: Large amounts of waste that have accumulated due to poor service delivery

Figure 4.3.2 above represents the severity of the lack of municipal services and poor service delivery in Welbedacht. Furthermore, figure 4.3.3 below depicts a pit where residents are forced to burn their refuse on account of poor service delivery.

Figure 4.3.3: Pit where residents burn their refuse

The aforementioned lack of mobility in Welbedacht is largely due to its locality within the urban periphery. Whilst the urban core is commonly known for a variety of transportation options, the urban periphery is largely lacking in this regard. Transport plays a monumental role in the economic transformation of a region as it provides residents with access to employment (Faiz, 2011). However, in areas such as Welbedacht where transport is mostly problematic, the urban periphery begins to exude its reputation of inequality. Moreover, the lack of transport in this area is largely responsible for the devastatingly high unemployment rate. What's more, the limited transportation that is available is tremendously costly. Please take note of the following statements in this regard:

Participant 2 states: "Some families have to pay R600 a month for transport. I pay R600 a month for my two grandsons."

Participant 3 continues: "Other things we can really put our fingers on is the way we are suffering with transport…down here."

In an ideal world, governance would ensure that the urban periphery is able to provide residents with access to transport and thus with access to the city where employment opportunities exist (Hernandez *et al*, 2016). However, this is often not the case, and instead, the lack of transport in Welbedacht coupled with high unemployment rates has resulted in a community entrenched in misery, poverty and urban decay. The cycle of impoverishment is

reinforced here where the lack of social and economic resources, due to the peripheral locality, has produced a living environment in the urban periphery severely deprived of adequate living conditions. Moreover, due to the fact that the costs of displacement from the core to the periphery are hidden, governments are still using language such as 'urban renewal' to paint gentrification in a positive light (Gordon, 2015).

The lack of service provision is made worse by the poor level of infrastructure and inadequate housing in the area. The uneven development of infrastructure between core and peripheral regions is highly evident in Welbedacht. The area consists of a single street with 100 houses along each side of the road. That is the start and end for infrastructure here which can be seen in figure 4.3.4 below.

Figure 4.3.4: The entrance to the single road of houses

Moreover, displacement as a result of gentrification often results in the forced relocation of individuals from the core to the periphery (Lees *et al,* 2008) where land is infertile, the provision of basic services is problematic, infrastructure is poor and opportunities to create a sustainable livelihood are severely lacking. Welbedacht embodies these characteristics where the lack of infrastructure plays a monumental role in the area's continued poverty and lack of growth. Where infrastructure is present, through the provision of housing and plumbing, it has been constructed with inadequate building materials. Participant 2 talks of the quality of their built environment:

"They use inferior quality materials. Very inferior: if it's hot one day, then the next day it rains, those pipes are going to burst somewhere… About a year ago, our councillor for this area came to us and had a big meeting here in this place and she made a promise that because the asbestos is so unhealthy – it's been causing a lot of people to have sicknesses they've never had in the past, she said they were going to tile our rooves. It was over a year ago now and they also promised that they were going to put sinks in our houses you know, so we can wash our dishes. That hasn't been done yet as well."

The built environment in Welbedacht has not been constructed to the community's acceptable standards. The houses are of poor quality and the severe lack of infrastructure in the area necessitates that there is a complete lack of facilities and amenities within the region. For example, there is no English school, clinic, police station, shopping centre or fire station in the immediate area. It's a desolate region which comprises only of houses. This is highly problematic for the area's development, the growth of the community as well as the health and safety of its residents. Previously, a mobile clinic was despatched to the region once a week, however that service is no longer available. When asked why, the participants had two responses. One stated that no-one ever made use of the clinic which resulted in it halting its services, while the other stated that the clinic never had sufficient or the correct medication required. Participant 4 states:

"We had a mobile clinic. It came here how many times a week, once a week. I came here once, what I've got my granddaughter she had this stuff like ringworms. They said they don't have that medication… There is my neighbour… she died of asthma because they promised her to give her the gas, the oxygen and then she was waiting so long until she died now."

Moreover, there is a large contradiction between the Point Precinct and Welbedacht not only in the availability of facilities in the former, but also in the way in which individuals were treated as well. There was more than one hospital in the Point Precinct and when mentioning

that they were from the Ark they were treated immediately and free of charge. In Welbedacht however, individuals are subjected to discrimination at the hospital when they mention their background at the Ark. Participant 4 provides this example:

"If [you were] in the clinic [at the Ark and] it was something you had to go to hospital for you will be taken to Addington hospital or McCord hospital, we have both those hospitals, they were ours. If you went to the hospital and you told them you were coming from the Ark they just take you, they don't ask you for money or whatever... but in R.K. Khan you will go there and then you will just mention that you're coming from the ark and they think AIDS, you HIV positive and then they don't look after you. They just look at you and tell you go back home."

This is one example of the large disparities in terms of basic service provision and facilities which exist between the core (Point Precinct) and the periphery (Welbedacht). Furthermore, the lack of education facilities in this area is highly problematic for the development of children. There is a large outcry from the residents regarding this issue and they are pleading for education facilities to be founded so that their children may be given equal opportunities for education. Participant 4 pleads for education and improved services as follows:

Participant 4: "We need our generation, our kids to go to better schools and universities...We need education for our kids, and we need services."

Participant 4 states further: "We need a mobile police station to look after us 'cause most of our sisters and brothers they've been raped and stabbed in this place, and then the police they take maybe a day to come and see. Sometimes they don't come."

Crucial, therefore, to the development of this region is also the provision of a police station. Crime rates are exorbitantly high here and control and order will thus go a long way in ensuring safety and social development. Residents have the right to feel safe in their community yet as it stands now, this is not the case. With poor services and no facilities comes the counterpart, i.e. the complete lack of amenities. Fixtures such as shopping centres, parks and recreational amenities are non-existent in this community. The lack of amenities for recreational purposes is further perpetuating the cycle of impoverishment through the rise of substance abuse, unprotected sex and high levels of teenage pregnancy. Please take note of the following statements:

Participant 6: "Another problem is that the children have nowhere to go, at least if they had a park, with swings and slides, they've got something to do. The mothers can't afford to send them away for holidays [during school holidays] 'cause the mothers are living on grants and pensions."

Participant 4 adds: "That's why our kids are making more babies, they are smoking, they doing everything…"

The social and economic characteristics of a neighbourhood have significant implications for the health and well-being of its resident community (Cubbin *et al,* 2008). This community, for instance, has witnessed and experienced the full brunt of an environment totally lacking in resources such as parks and recreational amenities, which has resulted in a community that indulges in drugs and alcohol for recreational purposes. These poor habits are being passed on from one generation to the next, with the children partaking in such habits at an early age. Furthermore, the physical environment plays a monumental role in developing the youth by encouraging them to obtain and sustain healthy lifestyles (Cubbin *et al,* 2008). Unfortunately however, while this community has been promised a better living environment, one with amenities for recreational purposes, those who made these promises have failed to deliver them. This has created a disgruntled community that is tired of the poor governance it is forced to endure as a result of the displacement which occurred in 2004. In the Point Precinct these residents were within walking distance to all amenities, and furthermore, they could afford to partake in such activities on account of their employment. In Welbedacht, however, there are no amenities to partake in and those which exist outside of Welbedacht cannot be enjoyed on account of the lack of funds due to the high unemployment rate. Thus, residents are dissatisfied with the lack of amenities and the false promises to provide such amenities and have hence stated that they will take it upon themselves to build these amenities if they are given the necessary land. Participant 6 talks about being continually let down:

"Mr Reddy from the housing department has promised us everything and he never did anything for us. So we're all broke, we're all down, down, down. He promised parks for the children, we were promised a church, schools and they promised a clinic. They promise everything and then they just let us down."

Participant 6 enquires whether they can build the amenities themselves: "Can we make our own shopping centre and make our own stuff? ... We can do that. We just need the land. That land is not coming forward, nothing is coming forward from the government concerning their part."

The poor delivery of basic services, coupled with the complete lack of facilities and amenities has resulted in a community that is underdeveloped and marginalised. The lack of community development then reinforces the cycle of impoverishment as there are no opportunities available to offer prospects for a better lifestyle and improved living conditions. Community

development plays a monumental role in the quality of life in any given society. Welbedacht, along with having poor service delivery and no facilities or amenities, is a community devoid of social, economic and physical development. Although there have been attempts to develop the community by means of community development projects, these projects have failed as a result of poor implementation and poor management. For example, a vegetable garden project was initiated in order to provide sustenance to the community and cash crops as a means for an income. Although the project leader had good intentions, the management of the project was given to the wrong person. The project leader was a lady with a dwarfism disability and thus it was very easy for these community members to take advantage of her. Participant 8 recalls the events which took place whilst participant 4 speaks of the neglect the community endures:

"She was given the R50 000 because of the vegetable project that she was doing, and then all these people they don't understand so now when they saw that R50 000 they all came to fight 'cause they want a share. That's why her project, to tell you the truth, that's why her project didn't prosper because all the money was supposed to be put in that project to make it established, it didn't work because everybody wanted a share out of this money and then it was finished. They were chasing her with knives wanting that money."

Participant 4 states: "How can you give somebody a fish when you don't teach them? Teach us to catch a fish, they don't teach us how to catch a fish, they just leave us so that they can get something out of us and then they just push us away."

Community development is vital in this region, the lack of which is further perpetuating the cycle of impoverishment as a result of the high levels of poverty, unemployment and lack of amenities. The easy way out is to simply hand this community money and expect it to turn into something prosperous. These individuals are destitute as they've been entrenched in poverty for 12 years, thus they need guidance and to be taught how to sustain a healthy and profitable lifestyle. This cannot be done by simply giving donations, but rather through community development at the grassroots level with a bottom-up approach. Although a large majority of the community is highly unmotivated as a result of their disempowerment and poor quality of life, there are those who nevertheless wish to persevere through the impoverishment they are entrenched in in seek of a better life. The development of this community through community development projects which adopt a bottom-up approach, and thus 'teach the residents to fish', will go a long way in ensuring their social, mental and economic development. These residents merely need to be given the opportunity to succeed,

but instead they've simply been neglected. There are qualified electricians and welders amongst the participants in the focus group who have a drive to succeed but they need to be given the opportunity to do so. Moreover, it is essential that these community development strategies be implemented correctly as doing things *for* them instead of teaching them to do things for themselves can lead to increased disempowerment through the complete destabilisation of this community (Toomey, 2011). Furthermore, community development in Welbedacht has the potential to create employment, reduce poverty, develop skills and mobilise existing skills, improve the attitudes of community members, create prospects for the future, and improve their overall quality of life by creating an economically resilient community whilst simultaneously creating a strong functioning community in itself (Cavaye, 2006). However, the lack of this will result in increased poverty, unemployment and substance abuse, which will in turn feed into each community member until complete destruction occurs. Furthermore, the region's underdevelopment coupled with its locality within the urban periphery has led to the social exclusion of this society. This has severe implications for the individuals who reside in Welbedacht as they are forced to live within an environment that has been excluded from the urban core and the benefits it offers, and thus they have become a forgotten society.

4.4. SOCIAL EXCLUSION

Gentrification is a contradictory process which aims to create a socially diverse community by means of social mixing whilst the benefits, which are vast, trickle down to the urban poor, thus creating improved socio-economic conditions for all who reside in the newly gentrified area. It is promoted as a developmental policy that will lead to less exclusion and polarisation by creating socially diverse and sustainable communities (Lees, 2008). However, the benefits of gentrification are not always enjoyed by all, as it is often the affluent members of society who benefit at the expense of the urban poor. Furthermore, social mixing isn't assured in all cases of gentrification, as the process can have the opposite effect by creating displacement, segregation and social exclusion. It is hence ironic that a process which results in exclusion is being promoted via social mix policies as a positive solution to segregation and exclusion (Lees, 2008). In the case of Welbedacht, gentrification, and ultimately displacement, has resulted in the social exclusion of this community due to the lack of resources and high levels of poverty within this region. Furthermore, the social exclusion that exists in this area has

resulted in the physical and social isolation of the Arkians, as well as their alienation. This in turn is further affecting the community's ability to develop.

Social exclusion exists in various forms within Welbedacht. This community has experienced elements of exclusion through a variety of socio-economic conditions, some of which include the following: displacement, segregation, discrimination, unemployment, poor service delivery and a lack of facilities or amenities. This has resulted in the emergence of an isolated and alienated community. The isolation these resident are forced to endure has severe psychological impacts as it has left them in a state of limbo where personal, financial and social growth are perceived as unobtainable, and correctly so, as there are no resources that could enable such growth. The Arkians have gone from an area in the core which is physically and socially diverse to one in the periphery that is socially and physically isolated. The following participants talk of the isolation experienced in Welbedacht:

"Here everything is far, we always need transport but we don't always have taxi fare to go anywhere."

Whilst participant 2 adds: "You know, we don't get out, I haven't been to town since last year."

The state of isolation is severe in that individuals simply cannot afford to go anywhere, meaning they are trapped in their environment on a permanent basis – an environment which severely lacks any form of resource responsible for creating a better quality of life. In this case, exclusion from the core as a result of gentrification, which includes spatial distance to the core, lack of recognition, lack of respect and physical constraints (United Nations, 2009), has been made worse by the inability of the original Welbedacht residents to accept the Arkians and integrate them within *'their'* community. Moreover, although they have resided in Welbedacht for 12 years the lack of growth in terms of the status quo of their quality of life has left them seriously detached from their environment. This was evident in the focus group where every participant referred to the area in which they live as 'this place'. For example, participant 4 states:

"In this place we have nothing… I just want to improve myself but I can't improve myself in this place because people are so poor…"

The detachment from their living environment, coupled with their isolation has left this community in a poor mental state. Furthermore, the lack of growth, opportunities or prospects in this geographically and socially isolated area has created a community which is

continually reinforcing the cycle of impoverishment due to the lack of socio-economic development in the area on account of their isolation. Moreover, the violence, abuse, stigmatisation, lack of transport, segregation and lack of resources are all elements of exclusion (United Nations, 2009) which are present in this community. This forgotten society is made up of the very essence of what social exclusion embodies. The denial of resources, loss of their right to the city, a severe lack of goods, services and rights as well as the inability to participate or contribute to the 'normal' activities available within an inclusive society has resulted in a socially excluded society (Bernt *et al,* 2013). As such, the isolation they constantly sustain is then linked back to gentrification and the social exclusion it produces (Power *et al,* 2000). The Arkians, as a result of gentrification, have endured exclusion from both the benefits produced within an urban core as well as social exclusion from their current environment. This can then be linked to the severe lack of social justice in terms of the poor socio-economic conditions these individuals are forced to endure. The lack of social justice coupled with the isolation of this area has created a poor quality of living not only for these individuals but for future generations as well. Unfortunately, du to their poor economic standing within their previous area, the Arkians were 'easy pickings' for the giants of the redevelopment world. This resulted in them being easily disregarded in their previous society and forced them to a forgotten and isolated society where they are excluded from the benefits of the social system and the privileges it produces. Here, it is evident that gentrification in the Point Precinct did not lead to social mixing or benefits for all, but rather, that it worsened the social, economic and physical state of an already vulnerable community.

Furthermore, upon relocation, the isolation of this community was reinforced by the aforementioned fence that was erected to keep them shut off from the surrounding community. Unbeknown to officials, by erecting the fence they isolated and simultaneously alienated the Arkians. This was made worse by the aforementioned discrimination from police officials, medical staff and surrounding community members which has left this community in an alienated state. Unfortunately, once the fence was removed, an already isolated and alienated community began to feel the wrath of the surrounding community members, who were angered by the fact that they didn't receive houses as well. Participant 4 recalls how the surrounding community members responded to the Arkians receiving houses:

"…they remove the fence, they shift us [take claim to their houses] and some of us didn't stand for the abuse we are getting here."

Participant 6 adds: "…the Umlazi people were against us because we got the houses…"

Note this statement from participant 4: "…they called us we are prostitutes, hobos, thieves, we've got AIDS…"

As a result, they have endured 12 years of residing in an alienated community, alienated not only from the social and economic benefits of an urban society, but from public officials and surrounding community members as well. Their alienation has resulted in a stigma attached to their society, a stigma that they are 'prostitutes', that they 'have AIDS' and that they are 'criminals'. The social exclusion of the Arkians from the Point Precinct, on account of the gentrification which commenced in 2004, has resulted in the marginalisation and stigmatisation of this group of individuals in their relocated area. It is further evident that the isolation has occurred as a result of the social exclusion elements of poverty, unemployment and a lack of transport, whilst the alienation has occurred due to the stigmatisation placed on this community by their surrounding society. Furthermore, the exclusion which persists has been enabled through the rupture of social ties and the separation from economic opportunities, where class, status and political power have permitted the exclusion of this vulnerable community (Bernt *et al,* 2013). This is made worse by their lack of integration within the relocation area (Bernt *et al,* 2013). While little can be done to overcome their geographical isolation, their social isolation can be overcome through community development programmes which will enable economic growth and thus the ability to venture out of Welbedacht. A large divide still persists between the original residents and the Arkians, hence it is equally important to enable community development programmes that foster the healthy growth and integration between the original residents of this community and the Arkians. The socio-economic status of the Arkians has been portrayed as one that is destitute and burdensome. Thus, the quality of life in this region needs to be improved by uplifting the current socio-economic conditions whilst simultaneously improving the status quo of the region. They need to persevere through the exclusion but they also need to be given the opportunity, through community development programmes which enable service delivery, employment and integration, to do so. Participant 4 pleads for a chance at employment:

"They must trust us for one last time. They must give us a chance, they must open the doors. We want to work so that we can provide [for] our families."

Furthermore, the lack of social justice as well as increased social exclusion, coupled with the poor living conditions within the urban periphery can all be attributed to the gentrification which took place in the Point Precinct.

4.5. GENTRIFICATION, SOCIAL EXCLUSION AND VULNERABILITY

The exclusionary forces that occur as a result of being pushed out to the periphery are made worse by the implications which arise from the gentrification process as a whole. Gentrification clearly leads to many issues with the displaced. Issues relating to vulnerability, displacement, segregation, discrimination, disempowerment, low morality, unemployment and increased criminal activity are all matters that displaced persons are forced to endure. Gentrification, which can be seen as an oxymoron as it embodies both revitalisation and destruction, is not a Nuevo process in South Africa, but rather has been seen to occur across major cities including Johannesburg, Cape Town and Durban. The last saw the rise of gentrification as a result of the 2010 Fifa World cup which was to be hosted in South Africa. Residents of this area were then rendered vulnerable to the prospect of displacement as a result of the gentrifying area. As mentioned previously, the Ark was a Christian-run organisation which housed many homeless people in the Point Precinct, Durban and was dedicated to assisting individuals who were at their lowest point in life. In 2004, the redevelopment of the Point Precinct commenced and as a result the Ark was shut down.

The shelter was used as a safe haven and offered many services and facilities, some of which included a rehab centre, entertainment such as knitting and crocheting, a crèche for the children and also church services, to name a few. Individuals who resided at the Ark comprised of both sexes and of all ages, races and ethnicities. A majority of these individuals came to the Ark seeking refuge as a result of extreme poverty, unemployment, substance abuse, physical abuse, unemployment and a lack of family or the inability of their families to support them. The participants in the focus group all revealed different stories as to why and how they ended up at the Ark which were predominantly related to the aforementioned factors. However, although the Ark was sought out as a place of refuge for those in need, the commencement of gentrification resulted in the inability of these residents to retain their right to the city. Instead, the right to the city, and the sense of place and belonging was

removed from the poor and repositioned as a right to space made attainable only for those who could afford it (Gordon, 2015). In essence, gentrification laid claim to the Point Precinct and the elite reserved the right to attain the city whilst the poor were displaced to the periphery. Participant 1 voices why she came to stay at the Ark:

"I chose to live there because I had nowhere else to go and I have no family here in Durban. I came from the Eastern Cape… I came from alcoholism and needed to make use of their rehab centre."

Substance abuse was a noticeable reason why these individuals sought shelter at the Ark, a prominent feature in Durban that was used as a stepping stone for individuals who needed physical, emotional and financial support. Residents of the Ark were given everything they needed for a comfortable lifestyle including finances by means of the Ark seeking employment for these individuals, clothing, food, shelter, toiletries, transportation, and many other services which made for a comfortable lifestyle. In exchange for the services rendered the Arkians who chose to be employed would give 40% of their wages to the shelter. However, these poorer working class members of this society were predisposed to gentrification-related displacement on account of their vulnerability. It is these individuals who are marginalised and pushed out of the city on account of their poor economic status (Lefebvre, 1996). The vulnerability of this population coupled with their marginalisation to the periphery has resulted in an urban divide between rich and poor, whilst simultaneously excluding underprivileged populations from the urban core (Gordon, 2015). Participants recall their living conditions in the Ark:

Participant 6 stated: "We were also workers, we were working for the bed to sleep, we were working for the plate of food to eat. But the Ark they used to give us meals, they used to find jobs for us. We never battled like how we're living here."

Likewise Participant 8 added: "Just having a way for whatever you want, to go shopping, to go to the beach, to have the place where you have the bed to sleep. Also, if you didn't come with clothes or rags, you used to dress the best [clothes], and eat the best food that we didn't even know where it came from."

The accounts depict a safe haven in which individuals were supported and encouraged to branch out through the provision of employment provided to them by the Ark. However, with the provision of a sufficient rent gap in the Point Precinct came the implementation of gentrification, which was used as a means to close the rent gap when the potential ground rent values outweighed the current land use values. The depreciation and devaluation of the

urban core coupled with the need for redevelopment on account of the Fifa World Cup made the Point Precinct an attractive target for developers on account of the capital accumulation which would result from this newly gentrified urban core. Thus, in 2004, gentrification commenced in preparation of the 2010 Fifa world cup and as a result the Ark was shut down. The old, run-down area which had succumbed to poverty and criminal activity was to be revitalised into a tourist attraction now known as Ushaka Marine World (eThekwini Municipality, 2012). It was then that the Ark was shut down and the residents were displaced. Cities such as Durban that experience gentrification have the advantage of gaining a fresh city with new and obtainable prospects leading to a new lease on life. However, the same can't always be said for the residents of newly gentrified or gentrifying areas. The Arkians lost their right to the city as they no longer fit in with the image-conscious view which accompanies a newly gentrified area. Instead, they were marginalised and displaced to the periphery whilst the affluent members of society retained the right to the city.

As a result it can be said that gentrification is synonymous with displacement. When the redevelopment of the Point Precinct commenced in 2004, the Arkians were told that the Ark was to be shut down. With this, the Ark was terminated and a change in the social fabric of the city began to ensue. This tear in the social fabric resulted in a redeveloped inner core which created a socially unjust environment where the right to the city was a right reserved only for the elite. Furthermore, additional impacts of gentrification ensued when the 'out with the old in with the new' strategy was not handled in the correct manner, thus creating urban struggles and social segregation between the wealthy and the poor. Displacement as a result of gentrification primarily occurs due to the increase in rental prices, the increase in tax base, building demolition, land clearance and increased investment which makes housing unaffordable (Wright *et al,* 1995). However, the displacement that occurred in the Point Precinct was as a result of the image that a newly gentrified area is made to exude. Here, displacement occurred because the former residents of the Ark no longer 'fit in' with the ideals and image-conscious view of a newly gentrified area. Participant 3 spoke of how the displacement occurred:

[They said] "Ushaka Marine World is building and they can't have hobos living in Point. We were called hobos. They had to move us out because of the place they were building. But I'm surprised 'cause the hobo place is still standing [referring to the Ark]… Ya, that's a tourist place, we can't stay there."

The former residents of the Ark were relocated to Welbedacht due to their poverty status and their displacement came as a means to disperse the high concentration of poverty in the core to the periphery. Furthermore, not only were these residents displaced, but the manner in which they were removed was inhumane. This has resulted in the transformation of this community from one that was thriving through social and economic development to one that has been engulfed in rage and bitterness on account of not only the manner in which they were displaced but, also, how the implications of displacement have affected them. Although gentrification is a process of social and economic development, it is only the elite minority who reap the benefits of this process and, as such, the displacement of this community has resulted in increased poverty, social segregation, marginalisation and exclusion. The loss of their right to the city has created greater inequality through their inability to attain employment in the periphery coupled with vast inequalities of isolation, poverty and exclusion that exist within this zone. The tone in which these participants spoke about the way in which the displacement unfolded is with such repugnance and as if they felt like criminals who were being escorted from one prison to another.

Here Participant 6 revealed that: "...people got thrown out like dogs, and we left most of our belongings in the Ark because of the way we were thrown out."

Whilst Participant 4 stated that: "We didn't get to choose; we were just flooded in the bus. There were police, there were traffic cops, there were SAPS, there were security because those people they were told that we are rogues. And then we were escorted with guns."

The statements above show the callous approach that was enforced by the officials who removed the Arkians from their residence. From their ability to fully recollect the events which unfolded when they were removed from the Ark and their place of safety, one can conclude that these events are still strongly etched in their minds due to the cruel and cold-hearted approach that was taken upon removal. Moreover, a clear theme has emerged which exposes the contradictions present within the gentrification process. A utopian-like state that was once present in the Ark has been dismantled by the implications of displacement, and an area that was once a safe haven and place of refuge has been disregarded along with its inhabitants. Thus a contradictory element of gentrification has emerged where a process that is said to promote policies which favour mixed-income communities (Chaskin *et al,* 2013) instead engulfs every morsel of hope for this developing community by displacing them to the periphery, where any chance of social or economic development has been superseded by

unemployment, isolation and a complete loss of unity which once existed in the Ark. Furthermore, subsequent to their displacement, they were informed that they would be relocated from the Point Precinct in Durban to an area known as Welbedacht. They had no previous affiliation with this area and so when they were told they were being relocated they feared the worst. However, one major positive outcome of the gentrification which took place was that the residents who previously resided in the Ark were promised houses. As it turned out, it was then revealed that not all residents would receive houses but, rather, the houses would go only to mothers and children.

Participant 3: "And we were given different stories of why the Ark had to move. There were a lot of stories going around. And secondly, that they were giving houses to mothers with children here in Welbedacht. They weren't giving single people houses."

Major issues ensued, which are still prominent today, due to the fact that not everyone from the Ark received housing. This led to the emergence of a prominent negative impact of gentrification, one tantamount to displacement, namely: the issue of segregation. Segregation is a known feature of gentrification which comes as a result of displacement. The irony is that policy makers use gentrification as a tool to promote social mix (Lees, 2008). They endeavour to indorse the social mix aspect of gentrification as a positive feature which creates communities of different demographics. However, this is not the case as gentrification is primarily responsible for segregation and not integration. The very process that is promoted via social mix policies as a positive means to eradicate segregation is in fact creating the segregation and polarisation of communities (Lees, 2008).

Segregation, as a result of displacement, primarily occurs through three methods: community segregation, economic segregation, and racial segregation (Zuk *et al,* 2015). From a community perspective, individuals who have built strong ties and social networks within a community lose these networks and have to start afresh. The social fabric of a city is torn and the identity of that city becomes lost among newly-painted buildings and the emergence of upmarket or trendy cafés. Economic segregation occurs when individuals who once resided in a newly gentrified area are forced to relocate to the periphery of the city as a result of the increased rental prices. The lower-class members of society then get shifted to poverty-stricken areas with limited economic opportunities. As a result, these individuals are forced to endure long commutes into the city in order to seek employment. A third form of

segregation occurs when races are separated, which plays a powerful role in the reshaping of residential areas as well as the shaping of residential patterns of segregation (Hwang *et al,* 2014).

However, segregation occurred on a much deeper level when the Arkians were displaced. These residents experienced segregation in three primary ways: segregation from the city, economic segregation and social segregation. The right to the city does not simply refer to the liberty of accessing urban resources and space but also includes the right of individuals to design, shape and run the city (Harvey, 2008). The reality though is that gentrification as a process of social, spatial and economic change was responsible for the segregation between the Arkians and their right to the city. Their ability to access and have control over how the city is designed and run was stripped away when gentrification was implemented as a policy for urban renewal. Furthermore, their inability to access the city on account of their isolated relocation area has stripped them of their right to have equal access to the economic benefits of a thriving urban core. Their isolation, coupled with the high cost of transport to reach the city has thus left them in a state of economic deprivation as a result of displacement-related economic segregation. Likewise, social segregation occurred as a product of displacement as these residents lost the unity that was once present at the Ark. As previously mentioned, a majority of the Arkians had no family or support from the outside world, thus during their stay at the Ark they formed profound bonds with one another and were integrated as a family unit. From a social perspective, their struggles united them as one people despite race, age and gender, and they became a family.

Note how participant 4 states that "…The Ark it moulded us into a family…"

Whilst participant 3 gives her view on how the Ark brought them together: "But the Ark taught us something, some of us had never lived with a white person or an Indian person. We were mixed. They made sure there were three African ladies, three coloured ladies, three white ladies. And we lived like that and it was nice."

Participant 6 makes a vital comparison between the two areas and states that: "We used to be a family but ever since we came here everyone has just separated. But in the Ark we were like one family."

The Ark was responsible for not only sheltering and rehabilitating these individuals but somehow also managed to unite them as a family in the face of adversity. However, once gentrification brought on the onslaught of displacement, the subsequent element of

segregation began to ensue. This is evident in two primary ways. Firstly, not all members of the Ark were given houses, thus the 'family' got segregated when the Ark shut down. Participant 3 recalls how these individuals were separated;

"We were all separated, the sick people went to sick bays, the single people were given places to stay in Durban station, some people got moved to Mayville, some were shipped down and moved to another Ark in Cape Town and were moved that way, and we were given homes here, mothers and children."

Secondly, the family bonds and the unity that was once present at the Ark didn't transfer with the resident to Welbedacht. Instead, once the Arkians left the shelter they lost the bond that previously held them together. This is evident of how gentrification-related displacement tears the social fabric of a community, thereby depriving the Arkians of the friendships and social support they once had. Furthermore, gentrification is a process which forces the out-migration of vulnerable communities and thus tearing the social fabric of a community whist simultaneously creating resentment and hostility towards newcomers (Deobhakta, 2014). In this case though, the Arkians redirected the resentment and hostility which accompanies a torn social fabric towards one another, thereby completely eroding the family structure which once existed whilst at the same time creating a polarised community. Furthermore, survival mode arose and the notion of 'every man for themselves' ensued, further illustrating how displacement as a result of gentrification is responsible for the social segregation and polarisation of a once unified community.

Participant 6 states that: "There's every man for themselves in this place."

Whilst participant 4 added: "That's how our family [Ark family] broke up, because you have to see to yourself."

Additionally, upon relocation, the area containing the houses where the Arkians were to live in had been fenced off from the surrounding community. So, not only had they been segregated from their previous community but upon relocation they were to be segregated from their current community too. Further hostility was created as surrounding community members were upset that they didn't receive houses as well.

Participant 4 recalls the first day they came to Welbedacht: "And then when we were here, there was a fence, there was a special force of securities with guns."

Participant 6 adds that: "…the Umlazi people [township across the valley] were against us because we got the houses and now we were moving into the houses so they had a lot against us. It wasn't us to blame."

The accounts provided show the manner in which segregation, as a result of displacement and ultimately gentrification, can cause severe and lasting impacts on a displaced community. Furthermore, from an economic perspective, the impacts of the segregation which took place are still evident today. This is because the individuals have been segregated from an area that offered vast possibilities for employment. Furthermore, the Ark officials would help seek out employment opportunities for the residents at the shelter.

Participant 2 states that: "They were able to get people jobs at the Ark. Most of the people were working."

Thus, the relocation from the Point Precinct to Welbedacht left the Arkians with no assistance of attaining employment. The transfer of these residents out of the inner city to the periphery of Welbedacht has left them in a dire economic state. A primary factor adding to this is the long commute to the inner city where employment can be found. A secondary factor contributing to the poverty in Welbedacht is the high levels of unemployment as a result of meagre economic opportunities. This in turn has created a vicious cycle of poverty which will be discussed in more detail in the following section.

The notion that gentrification is a revitalisation tool for the reduction of poverty is clearly not evident here. Instead, gentrification has simply become a means to not only disperse poverty from the core to the periphery but to enhance it as well. Market-orientated policies that are developed to revitalise urban cores are seen in this case to be the driving force behind segregation, increased poverty and marginalisation of the poor. Market forces that encouraged the revitalisation of this urban core have done so at the expense of the urban poor. Moreover, it has proven to be a case of gentrification for the gentry; that is, a newly developed area made only accessible for the urban elite whilst the poorer members of society become seen as the 'other'. The 'other' members of society (the Arkians) lost not only their right to the city and the opportunities it offered them, but they also became the forgotten members of society and thus a city devoid of diversity emerged.

Although residing in a poverty-stricken area prior to gentrification, a large proportion of the Ark residents were flourishing in the Point Precinct. This was largely as a result of the employment opportunities that were provided to them.

Participant 4 states that: "[There were many] opportunities at the Ark, if you like they give us the list [of jobs], they ask us if you want to go to work and then you say yes and then you signing that and then they look for the companies and then those companies with those qualifications that you have, they put you in [the company]."

Participant 1 points out that: "It was much better at the Ark because everything was close by. Here everything is far, we always need transport but we don't always have taxi fare to go anywhere. There's no shops around. The little tuckshops we have here are so expensive and we haven't got the money for it."

Employment opportunities were sought out and provided to the residents of the shelter, which was a means to empower the Arkians through their individual socio-economic development. In contrast however, their displacement to the periphery has severely undermined this development. Moreover, opportunities for self-improvement are non-existent in Welbedacht on account of their location. Their displacement and subsequent marginalisation from the economic opportunities which existed in the core have thus brought about their down-turn and they went from thriving to destitute. Furthermore, their level of destitution continues to grow on account of the lack of opportunities available in the periphery. Two conflicting and contradictory geographies have hence emerged: one which is suited only for the elite (the core), and another in which vast inequalities continue to hinder the development of the poor (the periphery).

In addition, the poverty in Welbedacht is exacerbated by the lack of employment opportunities along with the expensive commute to the inner city where employment can be found. Therefore, due to the long commute to the inner city as well as the limited opportunities which exist in the area, two vicious cycles have emerged, namely: poverty and unemployment. In the last 12 years since the relocation these cycles have been impossible to break and have hence been passed down from one generation to the next, thereby exacerbating the impoverishment in Welbedacht. What's more, when speaking of work the participants all expressed a deep desperation and desire to find and attain employment. In fact, the desperation to break the cycles of poverty and unemployment was very evident in their voices, even to the point of tears.

Participant 4 pleads for employment: "People are so poor, beyond the word poor… We need jobs, we're really desperate, we don't want to get handouts, we want to go out there, we want to work. We want to earn, we want to do something because I will die soon, I'm 45 now, if I will sit there at home doing nothing I will die soon. We don't want handouts, we want to go there and work and then come back and feed our families."

Here participant 4 talks of self-improvement: "I have to change, some of us managed to change. I didn't change for myself, I changed for the love of my daughter, and then I will not blame the government, I will not blame anybody for not improving or anything. You go in my house, every morning I just go in my garden, I've got my garden, I've got my dogs, I've got my chickens of which I've started with one chicken [and now has 15], of which there was no government to help me to build up those chickens. So it's up to the individual that 'do you want to change or you don't want to change'. Because we can try out for this change but most of us if we said out of 100% maybe 40% we changed, and then the 60% they will be left like that."

As with participant 4, many individuals from the focus group are dedicated to finding employment and wish to improve their current quality of life through self-improvement. However, not all members of this relocated community have the same drive for self-improvement. This is because the aforementioned cycles of poverty and unemployment have left them in a state of depression and destitution, which then begins to feed into the rest of the community and will eventually consume it. Evidence of this behaviour is seen here where participants 8 describes how the surrounding community won't let ambitious individuals succeed.

"We are also bringing ourselves down we don't want to see one of us to go up. We got that problem with ourselves."

For example, participant 8 states that: "But what I realised is every time when you want to do something everyone [whole community] wants to do the same thing. And then everyone comes and says that they thought about it first."

This process of urban rejuvenation has done so at the expense of the poor and vulnerable members of society (Slater, 2011). It's ironic that a community once able to rejuvenate and redevelop itself is no longer able to do so as the redevelopment of public space was seen as more important and economically viable than the redevelopment of the urban poor. Their right to the city was lost and as a result this community went from flourishing to disempowered. Furthermore, the community cohesion and unification that once existed in the Ark was lost and disempowerment emerged as a by-product displacement, marginalisation and polarisation. The effects of disempowerment such as polarisation and

population divide (Toomey, 2011) created greater conflict within the community and is evident in their inability to let one another succeed. Therefore, a negative mentality begins to emerge which refutes an individual's ability to succeed in the community. This is further evident in the community's tendency to all lay claim to an idea developed by a single individual. In other words, if a particular member of the community develops any idea which has the potential to help their family, the whole community begins to lay claim to the idea to the point where nobody actually has the opportunity to take advantage of said idea. The impoverishment In the Welbedacht community is detrimental not only to their physical health but also to their mental health. Unfortunately, the severe economic status, or complete lack of economic status in the area is resulting in the residents developing sabotaging tendencies to stop one member from succeeding above the others. Furthermore, the Institute for Children and Poverty (2009) queries whether gentrification is simply a code word for the displacement of poverty. This is an accurate description for the events which took place in this case. Unfortunately, the gap that exists between poverty and an improved quality of life continues to grow. Although there are residents who are determined to improve their living conditions, the majority of the community are just creating a larger gap. This is fundamentally because their ability to close the gap is so dismal due to the poverty which exists, coupled with the high unemployment rates and their current location. This in turn is leading to greater issues such as high crime rates and substance abuse.

Areas vulnerable to gentrification have a range of predisposing factors which target them for urban renewal. Typically these areas are characterised by poverty, high crime rates and drug-use (Kennedy *et al*, 2001), whilst the streets are dominated by hawkers and vagrants (Visser *et al*, 2008). It has been argued that displacement as a result of war leads to substance abuse. However, little evidence has been found to support the argument that displacement resulting from gentrification leads to increased substance abuse. This is because finding gentrification induced displaced persons has been a problem in the past, particularly when those displaced are underprivileged (Newman *et al*, 2006). The argument presented here is that displacement as a result of gentrification was responsible for the destruction of a recovering community, as in the community residing at the Ark. The term 'recovering community' is used to describe a large majority of the Ark residents who were recovering from substance abuse problems. Unfortunately, this community is therefore already predisposed to addiction, and

furthermore the displacement from the Ark meant the loss of support in their fight against substance abuse. Trigger factors such as displacement, segregation and poverty, to name just a few, have hence reinvigorated their need for escapism and this has seen the resurgence of a community dependent on drugs and alcohol.

The rehabilitation centre at the Ark played a monumental role in several of these participants' lives. And while it is evident that there are a select few of the Arkians who are attempting to improve themselves, the data collected has produced evidence to the contrary as well. That being said, it became evident that substance abuse is rife within this community. The severity of the substance abuse which exists in the area is adding to the high level of impoverishment, especially amongst the children. This is because a large majority of the community is unemployed and thus they are reverting to their grant money and the children's grant money to obtain narcotics and/or alcohol. Participant 4 talks about the substance abuse issues in the area:

"There is substance abuse because people are drinking too much. Some of us we drink too much and then we even drink the money from the children's grant. And the kids they suffer."

Substance abuse has emerged as a product of gentrification-related displacement (Schellenbaum, date unknown). This is made worse by the inability of residents located in the periphery to access substance abuse treatment. As such, it is evident in this case that the children are the ones who suffer the most. Although the adults experience the same impoverishment, they use substance abuse as a means to escape their current conditions whilst the children are forced to bear the full brunt of their destitution. Furthermore, participant 4 points out that several residents in the area are adding to the poverty, and are thereby creating a larger gap between destitution and an improved quality of life. Whilst the inner core thrives and the quality of life is improved for those who can afford it, the periphery continues in a state of limbo where the quality of life is hindered by substance abuse as the voice of the non-gentry is lost (Daga, 2015). Participant 4 spoke of how poverty is being reinforced within the area:

"Some of the people from the Ark are just improving poverty. How? If they get the grant they just drink the money and then, not all of them, some of them, they drink that money and then the next day she doesn't have money for the child to go to school, she doesn't have the money for the kids to eat. She doesn't have the money, it's cold now, for blankets and everything.

That's how our family [Ark family] broke up because you have to see to yourself. If she doesn't think for herself, who's gonna think for herself?"

Participant 5 adds: "I also think we need like some sort of thing like AA. Because most of the time I see a lot of people going to drugs and drinking, and they don't see anything wrong, and then the children are watching and the children are getting bored. Sometimes my child can be watching the neighbour and then my child gets involved, they don't say no you a child you can't do that they just encourage the children to be just like them."

Substance abuse is creating issues between those who partake in such activities and those who don't. The tone expressed by participant 4 was one of complete frustration. This is because she wishes to improve her life and that of her daughter as well whilst other community members are simply adding to the levels of impoverishment. Likewise, these activities added to the segregation of the area because some wish to improve whilst others have resorted to their old ways and still continue to indulge in such activities. Furthermore, the severity of the area's substance abuse is worsened by its ability to be passed from one generation to the next. Not only do parents partake in these illicit activities in front of their children (and neighbourhood children), but they encourage the younger generation to partake as well.

Residents are pleading for some sort of rehabilitation programme which points to the severity of substance abuse in the area. Likewise, poor parenting coupled with the high susceptibility of children leads to the emergence of an illusion in which substance abuse becomes seen by children as a means to escape their harsh reality. This high level at which children are exposed to substances has enhanced the likelihood that children will become partakers in such activities. Thus, a situation is created where poverty and unemployment are rife, children see drug use as a norm, and a vicious cycle ensues where poverty and unemployment lead to drug use and drug use leads to criminal behaviour.

Participant 8 states that: "Our own [Arkians], they go and bring other thugs to come and steal from us."

Participant 5 adds that: "They benefit because they're sharing the money but they don't want to do it because we know about them so they send other people."

Therefore, it can be argued that the high levels of unemployment coupled with substance abuse has led to the emergence of criminal activity. Like poverty, crime in a newly gentrified area is deconcentrated. Moreover, it is evident that the gentrification which took place in the

Point Precinct was not only used as a redevelopment tool but as a means to disperse poverty and crime from the core to the periphery in order to enhance the core whilst simultaneously making it eligible to host a mega sporting event. However, the controversial nature of this process emerged in this scenario as, ironically, a process which is supposedly introduced to curb crime rates has in fact enhanced them. This increased level of crime has social and economic implications for this community which has hindered development whilst simultaneously polarising them even further (Skogan, 1986). From a social perspective, this additional polarisation is as a result of the fear that the severe criminal activity has instilled throughout the community. Consequently, the high fear of crime has undermined the community's ability to deal with social problems (Skogan, 1986). From an economic perspective, earning money results in increased fear of vulnerability and criminality. Furthermore, the emergence of small business ventures are threatened by the high crime rates. The socio-economic implications of such high crime rates have led to withdrawal from the community and the inability of local businesses to flourish, which have thus resulted in increased disorder and delinquency (Skogan, 1986). The Arkians had no need to resort to crime in the Point Precinct because their needs were met at the Ark. Conversely, the high instances of poverty in Welbedacht has left the Arkians destitute and thus a high crime level has emerged, ranging from petty theft to murder. What's more, the area has succumbed to vicious and terrifying criminal acts carried out by outsiders which has left many of the residents in a constant state of fear. Welbedacht is surrounded by several areas including the more established area known as Chatsworth as well as an impoverished area known as Umlazi. The history of the Arkians is well known by these surrounding communities. Furthermore, these communities know that policing activities are dismal at best and that no-one cares for the well-being or security of these residents. Thus, a dumping ground for criminal activity has emerged.

To make matters worse, crimes enacted by outsiders will not be reported due to the fear instilled in the Arkians by such outsiders. Participant 4 talks about a break-in which occurred at her property and expresses her fear in reporting the perpetrators even though she knew who they were:

"I knew those people who took my things but I'm afraid to say anything. So that's why they can do what they want in this place 'cause the police they don't look after us."

She goes on to talk about the drug syndicates which exist in the area and the inability of the Arkians to address the matter on account of fear. The powerlessness is palpable when they discuss their fear of exposing the drug syndicates:

Participant 4 states: "We know where they sell those tablets that make the children go mad like ecstasy but we can't talk because we'll tell the police, the police will take you to that place and they'll tell those people that you said so [that they're selling drugs]."

Participant 5 adds that: "They'll come for you."

Participant 2: "You can't remain anonymous."

Participant 4 adds: "So there are those people, there are people that are selling [drugs] and you can't say anything about that because we are afraid."

The terror that has been struck into this community by outsiders is so compelling that it allows the drug syndicates to continue in the area. Crimes that the Arkians partake in include drug use, stealing for drug use and prostitution. Criminologists worldwide agree that women are less likely to commit criminal acts than men (Steffensmeier, 1996). However, the gender gap in criminal activity shows that men partake in far more criminal acts than women except when it comes to prostitution (Steffensmeier, 1996). Furthermore, women partake in this criminal act primarily as a result of economic inequality and poverty (Steffensmeier, 1996). The occurrence of prostitution in Welbedacht is widespread among the community as a result of the elevated poverty coupled with the complete lack of employment opportunities. It's an activity women feel they are forced to partake in in order to feed their families. Furthermore, economic marginalisation and survival needs have emerged as reasons as to why women are forced to partake in such criminal acts. However, it is something that isn't spoken about amongst the community members, who prefer not to acknowledge the existence of prostitution in the area.

Participant 5 states that: "There's a lot of prostitution here, we may not see it happening but we know it's here."

While participant 4 adds: "There are people who are going in the afternoon to be prostitutes in the streets and they promote one another so that they can feed their families but that is underground [nobody talks about it]."

The nature and extent of criminal activity in the area is vast, but the Arkians don't partake in the majority of these crimes. Crimes enacted by outsiders in Welbedacht include rape,

stabbings and murder. Ironically, the community sought shelter at the Ark to avoid such instances of violence and criminal actions only to be displaced and ultimately relocated to an area where they are forced to endure such crime simply in order to survive.

This is evident in the following statement from participant 4: "They come and rob us, they come and rape us, they come and do whatever they want to do because they know the police will come after a day or after a week. Then they will look at you and they'll ask you and then they will walk and then it's finished."

The area has become a criminal hub where everything goes and justice is a seven-letter word which is forgotten amongst the chaos. Thus, a chaotic environment of organised criminal activity has formed. Crimes as severe as murder take place every few weeks and nothing is done about it. It has become an inverted society where criminals walk free and proudly amongst their prisoners, that is, the people of Welbedacht. The former residents of the Ark refer to their current residence as "a dumping crime zone". It's known as this because outsiders are aware of the lack of authority in the area, hence it has become a free for all in the world of criminality. The severity of this is evident in the following statement from participant 4:

"Next to my house there's a long bridge, you have to go down there and take a photo. All the people in this place, even Umlazi people, even Chatsworth people, they dump dead people there. And when the police come, they just say it's you people from the Ark, you know how did this person die here. Even if you don't know."

The above statement provides evidence of the constant atrocities committed in the region. Not only do the Arkians have to constantly deal with such traumatic experiences but they are blamed for them as well. Such instances of criminality were not present at the Ark. They have become hardened to the barbaric acts committed around them.

Participant 4 speaks of the worst level of criminality and states that: "…the rubbish, go next to the house there is a rubbish down there. We even found the child and they claim that the small child foetus belonged to us and we said it didn't belong to us. Because the people across [the bridge] from Umlazi, they dump in our place."

She continues to state that: "That's what they do, they take people and stab them from somewhere else and then they know that no-one is going to fight for us so they come and dump the dead people here and then we have to answer for it at the end of the day. But they know, the rogues know that the police doesn't come in this place."

They are constantly surrounded by such acts of savagery to the extent that it has left them numb; they have lost their humanity and their sympathy for others (this will be discussed in

more detail later). Furthermore, these criminal acts have led to the discrimination of the Arkian people. The aforementioned violent acts are committed in the area and the responsibility for these crimes is placed on the Arkians. The discrimination by other residents and officials towards the Arkians is mammoth and is evident in this statement provided by participant 4.

"There's no justice if somebody does something to you. They just say, oh they come from the Ark, just put that file away."

This has left the Arkians with deep-seated feelings of prejudice against them. They now feel as if the whole world is against them, and rightly so. Gentrification prompts the emergence of discrimination in redeveloping areas. In general, the nature of discrimination in newly gentrifying areas typically revolves around racial and class related factors (Hwang, 2016). Discrimination in the housing market then becomes a prominent feature as lower class and racially diverse individuals struggle to attain the funds from banks to continue residing in the area (Biro, 2007; Justa *et al,* 2014). However, the severity, nature and extent of discrimination is case-specific. Furthermore, discrimination as a result of gentrification reinforces segregation in an area, which is evident in Welbedacht. Here, discrimination was exacerbated by the segregation that existed and continues to exist between original residents and the Arkians.

The discrimination, which is still evident today, commenced the day the Arkians arrived in Welbedacht and snowballed from then. The initial discrimination was brought about due to the anger expressed by the original Welbedacht residents on account of the Arkians having received housing. As time went on, the discrimination escalated and became prevalent throughout their residence in the area. The severity of discrimination is unyielding and is prevalent amongst adults and children. Furthermore, this discrimination enacted towards the Arkians is not determined by race or class, but rather, it is enforced by one fact: whether or not you're from the Ark. As soon as one divulges that they previously resided at the Ark, discrimination is imminent. Moreover, the discrimination is just as harsh, if not harsher, as the day they arrived in Welbedacht. This is largely due to the fact that the Ark was a homeless shelter and thus the original residents of Welbedacht assumed the worst of these individuals.

This is evident in the statement provided by participant 4: "…our kids they couldn't go to school, to the same schools as the kids around here because they called us … prostitutes, hobos, thieves, we've got AIDS, and then we were [a] discriminated group."

The Arkians are forced to endure discrimination on a large scale. Furthermore, upon visiting the area, it became evident that the discrimination which exists is prevalent in three main areas: health facilities, schooling and the education system, and employment opportunities, all of which are essential elements for survival and future prospects. With regard to health facilities, the Arkians are faced with discrimination when they seek out medical attention, which they are typically refused when they mention that they once resided in the Ark. Participant 4 describes the treatment they receive when seeking medical attention from the local government hospital, R. K. Khan.

"…in R.K. Khan you will go there and then you will just mention that you're coming from the Ark and they think AIDS, you HIV positive and then they don't look after you. They just look at you and tell you go back home."

The tone expressed by this individual when describing her experience is one of abhorrence. The denial of medical attention due to one's background is not just discriminatory but unjust and illegal as well. The level of unwarranted and prejudicial behaviour in this area is enormous. This is undoubtedly due to the nature of what the Ark represents: a homeless shelter. As a result, the residents of Welbedacht as well as the medical professionals have attributed homelessness to prostitution, drug use, theft and illness. From an educational perspective, children face discriminatory behaviour from both their fellow students and these students' parents as well as the system itself. Discriminatory behaviour inflicted by other children and their parents is evident. Likewise, participant 4 stated above how her child was verbally abused due to their history at the Ark. Furthermore, the education system in Welbedacht is alarming. Welbedacht is a multi-racial community consisting of Indian, Caucasian, Black and Coloured children. Although all these children are fluent in English, the local school chooses to educate the students in IsiZulu only.

Participant 7 adds that: "Another thing what they did what we wanted to talk about was they made a school over there [across the bridge] but us that's got coloured children have to send our children to Chatsworth schools. We can't send our children across here because they can't speak Zulu. There's all sorts of children here, there's whites, Indians, coloureds but they decided to just make it a Zulu school and that's it."

Such dissatisfaction mounts as parents discuss their frustrations with the area's education system. Children are forced to be integrated into the IsiZulu school, despite the fact they can't speak the language, because their parents are too impoverished to send their children to a school further away. Not only is this discriminatory towards children who aren't associated with the IsiZulu culture but it's also adding to the lack of education in the area. One mother tells her story of how her daughter was rejected by the first school because she couldn't speak isiZulu and by the second school because she was associated with the Ark.

Participant 4: "My daughter she couldn't speak Zulu. Then she went across to the township school and they said they can't take my daughter because she's not fluent in Zulu. Then I begged the principle and the principle said okay, on one condition, you going to sit at home and you're going to teach your child Zulu. Then she was doing grade 3, she was moved from grade 3 back to grade 1 because she didn't know Zulu. And then I have to battle with that until I took her to another high school in Vuvuzake where everything was mixed up in that school and it backfired on me. They said here is this child, the mother of this child is coming from the streets and you coming from the streets [referring to child] and then they kicked my daughter out."

Participant 4 reveals: "My daughter was being discriminated against at school. Also, all the kids are being put in the same classroom whether you're doing grade 2 or 3 or 4, if you're coming from this place and they know you're from the Ark they just put you there [in one class]."

Moreover, not only are these children faced with discrimination through the inferiority of another language, but likewise, discrimination is further evident through the way in which the Ark children are treated by the faculty. The discrimination experienced coupled with the language barrier has created a massive issue for parents whilst producing increased pressure on their financial vulnerability as they are now forced to enrol their children in schools located outside of Welbedacht. They are therefore left with two choices. Children are either enrolled in a school where they can't speak the language, thereby resulting in the child's lack of progression, or they are forced to pay R175 per month per child to send their children to a school located outside of Welbedacht. Furthermore, if the parents choose to enrol their children in the school at Umlazi, their children have no choice but to utilise the dangerous

bridge infrastructure to access their school. Figure 4.5.1 below represents the bridge which young children are forced to cross in order to attend school.
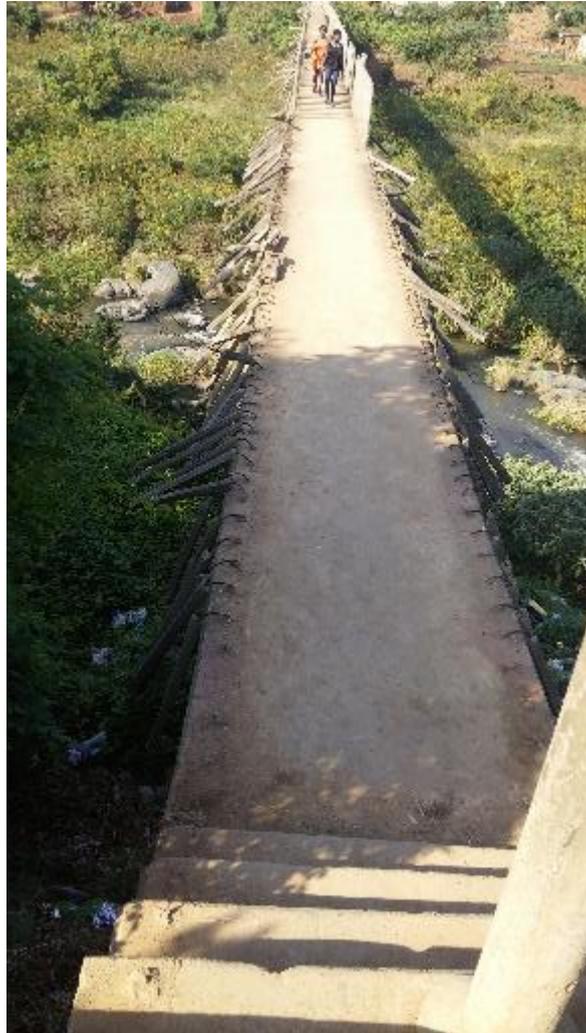
Figure 4.5.1: Old and decrepit bridge

Discrimination as a result of gentrification is case specific. Here, however, it is evident that discrimination is multifaceted and continues to affect these residents on a daily basis. Additionally, the form of discrimination-based stereotyping and prejudice inflicted unto these residents is extremely cruel. It must also be pointed out that these residents were informed that they cannot remain in the Ark because it has become a tourist area and they "cannot have hobos living in the Point". This discrimination was reinforced when they were relocated to Welbedacht. What's more, this harsh level of discrimination is inflicted upon the children as well, which causes detrimental and lasting impacts on the younger generation. In addition, a deep level of anger is present in the individuals on account of the harshness projected unto them and their children from surrounding community members. This anger has not only festered but it's been reinforced unto the younger generation. This has devastating impacts

which will affect the future prosperity of the younger generation. Furthermore, the discriminatory behaviour inflicted amongst these individuals has led to low self-esteem and disempowerment.

Gentrification, through disempowerment, has the ability to limit and constrain the growth of communities. In the case of the Ark it has become evident that the impacts of gentrification – displacement, segregation, poverty, unemployment, crime, substance abuse and discrimination – has formed a community that is disempowered and which lacks the ability to improve their current living conditions. They are trapped within a sphere of negativity, and those who are trying to self-improve are being overpowered by the wave of pessimism in the area. Children are highly susceptible to the increased levels of disempowerment inflicted unto them by both family and community alike. Disempowerment coupled with discrimination is in turn leading to low self-esteem, substance abuse and increased teenage pregnancies. This is made clear here where participant 4 talks about how her lack of self-empowerment coupled with increased anger as a result of the rejection, refusal and disproval inflicted upon her by the surrounding community will inevitably lead her child down a dangerous path.

"I feel like I'm… the culprit because I'm taking my anger out on my daughter and then my daughter is taking that anger out there, buying drugs and all things."

The lack of acceptance by the local community, coupled with the poor living conditions, has resulted in a disempowered community whose disempowerment is passed down from one generation to the next. However, one community member is trying to push the bounds in an attempt to empower her community by taking on projects in an effort to improve the relationships between mothers and daughters. In doing so, it is hoped that the young adults will develop self-confidence, self-esteem and a drive to improve their lives through education.

Participant 8 talks about this initiative: "…they learn that with the child, especially the girls, if the child doesn't have the self-esteem that's when [they] go out there and end up having the unprotected sex and they get pregnant and then they drop out from school. So we want these children to have their own life so… they can be empowered and there can be something tomorrow with the healthy parent that has left the past. Because the problem is with the past that we're still carrying [it] and then we bring our children with this same thing [anger] and it doesn't work with our children. Our children they end up, you were talking about the crime now, most of the crime comes from the children that are brought up from the unhappy family, and then the whole community comes to have a problem, so that's what we're trying to deal with."

She goes on to state that she lacks support from her community members when it comes to carrying out these initiatives; she is a disabled woman so she requires assistance. However, a large majority of the community are too angered to attempt self-empowerment strategies such as staying focused on attaining improved living conditions or remaining cognisant of abilities and talents in the midst of failure. They are so entrapped by their anger toward their living conditions, their environment and members of their surrounding communities. Before the community can elicit any kind of hope for empowerment they need to rid themselves of this anger, and this is what participant 8 is attempting to do. Currently, all these elements of gentrification have created a vicious cycle of impoverishment which these individuals are still forced to endure some 12 years later.

Gentrification was used in the Point Precinct as a means of capital accumulation, yet this was done at the expense of poor and vulnerable communities such as the Ark. From the data presented above it is evident that gentrification-related displacement has severe and lasting impacts for those thereby effected. As such, a segregated community which is entrenched in poverty has emerged.

4.6. CONCLUSION

Evidence of gentrification as a positive process of socio-spatial change has not been evident throughout this study. On the contrary, it is evident that a process which is said to encourage diverse communities through the implementation of social mix policies (Lees, 2008) has in fact done the exact opposite. As such, a city has emerged in which the poor are not favoured or included in any decision-making processes but are instead simply marginalised within the periphery. A city or neighbourhood's ability to create an area encompassing the notion of social justice will create successful development within the area through the following: benefit and burden sharing, participation in decision-making, the preservation of liberties and basic human rights, as well as being treated with dignity and respect by citizens and authority (Jost et al, 2010). However, it is evident that the concept of social justice in non-existent in Welbedacht. Instead, poverty is rife, there are no decisions for residents to be included in as this has become a forgotten society, and the loss of dignity has emerged as a key finding throughout the study. The complete lack of social justice within the region has resulted in an angered and poverty-stricken community where individuals are forced to endure a poor and deprived quality of life. Furthermore, the marginalisation of vulnerable community members

to the periphery of Welbedacht has led to the destruction of a once thriving community. These individuals have been stripped of the opportunities and benefits they were once afforded in the core. This marginalisation has transformed a community that was once thriving into a state of destitution on account of the lack of employment opportunities in the periphery, the financial burden of travel costs needed to reach the core, and the lack of facilities (clinics, schools, police stations), services (waste removal and all municipal services) and amenities (parks, libraries, shopping centres), all of which are available in the core. Furthermore, the relocation to the periphery has resulted in an excluded society. This exclusion is two-fold. Not only are these residents excluded from the social and economic benefits which are provided in the core, but they still continue to endure exclusion from surrounding community members. The exclusion inflicted upon the Arkians by the surrounding community in Welbedacht continues to occur in two key ways: firstly, the Arkians are condemned because they previously resided in a homeless shelter, and secondly, the surrounding community were not provided free housing and thus continue to treat the Arkians with disdain. This lack of social justice coupled with the peripheralisation and exclusion has all resulted from the gentrification which took place in the Point Precinct. This in turn has led to segregation, isolation, criminal activity, substance abuse, unemployment, poverty, discrimination and disempowerment.

CHAPTER 5: CONCLUSION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

This study aimed to identify the correlation between gentrification-related displacement and the socio-economic impacts it inflicts upon the marginalised members of a society. The objective of the study was to identify whether marginalised residents are forced to endure negative socio-economic impacts as a result of displacement, and what these impacts are. Furthermore, whilst identifying these impacts it was imperative that the study provide a voice to those who have suffered at the hand of gentrification. This is because the voice of the marginalised is often silenced by society as a result of the economic benefits attributed to gentrification.

Although gentrification has created economic diversity within the urban core, it has simultaneously created social uniformity where the elite have gained access to the city, and its services and amenities, whilst the poor have been marginalised to the periphery of Welbedacht where facilities are non-existent and services are bleak. This has in turn created several issues relating to the socio-economic development of this community, which this study found has not only been stunted but also depreciated as well. In other words, the marginalisation and peripheralisation of a community that was once developing in both social (social networks, familial bonds) and economic (employment, financial stability) aspects has resulted in their negative downfall, where distinct patterns of social segregation coupled with economic exclusion has caused the destruction of this once flourishing community.

5.2. ADDRESSING THE RESEARCH AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

Gentrification has proven to be a contradictory phenomenon which, although beneficial to the elite minority, is simultaneously destructive to the urban poor and marginalised members of a gentrifying society.

Aim: To explore the role that gentrification plays in the displacement and marginalisation of vulnerable communities.

This research uncovered that gentrification didn't simply play a role in displacing the Arkians, but was indeed the sole reason for displacing and marginalising this vulnerable and poor community whilst simultaneously tearing the social fabric of this society. Gentrification struck

at the heart of vulnerability when it displaced the poorest of the poor, as in those residing at the Ark homeless shelter in the heart of the gentrifying area. One couldn't possibly find a more vulnerable community than that of the Arkians who lived at the shelter due to problems related to finances, substance abuse, physical abuse and many other personal reasons. This study produced evidence which proved that gentrification not only displaced a vulnerable community but that it simultaneously marginalised an already defenceless community by displacing it to the urban periphery.

Objective 1: To explore the social and economic impacts of gentrification-related displacement.

Whilst conducting the focus group it became evident to the researcher that the severity of the socio-economic impacts were worse than anticipated. These impacts are harsh and have forever changed the social make-up of this community. In the Ark the community was unified in their strife and daily struggles, and in their words they 'were a family'. Now however, the displacement of this community to the urban periphery has resulted in devastating and lasting impacts which have created a severed community in which each individual relies solely on themselves for survival. The unity that once existed in the Ark has effectively been amputated from this community. Furthermore, the aim of the research was achieved by identifying and exploring the nature and extent of these impacts. Similarly, the aim of providing a voice to this forgotten society was achieved by presenting extensive and detailed statements provided by the displaced persons on the effects they've endured and still continue to endure as a result of their displacement to the periphery.

Objective 2: To explore the strategies (housing strategies, financial aid) which have been put in place for the former residents of the Ark.

It was uncovered that the Arkians were provided housing upon their displacement to the periphery. However, further inequality ensued as it was discovered that only women with children were given houses. The Arkians who participated in the focus group voiced great discontent about the fact that single men and women were not allowed houses, further adding to the discrimination, segregation and inequality which continues to persist.

Objective 3: To examine how marginalisation has stagnated the development of this relocated community.

The isolation that exists along the periphery, as a result of their marginalisation from the urban core, has resulted in the stagnation of any type of development within Welbedacht. Their marginalised state, combined with their exclusion from their surrounding local community, has resulted in the inability of this community to develop socially. In addition, the bonds and social networks that were once present in the Ark have been torn and stripped away, resulting in an 'every man for themselves' stance which the community has adopted. Furthermore, the marginalisation that exists along the periphery, combined with the lack of finances, economic opportunities and transport has resulted in the failure of this community to create any form of economic development. Thus, there is little evidence to support the socio-economic development of this marginalised community since their relocation to Welbedacht in 2004.

Objective 4: To examine the condition of the residents who were displaced and ultimately relocated to Welbedacht.

The relocation from the Point Precinct to Welbedacht not only changed the manner in which these participants conducted their day-to-day living, but also severely destabilised their socio-economic development. As a result, these individuals who were thriving on account of their employment, sobriety, stability and social development were at a loss upon relocation to Welbedacht. Although they will be forever grateful for the houses that were given to them, this by no means eradicates the repercussions they now face on account of their relocation. Their lack of socio-economic development, poor living standard and lack of economic opportunities has resulted in a community of individuals who appear to be beyond salvation. Furthermore, the poor quality of life in Welbedacht seems to have resulted in a demotivated and demoralised community.

5.3. RESEARCH LIMITATIONS

The limitations of the study meant that assumptions had to be made regarding the role and impact that gentrification has had on a marginalised community, and purposive sampling had to be used as a means to overcome barriers in order to gain access to information. This is the only group of residents of this marginalised community which the researcher was able to gain access to thus limiting the study. Furthermore, the language barrier which existed between researcher and participants meant that some participants struggled to put forward their

experiences. Likewise, some participants may have been reluctant to share their experiences on account of the class differences between the researcher and themselves.

5.4. FUTURE RESEARCH

Future research should include locating and interviewing those who were displaced from the Ark but who were not eligible for housing in order to fully ascertain how the process of gentrification impacts all the displaced and marginalised members of a gentrifying neighbourhood.

5.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The Ark homeless shelter played a monumental role in the Point Precinct. This was accomplished through presenting individuals in dire states with a second chance by providing food, shelter, clothing, employment opportunities, in-house health and rehabilitation facilities, church services, transportation, education for children – in effect, all the essentials for improving one's quality of life. Furthermore, the Ark embodied the true nature of a shelter in that it not only offered refuge to those in need but simultaneously also united strangers into a family unit. People came together in the face of adversity and learned to rely on one another for their own personal development and growth. In the words of the Arkians, this shelter was a 'stepping stone' for the creation of a better life by improving the health, well-being and socio-economic status of these individuals.

Although the Ark played a pivotal role in redeveloping countless people so as to provide them with an improved quality of life, the redevelopment of this area overrode the need to redevelop the people. Consequently, this resulted in the closure of the Ark and its subsequent abandonment. Selected residents were then displaced and ultimately relocated to an area located in the urban periphery. A total of 100 houses were given to these residents in compensation for their abandonment along the periphery. This, however, was a severely poor form of compensation when considering the negative socio-economic impacts these individuals continue to experience. Upon relocation to the periphery, the Arkians had to endure two years with no running water or electricity. Service delivery in this region is extremely poor and has resulted in the emergence of a wasteland. Facilities and amenities are non-existent which has severely limited the community's development. Furthermore, economic opportunities in this region seem to be a fictional notion which, on account of the

location, has resulted in a deep entrenchment of poverty that is extremely difficult to overcome. The lack of local transport has worsened the level of poverty and residents are unable to seek employment on account of the unreliability of transport as well as the exorbitant cost of this service.

The most severe of these impacts is the emergence of the cycle of impoverishment; a never-ending cycle of destitution as a result of a variety of impacts associated with displacement. This cycle has severe social and economic implications for this society. From a social perspective, the relocation to Welbedacht has transformed a community from one of unity to one of disarray. The poor quality of living has resulted in an angered and bitter community. Furthermore, their relocation to the periphery has not only segregated a once united community, but has simultaneously left them in a constant isolated state. This has severe implications for both their social and economic development as failure to communicate with the outside world has created (for the most part) an unmotivated community which is incapable of achieving economic stability. From an economic perspective, the lack of economic opportunities in the region, coupled with both its location and lack of transport, has left this community in a dire economic state. Poverty is rife and seems to be insurmountable. Furthermore, the bitterness that exists amongst this community is harsh and unyielding. For example, if one member starts to somehow improve their socio-economic condition, it's not long before the rest of the community pulls this individual back down into the entrenchment of poverty. And so, the cycle of impoverishment continues to flourish.

Adding to the high levels of poverty is the fact that this community is predisposed to substance abuse as a large proportion resided at the Ark for this reason. Thus, substance abuse has re-emerged as a dominant factor in their destruction. It is seen as a norm and, what's more disturbing, is that this destructive habit is being passed on to the younger generations, further perpetuating the cycle of impoverishment. The high levels of substance abuse are greatly attributed to the poverty in the area as well as the complete lack of recreational facilities for the younger generation. Furthermore, the substance abuse problem has resulted in the emergence of a crime hub, with crimes such as robbery, burglary, rape and even murder being excessive in this region.

Gentrification-related displacement has caused significant impacts for the community including vast levels of discrimination and severe disempowerment. Socio-economic

development in the region is impossible without outside guidance and assistance. This research study has revealed that although gentrification possesses a great deal of positivity for a redeveloping area, it also neglects to favour the poor during the restoration of the urban core. This study was fundamental as it was able to identify the nature and extent of the socio-economic impacts of gentrification-related displacement. Furthermore, research along the lines of this study will play a monumental role in adding to and aiding in gentrification literature. This is primarily because finding displaced persons has been highly problematic in the past. Moreover, this research was not only able to locate these individuals along the urban periphery but was also able to present a full and detailed account of the socio-economic impacts of displacement based on the personal accounts of those who were thereby displaced. These impacts are vast and have proven to have lasting impacts, thereby forever changing the socio-economic makeup of a once thriving community.

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